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A GENERAL HISTORY OF EUROPE

(350-1900)

A GENERAL HISTORY OF EUROPE

350-1900

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WITH MAPS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

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EDITORIAL NOTE

In revising the "General History of Europe," I have been careful not to interfere with the plan of the book, or with the narrative. But the spelling of many words required alteration, in order to adapt the work to English readers; certain omissions have been remedied; and some errors in detail corrected. The lists of authorities have also been revised and enlarged. It is impossible for me to thank Mr G. W. Prothero adequately for his assistance in the work of revision, and more especially in preparing the Bibliography. Its excellence is entirely due to the immense amount of trouble which he took in drawing up the lists of books. I venture to think that in its present corrected form the "General History of Europe" will be found to present the best existing sketch of Medieval and Modern European history.

ARTHUR HASSALL.

CHRIST CHURCH,
OXFORD, 1901.

PREFACE

THE authors of this General History of Europe venture to hope that their book will explain itself. The only matter concerning which they feel obliged to state their position in a prefatory word is the important point of the correlation of text-book and literature. They firmly believe that the use of any single and unaided text—a practice still common in our schools—is a misfortune and a calamity, and for that reason they desire to put themselves on record in the most definite terms against that ancient abuse. Their text consequently is conceived by them as a mere framework which the literature accompanying each chapter is intended to clothe and elaborate. This literature the authors have carefully selected with the needs of the beginner in their minds; they do not wish to weary and confuse him with a great mass of material; they desire merely to conduct him a stage or two upon the path of historical studies, but they are eager that that path should be the right path. The teacher is therefore very earnestly enjoined to encourage in the pupil wide reading, and the habit of comparison and criticism. A glance over the literature of any chapter will show that the more general or accessible books come first in order; then follow more special treatises and occasional original sources. From these various kinds of literature the teacher must make his selection for the class in accordance with his view of the individual pupil's needs and powers. The authors presume to suggest in this

connection that the most effective means of applying the method of study which they have outlined is by establishing a small working library in conjunction with every class-room. It will be a great day for education when every important school is thus equipped with an historical library.

The authors wish also to call particular attention to the numerous maps and chronological and genealogical tables at the end of the book. The constant use of these by the pupils in both the preparation and the recitation of the lesson cannot be too strenuously insisted on.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
May 1, 1900.

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THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

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THE whole course of history is very conveniently divided into three periods—the Ancient, the Medieval, and the Modern. Generally, fixed dates have been assigned for the beginning and end of each of these. They have then been further divided and subdivided, and each division has received a particular name. While this has been more or less convenient and justifiable, the divisions have often been treated so mechanically as to make a totally wrong impression, especially on the minds of students who are just beginning the study; for if there is anything that is firmly held by all good historians to-day, it is the continuity of history. There are no real breaks in its course. Every age is a preparation for, and an introduction to, the next. One period grows into another so gradually and naturally that the people who live in the time of transition are often unconscious of the fact that a new period is beginning. Certain events may well be said to be epoch-making, but in spite of that, their full effect is not felt at once. They slowly modify the existing order of things,

The continuity of History.

gradually displacing the old by the new. The world is never actually revolutionized in a day.

However, it is not wrong to separate history into such periods, for different interests prevail at different times, and, therefore, one period may have a very different character from that of another. But in making all such divisions two things ought to be carefully guarded against: fixed boundaries should not be assigned to them, and they should not be treated as if their predominant interest were their only interest. No one interest can absorb the whole life of a period. For several centuries the life of Europe has been too complex to admit of its being adequately treated from only one point of view.

But divisions are convenient and justifiable.

The terms "Medieval" and "Middle Age" have been used because of their convenience. The invasions of the barbarians which began on a grand scale in the fourth century brought about the great change which was the beginning of the Middle Age. Its end is not perhaps so easily determined, but the period from 1450 to 1550 is marked by such movements as the great religious revolution, which involved all western Europe and was productive of many changes, the growth of absolutism in Europe, the changes in the practical government of many of the countries, the birth of political science, the multiplication of international relations, and the extension of industry and commerce, so that we may safely say that the Middle Age should end somewhere about that time. At any rate a convenient place may there be found where one may stop and mark the failing of old, and the appearance of new, tendencies and characteristics.

Limits of the period, 350–1500.

A comparison of the map of Europe in the fourth century of our era with that of the same country in the sixteenth century[1] will give the best idea of the changes that took place there during the Middle Age. Such a comparison would suggest that all

Europe 350 A.D., *compared with Europe* 1500 A.D.

[1] The changes will become still more apparent if a map of Europe in the nineteenth century be used in the comparison indicated.

these changes could be grouped under four heads, namely: those in the political system, in language, in religion, and in civilization.

The first map shows but two grand divisions: the Roman empire and the barbarians. On the second, the barbarians have almost disappeared, and the empire, while it has a nominal existence, is not at all what it was. In its stead and in the place of the barbarians, there are many separate and independent states and different nations. One asks instinctively: What has become of the empire? Where are the barbarians? How did these new states arise? What is the origin of these new nationalities? *Evident changes; questions suggested thereby.*

The linguistic changes suggested by the maps are quite as striking. Latin and Greek were the only languages in existence in Europe in the earlier time. The rude dialects of the barbarians were not regarded as languages, and were unfit for literary purposes. In the sixteenth century Greek was spoken in a limited territory, and Latin had become the language of the educated only, while the barbarian tongues had developed into literary languages.

Religiously, the changes are sweeping. At the beginning of the fourth century Europe was still prevailingly heathen. Christianity was widely spread, but its adherents were largely in the minority. In the sixteenth century, however, heathenism was nominally, at least, almost destroyed in Europe. In its stead there was Christianity in two great types: the Roman Catholic and the Greek, while a third new type, to be known as Protestantism, was about to be produced. Besides Christianity we find a part of Europe under the domination of Mohammedanism. How were the barbarians of Europe Christianized, we ask? How were the different types of Christianity produced? What separated the Greek from the Latin Church? What was the origin of Mohammedanism? What are its tenets and character? How did it spread, and what has been its history? What influence has it had on Europe? And what have been the relations between Christianity and Mohammedanism?

The changes in civilization were also radical. Civilization had passed far beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and there were already indications that its centre was soon to be changed from the south to the north. Italy, Spain, and southern France were still in advance in the sixteenth century; but England, northern France, and Germany were showing the characteristics which should eventually enable them to assume the leadership in art, science, literature, manufactures, and in nearly all that goes to make up the highest and best civilization. Here, too, questions arise. What did the rest of Europe receive from Greece and Rome? How was this inheritance transmitted? How has it been increased and modified? How were the barbarians influenced by the art, literature, architecture, law, customs, modes of thought, and life of the Greeks and Romans? What new ideas and fresh impulses have been given by the various barbarian peoples that have successively been brought in as factors in the progress and development of Europe?

General mention of important topics.

The Middle Age is the birth period of the modern states of Europe. We shall study the successive periods of decay and revival in the empire; its ineffectual efforts to carry on the work of Rome in destroying the sense of difference in race, and to make all Europe one people; and its bitter struggle with its new rival, the papacy, which ended practically in the ruin of both. We shall follow the barbarians in their migrations and invasions, and watch them as they form new states and slowly learn of Rome the elements of civilization. We shall see them come to national self-consciousness, exhibiting all the signs of a proud national sense, gradually but stubbornly resisting the interference of both emperor and pope in their affairs, and finally, throwing off all allegiance to both, becoming fully independent and acknowledging their responsibility to no power outside of themselves. Along with this national differentiation goes the development of the barbarian dialects into vigorous languages, each characteristic of the people to which it belongs.

Empire Papacy.

Nations and states.

We shall study the spread of Christianity, its ideals and its two most important institutions, monasticism and papacy. The monks of the west played a most important part in Christianizing and civilizing the peoples of Europe, and the bishops of Rome came to look upon themselves as the successors, not only of Peter, but also of Cæsars, claiming all power, both spiritual and temporal. The Church occupies, therefore, a prominent place in the history of the Middle Age. *The Church.*

Mohammedanism was for some time a formidable opponent of Christianity even in Europe. It set for itself the task of conquering the world. It made many determined efforts to establish itself firmly in Europe. The eastern question was an old one, even in the Middle Age, and the invasions of the Mohammedans into Europe and the counter-invasions of the Christians (the crusades) are all so many episodes in its history. *Mohammedanism.*

By invading and settling in the empire the barbarians came under the schooling of the Romans. They destroyed much, but they also learned much. The elements of the Græco-Roman civilization were preserved; its art, laws, and ideas were slowly adopted and modified by the invading peoples. We shall see how this rich legacy was preserved and gradually made the property of all the peoples of Europe, and we shall study the progress which they have made in civilization. *Progress in civilization.*

These are some of the problems with which the history of the Middle Age is concerned; they will be treated in their appropriate places. We shall first take a kind of inventory of the factors involved, and these are Europe (the land itself in its physical and climatic features) and in peoples.

1. *Europe.*

The general contour of Europe has greatly influenced its history. It is, therefore, necessary to study its mountain systems, its plains, its coast and river systems, and its climate.

On the east, and coinciding in general with the boundary

between Asia and Europe, are the Ural Mountains. They, with the Caucasus range between the Black and Caspian Seas, form a barrier to easy communication between the east and the west, and so have forced travel and commerce, as well as invading peoples and armies, to follow certain well-defined routes. The Alps and the Pyrenees have served much the same purpose in the south. They have prevented the fusion of the peoples to the north with those to the south, and have made futile all the many attempts to bring and keep them under one government. They have played important parts in the differentiation, spread, and development of the various nations about them. Their passes being few and difficult, they have hindered intercourse and have prevented interference, and so each people has been left more exclusively to itself to work out its own character and destiny. Even in the small physical divisions of Europe, mountains have done much to isolate and divide those whom everything else has sought to fuse and unite. They have helped to perpetuate tribal and racial differences in Scandinavia, in Germany, in Austria, and especially in the Balkan peninsula, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. There can be no doubt that the mountains of these countries still make the problems of their respective governments more difficult. They have been constant and efficient barriers to the formation of extensive states and governments in western Europe.

The influence of mountain ranges.

On the other hand, the great central plains offer every opportunity for the homogeneous development of their inhabitants and for the formation of governments with extensive sway. Being adapted to the occupation of grazing, agriculture, and similar pursuits, they determined the earliest occupations of the people. So long as the number of their inhabitants was small, the great extent of their areas favoured the continued separation of the nomadic tribes that wandered over them; and with increasing population the peoples were more easily brought together and subjected to the influence of the same ideas, whether political, social, or religious.

The plains of Europe.

Turning to the study of its coast we note that Europe itself

is essentially a peninsula, and is besides deeply indented by arms of the sea, so that it has a large extent of coast line. Its two great inland seas offer, because of their calmness, excellent opportunities for the growth of commerce. It is not accidental that European commerce developed first, and had its chief seats, around the Mediterranean and the Baltic. *Coast line and inland seas.*

As if to facilitate communication, Europe is traversed from north to south by many rivers, which in the Middle Age were the highways of travel and traffic. The Rhine and the rivers of France are connected with each other and with the Rhone and its tributaries by a short portage; in the same way the Rhine, the Main, the Elbe, and the Oder are connected with the Danube; likewise the Vistula, the Niemen, and the Duna, with the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga. In this way nature has done much to promote intercourse in Europe. A radically different arrangement of the rivers of Europe would have affected its history in a corresponding way. Especially the districts about the mouths of the rivers were likely to be hastened in their development because of their greater opportunities for commerce and the advantages to be derived therefrom. The national existence of Portugal, Holland, and Belgium is due in some measure to the fact that they lie about the mouths of great rivers. *Rivers.*

The climate of a country influences its people in many ways. Long and cold winters make the conditions of life in the north much more difficult than in the south, where unaided nature does almost everything. In this way the habits of the people, their dress, social life, and architecture, public as well as private, are greatly influenced by the widely varying climatic conditions that prevail in the various parts of Europe. *Climate.*

In the third century the Roman empire extended from the Atlantic in the west to the Euphrates in the east; from the Sahara in the south to the Danube, Main, and Rhine in the north. Britain also had been added

2. *The peoples.*

to this territory. But since the beginning of the Christian era, the boundaries of the empire had not been greatly enlarged, for the task of defending the frontiers, rapidly becoming more difficult, left successive emperors little time to think of foreign conquests.

A. The inhabitants of the Empire.

Within this vast empire was to be found a great variety of peoples, differing in race, language, customs, and religion. The policy of Rome was to give all these peoples her own civilization as fast as they were able to receive it. As soon as the conquest of a province had been made, influences were set to work to Romanize its inhabitants. This great work of Romanization and civilization was practically completed when, in 215 A.D., Caracalla issued an edict making all the free inhabitants of the empire citizens of Rome. There were still, of course, many differences existing between the peoples of the various provinces, but they had all received the elements of Roman culture, and, since the many agencies for diffusing the Roman civilization were still in operation, they were all approaching the same high level which Rome herself had reached.

Rome civilized the conquered peoples.

The inhabitants of the empire were divided into four classes: slaves, plebs, curials, and senators; but within each of these four divisions there were various grades and shades of difference. The lot of the slaves was gradually growing better. In the country it became customary to enrol them, thus attaching them to the soil, from which they could not be separated, and with which they were bought and sold. Further, masters were forbidden to kill their slaves, or to separate a slave from his wife and children.

The people divided into classes.

Slaves.

To the class of plebs belonged all the free common people, whether small freeholders, tradesmen, labourers, or artisans. The freeholders were diminishing in numbers. Their lands were consumed by the increasing taxes, and they themselves either became serfs or ran away to the towns. The majority of the inhabitants of the cities and towns classified as plebs were free, but they had no political rights.

Plebs.

All who possessed twenty-five acres of land, or its equivalent, were regarded as "curials." On these fell the burdens of office-holding and the taxes, for the collection of which they were made responsible. *Curials.*

The ranks of the senatorial class were constantly increasing by the addition of all those who for any reason received the title of senator, or who were appointed by the emperor to one of the high offices. The senatorial honour was hereditary. The senators, having most of the soil in their possession, were the richest people of the empire. Since they enjoyed exceptional privileges and immunities, the lot of the curials was made more grievous. *Senators.*

For the support of his army, his court, and the great number of clerks made necessary by the bureaucratic form of government, the emperor had to have immense sums of money, for the purpose of raising which many kinds of taxes were introduced. Taxes were levied on both lands and persons; on all sorts of manufacturing industries; on heirs, when they came into possession of their estates; on slaves when set free; and on the amount of the sales made by merchants. Tolls were collected on the highways and at bridges; duties at the city gates and in the harbours. Besides the above taxes, there were many kinds of special taxes, burdens, and services, such as the supplying of food, clothing, and quarters for the army; horses and waggons for the imperial use whenever demanded; and repairing of the roads, bridges, and temples. Most oppressive of all, perhaps, was the dishonesty of the officials, who, to enrich themselves, often exacted far more than even the very large sums which the emperor required. *Taxes.*

It was impossible that this should not tend to make the empire bankrupt. The cities were the first to suffer. As the senatorial class, the army, professors of rhetoric, and the clergy were largely freed from taxation, the whole burden fell on the curials, who became oppressors in order to collect the vast sums required of them. Finally, when the curials were bankrupt and could no longer pay the taxes, they *Effects on the curials.*

attempted in every way to escape from their class. Some of them succeeded in rising into the senatorial ranks; many of them deserted their lands and became slaves, or entered the army or the Church. The emperors, trying to prevent this, often seized the curial who had run away and compelled him to take up his old burden again. The curial was forbidden by law to try to change his position, but in spite of this many of them surrendered their lands to some rich neighbour and received them back on condition of the payment of certain taxes, and the rendering of certain services. This was a form of land-tenure and social relation very similar to that common in feudalism of a later day.

B. The Kelts.

In the fourth century A.D. the Kelts held Gaul (modern France) and the islands of Great Britain. Four or five hundred years before Christ, they had extended as far east as the Weser in the north, and occupied much territory in the centre of Europe. Evidence of this is the fact that Bohemia derived its name from its Keltic inhabitants, the Boii. But the Kelts slowly withdrew before the Germans, until the Rhine became the boundary between the two peoples. The Kelts were never all united in one great state, but existed in separate tribes. Each tribe formed a state and was governed by an aristocracy. The people had no part in the government, but were treated by the ruling class as slaves. The nobility was divided into two classes, the religious and the secular. The religious nobility were the Druids, a caste of priests who controlled all sacrifices, both public and private, and who were also judges and final authorities in all other matters. Their word was law, and whoever refused them obedience was put under their ban, which had almost the same meaning as the papal ban a few centuries later. They had many gods, to whom they offered human sacrifices.[1]

Tribal government.

The Kelts had large, strong, and beautiful bodies, as may be seen from the famous statue in Rome, "The Dying Gaul"

[1] Cæsar, B. G., vi. 11-19, gives a good description of the Kelts.

(formerly known as the "Dying Gladiator"). They were brave, dashing warriors, fond of music, especially of the shrill, martial kind, with which they went into battle. *Keltic characteristics.* They were easily moved by eloquent speech and had a love for poetry. Their language was well developed, and capable of expressing a wide range of thought and emotion. They loved bright and gay colours, and were noted for the liveliness rather than for the persistency of their feelings and emotions. They were restless, sprightly, full of activity, and capable of the greatest enthusiasm for, and devotion to, a popular leader, but they were fickle and unreliable if their ardour was once quenched by disaster. At the beginning of our period the Kelts who occupied Gaul and Britain were thoroughly Romanized. To a great extent they had forgotten their language and spoke Latin. Many cities had sprung up among them which were well supplied with temples, baths, and theatres, and were in all respects Roman. But the Kelts of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were still barbarian, and hostile to Rome.

C. *The Germans.* At the beginning of our period the Germans occupied Scandinavia, and nearly all the land between the Rhine and the Vistula, and the Baltic and the Danube. Since the times of Cæsar and Tacitus, who were the first Roman authors to devote much attention to the Germans, many changes had taken place among them. Some of them had changed their location; new groups had been formed, and they were known by new names. *Their location.* The Goths had left the Vistula and were now spread over a great stretch of territory to the north of the Black Sea and the lower Danube. Other tribes were moving or spreading out in the same direction. Great masses of Germans and other peoples were crowded together along the whole northern frontier of the empire, and the danger of a barbarian invasion was rapidly growing greater.

Divisions. Tacitus ("Germania," ii.) says that the Germans were divided into three great branches: the Ingævones, who lived nearest the ocean; the Hermiones, who lived in the "middle"; and the Istævones, who included all the

west. These three names had now been replaced by others, such as Franks, Alamanni, and Saxons. Neither these nations nor those mentioned by Tacitus actually included all the Germans. They formed rather the great division which may be called the West Germans. Besides these there were those of the north, afterward known as the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, and those of the east: the Goths, Vandals, and others.

Their government.

In their government the Germans were democratic. They had a well-defined system of local self-government. There were three political divisions; the whole tribe, or nation; the *gau*, or county; and the village. All matters that concerned only the village were discussed and settled by all the freemen of the village in a public meeting. Likewise the affairs of the *gau* were administered by the freemen of the *gau*, and matters that concerned the whole nation were decided by an assembly of all the freemen of the tribe. In social rank, there were three classes—nobles, freemen, and slaves. The nobles had certain advantages, but in the assemblies the vote of a freeman equalled that of a nobleman.

Gefolge.

It was customary among the Germans for the young men to attach themselves to some man of tried courage and military ability (the *comitatus* or *Gefolge*), with whom they lived, and whom they accompanied on all his expeditions. Such warrior-chiefs were proud of having a large number of young men about them, for it added to their dignity and increased their power in many ways. The relation between a leader and a follower was entirely voluntary, and consequently honourable to both. It might be terminated at the will of either party.

Religion and occupations.

The religion of the Germans was a kind of nature-worship. The principal objects of their reverence were groves, trees, caves, and uncommon natural phenomena. They had no priest-caste. They lived by cattle-raising, agriculture, and hunting, the labour being performed principally by slaves and women. It was characteristic of them that they were unwilling to live in compactly built towns; their houses being generally some distance apart, formed a

straggling village. The Romans were impressed with the great size and power of their bodies, the ruddiness of their faces, and the light colour of their hair.

They had some very prominent faults, such as a too great love of war, of the cup, and of the dice. They became so infatuated with gambling that, after losing all their property, they staked their wives and children, and if these were lost, they risked even their own liberty. The Germans boasted of their faithfulness to every obligation. So true were they to their word that if they lost their freedom in gambling they willingly yielded to their new master, and permitted themselves to be reduced to the position of slaves. *Their qualities.*

The Slavs occupied a large belt of territory east of the Germans, and extended far into Russia. As the Germans withdrew to the west and south, the Slavs followed them and took possession of the land thus vacated. In this way they finally came as far west as the Elbe, and may be said to have held nearly all of the territory from the Elbe to the Dnieper. A large part of what is now Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia became wholly Slavic. *D. The Slavs.* *Their location.*

The Slavs, as well as the Kelts and Germans, were broken up into many tribes having no political connection with each other. They seem to have had a patriarchal form of government. At any rate, great reverence was shown the old men of the tribe, who, by virtue of their age, had a controlling voice in the management of affairs. At first the Slavs probably had no nobility. They elected their leaders in war, and so strong was the democratic spirit among them that they were never able to produce a royal line. *Government.*

Their religion was a form of idolatry. They had priests who were consulted on all matters, political and religious. Though they had powerful frames and impressed the Romans with their size, they were tame and unwarlike, and have never been conquerors. Their location was favourable to the occupations of cattle-raising and agriculture. They did not possess a strong national feeling, and were there- *Character.*

fore easily assimilated by other peoples. Large numbers of them were Germanized from the ninth century onwards.

The Letts.

In the ninth century another branch of the Slavs, called the Letts, came into history. We first meet them on the shore of the Baltic, from the Vistula to some distance beyond the Nieman. They were divided into Lithuanians and Prussians. It is curious to note that the name of this non-German people (the Prussians) has, in the process of time, come to be applied to the leading German state of to-day.

E. The Ural-Altaic Peoples.

Besides these Indo-European peoples which we have just discussed there were others, which are usually called Ural-Altaic or Finnic-Turkish tribes. "Turanian" is also applied to them. They were to be found in northern Scandinavia and in the northern, northwestern, and eastern parts of Russia. They were the Finns, the Lapps, the Esthonians, the Livonians, the Ugrians, the Tchuds, the Permians, the Magyars, the Huns, and many others. They were related to the Turkish Mongols. During the Middle Age, at least, they in no way advanced the interests of civilization, but rather played the part of a scourge—destroyers rather than builders.

Basis of above classification philological; not recognized by ethnologists.

The division followed above is linguistic. Philologists first discovered the similarity between the languages of the Greeks, the Romans, the Kelts, the Germans, the Slavs, the Letts, the Persians, and the ancient inhabitants of India, and on the basis of these resemblances classed these peoples together as one great race. It was inferred that because their languages were akin, the people themselves must have been of the same original stock. The modern sciences of anthropology and ethnology do not recognize the validity of such an argument, but declare that these peoples do not belong to the same race, although their languages are related. Ethnologists now use other tests to discover the racial relations of peoples.

CHAPTER I

THE EMPIRE, THE CHURCH, AND THE INVASIONS OF THE GERMANS

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AUGUSTUS brought about a change in the form of government of the Roman state, which, for nearly two hundred years, was attended with large benefits. Even under the vicious emperors of the first century the people were probably in a better condition than during the last days of the republic. The emperors cleared the sea of pirates and the land of brigands and robbers; they

The Republic of Rome becomes an empire, 31 B.C.

built roads connecting all parts of the empire, thus making commerce easier; their excellent police made travel safer; they administered justice more equitably, and the government, being better centralized, performed its functions with greater efficiency.

The wise emperors of the second century, while making progress in nearly every direction, gave the empire an increasingly good and beneficent government. But the death of Marcus Aurelius (181 A.D.) put a check to the long period of prosperity, and for about a hundred years the empire was rent with revolts and seditions. The law governing the succession to the crown was often disregarded. Once the army put the crown up for sale to the highest bidder and, at another time, there were at least nineteen persons who, in different parts of the empire, assumed the imperial title. During the third century many of the emperors met a violent death at the hands of a usurper. The crown was regarded by ambitious men as a legitimate object of prey.

Decline of the Empire in the third century.

Diocletian tried to put an end to this chaos by devising a scheme for fixing the succession and making the persons of the emperors more secure. He arranged that there should be two emperors, each having an assistant, called a Cæsar. The two emperors, after ruling twenty years, were to resign in favour of the two Cæsars, who would then choose two other Cæsars to assist them. To render the lives of the four rulers more secure, they were to be shut off from free intercourse with the people, and each was to be surrounded by a court modelled after eastern ideals. The government was to be more centralized, the senate deprived of its little remaining power, and heavy taxes were to be levied to meet the increased expenses of the government. This scheme was successful only in part. The resignation of Diocletian and Maximian (305) was followed by a civil war, which gave Constantine the opportunity to make himself sole ruler. But Constantine, although he overthrew the essential part of Diocletian's scheme, did not return

The changes of Diocletian, 284–305.

to the simplicity of the former emperors; on the contrary he increased his court, and multiplied the expenses of his government.

Of the emperors of the third century, however, many were barbarians who had little or no regard for Rome. Either by preference or necessity, they spent their time in the provinces or on the frontier. When Diocletian and Maximian divided the government the emperor in the east took up his residence at Nicomedia, while the emperor in the west lived in Milan. Constantine, led by various motives, chose for his residence Byzantium, which after fortifying and enlarging, he called Constantinople. Rome thus lost her position as capital of the empire, being replaced by Constantinople, or New Rome, as it was called.

The new capital.

Constantine earned the gratitude of his Christian subjects by making Christianity a legal religion. The conservatism of the emperors had led them to forbid the practice of all new religions; their fears caused them to regard the harmless meetings of the Christians as dangerous gatherings of conspirators. From the first, therefore, Christianity was proscribed until soon it came to be understood that the mere name of Christian was an offence against the state. To be a Christian was to be worthy of death. While the Christians were generally treated with leniency by the government they suffered much at the hands of the mob, who attributed all disasters to them. During the first three centuries there were several persecutions, mostly of a local character, but in the year 303, Diocletian, at the instigation of his Cæsar, Galerius, began a fierce persecution of the Christians, which was intended utterly to destroy the new religion. "Christian churches were to be destroyed; all copies of the Bible were to be burned; all Christians were to be deprived of public office and civil rights; and, at last all, without exception, were to sacrifice to the gods upon pain of death." After eight bloody years Galerius confessed that the Christians were too strong for him, and published a proclamation granting them toleration.

The Empire and the Church.

Schaff, Vol. II., p. 67.

Two years later Constantine went a step farther and issued an edict ordering all Church property which had been confiscated to be restored to the Christians. It was the policy of Constantine to further Christianity. In 313 he released the Catholic clergy from many burdensome political duties. In 315 he freed the Church from the payment of certain taxes. Probably in 316 he made legal the manumission of slaves which took place in churches. In 321, churches were granted the privilege of receiving legacies. In 323 he forbade the compulsory attendance of Christians at heathen worship and celebrations. Up to 323 the coins which he struck bore the images and inscriptions of various gods; after that time his coins had only allegorical emblems. But though thus favouring Christianity, Constantine never in any way limited or prohibited heathenism. He retained the office and performed the duties of *pontifex maximus*. In 321 he issued an edict commanding that officials should consult the *haruspices* (soothsayers). After the year 326 he permitted a temple to be erected to himself, and allowed himself to be worshipped. At his death he was enrolled among the gods and received the title of Divus. It is evident, therefore, that the famed conversion of Constantine was political rather than religious. His principal interest was centred in the unity of the Church, which he wished to use as a tool in the work of governing the empire. He did not make Christianity the state religion; he made it merely a legal religion. It remained for Gratian (375-383) and Theodosius (379-395) to make orthodox Christianity the only legal religion, by forbidding heathen worship and persecuting all heresy. They decreed that only orthodox Christians should have the rights of citizenship.

Constantine and the Church.

Christianity made the only legal religion.

Before his death (337), Constantine divided the government among his four sons, who covered themselves with shame by waging war on each other, and by murdering their relatives in order to remove all competitors for the throne. One cousin, however, Julian, was spared, and in

Julian the Apostate.

361 became emperor. The cruel treatment which he had received from his Christian cousins, together with his love, inspired by his pagan tutors, for the heathen religion, had made him hostile to Christianity. When he came to the throne he therefore tried to destroy Christianity and restored heathenism. But failing completely, for his pains he won the hatred of the Christians and the title, Apostate.

Although Diocletian's scheme had failed, it was apparent that one man could not satisfactorily fill the office of emperor. After several ineffectual attempts at division, Theodosius the Great arranged that, at his death, his first son, Arcadius, should succeed to the government in the east, with his residence at Constantinople, and his second son, Honorius, should rule in the west, with Milan for his capital. Practically this had the effect of making two empires, but the people of that time did not think of the matter in that way. They regarded the empire as indivisible; only the duties of the emperor could be divided. In spite of this division of labour the fifth century was full of reverses and disasters. The emperors were, for the most part, weak and worthless, and often mere puppets in the hands of some ambitious and scheming barbarian. At length, the following circumstances led to the deposition of the emperor in the west and the nominal reunion of the east and the west under one emperor. The Roman army, was, in the fifth century, largely composed of German mercenaries, who finally began to ask the government for lands on which they might settle. When Romulus Augustulus, a mere boy, became emperor (476) with his father, Orestes, the power behind the throne, the Germans in the army peremptorily demanded that one-third of the land in Italy should be divided among them. This demand Orestes refused. They thereupon put themselves under the leadership of Odovacar, a clever soldier of fortune, to take by force what had been denied them. In the war which followed, Orestes was slain, the little emperor made a prisoner, and compelled to come before the senate to resign his office. At the command

Two Emperors rule, 395.

of Odovacar the senate wrote a letter to Zeno, the emperor at Constantinople, telling him what had taken place, and adding that, in their judgment, one emperor was able to rule the whole empire. They further asked him to appoint Odovacar governor of the province of Italy. After some delay, Zeno granted their request, and thus, in the year 476, the whole empire was again nominally under one emperor, whose seat was permanently fixed at Constantinople. But as a matter of fact, the authority of the emperor was no longer felt in many parts of the west. Some of the fairest provinces of the empire were occupied by Germans who had invaded the empire and settled on the soil, establishing a rude government of their own over the provincials.

Zeno sole Emperor, 476 A.D.

The Germans, who had once lived east of the Rhine and along the Baltic, had gradually moved west and south, threatening the Rhine and Danube frontiers. During the second and third centuries they made frequent marauding excursions into the empire. Asia Minor, the whole Balkan peninsula, and the eastern part of Gaul suffered much at their hands. In 376 the invading army of the Huns attacked the West Goths, who, to save themselves, hastily crossed the Danube, a hundred thousand in number, and begged the emperor to give them lands. The emperor settled them on lands south of the Danube, made them *fœderati* (allies), and promised them yearly a gift of grain. They retained their arms, gave hostages to keep the peace, and agreed to furnish a contingent of troops for the Roman army. The Roman officials, however, soon began to oppress and defraud them, and in 378 they revolted and plundered the country. The emperor, Valens, hastened with his army to meet them, but was slain in battle near Adrianople (378). Theodosius the Great adopted a wise policy of conciliation toward them, and after some years succeeded in persuading them to return to the lands which had formerly been given them. In 395 the spirit of restlessness again took possession of them, and under the leadership of their newly-elected king, Alaric, they ravaged

The Germans.

The West Goths enter the Empire, 376.

the Balkan peninsula. After some years of residence in Illyria and Noricum, they made a successful invasion of Italy (408), took and sacked Rome (410), and spread themselves over the country, carrying desolation wherever they went. In the expectation of crossing over to Africa the next spring, Alaric pitched his camp near Cosenza, where he soon fell a prey to Italian fever. His brother-in-law, Athaulf, who was elected to succeed him, made peace with the emperor and received lands for his people in Gaul and Spain. After some years of fighting, Athaulf was able to establish his people on the lands ceded him. They were eventually driven out of Gaul, but held Spain till 711, when the Mohammedans conquered them and put an end to their kingdom.

Sack of Rome, 410.

Death of Alaric, 410.

The kingdom of the West Goths.

This invasion of the empire by the West Goths was soon followed by many others. The defence on the frontier seemed suddenly to fail, thus exposing the empire to the inroads of the barbarians. In the year 404 Ratger, who had become the leader of one division of the East Goths, led about 200,000 of them from Pannonia into Italy. After ravaging the northern provinces he was slain by the emperor's forces and his army completely destroyed.

Invasion of Ratger, 404.

A large army of Vandals and Suevi crossed the middle Rhine during the winter of 406-7, and proceeded slowly through Gaul, devastating the country as they went. Encountering the West Goths in southern Gaul they were driven by them over the Pyrenees. The Suevi were gradually forced into north-western Spain, where they established an obscure kingdom, which was eventually conquered and annexed by the West Goths (585).

Vandals and Suevi, 406.

The Vandals, after having been driven by the West Goths into southern Spain, crossed over into Africa, 80,000 strong, and took possession of the rich provinces there. Their first king, Geiseric, had a large amount of barbarian cunning and shrewdness, but was cruel and treacherous. By oppressing and persecuting the orthodox provincials he made himself feared and hated

The kingdom of the Vandals, 429–534.

He extended his power by conquering the islands of the western Mediterranean, and, in 455, he sacked Rome itself. His people, however, were weakened by the climate and by their excesses, and in the next century were easily overcome by the emperor's troops (533-34).

The Burgundians, 443–534.

The Burgundians left their home between the Oder and the Vistula about the middle of the third century, and in a few years we find them on the Rhine and the Main. The territory about Worms was granted them in 413. The scene of many parts of the Nibelungen Lied, which contains the Burgundian traditions of that period, is laid in and about Worms. After various fortunes the emperor's officer, Aetius, in 443, transferred them to the territory south of the Lake of Geneva, from which they extended their power, till, in 473, they had reached the Mediterranean. But they were not able to resist the encroachments of the Franks, their powerful neighbours on the north, by whom they were conquered and absorbed (534).

The Alamanni, 496.

A federation of tribes, known as the Alamanni, took possession of the Black Forest, southern Germany, and northern Switzerland, but, like the Burgundians, their independence, also, was cut short by the Franks (496).

Although racked by these German invaders, Europe was now called to suffer from a still more barbarous foe, the Huns. After taking possession of south-eastern Europe in the last quarter of the fourth century, the course of the Huns to the west was temporarily checked. They seem not to have remained long united, but to have broken up into groups, some of which went into the service of the empire. After awhile a new leader appeared in the person of Rugilas, who did much to bring them together again. At his death (435) he was succeeded by two nephews, Bleda and Attila, who ruled jointly till about 444, when Attila caused Bleda to be assassinated. By diplomatic means, as well as by force, Attila united all the peoples, of whatever race, between the Volga and the Rhine. With an army com-

Attila and the Huns.

posed largely of Huns and Germans, he more than once ravaged the eastern empire, even crossing into Asia, carrying the war into Armenia, Syria, the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and threatening Persia. Constantinople was once in danger from him, and was compelled to pay him a heavy ransom. At length, in 450, he turned his attention to the west. With an immense army he crossed the Rhine, ravaged northern Gaul, and was moving towards the south when his march was stopped by the defence of Orleans. Aetius, the commander of the imperial army in the west, gathered together all the forces possible and went to assist the city. Attila withdrew to the "Catalaunian Fields" (the exact location of which is unknown), where he was defeated (451) in a great battle. He retreated to his capital in Pannonia, a village near the modern Tokai, on the Theiss river. The next summer he invaded and ravaged northern Italy, but was compelled to retreat, because of the fever which broke out in his army, and the approach of the army under Aetius. Luckily for Europe he died in 453.

The Catalaunian Fields, 451.

Though a barbarian, Attila was by no means a savage. He practised the arts of diplomacy, often sent and received embassies, and respected the international laws and customs which then existed. His residence presented a strong mixture of barbarism and luxury. His small wooden houses were filled with the rich plunder carried off in his many invasions of Roman territory. He despised Rome and her civilization, and hoped to erect an empire of his own on her ruins. He had among his following several Greeks, through whose written accounts of him, his conquests, and his kingdom, he hoped to become immortal. At his death his empire fell rapidly to pieces. His son, Ella, attempted to quell the revolting tribes, but lost his life in battle (454). All the German and Slavic peoples which had obeyed Attila and added to his strength now became independent, and were once more able to trouble the empire.

Character of Attila.

Italy, as we have seen, fell, in 476, into the hands of Odo-

vacar, who had at his back a large army composed principally of Germans. Theoretically he was subject to the emperor, but practically he was independent. He gave Italy an excellent government, restoring peace and enforcing the laws. Under his rule prosperity was rapidly returning, and Italy was beginning to recover from the long period of misrule and violence. In 487 Odovacar attacked the Rugians in Pannonia and defeated them, but their prince fled to the East Goths and begged for their protection. The East Goths, under their king, Theodoric, were living along the middle Danube. Since the emperor was not able to control them, they kept the peace or ravaged the country as it pleased them. Theodoric embraced the opportunity to invade Italy with his whole people, and the emperor, glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbours, gave his consent. It was immaterial to the emperor which of the two barbarians should rule Italy, since he was not able to rule it himself. In 489 Theodoric entered Italy and, after four years of fighting, made peace with Odovacar, agreeing to rule Italy jointly with him. Nevertheless, during the celebration of the peace thus concluded, Theodoric had Odovacar basely murdered (493). Theodoric, now without a rival, took possession of the country, assigned land to his people, and established them in fixed residence. He ruled Italy as king of the East Goths, making use of the machinery of government which he found already in existence there, and filling the offices with Romans. He developed an activity of the widest range. He restored the aqueducts and walls of many cities, repaired the roads, drained marshes, reopened mines, cared for public buildings, promoted agriculture, established markets, preserved the peace, administered justice strictly, and enforced the laws. By inter-marriages and treaties he tried to maintain peace between all the neighbouring German kingdoms, that they might not mutually destroy each other. He knew that if the Germans were weakened by wars among themselves the emperors would easily conquer them. At his death (526) the

The rule of Odovacar, 476–493.

The East Goths invade Italy, 489.

The reign of Theodoric, 493–526.

trouble which arose about the succession led to the invasion of Italy by the emperor, Justinian. After nearly twenty years of war, the armies of the emperor were successful, the kingdom of the East Goths was destroyed, and Italy again became a province of the empire.

The end of the kingdom of the East Goths, 553.

Beyond the frontier there were still several German tribes which were only beginning to come into contact with the empire. Such were the Bavarians, the Lombards, the Thuringians, while the Saxons, the Angles, the Jutes, had no knowledge of the empire. The Franks, composed of many tribes, and settled along the lower Rhine, gradually spread through northern Gaul. Their history is reserved for a subsequent chapter. The most remote province in the west, Britannia, was also invaded by Germans from the main-land, who slowly wrested the country from its inhabitants. This invasion began about 449, the Jutes first taking possession of Kent. Other settlements were soon made which grew into little kingdoms, such as Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia. These kingdoms fought first against the Keltic inhabitants, and then against each other. The final struggle, between Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, resulted in favour of Wessex. Ecgberht, king of Wessex (802-39), made himself the overlord of all England.

Other German tribes.

Germans settle in Britain, 449.

Supremacy of Wessex, 802–39.

These Anglo-Saxons established in Britain a pure German state. The Roman civilization was gone; there was nothing to prevent their free development along the lines peculiar to themselves. Their Anglo-Saxon dialect developed into a literary language almost uninfluenced by Latin. It was spoken everywhere. As early as 680 Cædmon had sung the "Song of Creation" in his mother-tongue, and parts, at least, of the heathen poem "Beowulf" were already in existence. The laws of the people, written down in Anglo-Saxon, rather than in Latin, as were the laws of all the Germanic kingdoms on the continent, show

England remains German.

that the government, legal ideas, and customs, which the people had had on the continent were not influenced by Rome and her civilization. As a result England has now the purest Germanic law of any country in existence—purer than in Germany itself, where, owing to the later connection between that country and the empire, Roman law prevailed over the Germanic.

The Anglo-Saxons parcelled out their lands to groups probably of about a hundred warriors. The land which such a group received was then divided among its members and they settled in villages. Their residences were called after the name of the family, with the addition of "-ham" or "-tun" (English, "home" and "town"; German, "Heim" and "Zaun"). "Ham" had the meaning of "dwelling," and "tun" signified the wall or fence which enclosed the village or place of defence. Probably all the free-men of the hundred met and determined all questions that concerned the welfare of the hundred. A still higher court, composed of all the freemen of the whole tribe, was assembled whenever questions that concerned the whole tribe were to be decided or disputes between the hundreds were to be settled. It is probable that it was early found to be impracticable to get all the freemen together as often as was desirable, and this led to the introduction of a kind of representation. A small number of men were probably sent from each township to the *hundredmoot*, and the same number sent from each hundred to the *folkmoot*. The same social distinctions were perpetuated as had existed among them on the continent. There were three classes: the noblemen or *ealdormen*, the freemen or *ceorls*, and the slaves. The *comitatus* was, of course, quickly modified, the followers of a leader being called *thanes* as soon as they got lands and left the immediate presence of their leaders.

"Ham" and "tun."

Democratic government.

The Christianization of Ireland is veiled in obscurity, but it seems probable that St Patrick (died in 465 or 493) was the first missionary who met with very much success there. Under him the whole island became Christian, though it was in a low state of civilization, and in

Christianity in Ireland.

the next centuries won so great a reputation for its piety that it was called "The Isle of Saints." The Church of Ireland was independent of Rome, and differed in some respects from the Church on the continent. The type of Christianity established there was thoroughly ascetic and monastic. The ascetic zeal of the Irish led them to try to convert the world to their form of Christianity. It was not so much what is now called the "missionary spirit," as the desire to undergo hardships of all kinds. To travel in foreign lands as a missionary (*peregrinare pro Christo*) was, because of its difficulties, a meritorious work. In accordance with their ascetic ideas, they settled not in the cities but in the wilds. Their first settlements were in Scotland. In 563 St Columba (or St Columbcille) sailed with twelve fellow-monks to Scotland, where the Island of Iona was given them, from which, occasionally re-enforced by other monks from Ireland, they carried on their work on the main-land. They laboured not only in Scotland, but also among the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and on the continent. Lindisfarne, on the east coast of England, was occupied by them, and for a long time was a centre of missionary activity among the Angles.

Irish Missionaries.

On his accession Oswald (634-42), king of Northumbria, having once been sheltered in the monastery of Iona, sent to its abbot for missionaries. St Aidan, and after him, St Cuthbert, met with great success, and it seemed for some time that the Church of Ireland would extend itself over the whole of Great Britain. But there was another stream of missionary activity beginning to move to the west which had its source in Rome. In 596, Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, sent a monk, Augustine, with about thirty companions, to Kent. Aethelberht, king of Kent, had recently married Bertha, an orthodox Frankish princess, who now exerted all her influence in favour of the missionaries, and within a year the king and many of his nobles accepted Christianity and were baptized.

Orthodox missionaries among the Anglo-Saxons.

From Kent the orthodox form spread slowly to the north, constantly nearing the boundaries of the Irish faith. Finally

they met face to face in Northumbria. A bitter struggle arose; the king, who was in doubt, called a council at Whitby (664) to listen to the arguments of both parties. Wilfrid, a priest, spoke for the Roman Church, while Colman defended the claims of the Irish missionaries. Colman continually quoted St Columba, but Wilfrid declared that St Peter was of greater authority because he was the prince of the apostles and because Jesus had said to him, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." When Wilfrid spoke these words the king became very much interested; he had apparently never heard them before. He asked Colman whether they had really been said to St Peter, and Colman admitted that they had. The king then asked whether similar authority had been given to St Columba, and Colman confessed that it had not. At this the king replied, "This is a doorkeeper whom I am unwilling to offend, lest, when I come to the gates of heaven, if he, who is admitted to have the keys, is opposed to me, there may be none to open to me." Thus the Roman Church won the day and the Irish missionaries were compelled to withdraw from England. The decision brought England into close connection with the continent, especially with the bishop of Rome, assured the influence of Rome, and so affected all the future of English history. Through the Church, Roman legal ideas, usages, and modes of thought, in short, the remains of Rome's civilization, were gradually imported, greatly to her advantage, into England.

England chooses the Roman Catholic Church, 664.

Bede, History of the English III., 25.

Theodore of Tarsus, a learned Greek, came to England as archbishop of Canterbury (669-90), and by virtue of his high position organized the English Church around Canterbury as the centre and head. He divided all the territory into bishoprics, and introduced the parish system. The whole Church of England was bound to the bishop of Rome. The church organization did not follow the boundaries of the kingdoms, but all were impressed with the fact that the Church

was one, and could recognize no political or national lines. The idea of the unity of the Church had great influence on the political ideas, and helped prepare the minds of the people for the idea of the political unity of the whole country. *One Church, one kingdom.*

The learning of the monks of England was considerable. While Greek was utterly unknown in the west of Europe, it was mastered by some of the pupils of Theodore. The monasteries contained many monks who were excellent scholars. Most famous of all was Bede, known as the Venerable Bede (673-735), a monk of Jarrow. He had for his pupils the six hundred monks of that monastery, besides the many strangers who came to hear him. He gradually mastered all the learning of his day, and left at his death forty-five volumes of his writings, the most important of which are "The Ecclesiastical History of the English," and his translation of the gospel of John into English. His writings were widely known and used throughout Europe. He reckoned all dates from the birth of Christ, and through his works the use of the Christian chronology became common in Europe. Owing to the large number of monasteries and monks in Northumbria, that part of England was far in advance of the south in civilization. *Monasticism and learning. Bede.*

Of all the kingdoms whose beginnings we have thus far traced, only two, those of the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, were to survive the dangers which beset their existence and to become powerful states; all the others lost their political independence, and were either destroyed or absorbed by the peoples among whom they had settled.

From the foregoing account it is apparent that, about 500 A.D., the western part of the empire was held by barbarians whose rulers were practically independent of the emperor. The Germans always demanded land on which they might settle and, in general, it may be said that they took one-third of the soil of the conquered province, distributing it among themselves. They brought with them their peculiar customs *See Map No. 2.* *The Germans demand lands*

and laws, which were eventually reduced to writing and have been preserved for us. The German demanded to be tried and judged by the laws of his own tribe. He regarded his tribal law as a personal possession which he carried with him wherever he went. This conception of law, known as personal, was opposed to the Roman, which was territorial.

All the Germans, except the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, had been converted to Christianity before they settled in the empire. But, unfortunately for them, their faith was now regarded as heretical, being known as Arianism. This was a form of Unitarianism. The provincials among whom they settled hated them, both as foreign conquerors and as heretics. There could, therefore, be little free intercourse between the two peoples.

Arianism among the Germans.

CHAPTER II

THE REACTION OF THE EMPIRE AGAINST THE GERMANS

LITERATURE.—Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*
Bury, *Later Roman Empire.*
Capes, *University Life in Ancient Athens.*
Gibbon, *Roman Empire.*
Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages.*
Oman, *The Dark Ages*, 476-918.

ALTHOUGH there was more or less friendly intercourse between the various Germanic kingdoms and the court of Constantinople, the situation was far from pleasing to the emperor. The barbarians had invaded his territory; they were unwelcome guests whom he must entertain because he did not have the power to drive them out. Of this weakness they took advantage, and ruled with such independence that their lands were practically cut off from the empire. Such a loss of territory was regarded as a great disgrace, which could be removed only by the reconquest of the lost provinces. In an absolute government everything depends on the ability of the monarch. The anarchy and violence of the fourth and fifth centuries were possible because of the weak emperors and the internal feuds and dissensions. The weak rulers of these centuries were followed by a succession of able men, chief of whom was Justinian. In him the reaction against the Germans reached its highest point. Under Zeno (474–91), Anastasius I. (491–518), and Justin I. (518–27), the empire slowly gathered strength, and the way was prepared for the brilliant activity of Justinian (527–65). The long period of helplessness and weakness was followed by a great revival of strength, in which the palmy days of the empire seemed to

The Germans were invaders.

return. The imperial arms were again victorious, and large parts of the lost territory were reconquered and again united to the empire.

Justinian, 527-65.

Justinian's claim to the title Great rests on his versatility and cleverness. His interests were of the widest range. He was interested in building and architecture, in law and theology, in commerce and manufactures, in war, diplomacy, and the art of governing. He was able to select men of ability to fill the highest positions and to work for him; he was inflexible in will and persisted with the greatest determination in the policy which he had once adopted.

Codification of Roman law.

His attention was called to the condition of the laws. They had never yet been collected and codified. There were many inconsistencies and contradictions among them; consequently the administration of justice was difficult. Justinian appointed a commission with Tribonian at its head, to collect, harmonize, and arrange the laws of the empire. This was done in such a way that all earlier collections were made useless, and hence, the most of them were soon destroyed. The laws themselves were gathered into one collection which has ever since been called the Codex of Justinian. Tribonian seems to have used the utmost freedom in treating the text of the laws. Many changes were made in order to reduce them to harmony. Besides the laws, the opinions, explanations, and decisions of famous judges and lawyers were collected. As in the practice of law to-day, much regard was had for precedent and decisions in similar cases, and these were brought together from all quarters in a collection called the Pandects. For the use of the law-students, a treatise on the general principles of Roman law was prepared, which was called the Institutes. Justinian himself carefully kept the laws which he promulgated, and afterward published them under the title of "Novellæ."

Immense sums of money were necessary to carry on the work which Justinian planned. The churches he built, the most famous of which is St Sophia; the walls and numerous

forts with which he sought to protect the empire; the fraud practised in the administration of the army and in the collection of the taxes; Justinian's lavish personal expenditures and the extravagance of the court, all so increased the taxes that the financial ruin of the people was only a question of time. *Taxation.*

Under Justinian Byzantine art took on its final form. A fixed style of church architecture was developed, the principal characteristics of which are the cupola and the round arch. The churches were decorated with mosaics and paintings. In painting, also, certain types were accepted and forms established which became orthodox, and from which the Church would suffer no variation. These types and forms therefore existed for centuries without any change. In fact they are still observed and practised in the religious art of Russia and Greece. *Byzantine art.*

Justinian regarded himself as the final authority in all ecclesiastical matters, both in doctrine and in polity. He himself was orthodox, and believed that it was the duty of the state to destroy heresy. Heretics were persecuted and deprived of the rights of citizenship. He treated the bishops of Rome as his officials. When they displeased him, he ordered them to come to Constantinople, and, as it seemed best to him, he reprimanded, imprisoned, and even deposed and exiled them. What may be called "home mission work" was carried on by the clergy at the command of Justinian. There were still large numbers of pagans in the empire. Nearly all the peasants were pagan, and even in Constantinople there were many heathen to be found. These were sought out and forced to accept Christianity or suffer persecution. *Justinian and the Church.*

The greatest university of the world was, in this period, at Athens. Its professors were wholly pagan. So great was its fame, however, that even the Christian youth were sent there to be educated. Some of the greatest of the Church fathers were trained in that university. In 529 Justinian closed the schools of Athens, and *The university at Athens.*

forbade heathen philosophers to teach. They were practically exiled. Many of them fled to Persia, where they hoped to find the fullest liberty. In this they were disappointed, and after enduring persecutions there, they returned to the west.

The worst foes of the emperor were the people of Constantinople, who, because of their turbulence, kept him constantly in fear of a rebellion, and rendered it impossible for him to give his undivided attention to the affairs of state. There were two great factions in the capital, each of which had its partisans throughout the empire. These factions were divided on all questions, both political and religious. Their most common place of meeting was the circus, where each party railed at the other and endeavoured to win the favour and the patronage of the emperor. From the colours of the charioteers in the races the factions were known as the "Greens" and the "Blues." The Blues were orthodox and devoted to the house of Justinian, but the Greens was heterodox and secretly attached to the family of Anastasius.

Factions in Constantinople.

Probably religious differences were the cause of the deepest hatred and at the bottom of all the trouble. During the long period while Christianity was fusing with the philosophy of the Greeks, and while the dogmas of the Church were being developed in accordance therewith (that is, during the first eight centuries, although the highest activity was reached from the third to the sixth century), the Greek intellectual world was in a state of the greatest fermentation and discussion. Even the humblest would have his say about the highest questions, and the greengrocer, the barber, and the cobbler were more interested in discussing metaphysical questions with their customers than in serving them.[1] The questions at issue were purely speculative, in regard to the person of Jesus and his relation to God. Arianism declared that Jesus was not God, and had

Discussion of theological questions.

[1] Gibbon, chap. xxvii., quotes from Jortin a paraphrase of a passage in Gregory of Nyssa's Sermon on the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

not existed eternally, but had been created. He occupied, however, a much higher place than man. Orthodoxy was content with no other form of statement than one which would declare that Jesus was "the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." Furthermore, if Jesus was God, how was he at the same time man? What kind of body did he have? Did he have two natures, the divine and the human? two wills: divine and human? How were these united? What was the relation between them? These and similar questions were discussed, not only in the Church councils, but at the court, in the streets, in the places of business, and, indeed, wherever people came together. Their discussion and study absorbed the attention of the best talent of the day. Still worse, they were fused with politics, and every political question was at the same time a religious one. It was inevitable that such a combination should add to the mutual hatred, intrigue, and treachery. Though Justinian's ambition made it impossible for him to submit tamely to the tyranny of these factions, for some years he found no means of overcoming them, and was compelled to suffer many indignities at their hands. In 532, however, in consequence of a riot, Justinian seized some of the leaders of both factions and ordered them to be put to death. But two of them were rescued by the people, and both parties, choosing Hypatius emperor, united and attacked Justinian. While Justinian was holding council with his advisers and planning to escape, Theodora, his wife, broke in upon them and declared that, although a woman, she had a right to be heard, since her interests were at stake. All must submit to death, but not to exile, dishonour, and the loss of the imperial dignity. She did not wish to live if she could not retain her rank as empress. If the emperor wished, he might flee, he had gold which he could take with him, the sea was at hand, and ships were ready. But she preferred to remain and die, since the imperial throne would be a glorious tomb. At her words,

The Nicene Creed, Schaff, III. 667 ff.

Theology and politics.

See Bury, Vol. I., pp. 333 ff.

Justinian regained his courage and sent the imperial guard under Belisarius to attack the rioters, who had taken possession of the circus. The mob were taken off their guard; Belisarius put thousands to death, among them all the leaders. The power of the factions was thus broken. The city was now helpless in the emperor's hands, and he was consequently free to turn his attention to the larger policy on which he had already set his heart.

The factions destroyed.

This policy was to recover all the lost provinces and restore the empire in all its extent. This necessitated the destruction of the German kingdoms, and Justinian turned his attention to the west. His conquest of the Vandals in Africa and of the East Goths in Italy has already been mentioned. He also attacked the West Goths in Spain (551), but was successful only in gaining a few places on the coast. By his intrigues, the German tribes north of the Danube, such as the Lombards, Gepidæ, and Heruli, were kept at war with each other. But Justinian's anti-German policy was destined to fail because he was distracted from it by the wars which he was compelled to wage with the Persians, the Slavs, the Avars, and the Bulgarians. Persia, under its great king, Chosroes I. (531-79), was at the height of its power, and Justinian was not able to cope successfully with this hereditary foe. His victory over the East Goths was delayed more than once, because he was compelled to use all his forces in the east; but in spite of his exertions he was defeated by the Persians, compelled to pay tribute, and to surrender some of his territory in the east. The Slavs also interfered with Justinian's plans. As the Germans deserted the territory south of the Baltic, the Slavs followed them and took possession of all the land as far west as the Elbe. They followed hard upon the heels of the withdrawing Bavarians, occupying Bohemia, Moravia, and many parts of modern Austria. More than once they crossed the Danube, ravaged the provinces, and even threatened Constantinople. They pressed into the Balkan peninsula and made settlements,

The Emperor's anti-German policy.

Unsuccessful in his plans.

Persia.

The Slavs.

which have grown into the modern Bosnia, Dalmatia, Servia, and other Slavic principalities, now subject either to Turkey or Austria. A little later they colonized Greece. The Peloponnesus was so completely occupied by them that it came to be called Slavonia.

The Bulgarians.

The Bulgarians were originally a Ural-Altaic people, but they came into Europe, settled among some Slavic tribes, and were absorbed by them. Nothing was left but their name, which came to be applied to the Slavs with whom they had fused. They lost their language, customs, and nationality, and became thoroughly Slavic. Year after year this mixed people invaded the empire and devastated many of its fairest districts. It was not till about 680 that they settled in the territory which they now occupy.

The Avars.

In 558 the Avars (Huns) invaded the empire from the east. After doing much damage they were established by Karl the Great on the middle Danube, and were gradually swallowed up by the Slavs.

New German tribes.

Luckily at the very time of Justinian's opposition to the Germans, the Germanic element in the empire was strengthened by the formation of the great tribe of the Bavarians, the settlement of the Lombards in Italy, and the growth of the Franks (which latter will be described in the succeeding chapter).

Some German tribes known as the Marcomanni had at one time occupied Bohemia (Bajahemum), from which they received the name Bavarians (Bajavarii, men of Bavaria). Shortly after 487 they left Bohemia and took possession of the territory which now bears their name, and from which they were never afterward removed.

After various wanderings, the Lombards had settled in Pannonia. They had become allies of the empire, and, at the instigation of Justinian, had made war on the Heruli, and then on the Gepidæ. Justinian had feared them, but did not live to see their invasion. After his successful completion of the war with the East Goths, Narses had been made ex-arch of Italy, with his residence at Ravenna. To

avenge his ill-treatment at the hands of Justin II., the successor of Justinian, he is said to have invited the Lombards to invade Italy, promising not to interfere with them. They came under their king Alboin (568), bringing fragments of other tribes with them. They occupied northern Italy, and Pavia became their capital. They then moved to the south, and, after overrunning a large part of Italy, established the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto. Alboin was soon murdered, and a leader named Cleph was made king. Cleph ruled less than a year, meeting with the same fate as his predecessor. For about ten years the Lombards, broken up into bands and groups, each under a duke,[1] existed without a king. The idea of kingship was not yet thoroughly developed among them, and they felt that a king was not necessary to their existence. They consequently reverted to the forms of government which they had had before entering the empire. It is said that there were thirty-five such dukes reigning among them at one time. They were surrounded by enemies, and their divided condition was a cause of great weakness. About 580 they became convinced that they needed a king and elected Authari; but the dukes had already become too powerful, and Authari was never completely master. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were only nominally subject to him. The territory thus wrested from the empire was firmly held, but the Lombards could not conquer all Italy. Ravenna, the extreme southern part, and the duchy of Rome[1] still remained in the hands of the emperor. Unlike all the other Germans, many of the Lombards settled in the cities and towns. Their urban residence undoubtedly had much to do with the early development of the Italian cities, the medieval grandeur of which was due, in part at least, to the German blood of their citizens.

The Lombards in Italy, 568–774.

[1] In later Roman times the Dux acted as civil governor of the Roman territory in Italy under the ex-arch of Ravenna.

CHAPTER III

THE FRANKS, 481–814

LITERATURE.—Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*
Henderson, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages.*
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Kitchin, *History of France.*
Menzel, *History of Germany*, Vol. I. 3 Vols.
Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*
Church, *The Beginnings of the Middle Ages.*
Emerton, *Introduction to Study of the Middle Ages.*
Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Ages.*
Guizot, *The History of Civilization.*
Hodgkin, *Charles the Great.*
Davis, *Charlemagne.*
Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great.*
Mombert, *Charles the Great.*
Wells, *Age of Charlemagne.*
Fisher, *Medieval Empire.*
West, *Alcuin.*

IN 481 Chlodwig became king of a small tribe of Salian Franks, who had settled near the Scheldt and the Meuse. By force or fraud he overcame, one after another, all the petty kings about him, and slowly gathered the many Frankish tribes under his sceptre. His first important victory was gained over Syagrius, a Roman official, who was then governing a large district between the Loire and the Seine. Chlodwig took possession of the territory thus conquered and so extended his power to the Loire (486). In 496 he conquered the Alamanni, and in consequence of his victory accepted the orthodox form of Christianity and was baptized with a large number of his people. The bishop of Rheims, who performed the rite, addressed him as a second Constantine, and told him it was his duty to protect, defend, and extend the Church. This

Consolidation of the Franks by Chlodwig.

486 A.D.

Conquest of the Alamanni, 496.

conversion of Chlodwig and the Franks to the orthodox faith was the foundation and beginning of the famous alliance between the bishops of Rome and the Frankish kings, which, with interruptions, lasted for centuries, and profoundly modified the course of events.

Chlodwig continued his conquests by depriving the West Goths of nearly all their territory north of the Pyrenees. When he died, in 511, he divided his kingdom among his four sons, who, in spite of frequent civil wars, were able to extend their boundaries. In 531 Thuringia was acquired; in 534 Burgundy was added to their possessions; and in 555 Bavaria was reduced to subjection. All this territory was united under Chlothar (558-61), only to be again divided among his four sons at his death; but neither was this division permanent. The Franks in the west were slowly yielding to Roman influences, and were becoming separated from the Franks in the east, who still remained more thoroughly German and warlike. The fact that the two districts were under different kings, who were for many years hostile to each other, helped to increase and perpetuate the differences between them, so that they received different names and were regarded as different kingdoms. The eastern part was called Austrasia, and the western Neustria. During the last half of the sixth century these two kingdoms were disturbed by civil wars, the leading spirits in which were the rival queens Fredegonda and Brunhilda.

The Frankish kingdom divided.

Frankish conquests.

Austrasia and Neustria.

Since the days of Chlodwig an important office had been developed at the court of the Frankish kings. As the king grew in power and importance, his household increased accordingly. Over this household he placed a chief servant, called *major domus*, or mayor of the palace, who was responsible for its management. This office, at first servile, soon took on a political character. The *major domus* always had the ear of the king; all access to the king was through him; his influence therefore became great. Gradually he became the king's intimate adviser, and

The major-domus.

the original character of his office disappeared. It must be noted, too, that there was a *major domus* in each kingdom. The nobles early tried to control the appointment of the *major domus*, unsuccessfully, however, till a mere child succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, when the nobles got possession of the boy and appointed one of their own number *major domus* and regent. Since the king was a child, the *major domus* had every opportunity to increase his own power, and the king was never again his own master.

The nobility obtains control of the office.

Dagobert, who was king over all the Franks (628-38), was the last to enjoy any great amount of independent authority. After him there came the "do-nothing kings," who had no share in the government and were kept only as figure-heads. The *major domus* exercised royal authority without having the royal name. At the death of Dagobert the office of *major domus* in Austrasia became hereditary in the family of Pippin the Elder. This Pippin was the lord of two estates, known as Landen and Heristhal. Arnulf, bishop of Metz, was married, as were many of the clergy of that day, and his son Ansegisil married the daughter of Pippin. From this union sprang the line known (from their most splendid representative, Karl the Great) as the Karlings. Pippin passed his office of *major domus* on to his son Grimoald, who lost his life in an attempt to usurp the title of king for his son. The people were still too much attached to their royal house, and the nobles were too jealous of Grimoald, to permit this change.

Dagobert.

Union of the families of Pippin and Arnulf.

Pippin the Younger, or Pippin of Heristhal, as he is called, seized the office of *major domus* and practically ruled Austrasia. After a long war he made himself master of Neustria also (687-714), thus ruling over the whole Frankland. He began a policy which was to be followed by his successors and to bear its legitimate fruit in the kingdom of Karl the Great. He strove to consolidate his vast territories; to bring them under one central government; to render this government as nearly

Pippin of Heristhal major-domus (687-714).

absolute as possible, and to make the people of his kingdom homogeneous. His son, Karl Martel, who succeeded him (714-41), continued this work. His reign was full of wars, because, whenever an opportunity was given, some part of the kingdom revolted. One after another, the Frisians, the Neustrians, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Alamanni, and the people of Aquitaine rebelled, only to be put down by arms. The Mohammedans invaded Frankland from Spain (720), but Karl Martel met them at Tours and broke their powers so completely (732) that they were never able to establish themselves north of the Pyrenees.

Karl Martel (714-41).

The battle of Tours (732).

Before Karl Martel died he divided the power between his two sons, Karlman and Pippin. The brothers ruled together harmoniously till Karlman resigned and went into a monastery, leaving Pippin sole *major domus*. Deeming that the time was now ripe, Pippin laid his plans for obtaining the royal title. He sent an embassy to Rome to ask pope Zacharias who should be king: the one who had the title without the power, or the one who had the power without the title. The pope, who was looking abroad for an ally, replied that it seemed to him that the one who had the power should also be king; and acting on this, Pippin called an assembly of his nobles at Soissons (751), deposed the last phantom king of the Merovingian line of Frankish kings founded by Chlodwig, and was himself elected and anointed king.

Pippin becomes king (751).

Pippin's invasions of Lombardy and his service to the oppressed papacy will be described later. Before his death (768) he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Karlman and Karl—bitter enemies—and civil war was averted only by the death of Karlman (771).

Karl the Great (768-814).

The quarrel between the pope and the Lombards broke out again, and as Karl had a private grudge against the latter, he was easily persuaded to interfere on behalf of the pope. He invaded Lombardy, conquered its king, Desiderius, and made himself king of the Lombards, and renewed his father's gift to the pope. The

Karl conquers the Lombards.

conquest of the Lombards was of great importance because it brought Karl into close relations with Italy and the papacy.

Equally important for other reasons was the subjugation of the Saxons. For more than thirty years (772-804) Karl was engaged in fighting them. Year after year he overran their territory and received their submission and their promise to accept Christianity; but as soon as he withdrew his army they would revolt, destroy the churches, slay the Christian priests, and revert to heathenism. But Karl eventually wore them out, and they submitted to his rule. He divided the land into bishoprics and established bishops at Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Osnabrück, and Halberstadt. These places quickly grew into towns and became centres of life and civilization, connected by roads made to facilitate travel and trade.

The Saxon wars.

Karl's reign was one long campaign. Revolts in Bavaria called him into that duchy, and in 787 he removed its duke and placed it under counts of his own appointment.[1] It required several campaigns to destroy the kingdom of the Avars on the middle Danube. The Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder were subjugated by Karl, and Bohemia was compelled to pay him tribute. Toward the end of his reign the Norsemen troubled the northern frontier. The Mohammedans in Spain Karl drove beyond the Ebro, and his fleets contended with the naval forces of the Mohammedans on the Mediterranean Sea for the possession of Sardinia, Corsica, and other islands. In the south of Italy his troops even came into conflict with the army of the Greek emperor, but there was little fighting between them. Fortunate in all his wars, Karl succeeded in extending his boundaries in all directions. It was this series of splendid conquests which laid the foundations for the renewal of the empire and the imperial title in the west.

Karl's other conquests.

[1] The Count (Comes) represented the Frankish element in the cities. He was both a military and civil official. Under the Merovingians and Carolingians the kingdom was divided into countships. Several of these were often united under a single official of higher rank—a Dux. See p. 38 *note.*

The west, as we have seen, had for a long time been practically separated from the empire. Yet the idea still prevailed that there must be an empire; that it was necessary to the existing order of things; that without an empire the world could not stand, and that, in fact, the west was still a part of the empire. The Church had striven to become universal, and by insisting on ecclesiastical unity had helped keep alive the idea of political unity. The bishops of Rome had recognised the emperor at Constantinople as their lord; but during the eighth century a quarrel had arisen, and the popes had thrown off their allegiance and were looking for a protector elsewhere. The great power of the Frankish kingdom and its close alliance with the bishops of Rome were the conditions which rendered the revival of the empire in the west possible.

The idea of a world empire.

There was in Rome a party which was labouring for the independence of Rome and the revival of her ancient power. They were beginning to dream the dreams which troubled the Middle Age so much, dreams about restoring the Rome of the ancient republic, and making her once more the head of the world. In their way, however, was the pope, who was trying to govern Rome in a more or less autocratic manner. In 798 this party organized a revolt, maltreated Leo III., preferred charges of perjury and adultery against him, and drove him from Rome. He fled to Karl the Great and begged to be restored. Karl sent him back to Rome under the protection of his officials, and himself followed later. After Leo took an oath that he was innocent of the crimes with which he was charged, Karl reinstated him in his office. Then, on Christmas Day, 800, while Karl was kneeling in the church of St Peter at Rome, the pope, without a word of warning, placed the imperial crown on his head and did him reverence; and all the people present shouted and hailed him emperor. Karl was taken by surprise. He was indeed striving to obtain the crown, but he wished to get it in a legitimate way, either by marrying Irene, empress in the east, or by

The republican party in Rome.

Coronation of Karl (800).

getting her to recognize him as her colleague and emperor in the west. He was, in fact, turning both plans over in his mind when his coronation by the pope forestalled him and cut across his plans, and, worst of all, made him in his own eyes a usurper. He knew that the pope had no legal right to give him the crown. It was an act of open rebellion against the emperor at Constantinople, although one for which the pope thought he had good and sufficient grounds. The emperors had for many years not done their duty to the western Church, and especially to the popes. By force of circumstances the emperor was limited in his activities almost wholly to the east, while the pope's interests and authority were limited to the west. Whenever the emperor had interfered in the west, it had generally been to the disadvantage of the pope; small wonder, then, that he was ready to revolt and transfer his allegiance to another. Added to this was the fact that the east was smirched with the heresy of hostility to the use of images. The west was shocked, too, that for the first time in its history the throne was held by a woman; and not only was the sovereign a woman, she was also guilty of inhuman cruelty, for she had deposed, imprisoned, and blinded her son, Constantine VI. This action of the pope also fell in with the prevailing desire of the people of Rome to restore their city to the place of honour which she had once had, but which was now held by Constantinople.

Grounds for the revolt.

There were good reasons why Karl should be elevated to this high position. By conquest he had built up an empire which included all the west of Europe; he had in certain directions even extended the boundary of the empire, and had everywhere established, protected, and promoted the Church, and preserved order and peace; he was, therefore, the only possible candidate the west had to offer. The pope had also a selfish motive. His position in Rome was no longer sure. The republican party in the city had driven him out once, and would do so again if the opportunity were offered. The

Karl the only candidate in the west.

pope knew that he could hold his place in Rome only with the aid of Karl. By being crowned emperor, Karl was made responsible for the preservation of peace and order in Rome. The pope could therefore hope for Karl's support and protection, since the emperor would not tolerate the independence of Rome nor allow the principal bishop in the west to be driven from his place.

Karl's surprise and displeasure were great, but he did not refuse the crown. He assumed the title, but at the same time began negotiations with Constantinople, looking toward the confirmation of his newly-acquired honour. But the emperors in the east were for a long time inexorable; they refused him all recognition and heaped insults upon him. Karl, however, preserved a conciliatory attitude, and finally obtained what he so earnestly desired. In 812 he was greeted as "Imperator" and "Basileus" by the ambassadors of the eastern court. The defect in his title was thereby removed, and Karl troubled himself no further about Constantinople.

Karl obtains the recognition of the eastern court (812).

The coronation of Karl was, as has been said, a rebellious, and therefore an illegal, act. Although Karl continued to recognize the existence of the emperors at Constantinople, the people in the west believed that they were deposing the eastern line and restoring the supremacy of the west. In their lists of emperors the name of Karl directly follows that of Constantine VI. It was, and they meant that it should be, a revolt. At the time there was no attempt made to give a legal explanation of it, or to make any theory about it; but later three legal theories were advanced by different parties, each of which wished to make capital out of the event. The imperial party declared that Karl had won the crown by his conquests, and was indebted to no one for it but himself. This theory was based on truth, for Karl had conquered great territories, and but for this would not have been even thought of for emperor. The papal party said that the pope, by virtue of his power as successor of the Apostle

Three theories.

Peter, had deposed the emperor at Constantinople and conferred the crown on Karl. This was based on the fact that the pope actually crowned Karl; but at that time no one supposed for a moment that the pope was crowning him by virtue of any such power. Such an interpretation was not thought of till long after. The people of Rome also advanced a theory to the effect that they had elected Karl, and that they had revived their ancient right of electing the emperor. This theory had in its favour little more than the fact that the people had sanctioned the action of their leader by their shouts and acclamations.

Such was the famous restoration of the empire in the west, a most important act, because of the great influence it had on the later history. It bound Italy and Germany together in a union which, while it had its compensations, was, on the whole, ruinous to both, at least politically. In consequence of this coronation of Karl, for seven hundred years the German emperors were unable to free themselves from the idea that they must rule Italy, and they continually wasted their strength in useless campaigns in Italy, instead of extending Germany to the east, the only direction in which there was possibility of success. They wore themselves out in Italy, but were never able to unite Germany. The best days of her best emperors were spent on Italian soil, and the political unification of Germany was made impossible until our own times.

Effects of the restoration.

The coronation of Karl greatly increased his prestige, and, indirectly, his power. "Emperor" was far more than "king," and brought with it many more duties and obligations. Karl regarded himself as much exalted by the new office. The emperor was supposed to hold his office directly from God, to whom alone he was responsible for everything he did. This is apparent from some of Karl's measures for governing. Shortly after his coronation he compelled all his subjects to take a special oath to himself as emperor, the peculiarity of which was that all were required to swear that they would live not only as

Karl's conception of his office.

good citizens, but also as good Christians. The emperor assumed responsibility for the Christian living of his subjects.

For carrying on the government of his vast territory Karl had to invent new forms and adapt old ones. He held "mayfields," according to the old German custom, but it was impossible for all his subjects to attend them. Large numbers of them came, however, especially because the campaigns were planned in these meetings, and it was expected that the armies would proceed at once to the war.

Karl's government.

Counts.

He divided his territory into counties and placed over each a count.[1] In the west the cities with the surrounding country formed these counties; in the east they were formed by the old tribal boundaries, while on the frontiers new districts were organized (marches or *Markgrafschaften*) and placed under border counts. The counts were responsible for the administration of government in their counties.

Dukes disappear.

The dukes and duchies of Aquitaine, Alamannia, Saxony, and Bavaria disappeared, because they were too strong a menace to the unity of the empire. Only the dukes of Benevento, Brittany, and Gascony remained, and they were simply Karl's officers and not independent.

Missi Dominici.

In order to put a check on all the officers of his realm, and to control them, Karl sent out special commissioners, called "*Missi Dominici*," or royal messengers, whose duty it was to oversee all that was done by the local officers. They were to inquire into the conduct of all officials, and of the clergy as well. Appeals were made to them, and any misconduct on the part of any officer was reported to them. They were generally sent out in twos, one of them being a clergyman. They looked after the condition of the army, the collection of the taxes, the state of the churches and schools, the morals of the clergy, and the administration of justice as well as of things in general. In this way Karl was kept fully conversant with the affairs of both Church and state throughout his kingdom. The clergy were also regarded as officers of the state, and they had certain civil duties. They

[1] See pp. 38 and 43, *note*.

and the counts were supposed to work together in harmony, and mutually to assist each other; but there were at bottom the same unsettled relations between the clergy and the counts as between the emperor and the pope; the authority, rights, and duties of each were not clearly defined.

Karl's personal government.

Karl himself by his own personal efforts gave unity to the government and did much of the actual work of governing. He was busy moving from one part of the realm to another, fighting, administering justice, conducting trials, settling difficulties, and, in general, keeping the machinery of government in motion.

His military system.

His military system did not differ from that of his predecessors. At his summons all his free subjects were supposed to come prepared to begin a campaign. But the frequency of his wars and their great distance from home made them very burdensome, and many began to try to escape military service. A compromise was effected by which a certain number of men were allowed to equip one man and send him as their representative. Karl also built a fleet to guard the coast, and especially the mouths of rivers, which latter he often fortified.

Karl as lawgiver.

As a lawgiver he was also active, although there is little that is remarkable in his legislation. He tried to preserve the old German laws and customs, which he caused to be reduced to writing. His own laws are a curious mixture of German, Roman, and biblical elements. Since his empire was Christian, the Bible was the very highest authority, and all laws were to be in harmony with it. It did indeed colour much of his legislation.

As builder.

As a builder Karl achieved a great reputation. He built many churches, the principal one of which was the church of St Mary at Aachen. He built a great palace for himself at Aachen, another at Ingelheim, near Mainz, and another at Nimuegen. He also built a bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, but it was destroyed by fire before his death. His architects were mostly Italians. Many pillars and other building materials were brought from Italy at incredible

expense and labour. The style of his architecture was undoubtedly a derived Byzantine, for the buildings of Ravenna were his models.

Probably the most remarkable of all Karl's activities was his educational work. He drew to his court some of the most learned men of his day, among them Alcuin, Paulus Diaconus, and Peter of Pisa. He formed his court into a palace school (*scola palatina*), all the members of which assumed either classical or biblical names. Karl called himself David. The sessions of this school were held mostly in the winter, because in the summer Karl was engaged in his wars. His learned men gave lectures, and there were many discussions of the subjects broached. The clergy of the empire were, on the whole, very ignorant, many of them too ignorant to preach, and Karl caused a volume of sermons to be prepared for their use. He established cathedral schools, the most prominent of which were at Rheims and Orléans, and monastery schools, such as those of St Gall, Tours, Reichenau, Fulda, Hersfeld, and Corvey. These were especially for the education of the clergy, but they were open to laymen as well. In fact, Karl had thoughts of a state system of public instruction. He established two schools of music, one at Metz, the other at Soissons, and asked the pope to send him priests who could give instruction in the style of singing practised in Italy.

His attitude toward learning.

Among the many stories about Karl, which the monk of St Gall collected, is one that shows the interest which Karl took in the work of the schools. Returning to Aachen after a long absence, Karl ordered all the scholars to show him the results of their studies. The sons of the high nobility were unable to produce any proofs of their industry, while those of common birth laid before him many of their compositions in the form of letters, poems, and other documents, all well composed according to the models then in vogue. Karl thundered out his displeasure at the idle ones, rebuking them for their trust in their high birth, and for spend-

Karl's interest in his schools.

Monk of St Gall, The Deeds of Karl the Great, I., 3.

ing their time in sports and in idleness. He warned them that if they continued in this course they need never expect any gifts or preferment from him. The others he commended for their industry and obedience, and urged them to labour to perfect their education, promising to hold all such in high honour and to reward them with good bishoprics and abbeys.

This manifold activity amounted to a real revival of learning, which bore fruit in the ninth century in the great disputations about fore-ordination and transubstantiation, as well as in the literature of that period. The great emphasis placed on classical Latin had some very important effects. In the first place, it purified the Latin of the Church, but at the same time widened the chasm between the spoken and the written Latin. The spoken Latin had now become a dialect, very different from the written language. This vulgar speech was the beginning of the French language, and its development and use as a literary language were hastened by the revival of classical Latin. The interest in the classics led to the multiplication of manuscripts and the preservation of the works of Latin authors which would otherwise have perished, and it also determined that the Latin should be the language of education during the Middle Age.

Effects of this "Revival of Learning."

Karl also loved his own tongue, the German. He caused a grammar of it to be made, attempting thus to make of it a literary language by reducing it to regular forms. He made a collection of the German songs and legends which were probably the earliest forms of some of the stories in the "Nibelungen Lied," but his son Ludwig, to our great loss, had this destroyed because of its heathenism.

Karl a German.

The attitude of Karl to the Church has already been shown. He regarded it as his special duty to defend the Church and to extend it by converting the heathen. The motive of many of his wars was quite as much religious as political. He took care that the conquered lands should be supplied with churches and clergy. He regarded himself as

Karl and the Church.

the master of the Church by virtue of the office which he held. He controlled the election of bishops and archbishops, and sometimes even appointed them. The organization of the Church, begun in a systematic way by Boniface, was completed by him. He exercised the right of calling ecclesiastical councils, presided over them, and signed the decrees, which would otherwise have been invalid. Under him the Church had no independent power of legislation. The clergy, as well as the laymen, were subject to the laws of the empire. Karl was the first to make the payment of tithes obligatory. During the first seven centuries of the Church, the tithe was practically unknown, being at that time only the traditional and customary rent paid for the use of lands. Karl tried to make this payment binding on the lands which he conquered, especially on the Saxons. This tenth, being paid for the support of the Church, brought about a change in the conception of tithing. It was then identified with the tithe of the Old Testament, and in time made compulsory throughout all Christian countries.

But Karl's authority over the Church extended still further. He claimed the right to determine the polity, ritual, and even the doctrines of the Church. In 787 the empress Irene called a council to meet at Nicæa which should settle the question of the use of images in the churches. This council, under the protection of Irene, declared in favour of their use, and sent its decrees or decisions to pope Hadrian (772-95). Hadrian, however, who had all the time favoured the use of images, was pleased with the decisions, sanctioned them, and sent them to Karl, asking that they be published. But Karl was of a different opinion, and calling a council of his bishops, in 794, caused the action of the council at Nicæa to be refuted. The refutation (the *Libri Carolini*) was sent to pope Hadrian with a reprimand, and a command that in the future he should wait in all such matters until Karl had given his consent. In another letter he reminded the pope that it was his special duty to pray, and not to interfere in the affairs of the state, which belonged to the emperor alone. Karl un-

Karl and the Pope.

doubtedly was, and was regarded, as the highest authority in the west; distinctly superior to the pope in all political matters, and practically so in ecclesiastical affairs. There was no legal determination of the mutual relations and powers of the emperor and the pope, for the theoretical question was not yet broached. Both emperor and pope made claims which were mutually opposed and conflicting, but there was no theoretical treatment of the question of their respective rights and authorities. The pope claimed to be the successor of St Peter, the bishop of the whole Church, and therefore he must have authority over the whole Church; but Karl was the Christian emperor, the ruler of the world with absolute authority. The adjustment of these claims was not to be reached till after centuries of struggle for supremacy.

In Karl is found that peculiar fusion of German, Roman, and biblical elements which characterizes the Middle Age. In his dress, speech, manners, and sympathies he was a German, but judging him by his notions and practice of government he was a Roman, largely affected by biblical conceptions and ideas. He was a Roman emperor who attempted to establish a theocracy. He was absolute master of the west, and his reputation was so great that his friendship was sought even by the great khalif, Haroun-al-Raschid, of Bagdad, who wished to see his rebellious Saracen subjects of Spain punished.

His counsellor and private secretary, Einhard, has left us a lively picture of Karl. Without doubt he was one of the greatest men of all time. No one has ever more thoroughly taken hold of the imagination of the people. For centuries after his death the popular imagination was busy with his name and deeds, and the impression which he made on the world found expression in a vast cycle of legends, all of which were confidently believed during the Middle Ages. *Einhard's Biography.*

He died January 28, 814, at Aachen, from pleurisy, and was buried the same day in the great church which he had built. "A gilded arch was erected above his tomb, with his

image and an inscription. The words of the inscription were as follows: 'In this tomb, lies the body of Karl the Great and Orthodox Emperor, who gloriously extended the kingdom of the Franks and reigned prosperously for forty-seven years. He died at the age of seventy, in the year of our Lord 814, on the 28th day of January.'"[1]

[1] Einhard, p. 71.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE

LITERATURE.—Emerton, *Medieval Europe.*
Oman, *The Dark Ages*, 476-918. See also the lists in Chaps. I. and III.

KARL had indeed acquired a vast empire and by his great personal ability governed it well. But he could not in so short a time make the various peoples who composed his realm homogeneous. A common religious faith and a common government were not sufficient to overcome the differences which existed in race, tribe, temperament, customs, and language. As soon, therefore, as Karl's commanding personality was removed, these differences began to reassert themselves. Karl had made a brilliant attempt to reorganize society after the model of the Roman empire. He failed, and his kingdom went to pieces, partly because of the weakness of his successors, under whom lands, office, and authority were usurped by their officials. *Causes of disintegration.*

Another cause of dismemberment was the actual partition of the empire among the sons in the royal family, the empire being regarded as a private possession and divided among the heirs. The disintegration was further brought about by the racial differences that existed in the realm, and by the forces set in operation by the invasion of the barbarians. The Germans were intensely ambitious and proud. Individualism was one of their most prominent characteristics. In the then existing state of society the only legitimate exercise of ability and ambition was in the practice of arms. Since this was the only way to rise, it is not surprising that we should now come upon a period of violence and lawlessness in which might determined everything. Although Karl's

realm went to pieces, during his reign its various parts had all been subjected to influences which modified their future.

The dissolution of the empire made rapid strides under Karl's son, Ludwig the Pious (814-40), a prince who lacked all the qualities which made his father great. His education had been intrusted to the clergy, with most unfortunate results. He was better fitted for the monastery than the throne, and more than once actually wished to lay down his crown and enter the cloister. His conscience was abnormally developed and thoroughly morbid. He magnified his petty faults into great sins, and was continually doing penance for them when he should have been attending to the affairs of state. He altogether lacked the sterner qualities necessary for governing in a time of violence and barbarism. Without will or purpose he was in turn the slave of his wife, his clergy, and his sons. Karl the Great, about six months before his death, had crowned Ludwig as his successor. On his accession Ludwig repeated the coronation, placing the crown upon his own head. In 815 pope Leo III. died, and the people of Rome elected his successor, Stephen IV., without asking the consent or sanction of Ludwig, an insult and infringement of his prerogatives which the emperor did not resent. The pope followed up the advantage thus gained, and told the emperor that his coronation was invalid because it had not been performed by the clergy, and proposed to come into France and recrown him. Again Ludwig yielded, and was crowned a third time by Stephen IV., at Rheims (816-17). Another precedent was thereby established for the claim made by the popes that they alone had the right to crown the emperor.

Ludwig the Pious.

His threefold coronation.

The reign of Ludwig was full of stupid blunders. In his zeal for reform he drove from his court the able counsellors of Karl the Great, because their lives did not seem to him sufficiently ascetic. He released nearly all the monasteries of his realm from all duties to the state except that of praying for the welfare of the emperor, his children, and the state, thus depriving the crown of a large

Ludwig's blunders.

income, and fostering in the Church the idea of separation and independence. He closed the monastery schools to the laity, was lavish in his gifts to both monasteries and churches, and was always surrounded by monks and priests. In 817 he committed the unpardonable blunder of dividing his empire among his three sons and associating them with himself in the government. The division led to jealousies, intrigues, and war. Instead of boldly facing the problems and difficulties that beset him, Ludwig spent his time in doing penance, and offended against the dignity of his office by appearing in the garb of a penitent before a great council of the clergy and nobility, and making humble confession of imaginary sins. Yielding to the importunities of Judith, his second wife, he deprived two of his sons by his first wife of some of their territory in order to make a principality for his youngest son, Charles. Revolt and war were the result, and the last years of his life were filled with the most disgraceful intrigues and treachery.

A new division of his realm was several times attempted, either in the interest of his favourite, Charles, or in the hope that all the sons might be satisfied. It was all in vain, however, for when Ludwig died (840) the three sons who survived him continued their fratricidal wars for three years before they could agree upon any division of the territory. Finally, the brothers came together and settled their long quarrel by the treaty of Verdun (843).

According to the terms of this treaty, Lothar retained the imperial crown. As emperor he must have the two capitals, Rome and Aachen. He therefore received Italy and a strip of land extending from Italy to the North Sea. This strip was bounded on the east by the Rhine, but at Bonn the line left the river and ran north to the mouth of the Weser. The western boundary line began some miles west of the mouth of the Rhône, but joined that river near Lyons; it then followed the Rhône and the Saône to the source of the latter; thence to the source of the Meuse, which seems to have formed the boundary as far as the

The treaty of Verdun, 843.

Ardennes. The line then ran to the Scheldt, which it followed to its mouth. Charles, surnamed the Bald, received all the territory west of this strip. Ludwig, called the German, obtained all the land to the east, with the dioceses of Mainz, Worms, and Speier, which lay west of the Rhine.

Charles and Ludwig had the best of it in this division, because their territory was compact and each was ruler of a single nationality. The subjects of Ludwig were all German, while those of Charles were mixed, indeed, but becoming homogeneous. The German element was being assimilated by the Keltic. The history of Germany and of France as separate nations begins with 843. But Lothar's subjects were of many nationalities. Besides, his territory lay in such a way that it could not easily be defended. It is significant that his kingdom could be named only after himself and not after any people. It was known as the kingdom of Lothar, while Charles was called king of the Franks, and Ludwig king of the Germans. Geographically and racially it was impossible that the kingdom of Lothar should hold together. The Alps broke it into two parts; Italy might perhaps be made into a nation, but the narrow strip along the Rhine, from the Alps to the North Sea, was fated to be broken into many fragments and fought over for centuries by the French and the Germans.

The beginning of France and Germany.

Lothar was powerless against the violence that prevailed during the ninth century, and, worn out, divided his territory among his three sons and withdrew into a monastery, where he soon afterward died (855). His eldest son, known as Ludwig II., received Italy and the imperial title; Charles's portion was Provence and Burgundy; while Lothar II. obtained Frisia, Austrasia, and all the remaining lands north of the Alps. From him this territory took the name of Lotharingia (Lorraine). The three brothers could not, however, live together in peace. They were in constant feud with each other till 863, when Charles died, and the other two divided his territory between them. In 869 Lothar II.

The family of Lothar becomes extinct; his kingdom divided.

died, and his uncles, Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, and Ludwig the German, after some struggle, divided his land. In 875 the emperor, Ludwig II., died, and with his death this branch of the family became extinct. The rivalry between Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German culminated in a war for the possession of the imperial crown. Charles was the first to reach Italy, and was crowned at Pavia king of the Lombards, and a short time afterward emperor, by the pope at Rome.

Charles the Bald becomes emperor 875.

Ludwig the German was unable to take the field in person against his brother. He was old and feeble, and death overtook him the next year (876). His long reign, although greatly disturbed by the revolts of his sons and the invasions of the Northmen and Slavs was, on the whole, fairly successful. It was of the highest importance that the various German tribes should be brought to feel their unity and that a national feeling should be produced among them. It was during his reign that the East Franks (Franconians), Saxons, Suabians, and Bavarians came to feel that they were much alike, and that they differed from the Franks of the west. He extended his boundaries by chastising and reducing the rebellious Slavic peoples to the north-east, and a great many of the Bohemian and Moravian tribes. He was successful in punishing the Northmen and resisted their invasions, although he could not prevent the destruction of Hamburg, which Ludwig the Pious had made the seat of an archbishop. Regarding the kingship as his private property, Ludwig the German divided his kingdom among his three sons; but Karlman died in 880, and Ludwig, known as the Saxon, in 884, leaving as sole ruler their brother, Karl the Fat, who had been crowned emperor by the pope in 882.

The reign of Ludwig the German.

At the death of Ludwig the German (876), Charles the Bald, true to his character, tried to seize his territory, but was unable to do so. At the same time the Northmen invaded his kingdom. Without trying to meet them in the field, he bribed them to attack his nephews, and set off for Italy because he thought

Charles the Bald, 840–77.

his imperial crown endangered by a revolt there. He died, however, on the journey, at the foot of the Mont Cenis pass. The favourite son of his father, he had been the cause of the wars that filled the last years of Ludwig the Pious. Ambitious and grasping, he had begun several wars during his reign for the purpose of unjustly depriving some of his relatives of their possessions. In striving to extend his territory, he neglected what he already possessed. His officials ruled as they pleased, and the Northmen and Saracens ravaged his territory almost unhindered. He did little more than squander the resources of his kingdom. His son, Louis II. the Stammerer, succeeded him; but after a short, though promising, reign died (879), leaving two sons, Louis III. and Karlman, and a posthumous son, afterward known as Charles the Simple. The death of Louis III. (882) and of Karlman (884) practically left the throne vacant, since Charles the Simple was only five years old. Rather than trust to a mere child, the nobles offered the crown to Karl the Fat, who, by accepting it, united under himself all the territory which had once been ruled over by Karl the Great. He was, however, not equal to the task. Besides being very corpulent he was afflicted with chronic headache, which incapacitated him for both thought and action. His inefficiency led to his deposition (887), and the empire rapidly broke up into small kingdoms. His nephew, Arnulf, who deposed him, received as his reward the kingdom of the East Franks; the nobles of the West Franks elected Odo, count of Paris, king, while the duke of Aquitaine took Charles the Simple to his court and remained independent of Odo. Burgundy was divided into two kingdoms. In 879 count Boso, of Vienne, had usurped the royal title and made himself master of lower Burgundy. Count Rudolf now seized upper Burgundy and succeeded in getting himself crowned king. His territory was bounded approximately by the Saône and by the Aar, and extended from Basel to Lyons. These two little

The whole empire re-united under Karl the Fat, emperor, 884–87.

The seven little kingdoms. Germany. Two kingdoms in France.

The two Burgundies.

kingdoms remained separate till 934, when they united to form the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. In Lombardy there were also two kingdoms formed. Berengar, margrave of Friuli, was elected king of the Lombards and crowned by the archbishop of Milan; but Guido of Spoleto made war on him, got possession of the western part of Lombardy, and assumed the title of king.

Two kingdoms in Lombardy.

The breaking up of the empire into these little kingdoms shows how thoroughly power and authority had been dissipated and decentralized during the ninth century. Feudalism had got a strong hold on Europe. Offices and lands which had once been held at the will of the king had been usurped, and had become hereditary possessions of their holders. Violence was everywhere; the more powerful nobles oppressed the weaker, and all united to enslave the freemen. The chaos of the times was due to the weakness and inefficiency of the rulers, who, for the most part, neglected their first and most important duties to chase after the shadows of empty titles.

Disintegration and violence.

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND AND THE NORSEMEN (802–1070)

LITERATURE.—As in Chap. I. Also
Ramsay, *The Foundations of England.*
Sharon Turner, *History of the English Success.*
Freeman, *Short History of the Norman Conquest*, and *William the Conqueror.*
Green, *Conquest of England.*
Saxon Chronicles, edited by Plummer and Earle.
Church, *Life of Anselm.*
Lives of Alfred the Great, by Pauli, Asser, and Hughes.
Johnson, *The Normans in Europe.*

THE struggle for supremacy, which lasted for three hundred years, among the small kingdoms of England, was practically ended during the reign of Ecgberht, who ascended the throne of Wessex in 802. Northumbria and Mercia, the two great rivals of Wessex, were worn out with the long wars, so that Ecgberht found it comparatively easy to make himself the overlord of all the country. He had spent thirteen years in exile at the court of Karl the Great, and had no doubt learned much and had his ambitions quickened by what he saw of the successes of the great Frankish king. In his government Ecgberht showed wise consideration, and while recognizing to a certain extent the various political divisions of the country, he drew the bonds closer which connected them with Wessex.

Ecgberht, 802–39.

The supremacy which Wessex now enjoyed might have been as ephemeral as that of the other kingdoms but for the fact that for nearly one hundred and fifty years after Ecgberht its throne was occupied by able kings who wisely secured the assistance of the clergy in all that they did. The fusion of the

kingdoms into one people was also hastened by the great common danger which threatened them from the Northmen. As early as 787 the eastern coast of England had been attacked by pirates from the continent. Their ravages became more and more frequent, and the king found it difficult to defeat them or to derive any solid advantage from a victory over them. During the reign of Ecgberht they harried all the country incessantly. His son and successor, Aethelwulf (839-58), was unable to stem the tide of invasion. In 851 they were bold enough to spend the winter on the island of Thanet. *Invasions of the Northmen.*

Aethelwulf was succeeded by his four sons in the order of their age. Aethelbald (858-60), Aethelberht (860-66), Acthelred (866-71), and Aelfred the Great (871-899). The task of defending the country against these barbarian invaders became more difficult as greater numbers of them began to settle on the east coast. In 866 the Danes began the work of conquest and settlement in earnest. Northumbria was quickly overrun and subdued by them. East Anglia and the Fen were next attacked and conquered, their famous monasteries were burned, and the king of East Anglia, Eadmund, was slain. This king was later canonized, and over his remains was built the great abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Mercia was not yet attacked, but in 870 its king paid the Danes tribute and acknowledged their leader as overlord. This submission was due not only to fear of the Danes, but also to dislike of the West Saxon supremacy.

King Aethelred was left with only the territory south of the Thames, all north of that river being in the hands of the Danes. For some time it seemed that all England was to be conquered. The Danes pushed up the Thames and out into Wessex, and Aethelred was unable to drive them back. In the midst of the war he died, leaving his crown to his brother Aelfred, who tried in vain to repel the invaders. After several defeats, in which his army was destroyed, he was compelled to buy the withdrawal of the Danes, hoping that in the meantime he might be able to put *Aelfred the Great,* 871–899.

the country into a proper state of defence. Re-enforcements continued to come from Denmark and Scandinavia, and in 876, Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia, attacked Wessex. For two years the struggle was severe, but it ended in favour of Aelfred by the treaty of Wedmore (Chippenham) in 878; Guthrum accepted Christianity and was ceded the eastern half of England north of the Thames. This territory was called the Danelaw. The conquerors settled as lords of the soil, and for a long time kept themselves separate from the conquered English. The fusion of the two peoples, however, came eventually.

Wedmore, 878.

During the remaining years of Aelfred's rule he had peace with the Danes, except in 886, when he was successful in wresting from them London and the surrounding districts, and again in 893, when he also successfully resisted their attacks. The condition of his territory at the peace of Wedmore was wretched in the extreme. Churches and monasteries had been burned, the clergy slain or driven out, and law and order destroyed; everywhere there was great want and desolation. His first care was to train up an army to have it ready at his call. The country was divided into five districts, each of which was bound to furnish a certain number of men with provisions and equipment. Every town also was required to do the same. A part of the troops raised in this way were required to be ready to go whenever called, while the others were to remain at home as a guard. A threefold duty was laid on every landed proprietor; he must serve in the army, and contribute to the support of bridges and fortifications. Aelfred created a fleet which patrolled the coast and kept off the invaders. He restored order, punishing severely and impartially all offenders, and he enforced peace. The king's justice also began to take the place of the local justice. The king carefully controlled the decisions of the lower courts, and changed them if they were not according to his ideas. The independent legislation of Aelfred was probably not very great, but he had the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings and

Aelfred's Government.

peoples collected and reduced to writing in the Anglo-Saxon language.

Aelfred laboured to restore learning in his kingdom. Late in life he began the study of Latin, and mastered it so well that he was able to translate from it into his mother tongue. He surrounded himself with scholars, most of whom he brought from the continent, and established a court school very much like that of Karl the Great. His own translations, however, were of most value to his people. From the Latin he translated the "Consolations of Philosophy," by Boëthius; the "History of the World," by Orosius; the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," by the Venerable Bede; and the "Pastoral Rule," by Gregory the Great. It was under his direction, also, that the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" was compiled and continued. While all these works, except the latter, are translations, they contain also many additions from the pen of the king himself. Because of his moral greatness, and because of the fact that he regarded himself as the servant of his people, he has been given the well-earned title "Great." *Learning.*

The task that devolved on the successors of Aelfred was to prevent, if possible, any further migration from the continent, to reconquer the Danelaw, to hasten the fusion of the Danes with the English, and to keep down the tribal revolts and make England really one. Fortunately, his successors were able men (Eadward the Elder, 900-24; Aethelstan, 924-40; Eadmund, 940-46; Eadred, 946-55), who carried on the work well. Eadwig, however (955-59), was a mere boy, and his reign was troubled by quarrels among the nobles. But with the accession of Eadred (946) had come in a new power in the person of Dunstan, who was the first of that line of remarkable ecclesiastical statesmen which England has produced. During a great part of the reigns of Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar (959-75), Eadward the Martyr (975-79), and Aethelred the Redeless (979-1016), Dunstan (who died 988) was the power behind the throne. Commerce with the continent was fostered, order was preserved, and the *Dunstan.*

Church and monasteries thoroughly reformed. The old slavery was disappearing, but in its stead the feudal rule was becoming established. The power of the king greatly increased, and he was looked upon as king of all England, and not simply of the West Saxons. The king now developed a court composed of his friends and officials, who formed a new nobility over against the old nobility of blood. The king took possession of the folkland, that is, the land which had been left for the common use, and enriched his servants by dividing up much of it among them. At the same time the *Folkmoot*, the meeting of all the freemen, ceased, being replaced by the *Witenagemot*, the meeting of the wise men (*i.e.* the officials, with the highest clergy).

The reign of Aethelred the Redeless (*i.e.* without counsel) was very disastrous. Utterly incapable of ruling, he involved England more and more deeply in ruin and misery. In 991, when the Danes began to invade England again, he bought a truce of them, and allowed them to settle in East Anglia. Other invasions followed, led by Olaf of Norway and Swein of Denmark. Frightened at the danger which now threatened him, Aethelred tried to secure the assistance of Normandy by allying himself to its duke, whose sister, Emma, he married. Goaded to frenzy by the presence of the Danes who had recently come, the English planned to massacre them, and in 1002 they rose and put all the Danes among them to death. Among the slain was Gunhild, the sister of king Swein, who now swore to avenge her death by taking England from her king From 1003 to 1007 his army overran England, plundering and burning. Aethelred bought a truce of him. Swein, however, went on preparing for a larger invasion, and in 1013 came back, and soon had all England in his power, while Aethelred was compelled to flee to Normandy. But Swein's rule was of short duration. He died the next year, and the Danish warriors chose his son Knut as his successor. The death of Aethelred and his son Eadmund Ironside left Knut master of all England. He

Renewed Invasions of the Danes.

Swein, the Dane, king of England.

Knut, 1016–35.

reigned from 1016 to 1035 wisely and with a strong hand over his newly-acquired realm. Under him the old kingdoms lost more and more of their character as kingdoms, and became known as earldoms. He became a Christian in character as well as in name, and allied himself with the clergy. By renewing the laws of his predecessors and preserving English customs, he tried to make the people forget that he was a foreigner. He further strengthened his position by marrying Emma, the widow of Aethelred. He brought England peace, for, during his reign, the land was free from disturbances. Denmark, however, profited most by this conquest of England, for she was thereby brought into close contact with a nation far more civilized than herself, and her union with England greatly forwarded Christianity in all the countries of the north. The Danes differed from the people in England very little in blood, language, customs, and laws, and their settlement in England may be regarded as a re-enforcement of German blood and a strengthening of the English character.

At the death of Knut (1035) he was succeeded by his two sons in turn, Harold (1055-40) and Harthaknut (1040-42) They were, however, thoroughly barbarous and unfitted in every way to rule. England was again given up to violence, and as the people disliked them there was general joy when Harthaknut died and Eadward the Confessor (1042-66), son of Aethelred and Emma, came back from Normandy and was acknowledged as king. Tired of foreign rulers the people expected great things of Eadward, who was in blood an Englishman. But most of his life having been spent in Normandy, he was far more Norman than English. He returned with a large following of Normans, whom he placed in high offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, greatly to the disgust and anger of the people.

The English line restored, 1042.

The real power in England, however, was in the hands of the great earl, Godwine of Wessex, whose earldom consisted of all the land south of the Thames. Eadward himself had little ability and less energy, and was content to pass his time in quiet. The two great earls of the

Earl Godwine.

north, Siward of Northumbria, and Leofric of Mercia, were kept so busy with the affairs of their earldoms, that Godwine had ample opportunity to carry out his plans. These were concerned with increasing the power of his own family. For his sons and other relatives he obtained small earldoms; and in 1045 he strengthened himself by giving his daughter Eadgyth to the king in marriage.

Owing to the jealousy of the other great earls and to a quarrel with the king Godwine withdrew to Flanders (1051). The next year, however, the English were glad to see him return, because the king had, in the meanwhile, shown even greater favour to the Normans. In 1051 William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, visited the childless Eadward, and is said to have received from him the promise of the crown of England. The court was filled with Normans, but on the re-appearance of Godwine they hastily fled to the continent. Among them was Robert of Jumièges, who had been made archbishop of Canterbury. At his flight the high office was given to an Englishman. This action offended the pope, for, according to the papal claims, no church official could be deposed except by authority from Rome. Godwine died soon after, and was succeeded in the leadership by his son Harold.

William visits England.

Since Eadward was childless, it was necessary to determine who should succeed him. Although not of the royal line, Harold was the only possible candidate. His earldom was the largest in England. He was the right-hand man of the king, and he had shown the greatest ability both as a ruler and warrior. There was nothing to do but to revive the old German custom of electing the ablest man king, and it was accordingly agreed that Harold should succeed his royal master.

Harold promised the crown.

During his last years Eadward became even more inactive than before. The management of affairs was wholly in the hands of Harold, who put down a dangerous revolt in Wales, maintained peace and order throughout the kingdom, and administered the laws equitably. In England there was but

one family which could contest the crown with him, that of Leofric of Mercia, and this he conciliated by making Morkere, the brother of Leofric, earl of Northumbria, in the place of his own brother Tostig, against whom the Northumbrians had rebelled. On the death of Eadward, January 5, 1066, Harold was elected and crowned without opposition.

The Northmen.

The German tribes of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were almost entirely free from Roman influence till the ninth century. Christianity had certainly gained no hold upon them. They lived in independent groups, without any central government. But during the ninth century several leaders arose in various parts, who united many of the tribes, much as Chlodwig had united the Franks in the fifth century. Three kingdoms were established, known respectively as the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Since the leaders and nobles of the conquered tribes were too proud to submit to a conqueror they turned to the sea, hoping to preserve their independence. At first they played the part of pirates, attacking the coasts of Gaul, Germany, northern Spain, and even Italy. Ascending the rivers for many miles they robbed, plundered, and burned all the towns they could. They attacked monasteries and churches because of the treasures which they were known to contain. At first these raids were made in the summer, and the pirates returned to their homes for the winter. Gradually, however, they began to spend the winter also in the countries which they were plundering. They seized the land and settled upon it, and these winter settlements became permanent. As their success became known at home they were joined by large numbers of their fellow-countrymen, who were eager to have a share in their prosperity. Terms were made with the lord of the land, and these unwelcome guests made themselves at home and identified themselves with the country in which they settled. It was plainly to their interest that not too many Norsemen should join them, since their own portions would be thereby diminished; they therefore resisted all further immigration as well as piratical invasions by their countrymen.

These Norsemen possessed to a marked degree the German characteristic, adaptability. In France they became Frenchmen, in England, Englishmen, in Russia, Russians. They did not, however, lose their individuality. They preserved their courage, their genius for governing and their bodily vigour, their love of war and their thirst for fame. Like the Goths, when they migrated they left their religion at home, but not their religiousness. They accepted Roman Christianity with a heartiness which soon made them the champions of the papacy. They rebuilt the burned monasteries and churches and became the most zealous pilgrims of all Europe. They had the greatest regard for holy places and persons, and from pirates became Christian knights.

Their character.

The lands to the east of the Baltic were attacked by the Norsemen also. About the middle of the ninth century they began to make settlements on the coast, and their leader, Rurik, succeeded in uniting the tribes of Finns, Lapps, Letts, and others who were scattered over what is now western Russia. He and his successors extended their power into the interior. Novgorod, on Lake Illman, and Kiev, on the Dnieper, became their most important centres. For more than seven hundred years the family of Rurik held the kingship and ruled over much of what is now Russia. In their raids to the east and south they came into contact with Constantinople, from which they received Christianity and the rudiments of civilization. In the tenth century a large body of Norsemen sailed down the Volga and raided a part of Persia. All the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea the Norsemen made settlements along the rivers, and thus was opened up a route of travel and commerce between the Scandinavian countries and Constantinople and the east. From the many coins of Bohemia, Hungary, and Constantinople, and even of the khalifs of Bagdad, which have been found in Sweden, we must infer that this commerce was very considerable. Christian pilgrims from the north regarded this as the most convenient way of reaching Palestine, because

The Norsemen in the east.

they found some of their countrymen all along the route. In the eleventh century many Norsemen went to Constantinople to seek their fortunes and offer their services to the emperor, who enrolled large numbers of them in his body-guard.

About 800 the Norsemen began to settle in the Hebrides, Orkneys, and Shetland Islands, which up to this time were occupied only by Irish monks and hermits. From these islands they spread to the main-land of Scotland, and in the course of about a hundred years all these settlements were united into one kingdom. In the ninth century they took possession of Iceland, which become thoroughly Norse. There the Norse customs and traditions were preserved in greater purity and for a longer time than in their original home.[1] In the tenth century the Norsemen settled in Greenland, and kept in constant intercourse with their mother-country till the fourteenth century, when they disappeared; from what cause is unknown.

In the west.

About the year 1000, Norse sailors discovered the coast of America, and endeavoured to plant colonies there, but without success. On the east and south coast of Ireland they also made settlements, some of which continued to exist till far into the twelfth century. Their invasions of England have already been recounted, as well as those of France. The settlement of Rolf, in the valley of the lower Seine (Normandy), resulted in the establishment of a powerful duchy, which soon put an end to the invasions from the north. Duke Rolf (911-27) and his successors (William Longsword, 927-43; Richard the Fearless, 943–96; Richard the Good, 996-1027; and Robert the Magnificent, 1027-35) ruled with a strong hand, and Normandy was soon one of the strongest as well as best-governed duchies of France. The laws were enforced, orders preserved, and the vassals kept in subjection. In 911 Rolf had agreed to accept Christianity, and in spite of occasional backslidings he and his pirates

Normandy.

[1] Cf. the Eddas and Sagas of the Norsemen, which were written in Iceland.

became devoted adherents of the Church. Normandy was noted for its churches, monasteries, and schools. The abbey of Bec was known throughout Europe because of its founder, Lanfranc, and its great prior, Anselm. Robert the Magnificent, at his death, in 1035, left an only bastard son, William, seven years old, to succeed him. When William attained his majority and attempted to rule independently, many of his subjects revolted. There was a bitter struggle, but William proved himself master of all his enemies and administered the affairs of his duchy with as much ability and firmness as any of his predecessors.

William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy. 1035–87.

Eadward the Confessor is said to have promised his crown to William, who was his cousin. Another story of still more doubtful authenticity relates how Harold, ship-wrecked on the coast of France, fell into the hands of William, who compelled him to take an oath that he would support William's claim to the throne. When the news of the accession of Harold reached William he fell into a great rage, and began to prepare to invade England and make good his pretensions to the crown. He is said to have called on Harold to keep his promise, but Harold paid no attention to his summons. He sent to the pope certain charges against Harold, and promised, in return for the papal support and sanction, to put the Church of England under the control of Rome. Alexander II. gave William his blessing on these terms, and sent him a consecrated banner. William, in the meantime, built a fleet and collected his troops from every possible source.

William claims the English crown, 1066.

King Harold was threatened with a double danger on his accession to the throne. His brother Tostig had revolted and fled to Harold Hardrada, king of Denmark, whom he urged to invade England. Harold also learned of the preparations of William, but was uncertain when these attacks would be made. He collected an army and patrolled the coast, but since no enemy appeared his men gradually left and went to their homes. Suddenly Harold Hardrada and

Tostig landed on the coast of Yorkshire, defeated the troops of the earls Edwin and Morkere, and took the city of York. King Harold hastened to the north, met the invaders near Stamford Bridge and utterly defeated them. On the same day William landed, unhindered, near Pevensey, with an army of about fifty thousand men, and began to ravage the country. By forced marches Harold hastened to the south to meet this new foe. Although deserted by the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin, and Morkere, he nevertheless determined to risk a battle without first collecting new troops and allowing his army to recuperate. Near Hastings, on a hill, known later as Senlac, Harold took a strong position, and was able for some hours to resist the onslaught of the Normans. In the end, however, he was slain, his guard cut down, and the rest of his troops put to flight. William had won the day and with it the crown of England.

King Harold at Stamford Bridge, Sept. 25, 1066.

The battle of Hastings.

William's first care was to get possession of Kent and Sussex, the inhabitants of which were frightened into submission by his violence toward those who resisted him. He marched toward London and, hoping to overawe the city, burned Southwark. The inhabitants of London, however, closed the gates against him, elected as their king Eadgar the Aetheling, a grandson of Eadmund Ironside. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morkere, were present at the election, but when William crossed the Thames and threatened their territories they withdrew from the city to look after their own interests. Seeing that resistance was hopeless the people offered the crown to William. He entered the city, and on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned in Westminster by the archbishop Ealdred. The crown was his by right of conquest, but he was also formally elected by the people of London, and in his coronation by the archbishop the Church set its seal upon his title and supplied what was lacking in the legitimacy of his claims.

London.

William crowned, 1066.

Thus far only the south-eastern part of England (bounded

by a line from the Wash to Dorsetshire) was actually in William's hands. To secure London he built a strong fortress, which afterward became the famous tower. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria submitted to him only nominally. In order to justify the seizure of whatever lands he might desire, William declared that the election and acknowledgment of Harold as king was an act of treason, punishable with forfeiture and death. All England was, therefore, guilty, and all the land was forfeited to William. He seized the possessions of all those who had borne arms against him, the rest being permitted to retain their lands on the payment of a fine. Otherwise there was for the present little change.

The land forfeit to William.

In 1067 England had become so quiet that William returned to Normandy, leaving the government in the hands of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, now earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford. These, however, were untrue to their trusts, and allowed the English to be oppressed by the Norman nobles. This led the English to revolt, but William returned in the same year and put down the rebellion. In the year 1068, however, a real national uprising took place. King Swein of Denmark came with a fleet to contest the possession of England with William. On his arrival in the Humber all the northern, western, and south-western parts of England revolted, and the king of Scotland came to their aid. William hastened to the Humber and bought the withdrawal of the Danish fleet. He then turned to the revolted provinces and, since they were not united, easily overcame them. Yorkshire especially suffered from his anger. So thoroughly did he devastate it that a famine followed, which is said to have carried off more than a hundred thousand people, and nearly a century passed before the land was restored to its former state of cultivation. The most determined of the English fled to the Fens (the swampy district south of the Wash), and there offered brave resistance under the leadership of Hereward. Their destruction, however, ended all opposition, and England was

The English revolt.

thoroughly conquered. He next invaded Scotland and made its king his vassal. Being now in full possession, William set himself to keep in subjection and to govern his hardly-acquired kingdom.

This Norman conquest of England had great influence on the history of England not simply because of the political changes which William introduced. He was not only king of England, but Duke of Normandy, and a subject of the king of France. He was, moreover, a devoted friend of the papacy. It was, therefore, inevitable that England should be closely associated with the continent; the English kings, proud of their continental possessions, would be involved in territorial struggles with the French kings; and the claims of the popes for universal dominion would the more easily include England. The conquest brought England again into intimate relations with the rest of Europe and made of her a continental power.

Effect of the conquest.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE (887–1108).

LITERATURE—Bémont et Monod: *Histoire de l'Europe et en particulier de la France.*
Kitchin, *History of France*, Vol. I.
The Student's History of France.

ODO, the newly-elected king of France, was the best choice that could have been made by the Frankish nobles. He surpassed them all in valour, was noted for his just and upright character, and, of all their number, had the largest landed possessions. His popularity was greatly increased by that of his father, Robert the Strong, who lost his life in resisting the invasion of the Northmen (866). But his position was not safe because he was only one of several great nobles, all of whom regarded themselves as practically his equal, and did not hesitate to oppose him and make war on him. For under the weak successors of Karl the Great the counts who had been the king's officers had increased their independence, and had made their office hereditary. In this way there arose the powerful counts of Flanders, Poitou, Anjou, Gascony, Paris, and others, whose lands came to be called the "great fiefs." The Northmen continued their invasions, but Odo was not always so successful in repelling them as he had been. After 893 he had also to contend against the oft-renewed conspiracy of some of the strongest nobles to restore Charles the Simple to the throne. So long as he lived he successfully defended his title, but at last, worn out with the struggle, he died (898), after having named as his successor, not his brother Robert, who was his heir, but

Odo, king, 888–98.

The great fiefs.

Charles the Simple (898–929). Robert did homage to Charles, and received the duchy of France (a strip of territory which included, among other cities, Paris, Tours, and Orléans).

Charles the Simple was in many respects an able man, but his too ready confidence in the promises and loyalty of his subjects often brought him great trouble and loss, and won for him the title of Simple. The invasions of the Northmen continued without abatement, and many of their bands now spent the winter in France, having taken possession of some of the districts about the mouth of the Seine and elsewhere. In 911 Charles offered their principal leader, Rolf (Rollo), the valley of the lower Seine and his daughter in marriage if he would settle there and become a Christian. It proved to be a wise measure, for it was to the interest of Rolf and his people that the invasions should cease. The various bands of Northmen were soon gathered together under Rolf, and fresh invaders were repulsed. The district thus assigned to them received from them the name of Normandy.

Charles the Simple, 898–929.

Settlement of the Northmen on the lower Seine.

Robert of France, repenting that he had refused the crown in 899, with two other great nobles, conspired to overthrow Charles and make himself king. In 923 the conspirators met the king's forces near Soissons and defeated them, but Robert himself was slain. His son Hugo was unwilling to claim the crown, and the nobles therefore elected the son-in-law of Robert, Rudolf of Burgundy, king. By treachery they got possession of the person of Charles and imprisoned him. His wife, however, escaped with her son to England, where she was received by her father, king Eadward the Elder. For twelve years Rudolf held the title of king, although during the first years of his reign his authority was very limited, and many of the great nobles refused to obey him. A quarrel with some of his nobles finally led to a brief restoration of Charles, but he was again imprisoned, and died soon afterward of starvation (929).

Rudolf of Burgundy.

Rudolf died (936) without children, and Louis IV.

(d'Outremer, Transmarinus) was recalled from England and made king. Duke Hugo of Paris, still unwilling to risk all for the sake of a title which brought with it great difficulties and but little authority, preferred rather to be the favourite adviser of the king, for he could thereby easily increase his possessions. He was lord of Neustria, duke of Francia, and suzerain of Blois, Champagne, Chartres, Anjou, and other counties.

Louis d Outremer, 936–54.

More than once Louis IV. was compelled to wage war with his great vassal Hugo. His sudden death in 954 placed the crown on the head of his eldest son, Lothaire (954–86), a boy eight years old. The support of Hugo was bought with the duchies of Aquitaine and Burgundy, but he died before he had made himself master of Aquitaine. His two sons, Hugo Capet and Otto, inherited his vast possessions, and also followed the policy of their great father and tried to gain possessions in the south of Gaul. Lothaire was a man of ability, but he made two fatal mistakes: he quarrelled with the clergy, and he set his heart on gaining Lotharingia, which was now a part of Germany. Consequently the clergy were constantly causing him trouble, and he was continually at war with the kings of Germany. Taking advantage of these hostile relations, Hugo Capet obtained the friendship of Otto III., and when Lothaire turned to Germany for help he found an alliance existing between his great vassal and the German king. Lothaire died before the revolution came, and his son, Louis V., succeeded him in 986. His death, however, took place the next year, and there was but one Karling left, Charles, duke of lower Lotharingia, who, being without power, could not hope to obtain the votes of the great nobles. On the other hand, Hugo Capet had the support of Otto III. of Germany, of the nobility, and of the Church. He was allied by marriage to some of the most powerful counts. The clergy and the monasteries were on his side, because he had taken special pains to win them by rich donations. The archbishop, Adalberon, of Rheims, and the bishops of the whole country called the nobles together for the purpose of electing a king, and

Lothaire, 954–86.

after a clever address, in which Adalberon proved that Charles was not the most suitable person for king, and that the crown was not hereditary but elective, he proposed the duke, Hugo Capet, and recounted his virtues and qualifications. The duke was unanimously elected and crowned as "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons."

Duke Hugo Capet elected king.

In this way the crown came into the possession of the Capetians, a dynasty which was to rule France in the direct line for more than three hundred years (987-1328); for though the crown was declared to be elective, it soon became hereditary in this family. It was of the greatest influence on the history of the line that there was never lacking a male heir, generally of mature years, able to take up and carry out the policy of his predecessors. There were, therefore, no disputed successions, no disastrous regencies, no troubled elections.

The Capetian Dynasty, 987-1328.

The position of the new line of the Capetians had its points of strength and weakness. Both the Merovingians and the Karlings had been consecrated by the Church and were therefore regarded as legitimate rulers. The Capets, upon being hailed by the Church, were accepted by a large part of the nation as the true successors to those great houses. The king thus became, for the majority of the people, an absolute sovereign, a power ordained of God to rule, to preserve order, and to administer justice. But there was another class, composed mostly of the nobility, which at this time was living in accordance with feudal customs and ideas, and to them the king was by no means absolute. His authority over them and his demands on them were limited. They were themselves kings in their domains in all but the name, and exercised royal prerogatives. These feudal ideas and customs the Capets were forced to recognize. The royal power was strictly limited, and it was only by following a consistent policy and by the greatest good fortune that the Capets were able in the end to triumph over feudalism and to establish

The position of the king as king.

And as feudal lord.

a strong central government. But this was a long and slow process. For more than a hundred years the disintegration of power and of territory went on. The Capets were not able to keep their officials from making their offices hereditary, and their family possessions, as well as the royal domain which they had inherited from the Karlings, were diminished by constant usurpations. Their weakness was greatest in the eleventh century. The twelfth century, however, brought a change in their fortunes; from that time their power steadily increased.

Hugo Capet, 987-96.

The reign of Hugo Capet (987–96) was quite as successful as could be expected under the circumstances. He was generally recognized by the great vassals, and maintained an independent attitude toward the German emperors and toward the papacy. Under him there was a distinct growth in the feeling of nationality which helped increase the separation between France and her neighbours, already caused by the differences in language and customs.

Robert II., 996–1031.

His son and successor, Robert II. (996–1031), surnamed the Pious, because of his humble and upright character and his regard for the truth, was none the less a warrior of ability, fighting vigorously for Lotharingia, and adding by conquest several cities and districts to his estates.

Henry I., 1031–60, *and the great vassals.*

The reign of Henry I. (1031-60) was disastrous for the royal power, although the king himself was both brave and active. He was continually engaged in a struggle with the nobles whose territories surrounded his own, especially with the counts of Blois and the dukes of Normandy. The only outlet from his estates to the sea was the Seine, the lower part of which was in the possession of the Normans, whose numbers and warlike qualities made their duke a dangerous neighbour of the king. Henry I. appreciated the situation and made every effort, though in vain, to make himself master of Normandy. Its duke, William, already known to us as the

conqueror of England, was able to maintain his independent position.

Philip I. (1060–1108) followed the policy of his father in regard to Normandy and the other great fiefs. He was too young to prevent duke William from making his conquest of England, but he did all he could to weaken him by fomenting quarrels in the family of William and by endeavouring to keep Normandy and England as independent of each other as possible. This policy he handed down to his successors. He carried on in a creditable manner, several wars with other great vassals, and was successful in adding certain lands to his possessions. He refused to go on the first crusade, resisted the claims of Gregory VII., and treated that part of the clergy of France which supported the pope with a good deal of severity. Such conduct, now regarded as specially creditable to him, brought upon him the disfavour of the chroniclers, who have generally painted him in the darkest colours, charging him with gluttony, laziness, debauchery, highway robbery, and many other vices and crimes. In his later years his activity was limited by his abnormal obesity, which amounted in his case to a disease. His reign, however, was not without its achievements, although the growing feudalism of the country daily diminished the actual power of the king. Feudal castles and strongholds were numerous, and the king met with resistance on all hands. The famous castle of Montlhéry was at the very gates of Paris, and the king was actually in danger of being taken prisoner by his own brigand subjects and held for a ransom if he ventured outside of his city without a strong guard. The chaos and anarchy of feudalism were at their height; but the reign of Louis VI. (1108–37) brought a change. Under him the power of the king increased, the lawlessness of the times was checked, order was partly re-established, and feudal customs became more fixed, thereby diminishing the violence that had been so prevalent and increasing the general security. The condition of the country was by no means

Philip I., 1060–1108, *surnamed the Fat.*

Louis VI., 1108–37.

perfect, but it was of the greatest importance that a large amount of stability was introduced into the customs and practices of the government and of society. The kings of France possessed a great advantage over the kings of Germany in that they were allowed to retain all fiefs which fell vacant, while in Germany the great dukes compelled the king to re-let all fiefs within a year. The kings of France, therefore, had an excellent opportunity to increase their possessions, while the kings of Germany were cut off from that advantage.

CHAPTER VII

GERMANY AND ITS RELATION TO ITALY (887–1056)

LITERATURE as in Chap. III.

THE deposition of Karl the Fat left Arnulf in the possession of the German crown (887–99). As successor of Karl the Great, he assumed that he was entitled to a certain sovereignty over all the rulers of the west, and accordingly demanded and received the acknowledgment of his supremacy from the kings of Burgundy, Italy, and the West Franks. He defeated with great slaughter the Northmen (891), but was unable to subdue the Slavic kingdom of Moravia, which included much of what is now Bohemia and Austria. At the invitation of the pope, Arnulf made two journeys into Italy, for the purpose of restoring order there and relieving the pope from the tyranny of his enemies, in return for which services the pope crowned him emperor (896).

Arnulf, 887–99.

The reign of his son, known as Ludwig the Child (899–911), was fatal to the unity of Germany. The local nobility, filled with a desire for independent power, seized offices and lands and made them hereditary in their own families. As the empire of Karl the Great had broken up into many little states, so the kingdom of Arnulf fell apart into five great duchies, known as Franconia, Saxony, Bavaria, Suabia, and Lotharingia. Owing to the weakness of the king, certain men in these duchies were able to usurp authority and assume the title of duke, and were, in their duchies, practically independent of the king. The boundaries of the duchies, following tribal lines, helped to

Ludwig, the Child, 899–911.

The great Duchies.

preserve and perpetuate the differences that already existed among these five great groups of Germans. The people of each duchy longed to be independent of all the others, and preferred their own narrow interests to those of the kingdom.

With the death of Ludwig the Child the line of Karl the Great came to an end in Germany, and it was therefore necessary to elect a king. The honour fell to Conrad I. (911–18), duke of Franconia. Although able, brave, active, and ambitious to rule well, his reign was spent in a vain endeavour to make good the traditional authority of the king over the dukes. He allied himself closely with the clergy, and at a council at Altheim (916) they threatened with the ban all who should resist him. Political disaffection was to be regarded as heresy and punished in the same way. But even with the aid of the clergy Conrad could not reduce the dukes; and at his death he designated as his successor his most powerful rival, Henry of Saxony.

Conrad I., of Franconia, king, 911–18.

The nobles of Saxony and Franconia came together in Fritzlar and elected Henry king (called the Fowler, also the Builder of Cities, 919–36). He was a practical man, who saw all the difficulties of the position, and was persuaded that a feudal kingship was the only kind now possible. The days of the Karlings were gone for ever. The power of the dukes was not to be broken; their independence in their own territory was not to be questioned; and they were to be held responsible to the king only for the feudal duties which they recognized as due him. This feudal conception of the kingship was new, and radically changed the attitude of the king toward the clergy and the dukes, for as he meant to be friendly with the dukes, he did not need the special help of the clergy. After his election, the archbishop of Mainz, as primate of the kingdom, wished to anoint him, but Henry refused, saying that the election alone was sufficient.

The Saxon Line, 919–1002.

Henry I., 919–36.

Henry I. and the Church.

In 924 the Magyars, or Hungarians, invaded Saxony. Henry was unable to meet them in the field, and therefore made a nine years' treaty with them, paying them a heavy

tribute. These years Henry used to put his country into a good state of defence and to improve his army. His preparations are described by Widukind (i., 35) as follows: "He first chose one out of every nine soldiers who were living in the country and compelled him to live in a city (urbs), in order that he might build dwellings for the other eight and lay by one-third of all the grain produced, while the other eight should sow and harvest for the ninth. In these cities, on the construction of which they laboured day and night, the king ordered that all trials, meetings, and festivals of whatever sort, should be held, in order that the people in times of peace might become accustomed to what would be necessary in time of war (*i.e.*, to living together in close quarters)." Towns are mentioned which he fortified, such as Merseburg, Meissen, and Quedlinburg. There were walled towns before his time, but most of the Germans lived in open, straggling villages. Henry gave a great impulse to town life, and it was due to his activity that the German towns now became more numerous, and that in the next century there was a large and important citizen class. Commerce was also thereby greatly promoted. During these years of peace Henry developed a good army. All who did military service were trained in the use of arms by military sports, and a cavalry troop was formed. The Saxons, it would seem, up to this time, had fought only on foot. The new mode of fighting was soon to become common, since it was generally those who had some means who were called on to follow the king on his campaigns. The poorer people being unable to equip themselves with horses and arms, now sank to the position of serfs or slaves, and so escaped military service.

Progress in Germany.

The founding of cities.

Henry was successful in wresting territory from both the Danes on the north and the Slavs on the east. In 933 he refused to pay the Magyars tribute, met them in the field, and defeated them with great loss in several battles. The superiority of the improved method of defence, the walled towns, the cavalry, and the trained army, was now apparent. Before his death (936) he had his son Otto recognized as his successor.

Henry extends Germany to the East.

Otto I. (936-73) came to the throne with a different character and with ideas about his office entirely different from those of his father. Henry was noted for his modesty and humility: he was practical, and never strove for the impossible. He clearly recognized that he could not destroy the power of the dukes, and was therefore willing to recognize their independence. Otto, on the contrary, was proud and ambitious. He had high ideas about his royal rights and prerogatives. He was not content with the position of feudal king, but regarded himself as the successor of Karl the Great. The sacred character of the king, acquired by anointment and by the peculiar relations existing between himself and the clergy, had been neglected by Henry, but Otto revived it. The dukes had been his father's equals; Otto determined to make them his officials. Henry had not relied on the clergy, because he was determined to be on friendly terms with the dukes; Otto, on the other hand, needed the help of the clergy to strip the dukes of their power. The events connected with his election and coronation illustrate the difference between his ideals and those of his father. There had been some dissatisfaction with Henry because of his simplicity, and there was now a desire that the traditions of Karl the Great should be revived. In accordance with this wish, Aachen, the ancient capital, was appointed as the place for the formal election of Otto. All the dukes and the highest nobility were present, and Otto was anointed and crowned with great pomp. Afterward he sat down to the coronation banquet, at which he was served by the dukes. Duke Giselbert of Lorraine was his chamberlain, *i.e.* he had charge of the palace, Eberhard of Franconia was his steward or dish-bearer, Hermann of Suabia his cup-bearer, and Arnulf of Bavaria his marshal.

Otto I., 936–73.

His coronation.

But Otto's haughty manner angered the dukes, and they plotted with his ambitious brothers for his overthrow. A long struggle ensued, in which Otto was successful in dispossessing all the dukes, and making their duchies dependent on himself, by giving them to members of his own family. As a counter-

poise to the power of the nobles, Otto followed the policy of strengthening the clergy by enriching them and conferring authority upon them.[1] The clergy thus became a large and powerful part of the nobility. This policy proved to be disastrous, for in the struggle which came later between the empire and the papacy, the clergy of Germany turned against their benefactors and helped destroy them.

Otto's policy toward the barbarians.

Toward the barbarians east of Germany Otto had a well-defined policy. In 955, on the Lech river, near Augsburg, he won a decisive victory over the Magyars, and put an end to their invasions by compelling them, after accepting Christianity, to settle in the territory which they have ever since occupied (Hungary). The Slavs, too, were compelled to acknowledge Otto's overlordship. As a defence against them several marches (marks) were established along the whole eastern frontier and put under able men.

The Slavs Christianized and Germanized.

Magdeburg was made the religious capital of the Slavs by establishing there an archbishop. Mission work was vigorously carried on among them, and for this purpose Otto established the bishoprics of Havelberg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, and Posen. Many monasteries arose, and the monks became not only the missionaries but also the teachers and civilizers of these barbarian peoples. German colonists went with the monks and clergy, and the process of Germanizing the Slavs was begun. To Otto the Great belongs the honour of having begun the policy toward these barbarians which was to result in making Germans of them, and in adding their territory to Germany. The east was the only direction in which Germany could expand. The way to the west was closed, but to the east there were extensive territories which could be conquered and Germanized. If these peoples could be kept dependent on Germany for their civilization and Christianity, it must inevitably follow that they would lose their nationality and become German. From this time on the expansion of Ger-

[1] Bryce: "The Holy Roman Empire," chap. viii., develops this thought at some length.

many to the east among these peoples, her conquest and absorption of them, is one of the most important parts of her history. In this way all of Prussia that lies east of the Elbe was won from the Slavs. Bohemia and Hungary were not Germanized because, through the weakness of the successors of Otto, they succeeded in getting an independent ecclesiastical establishment, thereby preserving their own nationality.

Since the coronation of Arnulf, Italy had fallen upon evil times. She was hopelessly divided, the theatre of contending peoples and factions. The Greek emperor held many places in the southern part of the peninsula, while the Mohammedans had possession of Sicily and other islands, and a few ports on the mainland. In Rome the pope claimed to be master, but the city was the prey of factions among the nobility. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were practically independent. Lombardy was divided into a large number of insignificant principalities, whose rulers were all striving for the control of Italy and the royal or imperial crown. One of these claimants, Lothar of Provence, died in 950, and his widow, Adelaide, a Burgundian princess, was seized by another claimant of the crown for the purpose of compelling her to marry his son. Disliking the proposed union, Adelaide appealed to the king of Germany for protection. Otto gallantly responded by crossing the Alps (951) and marrying the princess himself. It was his intention to go on to Rome, but revolts at home made his speedy return to Germany necessary.

The condition of Italy.

Parties.

Otto's first journey to Italy.

During this period the papacy lost in reputation by falling under the control of political parties in Rome. The magnificent claims of Leo the Great to be the bishop of the whole Church were now entirely forgotten in the chaos of contending Roman parties. The noble families of Rome were divided into factions, each of which strove to make one of its number bishop, in order to exercise the authority and enjoy the perquisites which that office possessed. The duke of Spoleto had a party, as did also Berengar and the

Roman factions.

other phantom kings who displayed their weakness in the unfortunate peninsula. The German king had his supporters, and there was an anti-German faction which objected to any interference on the part of the German king. The rage and violence shown by these factions is almost incredible. In 891 Formosus, a friend of Arnulf of Germany, was made pope. Throughout his pontificate he was known to be an ally of the German emperor, and the bitterness against him was intense. When Stephen VI. was elected by the faction of Spoleto his hatred of the Germans was so great that he had the remains of Formosus exhumed in order to go through the forms of a trial. The body of Formosus was clothed in pontifical robes, placed on a papal throne, and charges made against him, in a synod called together for this purpose. The verdict was, of course, unfavourable, and his body was mutilated and thrown into the Tiber.

For nearly forty years Rome was in a turmoil of contending parties, no one being able to restore order. But finally, in the course of these struggles, a certain Alberic drove out all competitors and made himself master of the city with the title of "Princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator." Until his death in 954 Alberic held the power in Rome, not only over the city but also over the popes. The writings of the times contain many invectives, but few charges, against Alberic. As a governor he had much ability. He tried to ally himself with the eastern emperor, and he was interested in the Cluniac reform to such an extent that he asked bishop Odo of Cluny to restore the discipline in, and reform the monasteries of, Rome. His only offence, a great one in the eyes of Churchmen, was that he kept the papacy thoroughly under his control and used the pope as one of his officials. Alberic even wished to make the papacy hereditary in his family. His son Octavian, a boy of sixteen years, succeeded him in authority, and a year later was made pope. He took the title of John XII. (955). His pontificate was disgraceful in the extreme, and he shocked the city with his mad pranks and open debauchery.

Alberic.

The Papacy to become hereditary.

Both he and the people of Lombardy are said to have appealed to Otto for protection. At any rate, Otto again appeared in Italy, and after being crowned emperor (962), spent several months in renovating the papacy and restoring order. The people of Rome took an oath to him that they would never elect a pope without first consulting him.

Under Otto the Great Germany was made the first power in Europe. In 973 he celebrated Easter at Quedlinburg, and held there a great assembly, where he received embassies from Rome, Constantinople, from the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Russians, Slavs, and Danes. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland came in person to do him homage. A few days later he died at Memleben, and was buried in Magdeburg, his favourite city.

Death of Otto I., 973.

The reign of Otto the Great is an important one in the history of the civilization of Germany. It has already been stated that he allied himself with, and strengthened, the clergy in order to resist the dukes, but while using them in this way, Otto did not lower their moral and religious tone. His bishops and archbishops were all men of ability and genuine piety. His reign is noted for a revival in both religion and learning. Several members of his family occupied high positions in the Church; Bruno, his brother, became archbishop of Cologne; one of his sons, William, was archbishop of Mainz, his uncle, Robert, bishop of Trier; other relatives became prominent bishops, abbots, and abbesses. All these performed their duties to the Church as well as to the emperor without any conflict. At the court itself no immorality was tolerated. Otto surrounded himself with learned men, and his age is marked by great literary activity. Many of the great monasteries kept chronicles. Some important histories and biographies were composed, and poems and comedies were produced. The most notable among them were Liutprand's "History of Otto," The Annals of Quedlinburg, Hildesheim, and St Gall, Widukind's *Res Gestæ Saxonicæ*, Ekkehard's "Walthari Lied," and the historical poems and dramas of Hrotsuitha, a nun in the

Importance of his reign.

monastery of Gandersheim. Her "Lapsus et Conversio Theophili" is regarded as the oldest poetical treatment of the Faust legend of the Middle Age. In the monasteries, Terence, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero were read. Otto also imitated the *Schola Palatina* of Karl the Great. Otto himself tried to learn Latin, but never became able to speak it well. During his reign German became a literary language: a harmony of the gospels was composed in it, and a great epic poem written, called "Der Heliand" (The Saviour). It is a life of Jesus put into a German setting. It is full of German customs, manners, and ways of thinking, and is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the condition of the German mind in those times.

By receiving the imperial crown, Otto renewed the political bonds which had once held Germany and Italy together. This union was in many respects injurious to both countries. Instead of exerting themselves in an effort to unite Germany and to centralize the power, the emperors, drawn into a long and fatal struggle with the papacy, wore themselves out in fruitless Italian campaigns, which ended disastrously to the Hohenstaufen line. France and England were unified under their own kings, while Italy and Germany were unable to achieve political unity till in our own day.

Italy and Germany united.

Otto II. (973–83), although able, resisted in vain the decadence that had begun. The barbarians disarranged the system of marches on the frontier and checked the extension of Germany to the east. Otto II. was succeeded by his three-year-old son, Otto III. (983–1002), who was brought up by his mother and tutors in the fantastical idea that he should restore Rome to her former greatness by making her the seat of his government. He made several journeys into Italy to restore order and reform the papacy. In 996 he made his cousin pope, Gregory V., and in 999 elevated to the papacy his tutor, Gerbert, the most learned man of his age, with the name of Silvester II. Leaving Germany at the mercy of the nobles

Otto II., 973–83.

Otto III., 983–1002.

and the barbarians, Otto III. went to Italy and took up his residence on the Aventine Hill (1001). His death the next year ended a reign that was as disastrous for Germany as for the imperial power.

Henry II., the Saint, 1002–24.

Henry II. (1002–24), known as the Saint, by allying himself closely with the clergy, and giving his attention principally to Germany, was able to revive in part the failing authority of the king. The work was taken up and more successfully prosecuted by his successor,

Conrad II., 1024–39.

Conrad II. (1024–39), duke of Franconia. He increased the royal authority in every way possible. By the bequest of the last king of Burgundy he inherited that kingdom (1032). He got possession of the duchies in Germany, and either held them himself or gave them to members of his family. He sought to diminish the feudal power of the great nobles by decreeing that the subjects owed the king military service directly and must come at his call. He won the sympathy of all sub-vassals by declaring their fiefs hereditary, and forbidding the great lords to dispossess them without sufficient cause.

The Franconian Line, 1024–1125.

By increasing the territory of the empire and strengthening the boundaries, by attaching the smaller nobles to himself and getting full possession of the duchies, Conrad II. laid the foundation for the prosperous reign of his son, Henry III.

Henry III., 1039–56.

(1039-56). Although Henry III. was unsuccessful against both the Slavs and Hungarians, he was able to hold the turbulent nobles of Germany in check. According to feudal principles, every one had the right of private war. Any one who suffered violence might gather as large a force as he could muster and avenge himself on the offender. The Church, alleging that no Christian should shed blood, attempted to establish the "peace of God" on earth by prohibiting all warfare; but finding it impossible to enforce so sweeping a prohibition, she ordered that all combatants should observe the "truce of God" by refraining from all fighting or violence from Wednesday evening till the following Monday morning. Henry III. not only sanctioned this, but assumed

the right to punish all who should in any way disturb the peace of the land.

Unlike his father, Henry III. did not practise simony. He appointed both bishops and abbots, and was careful to choose only men that were worthy and able to fill the position. He never sold church offices. Taking up the great movement which had its origin in the monastery of Cluny, he endeavoured to reform the morals and life of the clergy of Germany in accordance therewith. He fostered the schools in the monasteries and established other schools for laymen, attendance at which he even thought of making compulsory on the children of the nobles.

Henry III. reforms the papacy.

Henry made two journeys into Italy (1046 and 1055), during the first of which he received the imperial crown. The papacy had again become a city office in the hands of factions. Each party elected a pope whenever its needs seemed to demand such action. When Henry reached Italy (1046) he found three popes claiming the office. In councils at Sutri and Rome he deposed all three, assumed the title of *patricius*, and, declaring it was his right to name the bishop of Rome, elevated to that position Sudgar of Bamberg, who took the name of Clement II. During the rest of his reign Henry three times filled the office, always with excellent men. In Italy he opposed simony in all its forms, and refused to take bribes from the candidates for the papal throne. The Cluniac ideas were rapidly gaining ground, and, since Henry was in hearty sympathy with them, he did all he could to establish them, working harmoniously with the popes and other reformers to make the Church what she should be.

Henry III. wished to be an absolute master and to rule in an autocratic way. His treatment of the nobles was especially distasteful to them, and at his death in 1056 the opportunity was offered them to regain their much-coveted power. He left a son, Henry IV., only six years old, who was no match for them. The emperors, Henry III. not least, had done everything they could to make the Church great and powerful,

believing that the clergy would always be grateful and true to their benefactors. Just at the critical time, however, when Henry IV. was a mere boy, and more than ever needed their help, they deserted him and supported the high claims of the bishop of Rome. The emperor had claimed and exercised the right to appoint the pope. The tables were now to be turned, and the pope was soon to claim the authority to make and unmake both kings and emperors. The fatal struggle between the papacy and the emperor for the supremacy of the world was about to begin.

Condition of southern Italy.

A new power was just arising in southern Italy which was destined to give very valuable aid to the papacy and to play an important part in the long struggle. From the middle of the ninth century the Saracens had possession of Sicily, and also held many places on the main-land. The principal part of southern Italy, called the theme of Lombardy, still belonged to the emperor at Constantinople, and was ruled by his officers. On the east coast these possessions extended to the north as far as Mount Gargano, and on the west almost to Salerno. To the north of this district was a large group of independent or semi-independent principalities, such as Salerno, Amalfi, Naples, Capua, Benevento, and Spoleto, which neither the Greek nor the German emperor had been able to attach permanently to his interests. They spent their time in warring with one another, or with the garrisons of the Greeks or Saracens about them. They were mere political fragments, and their condition seemed hopelessly chaotic.

The Normans get possessions in southern Italy and become the pope's vassals.

In 1016 some Normans, returning from a pilgrimage to Palestine, were shipwrecked near Salerno, and the prince of that town secured their aid in an impending battle against the Saracens. The rewards which they carried back home with them fired the cupidity of some of their fellow-countrymen, and from this time we find Norman soldiers of fortune in southern Italy offering their services to the highest bidder. About 1027 the duke of Naples granted

Aversa to a band of such adventurers, and by conquest they added other small territories to this. Having quarrelled with their allies, the Greeks, over the distribution of spoil, they attacked and conquered Apulia, which they organized into a kind of republic. The headship in this little state was acquired by William of the Iron Arm, who passed it on to his brothers, each of whom followed an aggressive policy of conquest and annexation. In 1053 they made war on pope Leo IX. After taking him prisoner, they fell at his feet, begged forgiveness, and asked to be made his vassals and confirmed in their title to the lands which they had conquered.

In 1057 the ablest of the brothers, Robert Guiscard, succeeded to the title of count of Apulia. Two years later he appeared before pope Nicholas II. (1059–61), gave him the oath of allegiance, and received in return the title of duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Sicily and a part of Calabria were still in the hands of the Saracens, and the newly-made duke had to conquer them. After about thirty years of petty warfare, the Mohammedan power was broken and the Norman rule established in Sicily. Robert ruled his duchy well; Amalfi was for a while one of the principal commercial cities of Italy, and the schools of Salerno also added lustre to his name.

Robert Guiscard made duke, 1059.

Sicily conquered, 1060–1090.

A revolution in Constantinople gave Robert an opportunity to attempt to extend his territories to the east. In 1081 Alexius Comnenus usurped the power and expelled the emperor Nicephorus III. Constantine, the son of the preceding emperor, Michael VII., had married the daughter of Robert Guiscard. Apparently to restore his son-in-law, who had a distant claim to the crown, but probably to secure the crown for himself, Robert Guiscard gathered an army to invade the Greek empire. Gregory VII. gave him his blessing, and promised to invest him with all the lands he might conquer. Durazzo, on the coast of Epirus, was first taken. Alexius sent Henry IV. of Germany large sums of money, and begged him

Robert attacks the Greek emperor.

to make an invasion into southern Italy. Alexius also secured the aid of the Venetians by granting them commercial privileges, such as the freedom from tolls and the possession of a Venetian quarter in Constantinople. After capturing Durazzo, Robert forced his way into the interior. Towns and fortresses fell into his hands until he controlled much of Epirus and Thessaly. At this moment Gregory VII., who was hard pressed by Henry IV., called on Robert to come to his aid. Leaving his army in charge of his son Boemund, Robert hastened to Rome, where he succeeded in driving off the Germans and freeing the pope. But in Thessaly the diplomacy of Alexius won the victory. By offering large bribes he won over many of the Norman knights. He levied fresh troops in other parts of the empire. Boemund's forces were gradually weakened by losses in battle, by sickness and desertions, so that Alexius was able to defeat him and gradually force him back to the Adriatic. At last, Durazzo was re-taken, and Boemund with his handful of men returned to Italy. Although Robert Guiscard renewed the attempt, Alexius had in the meanwhile so strongly fortified and garrisoned the coast that Robert met with small success. His untimely death in the following year (1085) put an end to the invasion, and Boemund made peace with Alexius.

Death of Robert, 1085.

The work of Robert Guiscard was to live after him. By his conquests he had united Sicily and the southern part of Italy into one great duchy, which was to be the basis for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He was succeeded as duke by his brother Roger in 1085, who in turn was followed by his son, Roger II. (1101). This second Roger, inheriting the well-known family characteristics, ambition and great ability, succeeded in changing his duchy into a kingdom (1130).

Basis for a new kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII

FEUDALISM

LITERATURE.—Adams, *Civilization.*
Hallam, *Middle Ages.*
Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond.*
Pollock and Maitland, *The History of the English Law.*
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Turner, *The Germanic Constitution.*
Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England.*
Guizot, *Civilization in Europe*, Lecture IV.
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FEUDALISM is the name applied to the economic, social, and political relations and conditions existing in Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. These economic relations are expressed by the phrase "feudal tenure of land," the theory underlying which was that the tenant or holder of any piece of land had only the use of it, for which he must pay certain dues as rent, to the man (lord or suzerain) from whom he had received it. Property in land was not absolute, but of a beneficiary nature; that is, the holder had only the benefits of the use of it, not the land itself. In theory the land belonged to God, who let it to the king, who, in turn, sublet it to his great vassals, and these then parcelled it out to their subjects.

Feudalism defined.

Economic relations, feudal tenure.

The general word expressing the social relations of the period is "vassalage," which indicates the personal relation and bond existing between the man who thus held the land and the man from whom he had received it. It conveys on the side of the vassal the idea of social inferiority and the obligation to perform certain services for his lord.

Social relations, lord and vassal.

The political relations of the period are expressed by the words "immunity, and sovereignty," which mean that the holder of an estate is, in the matter of its government, independent of his lord; that is, with the use of the land he also received from his lord the right, within his own territory, to perform the judicial, executive, and even, to some extent, the legislative functions of government, and in the ordinary exercise of these functions he is free from all interference on the part of his lord. He is, therefore, on his own domain, to all intents and purposes, and, within certain limits, an independent king. The essential features of feudalism then are these three things—feudal tenure, vassalage, and immunity.

Political relations, immunity.

This condition of affairs was the outcome of the chaos of the two centuries which followed the death of Karl the Great. Not even he had been able wholly to centralize the power, and to sustain a personal relation to all his subjects. He struggled during all his reign against the tendency to separation, and the ambitious efforts of various provinces of his empire to achieve local independence. The machinery of his government was not inherently weak; it needed only a strong and vigorous man to conduct it. Under his successors, in the ninth and tenth centuries, because of their weakness, and the struggles of rebellious sons and nobles, his empire broke up into many pieces. There was no one to enforce the laws and preserve order, since the emperor was too weak to do so. Men found that they could break the laws, therefore, with impunity. The strong oppressed the weak, seized their goods, their lands, and even their persons, forcing them into the position of vassals or serfs. This is the period of violence and usurpations, or what the Germans most appropriately call *Faustrecht* or "fist right"; the man with the strong arm might do whatever he chose. The wheels of government stopped, and the people had, therefore, to take care of themselves. "Royalty no longer performed the duties for which it was instituted, and protection, which could not be obtained from the nominal head of the state, was

Origin of feudalism.

Duruy, Bk. V., chap. xv.

now sought from the bishops, counts, barons, and all powerful men." Their attempts to take care of themselves resulted in a complicated set of customs and practices, the sum of which was feudalism. The weak man, in order that he might not be utterly destroyed by the violence of those who were stronger than he, often willingly surrendered all that he had to some bishop or count, put himself under his protection, and assumed the vassal relation. The violence and chaos of the ninth and tenth centuries produced these changes and brought about this condition of affairs. Even before the ninth century there were prevalent among the peoples of Europe many customs which furnished certain elements of feudalism, but they were not what produced it. Such things as the German *comitatus*, or *Gefolge*, and the Gallic "commendation," undoubtedly were prototypes of some of the feudal customs, but these would not have developed into feudalism if it had not been for the chaotic economic, social, and political condition of Europe in those two centuries.

Under Karl the Great tenure of office had depended upon his will; under his weak successors, many of the imperial and royal officials declared that they not only held their offices by a life tenure, but that these were also hereditary in their family. These claims they were able to make good in spite of the imperial opposition. In this way the judicial, executive, and legislative functions of the central government were usurped. Karl the Great had rewarded his officials with gifts of lands. Under his successors, all the holders of such lands succeeded in making their possessions hereditary in their family, while still recognizing the emperor as the actual possessor of them.

Office and lands become hereditary.

Many who held property by the allodial (freehold or fee simple) tenure were deprived of their lands by force and reduced to the position of vassals. Others, when they saw themselves exposed to so great danger, bought protection by offering to surrender their lands to some lord on the condition that he would protect them and permit them, as his tenants or vassals, to hold the

Freehold lands become feudal.

same lands. Under the emperors of the sixth and seventh centuries, a similar process was going on because of the heavy taxation and the oppression by the government. Previously all land had been held by the allodial tenure, but gradually this was so thoroughly changed that by the end of the twelfth century the principle was generally acknowledged that all land must have a feudal lord and be held by the feudal tenure. In the thirteenth century there was very little land in western and northern Europe held in any other way. Fiefs and vassalage, therefore, arose in grants, usurpations, seizures, and voluntary surrender.

Feudalism not a system.

Since feudalism grew out of the chaos of the times, it could hardly be expected that it would have a uniform character. In fact, the feudalism of one province differed from that of another. In the general stress and danger each one made such terms as he could with his lord. Feudalism is not a system, therefore; it is as chaotic and irregular as the period in which it arose. To almost every general statement about it exceptions could be found. Classifications are impossible, because of the great and numerous variations which are everywhere met with. It is a misnomer to speak of the feudal "system," since by that word the idea is conveyed that it is an orderly and uniform set of customs and regulations.

A great step toward better things was taken when Henry III. declared himself to be guardian of the public peace, or "peace of the land," and threatened to punish all who disturbed it. By this means private warfare was partially limited. The chaos and anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries yielded in a measure to regularity and order. The customs were more fixed and better observed. Feudalism became less chaotic, and society, therefore, more stable; violence became less and security greater; travel was possible because of the greater safety along the highways. The effect was soon seen in the steady revival of commerce, which became more pronounced as the eleventh century advanced.

The Church was completely drawn into feudal relations.

In those days of violence and rapine, the robber and plunderer had little or no regard for the property of the Church, or the lives of the Churchmen. Churches and monasteries, like individuals, were, therefore, compelled to seek protection. The bishop or priest, for his church or diocese, and the abbot or prior, for his monastery, surrendered the church's or monastery's property to some lord and received it back in return for the payment of certain rents and dues. Such churches and monasteries were legally feudal individuals, and were, of course, required to perform all feudal duties. The lands, indeed, belonged to the Church, and, theoretically, could not be alienated from the Church and ecclesiastical uses. As late as the eleventh century it was not at all uncommon for the clergy to marry. Since fiefs were hereditary, it seemed perfectly proper that their children should be provided for out of the church lands which they held. But unless all their children became clergymen, these church lands would pass into the hands of laymen and therefore be lost to the Church. One of the purposes of the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy was to prevent this alienation and diminution of the church lands.

The Church and feudalism.

The land, office, or any right or privilege granted and held as indicated above was called a fief, fee, or benefice. The lord, liege, or suzerain was the one who granted a fief. The receiver of it was his vassal or liegeman. Sub-infeudation was the re-granting of a fief by a vassal to a third person, who, therefore, became a vassal to a vassal. In connection with the infeudation of a fief there were certain rights and ceremonies called homage; kneeling with uncovered head, folded hands, and sword ungirt before his prospective lord, the vassal made a set speech in which he vowed that he would become the lord's "man," and perform all the duties which this relation demanded. The lord then raised him, received his oath of fidelity, and by a symbolic act (usually the presentation of a sword, standard, sceptre, ring, staff, a bit of earth or a twig) invested him with the possession of the fief in question.

Feudal terms.

The one great duty of the lord to his vassal was to protect him. The lord must avenge his vassal's wrongs, defend him in all his privileges, and secure him justice in all matters. The vassal, on the other hand, owed his lord service, which might be of various kinds. Military service was, in some respects, the most important, and in accordance with the ideas of the times was regarded as noble. Service in labour, gifts, money, and produce, was regarded as menial or ignoble. Military service in the days of Karl the Great had been required of all freemen. The army was composed of the whole people under arms. As the use of cavalry was introduced and became general, and the practice of wearing armour universal, it became impossible for every one to equip himself with the required paraphernalia. Continuous and far-distant campaigns made it necessary for many people to remain at home to till the soil. Karl the Great had the right to call his army together at any time, and demand their service in any part of the empire, and for any length of time. By offering united resistance the vassals later succeeded in acquiring two important limitations to this: they could be compelled to serve only forty days in the year, and only at a reasonable distance from their homes.

Noble or military service.

Feudal armies could not be levied directly by the king; he must first send the summons to his great vassals, with the order to appear with a certain number of men at a certain time and place. These, in turn, delivered the order to their vassals, and so the command was passed along until it had reached the end of the line of vassals. Under such conditions it is easily apparent that a feudal army was of little use, even when it was got together. Since wars must be fought, the rulers ceased to rely on their feudal levies, and engaged mercenary troops, which they kept as a standing army. Among the special duties laid upon a vassal were the following: If in a battle the lord were unhorsed, the vassal must give him his own horse; if the lord were in personal danger, the vassal must defend him with his life; if the lord were taken prisoner of war, the vassal was bound to go as a hostage for him.

Feudal armies.

There were various circumstances under which the lord might demand money from his vassals. When he knighted his eldest son, or gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or himself was taken prisoner, he might demand any sum which his vassal was able to pay. Such payments were called "aids," and tended to become fixed. A relief was a sum of money paid by an heir when he entered upon his inheritance at the death of his father. Ordinarily this was the entire income of the estate for a year. The same rule existed in regard to ecclesiastical offices. The newly-appointed bishop or priest was compelled to pay the first-fruits (the annates), which meant the income of his office for a year. If a vassal died without heirs, his property reverted to the lord (escheat), and might then be re-let to another vassal. If a vassal wished to surrender his fief to another, he had first to get the consent of his lord and pay a certain sum of money (fine upon alienation). If a vassal were guilty of treason, the lord might claim his possession by forfeiture. In England the king claimed, also, certain other rights, such as wardship and marriage; that is, if a vassal died leaving only children who were minors, the king became their guardian, and managed, and had the income from, their estates until they became of age. His consent to their marriage must be obtained, for which they were expected to pay well. One of the most oppressive rights of the lord was that of fodrum; that is, the maintenance of himself and retinue, or even his army; when passing through any district he might demand that its residents supply himself and his followers with food. In the same way, he might require the people along the way to furnish him a sufficient number of horses and waggons to transport him and his train from one place to another.

Feudal dues.

The rents due from the vassal were of various kinds. Generally a certain sum was due for the land, another for the house, sometimes another for the fire (chimney), and ordinarily a small tax for each head of stock (cattle, sheep, hogs, etc.). Of course the lord received a certain share of all that was produced on the soil—of the

Feudal rents and duties.

wheat, hay, wine, chickens, stock, honey, beeswax, and, in fact, of everything. A charge was also made for the privilege of pasturing the stock in the forests or fields of the lord, for obtaining firewood from his forests, and for fishing in the streams which were regarded as his property. The peasants were forbidden to sell their grain for a certain length of time after the harvest, or their wine after the vintage, in order that the lord might have a temporary monopoly in these articles. They were compelled to bake their bread in his oven, grind their corn at his mill, and press their grapes in his winepress, for all of which a suitable toll in kind was charged. The lord could also seize the grain, wine, and other produce of his tenant, paying him what he chose, either in cash or at the end of a certain time. The tenant was required to labour also for his lord a certain number of days in the year. He must till his fields, care for his crops, make his wine, furnish horses and waggons on demand, haul his wood for the fires in the house, stones for building purposes, keep his castle and other buildings in repair, build defences, repair the roads and bridges, and render a multitude of other services.

Feudal justice.

The lord exercised over his tenants the power of a judge. All cases were tried before him or his officers. He had the right to impose and collect fines for all sorts of offences. For every crime and misdemeanour there was a fixed money penalty. The administration of justice on a great domain was, therefore, the source of a considerable income. The lord held court three times a year, at which all his vassals were expected to be present; but such attendance was soon felt to be burdensome, and they secured permission to absent themselves on the payment of a fee.

These are some of the most important rights of a feudal lord. It was to the lord's interest, of course, to multiply them and enforce them whenever possible. The vassals did all they could to limit them, and to preserve their liberty and independence. It is apparent, however, that the vassals were subject to innumerable burdens, and if their lord or his overseer were so disposed, their lives could be made unendurable.

The land was ordinarily divided into large estates, or domains, in the hands of what we may call great landlords, who, of course, did no work themselves. Very often they did not even oversee their estates, but left that work to the care of a foreman or agent. This office of agent often became a fief, but sometimes it was farmed out for a certain sum. The holder of it received no salary, but was expected to get his pay out of the administration of the office itself. This he did at the expense of the peasants. The central house, or manor of the estate, was regarded as the residence of the lord, although it frequently happened that he spent little time at it, especially if he possessed several domains. The manor was often the residence of the agent. About the manor was a considerable amount of land which was held by the lord and cultivated for his benefit. Since all his tenants owed him a certain number of days' labour, he never had any difficulty in having this land well cultivated.

Disposition of the soil.

All the rest of the tillable land and meadow, after being divided into small lots and parcelled out among the tenants, became hereditary in the family of the one who tilled them. These tenants lived, generally, in little houses grouped together, forming a village. All the inhabitants of the country were known as peasants (*rustici*, villeins), and may be divided into two classes, serfs and free. But within these two divisions there were many variations.

Feudal society.

Feudal society may be divided into three classes, the peasants or tillers of the soil, the citizens or inhabitants of the towns, forming the industrial class, and the aristocracy, who lived upon the labours of the other two classes.

The slavery of the early empire had been changed into serfdom. The slaves had become attached to the soil which they tilled and were no longer sold. They were allowed to marry, and in accordance with the prevailing feudal customs received a bit of land to till. At first the lord could tax his serfs at will, but gradually limits were set to the demands which he might make. The serf paid an annual poll-tax, and if he married some one belonging

Serfs.

to another domain he also paid a certain sum for the privilege of doing so. He could neither alienate nor dispose of his possessions by will, and at his death all that he had went to the lord. The serf could neither be taken from his land, nor might he leave it; yet many serfs ran away from their lords, and, passing themselves off for freemen, took service with other lords. If caught, however, they could be restored to their former lord; but if they could secure admission to the ranks of the clergy they thereby became free men. They might also become free in other ways. They might, if their master were willing, formally renounce him, surrender all their goods, and quit the domain. On the other hand, the lord might set a serf free on the payment of a certain sum. This became, indeed, a favourite way of raising money. The lord would set free all the serfs of his domain and demand the payment of the fee. Since they became his free tenants and must remain and till his land, he really lost nothing by setting them free, but rather gained. On the other hand, people might be reduced to serfdom by force. The character of free and servile had even become attached to the soil. Certain parts of a domain were called free, probably because they had always been occupied by free peasants, while other parts were called servile, probably because they had always been tilled by slaves who gradually became serfs. If a free peasant occupied this servile land he thereby lost his free character and became a serf. The free peasants were more nearly like renters who pay so much each year for the use of their lands either in money or in produce. Their lands were also hereditary. Being independent of their lord they could dispose of their possessions. There was nothing to prevent them from amassing a considerable amount of property.

Citizens.

In a later chapter will be found a description of the class of citizens. The cities themselves arose after the establishment of feudalism, but were forced into the feudal relations. They were, in fact, regarded as feudal personalities, and were treated much as a feudal individual.

The city, as a whole, owed feudal duties. As the cities grew large and rich, they resisted the feudal claims of their lords and were one of the powers that destroyed feudalism.

Sharply separated from the labouring classes were the nobility. This nobility was divided into two classes, the secular and the ecclesiastical. The only occupation of the secular nobility was the use of arms. *Nobility.* Only he could enter this class who had sufficient money to equip himself as a warrior and to support himself without work; for work was regarded as ignoble. It is probable that for centuries the acquisition of sufficient wealth enabled any one to pass into the ranks of the nobility. But in the thirteenth century nobility became hereditary. The line was sharply drawn between the noble and the ignoble families. Noble birth was added to the requisites of nobility, and eventually became the only requisite. Wealth alone was no longer the passport to noble rank. Intermarriage between nobles and commoners was forbidden, or at least regarded as a mésalliance. In Germany and France all the children born into a noble family inherited the title, while in England the title and wealth passed only to the eldest son. He only was required to marry within his class. The younger children might marry into ignoble families without thereby forming a mésalliance, a fact which accounts for the community of interest which has ever existed in England but not elsewhere between commoner and aristocracy.

From the tenth century it became customary to fight on horseback. Whoever was able to equip himself with a horse and the necessary armour was regarded as a member of the aristocracy of arms. Only the common people still fought on foot. *Cavalry.* From this use of the horse came the terms "chivalry" and "chevalier." Both man and horse were protected by armour in such a way that they were almost invulnerable. The knight wore for defence a helmet, coat of mail, and a shield, and for attack carried a sword and lance. Improvements and additions were constantly made in the armour, which gradually became so heavy that

the knight was almost helpless except on his horse. For ordinary purposes he kept a light horse, but for battle a strong animal was required because of the weight of the armour. Every knight was also attended by an esquire, whose duty it was to care for his horse and weapons and to serve as a body-servant.

Chivalry.

Among this great body of men-of-arms there grew up a set of customs and ideas to which the name of chivalry was given. It came to be regarded as a closed society into which, after certain conditions had been fulfilled, one could be admitted by initiatory ceremonies. Every young nobleman was required to learn the use of arms by serving an apprenticeship of from five to seven years. Generally he was attached to some knight, whom he attended everywhere, serving him in all sorts of ways. Such service, however, was not regarded as ignoble. At the close of his apprenticeship the young man bathed and put on his armour. His master then girded him with a sword and struck him with his hand on the shoulder, at the same time addressing him as knight. This is the earlier form of the ceremony. From the twelfth century on, the clergy added thereto many rites, all of a religious character. The candidate must also fast, spend a night in prayer, attend mass on the following morning, and lay his sword on the altar that it might be blessed by the priest, who then addressed him on his special duties as a knight.

Castles.

The warlike character of the times showed itself in the dwellings as well as in the sports of the nobility. They dwelt in forts rather than in houses. Their castles were built in the places most easily fortified and defended. Ditches, moats, and walls formed the outer defences, while the castle itself, with its high lookout tower, made a stronghold which alone could endure a heavy siege. The sports of the nobility consisted principally of hunting, hawking, and the holding of tournaments. The tournament was supposed to be a mimic battle, but it often resulted fatally. At one tournament alone it is said that sixty knights were killed.

The Church was profoundly influenced by feudal ideas and customs. The whole clergy, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, through their great temporal possessions, were drawn into the feudal relation. The Church taught not only that almsgiving was one of the cardinal virtues, but also that she herself was the fittest object on which it might be practised. Everywhere people give liberally to the Church, hoping thereby to secure the greatest possible intercession with God from the clergy. Monasteries, churches, and colleges of canons became rich from such gifts; in the course of centuries the clergy became possessors of vast tracts of land and great privileges. Every abbot, bishop, and archbishop was therefore a landlord on whom the care of these great estates devolved. Because of their immense wealth, as well as the high honour attached to their calling, they also belonged to the aristocratic class, and ranked with the secular nobility. Since they were the most learned they were also used by the kings and emperors as counsellors and high officials. The great incomes of the monasteries and bishoprics made them especially attractive, and it early became the custom to put the younger sons of noble families into the best of such positions. These ecclesiastical lands, however, could not escape the feudal relation. The ruler of each country declared that all such lands owed him the customary feudal dues. Every bishop or abbot, on his accession to the office, became the king's vassal, and must take the vow of homage and the oath of fealty to him, and receive from him the investiture of the temporal possessions of his office. He must therefore perform, in addition to his ecclesiastical duties, also the civil duties which were required of other vassals. This dual character of the clergy was destined to become one of the principal causes of the bitter struggle between the empire and the papacy. It was impossible for the clergy to be faithful to two masters, both of whom demanded the fullest obedience.

The high clergy.

Feudalism reached its height from the tenth to the

thirteenth centuries and then gradually declined. The invention of gunpowder revolutionized the methods of warfare. Against fire-arms, the knight's armour and castle were equally useless. The close of the Middle Age is marked by the rapid growth of the power of the kings, who succeeded in gathering the power into their own hands. The nobles were deprived of their authority. Out of the fragments of feudalism the king built up an absolute monarchy. The growth of the cities, also, did much to break down feudalism, for as they increased in power and wealth they wrested independence from their lords and threw off the feudal yoke. Various forces were at work to diminish the number of serfs and villeins, such as the crusades, the great pests, and the constant wars. The feudal lords were left without a sufficient number of tenants to do their work. The demand for labourers created the supply, and we find at once an increasing number of free labourers who work for wages without any feudal ties. Gradually feudal tenures were changed into allodial tenures. The fifteenth century saw the breaking up of feudalism, although in France and elsewhere certain fragments remained till the French Revolution, and the social organization of Europe is still largely feudal in its fundamental ideas.

Causes of the decay of feudalism.

CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

LITERATURE.—See General Literature.
Moeller, *Church History.*
Turner, *The Germanic Constitution.*
Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*
Schaff, *History of the Christian Church.*
Bury, *The Later Roman Empire.*
Emerton, *Medieval Europe.*
J. N. Murphy, *The Chair of Peter, or the Papacy and its Benefits.*
Gregorovius, *The History of Rome.* 5 vols.
Stephens, *Hildebrand and his Times.*

DURING the first two hundred years of the Church's existence its actual organization was very loose. Each bishop was practically independent of all other bishops. But there was a steady development throughout the Church toward a closer union of all its parts. The magnificent political and civil organization of the empire furnished an excellent model, which was copied by the Church almost unconsciously. Corresponding to the political head of a province, there grew up an ecclesiastical official, whose authority extended over the province, and whose residence was its capital; that is, there was gradually developed above the bishops of a province an archbishop or metropolitan. The civil province thus became also an ecclesiastical province. The new office naturally fell to the bishop of the capital of the province. The Church followed the organization of the empire so closely that the ecclesiastical rank of the bishop was at first determined by the political rank of the city in which he lived.

Archbishops.

As several political provinces were grouped together to

form a larger division (eparchy), so also several ecclesiastical provinces, with archbishops at their respective heads, were grouped together and formed a larger province, with an over-archbishop at its head. For this officer and his diocese the word patriarch and patriarchate were used in the fourth century. The capitals of these patriarchates were Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Heraclea (which was early replaced by Constantinople), Corinth, Alexandria, and Rome. In the sixth century only five of these were recognized—Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.

Patriarch.

In tracing the growth of the papacy there are two things to be kept clearly separate: the development of the bishop of Rome as the head of the whole Church, and the growth of his power as temporal sovereign. These will be traced separately till the year 755, after which they will be treated together.

Two lines of development.

In the fourth century the bishop of Rome already had two offices: he was, first, the bishop of Rome, and, second, he was also archbishop or patriarch over the territory about Rome. We must discover how he added to these two a third, the office of bishop of the whole Church. Among the natural influences which helped bring this about may be mentioned the following:

The bishop of Rome was the only patriarch in the west, and he therefore had no competition. Since Rome was the capital of the empire, it seemed natural to think of the Church at Rome as in some sense the capital congregation, and its bishop the first bishop in the world. The analogy between him and the emperor would inevitably be drawn. The Church at Rome gave liberally for the relief of the persecuted and of the poor of other congregations. The bishop of Rome had charge of the disbursement of these funds, and received much of the reverence generally given to benefactors. The bishops of Rome were, for the most part, on that side of the great theological questions which was accepted by the whole Church,

Conditions favouring the growth of the spiritual authority of the pope.

and in consequence thereof the feeling arose that they alone of all bishops could be depended on to preserve the orthodox creed of the Church in all its integrity. The bishops and patriarchs in the east quarrelled, not only about the creed, but also about political questions. In their disputes they appealed so often to the bishop of Rome, that in the end he asserted that he had the right to judge between them. At the council of Sardica (343) it was proposed to make Julius, who was then bishop of Rome, judge in all cases where bishops who had been condemned by a council wished to appeal to a higher power. This action met with opposition because it was conferring on Julius a power which he had not previously possessed. The eastern bishops refused to accept it, because it was the act of a local synod, and therefore not representative of the whole Church. Although the honour was given only to Julius, his successors claimed the same right. The action of this council was, therefore, an important step in the development of the universal jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. A council at Nicæa (325) took certain action which implied the equality of all the patriarchs (*i.e.* the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea). The council at Constantinople (381) decreed that the bishop of Constantinople, who had now replaced the bishop of Heraclea, should have the first place in honour and dignity after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was regarded as the new Rome or capital of the empire. This council merely fixed a matter of etiquette, saying only that the bishop of Rome possessed more official dignity and honour than the others. The Council of Chalcedon (451) admitted that the bishop of Rome was entitled to great honour because he was bishop in the ancient capital; but the bishop of New Rome was entitled to equal honour because he was bishop of the city in which the emperor resided and the Senate had its seat. Against this the bishop of Rome, Leo the Great (440–61), protested. He admitted that Constantinople was the capital of the empire, but declared that the political rank of a city did not determine the ecclesiastical rank of its bishop.

It is the apostolic origin of a Church that entitles it to a higher ecclesiastical rank. The Church of Rome, he declared, had been founded by Peter, the prince of the Apostles. To his successors Peter had passed on all his rights, dignity, and supremacy, so that as he was first among the Apostles, the bishops of Rome were first among all the bishops of the world. By virtue of being the successor of St Peter, Leo claimed the right to exercise absolute power over the whole Church. Leo was the first to give a clear-cut expression to this Petrine theory, which from that day to this has been regarded as the basis for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Dionysius Exiguus.

Early in the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of Rome, published two books, the one a collection of canons of the various church councils, the other a collection of letters, opinions, and decisions of popes on various matters. Dionysius treated the opinions of the popes as if they had as much weight as the action of the councils; and as these two works were widely used in the west, they helped raise the authority of the papacy.

The popes carry on missionary work in the west.

While all the causes that have just been named contributed to elevate the pope to a position of supremacy, it was his success in Christianizing the barbarians in western Europe that assured him his position at the head of the Church. The bishops of Rome laboured for the conversion of the Arian Germans to the orthodox belief, and made a close alliance with the Franks when Chlodwig accepted the true faith. The Christianization of England through the efforts of Gregory the Great has already been described. These Anglo-Saxons, the pope's youngest converts, were the most zealous promoters of his interests. Through them the orthodox faith, one of the tenets of which was the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was carried to Ireland, Scotland, and to all the German tribes on the main-land who were either heathen or only nominally Christian, and who acknowledged no allegiance to the bishop of Rome. An Anglo-Saxon princess, Queen Margaret of Scotland, toward the end of the eleventh century, subjected

the Church of Scotland to the papacy, and made it conform in all respects to the Roman Catholic Church. Only the Irish Church, the Church of St Patrick, remained independent and yielded no obedience to Rome, till Henry II. (1154–89) conquered a part of Ireland and brought its Church into subjection to Rome.

In a former chapter attention was called to the missionary labours of Irish monks in Scotland and England. They did not confine their efforts to those countries. Many missionary bands, numbering generally thirteen persons, were sent to the main-land, and laboured among the Frisians and other German tribes, whose Christianity was only nominal. Their Church organization was very loose, and they were not attached to the bishop of Rome. The Irish missionaries found an ample field among them for all their activity.

Irish missionaries on the Continent.

It was a West Saxon, Winifred, or Boniface, as he was later called, who was to re-organize the Church among all the Germans, and subject it to the bishop of Rome. He was born about 680, was brought up in a monastery, and ordained a priest when about thirty years old. In 718 he went to Rome and received from the pope a commission to Christianize and Romanize all the Germans in central Europe. For nearly five years he travelled through Germany, from Bavaria to Frisia, in the prosecution of his work. In 723 he again went to Rome, and was made a missionary bishop without a diocese, at which time he took the same oath to the pope which was required of the bishops in the diocese of Rome. Practically, therefore, the pope regarded Germany as a part of his diocese, and as closely attached to him as were the districts about Rome.

Boniface, 680–755.

From Karl Martel, and after him from Pippin, Boniface obtained support in his work. He received supplies of both men and means from England, and was able to establish in Germany many monasteries. In 743 he was made archbishop of Mainz. He called councils, at which the work of organization was perfected, heresies refuted, a superstitious

rites and customs forbidden, the lives of the clergy regulated, his opponents condemned, and the authority of the bishop of Rome acknowledged.

In 753 he resigned his position as archbishop of Mainz, and went again, with a large number of helpers, as a missionary to Frisia, where he met a martyr's death (754 or 755). But the principal part of his work was done. He had organized the Church throughout Germany and subjected it to Rome. It was from this Church of Germany, now truly dependent on Rome, that Christianity was to be carried to the remaining German tribes, such as the Saxons, Danes, and the people of Scandinavia, and to the Slavic peoples to the east of the Elbe. In this way the doctrine of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, which had become a part of the Roman creed, was spread throughout all Europe, and was regarded as an essential part of Christianity. This movement may be called the Roman Catholic conquest of the west; for it was a conquest, the outcome of a policy, the full results of which could not be foreseen by the popes of that time.

The Roman Catholic conquest of the west.

The work of Boniface has been variously judged. He has been exalted as the apostle of the Germans and condemned as the enslaver of the German Church. At that time the choice was, in reality, between subjection to Rome and heathenism. Boniface chose the former, because it was most certainly the best thing to do. The Church among the Franks and Germans was in a wretched condition. Much of the landed property of the Church was in the hands of laymen. There was little or no discipline, and no control exercised over the clergy. Each priest did what was right in his own eyes. There were, at this time, many vagabond priests and monks wandering about over the country, obtaining a precarious living by imposing upon the people. There was also much heathenism among the people. Such a state of affairs was little better than heathenism pure and simple, and such Christianity, such a Church, would certainly be unable to maintain the Franks

An estimate of his work.

in the leading position they were now holding. Boniface put an end to this disorder. He forbade all monks to leave their monastery without sufficient reason. The wandering clergymen were put under the control of the bishop of the diocese in which they might be found. Strict discipline was everywhere introduced into the monasteries. All monks were compelled to live according to the rule of St Benedict. Laymen were forbidden to hold church property. In a word, the Church was reformed, and a much better type of Christianity was established among the Franks. This was the work of Boniface and deserves praise and admiration.

The growth of the temporal power of the papacy is, in some respects, even more difficult to trace. We have to discover how the pope acquired political power; first, the civil authority in Rome and its duchy, and then the temporal headship over the whole world.

Growth of the pope's temporal power.

From the time of Constantine the bishops were intrusted with an ever-increasing amount of civil power. They acted as judges; they were guardians of morals; they had the oversight of magistrates and a share in the government of the cities. To these the bishop of Rome added still more important powers, and was easily the most important man in Rome. He bitterly resented the right, claimed and exercised by the emperors at Constantinople, to dictate to him in ecclesiastical matters, and was finally so angered by their haughty treatment of him that he was ready to revolt. The image controversy gave him the desired opportunity. When the emperor, Leo III., forbade the use of images, pope Gregory II. replied that it was not the emperor but the bishop of Rome who had authority over the beliefs and practices of the Church. Gregory III. (731–41) even put the emperor under the ban.

In his struggle with the Lombards the pope appealed first to Karl Martel and then to Pippin, visiting the latter in 753–54, and begging him to come and deliver him from their encroachments. Pippin made two campaigns into Italy, and

compelled the Lombards to cede to the pope a strip of territory which lay to the south of them (755). This marks the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. He was freed from the eastern emperor, and recognized as the political as well as the ecclesiastical ruler of Rome and its surrounding territory, under the overlordship of Pippin, who had the title of *patricius*.

Beginning of the papal state, 755.

We have seen that the pope took the final step in his revolt from the eastern emperor by crowning Karl the Great emperor. He persuaded Ludwig the Pious to allow himself to be recrowned by him. In 823 he crowned Lothar emperor, and later his son, Ludwig II. By this long line of precedents the pope so completely established his claim to confer the imperial crown that it was not seriously questioned for centuries.

Thus far, in discussing the growth of the papacy, we have not taken into account the personal element. Such men as Leo I., Gregory I., Gregory II., Gregory III., and Nicholas I. (858-67) have, with great justice, been called makers of the papacy, because of their activity in formulating and advancing the papal claims. Nicholas I., especially, was a man of great force, and made himself felt through all parts of Europe. Throughout his pontificate he acted on the theory that he was responsible for the conduct of affairs in the whole empire. He did not wait for questions to be brought to him, but considered it his duty to take the initiative whenever he discovered anything wrong. Under Nicholas the papacy possessed more influence and power than ever before, and under none of his successors did it reach so high a plane until the appearance of Gregory VII.

Makers of the papacy.

Nicholas I., 858–67.

For a while in the tenth century, indeed, it seemed that the papacy was to be destroyed by the local political factions of Rome. The political character of the office made it a thing to be coveted by all the great families of the city. The dignity of the office was dragged

The papacy in the hands of factions.

through the mire of the ward politics of Rome; it was controlled by infamous women and filled by licentious men. Its political character overshadowed its religious character, and the popes forgot that they owed any duty to the outside world. Otto I., Otto III., and Henry III. rescued the papacy from its perilous position, freed it from the control of the Roman nobility, and reminded the popes that they were the head of the whole Church and not simply officials of Rome. During the eleventh century the papacy, keeping well in mind its former world-wide claims, grew steadily in self-assertion. The Cluniac reform was spreading, and its ideas were gradually taken up by the popes, and their policy shaped in accordance with them. In the council of Pavia (1018) Benedict VIII. forbade the marriage of the clergy. Simony, the obtaining of office in any other way than by a canonical election, was also forbidden.

The papacy reformed by the emperors reasserts itself.

Henry III. made and unmade popes, and treated them as subjects who owed him obedience. Toward the end of his reign, however, Leo IX. (1048–54) exhibited a spirit of independence in his government which portended the coming storm. He was appointed by Henry III., but refused to accept the office until he had been elected by the people and clergy of Rome. He travelled incessantly throughout Italy, France, and Germany, holding councils, settling disputes, and regulating affairs with a vigour and independence born of his authority as pope. He went one step farther in the question of simony. Every bishop in the empire was not only a clergyman, but also, by virtue of his office, a kind of political official of the emperor. That is, he was compelled to perform certain civil duties. He was, besides, a feudal subject of the emperor, and as such owed him homage for the church lands, which he held. The emperor, of course, received certain taxes or income from all the lands in the empire, whether owned by the Church or by laymen. No bishop could be inducted into his office until he had taken an oath of allegiance to the emperor and been

Leo IX., 1048–54.

invested by him with the episcopal lands. The pope had no part either in his election or his investiture or induction into office. Leo IX. saw the disadvantages of this to the papacy and its dangers to the Church, and in the Synod of Rheims (1049) asserted the right of the pope to invest the bishops with the insignia of office. He made no attempt, however, to enforce it.

The question of investiture broached.

Gradually the papal theory was working out into all its logical conclusions. The popes were slowly perceiving how vast were the opportunities offered them. The vision of universal dominion floated less dimly before them. The questions at issue between the papacy and the empire were being stated with more precision. The conflict was ready to break out. There were wanting only the opportunity and the man to make use of it. The opportunity came when Henry III. died, leaving a boy only six years old to succeed him, and the man was Hildebrand, a papal official, but already at Henry's death the power behind the throne. As fate would have it, the pope was made the guardian and protector of the boy-king.

The conflict at hand.

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE (1056–1254)

LITERATURE.—See Chap. IX. See also General Literature for Church Histories and Epochs of Church History. Also—

Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*
Emerton, *Medieval Europe.*
Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age.*
Vincent, *Age of Hildebrand.*
Biographies of Bernard, by Storrs, Morison, Neander, Eales, and Ratisbonne.
Henderson, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages.*
Testa, *Wars of Frederick I. Against the Communes of Lombardy.*
Compayré, *Abélard, and the Origin of Universities.*
Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*
Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy.*
Browning, *Guelphs and Ghibellines*, 918-1273.
Zeller, *Histoire d'Italie*, and
Histoire d'Allemagne.
Dante, *De Monaschiri*, translated by Church.
Duffy, *Tuscan Republics.*

THE accession of Henry IV., a mere boy, to the throne of Germany, gave the papacy the opportunity for which it had been waiting. Since the reform of Henry III. (1046) the papacy had been rapidly gathering power. Hildebrand, the adviser of several successive popes, had been able to direct all their efforts toward the same end. The pontificate of Nicholas II. (1059–61) was made famous by the alliance which he made with Robert Guiscard and by the publication of a decree fixing the manner of the election of the pope. Up to this time there had been many and great irregularities in the papal elections. In theory the pope was elected by the clergy and people of Rome; but the factions in the city had many times controlled the election, and the emperor had

Nicholas II., 1059–61.

often named the pope. Hildebrand clearly saw that the elections must be taken from the control of the people. In accordance with his ideas, Nicholas, in a council (1059), proclaimed a decree that the seven cardinal or titular bishops of Rome should in the future have the sole right to nominate the pope, and their nominee must be accepted and elected by the clergy of Rome. The people were to have no part in the election, and the emperor probably had the right to confirm, but not to reject, the pope thus elected.

"Cardinal" was a title given to the clergy attached to the oldest and most important churches of Rome and its vicinity. The churches in Rome itself were all under the bishop of Rome, and were ministered to by presbyters and deacons. There were cardinal presbyters and cardinal deacons, who were, of course, attached to the principal churches. There were seven cardinal bishops, who formed a kind of council to the bishop of Rome, had charge of the affairs of the diocese when he was absent from the city and assisted him in all great functions; and to these seven the sole right of nominating the pope was now confided. They were the bishops of Palæstrina, Porto, Ostia, Tusculum, Candida Silva, Albano, and Sabino. This was the beginning of the formation of the College of Cardinals.' The decree was an important step in the process of freeing the papacy from all temporal control.

"Cardinal."

In Germany this decree was rejected because it did not recognize the rights of the emperor. A council of German bishops actually deposed Nicholas, and at his death elected an anti-pope. The empress Agnes became regent, but her inability to administer the government led to the kidnapping of the young king and the establishment of the archbishop of Cologne as regent; the government then assumed a more conciliatory attitude toward the new pope, Alexander II., and eventually recognized him.

In 1065 Henry IV. was declared of age, and took up the reins of government. He had exceptional talents, and if he had received better training and possessed sufficient moral earnestness, might have had a far different

Henry IV.

history. But he hardly appreciated his position. He had no thought of a reform, and spent his time in the chase or with his mistresses, to enrich whom he robbed churches and sold offices. He was imperious and insolent, and the great dukes were soon alienated from him. Saxony, deeply offended by his conduct, was ready to revolt. At last, in 1069, a crisis was reached when he proposed to divorce his wife. The diet refused to consent to this step, and formal complaints were made against him to Alexander II. The pope excommunicated his council and summoned him to Rome. The death of the pope, which occurred shortly afterward, put an end to the strife for a brief time.

Hildebrand, who, during several pontificates had been the power behind the throne, was now made pope, it would seem by a popular demonstration. Apparently the decree of Nicholas was disregarded in that the cardinal bishops did not nominate the candidate. The people demanded Hildebrand for their bishop and the clergy of Rome elected him. He assumed the title of Gregory VII. Hildebrand was not personally ambitious; his conduct as pope was determined by his theory of that office. He was not a theologian; in defending one of his friends he almost incurred the charge of heresy. A practical man of affairs, he had served the curia principally by looking after its secular interests. He was a diplomat and politician, obtaining by artifice or well-timed concessions what was otherwise unattainable. He made use even of heretics, if they could be of service to him. He could make compromises in everything except in the question of the supremacy of the papacy.

Gregory VII., 1073–85.

Till this time the empire had been regarded as the kingdom of God on earth, and the emperor as its head. Gregory declared this idea to be false. The empire could not be the kingdom of God because it is based on force. On the other hand, the Church is based on righteousness and can do no wrong. Gregory's fundamental position was, therefore, that the Church is the kingdom of God, and the pope who is at its head has absolute authority over all the world.

Which is the kingdom of God, the empire or the Church?

Gregory's practical genius told him that the Church must be a compact unit, thoroughly organized and completely under the control of the pope. The unity of the Church could be secured only by concentrating all the power in one man. The Church must obey one will. This would be possible only when one creed and one liturgy were everywhere accepted, and when all the clergy were bound directly to the head of the Church, the bishop of Rome. He therefore required all bishops to take an oath of allegiance to him similar to that which vassals rendered to their lords. He gave all the clergy the free right of appeal to himself, and encouraged them to make use of it. This, of course, diminished the power of the bishops and raised his own accordingly. He replaced the authority of synods by assuming the right to decide all questions, either in person or through his legates. His legates played much the same part in his government that the *missi dominici* had under Karl the Great. They were to oversee for him all the affairs of the state to which they were sent, control the action of synods, and bind all the countries to the pope. They were to be his hands and eyes. He definitely assumed control over the councils by declaring that he could act without the advice of councils, and that their acts were invalid until sanctioned by him. He was supported in this by several writers on church law, whose controlling principle was the absolute authority of the pope, and who, developing church law in accordance with Gregory's ideas, attributed more authority to the decrees of the pope than to the action of councils.

Necessity of a central power in the Church.

Bishops take oath of allegiance to the pope.

Appeals.

Papal legates.

From the very first Gregory put his theory into practice. In 1073 he wrote to the Spanish princes that the kingdom of Spain had from ancient times been under the jurisdiction of St Peter, and, although it had been occupied by barbarians, it had never ceased to belong to the bishop of Rome. In 1074, in a letter to Solomon, king of Hungary, he claimed that country on the ground that it had been given and actually transferred to St Peter by king Stephen. He made the same claims to

Gregory VII. and the temporal rulers.

authority over Russia, Provence, Bohemia, Sardinia, Corsica, and Saxony. He made the duke of Dalmatia his subject, and gave him the title of king. France, he said, owed him a fixed amount of tribute. He laid claim to Denmark, but its king resisted him successfully. He wished William the Conqueror to hold England as his fief, and William, though refusing to acknowledge the pope as his feudal lord, yet consented to make the payment of the Peter's pence binding on England.

In a council at Rome (1075) Gregory forbade the marriage of the clergy, as well as simony in all its forms. He threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should receive their offices from the hand of any layman, and every emperor, king, or temporal ruler, who should perform the act of investiture. This was a hard blow at all rulers, but especially at the emperor, because the German clergy were his principal support and were the holders of large tracts of land. If the pope should be successful in carrying this point, the power of the empire would be almost destroyed. *The struggle with Germany.*

The pope further cited Henry (December, 1075) to appear at Rome and explain his conduct in keeping at his court certain men whom Gregory had excommunicated, and threatened him with the ban if he should refuse to come. Henry regarded this as a declaration of war, and answered it with defiance. At the council of Worms (January, 1076) he charged the pope with having obtained the papal dignity by improper means, and declared him deposed.

The war was begun. Gregory could count on the support of the Normans in Southern Italy, the popular party in Lombardy, Matilda, the great countess of Tuscany, the Saxons, the discontented nobles of Germany, and that rapidly increasing class of people all over the empire who were becoming imbued with the ideas of the Cluniac reform.[1] Henry had for his support a large number of his faithful subjects who remained uninfluenced by the action of the pope, a large part of the clergy who were *Gregory's allies.* *Henry's allies.*

[1] Between 927 and 941, a movement for the reform of Christendom was started by the Monastery of Cluny. A moral, intellectual, and ecclesiastical reformation was aimed at. See page 161.

patriotic but probably guilty of simony, and the imperial party in Italy.

Henry's letter of deposition (January, 1076) to Gregory was bold and vigorous. He declares that he had endured the mis-

Charges and counter-charges.

deeds of Gregory because he had wished to preserve the honour of the apostolic throne. This conduct the pope had attributed to fear, and had, therefore, dared threaten to deprive Henry of the royal power, as if this had been received from him, and not from God. Henry had received his office through the Lord Jesus Christ, while Gregory had obtained the papal power without God's help. The steps by which he had mounted to the throne were cunning, bribery, popular favour, and violence. While seated on the throne of peace he had destroyed peace. He had attacked the king, God's Anointed, who, by the teaching of all the holy fathers, could be judged and deposed by God alone. The Church had never deposed even Julian the Apostate, preferring to leave him to God's judgment. The true pope, Peter, had commanded all to fear God and honour the king, but Gregory has no fear of God. Let him, therefore, vacate the throne of St Peter. Henry, with his bishops, pronounces the anathema upon him. Let another occupy the papal throne who will not cloak his violence under the name of religion. Henry, with his bishops, orders Gregory to vacate the throne at once.

The reply of Gregory (February, 1076) was equally imperious and vigorous. He calls on Peter, Paul, and all the saints to witness that he had unwillingly accepted the papal office thrust upon him by the Roman Church. This was sufficient proof that the Christian world had been committed to him. Relying upon the help of St Peter and God, he therefore deposes Henry, because, in his unspeakable pride, he has revolted against the Church, and he absolves all his subjects from obedience to him. Because Henry persists in his claims and disobedience to the pope Gregory excommunicates him. He expects that St Peter will make his anathema prevail, in order to make the world know that he, Peter, is the rock on which the Church is built, and that the gates of hell cannot prevail

against it. This was, indeed, a new language in the mouth of Gregory. No pope had ever made such claims or spoken in such a tone to the emperor before. For the first time the claim is openly made that the empire is a dependency of the Church.

Encouraged by the action of the pope, the dissatisfied nobles of Germany held a meeting at Tribur (October, 1076), to which they did not admit the king. After some resistance, Henry was compelled to accept the terms known as the Oppenheim agreement which this meeting dictated to him. He agreed to remain in Speier and make his peace with the pope before the end of February of the following year; to lay aside all the royal insignia, which was equivalent to resigning his kingship; and to present himself in February, 1077, in Augsburg, and submit to trial before the council, which was to be presided over by the pope. Nothing could have been more acceptable to Gregory than to come to Germany and preside over a national council and try the king; but Henry had no intention of permitting this to take place. Gregory indeed set out for Germany, but while waiting for an escort through Lombardy, was alarmed at the news that Henry had escaped from Speier, had crossed the Alps in the dead of winter, and was already in Lombardy, where he had been received with every mark of affection by the people. Being in doubt whether Henry's intentions were hostile or peaceable, Gregory withdrew to the Castle of Canossa to await developments. Henry soon informed him through friends that he had come to make peace and to receive absolution. The pope refused to receive him, and demanded that he return to Germany and present himself at Augsburg, according to the agreement which he had made with his barons. After much beseeching, however, the pope yielded, admitted Henry to his presence, and removed the ban from him.

Henry IV. deposed.

Canossa.

Henry had been deeply humiliated, but he had accomplished his purpose; he had been freed from the ban of excommunication, and had thereby deprived his rebellious subjects of all show of legality; and he had robbed Gregory of the best part of his

Henry outwits Gregory.

victory by preventing his coming to Germany to preside over the national assembly. Gregory had, on the other hand, shown his power by keeping an emperor standing as a penitent at his door. The emperor never wholly recovered from this humiliation, but the pope had in reality overshot the mark. The people thought him too severe and unforgiving. Although the world regarded the immediate victory as Gregory's, it was really Henry's, for from this time Henry's power increased and Gregory's diminished.

It soon became apparent that Henry had been insincere in his confession and promises. He had plotted against Gregory even on the way to Canossa, and as soon as he reached Germany he began to plan for his self-defence. His enemies, principally Saxons and Suabians, continued their opposition to him. The war dragged on for years, during which time the pope deserted him and put him under the ban, and two anti-kings were set up against him. By the greatest good fortune, however, Henry was eventually victorious in Germany. He then set up an anti-pope and invaded Italy in order to depose Gregory. After three years of fighting he took Rome, had himself and his wife crowned, and besieged Gregory in the Castle of San Angelo. Gregory, in the meanwhile, had summoned his faithful subject, Robert Guiscard, who now appeared with a large force, drove off Henry, rescued the pope, and gave Rome over to his Norman troops to be pillaged. The people were so angry at this outrage that Gregory did not dare remain longer in the city. He withdrew with his Normans to the south, where he died, in 1085, in Salerno.

Gregory VII. driven from Rome. Dies, 1085.

Gregory had made great claims without being able fully to realize them. He had made concessions to William the Conqueror, and to Philip I. of France, who both still possessed the right of investiture. Henry IV. had, in many respects, held his own against him. Gregory's legates in Spain were abused; he himself died in exile. But he had established the custom of sending papal legates to all parts of Europe; he had put his own authority

The work of Gregory VII.

above that of a council; he had destroyed the independence of the bishops by giving to all the clergy the free right of appeal to the pope; he had made the celibacy of the clergy the rule of the Church, and he had freed the papacy from all lay interference, whether imperial or Roman, by establishing the College of Cardinals. In a word, he had formulated the claims of the papacy to absolute power and marked out its future policy.

Urban II. (1087–99) was able to carry the war to a successful conclusion. He added Bavaria to his allies, and persuaded Lombardy to desert Henry. Even Henry's son, Conrad, was false to his father, and joining the papal party, for his perfidy was made king of Lombardy. In 1094 Urban II. celebrated his victory by making a triumphal journey through Italy and France. *Urban II.*

The last years of Henry IV. were made bitter by the revolt of his second son, Henry, who made war on his father and compelled him to resign. But as soon as he came to the throne Henry V. (1106–25) broke with the papal party, took up his father's counsellors and policy, and renewed the struggle with the pope. After several attempts to make an agreement, the question was temporarily settled by the concordat of Worms (1122). Its terms are as follows: The emperor concedes to the pope the right to invest the clergy with spiritual authority, which was symbolized by the ring and the staff; on the other hand, bishops and abbots are to be canonically elected in the presence of the emperor or of his representative, but contested elections are to be decided by the emperor, and the emperor is to invest the clergy with their lands and all their civil and judicial functions. The symbol of this investiture, which was the same as that of the counts and other laymen, was the sceptre. *The Concordat of Worms,* 1122.

Henry V. renewed the policy of Otto the Great toward the barbarians on the eastern frontier by encouraging the missionary efforts of Otto, the bishop of Bamberg, through whose zeal the Slavs of Pomerania were converted and Germanized.

The opposition which he met from his nobles led him to try to win the favour of the cities of the empire, which were rapidly growing strong and rich, in order to set them over against the nobility. He seems to have recognized in a dim way the power and importance of the citizen class, and to have endeavoured to make it his ally. At the death of Henry V. Lothar, duke of Saxony, was elected to succeed him. He owed his election to the fact that he made favourable terms with the papal party and agreed to act in accordance with the interests of the Church. He even wrote to the pope, asking him to confirm his election.

Lothar the Saxon, 1125–38.

In 1130 a double papal election took place, which threatened to disrupt the papacy. One of those elected, Innocent II. (1130–43), went to France, where he won the support of Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, then the most influential man in Europe. Through the influence of Bernard, Innocent obtained the favour of the kings of both France and Germany, Lothar, of Germany, even going to Italy, and by arms establishing Innocent in Rome. As a reward, Innocent crowned him emperor and invested him with Tuscany. By accepting this fief, Lothar became the pope's feudal subject. The pope evidently wished to make his victory over the emperor seem as great as possible, and, taking advantage of Lothar's yielding disposition, caused a picture to be painted representing the emperor kneeling at his feet, and receiving the imperial crown at his hands. It was intended that this picture should express the idea that the emperor was receiving the imperial crown as a fief from the pope.

Lothar and Innocent II.

Roger II., of Sicily, had sold his services to the anti-pope, Anaclete II., on condition that he should be made king. After Innocent had made himself master of Rome, Roger continued his opposition, and Innocent called on Lothar to reduce him. Lothar's campaign ended disastrously, however, and the pope was compelled to make peace with Roger and confirm his title of king.

Sicily becomes a kingdom, 1130, recognized by Lothar, 1139.

At the death of Lothar Conrad of Hohenstaufen was elected

in a very irregular way as his successor (1138-52). He was, however, utterly unable to rule the country. Although the disorder in the kingdom was growing, Conrad permitted himself to be persuaded to go on a crusade. During his absence from the country, violence, private war, and political disintegration increased. He returned in 1149, and added to the chaos of the period by beginning a war with his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. His reign ended in disaster.

Conrad III., 1138–52.

His nephew, Frederick I., known as Barbarossa, was then elected king (1152–90). Since he was descended from the two rival houses of Bavaria and Suabia, known respectively as Guelf and Ghibelline, it was hoped that he would put an end to the enmity and struggle between them. It was not the fault of Frederick that he did not do so. He sought to conciliate his opponents in every way. He restored Bavaria to Henry the Lion, favoured him in other ways, and really left him no grounds for dissatisfaction except that he was not king. Frederick may be said to have had two policies, one as king of Germany and the other as emperor of the world. He tried to make Germany a state by unifying the government, and repressing all violence and oppression. As emperor, his one ideal was to restore the ancient Roman empire. The great Roman emperors were his models. In the eleventh century there had begun a revival in the study of Roman law, and Frederick now pressed it into his service. He surrounded himself with men who were versed in the codex of Justinian, and from these he received the imperial ideas which he tried to realize in his empire. These lawyers were impressed with the spirit of absolutism in the Roman laws, and chose such maxims to lay before Frederick as would increase his feeling of sovereignty. They told him that the will of the prince was law, and that the emperor was absolute sovereign of the world. The absolutism of Frederick was not the outcome of a lust for personal power, but the logical product of his conception of his office.

Frederick I., 1152–90.

His two policies.

In 1154 Frederick crossed the Alps into Lombardy, and

pitched his camp on the famous Roncaglian plain. A diet was announced, and the cities of Lombardy were ordered to send their consuls to meet him. Most of the cities did so, but Milan and some of her allies refused to obey. There was at that time a struggle going on between the smaller cities and Milan, who had been acting very tyrannically. Pavia appealed to Frederick against Milan and Tortona; and when Tortona disregarded his commands, he besieged and destroyed it. Milan itself was, for the time being, spared, since Frederick's attention was called to Rome.

The people of Rome had not forgotten that their city had once been the mistress of the world. They were restless under all control, whether imperial or papal. They longed for the ancient power and independence of the city, and had dreams of restoring her to her former proud position. This was the cause of their frequent opposition to the popes. The papal supremacy was incompatible with their political ideas and aspirations. In 1143 the common people and the inferior nobility revolted, drove out the pope, and restored what was considered the ancient government of the city.

Two years later the priest Arnold of Brescia came to Rome, and soon became the most influential person in the city. He had been in France, and having heard the theories of the great heretic Abelard, had adopted them, and wished to put them into practice. The revolution in Rome (1143) seemed to offer him the coveted opportunity, so, filled with burning zeal, he hastened thither. His programme was somewhat extensive. His sympathies were with the common people as against the nobility. He was filled with the idea which had cropped out at various times in the Church, and was soon to become a central reforming principle of St. Francis, *i.e.* the sinfulness of property. He declared that the land should not be held by the rich, but should be common property. Every one had the right to the use of a certain amount of land. Since individual possession is sinful, the Church, of course, should be without property. But he went a step farther, and declared that the individual also should

Arnold of Brescia.

live in poverty. He attacked the clergy for their crimes and worldliness. It was to him a mark of the deepest corruption of the clergy that they had so great a share in the administration of civil affairs. "Clergymen with property, bishops with regalia, and monks with possessions could not be saved." The Church needed a thorough reform, and the beginning should be made with the pope. Arnold demanded that the Church should give up all her possessions and live in poverty, which, he said, was the law of Christ. Fired by his preaching the mob began to sack the monasteries. If it was wrong for the clergy to have property, they ought to be deprived of it at once!

Hadrian IV., 1154–59.

In 1154 Nicholas Breakspeare, the only Englishman who has ever occupied the chair of St Peter, was elected pope, and took the name of Hadrian IV. He boldly took up the struggle with the republican party in the city. He got possession of the Vatican quarter, and intrenched himself there. He put the city under the interdict, and removed it only when Arnold was exiled. By losing Arnold, the city lost its best leader.

Frederick I. in Rome.

It was at this juncture that Frederick Barbarossa came into Italy. The pope went to meet him, made charges against Arnold, and demanded his death. The republican party also sent an embassy to Frederick to tell him that the people of Rome were the source of imperial power and were willing to make him emperor if he would take an oath to respect the rights of the city and her officials, and pay them a large sum of money. Frederick was enraged at their insolence, and told them that Karl the Great and Otto I. had acquired the imperial title by conquest; Rome's power was a thing of the past; her glory and authority had passed to the Germans; it was not for a conquered people to dictate terms to their master. Hadrian IV., however, was willing to make better terms with Frederick. He agreed to crown him emperor on condition that Frederick restored him to his place in Rome and delivered Arnold into his power. Frederick was thereupon crowned, and the city was reduced to subjection.

Arnold having been taken prisoner, was, at the command of Hadrian, burned at the stake as a heretic.

The relations between Frederick and Hadrian had not been altogether satisfactory. At their first meeting Frederick had refused to hold the stirrup of the pope because, as he said, it was not the custom for the king to do so. Hadrian was enraged at this, and would not give Frederick the kiss of peace. The quarrel was finally patched up, but only temporarily. The claims of pope and emperor were so conflicting that there could be no lasting peace between them.

The Besançon episode, 1157.

The Besançon episode showed the temper of the two parties and indicated the speedy outburst of the storm. Archbishop Eskil of Lund had been in Rome, and while on his return homeward through Burgundy was seized, robbed, beaten, and imprisoned. Although Frederick was informed of this, he made no attempt to set him free or to punish those who had committed the outrage. One reason for this indifference on Frederick's part was to be found in the fact that Frederick was angry at Eskil because he was supporting the ambition of the Scandinavian Church to become independent—an ambition at the bottom of which was, of course, national feeling. For, up to this time, the Church of Scandinavia had been subject to the archbishop of Hamburg, being regarded as a part of his diocese. Through this ecclesiastical influence, Frederick hoped to gain political authority in Scandinavia, and so enlarge his empire. Eskil being thus in the way of Frederick's ambitious plans could not count on his protection. Frederick also wished to show his displeasure with the treaty which had just been made between the pope and William of Sicily, in which the emperor's rights had been entirely disregarded. While Frederick was at Besançon (October 24–28, 1157) two legates appeared from the pope bearing a letter in which the emperor was roundly rebuked for his neglect to set Eskil free and punish his captors. When they first presented themselves before Frederick they delivered the greetings of the pope and the cardinals, adding that the pope

greeted him as a father, the cardinals as brothers. This form of salutation was regarded as strange, but was not resented by Frederick. On the following day they were formally received by the emperor, and laid before him Hadrian's letter. After rebuking Frederick for his indifference, the pope confesses that he does not know the cause of it. Hadrian feels that he has not offended in any respect against Frederick; on the contrary, he has always treated him as a dear son. Frederick should recall how, two years before, his mother the Holy Roman Church, had received him, and had treated him with the greatest affection, and, by gladly conferring upon him the imperial crown, had given him the highest dignity and honour. "Nor are we sorry," he continued, "that we fulfilled your desires in all things; but even if your Excellence had received greater fiefs (*beneficia*) from our hands, if that were possible, in consideration of the great services which you may render to the Church and to us, we should still have good grounds for rejoicing." The reading of the letter produced a stormy scene. Never before had the empire been thus openly called a fief of the papacy. The princes about Frederick angrily remonstrated with the legates for making such claims. To this one of them replied by asking, "From whom then did the emperor receive the empire, if not from the pope?" The question almost cost him his life, for the hot-blooded Otto von Wittelsbach rushed upon him and would have slain him but for the interference of the emperor. The legates were ordered to return at once to Italy, and were not permitted to proceed farther on the business of the pope.

Whether Hadrian meant that *beneficium* should be understood as fief or not is really of small consequence. The important thing was that he plainly treated the imperial crown as if it were something entirely within his power to give or to withhold. This was little less offensive to Frederick than the word fief, because it was his belief that the imperial crown was attached to the German crown. The king of Germany had a right to the imperial crown; the pope merely had the right to crown him.

Frederick then published a manifesto to his people, recounting the claims of the pope as contained in the letter, and in opposition to these declared that he had received the imperial crown from God alone through the election by the princes. Jesus had taught that the world was to be ruled by two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. Peter had commanded that all men should fear God and honour the king; therefore, whoever said that the empire was a fief of the papacy was opposed to St Peter and guilty of lying.

The emperor's manifesto.

Hadrian IV. then wrote an open letter to the clergy of Germany, expressing surprise and indignation at the turn affairs had taken. It was a most diplomatic letter, written for the purpose of winning the German clergy to his side. Some of them, however, were true to their emperor, and wrote Hadrian a letter, in which they embodied the answer of Frederick. It was of the same tenour as his manifesto, and claimed that the empire was not a *beneficium* (fief) of the pope, but that Frederick owed it to the favour (*beneficium*) of God. Frederick was also still angry about the picture which the pope had had made representing Lothar on his knees receiving the crown from the pope. The pope, he said, was trying to make an authoritative principle, basing it simply upon a picture. Hadrian now wrote a letter to Frederick in which he explained that "*beneficium*" was composed of "bonum" and "facio," meaning not "fief," but a "kind deed" or "favour." By "*contulimus*," "we have conferred," he had meant only "*imposuimus*," "we have placed," that is, the crown on Frederick's head. Hadrian succeeded in quieting Frederick, but the battle was not ended; it had been merely put off.

Hadrian's explanation.

Frederick next turned his attention to the cities of Lombardy, which for a hundred years or more had been left to take care of themselves. They had improved the time by developing an independent municipal government. Milan was first reduced. It was agreed, however, that the city should continue to elect its officials, but that the emperor

should have the right to confirm them. Another diet was announced to be held in the Roncaglian plain, and the cities were ordered to send their officials to it. It was Frederick's wish to break down the independent spirit of the cities. It was during his stay in Italy that Frederick had come into contact with the lawyers of Bologna, and learned from them the leading ideas of Roman law. Ancient customs were revived, and Frederick renewed his claims to the regalia (that is, to the duchies, counties, marches, the office of consul, the right to coin money, collect taxes, customs, duties, etc.). He declared that in the future all the important officers of the city would be appointed by him and the people should approve them. Representatives of all the cities helped to frame the rights of the emperor and agreed to observe them. He then proceeded to put this agreement into force. He sent his representatives throughout the country to establish in every city his officials. The people of Milan asserted that, by virtue of a former compact with the emperor, the Roncaglian agreement did not include them. They therefore resisted the emperor's messengers and closed the gates of the city against them. Refusing to recognize their claims, Frederick laid siege to the city (April, 1159), which held out nearly three years. In February, 1162, it could resist no longer. The people tried in every way to appease Frederick, but he remained deaf to their entreaties. The walls of the city were razed, the inhabitants driven out, and many of the nobility kept as hostages.

The second Roncaglian Diet.

Milan destroyed, 1162.

In the meanwhile the quarrel had broken out afresh between the pope and emperor. In 1159 Hadrian made sweeping demands of Frederick in regard to the possession of the lands of Matilda, the collection of feudal dues by Frederick from the papal estates, and the full sovereignty in Rome. The emperor, of course, refused these demands, and the pope prepared for the struggle. Seeking help from Roger of Sicily, and from the Greek emperor, he intrigued with the cities of Lombardy.

Hadrian makes fundamental claims.

In 1159 Hadrian died, and the cardinals thereupon elected the man who had acted as spokesman of Hadrian at Besançon, Roland Bandinelli, who assumed the name of Alexander III. He now took up the quarrel and spent his time endeavouring to find allies. Frederick, however, set up an anti-pope, and was so successful in his opposition to Alexander III. that the Pope was compelled to leave Rome and seek a refuge in France (1161). Frederick seemed to have won the day. His officials were in all the cities; Milan was destroyed and the pope an exile. But his very success was the cause of his defeat; he had borne himself as an emperor of the old school. His absolutism was tyranny to the cities, and hence they were eager to find some way of avenging themselves. Alexander III. put himself at the head of the opposition. In 1165 he returned to Rome, excommunicated the emperor, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Alexander was a diplomat; he was hostile to the independence of the Lombard cities, but because they could help him he sought their alliance. For nearly fifteen years this able man led the opposition to Frederick, and the final victory over the emperor was due in a large measure to his ability and efforts. The next year (1166) Frederick went again into Italy with a large force to punish the rebels and to put the new anti-pope, Paschalis, in the chair of St Peter. After a siege he took Rome. Paschalis was established as pope, and a few days later recrowned Frederick and his wife in St Peter's. A pest broke out shortly afterward, and Frederick, alarmed at the great mortality among his troops, hastened back to Germany. As fast as he retreated the cities behind him revolted; he barely escaped with his life. The cities now entered into the famous Lombard League (1167). Milan, rebuilt by the aid of them all, assumed the leading position in the league. Pavia still remained true to the emperor, and to keep it in check, the league founded a new city on the border of its territory, and named it Alexandria in honour of the pope. It was not till 1174 that Frederick was

Alexander III.

The Lombard League, 1167.

in a position to re-enter Italy. Then the emperor himself laid siege to Alexandria while some of his troops overran Tuscany and Umbria. Alexandria was very strong, and the siege lasted for months. Overtures of peace were made, and, as winter was approaching, Frederick withdrew to Pavia. Again and again he called on the German princes to come to his assistance, but Henry the Lion thought it an excellent opportunity to humble the emperor, and refused to assist him. In May, 1176, the troops of the league attacked Frederick at Legnano, and won a decisive victory. It was even thought for a while that the emperor had lost his life in the battle. Frederick realized the situation; he had been beaten; he was therefore ready to make peace on the cities' terms. He met Alexander III. in St Mark's at Venice (1177), fell at his feet, confessed his wrong deeds, and begged the pope to remove the ban from him. The pope yielded, and a truce was declared. Six years later, at Constance, the treaty of peace was signed which granted the cities substantially all that they had demanded. The overlordship of the emperor was recognized, but it was merely nominal, and the independence of the cities was practically admitted. It was a bitter humiliation for Frederick, but he could not escape it. Being pressed in Germany by the Guelf family, he needed the support of the pope, and there was nothing for him to do except to abide by the decision dictated by the outcome of the war.

Legnano, 1176.

The Treaty of Constance, 1183.

A crisis was reached in the struggle between the Ghibelline and the Guelf families in 1176, when Henry the Lion refused to help Frederick in his war against the Lombard League. After returning to Germany, Frederick proceeded to punish him. He cited Henry to appear before him, and on Henry's refusal, deposed and banished him. Henry resisted, but was defeated in battle, and begged for mercy. Frederick stripped him of his power, but generously permitted him to retain his private estates.

Although Frederick had not been able to conquer Sicily, he provided for its annexation by marrying his son, Henry

VI., to Constance, heiress to the crown of that country. The pope foresaw that this marriage would greatly strengthen the empire, and that the emperor, by holding Sicily and southern Italy, could easily attack the papal lands whenever he chose. Unwilling that the emperor should gain so great an advantage over him, the pope determined to prevent the proposed union of the Sicilian kingdom with the empire. He accordingly renewed hostilities and engaged the archbishop of Cologne and other discontented German nobles in a conspiracy against Frederick. In the meantime the news reached the west that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, and, according to the ideas of the times, its recovery was regarded as the most pressing business of the hour. The papacy was willing to make almost any concessions if it could enlist Frederick for a crusade. An agreement was made in which Frederick seemed to have won the victory. He was now ready to go on the crusade. He placed the management of affairs in Germany in the hands of Henry VI., who took the title of king of the Germans. Frederick set out in the spring of 1189, but did not reach Palestine. He died by drowning in one of the mountain streams of Cilicia, June 10, 1190.

The Crusade of Frederick I.

In Italy Alexander III. had found that, although he had overcome Frederick, he had not won the whole victory for himself. He was unable to unite all Italy under his own authority. The cities of Lombardy and the kingdom of Sicily secured their own advantages and went on their way of independence. During the struggle with Frederick there had been several anti-popes established by the emperor. The schism thus caused was ended in 1178 by the surrender of Calixtus III., who found it impossible to sustain himself after the emperor had made peace with Alexander. To guard against disputed elections in the future, it was decreed in the Lateran synod of 1179, that whoever should receive the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals should be regarded as the duly elected pope. There was nothing said about the emperor's right to confirm the election, nor

In Italy the spoils divided.

was any part accorded the people and clergy of Rome. From this time the whole matter is in the hands of the cardinals.

Alexander III. deserves great credit from the papal point of view for the work of his pontificate. His power was recognized all over the west as that of no pope before him had been. His immediate successors were unable to maintain all the advantages he had won. Before the end of the century Innocent III., the most imperial of all the popes, was to appear, and realize all that previous pontiffs had dreamed of; but before him there was to be another struggle in Rome. The independent spirit of the people of the city reasserted itself, and Lucius III. (1181-85) and Urban III. (1185-87) spent most of their pontificates in exile. Clement III. (1187-91) succeeded in regaining the mastery in Rome, and all power was made over to him. The pope had seldom been so secure in the city before. But a new danger was threatening. The marriage of Henry VI. with Constance of Sicily might, at any moment, lead to the establishment of the imperial power in the south, and the addition of Sicily and all the southern part of Italy to the empire. The pope would then be between two fires.

The high position of Alexander III.

The first days of the reign of Henry VI. were filled with anxiety. Henry the Lion broke his royal word and attacked Henry VI. as soon as Frederick had set out for the east. The news of the death of William, king of Sicily, soon reached Germany, and a few days later the sad news of the death of Frederick was received. Henry VI. made peace with Henry the Lion, made provision for the government in Germany during his absence, and hastened into Italy. He was crowned at Rome and went on to Sicily to secure the possession of that kingdom; but the people of Sicily had elected a certain Tancred to be king, and Henry was unable to accomplish anything there. The outlook was indeed dark, for there were powerful enemies allied against him. The combination of Richard the Lion-

Henry VI., 1190-97.

Heart of England, the Guelf family in Germany with Henry the Lion at its head, and Tancred in Sicily would probably be able to break the power of the Hohenstaufen. This danger was averted by a series of fortunate occurrences. Richard was taken prisoner on his way home from his crusade and delivered into Henry's hands. The son of Henry the Lion fell in love with a cousin of the emperor, and in order to obtain her hand, made peace with him. Henry the Lion, now an old man, discouraged by the submission of his son to the emperor, gave up the struggle and retired to his estates, and Henry VI. was able in a second campaign to get complete possession of Sicily.

Bold plan of Henry VI.

The fears of the pope proved to be well-founded. In fact but little sagacity was necessary to see that the imperial and papal claims were so mutually conflicting that force alone could settle them. The emperor's opportunity seemed to have come. Relying on his strength, Henry VI. determined to enforce his claims without any regard for the pope. He seized the lands of Matilda (Tuscany), for which the pope put him under the ban; but not in the least frightened by this, Henry continued his efforts to get possession of all Italy. He is said at this time to have planned the complete destruction of the papal state by adding it to his own territory. He also turned now to try his fortune in the east. He planned a crusade, the real object of which was first of all the conquest of Constantinople. The Greek empire was, indeed, in a chaotic condition, and he hoped to win its crown and establish himself in Constantinople, from which vantage-point he might easily carry on the war against the Saracens. He went first to Sicily in order to put down a revolt and punish those who were hostile to him, intending then to proceed against Constantinople, but died in Messina after a very brief illness (1197), leaving a son, Frederick II., only three years old. His great plans and hopes were destroyed, and the empire was thrown back into the anarchy caused by a contested imperial election. At the same time

Innocent III. became pope, a man of strong will and great ability, full of theocratic ideas and the desire to realize them.

Innocent III., 1198-1216, and his programme.

Innocent III. (1198-1216) was probably the ablest pope of the Middle Age. He was a jurist, trained in the schools of Paris and Bologna. He looked at everything from the jurist's point of view, and endeavoured to reduce to a legal form and basis all the claims of the papacy. Not personally ambitious, he was fully persuaded that in everything he did he acted in accordance with the best interests of the Church, and even with the plans of God. He was ambitious merely to make of the papacy that which he believed God had appointed it to be. He believed that the government of the world was a theocracy, and that he himself was the vicar of God on earth. He pushed to the extreme the ideas of the supremacy of the papacy over all rulers, and actually realized them in many respects. His programme may be summed up under the following heads: 1. The pope must be absolute master in Italy, which must therefore be freed from the control of all foreigners; hence the empire must not be allowed to unite any part of the peninsula to itself; the papal state must be strengthened; the political factions in the city must be kept in subjection. 2. All the states of the west must be put under the control of the papacy; neither king nor emperor may be independent of the pope, but must submit to him in all things. 3. The Church in the east, and the Holy Land must be recovered from the Moslems, and the Greek Church purified of its heresy and reunited to the Church of the west; all heretics must be destroyed; the law and worship of the Church must be made to conform to papal ideas.

The imperial claims of Henry VI. are here answered by the papal programme of Innocent III. It is apparent that their radical contradiction could permit no reconciliation. Neither party could get all that it demanded without the practical destruction of the other. For the present the conflict could be postponed because of the disputed imperial

election. But the situation was wholly in favour of Innocent, and he determined to make good use of his opportunities.

In Sicily the young king, Frederick II., was among enemies, and when his mother died, Innocent was made his guardian.

Innocent and his ward.

He performed his duties toward the boy with great conscientiousness, supplying him with the ablest teachers, giving him the best education possible, caring for his interests in Sicily, and protecting him against his rebellious subjects.

In Germany there was a contested election, which Innocent was asked to settle. Philip of Suabia, after trying in vain

Philip of Suabia, 1198–1208, *and Otto IV.,* 1198–1215.

to secure the election of his nephew, Frederick II., was himself made king by a large number of princes. The Guelf family, however, elected one of their number, Otto IV. Innocent III. decided in favour of Otto, because, as he said, Otto was the proper person for the office, and was devoted to the Church, while Philip was a persecutor of the Church. Philip had declared that he would defend his claim to all the possessions of the empire, while Otto IV. had taken an oath that he would not interfere with the papal claims, but would defend all the possessions of the papacy. Civil war ensued. After defeating Otto and making himself master of Germany, Philip was murdered (1208), and Otto, being now without a rival, was recognized throughout Germany.

Otto IV., however, now that he had secured the crown, changed his policy toward the pope, broke his oath, and demanded Sicily and Tuscany, on the ground that they were parts of the empire. He was successful in arms in southern Italy, but before the conquest was completed the

Frederick II., 1215–50.

pope had raised a revolt among the German princes and put forth Frederick II. as a candidate for the German crown. At the invitation of some of the German nobles, Frederick, although a boy, went to Germany, made an alliance with Philip, king of France, and in three years made himself undisputed master of Germany.

Innocent III. followed out his policy with great vigour.

Frederick held Sicily as a fief of the papacy. In central Italy, Innocent made a league with the cities, drove out the emperor's officials, and established his own in their place. The king of Portugal acknowledged his authority and paid him tribute; the king of Aragon became his feudal subject, and the king of Leon was compelled to yield obedience to him. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Servia, and in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, Innocent was able to make good his claims, at least in part. In France, Innocent interfered in the family affairs of the king, compelling him to take back his wife, whom he had divorced on insufficient grounds. In political matters, however, Philip II. resisted the demands of the pope with more or less success. In England Innocent compelled John to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and then aided the king in his struggle against the barons.

Success of Innocent III.

It seemed for a while that the papacy would get possession of all the Christian east. Innocent III. forbade the fourth crusade to proceed against Constantinople, but when the city was taken and the Latin Church established there he accepted its work. From Constantinople as a vantage-ground, he hoped to extend the papal authority over all the east, but the rapid disintegration of the Latin empire of Constantinople was destined to blast his hopes.

The east.

During his pontificate many heresies appeared in the west, the most widely-spread of which was that of the Albigenses. Innocent and his successor were responsible for the crusade which was preached against them, and carried out by Simon de Montfort. In 1215, at the Lateran council, the inquisition was established, and it was declared that heresy was a crime which should be punished with death. At the same council the doctrines of transubstantiation and auricular confession were promulgated. The twenty-first canon of that council declared that every Christian must confess his sins to the priest at least once a year, and might receive the sacrament of the eucharist after doing so. If he did not confess, the Church was to be

The Lateran Council, 1215.

closed to him, and if he should die, he should not receive Christian burial. "From that time forth the confessional began to be considered as the only means of obtaining forgiveness for mortal sin, which the priest, as representative of God, actually granted, and he alone could grant." The doctrine of transubstantiation, which, up to that time, had not been the universal belief of the Church, was adopted, and it was decreed that no one except a properly ordained priest could administer the sacrament. Innocent had announced that the council would deal with two questions, the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church. Many of the canons were really reformatory in their character, and the work of the council dealing with all sorts of questions shows the deep insight and sincerity of Innocent. A great crusade was announced for the year 1217, and immense preparations made for it, but Innocent did not live to see it. He died at Perugia while busily engaged in preparing for the crusade.

The character of the papacy changed.

On the surface his pontificate seems to have been a success. He had apparently won a victory in every case over the temporal powers. But he had alienated the affections of the people. The cruelty of the crusade against the Albigenses turned the whole of southern France against him. His victory over John of England, and the support he gave him in his struggle against his people, filled the English with hatred of him. In Germany the same results were reached. The troubadours charged their songs with fearful arraignments, and Walther von der Vogelweide lashed the papacy for its worldliness, its greed of money, and its ambitions. Innocent gave the fullest expression to the political claims of the papacy, and did much to realize them. Under his guidance some of the most important doctrines, rites, and practices of the Church were established. The formation of the code of canon law, while not begun by him, was thoroughly in accordance with his ideas, and it gave a legal form and basis to what he had claimed. It would not be too much to say

that he was the last great maker of the papacy. His programme was carried through with the appearance of remarkable success, but his best weapon, the interdict, was almost worn out by its too frequent use. The forces were at work which were soon to undo all that he had done. The papacy lost in spiritual power under him because he made politics the principal matter. Earnest Christian pilgrims and visitors at Rome were shocked to hear nothing about spiritual matters, but to find the mouths of all the clergy incessantly filled with talk about temporal affairs.

The greatest of the popes was followed by the greatest of the emperors. In 1212 Frederick had set bravely out to take Germany from Otto IV. He renewed the alliance with Philip of France, and the German princes of the Rhine valley received him with favour. Seeing the danger, Otto IV. called on his allies for help. John of England sent an army to the continent to unite with the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and other nobles in the north of France against the French king. The decisive battle was fought near Bouvines, in July, 1214, and resulted in the complete victory of Philip II. Since his allies were thus disposed of, Otto IV. was compelled to yield to Frederick. He withdrew to his lands, and died at Harzburg (1218).

Bouvines, 1214.

Frederick was crowned at Aachen in 1215, proclaimed a universal peace in Germany, and took a vow to go on the crusade which Innocent III. was planning. His next step was to secure the imperial crown. But Innocent was afraid of his growing power, although Frederick had been most respectful to him in all things. He feared that if Frederick should hold both Germany and Sicily, the two would be joined together, and Frederick would try to control all Italy. He therefore persuaded Frederick to promise that as soon as he should receive the imperial crown he would resign the crown of Sicily to his young son, Henry, who should hold it as a fief from the pope. Death prevented Innocent from crowning Frederick, but Innocent's successor, Honorius

Frederick II. and the papacy.

III., performed the act. Frederick, however, in spite of his promise, retained the title of king of Sicily, a breach of faith to which Honorius III. paid no attention, because he was desirous that the crusade should be made, and he wished Frederick to join it. Frederick, however, always found excuses, and put off his departure. He married Iolanthe, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, and without any regard for the rights of her father assumed that title himself. Gregory IX. (1227–41) demanded his immediate departure for Palestine. Frederick finally sailed (1227) from Brindisi, but returned three days later, and excused himself on the ground that he was ill. Gregory would not listen to the excuse, and put him under the ban. Frederick then made fresh preparations for the crusade, but the pope forbade his going until he had obtained the removal of the ban. Frederick, however, sailed again from Brindisi, June, 1228. Arriving in Palestine, he saw that by force it would be impossible to conquer the east, yet by diplomacy he gained possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places for the Christians. He crowned himself in Jerusalem, and returned home, having been three times excommunicated for his disobedience to the pope.

Three times excommunicated.

During his absence the pope had tried to stir up the Germans against Frederick II., and, raising an army at his own expense, had attacked the emperor's territories in the south, achieving some success. But when Frederick returned (1229), the pope, taken by surprise, was unable to continue the war, and offered to make peace. The two came together at San Germano (1230), and by mutual concessions peace was restored.

San Germano, 1230.

Frederick then turned his attention to Sicily. In 1231 he published the famous "constitutions of the kingdom of Sicily," by which feudalism was destroyed there, and a real kingship established in its stead. Royal judges and courts took the place of the barons and their courts; feudal dues were replaced by direct taxes, and other changes were made which resulted in the formation of a

A new government in Sicily.

really modern state in all that concerns the machinery of government.

During his long absence from Germany great disorder had arisen. He had caused his son Henry to be made king in Aachen (1222), and much power had been granted him. In 1233 Henry revolted against his father, but was seized and carried to Italy, where he died as a prisoner (1242). In a great diet at Mainz (1235) Frederick forbade private warfare, proclaimed the peace of the land, and ended all the quarrels between him and the Guelf family by making its last representative a duke and investing him with a large duchy, created especially for him. He was now at the height of his power, having Germany and Sicily wholly in his hands.

Frederick II. renews the struggle.

The struggle between the papacy and the empire which, with more or less acuteness, had now been in progress for more than one hundred and fifty years, had accumulated a great deal of bitterness on both sides. A peace had often been patched up between them, but the real question at issue had never been decided. There could not be two absolute rulers of the world. So long as each claimed supremacy and tried to rule the other, there could be no lasting peace. Frederick felt that he was now strong enough to settle the question by force. The possession of Sardinia, which had lately been declared to be a fief of the Church, furnished a convenient pretext for renewing the contest. In 1238 Frederick laid claim to Sardinia as a part of the empire, and began to take possession of it. The pope protested, but in vain. Frederick persisted in his course, and the pope, from this time on, was implacable in his hatred of Frederick. The final struggle had begun. Gregory IX. and his successors freed the German princes from their oath of allegiance to Frederick, and tried to turn the people against him. The cities of Italy were arrayed against him, and help was sought from France. At the same time, in order that all Christians might turn from him with horror, Frederick was charged with all kinds of heresy. He was reported to have said that there had been three great religious impostors who

had deceived the world—Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed; he had reviled the clergy and the creed of the Church; he had said that nothing is to be believed which is not acceptable to the reason. Heresy was proved by the fact that he associated with both Jews and Mohammedans, and allowed the free exercise of all religions in his kingdom. The emperor defended himself with great vigour. He had recourse to the Apocalypse of St John for his figures of speech, and called the pope the anti-Christ, the angel that came up from the bottomless pit, and the rider on the red horse with power to destroy peace in the world. Gregory called a council, but Frederick captured the clergy who were on their way to attend it, and thus prevented its meeting. He overran Italy, and got possession of the territory even to the gates of Rome. After the death of Gregory IX. the cardinals were unable to elect a pope, and for nearly two years the chair of St Peter was vacant. Frederick tried in every way to compel them to elect his candidate, but they resisted him successfully. At last, in 1243, one of Frederick's friends was elected, and took the title Innocent IV. (1243–54). Frederick, however, felt that the war must go on, because, as he said, no pope could be a Ghibelline. Innocent escaped to France and called a council at Lyons, at which the emperor was again deposed and put under the ban. All were forbidden to regard him as their king, or emperor: the princes of Germany were ordered to proceed to the election of another king; Innocent said that he himself would take care of Sicily. To this Frederick replied, asserting that he was a good Christian, and that he had been labouring all his life only to bring the clergy to live in the proper way, and to lead an apostolic life in poverty and humility.

Victory seemed to be almost within Frederick's grasp, but Innocent IV. did not think of surrendering. In the hope of retrieving his lost fortunes, the pope redoubled his energies. He appealed to France, to the cities of Italy, and to the Germans, and by the greatest exertions kept the war going. He turned it into a crusade, and offered to all who would join

in it the same indulgences and spiritual rewards as against the Saracens. In 1246 he succeeded in having count Henry Raspe of Thuringia elected king in place of Frederick. Civil war spread all over Germany. The Begging Friars supported the pope by stirring up the people against Frederick, and by collecting large sums of money from all quarters to be used in carrying on the opposition. The pope persuaded the electors to make William of Holland king (1247). Frederick's son, Conrad IV., who, as king of the Germans, had charge of affairs in Germany, was unable to resist the progress of William, who was crowned at Aachen in 1248. Misfortunes thickened around the aging emperor. Among the courtiers of Frederick a conspiracy was formed, and an attempt was made to poison him. His son Enzio was taken prisoner and confined in Bologna. One by one his friends and supporters fell in battle. He himself was very ill, but he kept up his courage. His troops were victorious in Italy, and Rome was about to fall into his hands. The struggle was far from being decided when the emperor died (December 13, 1250).

A Crusade against the emperor.

Death of Frederick II., 1250.

Frederick II. was of the Middle Age, and belonged at the same time to the Modern Period—a man full of contrasts, not to say contradictions. He was most modern in that he was not controlled by religious, but wholly by political, motives. He was not bound by feudal ideas, but actually created an absolute monarchy in Sicily. His kingdom there is regarded as the first modern state in Europe. He persecuted heretics in Germany, but was himself very free in thought, tolerating all religions in his kingdom of Sicily. He was not a German in character, but exhibited the fusion of the German, Italian, Greek, and Saracen elements in southern Italy. He spoke Latin, Italian, French, German, Greek, and Arabic. In culture and learning he surpassed all the emperors who had preceded him, was himself a poet, and kept himself surrounded by poets and scholars. He established the University of Naples (1224).

His character.

He had zoological gardens, not for the gratification of his curiosity alone, but also for scientific purposes. He belonged to the class of independent thinkers of which Abelard was also a member. He preferred to live in Sicily, because it possessed far more culture than Germany. He understood the question at issue between himself and the pope; he knew that it was for the right to rule the empire independently that he was fighting. In the art of diplomacy he was well-trained, and by it won many victories. He died before the struggle was ended, but he seems to have felt that it would be decided against him and his family. His last years were made heavy by many misfortunes, but he died with unbroken spirit.

With the death of Frederick II. the power of the Hohenstaufen family was broken, but the fight was not given up. *Conrad IV., 1250–54, and William of Holland.* Against William of Holland Conrad IV., son of Frederick II., was unable to maintain himself in Germany, and so withdrew to Sicily, which his half-brother, Manfred, had succeeded in holding for him. Conrad IV. offered to make terms with the pope, but all his advances were rejected. Innocent IV. was implacable. He had sworn that the hated race of the Staufen should be literally destroyed. Conrad and Manfred were, however, successful in arms, and in spite of all opposition had got control of southern Italy and Sicily, when Conrad IV. died suddenly (1254), leaving his little son, whom the Italians call Conradino, to the care of his faithful Manfred. After continuing the struggle for four years, Manfred was compelled to accept the crown himself (1258), but he stipulated that Conradino should succeed him.

The pope now turned to France for help. He offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of king *Charles of Anjou.* Louis IX. This Charles was bold, ambitious, and utterly unscrupulous. In 1263 the kingdom of Sicily was made over to him, and he began his preparations to take possession of it. Manfred tried to besiege Rome and to keep Charles from landing in Italy. He was unsuccessful,

however, and Charles entered Rome and was crowned king, January 6, 1266. About a month later the decisive battle was fought near Benevento, and when Manfred saw that he was betrayed by many of his troops, who, no doubt, had been bribed to desert to Charles during the battle, he rushed into the thick of the fight and was slain.

Death of Manfred, 1266.

Conradino, who had spent all his life in Germany, was a genuine Hohenstaufen. Although a mere lad, he gallantly responded to the call of the Ghibellines of Italy, and with a small army came down from Suabia to meet Charles of Anjou. After a hard-fought battle, Charles was victorious. Conradino was taken prisoner and beheaded as a rebel in the public square of Naples.

The long battle was over, and the victory was the pope's. Not only was the power of the Hohenstaufen broken, the family itself had been destroyed. There remained only one member of it, Enzio, the son of Frederick II., and he was a prisoner in Bologna, where he died, in 1272. The great Staufen family was no more. With it had disappeared the empire of Karl the Great. Not that it was destroyed, but it now underwent a radical change. The government of the world was no longer the peculiar prerogative of the emperor, but of the pope. The pope had vindicated his right to the temporal as well as to the spiritual supremacy, and it was now possible for him to declare with truth that he was both pope and emperor.

The victory of the pope.

When Conrad IV. left Germany in 1251, William of Holland remained in full possession. The pope did all he could to obtain William's recognition throughout Germany, but for some time in vain. The cities in the Rhine valley renewed the old league (1254), and within a year there were more than sixty cities bound together for mutual protection. Eventually they recognized William, as did nearly all of northern Germany. But becoming engaged in a quarrel with the Frisians, he was killed by some Frisian peasants

(January, 1256). Although both Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile were afterward elected king, neither of them was able to establish himself as master of the country. Alphonso, indeed, never came to Germany. Richard visited the country, but never exercised any authority there. The period from 1254 to 1273 is known as the great interregnum.

The great interregnum.

During this struggle of the Staufen with the papacy, two things are to be noticed: the largely increased number of principalities and the extension of the frontier on the east. Through the policy of the Hohenstaufen to diminish the power of the dukes by breaking their original provinces up into many smaller political divisions and giving these as fiefs to others, there had now come to be, instead of the five great stem-duchies, a large number of duchies, counties, marches, bishoprics, and other principalities, all striving for independence. The influence of subinfeudation may also be seen in this dissolution of the great political units.

Feudal principalities of Germany.

A most important change had taken place in the eastern boundary. Slowly the Slavs, Letts, and Magyars, who covered the whole eastern frontier, had been conquered and were being Christianized and Germanized. The eastern boundary had been carried, even beyond the Vistula on the Baltic, and included the valley of the Oder; from there it extended in an irregular line to the Danube below Vienna. Germany had lost Italy for ever, but had indemnified herself in a measure by the conquest and assimilation of these barbarian lands.

The eastern frontier.

Great progress had been made in Germany in culture and wealth. Numerous cities were in existence, and they were now ready to make use of the freedom afforded them by the absence of a strong ruler to establish among themselves their powerful independent leagues.

Cities.

The struggle between pope and emperor resulted in the political dismemberment of both Germany and Italy. While

the feudal lords of Germany had got power there, the cities of Italy were growing in independence, and the French had got a good foothold in the southern part of the peninsula. The unhappy country seemed farther than ever from unity.

Results of the struggle.

CHAPTER XI

MONASTICISM

LITERATURE.—See Church Histories in General Literature.
Mrs Oliphant, *St Francis of Assisi.*
Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*
Harnack, *Monasticism: Its Ideals and its History.*
Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars.*
St Benedict's Rule, translated in Henderson, *Documents.*
Penn. Univ. *Translations*, Vol. II.
Kingsley, *Hermits.*
Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism.*
Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy.*
Taunton, *English Black Monks of St Benedict from the Time of St Augustine to the Present.*
Montalembert, *Monks of the West.* 6 vols.

THE philosophic basis of asceticism is the belief that matter is the seat of evil, and therefore that all contact with it is contaminating. This conception of evil is neither Christian nor Jewish, but purely heathen. Jesus freely used the good things of this world, and taught that sin is in nothing external to man, but has its seat only in the heart. But his teaching was not understood by his followers. This belief that matter is evil had its origin in the teachings of certain heathen philosophers. It not only pervaded all philosophic thought, but in the second century of our era had even become the common creed of the masses. It had so firm a hold on them that Christianity was not able to dislodge it from their minds. The people already attached a religious value to ascetic practices, and in their excess of religious zeal, when they became Christian, they were naturally inclined to increase their ascetic observances. The peculiar form which this asceticism in the Church took is called monasticism.

The philosophic basis of asceticism.

The decay of the empire, which set in strongly in the second century, and the violence consequent upon the invasions of the barbarians, robbed many persons of interest in life. The world seemed to be growing old, and the end of all things approaching. The best men were filled with despair, and longed to hide themselves away from the increasing confusion and desolation. After about 175 A.D. the Church rapidly grew worldly. As Christianity became popular, large numbers entered the Church and became Christian in name; but at heart and in life they remained heathen. The bishops were often proud and haughty, and lived in a grand style. Those who were really in earnest about their salvation, unsatisfied with such worldliness, fled from the contamination in the Church, and went to live in the desert, and find the way to God without the aid of the Church; her means of grace were for the common Christians. Those who would, could obtain, by means of asceticism and prayer, all that others received by means of the sacraments of the Church. There were to be two ways of salvation: one, through the Church and her means of grace; the other, through asceticism and contemplation.

Conditions favourable to the introduction of asceticism into the Church.

Two ways of salvation.

The beginnings of monasticism are lost in obscurity. They fall very probably in the third century. The earliest monks were hermits. They lived alone, finding all the shelter they needed in a hut, or in a cave, or in the shadow of some rock or tree. The movement beginning in those countries where the conditions were favourable to such an outdoor life, spread rapidly throughout the east. In order to protect themselves against impostors and other dangers, the hermits began to build their little huts close together, and probably surrounded them by a wall for protection. They had a common chapel, and on certain days worshipped together and ate of a common meal. Though they had few rules, they elected a sort of superior to be over the whole colony. Gradually they came to live in houses, in which each monk, having his own room or cell,

Hermits.

Semi-social organization.

maintained a certain amount of independence. In this way the ascetic life was organized on a semi-social basis. By going into the desert, the hermit, of course, had given up his possessions and his family, and it soon came to be regarded as a matter of course that he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity. When they began to live under one roof another vow was necessary—that of obedience or subjection to the rules and interests of the house.

Three vows.

More and more this loosely organized cenobitic life became the common form, retaining, although the monks now lived together, the name of monasticism. It is this form of monasticism that has prevailed in the Greek Church, although hermits still exist there, and are regarded as leading a more holy form of life. The monks of the Greek Church have really lived for the most part separated from the world. Occasionally they have made themselves felt at the court, and they have played a part in the great synods held during the fourth to the eighth centuries. Since that time monasticism in the Greek Church has had no history, because it has had no life. The monasticism of the Greek Church has helped to preserve the dead forms in the Church, but has prevented any change except in the direction of enriching the ceremonies and forms of worship.

Monasticism in the Greek Church.

Monks were first seen in the west about 340, when Athanasius brought two of them with him to Rome. They excited among the Romans feelings of mingled curiosity and disgust. But when Augustine and Jerome gave the influence of their pens and their example in favour of monasticism, it spread rapidly throughout Europe. The movement became immensely popular, and within a century and a half there were hundreds of monasteries in the west, and thousands of monks in them. It seemed for a time that this monasticism in the west would be of the same character as that in the east, and therefore would have no history and play no part in the work of the Church. But the spirit of the west took hold of it, organized it, and made it one of the most effective tools in the hands of the pope and

Monasticism carried to the west.

emperor to Christianize and civilize the barbarians and extend the Church and the state. The Roman spirit of organization, of conquest and activity, would not allow the original monkish ideal to prevail. The monks had, indeed, fled from the world, but they were to be used to conquer and to rule it.

At first each monastery made its own rules of discipline; each monk was allowed to act almost as he pleased. There were several attempts made to harmonize these rules into one common code. Of these attempts only that of Benedict of Nursia (480–543) was destined to succeed. Benedict, after spending several years as a monk in various places went to Monte Casino, near Naples (528), and taking with him several of the monks who had been associated with him elsewhere, he founded the famous monastery of Monte Casino, for which he prepared his Rule. He organized the monks into a close corporation, forbidding any of them to leave the monastery without the consent of the abbot. A clear line was sharply drawn between them and the world. The occupations of the monks were fixed by him for every hour of the day and night. Periods of prayer and contemplation were to alternate with seasons of work. Strict discipline was to be enforced, and all monks must take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.[1]

Benedict of Nursia, 480–543.

Circumstances favouring the spread of Benedict's rule, it was gradually adopted by other monasteries. Gregory the Great (590-604) established it in many places in Italy, Sicily and England. In the seventh century it was much more widely used, and in the eighth, under Boniface, it was made the only form of monasticism in Gaul and Germany. In the next century, Benedict of Aniane helped give it a severer character. It became the orthodox rule of monasticism, and at one time governed more than forty thousand monastic establishments. Benedict's intention was not to make his monks either scholars or missionaries. The bishops of Rome, however, used them in missionary work, and that soon came to

[1] Henderson, "Historical Documents of the Middle Ages," p. 274 ff., contains a translation of this rule.

be regarded as one of the peculiar purposes of their existence. It was principally through them that Christianity spread among the barbarians; Cassiodorus, the prime minister of Theodoric the Great, remained in public life till about 540, when he retired to a monastery which he had founded in Calabria. There he gave himself to literary pursuits, and likewise required his monks to spend a certain portion of time every day in study. This example was imitated in other monasteries, and since it soon became apparent that a good deal of learning was necessary to manage the monastery's affairs, some of the monks in each monastery became scholars. In this way learning found a home in monasteries.

Cassiodorus and learning in the monasteries.

The rule of St Benedict, requiring that every monk should work, and the impulse toward learning which Cassiodorus gave the order, prevented the monks of the west from becoming ignorant and useless, as were monks of the east. They were not permitted to withdraw from the world entirely, but were made useful members of society. The monks were excellent tools in the hands of the popes, for whose purpose of conquering the world no better man could be found than one who despised the world and had turned his back upon it. The papacy also drew them away from their original ideal and gave them a still greater field of activity.

The monks were not necessarily clergymen. At first they were all laymen, but later it came to be the custom for them to receive ordination. The monastic life was regarded as the ideal Christian life. So prevalent was this idea that wherever possible the clergy of a diocese were gathered together, and compelled to live in a common house according to a common rule. From this fact all such came to be called the "regular clergy," while those of the outlying districts and villages who did not live in this way were called the "secular clergy."

Monks, regular clergy, and secular clergy.

In the tenth century monasticism was in a wretched state of decline. The rule of St Benedict was so little regarded and the life in the monasteries had so degenerated, that it seemed

as if monasticism must die out. Its first great reform began in the monastery of Cluny, which was founded (910) in the hills a few miles west of Macon. *Cluny.* Under the headship of a series of most capable and earnest abbots, Cluny achieved a wide reputation for piety. With its growing fame the number of its monks increased until it was possible to send out colonies of monks to establish new monasteries. As the spirit of reform awoke elsewhere, monks from Cluny were asked to visit other monasteries and introduce the new rule, discipline, and ideas. In this way the Cluniac rule became common in Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries. All the monasteries which used it were bound together by it, and were called a "congregation." The abbot of Cluny was at the head of this congregation, and, therefore, possessed immense power. The objects which this reform had in view were those which were taken up by Gregory VII. and by him made the programme of the papacy. The monastic rule must be made more rigorous and be more vigorously enforced. The secular clergy must be made to live after this monkish rule, and the spiritual aristocracy thus formed by the monks and clergy should have complete authority over the laity in all religious matters. Gregory VII., indeed, went a step farther: to the spiritual authority over the whole world he added also the political authority.[1] *The Cluniac programme.*

In the eleventh century, however, there was so great a deepening of the monastic spirit that even the rule of Cluny seemed to some to be too lax. This led to the formation of several orders, such as the Carthusians (1084), the Cistercians (1098), the Premonstrants (1120), the Carmelites (1156), and others which, for the most part, achieved only a local reputation. The tendency to form separate orders, and the number of those who applied to the pope for permission to establish new ones increased; and though Innocent III. finally refused to listen to any more appeals, and forbade the establishment of any more orders, the prohibition was immediately disregarded. *Formation of orders.*

[1] See page 125.

St Francis. St Francis of Assisi, the founder of the order which bears his name (Franciscans, *fratres minores*, friars, Minorites), was filled with the idea of the imitation of Christ and his apostles in their preaching, poverty, and service to others. "The Franciscan brother" should spend his life on the highway, stopping to preach and minister unto others whenever occasion offered; he should work for his bread, if work could be found; if not, he might beg; he should never receive money under any circumstances, nor more food than was sufficient for his wants for the day; he must never lay up any store in this world; he must care for the sick, visit those who were in prison, cheer the downcast, recover the lost, and be to the world a Christ. The life of Jesus was to be his model in all things. During the period from 1209 to 1226 the order of St Francis was thoroughly established and his rule developed and confirmed by the pope. The order, however, soon underwent a change which deeply offended St Francis—it began to amass property and build houses.

The rule of poverty evaded.

St Dominic. St Dominic, a Spaniard (1170-1221), established the order of Preaching Brothers (*Fratres Prædicatores*, 1215) to resist the spread of heresy in the Church. They were to be trained in all the learning of the day and made equal to the task of instructing the people in the doctrines of the Church. In 1220 St Dominic introduced the rule of poverty into the order, thus modelling it after the order of St Francis. The two orders had much the same development, becoming large, rich, and powerful. St Francis had not intended that his brothers should devote themselves to learning, but they took it up in imitation of the Dominicans, and the two orders furnished all the great scholars of the later Middle Ages.

Faults of monasticism. The dark side of monasticism has been often painted. There were many periods of decadence in its history. The piety of the monks brought them popularity and wealth; wealth brought them to leisure, idleness, and profligacy. The principles of monasticism were opposed

to the dignity of the family, and to the proper position of woman in society. The best human talent was frequently drawn into the monastery and, hence, lost to the state.

Much more, indeed, might be said against the institution, but the good which it did far outweighs the evil. Monasticism furnished the missionaries who Christianized and civilized western and northern Europe. Every monastery became a centre of life and learning, and hence a light to the surrounding country. The monks cleared the lands and brought them under cultivation. They were the farmers, and taught by example the dignity of labour in an age when the soldier was the world's hero. They preserved and transmitted much of the civilization of Rome to the barbarians. They were the teachers of the west. Literature and learning found a refuge with them in times of violence. Their monasteries were the hotels of the Middle Age, and they cared for the poor and the sick. They were the greatest builders of their time, many of the great churches of Europe being their work. Monasticism was therefore an excellent thing for the world in those days. But the times changed. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it no longer had a great mission. Other forces and institutions were then at hand to carry on the work which it had begun. The proof of this is that in the fifteenth century it was dying out. The monasteries were no longer full, and it was impossible to keep their numbers complete. The old monasticism was powerless; it was no longer adapted to the character and needs of society.

The benefits of monasticism.

The Middle Ages had two distinct ideals, the soldier and the monk. Contradictory as they may seem, it is not strange that they fused and produced military-monkish orders, which arose under the peculiar circumstances which prevailed in Palestine during the crusades. The Knights of St John were organized (1099) for the care of the sick among the pilgrims and crusaders. It was not long, however, until the military element was added, because being surrounded and constantly threatened by Saracens they had to defend them-

Military-monkish Orders.

The Knights of St John.

selves. In 1119 the Knights Templars were established in imitation of the Knights of St John. Both orders were composed of men who took all the vows of monks, but spent their time fighting. Because of their connection with the Holy Land, the two orders became very popular throughout the west, and received immense gifts.

Knights Templars.

In 1190, during the siege of Ptolemais, a hospital was established for Germans, the members of which were soon afterwards organized into a military-monkish order in imitation of the two spoken of above. They were called German Knights. They tried hard to get a foothold in the east, but the other orders were so much older and had been so much longer in the field that it was impossible. In 1226 they were invited to come to Prussia (the territory east of the lower Vistula) to fight against the heathen Prussians. In 1202 Albert, bishop of Riga, had established a similar order, known as the Sword Brothers, and had made use of them in conquering and Christianizing the heathen of Livonia and Esthonia. In 1237 these two orders were united, and to this union it was due that so large a territory east of the Vistula was Germanized and Christianized, and added finally to Germany.

The German Order on the Baltic.

CHAPTER XII

MOHAMMED, MOHAMMEDANISM, AND THE CRUSADES

LITERATURE.—See General Literature.

Cox, *The Crusades.*
Sybel, *History and Literature of the Crusades.*
Muir, *Life of Mahomet and the Caliphate.*
Yule, *Marco Polo.*
Mombert, *Short History of the Crusades.*
Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades.*
Gray, *The Children's Crusade.*
Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age.*
Gilman, *Saracens.*
Pears, *Fall of Constantinople.*
Archer, *Crusade of Richard I.*
Conder, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.*
Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship.*
Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages.*
Chronicles of the Crusades.
Penn. Univ. *Translations.* Vols. I. and III. contain material relating to the crusades.

BEFORE the time of Mohammed the Arabs had no central government. They were separated into independent tribes. In the tribe there was a kind of patriarchal government, but no recognized officials intrusted with the enforcement of the laws and the execution of justice. Even in the towns there was no real government. Every one maintained the right of private vengeance. Each family, defending itself and its interests, was bound to avenge any injury done to its members; consequently there were constant feuds among them. Until united by Mohammed, the Arabs can hardly be said to have had a political existence.

Political condition of Arabia.

The religion of the Arabs was a crass idolatry. They worshipped the heavenly bodies, as well as a large number of spirits known as genii, ogres, and demons, all of which play a

prominent part in their literature. They observed a holy month, in which all warfare was suspended and no one dared do even his worst enemy an injury. Markets were held during this season at the holy places, and under this double security commerce flourished. About the middle of the fifth century of our era the city of Mecca was founded at a place where from time immemorial there had been a temple, known as the Kaaba. The tribe known as the Koreischites had got possession of the temple, and by collecting there all the religious rites of Arabia, made of Mecca its religious and commercial capital. Christianity, although of a poor type, was known in Arabia; Judaism also was represented there by many Jewish colonies, especially along the western coast.

Mecca.

Of Mohammed's early life very little is known. He was born in Mecca about 570. The death of his father, mother, and grandfather left him to the care of his uncle. His family was poor, however, and Mohammed was compelled to perform the most menial labour. When about twenty-five years old he entered the service of a rich widow, whom he served so faithfully as to win her hand and heart. His marriage with her raised him from his humble position of poverty to one of influence. When about forty years old Mohammed began to preach against polytheism and idolatry. The burden of all his messages to his people was that there was one God, who required of his followers certain religious and humane duties, and who would in the next world reward or punish all men in accordance with their conduct in this. The Meccans generally did not take him seriously at first, but in the course of a few years he had gathered about him a goodly number of people who believed in him and his divine calling. His wife and children, his slaves, a few of his relatives, and several poor and humble people, especially slaves, accepted him as a prophet and attached themselves to him. During the first five years of his preaching he had also won over the four men who were to succeed him as khalifs, Abu Bekr,

Mohammed, 570–632.

His first converts.

Omar, Othman, and Ali. As his following grew in numbers the Meccans began to oppose him bitterly, because he was attacking their idols, and might thereby injure the reputation of the city, and also because he was establishing a society on a new basis. The union between him and his followers was not based on blood relationship, but on a common religious belief, which seemed to the Meccans dangerous and revolutionary. Their opposition soon developed into persecution.

Mohammed then sent some of his followers into Abyssinia, where he hoped they would be free from all oppression. As the hostility of the Meccans toward him became greater, however, he saw that he also must eventually leave the city. He accordingly tried to make an alliance with some tribe to whom he might retire when he withdrew from Mecca. After meeting with several refusals, he fell in with some men from Jathrib, or, as it came to be called later, Medina, who were inclined to believe in his prophetic character. The Arabs of Medina lived among Jews, from whom they had learned of many of the ideas which Mohammed was proclaiming. After Mohammed had laboured two years with them, the people of Medina made an alliance with him, accepting his religion and agreeing to protect him. Mohammed then sent as many of his followers to Medina as could free themselves from their entanglements in Mecca, and he himself, with Abu Bekr, soon followed. This flight of Mohammed, called the Hegira, took place in the year 622, and became the basis for the Mohammedan system of reckoning time.

Alliance with Medina.

The Hegira, 622.

During the first year after the flight Mohammed tried hard to win the Jews of Medina and the surrounding country, believing that since they were monotheists there could be but little difference between them and himself. Under Jewish influence he developed certain religious ceremonies, such as fasting and prayer. All the references in the Koran to the Jews during this period are friendly; but before the first year was passed, Mohammed discovered that the Jews could not

be persuaded to accept him. This led him to turn from them and exert himself in the conversion of the Arabs. Up to this time Jerusalem had been regarded by him as the Holy City, toward which during prayer he and his followers had turned their faces. Now he determined to win the Arabs. His first step was to make Mecca, which, although the great national centre of the Arabs, had played an unimportant rôle in his belief, the Holy City of his religion. Mecca and the Kaaba replaced Jerusalem and the temple. To justify this change Mohammed made use of the tradition of Abraham and Ishmael, connecting them with the building of the Kaaba and making Abraham the father of the Arabs. Abraham had been made to do duty by both Jews and Christians, both having laid claim to him; Mohammed now declared that Abraham had been neither Jew nor Christian, but Mohammedan.

Mohammed turns from the Jews to the Arabs.

But Mecca was not in the hands of Mohammed, and the Meccans were hostile to him. For the purpose of revenge, as well as of getting possession of the Kaaba, Mohammed began to instil into the minds of his followers the idea that war against those who had done violence to the faithful was justifiable. In a short time, in order to precipitate a war, he sent out some of his men to attack and rob a caravan of the Meccans. Inflamed by the hope of booty, the people of Medina now joined him in an attempt to capture another caravan on its way to Mecca; but its leader outwitted them. A thousand men had come out from Mecca to defend the caravan and to avenge themselves for the previous loss which they had sustained. Mohammed, with only three hundred men, met the thousand Meccans at Badr, and after killing about seventy of them, put the rest to flight. Much booty was taken, which Mohammed judiciously distributed among those who had fought for him. This military success of Mohammed quite turned him from the propagation of his faith in a peaceable way to the use of the sword. It soon became his settled

The desire of revenge leads Mohammed to resort to arms.

The change wrought in him by military success.

policy to compel the Arabian to accept him and his religion. During the rest of his life he suffered but few reverses; before his death all Arabia acknowledged him, and his followers were prepared to carry his faith by force into all lands.

Mohammed's life may be divided into two periods. During the first one he was a preacher of righteousness—a reformer. Those parts of the Koran delivered during this period are religious and poetical. He felt religious truth so directly that he believed that God was speaking to him. It is difficult to believe that during this period Mohammed was an impostor, or that he consciously used fraud. But after the flight he was moved by considerations that were not wholly religious. It was his desire for revenge that led him to attack Mecca. He felt that he was establishing a new religion and a new state. As his interests became political, he lost sight of the purer objects of his religion, resorting to means which seem to us very questionable, though he probably thought that the purpose he had in view justified him in all he did. During the last years of his life he was lacking in inspiration. His style became dull and prolix, for the later chapters of the Koran are by no means equal to the earlier ones.

Mohammed not an impostor. At first a reformer, he becomes a politician.

While Mohammed had many of the faults of his age, he was in many respects also far ahead of it. He practised and permitted polygamy, and may seem to have degraded woman. But when it is remembered that polygamy was practised among his people long before his time, and that in other ways he did much to raise woman to a higher plane, we must judge him leniently. A proper estimate of his character can be formed only after a careful study of his times and a knowledge of him in all the relations of his life. Many of his most serious faults were due either to his conception of the prophetic office, or to the character of his times or people. His character was full of contrast. He has been compared in this respect with King David, in whom vindictiveness, cruelty, and deceit were joined with the

His character.

most noble qualities. Mohammed was simple and modest and free from luxury in food, dress, and surroundings. Even in the days of his greatest success he lived in the plainest fashion, mending his own clothes, and attending to his own wants. He needed no slaves, and consequently liberated most of the captives who fell to him in the distribution of spoil. Mild, gentle, forgiving, and conciliatory, he was never a tyrant to his people. He associated freely with men of every rank. He was true in all his friendships and deeply grateful for any kindness shown him. In common with his age, he was superstitious and believed in the influence of good and evil spirits, and in the importance of dreams and all kinds of omens.

His quickening influence on the Arabs.

Mohammed made the Arabs into a nation and brought them into history. His influence on them intellectually may be seen from the fact that for nearly three hundred years the Arabs led the world in civilization. The good parts of his work were later destroyed by the ignorant and fanatical peoples from central Asia, who came down and acquired the political power over the Mohammedan world. Under their influence all the evils of Mohammed's religion were developed and its good destroyed. Mohammed himself is not responsible for the Mohammedanism of to-day; it is the creation of the Turkish peoples who adopted his religion and have ruled it for nearly eight hundred years. Turkish Mohammedanism is a very different thing from the early Arabic Mohammedanism.

Modern Mohammedanism is Turkish.

Mohammed was a religious genius. It may be objected that he produced nothing new and that he was indebted to the Jews and Christians for nearly all his ideas. While that is true, he nevertheless felt, as no one else had for several centuries, the power of these ideas. He saw and felt a great religious truth in a direct way. His originality consisted not so much in new knowledge as in the vigour, directness, and certainty of his religious perceptions. Others might have learned the same things from the Jews and

Christians, but Mohammed alone felt their truth and breathed into them a new religious power.

Mohammed died in 632, and in turn four of his earliest converts, Abu Bekr (632–34), Omar (634–44), Othman (644–55), and Ali (655–61), were elected khalif. Before the death of Ali, Syria, Persia, the Euphrates valley, and all the territory as far as the Oxus river and the confines of India and Egypt, with a part of north Africa, were conquered and converted to the faith of Mohammed. But dissensions arose, and Othman and Ali were both murdered. A relative of Othman made himself khalif and established himself in Damascus (661) instead of Medina. He and his family, known as the Ommeiades, ruled in Damascus till, in 750, the Abbassides, the descendants of an uncle of Mohammed, usurped the khalifate and removed its seat to Bagdad. This change of capital was a mistake, because from that city it was impossible to rule the whole Mohammedan world. Egypt and Spain revolted and set up rival khalifs. In the eleventh century the Seldjuk Turks came down from central Asia and made themselves master of all the Mohammedan parts of Asia. In 1058 their leader, Togrul Beg, went to Bagdad, received all the temporal authority of the khalif, and became sultan of the Mohammedan world. The khalif became merely a religious officer; the political authority rested in the hands of Togrul Beg and his successors. The changed khalifate continued till 1258, when the son of the great conqueror, Ghengis Khan, put to death the last khalif at Bagdad.

Divisions in the Mohammedan world.

The Turks become the ruling power.

In 750, when the Ommeiad dynasty was destroyed, one member of the family escaped and made his way to Spain, where, received with honour, he was recognized as the lord of the country. With the name of emir or sultan, he and his descendants ruled in Spain till 929, when they assumed the title of khalif. Under this family the Mohammedan power in Spain was well united and enjoyed a season of great prosperity. In 1031, however,

The khalifate of Spain.

a revolution put an end to the khalifate, breaking it into a large number of small principalities, and the Christians, pressing in on all sides, reconquered some of their territory.

Africa. After the fall of the Ommeiades Africa suffered a long period of violence and discord; but in the tenth century a pretended descendant of Fatima, a daughter of Mohammed, got possession of it. His descendants founded Cairo (969) and made it the seat of their government.

The khalifate of Cairo. They controlled nearly all the islands of the western Mediterranean and held several posts in Italy and France. By constant wars, however, their power was broken, and in 1171 Saladin, the ruler of western Asia, conquered Egypt and made an end of the khalifate of Cairo.

The Arabic civilization. During the five centuries following Mohammed's death there was produced among his followers a civilization far in advance of anything in Europe. The basis for it all they received from Persia and Greece, but they added much to the stock thus obtained. In the administration of the government the Mohammedans had an excellent system, which was pretty thoroughly unified. Their system of taxation was good. They restored the old Roman roads and built new ones, thus binding all parts of the empire together, and they constructed canals and aqueducts. A postal system was in operation among them. They developed a style of architecture, which was characterized by the round and horse-shoe arch, the dome, the tall and graceful minaret, and the richness of its interior ornamentation. In everything connected with their buildings they showed the most exquisite taste and appreciation of beauty, and their architectural remains are still the wonder and envy of the world.

Learning. They established universities, which excelled all those of Europe for several centuries. The mosques were generally the seats of universities or learned societies, and were the places where all sorts of questions were freely discussed. Among the famous universities were those of Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. The university of Cairo,

which still exists in the mosque El Azhar, had as many as twelve thousand students. Libraries were formed, some of which are said to have contained several hundred thousand volumes. The universities, especially in Spain, were visited by Christian students, who thus acquired the Mohammedan learning and culture and carried them into Christian Europe. Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, and philology were studied with great zest. Dictionaries were compiled, and commentaries on the Koran written. The Mohammedans knew the works of Aristotle, and based their philosophical systems upon his principles of philosophy. Several works by them on travel and history and some biographies are handed down to us.

Mathematics.

In mathematics they built on the foundations of the Greek mathematicians. The origin of the so-called Arabic numerals is obscure. Under Theodoric the Great, Boëthius made use of certain signs which were in part very like the nine digits which we now use. One of the pupils of Gerbert also used signs which were still more like ours, but the zero was unknown till in the twelfth century, when it was invented by the Arab mathematician named Mohammed-Ibn-Mousa, who also was the first to use the decimal notation, and who gave the digits the value of position. In geometry the Arabs did not add much to Euclid, but algebra is practically their creation; also they developed spherical trigonometry, inventing the sine, tangent, and cotangent. In physics they invented the pendulum, and produced work on optics. They made progress in the science of astronomy. They built several observatories and constructed many astronomical instruments which are still in use. They calculated the angle of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes. Their knowledge of astronomy was undoubtedly profound.

Medicine and Chemistry.

In medicine they made great advances over the work of the Greeks. They studied physiology and hygiene, and their "*materia medica*" was practically the same as ours to-day. Many of their methods of treatment are still in use among us. Their surgeons understood

the use of anæsthetics and performed some of the most difficult operations known. At the time when in Europe the practice of medicine was forbidden by the Church, which expected cures to be effected by religious rites performed by the clergy, the Arabs had a real science of medicine. In chemistry they made a good beginning. They discovered many new substances and compounds, such as alcohol, potassium, nitrate of silver, corrosive sublimate, and nitric and sulphuric acid.

In literature, also, the Arabs laboured, producing many works of imagination. They had a special fondness for poetry.

Literature, Manufactures, Farming. In manufactures they outdid the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. In textile fabrics they have never been surpassed. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing and they manufactured paper. They had many processes of dressing leather, and their work was famous throughout Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way and had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers, and adapted their crops to the quality of the ground. They excelled in horticulture, knowing how to graft, and how to produce new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the west many trees and plants from the east, and wrote scientific treatises on farming.

Their commerce attained great proportions. Their caravans traversed the empire from one end to the other, and their sails

Commerce. covered the seas. They held at many places great fairs and markets, some of which were visited by merchants from all parts of Europe and Asia. Their merchants had connections with China, India, and the East Indies, with the interior of Africa and with Russia, and with all the countries lying around the Baltic.

Much of the Mohammedan civilization was destined to

be introduced into Europe, especially by means of the crusades. In its own home, however, it suffered almost complete annihilation by the coming of the ignorant and fanatical Turks, who showed, indeed, that they could prey upon it, but could not assimilate and improve it; whose fanaticism led them to oppose all science, because it might be injurious to their religious belief; and whose hatred of people of other religions led them into wars, during which industry and commerce languished. Since the Turks were barbarian and without any appreciation of the necessaries as well as the luxuries of civilized life, they tended to destroy the culture which they found. Since their coming Mohammedanism has changed utterly, and the lands which were once gardens are now almost like a desert.

Arabic civilization destroyed by the Turks.

The descendants of Togrul Beg continued their conquests to the west till they took Asia Minor from the emperor and even threatened Constantinople. In his extremity the emperor is said to have sent messengers to the pope to ask aid. In 1095 Urban II. went into France, and at a council at Clermont called on all the west to take up arms and recover the holy places. He met with an unexpected response. After he had ceased speaking, thousands pressed around him, took the vow to go on the crusade, and received the sign, a red cross fastened to the right shoulder diagonally across the breast. Urban renewed the prohibition of private war, put the property of all crusaders under the special protection of the Church, offered large rewards to all who would join the movement, and commanded the clergy to preach the crusade in all parts of France. Among the many who went out to preach the crusade was Peter the Hermit. The ordinary accounts which make Peter the originator of the crusade are entirely false. He had never been in Palestine; had never seen the pope; and had nothing to do with Urban till after the crusade had been announced at Clermont. By his preaching he got together a few thousand men and women—a disorderly mob without arms—and set out for Palestine. He led

Urban II. preaches the first crusade.

Peter the Hermit.

them to Constantinople and thence a short distance into Asia Minor, where they were cut to pieces by the Turks. Peter himself escaped to Constantinople, and waited for the main army to come up.

There was no leader of the crusade and no central authority. From the north of France came Hugo of Vermandois, a brother of king Philip I.; Stephen of Blois, Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Bouillon and his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, and their nephew, Baldwin the Younger; from southern France, Raymond, count of Toulouse; and from Italy, Boemund and his nephew, Tancred. Of all these only one, Boemund, had any ability as a leader; and unfortunately for the undertaking, it was impossible for him to obtain the leadership. Each one led his own men, and was practically independent of all the others. It is said that the army which was thus brought together numbered nearly a million, but we have no means of forming an accurate estimate of its size.

The leaders inefficient, the army not consolidated.

The crusading army was motley in its make-up. Many had, of course, joined the movement out of religious motives, hoping to have a part in the meritorious work of reconquering the holy places. The pope had promised remission of sins to all who should lose their lives while on the crusade, and many supernatural advantages seemed likely to be derived from such an undertaking. Others were there who had run away from their debts or from their families; there were even criminals, who hoped thus to escape punishment. Many serfs ran away from their lords, and from the hard conditions under which they lived. Many came because of the opportunity to gratify their love of adventure and travel. The leaders, almost without exception, had joined in the movement principally because they wished to acquire power and establish an independent principality somewhere in the east, on lands to be taken from the Saracens or from the Greeks. The pope had the desire to deliver the holy places, but at the same time he wished to extend his ecclesiastical authority over the east. The cities of Italy, some

Motives of the crusaders.

of which joined to a certain extent in the first crusade, were led principally by the desire to extend their commerce and to secure harbour privileges in the east.

Remembering his recent experiences with Robert Guiscard, Alexius, the emperor at Constantinople, feared the crusaders. He divined the purpose of the leaders and felt that he was not secure from their attacks. It was quite natural that he should endeavour to protect his interests. As the leaders arrived at Constantinople he either persuaded or forced them to take an oath that they would deliver to him all the territory which they should conquer, promising them that, if they wished, they might receive it back as a fief. Boemund was the only one of the crusaders frank enough to tell the emperor what his intentions were. He offered his services to Alexius, plainly informing him that he wished to make his fortune in the east; but the emperor, distrusting him, refused to give him a position of trust and authority.

Alexius has good grounds for fearing the crusaders.

In 1097 the army, after crossing the Bosphorus, set out for Nicæa. After besieging the town for several days, they were about to take it when Alexius secured its surrender to himself. The crusaders, not allowed to sack the place, were angry with Alexius, and accused him of acting in bad faith with them. Their charges were, however, without foundation.

Nicæa taken, 1097.

The march through Asia Minor was a difficult one; many perished by the way of hunger and thirst. Toward the end of October, 1097, the army reached Antioch, and began its siege. The city held out for several months, until when a great army under Kerbogha, emir of Mosul, was approaching for its relief, Boemund told the other leaders that, if they would agree to give him Antioch for his possession, he would deliver it into their hands. They finally consented, and the following night Boemund, by the aid of a traitor, secured an entrance into the city. At daybreak the gates were opened, the crusaders rushed in, and the work of destruction and pillage began. The Mohammedans were

Antioch taken, 1098.

killed without pity and their houses looted. Only the citadel held out, but to this, in the wild scramble for spoil, the crusaders paid no attention. Three days later Kerbogha arrived, and now the crusaders became the besieged. For a few days Kerbogha pushed the siege with great vigour. The Christians lost courage, for it seemed the city could not hold out against Kerbogha. But a pious fraud was now planned, which filled the crusaders with enthusiasm and enabled them to overcome the besieging army. It was said that in a vision the whereabouts of the holy lance had been revealed to one of the crusaders, and when they dug in the place designated, of course they found the lance. Some of the crusaders knew that this was a fraud, but others believed in it. When the army marched out with this lance at its head, the army of Kerbogha was put to utter rout, leaving its camp in the hands of the Christians.

Kerbogha.

In the meantime Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, had gone to Edessa and had, by very questionable means, made himself master of the city. Edessa became a most important outpost for the Christians.

Edessa.

After the destruction of Kerbogha's army the way was open to Jerusalem. Boemund wished to remain in Antioch until he had got the city under his control. Raymond of Toulouse, envious of the good fortune of Boemund, coveted the city and refused to proceed to Jerusalem. He tried in vain in every way to gain a foothold in the neighbourhood of Antioch and to dispossess Boemund. At length the crusaders, angry at the delay, declared they would burn Antioch unless Raymond gave up the struggle and led them on to Jerusalem. Raymond yielded very unwillingly, and more than once stopped by the way and laid siege to some town. At last, worn out with waiting, the crusaders set fire to their tents and began a mad sort of race toward Jerusalem. Reaching the city, they besieged it for several weeks, and finally stormed and took it, July 15, 1099.

Ambition of Raymond of Toulouse.

The leaders quarrel.

Jerusalem taken, 1099.

Hardly was the city taken when a quarrel arose as to what

should be done with it. The clergy wished to make it an ecclesiastical state under the rule of a patriarch. The princes however, would not listen to this, but could with difficulty find any one who wished to assume control of it. In the end a compromise was effected by which Godfrey of Bouillon was put over it with the title of "Protector of the Holy Grave." A few days later the crusaders left Jerusalem and began their journey home, and the first crusade was at an end. It had cost Europe an immense number of men, and had accomplished very little. Boemund had possession of Antioch, Baldwin of Edessa, and Godfrey of Jerusalem. Alexius had also regained nearly all of Asia Minor. In the eyes of the west however, the reconquest of the Holy Grave was by far the most important result of the crusade, and well worth all that it had cost. The returning crusaders were received with every mark of honour, and their stories so filled the people with enthusiasm that a new crusade was immediately organized. From 1100 to 1102 several hundred thousand men went to the east, only to be cut to pieces in Asia Minor.

Godfrey of Bouillon made Protector of the Holy Grave, 1099.

Results of the crusade.

Crusade of 1100–2.

The Christian states which had been founded in the east had a chequered history, many chapters of which were far from ideal. Lack of good political judgment, jealousy, intrigue, and treachery prevented their best development. They quarrelled with the emperor and with each other, and it often happened that Christians made alliances with Mohammedans against other Christians.

Strife among the Christian states in Syria.

The new emir of Mosul, Zangi, ambitious to rule over the Mohammedan world, began a policy of conquest. In 1144 he took Edessa and threatened both Antioch and Jerusalem, till, in their extremity, the Christians appealed to the west for help. The fall of Edessa caused great consternation in Europe, without, however, producing any immediate action.

Zangi takes Edessa, 1144.

Europe had undergone a great change since Urban II. had

first issued the call for a crusade. Contested papal elections and the rule of some inefficient popes had somewhat reduced the power and prestige of the papacy. Europe had, in the meantime, been growing rich from her rapidly increasing commerce, and wealth was producing a great change in the people. Political interests were occupying a larger place in the minds of all. Louis VI. was strengthening the royal power in France. Roger had made a kingdom out of Sicily and Southern Italy. The cities of Lombardy were increasing in wealth, power, and independence. A great change, illustrated by the life of Abelard, had taken place in the thought of Europe. Here and there people had begun to think independently of the Church and her creed. Reason was awakening. The study of Roman law had been revived. Poets were beginning to sing songs of love and wine. Europe, slowly recovering from her attack of asceticism, was thinking less of the future world and more of the enjoyment of this. Arnold of Brescia was in Rome, preaching against the wealth of the clergy and their exercise of political authority. The high demands of Gregory VII. had been relaxed a little. Pope Eugene III. was himself unimportant, and the leadership was in the hands of Bernard of Clairvaux, who did not wish that the pope should have secular power. He thought that their spiritual authority should be enforced only by spiritual means.

Europe changed.

A second crusade under these circumstances was difficult. But, by his eloquence, Bernard of Clairvaux overcame all difficulties. Louis VII. of France was desirous of going, and Conrad III. of Germany yielded to Bernard's fiery speech and took the vow. The Germans did the Greeks much damage while passing through the empire, and the eastern emperor actually had to make war on the crusaders before their excesses could be checked. The French army was more discreet; but, to make the situation more critical, king Robert II. of Sicily was making war on the empire. The emperor, although in great danger from the crusaders, was adroit enough to keep the peace with them, and get them across the Bosphorus. Both armies,

however, went to pieces in Asia Minor. Hunger, thirst, the fatigue of the journey, and the weapons of the Mohammedans left only a few thousand men who reached Palestine. There they made the mistake of besieging Damascus, whose emir was friendly to the Christians, instead of using all their efforts to break the power of Zangi, the real enemy. The second crusade ended in making the condition of the Christians in Syria worse instead of better; and Europe was so disgusted with the failure of the great preparations, that for many years no further efforts were made to send re-enforcements to the east.

Failure of the second crusade, 1147–49.

Fortunately for the Syrian Christians, Zangi died and his power went to pieces. But the Christians in Palestine learned no wisdom from their experiences. Intrigue and treachery increased among them. They became weaker and more contemptible, till, in 1187, Saladin, who had made himself master of western Asia and Egypt, was forced to make war on them. He had borne with them for a long time, but finally, enraged at their faithlessness, he attacked them, and in a few weeks had taken all their strongholds. His capture of Jerusalem stirred the west profoundly, and led the great rulers, the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, Philip II. of France, and Richard I. of England to organize a crusade for its recovery. After the most careful and statesmanlike preparations, Frederick led a well-disciplined army of one hundred thousand men through Asia Minor, only to meet his death by drowning while crossing a swollen mountain stream, and the army, left without a leader, melted away. Only a few of them reached Syria.

Saladin conquers Syria, 1187.

Frederick Barbarossa.

His death, June 10, 1190.

The armies of Philip and Richard went by sea and safely reached their destination; but their effectiveness was diminished by the quarrel which broke out between the two kings. On the way Richard conquered Cyprus and made of it a Christian kingdom, which was to be a strong defence for many years against the Mohammedans. Before the armies had reached Syria the Christians there had

Philip II. and Richard I.

made the mistake of attacking Acre, a strong fortress on the coast. Their efforts should have been to drive Saladin into the interior. They did not specially need Acre, since they already had several good ports, and in taking it the third crusade wore itself out. After its capture Philip returned home, and Richard, too, after engaging in many chivalrous adventures without accomplishing anything for the good of the cause, sailed away. He was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, taken prisoner, and set free only on the payment of a heavy ransom. The third crusade was also a failure, for the conquest of Acre was no adequate return for the expenditure of means, effort, and life which had been made.

The siege of Acre.

The crusade of Henry VI. was only a part of his larger plan of conquest, by which he meant to make himself master of the Greek empire and of the east. In 1196 he sent an army of sixty thousand men into Syria; but his unexpected death left his men without a master, and the army's dissolution rapidly followed.

Henry VI.

The west was exhausted and discouraged. Her great armies had melted away in the east without accomplishing anything. Hundreds of thousands of men were still ready to take the crusader's vow, but few were willing to fulfil it. All the efforts of Innocent III. could bring together only a few thousand knights, who, hoping to secure the service of the Venetian fleet in their undertaking, went to Venice. Being unable to pay the whole sum demanded for transportation, they agreed to work for their passage by assisting the Venetians in reducing Zara, a pirate city on the coast of Dalmatia, which had been preying on the commerce of the Venetians. In October, 1202, Zara was reduced, and the crusaders demanded the fulfilment of agreement. They wished to be carried to Egypt, because it seemed to them that it would be better to attack the Mohammedan power in its most important seat. But Venice, at peace with the Mohammedans of Egypt, enjoyed a rich commerce with them. The doge of Venice, therefore, shrewdly turned the crusaders aside from their purpose and led them against

The fourth crusade directed against Constantinople, 1202–4.

Constantinople. His purpose in this was to avenge himself for a private grudge against that city, and also to secure more harbour and commercial privileges in the east. Constantinople was at this time the leading commercial city of the Mediterranean; Venice envied her her supremacy, and hoped, with the help of the crusaders, to humble her. The crusaders themselves had little interest in the war with the Mohammedans. They were, for the most part, soldiers of fortune, adventurers ready for any undertaking that promised them a rich reward. An exiled emperor offered them a large sum of money if they would restore him to his throne, and Venice added her inducements. In spite of the opposition of the pope, the crusaders therefore moved against Constantinople and took it. They soon quarrelled with the emperor whom they had restored because he could not pay what he had promised. The quarrel led to the sacking of the city, the expulsion of the emperor, and the establishment of a western man as ruler in Constantinople. This Latin kingdom, as it was called, existed till 1261, when the Greeks put an end to it and restored an emperor of their own. The Venetians received as their share of the spoils, in 1204, many of the Greek islands, some parts of the mainland of Greece, and a large quarter, and harbour and commercial privileges in Constantinople. From this time they controlled to a great extent the eastern Mediterranean, and were the foremost commercial power of Europe.

The Latin kingdom in the east, 1204–61.

The crusades which followed this expedition against Constantinople were all unimportant in their results. The most curious of them all was the Children's Crusade. In the summer of 1212 forty thousand children were brought together in Germany and crossed the Alps into Italy. The number gradually melted away by deaths, desertions, or seizures, and only a handful of them reached Brindisi, from which a few of them are said to have sailed, never to be heard of again. The fate of the French children was even worse. Thirty thousand of them joined in the march

The Children's Crusade.

toward Marseilles, from which port probably five thousand of them sailed away, only to be betrayed and sold as slaves in the Mohammedan markets.

In 1217 another crusade was attempted, which resulted in the capture of Damietta. The Christians, however, were not able to improve their opportunities, the city was soon taken from them, and their army destroyed. Frederick II. led a crusade (1228–29), but won all his victories by diplomacy and not by the sword. In 1239–40 another crusade was made, but without results. In 1244 Mohammedan Asia was overrun by a wild horde of Turks who had been called in by one of the political factions of the Mohammedans themselves, and who devastated the country west of the Euphrates and captured Jerusalem and all the Christian cities in southern Syria; and from this time Jerusalem, lost to the Christians, was destined to remain under Mohammedan control. Louis IX. of France undertook to recover the Holy City, but after some successes in Egypt his army was destroyed and he returned to Europe without having accomplished anything. He made another crusade in 1270, the objective point of which was Tunis, but during the siege of that city he died.

The last crusades unimportant.

The end of the Christian power in Syria was fast approaching. The military-monkish orders fought with each other, and the Venetians and other Italian states were engaged in constant feuds. The Mohammedans were carrying on the work of conquest with skill. In 1265 Cæsarea and Arsuf were taken and destroyed. The great fortress Safed fell the next year. In 1268 Joppa shared the same fate, and the whole of northern Syria was lost by the surrender of Antioch in May of the same year. Thereupon Gregory X. had a crusade preached throughout all Europe, but without success. More than once divisions among the Mohammedans gave the remaining Christians in Syria a little respite, but their fate could not be avoided. Tripolis was taken in 1289, and in 1291 Acre was besieged, and after a few months of brave resistance captured.

Syria reconquered by the Mohammedans.

The Christians were thus driven out of Syria, and the whole country was in the hands of the Mohammedans. The Knights of St John established themselves on some of the islands, especially Rhodes, which they held for nearly two hundred years. Cyprus remained a Latin kingdom until 1489, when it was seized by Venice and made a part of her territory.

Although there were no more crusades, the idea of them did not die. Several popes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries called on Europe to arm itself against the Mohammedans. Several kings of France even took the cross and proclaimed a crusade. This was, however, done apparently for no other purpose than to afford the king an opportunity to collect some extraordinary taxes. The reasons for the cessation of the crusades are many. In the first place, they had all failed. Millions of lives and untold wealth had been squandered in the east, and nothing had been accomplished. The people of Europe lost faith in the movement. The crusading spirit was turned into other channels. In Spain the war was kept up with the Mohammedans. On the eastern frontiers of Germany crusades were carried on against the heathen Letts and Slavs. The heretics in the empire were put on the same plane as the infidels, and wars against them were declared to be as holy and deserving of the same rewards as those against the Mohammedans. Then, too, the national life of the countries was growing stronger. International struggles arising, all the forces of the country were needed at home. At the same time, the religious needs of the people were satisfied in another way. Gethsemanes, Via Dolorosas, and Calvaries were constructed in the west, and these artificial holy places came to be regarded with almost as much reverence as were their originals. The rising sale of indulgences also made it unnecessary to go on a long and dangerous journey to the Holy Land to win religious peace. The life of Europe grew larger, its interests more complex, and the fields of its activity more numerous. There was no longer any surplus of energy to be spent in such far-away enterprises.

Why did the crusades cease?

That the crusades failed to accomplish what they were organized to do is evident. Nor are the causes of this failure far to seek. The crusaders themselves were much to blame, both while on the way and after they reached the east. They were too lawless and mob-like. They lacked good leaders. The princes quarrelled constantly, and their personal ambitions, especially those of the Normans, kept them from working for the common good. The Greek emperors, too, followed a disastrous policy, although the conduct of the crusaders generally drove them to it. The struggle between the German emperors and the popes also had a baneful influence. The Italian cities came in for their share of the blame because they were interested so deeply in commerce that they often sacrificed the common interests to their selfish ends. Finally, the difficulty of colonizing so large a territory and of absorbing the Mohammedan population was so great that it could not be overcome.

Causes of failure.

The effects, both direct and indirect, of the crusades on Europe were great and varied. They did much to increase the power of the papacy, especially during the first hundred years. Urban II. was virtually at the head of Christian Europe, and his leadership of so popular a movement as the first crusade confirmed him in the high place in the mind of the Christian world. Chivalry was perhaps inevitable, but the crusades forced it to become organized and made of it the institution which it became. The military-monkish orders owed their existence wholly to the crusades. The conquests of the German Order among the heathen on the Baltic may be regarded as one of the most important of the indirect effects of the crusades.

Effect of the crusades.

The crusades helped destroy feudalism. The barons often sold their rights, privileges, lands, and other feudal possessions in order to get money to go on a crusade. The creation of a new nobility to offset the old was also hastened by the crusades. They diminished the number of feudal subjects of the lower class, and so created the demand for labourers which resulted in the

Feudalism.

elevation of the serfs into a class of free day-labourers. They also had some effect on the process by which the kings were increasing their power at the expense of the nobles. They did not destroy feudalism, but they did much to weaken it. Since they brought together large numbers of people of all countries, they developed the consciousness of national differences. Each nation came to hate all the others, one of the necessary steps, apparently, in the development of nationality.

Commerce.

On commerce the effects of the crusades were most marked. Shipbuilding and commerce were largely increased, because they made the carriage of pilgrims between Europe and Asia so lucrative a business. Many new objects of merchandise were now introduced into Europe. The crusades created and supplied a large demand in the west for wines, sugar, cotton, silk, all kinds of textile fabrics, rugs, pottery, glass-ware, spices, medicines, perfumes, colouring substances, incense, various kinds of oil, mastix, dates, grains, and many other things. It would not be too much to say that the crusades made Europe rich. The cities especially profited by the commerce, which greatly hastened the rise of the citizen or middle class. The crusades gave a strong impulse to literary activity. Many chronicles, histories, and poems were written about them, and the legends which grew out of them were innumerable. The literature of chivalry may be traced indirectly to the same impulse. Under their influence the great cycles of legends about Solomon, Troy, and Alexander the Great arose. In 1141 the Koran was translated into Latin. About the same time a school was established in Paris to teach the eastern languages, such as Armenian and Arabic.

Also Europe's fund of knowledge was generally increased. As regards zoology, the crusaders became acquainted with many animals which aroused their curiosity, and their interest resulted in the formation of zoological gardens, first of all in Sicily and Italy, in which strange animals were collected. Further, some new domestic animals were intro

duced into Europe, such as the mule, the donkey, and the Arab horse.

Practical farming.

In botany and practical farming Europe had much to learn from the Arabs. They taught the best methods of irrigation. The "Dutch" windmill is an Arabic invention, used for grinding corn and drawing water in the east, till it was introduced into Europe by the crusaders. Many new plants and grains were brought to the west, and experiments made in their cultivation.

Medicine and chemistry.

In medicine and chemistry, which among the Arabs were closely related, the Christians learned of syrups, juleps, elixirs, camphor, senna, rhubarb, and similar articles. Many chemical terms, such as alembic, alcohol, alkali, borax, and amalgam, are Arabic in origin. The Arabs' knowledge of mathematics and astronomy has already been spoken of, and the intercourse between the Christians and the Mohammedans facilitated the spread to the west of the Arabic achievements in these subjects.

The horizon of Europe enlarged.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the general enlargement of the intellectual horizon of Europe, caused by the travel of the Christians in foreign lands, which had a different, higher, and finer civilization than their own. Life in the west was still very rude. The houses lacked all luxuries and comforts, and most of those things which are now regarded as necessities. The European, whose experiences had been very limited indeed, entered into a new world when he set out on a crusade. He found new climates, new natural products, strange dress, houses, and customs. The features of the landscape and even the skies above him were different, and in the houses he found many new objects of comfort and luxury. The geographical knowledge of the west was very limited, but the crusades brought experience in travel and a practical knowledge of large territories, so that an active interest was aroused in the study of geography. A good knowledge of the Mediterranean and of large parts of Asia and Africa was acquired. The curiosity awakened by the new regions, together with the mercenary

and commercial interests in many quarters, led Europeans to undertake long journeys of discovery. One of the most famous of the travellers of the Middle Age was Marco Polo, who traversed central Asia, visiting all the peoples of that region, and finally reaching even the Pacific. Other travellers, such as Andrew of Longjumeau, were only a little less famous. The published accounts of their travels were widely read, and, while adding information, they increased the interest of Europe in foreign lands. The influence of the crusades in this direction can hardly be overestimated. Without them the Renaissance could not have been what it was.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF THE CITIES

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THE history of the cities of the Roman empire during the first ten centuries of the Christian era is obscure. In Gaul, besides a larger number of strongholds (*castra*), there were more than one hundred cities (*civitates*) governed by the Roman municipal form of government. In the fourth century they were all on the road to ruin because of the financial oppression which they endured from the emperor. The control of city government during or after the invasion of the barbarians passed into the hands of some bishop or nobleman of the neighbourhood; or sometimes the control was divided—the bishop holding one part of the city, and the nobleman the remainder. Karl the Great introduced some uniformity into the government of the cities by putting each one of them under an officer with the title of count. These counts were either churchmen or laymen, and were, in every case, responsible to Karl for their government.

The cities in the empire.

Karl the Great and his system of counties.

They ruled the cities in the emperor's name. But in the succeeding period, while the empire was being dismembered and feudalism established, these counts were able to assume a feudal proprietorship over the cities. Each city thus became a fief, the feudal possession of its count.

The Germans, it will be remembered, generally settled in the country. At the time of Karl the Great by far the larger number of the inhabitants of Gaul and Germany still lived in the country. The violence of the times, and especially the invasions of the Norsemen and Huns, compelled the people to live together in walled inclosures, and these in time became cities. Other cities sprang up around monasteries and castles. They were, of course, small in their beginnings and grew slowly. They also became involved in the prevalent feudal relations, and were governed by their feudal lord.

New cities founded.

In accordance with the prevailing tendency of the age, the residents of the city had lost their full freedom. They were neither wholly free nor wholly enslaved, but were regarded as the possession of the lord of their city. Their condition did not differ very materially from that of the serfs. They had neither personal nor political freedom, since they had no voice in their own government. Their lord collected the taxes, appointed all officials, kept order, punished offenders, and was, in short, himself the whole government. The citizens were at the mercy of their lords. So long as the cities remained small, and city life undeveloped, such a state of affairs might continue to exist; but it is inconceivable that it should be tolerated after the cities became large, rich, and powerful. It is also evident that the inhabitants of the cities would strive after personal freedom and then for political liberty, or the right of local self-government.

The inhabitants of the cities had lost their freedom.

A sort of basis or starting-point for the free commune of later times was the guilds. People who had common interests were brought together and united into a secret organization known as a guild. Each occupation

Guilds.

had a separate guild, that worked at first only for its own interests; but later progress was made by the union of some of the guilds in the support of their common interests.

Revival of industry and commerce.

The principal causes of the communal revolt of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the revival of industry and commerce, and consequent increase of wealth. It was the merchants who led in the movement, and the revolt spread along the routes of commerce and travel. During the tenth century efforts were made to put an end to private wars and to secure peace. Feudalism became more fixed in its customs and a certain degree of order prevailed, to which fact the revival of commerce is in large measure due. There was no revolt against the burdens imposed upon the cities by their lords until there grew up a rich merchant class, a sort of aristocracy of wealth, commanding resources and means of carrying on the struggle with the lord, but when this class became numerous the cities rebelled, and in the struggle that followed were able to secure not only personal freedom for their inhabitants, but also in many cases the right of governing themselves.

Order brings commerce, commerce wealth, and wealth the desire for liberty.

No city republics in France.

In Italy, as we have seen, the cities were able to free themselves entirely from the empire and the papacy and to become independent republics. But in France this movement did not go to so great lengths: not a single French city became an independent republic; the French cities did not even succeed in ridding themselves entirely of their feudal lords. Even the cities which secured the largest amount of political liberty and the fullest freedom of self-government still recognized, in one way or another, the headship of their lords.

When first confronted with the demands of the cities, the lords thought only of resistance. It is only natural that they should have opposed anything which threatened to diminish their power and income. The refusal of the lord, however,

was generally followed by an appeal of the citizens to arms; and in this struggle the cities were nearly always successful. Other lords, of a more thrifty spirit, seeing in this movement an opportunity to replenish their purses, would sell to the cities the rights and privileges which they demanded. In this way many nobles were able to secure the money necessary to equip themselves for a crusade. Since the population and wealth of the cities rapidly increased as soon as they received their liberties, the income of their lords was rather increased than diminished by the change. With an eye to their own advantage, the lords now acceded to the demands of the cities more willingly.

Liberty acquired by force or by purchase.

The cities of France may be divided into three groups, according to the measure of freedom they succeeded in obtaining. The cities of the first group got little more than the personal liberty of their inhabitants and the reduction of some of their feudal dues. They were still ruled by a representative of their lord, and had no voice in the election of their officials, or in the management of their affairs. The cities of this group, called *villes de bourgeoisie*, were principally in Normandy and Brittany. The cities of the second group, for the most part in southern France, secured the right to manage all the affairs of the city except the administration of justice. The courts remained in the hands of their lord. Imitating the action of the Italian cities, they set up a consular form of government. Their consuls were elected either by the whole population of the city, or by one or more of its guilds, and were confirmed by the lord of the city. These consuls were responsible to the lord of the city for their administration, and had to make their reports to him. As a mark of its freedom, the city had its seal, which was attached to all its official documents, but the lord, as a sign of his authority, kept the keys of the city in his possession.

The first group, villes de bourgeoisie.

The second group, consular cities.

The seal and keys of the city.

The third group consisted of the communes proper. The

sovereignty of the lord was recognized in two ways; the city paid him certain taxes and tolls, and gave him in all judicial matters the right to hear appeals. But he was excluded from the administration of the city's affairs, and the officials were in no way responsible to him. At the head of the administration was a mayor assisted by a council.

The third group communes.

The power in the commune was not generally vested in the whole body of its inhabitants, though there were a few cities in which all inhabitants were members of the commune. It was more often the case that only the members of one or more guilds exercised political rights. Ordinarily, therefore, the commune was not a republic, but a kind of oligarchy or aristocracy. As the commune developed in wealth and power, and membership in it increased in value, it became more and more difficult to enter, and the aristocratic or oligarchic character of the ruling body became more pronounced.

Limitation of communal membership.

Although the communes had gained their liberty they did not know how to preserve it. Their members were invariably divided into factions, and feuds and street brawls were common. There were also social troubles coupled with the political difficulties. The lower orders were often ranged against the higher, the poor against the rich. The magistrates of the cities were generally hard masters, and those outside the ruling guilds were unmercifully imposed upon. This led to the formation of guilds among the workmen of other occupations who in the earlier time had been without such organizations. These, organizing themselves for opposition, sometimes succeeded in acquiring membership in the commune. Even if they failed to do this, they filled the city with violence. Peace had to be restored by some one from without, generally the king. Another cause of internal trouble was the bad administration of the finances of the city. The officials of the commune were often guilty of fraud and peculation, and it was impossible to bring such offenders to justice, because they refused to render any account of their doings to the people. They claimed that

Violence and mismanagement in the communes.

they had done their duty when they had made their reports to each other. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cities often became bankrupt. The expenses of the communes, together with large sums that were taken from the treasury in a fraudulent way, far exceeded the regular income.

These two things, the insolvency of the communes and their lawlessness, were the real causes of their destruction. The kings of France were now steadily following the policy of collecting all power into their own hands, and the process of centralization was becoming more and more rapid. The nobles were gradually yielding to the kings, and the communes were made the object of a policy which, in the end, was sure to break them down. *The king and the communes.* The officials of the king's treasury interfered in the administration of the finances of the communes and punished all maladministration by seizing the charter of the commune and declaring it forfeited. The judicial jurisdiction of the communes was limited in every way. The *parlement*, which exercised the judicial power in France, tried to destroy the local tribunals by increasing the number of cases which could be settled only by the king or by his tribunal. The policy of *parlement* and sovereign was to make the king's justice prevalent throughout the land. The central authority also increased the taxes of the communes. As the king's power grew he interfered more and more in the affairs of the communes. He controlled their election and inspected their magistrates; he imposed heavy fines on all those communes which refused him obedience or offended him in the slightest way; he placed all kinds of burdens on them in order to break them down, and so when the day of reckoning came he had them in his power. He forced them to give up their charters and all that these stood for—their political independence and their privileges. This policy toward the communes may be said to date from Louis IX. (1227-70). Under Philip IV. (1285-1314) the seizures became frequent; and by the year 1400 the communes had lost all their acquired liberties, sunk back into dependence on the crown, and disappeared.

The processes by which the German cities acquired their freedom are extremely intricate and varied. Before the interregnum (1254-73) they had done little more than secure certain restrictions upon the arbitrary taxation of their lords, but during or after the interregnum, when the imperial power was practically destroyed, they were able to emancipate themselves rapidly, and in the end to secure political independence.

The cities: their government.

The cities in Germany were of two kinds: imperial cities (Reichsstaedte), subject to the emperor only, and seigniorial cities (Landesstaedte), subject to the princes. The power was usually in the hands of a few wealthy and ancient families (patriciate). From among these the burgomaster and the assisting council (Rath) were elected, who together formed the magistracy. The increasing industrial population was divided into guilds (Zuenfte), which, induced by the consciousness of their strength, began toward the end of the thirteenth century to aspire to a share in the government.

For the development of the cities and their commerce, peace and security were necessary; and, since the empire was weak, they banded together for mutual protection. In 1254 the cities of the lower Rhine formed a league for mutual protection.

The Suabian League, 1344.

In 1344 the cities of southern and south-western Germany made the famous Suabian League. Fearing that this league would become all-powerful, the princes attacked it at Doeffingen (1388) and won a victory over it. The cities were forbidden to form such leagues in the future, and the princes supposed they had made an end of their foe. The cities, however, recovered from the blow, and increased their power and importance. Most famous of all such leagues was the Hanse, an organization which included all the cities in the Baltic provinces, besides having its outposts in several other countries. Beginning in a small way in the thirteenth century, the Hanse steadily grew until it embraced about eighty-five cities, monopolized the trade, and practically ruled north-western Europe. From 1350 to 1500 the league was at the height of its power.

The Hanse.

Its decline was caused by the changes in commerce and in the routes of travel and trade produced by the voyages of discovery: some of the Hanse towns remained true to Roman Catholicism, while others, accepting the teachings of Luther, were drawn into the religious wars which followed the Reformation, and fought on opposing sides; and as the governments of the various countries in which the cities were situated grew stronger the cities were separated from their foreign alliances, lost their independent character, and became component parts of the state to which they naturally belonged.

Decline of the Hanse.

CHAPTER XIV

ITALY TO THE INVASION OF CHARLES VIII. (1494)

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BECAUSE of the different racial elements which were found there, the unification of Italy during the Middle Age was impossible. The people of the peninsula, thoroughly imbued with the Roman civilization, the Greeks of the south, the Germans of Odovaker, the East Goths, the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Normans, all were there; and each fought to obtain the mastery over all Italy. They had powerful rivals in the pope and the emperor for political honours, the conflict between whom gave the cities the opportunity to depose the imperial officers and to establish a local independent government similar to that of the communes described in the preceding chapter. Frederick I. tried to reduce the cities to a position of dependence again, but the Lombard League and the pope were too strong for him. The battle of Legnano (1176), and the treaty of

Why the unification of Italy in the Middle Age was impossible.

The cities acquire constitutions and successfully resist the emperor.

Constance (1183), gave the cities about all the independence they claimed, and left the emperor little except his title. After the death of Frederick II. few emperors tried to wield any authority in Italy.

Although the cities had acquired their liberty, this was no guarantee for peace and order, and they were engaged in constant feuds with each other. Only members of the ruling guilds had a share in the government, and the class distinctions among the inhabitants formed a large disturbing element. The higher and the lower nobility and the rich merchants struggled for authority, disregarding the rights of the industrial classes. The pride and ambition of the nobles led them into feuds which filled the streets with violence. To put an end to this confusion the cities began to elect dictators called *podestà* (about 1200). The lower orders of society were, at the same time, striving to win a share in the government. They had organized themselves into guilds and now united in a commune of their own with a "captain of the people" (capitan del popolo) at its head, as a rival of the *podestà*. War between the parties began. The privileged classes sought the aid of the emperor and were called Ghibelline, while the common people joined with the pope and were called Guelf. These civil wars fill the thirteenth century. They ended in the loss of the republican constitutions, and the cities fell into the hands of tyrants.

Feuds inside and outside the cities.

Podestà.

Ghibelline and Guelf.

About 1300 the political condition of Italy was somewhat as follows: In Piedmont the old feudal system was still in force; several great barons, among them the counts of Savoy, the ancestors of the present royal house of Italy, were contending for supremacy. In Lombardy the cities were ruled by tyrants: Milan by the family of the Visconti, Verona by the Scaligers, Padua by the Carraresi, Mantua by the Gonzaghi, Ferrara by the Estensi. In Tuscany the cities were in the throes of civil war, but the end was to be the same as in Lombardy. In the states of the Church the cities were

The five powers in Italy: Venice, Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples.

about to break away from papal control. The long residence of the popes in Avignon (1309–78) permitted the rise of tyrannies in Urbino, Perugia, Rimini, and elsewhere, while Bologna became a republic and Rome tried several political experiments. Naples was the seat of the kingdom of the Angevins, and Sicily had passed into the possession of the Aragonese. Genoa and Venice were independent republics. While the disunion at this time was very great, the five powers which were to divide Italy among themselves in the fifteenth century were showing signs of their coming strength. Their history may be briefly traced as follows:

Genoa.

Genoa and Venice owed their greatness to their commerce. For some time Pisa was a strong rival of Genoa in the commerce and control of the western Mediterranean, but in the battle of Meloria (1284), just off Pisa, the Genoese fleet was victorious and the power of Pisa was broken. In 1261 Genoa helped the Greek emperor to regain Constantinople, and received as her reward the monopoly of the trade in the Black Sea. But Genoa thus came into conflict with Venice, which, by the outcome of the fourth crusade had gained the ascendency in the east. The war between the two cities lasted more than two hundred years and ended in the total defeat of the Genoese in the battle of Chioggia (1380). After this Genoa declined, while Venice became the mistress of the Mediterranean.

Venice.

Since 697 Venice had been ruled by a doge (duke) elected by the people. The tendency in the city, however, was toward an oligarchy. Toward the end of the twelfth century the Great Council, consisting of four hundred and eighty members, usurped the right to elect the doge. They associated with him a small council of six, and for all more important matters a council of sixty. In 1297 the oligarchy was completed by the act known as the "Closing of the Great Council," by which this body declared itself to be hereditary. In order to check all popular movements the Great Council established the Council of Ten with unlimited police powers. The bloody work of this Council

prevented all uprisings of the people and gave the government of the city a stability and durability which were possessed by no other in Italy. Venice acquired not only the islands of the eastern Mediterranean, but also much territory on the main-land of the Balkan peninsula. Then she turned her arms toward Italy and conquered Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, and other places. But her expansion on the main-land of Italy during the fifteenth century brought her in turn into conflict with Milan.

Milan.

In Milan the Ghibelline Visconti overcame the family of the Guelf della Torre and entered on a vigorous policy of territorial extension. By the year 1350 the Visconti had conquered and annexed all Lombardy. Gian Galeazzo (1385–1402), the ablest of the family, pushed his conquests so far to the south that he encroached on the territory of Florence. The Family of the Visconti died out, however, in 1447, and the power in Lombardy was seized by several condottieri, as the leaders of the mercenary bands were called, who had been in the service of the Visconti and of various cities. Every such leader now improved the opportunity and made himself master of some city. In Milan the power was seized by Francesco Sforza, the most famous of all the condottieri. The city engaged him to lead its troops against the Venetians, and after securing a victory over them he came back to Milan and compelled the people to acknowledge him as their duke (1450).

Florence.

The political history of Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is so confused by party struggles that we cannot follow it here in detail. The factions known as the Blacks and the Whites, the old nobility, the old guilds, the new nobility of wealth, and the guilds of the lower orders, all fought for recognition and power and added to the chaos of the times. Taking advantage of these troubles the Medici rose to power. The Medici were a family of bankers that had grown rich and now used their wealth to advance their political aspirations. They saw that the power was really with the common people, and so

threw in their lot with them. In this way the head of the family, although he left the constitution intact, became the real ruler of the city. All the officials of the city were named by, and were subject to, him. Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469–92) finally swept away all the old republican offices and ruled with a Privy Council of Seventy of his own nomination. Under the Medici Florence made war on her small neighbours and became master of all Tuscany.

Rome.

During the residence of the popes in Avignon Rome suffered from the violent struggles between the rival factions of her nobility as well as from the riotous conduct of the people. The families of the Colonna and the Orsini filled the streets with brawls. An uprising of the people in 1347 made Rienzi Tribune, with full powers to restore order. He drove out the turbulent nobles, but became so puffed up over his success that the people found him intolerable and exiled him. He went to Prague to appeal to the emperor, but was delivered to the pope, who kept him in prison for some time. The pope then determined to recover his power in Rome, and sent Rienzi back to the city as his representative (1354). Rienzi's success in Rome was of short duration, however, and he lost his life in an insurrection. Cardinal Albornoz was then sent by the pope into Italy, and recovered nearly all the towns in the papal state. This led the pope to take up his residence in Rome again (1377), although a rival pope was elected, who continued the papal court at Avignon till the schism was healed by the Council of Constance (1417). The popes of the fifteenth century followed the policy of making their possession of Rome secure and of uniting and enlarging the papal state.

Naples.

The Angevins lost Sicily to the Aragonese, but held Naples till 1435, when Alphonso of Aragon made himself master of southern Italy also. The rule of the Angevins had ruined the kingdom, however, and although Alphonso was a model prince, a patron of learning and of the arts, he was not able to establish his family firmly in power. His son Ferdinand (1458-94) succeeded him as ruler

of Naples, but his misrule led to the revival of the Angevin claim, which had in the meanwhile reverted to the king of France. Louis XI. was too practical to be drawn into Italian politics, but his incompetent son Charles VIII. (1483-98), was induced by various considerations to invade Italy. There was, first of all, his claim to Naples; Milan was intriguing against the Aragonese and urged him therefore to come; Savonarola was calling for a reform in Florence and attacking the rule of the Medici, thus opening an opportunity in Florence. In 1494 he crossed the Alps and began that long and disastrous period of foreign invasion and domination of Italy which was not ended till the present century.

Charles VIII. invades Italy, 1494.

Note.—The famous parties of Ghibelline and Guelf find their origin in the houses of the Henrys of Weiblingen, and of the Welfs of Altorf. In the long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, the supporters of the Emperors were known as Ghibellines, those of the Popes as Guelfs.

CHAPTER XV

FRANCE, 1108-1494; ENGLAND, 1070-1485

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Tuckey, *Joan of Arc.*
Lamartine, *Joan of Arc.*
Kitchin, *History of France.*
Hutton, *Philip Augustus.*
Willert, *Louis XI.*

THE accession of Louis VI. (1108-37, called the Fat) marks a change in the fortunes of the Capetian House. All but the

last years of his life were spent in passing through his kingdom, punishing the rebellious barons, asserting his royal rights, acquiring territory, and, in general, in increasing the prestige of the royal name. He was a staunch champion of the Church, protecting the clergy and their lands from the violence of the barons. He favoured the cities, and tried to make travel safe and commerce secure. Suger, the able abbot of St Denis, as his counsellor, was of great service to him in the difficult work which he had to do. Though he was unable to reduce the great vassals, he was one of the ablest of the Capetian line, and until his increasing corpulence made travel impossible, he spent his time and strength in the personal supervision of the government. He was succeeded by his son, Louis VII. (1137-80), who was simple, credulous, capricious, and over-religious. So long as Suger lived, Louis was well guided, but he made the mistake of going on a crusade and of divorcing his wife, Eleanor, who held all of Aquitaine. He intrigued with the sons of Henry II. of England, but was unable to prevent the English from obtaining a large amount of French territory.

France from 1108 to the Hundred Years' War.

Louis VI., 1108–37.

Louis VII., 1137–80.

His son, Philip II., called Augustus (1180-1223), although a politician of rare ability, was treacherous and unscrupulous. He, too, intrigued with the English princes, and thereby secured the possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and other provinces. For some years he waged war on his great vassals and wrung many concessions from them. The battle of Bouvines was quite as advantageous to him as to Frederick II. of Germany, for whom it was ostensibly fought. Philip took no personal part in the persecution of the Albigenses, but the crown reaped the benefit of it by acquiring their territory.

Philip II., 1180–1223.

The reign of Philip II. was of fundamental importance for the growth of the royal power. The king's domain was more than doubled by him, and his income correspondingly increased. For the first time the king was rich. Philip II. found the old system of administration insuffi-

The royal domain.

cient. His estates had thus far been managed by a *prévot*, who, in the name of the king, administered justice, collected the taxes, and preserved order. Although these *prévots* were the king's officers, there was the tendency, in accordance with the character of the age, for them to look upon their office as a fief, and hence hereditary. To keep them from growing quite away from him, and also to get the best returns from his estates, Philip II. created a new officer, the *baillie*. He was put above the *prévots*, several of whom were generally in his bailiwick. He was required to hold court every month for the rendering of justice and to make a full report of his doings to the king. He was especially intrusted with collecting all the money possible for the king and delivering it at Paris. The reign of Philip II. had resulted in two most important things —the great extension of the royal power and the better administration of the royal affairs. The hereditary character of the crown seemed so well established in his reign that he did not think it necessary to secure the election of his son, taking it for granted that the crown would pass on to him.

Louis VIII., 1223–26.

Although Louis VIII. (1223–26) was thirty-six years old when his father died, he had never had any share in the government or any independent income. He followed his father's policy in all respects, except that he gave to each of his sons the government and income of a certain territory, which was called an appanage. While this made the position of the princes more dignified, it tended to separate lands from the crown at a time when everything possible should have been done to consolidate the royal possessions.

Louis IX., the Saint, 1226–70.

For ten years after the accession of Louis IX. (1226–70), his mother, Blanche of Castile, was regent. Imperious and autocratic, she ruled with a strong hand; and although conspired against by almost all the great vassals, she was able to add to the royal power. Under her training Louis became the most perfect Christian ruler of his day. Few men have ever taken Christianity so

seriously and followed its dictates, even against their own interests, so closely as he. His religious conscience was absolute master of him. He refused to extend his boundaries at the expense of his neighbours, although many opportunities for doing so offered themselves. He even restored to England certain territories which he thought had been unjustly seized. He was deeply distressed by the enmity between the emperor and the pope, and tried to act as peacemaker between them. His reputation for justice made him the arbiter of Europe, and the Church expressed her approval of his character by declaring him a saint.

Reform.

The reign of Louis IX. is important for various reasons. He increased the royal domain by the acquisition of several large provinces. Up to this time more than eighty of his subjects had had the right to coin money. The money coined in a province was the only legal tender there. Louis made the royal money legal tender throughout France, and issued stringent laws against counterfeiting. He reformed the office of *baillie* by prescribing that every *baillie* should take an oath to administer his office faithfully and justly, and to preserve local liberties as well as the rights of the king; that he should not receive any money or gift from the people in his bailiwick, nor engage in any other business, nor have any interest in his bailiwick except to serve the king; that he should not marry any one from his district, nor surround himself with his relatives, nor give them any office under him. Every *baillie* was ordered to hold court in person, regularly, and in the appointed places, and to make reports to the king of all his doings; and after being removed from his office was to remain in the province for forty days, in order that the opportunity might be given to prefer charges against him.

Around the person of the king there was a large number of people of different rank, who formed his court. The highest in rank of these were his council. Up to this time all this court had helped him in the administration of the affairs of government. Louis IX. introduced the principle of division

of labour by dividing this council into three groups, and assigning to each a particular kind of work. These divisions were the council proper, the officers of the treasury, and the *parlement*. The council retained the executive functions of the government. The treasury officials had charge of the collection and disbursement of all the moneys of the king, while the *parlement* became the highest judicial body in the realm. Previous to this time the administration of justice had been made very difficult, because the king was constantly travelling from one part of the kingdom to another. And since his council accompanied him, and all cases must be tried in, or near, his presence, all the parties to a case were compelled to follow him about; and often several weeks, or even months, would elapse before a case might come to trial. To remedy this, Louis established the *parlement* in Paris and gave it a fixed place of meeting.

The council divided into three groups.

The jurisdiction of the *parlement* was also extended. The revival of the study of Roman law brought out the imperial principle that the king is the source of all justice. The theory arose that the jurisdiction of the nobles was a fief held of the king. It followed as a matter of course that every one should have the right of appealing to the king in case he were not satisfied with the result of his trial, and also that the king might call before his court any case that he might wish. For various reasons the king wished to make the number of these "royal cases" as large as possible, and so interfered more and more in the baronial courts, and brought all the important cases before his own judges. Louis forbade the trial by duel and put in its stead the appeal to a higher court. The *parlement*, therefore, became the court of appeal over all the baronial courts, and the king's justice became superior to all baronial justice.

The parlement.

While Louis was truly religious in accordance with the ideas of his age, and defended the Church against all violence and injustice, he nevertheless guarded his royal prerogatives

against clerical encroachments. He compelled the Church to contribute its part toward the support of the government by the payment of tithes and other taxes. He limited, to a certain extent, the judicial power of the bishops, and subjected a part of the clergy to the civil law. He greatly favoured the mendicant orders at the expense of the clergy, using them as ambassadors, as *missi dominici*, and in many of its highest offices.

Louis IX. and the clergy.

With the accession of Philip III. (1270–85) favourites made their appearance at the French court, behind whom the king hides so successfully as to conceal his real character. These favourites were generally of the common people, capable, ambitious, and trained in the Roman law, from which fact they were called *légistes*. They were generally hated by the nobility, who regarded them in the light of usurpers. Philip III. was drawn into a war with some of the kingdoms in Spain, which led to his acquisition of Navarre. He also added to the royal domain several other important territories in the south of France. He punished his rebellious vassals with great severity, and compelled the Church to pay well for the privilege of receiving legacies. In order to secure immunity from the laws of the land, men took the tonsure and were called clergymen, and yet engaged in business or led a wandering or vagabond sort of life, many of them being married, and living in all respects as laymen. These he deprived of the protection of the Church law, and subjected to taxation and other state control.

Philip III., 1270–85. *Favourites at the court.*

Under the rule of Philip IV. (1285–1314), called the Handsome, France became the leading power in Europe. His favourites furnished him with a policy: he strove to imitate Justinian. The influence of the Roman law at his court may be seen from the fact that a large number of great questions were settled by the form of trial. Philip IV. chose the most opportune times of interfering in the affairs of the provinces which, being on the eastern frontier, owed allegiance to the German emperor. Since the emperors

Philip IV., 1285–1314.

were all weak, he was able to extend his boundaries considerably at the expense of the empire.

The papacy removed to Avignon.

The commanding position of Philip IV. in Europe is shown by the removal of the papacy to Avignon, and the control which he exercised over the popes. Clement V., in order to escape from condemning his predecessor, Boniface VIII., delivered the Order of the Templars into the king's hands. Heavy charges were trumped up against it, but the real motive of the king was to secure possession of its vast wealth.

Destruction of the Templars.

Improvements in the government.

In the time of Philip IV. order was introduced into the government by the creation of certain new offices, the functions of which were defined. The various sorts of work in the government were differentiated and each sort assigned to a particular set of officials. For the personal service of the king there was a court called at that time the king's "*Hotel*"; the chamberlain, the chaplain, and those who had control of the guard and the troops were the most important persons of the Hotel. The "*chancellerie*" had charge of all public affairs. By means of it all intercourse between the king and his people was conducted. Within the *chancellerie* there was a college of notaries who drew up all public or state documents. The heads of this college were called "*clercs du secret*," or private secretaries of the king, because they were acquainted with the secrets of the king and his council. The third chief division in the government was called the King's Council, the members of which had to take a special oath to the king. They were his secret counsellors and deliberated with him on all important questions. The States-general[1] were not yet an organic part of the government. The attendance upon these, however, had in

The States-general.

[1] It should be noted that "States-general" correspond to the Parliament in England, while in France the name *Parlement* was given to the body of the king's judges. The *Parlement* in France is a judicial body; in England the Parliament is a legislative body

the process of time come to be limited to the more powerful nobles and to the abbots and bishops. It had been customary for the king to summon them to obtain their advice whenever the special situation demanded. In 1302, when the trouble with the pope was assuming large proportions, the king felt that he must know whether he would have the support of all his people if he proceeded to extreme measures against the papacy. He therefore summoned the States-general, and at the same time called on the cities each to send two or three representatives to attend the meeting. The king laid before them his plans and asked for their judgment. After some deliberation, the body signified its approval and promised him the support of the whole people. In 1308, a similar meeting of the same body was held to discuss the charges against the Templars. More than two hundred cities sent their representatives, and again the States-general merely said "yes" to the king's proposals. It is characteristic of the part which the cities played in this proceeding that they were "asked by the king to send deputies to hear, receive, approve, and do all that might be commanded them by the king." Again, in 1314, when the war with Flanders was about to be renewed and the treasury was empty, the king summoned the States-general and told them what he wanted. The States-general did nothing but express their submission to the will of the king. This was the much-written-about entrance of the Third Estate into the political history of France. French historians never tire of exalting its importance. But, as a matter of fact, the influence of the Third Estate was, and remained, practically nothing till the time of the French Revolution. It had no such history and development as the House of Commons in England. In France the authority of the king prevailed, and the Third Estate was simply permitted to say "yes" when it was commanded so to do.

The growth of the *parlement* during this reign was remarkable. Ordinary cases arising on the royal domain were tried before it, and the number of appeals from all parts of the

kingdom greatly increased. The absolute supremacy of the king's court and the king's justice over all baronial courts and baronial justice was more than ever recognized. The right of appeal was made use of to such an extent that the king was compelled to empower his *baillies* to decide many cases in order to prevent the *parlement* from being overwhelmed with work.

The parlement *and the king's justice.*

As the government grew more thoroughly organized, it became much more expensive. Louis IV. had always had enough income to support the government. Philip IV. was always in debt. He made the most strenuous efforts to raise money, but even by taxes, seizures, aids, forced loans, confiscations, persecutions of the Jews, taxation of all the foreign merchants in France, taxation of the Church, the seizure of the possessions of the Templars, and many other questionable means, was not able to keep his treasury full.

Taxation.

Philip IV. was succeeded by his three sons in turn: Louis X. (1314–16), Philip V., called the Long (1316–22), and Charles IV. (1322–28). They were not able to preserve the monarchy in that state to which their predecessors had brought it. There was a general reaction on the part of the nobles against the absolutism of Philip IV., and they were able to force from these kings many provincial charters which restored and safeguarded local feudal rights. Louis X. especially made a large number of such concessions.

Philip V. laboured hard to strengthen the government and centralize the power. He met, however, with the most bitter opposition from his barons. All three brothers died without male heirs, and since Philip V., in order to justify his seizure of the crown, had prevailed on the Council to declare that the crown could not pass by the female line, the throne was vacant. The nearest male heir was Philip of Valois, a cousin of the dead king. Edward III. of England also laid claim to the crown on the ground that he, being a nephew of the late king Charles IV., was the nearest

End of the direct Capetian line, accession of the House of Valois, 1328.

male heir by the female line. The claims of Edward were rejected and Philip of Valois became king. Edward soon gave up all pretensions to the throne, came to Amiens, and did homage to Philip VI. for his feudal holdings. In 1330, and again in 1331, he acknowledged himself without any reserve as the feudal subject of the king of France.

England, from 1070 to the Hundred Years' War.

Norman genius showed itself in the government of William the Conqueror. The name of what was formerly called the Witenagemot, composed of all who held land directly from the king, was gradually changed to Great Council. Both his Norman and his English subjects were troublesome, but he used the one to keep the other in check. In the large towns he built fortresses which he garrisoned with Norman troops. He kept the English militia ready for service. He had made an exact list of the possessions and holdings of all his subjects, which was called the Domesday Book, and on the basis of which he levied and collected his taxes with great regularity and exactness. His severity in punishing all offences, his heavy taxes, and his devastation of a large territory to make a game preserve caused him to be hated by his people, who did not understand the great services he was rendering England.

William the Conqueror.

The Domesday Book.

William II., 1087-1100.

The reign of William Rufus (1087–1100), the second son of William the Conqueror, was violent and oppressive in the extreme. He laid such heavy financial burdens on the people, that they were not sorry when he met his death while hunting in the New Forest. The eldest son of William, Robert, had received the duchy of Normandy, which he had pawned in order to go on the first crusade. The third son, Henry, was made king of England (1100–35). Fearing that his title to the crown was not good, and that Robert would probably oppose him, he tried to propitiate the people in every possible way. He published a charter of liberties which contained concessions to the Church, the

Henry I., 1100–35, *publishes a charter of liberties.*

vassals, and the nation at large, and assured all classes that they would no longer be subjected to the wrongs and exactions which they had suffered from his brother.

Henry increased his popularity by marrying the daughter of the king of Scotland, Matilda, a descendant from the old English line of kings. The wisdom of his conduct became apparent when Robert, returning from the crusade, tried to get possession of England and the people stood faithfully by Henry. Robert was taken prisoner in battle, and Henry seized Normandy. Henry was the first English king to grant charters to towns, thus securing them against unjust interference from their feudal lords, as well as from excessive taxes and tolls. He established the institution known as the *curia regis* (of which a department called *the Exchequer* had control of the king's finances), which tried all cases in which the king's tenants-in-chief were concerned. He obtained an oath from his barons that they would accept his daughter Matilda as ruler, but at his death his nephew, Stephen of Blois (1135–54), came to London and secured his own election. War ensued between Stephen and Matilda, and England suffered much from it till 1153, when it was agreed that Stephen should remain king, but should be succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda.

The curia regis.

Stephen of Blois, 1135–54.

Henry II. (1154–89) was strong, active, and able, and had but one thought, namely, to make himself the real master of England. Both the nobility and the Church were in his way. His reign is famous for his struggles with those powers.

Henry II., 1154–89.

For the purposes of consultation, he called the Great Council together often, and compelled many of the small feudal holders to attend it. The *curia regis* was also strengthened and its work of rendering justice emphasized. In 1166 he called a meeting of the Great Council at Clarendon and published a set of decrees called the Assize of Clarendon. By its terms the old custom of compurgation was prohibited, and a new system was introduced. Twelve men in every county and four men from

Assize of Clarendon, 1166.

each township in it were to form a board for the purpose of deciding who should be brought to trial—the work of our grand jury. Henry revived the custom of sending out itinerant justices, who, by rendering strict justice in the king's name, brought the manorial and county courts into disfavour. In 1170 Henry inquired into the way in which the various barons who held the office of sheriff were performing their duties, and as the result of the inquiry turned nearly all out and replaced them by men of lower birth, who served from this time as a check on the higher nobility. Henry commuted the military service which his barons owed him to the payment of a sum of money (*scutage*), with which he hired mercenaries. He also re-organized the militia, and required all the people to come at his call, equipped ready to fight at their own expense.

The clergy were opposed to Henry's ideas of judicial reform because he meant to bring them also under his own jurisdiction. In 1164 he published the Constitutions of Clarendon, the purpose of which was to destroy the judicial independence of the clergy. "Every election of bishop or abbot was to take place before royal officers, in the king's chapel, and with the king's assent. The prelate-elect was bound to do homage to the king for his lands before consecration and to hold his lands as a barony from the king, subject to all feudal burdens of taxation and attendance in the king's court. No bishop might leave the realm without the royal permission. No tenant-in-chief or royal servant might be excommunicated, or their land placed under interdict, but by the king's assent. What was new was the legislation respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The king's court was to decide whether a suit between clerk and laymen whose nature was disputed belonged to the Church courts or the king's. A royal officer was to be present at all ecclesiastical proceedings in order to confine the bishop's court within its own due limits, and the clerk once convicted there passed at once under the civil jurisdiction. An appeal was left from the archbishop's court to the king's court

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

for defect of justice, but none might appeal to the papal court save with the king's consent."

Thomas Beket.

Thomas Beket as chancellor had been a faithful servant of Henry, and had supported him in all his efforts. On being made archbishop of Canterbury, however, Thomas changed his point of view and opposed the king in his attempts to control the clergy. The king was embittered; and some of his followers, interpreting his words to mean that he desired the death of Thomas, murdered the archbishop. Henry disavowed the deed, did penance at the tomb of Beket, and offered a part of Ireland, which he had just conquered, as a peace offering to the pope. He also withdrew the obnoxious Constitutions of Clarendon, whereupon the pope pardoned him and restored him to his favour.

Richard I., 1189–99.

Henry's last years were made bitter by the revolts of his sons. He died in 1189, leaving the crown to Richard I. (1189–99), who spent only a few months in England, and whose reign is only negatively important, in that his absence from the country gave English local independence an opportunity to grow.

John, 1199–1216.

John (1199–1216) had much of the ability and all the vices of the Angevin family. He had great political and diplomatic insight, but he was utterly without honour; unscrupulous to the last degree, he would break his royal oath without compunction. He refused his subjects in Angoulême justice; they appealed to the king of France, who summoned John before him. John, however, disregarded the summons, whereupon Philip II. deposed him and overran a large part of his French provinces. The murder of his nephew, Arthur, has made John infamous. John refused to accept Stephen Langton, who had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury by Innocent III. Innocent put England under the interdict and excommunicated John, and finally (1212) even deposed him and offered his crown to the king of France. At the same time John's violence and injustice to his people led the Church and barons to unite against him.

Hoping to break the opposition, John made peace with the pope and received his crown from him as a fief. But the struggle with his barons and Church continued until 1215, when he was compelled to grant Magna Carta, in which he promised to observe the ancient laws and customs, to abate all wrongs, and to require only the legal feudal dues. The Church was to have her liberties restored; the barons and the people were to be subject to no violence. The king agreed neither to pass nor to execute any judgment upon any one till he had been tried by his peers. After securing this charter of their liberties, the barons broke up into parties. John then ignored his oath and became more violent than ever toward his subjects, whereupon the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip II. Louis invaded England, and had some success, but at the death of John the English turned to his son, Henry III., then only nine years old. Louis was compelled to return to France.

The Magna Carta, 1215.

Henry III. (1216–72) was very unlike his father. He was pious and kindly, but at the same time vain and changeable. He never refused to take any oath demanded of him, but always broke it at the first opportunity. While England suffered from his bad government, the Church was heavily taxed by the pope. While Simon de Montfort attempted to reform the state, Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, opposed the pope's exactions. In 1257 the crops were a total failure, but the pope demanded one-third of the income of the year. Being unable to bear these burdens longer, the barons came armed to Oxford and compelled the king to make certain concessions (the Provisions of Oxford, 1258). Later, when the king refused to keep his word, the barons, under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, made war on him. In 1265 Simon called a meeting of the Great Council, or Parliament, as it was now called, in which, besides the barons and knights from the shires, two citizens from certain towns also sat. Simon had summoned them to be present in order that they might give advice in regard to the taxes which

Henry III., 1216-72.

could be levied on the towns. This is the first occasion on which the representatives of the towns were summoned in conjunction with those of the counties. The civil war ended with the death of Simon and the withdrawal of Henry from the government, all authority being placed in the hands of Prince Edward.

Commoners in the Parliament, 1265.

The reign of Edward I. was marked by the conquest of Wales (1284) and of Scotland (1305), although Scotland renewed the war, and in 1314, by the battle of Bannockburn, recovered her independence. His legislation was for the most part good, and tended to increase the power of the crown. In 1295 the Constitution of Parliament was completed, and in 1297 Edward agreed to the Confirmation of the Charters. Edward II. (1307–27) was controlled by favourites, and his reign was in every respect a failure. His wife and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, made war on him, and in 1327 the people joined them and deposed him. He was murdered a short time afterwards in prison, and Edward III. became king under the regency of Mortimer.

Edward I., 1272–1307.

Edward II., 1307–27.

During the Hundred Years' War England was ruled in turn by Edward III. (1327–77), Richard II. (1377–99), Henry IV. (1399–1412), Henry V. (1413–22), and Henry VI. (1422–61). During the same period the rulers of France were Philip VI. (1328–50), John (1350–64), Charles V. (1364–80), Charles VI. (1380–1422), and Charles VII. (1422–61).

The Hundred Years' War.

The real question at issue in the Hundred Years War was whether the king of France should control all France, or whether the king of England should continue to hold Guienne and Gascony. England held so large a part of France as to be able to prevent the unification of that country, and the possession of all the French soil had come to be the most important question that confronted the king of France. The struggle between England and France was sure to come, and it could end in

The questions at issue.

but one of two ways: either the king of England must conquer the whole country and displace the French king, or the king of France must drive out the English, and reconquer all that territory which the topography of the country and the similarity in language and customs had marked out as a legitimate object of his ambition.

Edward and Philip first quarrelled about Scotland. In 1331 Edward Balliol laid claim to the crown of Scotland, and asked help of Edward III. David Bruce, the other claimant, fled to France. Philip VI. was trying to extend his authority over the Low countries, and Edward III. received some of their political refugees, thereby offending Philip VI. In 1338 the Hundred Years' War began. In that year Edward III. went to Flanders and the people demanded that he should assume the title of king of France; he saw the advantages to be derived from it, and, as a kind of war measure, in 1339 declared himself its possessor. In the same year the English fleet destroyed the French fleet, but otherwise little fighting was done till 1346, when Edward won the battle of Crécy, and the next year took Calais. A truce was then made, which was kept till 1355. In that year prince Edward, known as the Black Prince, ravaged a large part of southern France. Near Poitiers his force of 8000 men was attacked by an army of about 50,000 men, but he was victorious, and even captured king John and took him to England. In 1359 Edward made another invasion of southern France, but found there such suffering and ruin, as the result of his raid of a few years before, that he was conscience-smitten, and offered to make peace. By the terms of the treaty of Brétigny Edward resigned his claim to the French crown and received several large provinces from France. The Black Prince was sent to govern Aquitaine, but by his attempt to levy a hearth-tax caused an uprising of the people. For a few years the English harried many parts of France, but the French refused to engage in battle, and gradually recovered most of the country.

Origin of the War.

Crécy, 1346.

Poitiers, 1356.

The peace of Brétigny, 1360.

The war practically ceased till the accession of Henry V. (1413–22). His father, Henry IV., had deposed Richard II. and seized the crown. Henry V., feeling that his claim to the crown was not secure, hoped to make himself popular by a successful war in France. He renewed his claim to the French crown and invaded France, but at Harfleur lost two-thirds of his troops by disease. However, with an army of about 15,000 men he met and defeated 50,000 French near Agincourt (1415). Charles VI. was imbecile, and the country divided between two parties, the one under the duke of Burgundy, the other under the count of Armagnac. The feud between them was so bitter that the Burgundians went over to the English. By the treaty of Troyes (1420) Henry V. was acknowledged regent of France, and was to be recognized as king at the death of Charles VI.

Henry V., 1413–22, renews the war.

Agincourt, 1415.

In 1422 both kings died. Henry VI., though only a child of nine months, was acknowledged in England and in all the northern part of France, and the duke of Bedford was made regent. Bedford instituted excellent reforms and governed France well. Charles VII., the Dauphin, was recognised south of the Loire. Bedford made war on him, and it seemed for a time that the English must gain possession of all of France. Bedford was besieging Orléans (1428) with every prospect of success. Some of the French nobles, however, especially the duke of Burgundy, were alienated from the English cause, and at the same time help came from an unexpected quarter.

Henry VI. of England king of both countries.

Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl, seventeen years old, believed herself to have received a commission from God to lead her king, Charles VII., to Rheims, to secure his coronation, and to drive out the English. She was not the only woman in France who thought herself appointed for this difficult work. In those times of excitement and national depression other women came forward with the same belief in their high calling. Jeanne was the only one fortunate and capable enough to get a hearing. No one at first had any

Jeanne d'Arc.

confidence in her, but since there was no other help possible she was taken before the young king, who determined to give her a chance to test her divine calling. She was given command of the army, but only a part of her orders were obeyed, because some of the things which she commanded were manifestly impossible. The real commanders of the army made good use of her presence to fire the enthusiasm of the troops to the highest pitch. She led the attack on the English before Orléans, and was successful in breaking up the siege of the city. The tide turned and every one was wild with joy and enthusiasm. The belief in her miraculous mission made the army irresistible. The English were driven back, town after town was taken by the French, and Charles VII. was soon crowned at Rheims (1429). Jeanne continued the struggle, but was taken prisoner by the Burgundians and sold to the English. She was carried to Rouen, where, after a long trial, she was condemned to death on a mixed charge of sorcery, heresy, apostasy, and other crimes, which only the Middle Age could invent. Her youth, her simplicity, her nobleness availed nothing; she was burned at the stake (May 1431).

But even dead she was still a power in France. Her name gave an impetus and courage to her countrymen which was destined to result in driving out the English entirely. Bedford found the current in France setting stronger and stronger against the English. At his death (1435) the duke of Burgundy deserted the English cause and became the subject of Charles VII. For some years the war was continued, but at length (1453) the English had been driven out of every place in France except Calais. The Hundred Years' War was over. The final result of it was the unification of France. By it both England and France had been profoundly influenced, and at its close they were ready to enter a new period of their development.

The English driven out, 1454.

The constitutional changes in England during the fourteenth century were important. In 1322 Edward II. declared that in future all matters pertaining to the kingdom should be

settled by a Parliament, in which should be represented the clergy and barons and the common people. He also abolished certain feudal taxes, and relied on grants of money by the Parliament. In 1341 the commoners were separated from the lords, and met apart for the purpose of deliberation. In 1376 the Parliament claimed and exercised the right to try members of the king's council for embezzlement.

Constitutional changes in England.

The fourteenth century was also marked by a movement among the people which showed itself in many ways. In 1348 a plague spread over all Europe, which resulted in the death of perhaps half of the population. Whole districts in England were almost depopulated. This, of course, made the demand for the service of free labourers much greater. The natural effect was that all free workmen demanded larger wages than they had ever before received. The English sense of the binding force of custom and tradition was thereby deeply offended, especially since at the same time the expense of farming was increased. In 1349 both Houses of Parliament met and passed a statute that the same wages should be paid as were customary before the plague, and made it a crime for any one to demand more. The immediate effect of this measure was to increase the bitterness already existing between the classes, but as far as prohibiting the demand for higher wages went, it was without avail. The work must be done, and the peasants refused to do it without an increase in pay. This led the landlords to try to reduce the free labourers to villeinage again. In many cases the villein had secured his freedom by paying a small sum of money to his landlord. Since the service had become so much more valuable, the landlords now declared that the contract into which they had entered was unfair, and they refused to accept the sum of money agreed upon in place of service. This would have solved the difficulty and the landlords would have thereby acquired a sufficient amount of labour to till their estates, but its injustice caused a revolt. Many of Wyclif's preachers

Social movements.

espoused the cause of the peasants, and there arose besides a large number of peasants who went about inciting the people to resistance. There was an uprising all over England. The property of the nobility was attacked, their game and fish preserves destroyed, the records of the villein's dues were burned, and even many people put to death. An army of more than 100,000, led by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, marched upon London, expecting to appeal to the king to support them against the nobility. They got into London and put many to death, among them the lawyers of the new Inn of the Temple and the archbishop of Canterbury, who had proposed many of the obnoxious measures in Parliament. Richard II., still a mere boy, met them and promised to abolish villeinage, whereupon the majority of the peasants returned home. About 30,000 of them, however, were bent on mischief, and could not be dispersed until an army attacked and scattered them. The revolt was followed by severe punishments. The leaders were put to death, as well as many who had taken part in it. All England was united against the insurgents, and the lot of the peasants became harder than ever before.

Wat Tyler's rebellion.

This peasants' revolt had a bad effect on a movement which had for its author John Wyclif. By an independent study of the Bible he had come to differ radically from the Church in many points. He attacked the authority of the pope and the doctrine of transubstantiation; later even the mass. At first he had simply striven against what he called abuses in the Church—the worldly clergy, the heavy ecclesiastical taxes, the sale of indulgences and pardons, pilgrimages, the use of relics, and the worship of saints; but opposition developed his ideas until he broke out into open hostility to the Church in almost everything. He based all his doctrines directly on his interpretation of the Bible. He sent out many preachers to carry his teaching to the people, and they succeeded in gaining many adherents. His sympathies were, for the most part, with the common people, and his cry for reform

Wyclif.

was taken up by them. It was due in part to his agitation that the peasants' revolt took place. The violence committed on that occasion frightened the nobility and even the common people, and Wyclif's movement thus fell into disrepute. His preachers, called the Lollards, or idle babblers, were repressed and persecuted. He himself was bitterly opposed by the clergy, but suffered no personal violence, though he was compelled to leave Oxford and retire to his home at Lutterworth, where he spent the last years of his life in revising an earlier translation of the Bible. He was ordered to appear at Rome to defend himself, when death overtook him. Political considerations, the alliance between Henry V. and the papacy, led to the repeated persecutions of his followers, and so his movement came to nothing.

During the last years of his life Henry VI. suffered from frequent attacks of insanity, and these directly caused the civil strife known, from the badges of the opposing factions, as the Wars of the Roses. This was a struggle between the great houses of England, at first for the control of the king, and later for the possession of the crown. The duke of York drove Henry VI. out of England in 1461 and had himself crowned as Edward IV. (1461–83). For ten years the contest continued, however. England remained unquiet, for Edward and his chief supporter, Warwick the "Kingmaker," quarrelled. Warwick joined Margaret of Anjou and allied with France. In 1471 Edward overthrew Warwick at Barnet and Margaret at Tewkesbury.

The Wars of the Roses, 1455–85.

Edward IV., feeling himself secure on the throne, found leisure to begin a war in connection with Charles the Bold of Burgundy against Louis XI. of France. He hoped to prevent the extension of French power in the Netherlands, but was unable to do so. His death put his son, Edward V., a boy of twelve years, on the throne. Both Edward V. and his younger brother, the duke of York, were thrust into the Tower by their uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who had been made protector; and the relatives of their mother, who

had been exercising great influence up to this time, were either imprisoned or put to death. Fearing that if the young king were once crowned and acknowledged, his own life would be in danger, Richard, by the most shameless charges against the honour of his own mother, secured the recognition of himself as king. He was crowned as Richard III. (1483). He met with some opposition, but was able to resist it successfully. He felt, however, that he was not safe so long as the young Edward V. and his brother lived, and they were accordingly put to death in the Tower by Richard's orders. This crime cost him his popularity. The duke of Richmond, another descendant of Edward III., was encouraged to invade England, and in the battle of Bosworth (1485) Richard III. was slain, and the duke of Richmond was made king under the title of Henry VII. For nearly thirty years England had suffered so terribly by these civil wars that the people, worn out, were willing to do anything, or to submit to anything, if only they might have peace. It was not so much that the great houses were destroyed; it was rather the horror that was everywhere felt for civil war that now opened the way for the Tudor House, of which Henry VII. was the head, to become practically absolute, and rule without regard to constitution or Parliament. The people, feeling that nothing could be worse than civil war, were glad to have a strong king, because they believed that such a ruler alone was able to preserve peace and order.

Richard III., 1483-85.

Henry VII., 1485-1500, *brings peace.*

The Renaissance was just beginning to be felt in England at this time. Richard III. was himself one of its most prominent supporters. Before he saw the way open to the throne he had been especially active in this direction. It was unfortunate both for him and for the cause of learning that the temptation to seize the crown was put in his way. But even as king he kept alive his interest in the new learning and aided it by his legislation. He passed a law forbidding any hindrance or injury to any one who was engaged in importing or selling books in the kingdom. Learning suddenly became with many a passion; the move-

The Renaissance in England.

ment was still in its swaddling-clothes, to be sure, but the foundation was being laid for the glorious achievements of the sixteenth century.

To return to France, the last years of Charles VII. were not so fortunate as the first. The victories which Jeanne d'Arc won for him secured him the title of the Victorious. By establishing a standing army he became independent of his vassals for military service. He quarrelled with his son Louis, who thereupon intrigued against him, and made alliances with his enemies. The king also fell under the control of bad ministers. His court was vitiated by the presence of royal mistresses.

A standing army in France.

Louis XI. (1461–83) was, from the point of view of the kingship, one of the most successful of all the French kings, but he has won the reputation of being the most cruel, crafty, and unprincipled of men. He was a master in the arts of duplicity and deception. His settled policy was: the acquisition of territory, and the strengthening of the royal power. Several of the great appanages were added to the royal domain during his reign; two most important acquisitions were made on the eastern frontier as follows: in 1477, at the death of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, Louis XI. seized his duchy, and in 1481 he got possession of Provence. In this way the eastern boundary of France was much extended. In order to increase the royal prerogative, Louis XI. established provincial *parlements*, thereby dividing and weakening the *Parlement* of Paris, the body that was most able to hinder the growth of the royal power.

Louis XI., 1461–83.

Charles VIII. (1483–98), the successor of Louis XI., increased the royal possessions by the addition of Brittany (1491), thus practically completing the unification of France. The power of the king was rapidly increasing, while that of the feudal nobility was practically broken. The king was ruler in fact as well as name. With the whole of France in his hands the way was open for Charles VIII. to look abroad. His invasion of Italy (1494) marks in French history the beginning of the era of conquest.

The unification of France.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY, 1254-1500, AND THE SMALLER STATES OF EUROPE

LITERATURE—As in Chaps. III., IV. and VII.

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ANARCHY prevailed in Germany during the great interregnum (1254-73). The great princes made use of the opportunity to seize the crown lands and to make themselves strong at the expense of the weaker nobles. But in spite of the violence of the times, owing to the spirit of self-help which the cities exhibited, as shown in the Rhenish league, industry and commerce increased.

The Great Interregnum, 1254-73.

The seven princes who from this time have the sole right to elect the emperor, fearing lest the new emperor would make them disgorge what they had unjustly seized, were in no hurry to end the interregnum. Finally, the pope told them that if they did not elect an emperor, he himself would appoint one. They accordingly chose Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, who they thought would not be strong enough to interfere with them in any way. Rudolf had the good sense to see that he could do nothing in Italy

Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, Emperor, 1273-92.

and very little in Germany, so he wisely exerted himself in trying to strengthen his family by acquiring as much territory as possible. Ottokar, king of Bohemia, resisted him. Rudolf was victorious over him and confiscated his possessions (1278), retaining a large part of them for his own family. In this way the Hapsburgs became possessed of Austria. Vienna was made their residence. After thus looking after the interests of his family, Rudolf turned his attention to the empire, restoring peace, and administering justice with a firm hand.

At the death of Rudolf the electors refused to choose his son, lest the Hapsburgs should become too strong. Adolf of Nassau (1292-98) was elected, but was soon deserted, because he also wished to gain territory at the expense of the empire. The electors deposed him and set up Albrecht I. (1298-1308), the son of Rudolf I. Albrecht I., continuing the policy of his father, made friends with the cities in order to have their aid against the nobles.

Adolf of Nassau, 1292–98.

Albrecht I., 1298–1308.

Henry VII. of Luxemburg (1308-13) succeeded Albrecht, and by marrying the widowed queen of Bohemia to his son, secured his family in the possession of that kingdom. Forgetting the lessons which his predecessors had learned, Henry VII. allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Italy in the vain hope of re-establishing order there. He received both the Lombard and imperial crowns, but died suddenly near Pisa without accomplishing anything. A disputed election followed. The Luxemburg party made Ludwig of Bavaria emperor, while the Hapsburgs elected one of their own number, Frederick the Fair. A civil war ensued which ended in the victory of the Luxemburgs. Ludwig was the acknowledged emperor, but Frederick was to be his successor, and in the meantime to have the title of king of the Romans. He was also to act as regent in the absence of the emperor. Ludwig then went to Italy, but was able to do nothing toward a settlement of the disturbances in that unfortunate country. He deeply offended the pope by

Henry VII., of Luxemburg, 1308–13.

Ludwig of Bavaria, 1314–47.

Frederick the Fair.

receiving the imperial crown from a layman, the head of the Roman Commune. A bitter struggle ensued between pope and emperor, in which the claims of both to universal dominion were renewed. The pope declared Ludwig deposed, and claimed the right to act as emperor until another emperor should be elected. In answer to this the electors met at Rhense (1338), and asserted that they alone were competent to elect an emperor, nor did their choice need the confirmation of the pope.

Rhense, 1338.

Ludwig spent the last years of his life in trying to secure property for his family. This turned the electors against him and involved him in a war with Charles of Bohemia, who was set up as a rival king, a struggle brought to an end only by the death of Ludwig (1347). Charles was everywhere recognized as his successor. As king of Bohemia, Charles IV. deserved well of his country. He acquired much new territory, getting possession of Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia. For his capital city, Prague, he had a special fondness. He established the first German university there (1348), and surrounded himself with the best artists of this time (Prague school of painting). In 1356 he published the Golden Bull, by the terms of which the relations of king and electors were settled. Charles made two journeys into Italy, but succeeded only in getting himself laughed at by the Italians, who had no regard for so insignificant an emperor. He renewed the imperial claim to Burgundy by having himself crowned king of that country. But this was an empty form. Burgundy was already hopelessly broken into independent principalities, eventually to be absorbed by the expanding kingdom of France. Charles IV. was succeeded by his son Wenzel (1378-1400), but he was so incapable that he was deposed.

Charles IV., 1346–78.

The Golden Bull, 1356.

Wenzel, 1378–1400.

The fourteenth century witnessed the defence of their liberties by the Swiss. The history of the origin of Switzerland takes us back to the last Hohenstaufen. During the reign of Frederick II. the two forest cantons of Uri and Schwyz had acquired letters-

Origin of Switzerland.

patent from the emperor, by which they were freed from the sovereignty of the counts of Hapsburg, whose territory lay in that part of Germany (southern Suabia). In 1291 representatives from these two cantons met with some men of Unterwalden, where the Hapsburgs still had seigniorial rights, and swore to protect each other as confederates (Eidgenossen) against every attack upon their liberties. This is the beginning of the Swiss confederation. These simple, hardy peasants, neat-herds, and foresters, who, in their isolated mountain homes, had preserved much of the old Teutonic vigour, and even many of the old Teutonic institutions, had never been assimilated to the feudal system; and now that it began to irritate them with restrictions on their freedom, they resolved to shake it off. The fact that their feudal lords, the Hapsburgs, had risen to the empire did not frighten them from their resolution. They even ventured upon encroachments of the neighbouring territory. This was more than Hapsburg pride and patience would submit to, and Leopold, brother of Frederick the Fair, invaded their territory with the flower of Austrian chivalry. At Morgarten (1315) the Confederates suddenly fell upon Leopold, and his feudal armament was annihilated by bands of low-born peasants, equipped with axes and pitchforks. It was a spectacle new and surprising to the world, prophetic of the passing of knighthood. Owing to this success of the confederation new adherents gradually poured in, until by the middle of the century, Zurich and Bern having joined their lot to their neighbours', the confederation embraced the so-called eight old cantons (Orte). It was repeatedly called upon to defend itself against the Hapsburgs and their feudal allies of Suabia, but with the battle of Sempach (1386), won over another Leopold, it raised itself beyond danger from princely authority. This battle was, in its character of peasant *versus* baron, a repetition of Morgarten, and the touching story of Arnold of Winkelried, who is said to have made the first breach in the ranks of the enemy by gathering to his breast as many spears as he could grasp, truthfully illustrates the style of manhood destined in the new social order to supersede the knight.

At the death of emperor Rupert (1400–10) there was a disputed election, but Sigismund was finally recognized as emperor (1410–37). His efforts to reform the Church led to the calling of the council at Constance, which condemned Huss to be burned for his heresy, and ended the schism by deposing the three popes who were struggling for recognition, and electing Martin V. In 1415 Sigismund, in order to pay off his indebtedness to Frederick of Hohenzollern, gave him the mark of Brandenburg. By his wise government Frederick re-established order and made himself master of the territory. The power and possessions of his successors steadily grew, till in 1701 the mark was made into the kingdom of Prussia, in our day the leading power in Germany.

Rupert, 1400–10.

Sigismund, 1410–37.

The Hohenzollern acquire Brandenburg, 1415.

The burning of Huss led to a national revolt in Bohemia. That country was inhabited by Slavs, but there were many Germans there also. There was much opposition between the two races, and when the national hero, Huss, was burned by the German emperor, the Bohemian opposition to everything German was quickened into the most bitter hostility. In 1419 Sigismund became the lawful king of Bohemia, but the Bohemians refused to acknowledge him. A fierce civil war ensued; the Hussites, as they called themselves, were at first victorious, but when religious and social dissensions arose among them, and when conservative Bohemians became frightened at the radical changes proposed by the fanatical party, they made peace with the emperor and assisted him in restoring order.

The revolt in Bohemia.

The brief reign of Albrecht II. (1438–39), the son-in-law and heir of Sigismund, was important for the Hapsburgs, because he re-acquired for them the imperial crown, and united under his dominion all the territory which has ever since formed the principal part of their possessions. He ruled over the duchy of Austria, Styria, Carniola, Tyrol, Bohemia, and Hungary. His nephew, Frederick III. (1440–93), succeeded

Albrecht II., 1438–39.

Frederick III., 1440–93.

him, but his reign presents only a long succession of blunders. He lost Bohemia and Hungary, which were not recovered by the Hapsburgs till 1526.

The House of Hapsburg acquires Burgundy and Spain.

The signal and unmerited good fortune which befell Frederick's house and gave to it new lustre was the acquisition of the greater part of the states of the duke of Burgundy. During the fifteenth century a collateral branch of the House of France had gradually added to its French fief of Burgundy the whole of the Netherlands, and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1467–77), had become one of the foremost rulers of Europe. His ambition looked toward the establishment of a great middle kingdom between France and Germany, independent of either. In this scheme the Swiss proved a stumbling-block. Their territory lay so opportune for his plans that he resolved to subjugate it. But the brave mountaineers beat back his invasion at Granson and Murten (Morat) (1476), and finally his whole splendid army went down before them at Nancy (1477). Charles himself was among the dead. Since there was only a daughter, Mary, to succeed him, Louis XI. of France immediately seized the crown fief, the duchy of Burgundy proper, on the claim that it was vacant, and would have taken more had not Frederick promptly acquired Mary's hand in marriage for his son Maximilian (1477), and thus established a legal claim to the rest. So the territorial expansion of the House of Austria was not checked even under this weak king. A similar chance of a happy matrimonial alliance gave it, a few years later, the vast possessions of Spain (1516), when Maximilian's son, Philip, married Joan, heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Their son, Charles, was the famous emperor Charles V. (1519–55), who dreamt of renewing the empire of the west.

Permanent decay of the empire.

Though the Hapsburgs figure from the fifteenth century among the most powerful dynasties of Europe, the empire is nowise profited from their strength. The decay of this institution had continued from the twelfth century, and was destined to continue without

interruption. One by one its cosmopolitan claims had been exploded. It was now only the national government of Germany. But even in Germany we have seen it lose its authority, and, although it tided itself over to the nineteenth century (1806), it was never again anything more than a body without a soul. Germany had lost her central government in all but name. German strength and civilization, as far as they acquired political expression at all in the modern period, are to be sought among the local governments of the princes and the cities.

It is necessary to give, in the briefest manner possible, a bird's-eye view of those parts of Europe which played no great rôle in the Middle Age, but which were, nevertheless, engaged in the slow process of political development.

Spain.

In the northern part of Spain certain principalities were gradually formed, such as the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre. About 1040 Leon and Castile were united, and a hundred years later Catalonia was absorbed by Aragon. When the Ommiad Khalifate came to an end (1031), five large Mohammedan kingdoms were established (Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Saragossa, and Badajoz), besides several small principalities. There was a constant struggle between these and the small Christian states on the north in which the Christians were increasingly successful. Before the end of the thirteenth century all of Spain, except the south-eastern part, the principality of Granada, was again in the hands of the Christians. This remained Mohammedan until 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella conquered it.

Fall of the Moors, 1492.

Union of Castile and Aragon.

Meanwhile Castile and Aragon, becoming the most powerful states, had gradually absorbed all the others. Sicily and Sardinia were added to Aragon during the last years of the thirteenth century. The consolidation of the two leading Spanish states was accomplished (1474) by the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon. The unification of Spain was soon after completed, and she was prepared to take her place among the leading states of Europe.

Portugal.

In 1095, when king Alphonso gave the county of Portugal to his son-in-law, Henry of Burgundy, it consisted of only the small territory between the Douro and Minho rivers. In 1139, after a great victory over the Moors, the count was made a king, and from that time the struggle with the Mohammedans for territory went steadily forward. In about one hundred years the kingdom was extended to nearly its present boundaries.

Holland and Belgium.

The territory lying about the mouth of the Rhine (Holland and Belgium) was slow in attaining a complete independence and a separate national existence. It was a part of the empire of Karl the Great, and in the division of 843 (Verdun) was given to Lothar. A long strip of territory called Lotharingia, lying west of the Rhine from Basel to the North Sea, came to be divided into two parts, upper and lower. The latter comprised all the territory north of the Moselle river, including, therefore, nearly all of modern Belgium and Holland. Following the feudal tendency, Lotharingia broke up into several fiefs, most of which succeeded in rendering themselves practically free from foreign control. Among these feudal principalities were the counties of Namur, Hainault, Luxemburg, Holland, Gelderland, and others; the episcopal sees of Liège, Crambrai, and Utrecht; and the duchies of Brabant and Limburg. To the west of these lay the county of Flanders, which, breaking away from the kingdom of France, had become practically independent. The growth and power of the cities in all this territory were remarkable. Their inhabitants became rich, and early took part in the communal revolt. They naturally wished to be free from Germany and France, one or the other of which had sovereign claims over all this land, and hence naturally became the allies of England in the Hundred Years' War. Their progress in civilization was rapid, and during this period they laid the foundation of the strength which they were to develop in the sixteenth century in their tremendous struggle with Spain.

During the last years of the fourteenth century and the

first of the fifteenth the French dukes of Burgundy got possession by marriage and conquest of almost all of these little independent territories after they had seriously weakened themselves by making war on each other. By the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold, with Maximilian of Austria (1477), afterward emperor, the Netherlands came into the possession of the House of Hapsburg.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

The conquests and settlements of the Norsemen have already been described. In the ninth and tenth centuries Denmark was united into one kingdom and had a period of considerable power, followed by another of decadence. Sweden also became a kingdom in the ninth and tenth centuries. Christianity was thoroughly established there by about 1050. Norway was not unified until about the year 1000. For some centuries the history of these countries is but a confused succession of wars and civil strife which was not ended till 1397 by the union of Calmar. Theoretically, this union put the three countries on the same plane. In reality, Denmark was the leading power, and dominated the other two. Sweden made several attempts to revolt and gain her independence, but without success, till the appearance of Gustavus Vasa (1523). Norway, however, remained united to Denmark till 1814.

Hungary.

The victory of emperor Otto I. over the Hungarians on the Lech (955) put an end to their invasions of the west. During the tenth century Christianity was introduced among them from Germany and Constantinople. The country suffered terribly under the invasion of the Mongols (from 1241 on), but the devastated regions were re-peopled with Germans. The family of Stephen (the Arpad dynasty) held the throne till 1301, when it became extinct, and the crown went to an Angevin of the French family of Charles of Anjou, who had established himself as king of Sicily and Naples. After the failure of this dynasty (1437) the crown was fought over for nearly one hundred years. The country, gradually weakened by this strife, yielded

to an invasion of the Turks. At the battle of Mohacs (1526) Solyman II. destroyed the Hungarian army, and got possession of a large part of the country, which he held for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The rest of Hungary passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs, but, although added to Austria, always enjoyed a measure of independence.

In consequence of the efforts of Otto I. to extend Christianity and, at the same time, German influence to the east, several bishoprics (Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, Havelberg, Brandenburg) were established under the archbishop of Magdeburg. Their bishops were the missionaries to the Slavs. Christianity spread among the Poles, but the process of Germanizing them was checked by the establishment of Gnesen as an archbishopric (1000) directly under the pope. This secured to Poland an independent ecclesiastical development, and also the preservation of its nationality. In the eleventh century Poland consisted of the territory on both sides of the river Warthe. Pomerania was conquered in the next century, and thus Poland acquired a seaboard. By the marriage of a Polish princess with the prince Jagello of Lithuania Poland acquired a new dynasty and all the territory of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. By some victories over the German Order her boundaries were also extended on the north till her territory reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea. At the end of the Middle Ages Poland seemed a powerful state, possessed of great possibilities. The nobility, however, was omnipotent: the common people were oppressed with too great burdens; and there were certain forces at work which were destined to cause the destruction of the state.

Poland.

The settlements of the Norsemen at Novgorod and Kiev, and the dynasty established by them, have already been spoken of. These settlements were united about 900 A.D., and shortly afterward were Christianized from Constantinople. The Mongols established themselves north of the Black Sea, and compelled all the principalities of Russia to pay tribute. A large part of

The Norsemen in Russia.

Russia continued subject to them till the end of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III. threw off their yoke. He also reduced all the independent principalities and, probably to indicate that he regarded himself as the successor of the emperor at Constantinople, took the title of Czar. He laid the foundation for the growth of Russia in the next centuries.

The Greek Empire.

The Greek Empire was engaged in constant struggle with the Mohammedans. The Seljuk Turks, as we have seen, conquered nearly all the imperial possessions in Asia. In spite of the efforts that were made about the time of the crusades to drive them out of Asia Minor, they kept a firm hold upon a part of it. The Ottoman Turks coming from central Asia about the middle of the fourteenth century began a brilliant career of conquest, in which they encroached steadily on the territory of the empire, conquering the Balkan peninsula, and extending their sway far north beyond the Danube. The fall of Constantinople (1453) marks the end of the Byzantine empire. While Mohammedanism was being utterly driven out of Spain, it was firmly establishing itself on the Balkan peninsula, from which vantage ground it was yet to threaten some of the Christian states of Europe.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL TENDENCIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

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THE period which we have been studying, erroneously called the Dark Ages, had a civilization peculiarly its own. Politically, the age was dominated by the idea of the world-empire, until the thirteenth century saw the destruction of the empire and the rise of nationalities and states. Ecclesiastically, it was ruled by the idea of the world-Church, with the pope at its head. Intellectually, the period may be gauged by the fact that the Germans, a vigorous, primitive people, were slowly learning, adopting, and adapting the Roman civilization preserved and taught them by the Church. Of all the institutions in the Middle Age the Church, because she held the position of both priest

Characteristic Ideas of the Middle Age.

and teacher of the young barbarian world, was by far the most powerful.

The Middle Age was productive in many fields.

The Middle Age presents many phenomena which indicate that the mind of man was not idle. The schools of Karl the Great, and the Universities which appear about the twelfth century; the Latin literature, chronicles, biographies, histories, controversial and doctrinal writings; the two opposing systems of philosophy: nominalism and realism, each of which was represented by men who have left us many works attesting the keenness and power of their intellects; the many treatises on theological questions; the religious writings of such men as Bernard of Clairvaux, Eckhart, and Thomas à Kempis, whose inimitable "Imitation of Christ" is still a classic with men mystically inclined; the organized life of the nobility, as seen in chivalry, with its ideal of Christian knighthood, and its literature of religion, love, war, and adventure; the minstrels, in the north of France the trouvères, in the south the troubadours, in Germany the minnesingers; the lyric poetry, and especially the great national or religious epics, such as the Song of Roland, the Nibelungen Lied, the Tales of King Arthur and the Round Table, the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, the Tales about Karl the Great, and Alexander the Great, and the Holy Grail, and the Divine Comedy of Dante; the two great styles of architecture, the Romanesque (to 1150) and the Gothic (1125-1500), with their magnificent churches, cathedrals, city halls, and palaces; the decorative arts, wood-carving, glass and panel-painting, sculpture, miniature painting and illuminating; the religious painting whose greatest representative is Giotto! the new life in the cities, the growth of commerce, the rise of the people to wealth and political independence, their activity in building, in the practice of the fine as well as the industrial arts, in literature, such as the fables, miracle-plays and master-songs—what more is necessary to show that the Middle Age was full of mental vigour and activity, much of which may still command our interest and admiration?

The Renaissance in its broadest signification is the name

given to the civilization which gradually displaced in the minds of men the medieval conceptions of the state, of society, of nature, of art, and of philosophy. It was a revolution under the dominant influence of the Roman-Greek world, which, after a thousand years of oblivion, was again brought to light and life. The world had outgrown the narrow ideals of the Middle Age, and when the ancient world was revealed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by its art and literary treasures, there was a spontaneous movement toward the freer life which had been the charm of classic times. But since the people could not wholly get away from their past immediately the Renaissance is, naturally, characterized by the fusion of the classical with the medieval.

The Renaissance.

The Renaissance had its origin and reached its highest development in Italy, and was from there carried to all the other countries of Europe. In Italy the conditions favourable to such a movement were far more numerous than anywhere else. Italy had more of the Roman civilization. Rome was there with her monuments and with all her wealth of tradition. Though the wear and tear of daily use had greatly modified the Latin tongue and it was rapidly becoming Italian, it nevertheless was effective in preserving and transmitting to the people of Italy the accumulated culture of Rome. In Italy the power of the Empire was weakest, and consequently the feudal system never took vigorous root there. The cities of Italy were the first to become independent. Their situation, with all its opportunities, seemed to act as an intellectual ferment, and for a while they led the world in civilization.

The Renaissance began in Italy.

Now this movement in civilisation, which is called the Renaissance and which began in Italy, is a very complicated matter. It is important to understand that the Renaissance affected man in all his ideas and relations of life; that it altered his status in the family and in society; that it revolutionized his views of the state; that it aroused in him, by enlarging his mental outlook, the passion of knowledge; that it endowed

See Burckhardt, Civilization of the Renaissance.

him with a larger moral freedom; and that it heightened, one might almost say created in him, the desire to enjoy the good things of the earth, the good things of the senses. The leading ideas of the Renaissance are set forth in the following paragraphs.

The Renaissance changes the political theory.

The political theory of the Middle Age was embodied in the belief that God had ordained that the world should be ruled by an emperor, to whom kings, dukes, and other dignitaries should be subject. The imperial form of government, being thus divinely appointed, was not to be questioned. Consequently, no one in the Middle Age ever thought of asking whether it actually was a good form of government, or whether another form might not be better. Now the Renaissance wrought a radical change in this political theory. The idea arose that government was for the purpose of governing, and hence that was the best form of government which actually governed best. This led to the discussion of the objects of government, and of the most suitable way of attaining these objects. Thus the Renaissance became the birth-period of what we call political science. Men began to believe that the form of government was not ordained of God, but was an artificial product, and that men should have the right, therefore, to invent the form of government under which they wish to live. Under the influence of these new ideas, Machiavelli wrote an interesting book, called "The Prince," in which he deals with practical government, and in England Sir Thomas More wrote his famous book, "Utopia," in which he described an ideal state.

The Renaissance revives interest in antiquity.

From another point of view the Renaissance was a revolt against the medieval world in favour of classical antiquity. The Middle Age was ascetic; it regarded this world, not as a place for enjoyment, but rather as a place of preparation for the next. The monk was its highest ideal. Moral and religious beauty was the only kind appreciated; its artists chose only saints for their subjects. Medieval life knew nothing of the freedom beauty, and joy of the Greek world. But with a larger knowledge of antiquity men became wildly enthusiastic for it, and

tried to recover it. They were seized with a passion for Latin and Greek literature, and sought everywhere for manuscripts containing hitherto unknown works of ancient authors. To possess a manuscript of the Iliad, even without being able to read it, was a great distinction. The learned men of the day, called humanists, regarded Latin as the only language fit for literary purposes. Petrarch, for example, was ashamed of his Italian sonnets on which his fame rests, but expected to be made immortal by his Latin writings which are now forgotten.

The Renaissance reforms art.

The discovery of the statues of Greek or Roman workmanship directed attention to the beauty of ancient art and worked a revolution in the art ideals of the time. The saint, hideously emaciated by long fasting, and lost in the contemplation of the glories of another world, gave way to the Greek ideal of perfect physical beauty. Artists now began to paint handsome men and beautiful women engaged in the enjoyment of this world. The change in ideals was so radical that everything medieval was despised; everything ancient was admired and imitated.

The Renaissance changes the conception of nature.

The medieval man had no eye for the beauty of nature. To him nature was evil. God had indeed created the world and had pronounced it very good, but through the fall of man all nature had been corrupted. Satan was now the prince of this world. As a result no one could either study or admire nature. To study what we call the natural sciences was to practise the black art, and was of itself sufficient proof that one was in league with the powers of darkness. The great learning of pope Sylvester II. led to the invention of the story that in order to become pope he had sold himself to the devil. The life of Roger Bacon, persecuted as he was for his researches and learning, well illustrates the common medieval attitude toward nature. But in the Renaissance this view was outgrown. Petrarch (1304–74) is an interesting study in this connection. He had a direct pleasure in the beautiful things of earth, her hills and valleys, her fields and flowers. He was probably the first man for centuries to climb a

Petrarch's interest in nature.

mountain for the mere delight of the journey and to enjoy the view from the summit. In 1335 he made the ascent of Mount Ventoux in France. It is evident that the emancipation of man from the medieval thraldom had well begun, and love of nature and appreciation of her beauty, once awakened, steadily increased.

The Renaissance was further characterized by a great growth in individualism. Hero worship flourished probably as never before, and men were consumed with the passion to become famous. To know all that could be known, to do all that could be done, to excel in every field of human endeavour, to make of one's self the most striking and original personality possible, became a common desire. Brunellesco, Michel Angelo, and Da Vinci, each equally famous in several fields of activity and learning, were not isolated examples of the many-sided or perfect man (*uomo universale*) who was the ideal of the age.

The Renaissance fosters individualism.

In the Middle Age the feudal castle was the scene of all the social life of the time. But with the rise of the cities and the overthrow of feudalism came the new urban social life. Life in the cities begot new forms of social intercourse, such as receptions, parties, balls, and the numerous other kinds of social entertainment and intercourse with which we are still familiar. In the Renaissance society became a fine art.

The Renaissance produces a new social life.

In the light of the above-mentioned changes it would not seem strange if we should find a corresponding change in the moral and religious practice and belief of the time. The Renaissance brought with it, in fact, a great disregard of the Church, her claims, and her teachings. Many took the greatest delight in lampooning the Church and the clergy. Breaking away from her control and losing, apparently, all conception of right and wrong, they exhibited in their lives the most hideous vices and revelled in crime and wickedness. This was the classic period of Italian horrors. For a while it was hoped that the humanists would bring about a reform of the Church.

The Renaissance works a change in morals and religion.

Erasmus, the greatest scholar of his time, based his hopes on the new learning and its representatives, but it soon became apparent that the humanists lacked the moral earnestness necessary for such a work.

The Renaissance becomes a European movement.

The Renaissance, although beginning in Italy, soon spread to the rest of Europe and everywhere showed the same vices and the same virtues as in its first home. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Germany, France, and England were under the influence of the spirit of the Renaissance. In Germany one group of humanists was clever and frivolous, while the other was serious and busied itself with the problems of educational and religious reforms. The court of Francis I. (1515–47) bore the stamp of the Renaissance, and in the French cities there were groups of earnest men and able scholars who drew their inspiration from the new learning. Richard III. of England, whom we abhor for his crimes, was a typical prince of the Renaissance, practising the teachings of Machiavelli. Through the teachings of Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, More, and Erasmus, Oxford became the centre of the movement in England. Shakespeare may be regarded as its culmination.

The Renaissance, being essentially an age of revolt, accounts in part for the increasing dissatisfaction with the Church and the growing opposition to the papacy. But to understand the condition in which the papacy now found itself, it is necessary briefly to recount its history since the end of its struggle with the Hohenstaufen. The papacy, although victorious in its struggle with the empire, soon found itself in a worse plight than ever before. The empire was indeed no longer a menace to the independence of the papacy, but other and stronger foes had appeared to take its place. There were the other countries of Europe with a rising sense of nationality, jealous of their independence, and ever ready to resist the authority of the pope and to resent what seemed to them his interference in their affairs. These national differences were felt even in the college of cardinals,

Nationalism opposes the universal claims of the papacy.

and it was difficult to secure a harmonious papal election. France was now the leading power of Europe, and her king was bent on using the pope for his own ends. To render the situation more intolerable to the pope, the people of Rome aspired to independence, and frequently refused to permit the pope to dwell in Rome. Innocent IV. (1243–54) spent very little of his pontificate in the city; Alexander IV. (1254–61) was never there; Clement IV. (1265–68) lived in Perugia. Neither was the pope master in the rest of Italy. The larger cities, such as Florence, Venice, and Genoa, were the independent possessors of much territory. The French held southern Italy, the Germans part of northern Italy. Through the uprising of the Sicilians against the French, known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), Peter III. of Aragon gained possession of the island, thus increasing the number of the political opponents of the pope.

Rome hostile to the popes.

The powers in Italy oppose the papacy.

In 1294 Benedictus Cajetanus of Anagni was made pope, with the title of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). His pontificate marked the highest pretensions, and, at the same time, proved the impotence of the papacy. In the famous bull, "Clericis Laicos," on pain of excommunication, he forbade all laymen to collect taxes on Church lands, and all clergymen to pay them. Since the Church was very rich in lands, if this bull had been enforced the income of the State would have been greatly diminished. Philip IV. of France, therefore, retaliated by forbidding any money to be taken out of France into Italy, thus cutting off the pope's income. Boniface now yielded and tried to make peace with Philip; he said the bull was not to be enforced in France, and even granted Philip the tithe from the French clergy for three years. But the quarrel soon broke out again. Philip was determined to humiliate the pope and to show his own mastery. He received at his court two members of the Colonna family, whom Boniface had exiled from Rome, and

Boniface VIII., 1294–1303.

Quarrel with Philip IV.

also seized and imprisoned the papal legate. Angered by this, Boniface sent forth one decree after another against Philip. A bull, "Unam Sanctam," was issued, which declared that the pope was intrusted with both the spiritual and temporal power, and that whoever resisted him was resisting the ordinance of God. Submission in temporal matters to the pope was declared to be necessary for salvation. At the same time Boniface threatened to depose Philip and put him under the ban if he would not yield. Philip, in another meeting of his council, preferred a large number of charges against Boniface, and called for a general council to settle the matter. Boniface then published the ban and edict of deposition, only to be besieged in Anagni a month later by the king's ambassador, William of Nogaret, and the Colonna family. He was personally maltreated, but set free a few days later, dying, however, the next month, probably from chagrin and anger caused by the indignities which had been heaped upon him.

The Jubilee of 1300.

It was Boniface VIII. who celebrated the jubilee in 1300, an event which stirred the minds and imaginations of the people at that time most deeply. During this celebration Boniface, it is said, gave expression to his claims by seating himself on the imperial throne, "arrayed with sword and crown and sceptre, shouting aloud, 'I am Cæsar! I am Emperor!'"

Supremacy of France in Europe.

His successor, Benedict II. (1303–4), was hard pressed by Philip IV., and at last withdrew all the demands of Boniface so far as France was concerned. For nearly a year after his death the cardinals could not agree on a candidate, but at length, through the intrigues of the French king, the French party in the college elected the bishop of Bordeaux, who had already made a secret compact with Philip IV. He chose the name of Clement V. (1304–14). In 1309, at the desire of Philip, he moved the whole Curia to Avignon. Rome was no longer safe for him, the noble families of the city being constantly engaged in street brawls, and since the German emperors had

Clement V. at Avignon.

lost their power there was no one to preserve order. The removal of the papacy to Avignon was a great misfortune, because it brought the pope more completely under the control of the French king. Philip found many subtle and effective ways of bringing pressure to bear on Clement V., so that the unfortunate pope was compelled, against his will, to give aid to the king in his destruction of the order of Knights Templars.

His successor, John XXII., spent most of his time in a bitter struggle with Ludwig of Bavaria (1314–47) about the imperial crown and Italy. This struggle is marked by the appearance of a new theory of the state, promulgated by one branch of the Franciscans. They advanced the idea that the people are sovereign. "Church" meant the whole body of Christian believers, not, as the Roman Catholic Church said, the clergy alone. Even the laymen are all *viri ecclesiastici;* that is, they have a part in the government of the Church. The highest authority is vested in a General Council. The papacy is not apostolic in its origin, but dates from the time of Constantine. The pope, therefore, has no authority over kings, and the state is independent of him. These Franciscans, while proclaiming this heresy, were protected by Ludwig and assisted him in his struggle. Other writers, however, continued to develop a definite theory of the supremacy of the pope.

John XXII. and Ludwig the emperor.

During the residence of the popes at Avignon the finances of the papacy were systematized and everything was done to insure the collection of vast sums of money. This period of the residence of the popes in Avignon is generally called by Church historians the Babylonish Exile of the papacy.

In 1378 the papal Schism began. Gregory XI. had finally, in 1377, moved the Curia back to Rome, but died the next year. Urban VI. (1378-89), who was elected in Rome, alienated by his harsh manner those cardinals who were under the influence of the French king; they consequently revolted from him, declared his election void, and elected Clement VII. (1378-94). Clement soon with-

The great Schism.

drew to Avignon and continued the papal line there, while Urban VI. remained in Rome. There were now two men professing to be pope. Germany, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland declared for Urban; France, Naples, Savoy, Scotland, Lorraine, Castile, and Aragon were true to Clement VII. For about thirty years there were two lines of popes, and the religious world did not know which one to obey. The schism gave rise to the severest criticism of the papacy, and gave such men as Wycliff and Huss a good opportunity to set forth doctrines at variance with those of the Church.

The Conciliar Idea.

Since neither pope would yield, and it seemed impossible to end the Schism in any other way, the idea of calling a universal Council was broached. It was declared that in the early days of the Church a Council had been the highest authority. This position of authority had been usurped by the popes. Now let the Council be called, and, since it was competent to do so, let it say who was rightfully pope. After long discussion the cardinals called a Council to meet at Pisa (1409). This Council deposed the two popes, and elected Alexander V., but as the deposed popes refused to acknowledge the authority of the Council, there were now three popes, and the Schism was made worse. Although Alexander V. had promised not to dismiss the Council until the papacy had been reformed, and its finances regulated, he soon prorogued it because sufficient preparations had not been made to proceed with the reform.

From this theory of the power of the Council over the pope this period has been called the conciliar epoch. It produced two more Councils, that of Constance and that of Basel.

Constance, 1414.

In Constance (1414) the question of the Schism was again taken up. Every cardinal swore once more that, if elected, he would reform the Church before dismissing the Council. In 1417 Martin V. was elected, after the three other popes had been deposed. The Council was then ready to proceed with the reform, but those who were most dissatisfied and loudest in their demand for a reform were

not agreed as to what changes should be made. Taking advantage of this, the pope soon dissolved the meeting.

The Council of Basel (1431-49) served only to reveal the weakness of the reform party, since it could accomplish nothing. So from the time of Eugene IV. (1431-47) a new period may be said to have begun for the papacy. The conciliar idea lost its power; the popes were drawn into the political struggles of Italy, and were also imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. During this time they present the aspect of temporal rulers. They lived in great magnificence, kept standing armies, made war on their enemies, and played an important rôle in the politics and diplomacy of Europe as well as of Italy.

The Council of Basel.

The popes as temporal rulers.

Many pious souls were shocked at such activity on the part of the Vicar of Christ, and complained that while the popes were entangled in the affairs of this world they were neglecting their religious duties. Hostility to the popes as temporal princes begot opposition and a spirit of resistance to their religious authority, and also led to a demand for a reform of the papacy.

As Renaissance princes the popes became prominent patrons of the arts and of learning. Nicholas V. (1447–55), known as the first of the Renaissance popes, was an extensive builder and an active patron of learning. His large collection of manuscripts served as the beginning of the Vatican library. He made himself master of the city by sternly putting down the last uprising of the seditious populace (1453). Alexander VI. (1492-1503), worthy scion of the family of the Borgias, and Julius II. (1503-13), because of their constant struggles were called war popes. Leo X. (1513-22) made Rome the centre of the artistic and literary life, and his pontificate was made glorious by coinciding with the culmination of the Renaissance. His patronage of Raphael would alone have secured his fame. To support their court with its immense number of

Nicholas V.

The Vatican library.

Alexander VI., and Julius II., the war popes.

Leo X. and the arts.

secretaries, clerks, attendants, and servants, to maintain their troops, to pay for the huge buildings which they erected and for the paintings, statues, and other works of art in which they delighted, to buy manuscripts and books, to support the army of literary men who were in their service, to meet the expenses of their government, which had relations with all the governments of Europe, there was need of enormous sums of money every year. The popes put the world under contribution levying taxes of various kinds and under different names, so that gold flowed in streams from all lands toward Rome. This became another ground for complaint. The Germans, the French, and the English began to ask why they should be taxed to support the pope in luxury, to keep his armies in the field, and to pay for his works of art.

The expenses of the papal court.

There was, therefore, at the end of the fifteenth century, a widespread and profound dissatisfaction with the papacy. Here there was one ground of discontent, there another. Many voices from all quarters filled the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with calls for reform. To the observant there were many signs portending the great rebellion, ecclesiastical and national, which was to usher in a new era.

Dissatisfaction portends revolt.

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THE MODERN PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

THE task before us in this new division of our work is to follow the development of Europe through the Modern Period. The Modern Period is, like the Medieval Period, no sharply defined section of history, with a fixed beginning and a fixed end, but a division serving to denote, in a general way, the prevalence of certain tendencies in the life of man. It was during the Transition Period of the Renaissance (1300–1500) that the distinctively modern tendencies became rooted in civilization, and it is by the end of the Renaissance, and, therefore, at approximately the year 1500, that we may fix the beginning of the Modern Period.

The Modern Period begins approximately with the year 1500.

Now, before we take up the study of Europe in the Modern Period, let us rapidly draw together the threads of the story which we have thus far followed. This can be best done under three heads:

The preliminary inventory.

A. The leading factors of the civilization of the Renaissance.

B. The voyages of discovery.

C. The European states at the beginning of the Modern Period.

The ordering of our facts under three heads ought to provide us with a convenient inventory of the European situation at the beginning of our period.

A. THE LEADING FACTORS OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE RENAISSANCE.

It was during the Renaissance that civilization lost its distinctive medieval forms and acquired those characteristics which we call modern. The leading agencies in this process are once more rapidly enumerated :

(1) *The Revival of Learning.*—First in Italy, and later in the countries of the north, men began to get interested in the long-forgotten literature and art of Greece and Rome. By patient labour they excavated, as it were, the buried culture of antiquity, and added it to their meagre medieval stock. Thus the medieval man became gradually better equipped to do man's work in the world, and soon engaged in intellectual investigations of which he had been formerly either incapable or afraid. Learning had been confined to things appertaining to religion ; it was now extended to all things appertaining to man.

(2) *The Revival of Industry and Commerce.*—A remarkable feature of the later medieval centuries was the growth of the cities. They developed a flourishing industry and commerce, and, sheltered by their walls from the depredations of the country barons, became so many hearths in plain and valley of political order and material well-being. We have seen how the Crusades were instrumental in extending the range of western trade and manufacture, and we have seen how in consequence of them the Mediterranean became the great highway of international traffic. Although Venice and Genoa and the other Italian cities were the first to draw an advantage from this situation, the northern cities on the English Channel and the North and Baltic Seas felt ere long the new commercial stimulus. The nations of Europe were thus being continually drawn more closely together, and were mutually profiting from this closeness, when, during the Renaissance, a number of hardy seamen opened up by their voyages of discovery new commercial prospects of a brilliance far beyond anything the

Mediterranean had known. The voyages of discovery must be reckoned in their effects among the most far-reaching of the events which usher in the Modern Age, and are, in fact, so important that we reserve them for special treatment later on.

(3) *The Inventions.* — The introduction of gunpowder (fourteenth century) altered entirely the conditions of war. The superiority of the mounted Knight over the foot-soldier was thereby destroyed. Thus, through its loss of importance in the military field to which, during the Middle Age, it owed its political pre-eminence, the feudal order of nobles received an irreparable injury. A standing army of mercenaries was found by a ruler to be both more serviceable and more reliable than a self-willed aristocracy. The king in consequence began to emancipate himself from the control of his nobles. The invention of printing,[1] by multiplying books, made culture accessible to the many, and ideas, hitherto the privilege of the priest and noble, began to throw their light into the dark and brutal lives of the lower orders.

(4) *The Growth of Absolutism.*—The social changes consequent upon the decay of the nobles and the growth of the cities involved also a political revolution. If in the Middle Age the nobles had been the dominant political factor, it was, first, because they formed the army, and, secondly, because the one great source of wealth in that period, the land, was in their possession. In the Modern Period, owing to the invention of gunpowder, they were no longer necessary for the army, and land, owing to the growth of the cities, fell from its position of sole source of wealth. The king and the cities, who had a common enemy in the nobility, soon found themselves strong enough to unseat their rival from his place of power. Gradually the king began to absorb the political powers of the nobility. Thus the feudal state, in which the power was distributed among the members of an aristocracy, decayed, and in its place arose the absolute monarchy, with the power concentrated in one man.

[1] Ascribed to John Gutenberg of Mainz, 1450.

B. THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND THE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD.

The direction of the Spanish and the Portuguese voyages.

The voyages of discovery were natural consequences of the expansion of commerce which followed in the wake of the Crusades. The trade with the Levant, which had rapidly made Genoa and Venice rich, naturally aroused the cupidity of their neighbours, and in the fifteenth century the Spaniards and Portuguese undertook to find a highway to the east other than the Mediterranean. Their endeavours in this enterprise led to all the subsequent discoveries. The heroes of this chapter of human progress are therefore generally Spaniards and Portuguese, or Italians in the service of these nations. The Portuguese travellers were mainly governed by the idea of finding a sea-passage to India[1] by sailing around Africa; they pushed eastward. The Spanish mariners sought to discover a sea-passage to India by circumnavigating the globe; they pushed westward. Each of these series of undertakings was accompanied by marvellous successes, and each had a unique climax.

Vasco da Gama and India.

The Portuguese were the first people to take up the work of discovery systematically, and among them it was a prince of their royal house, Prince Henry, the Navigator[2] (1394–1460), who holds the honour of having set the nation upon this path. Passionately fond of nautical matters, he voluntarily exiled himself from the court and took up his residence on a promontory of Cape Vincent, directing from that vantage-point the voyages of his seamen. But he was inspired also by other motives, for he had not only a deep-seated love of knowledge, but also a patriotic desire to win a new empire of his nation and the fervent hope of spreading the Christian faith among the heathen. Gradually

[1] India, in the fifteenth century, was a collective name for the whole Orient.

[2] Consult Beazley: Prince Henry.

his mariners pushed down the west coast of Africa. Although the magnetic needle was known to them, they did not well understand the use of it, and, fearful of the unknown, crept along at snail's pace. Before even the equator was crossed (1484) Prince Henry had died. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz at last reached the Cape of Good Hope, but it was not until 1498 that this advantage was followed up by a journey round the Cape to India. The hero of this momentous voyage, which established a connection with the Orient far more convenient and commercially profitable than any Venice commanded, was Vasco da Gama.

Just before Vasco da Gama had thus set the crown on the Portuguese endeavours of a century, Christopher Columbus[1] had succeeded in a discovery even more important. In the year 1492, while seeking a westward passage to India, he reached the Bahamas and West Indies, and thus first demonstrated to the world the existence of land beyond the Atlantic. Columbus was by birth an Italian of the city of Genoa, but he made his voyage in the employment of Isabella the queen of Castile, and therefore the profits of it fell to Spain.[2] It should be noted that the journey would never have been undertaken by Columbus, if the contemporary scholars, abandoning the ignorant notions of the Middle Age, had not returned to the classical conception that the world was round. But the brilliancy of Columbus's achievement is in no respect dimmed by this circumstance,

Columbus and America.

[1] Consult, on Columbus, Fiske: Discovery of America.

[2] It is highly probable that the Norsemen discovered America before Columbus. But their discovery was without result. Columbus sailed on his voyage August 3, 1492, from Palos, with three small ships—the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina. He landed on San Salvador (Guanahani) October 12. Cuba and Hayti were also discovered upon this voyage. Upon his return his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, loaded him with honours (hereditary nobility, admiralty, etc.). He followed up his first voyage with three more voyages; second voyage (1493-96), on which he discovered Jamaica; third voyage (1498-1500), on which he first touched upon the continent of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco. It was from this voyage that he, the great benefactor of Spain, was brought back to Spain in chains. On his fourth voyage (1502-4) he landed on the coast of Honduras. He died 1506, near Valladolid, believing to the last that he had reached India.

for the patience, energy, and enthusiasm that made the voyage possible were unexampled and were all his own.

In consequence of these triumphs discovery became a passion, especially among the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Where fame and wealth so amply rewarded the successful, every adventurer's soul felt a personal summons to strike out into the new and unknown realms. No period of history is so astir with action and enterprise, so illumined by the purple light of romance. Of course every voyage added to the store of the world's knowledge, but of all the later expeditions, the one which, by virtue of its boldness and its results, may claim a place beside those of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, is the famous first circumnavigation of the globe. This remarkable triumph was achieved by a Portuguese in the Spanish service, Magellan,[1] after a succession of incredible hardships lasting three years (1519–1522).

The fever of discovery. Magellan.

One of the most notable facts in connection with the voyages of discovery was that the Europeans were not satisfied with a mere acquaintance with the new countries or with opening up new markets for the home traders; they also resolved to Christianize, govern, and colonize their discoveries; in a word, they resolved to re-fashion them as a larger Europe. Naturally the zeal for colonial expansion, which almost immediately rose to extravagant proportions, led to shameless land-grabbing, and soon to quarrels among the rival nations. Spain and Portugal, the leaders in the movement, were the first to become involved in difficulties with one another, and their disputes brought about a famous intervention by pope Alexander VI. (Borgia). In the fifteenth century the pope, as Christ's Vicar, was still regarded as a peacemaker, the best arbiter of quarrels arising among the Christian flock. Upon being appealed to by Spain and Portugal for a settlement of their rival claims, he drew (1493) a line of demarcation, first one hundred leagues, and

The world divided between Portugal and Spain.

[1] Magellan did not himself complete the voyage. He was killed on one of the Philippine Islands, 1521.

later three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, and gave all the land to be discovered east of this line to Portugal, all west of it to Spain. This line of demarcation, which cut through the eastern part of South America, gave Spain a claim to the whole of the New World with the exception of what is now Brazil.

The centres of Spanish colonization.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the chief centres of Spanish colonization were: (1) The West India group, whither Columbus himself had first directed the stream of emigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the Spaniards by the great conqueror, Cortez; and (3) Peru, which was acquired by Pizarro. The plain facts of these two last-named conquests constitute an unequalled romance in which courage, religious enthusiasm, cruelty, and lust of gold contend with each other for supremacy.

The Portuguese colonies.

The Portuguese travellers, who followed in the wake of Vasco da Gama, soon undertook, after the fashion of Spain, to bind to the home country by means of colonies the countries which they had discovered in the Indian Ocean. The chain of colonies, which they had been engaged for some time in establishing along the west coast of Africa, was gradually extended to the East Indian Archipelago, to India proper, and Further India. The Portuguese, who were not a numerous people, never succeeded in settling these countries with their own race in such force as to supplant the native element. They themselves understood this difficulty before long, and thereafter were satisfied with merely occupying advance-posts here and there, and with trying to secure by treatise exclusive trade-privileges with the peoples among whom they settled. With Brazil, their one possession in the western world, the case was different. This country they succeeded in winning for their nation, and it has remained Portuguese in tongue and manners to this day.

The northern European countries entered late, and with only gradually increasing fervour, into the contest for the possession of the new continents. The little which Henry VII. of

England did to secure for his country a share in the great extension of the world is of importance only by reason of consequence which he did not remotely foresee. In 1497, Henry, jealous of Portugal and Spain, at last equipped and sent westward one John Cabot, who was, like Columbus, a Genoese by birth. Cabot's purpose, as well as that of many English mariners after him, was to discover still another passage, a passage by the waters of the north-west, to the oriental fairyland, India, and by this means to elude the Spaniards, who were pushing for this same India by following a south-westerly course. The attempts of Cabot were destined to failure, but England by means of them secured at least a vague claim to the north-eastern coast of America. This claim, after being allowed to lie forgotten for a period, was revived during the reign of Elizabeth, and led, in the progress of time, to the foundation of English colonies of North America.

The English voyages.

The French were even more lax than the English in the matter of colonization, and it was not until the reign of Henry IV. (1589–1610) that they remembered that an empire was being divided without consideration of themselves. They then hastened to undo as far as possible the consequence of their neglect by settlements in Canada, and, later, in Louisiana—that is, in the St Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

The French colonies.

The Dutch owed their colonies to the long war of independence which they waged with the king of Spain. In 1580 Portugal, as will be seen hereafter, was temporarily incorporated with Spain, the Portuguese colonies, in consequence of this act, becoming Spanish. The Dutch thereupon began to take away from the king of Spain both the Portuguese and the Spanish East-India trade and territory. This fact explains why the centre of the Dutch trade and colonial territory lies to this day in the Indian Ocean.

The Dutch colonies.

C. THE EUROPEAN STATES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN PERIOD.

The Empire.

AT the opening of the Modern Period Maximilian I. (1493–1519), of the House of Hapsburg, was the head of the Holy Roman Empire, which, once universal, had been practically reduced to the territory of Germany. The family of Hapsburg had grown so powerful in the fifteenth century that the German crown had almost become its hereditary possession. Theoretically, however, the crown was still elective. On the death of an emperor, a successor could be legally chosen only by the seven electors, who were the seven greatest princes of the realm.[1] The seven electors, the lesser princes (including the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as bishops and abbots), and the free cities, ranged in three separate houses, composed the imperial Diet. The Diet was the legislative body of the Empire, without the consent of which the emperor could not perform any important act. Emperor and Diet together constituted the imperial government, if machinery as decrepit as the machinery of the empire had come to be, may be qualified by that name. In fact, the national government of Germany was little more than a glorious memory. Germany had not, like France, England, and Spain, advanced steadily in the later Middle Age toward national unity, but had steadily travelled in the opposite direction, and lost her coherence. The numerous princes, margraves, counts, prince-bishops, and free cities, constituting the so-called "estates" of the medieval feudal realm, had acquired a constantly increasing

The constitution of Germany.

[1] Of these seven electors three were ecclesiastical dignitaries and four were lay princes. The seven were: the archbishops of Mainz, of Köln (Cologne), and of Trier (Treves), the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine.

independence of the central power, and had reduced the emperor to a puppet.[1]

The attempted reforms of Maximilian.

The greatest interest attaching to Maximilian's reign is connected with the circumstance that under him the last serious attempt was made to remodel the antiquated machinery of the imperial government. In the latter half of the fifteenth century something like a wave of national enthusiasm had swept over Germany, and beginning with the Diet of Worms of 1495, a number of Diets met to discuss measures of reform. The result was a miserable disappointment; for what was done did not effect any substantial change in the position of the central authority, the emperor. Such reform as was carried out limited itself to the establishment of the greater internal security of the realm. The right of private warfare, the most insufferable survival of feudal times, was abolished, a perpetual peace proclaimed, and to support this peace there was instituted a special court of justice, the Imperial Chamber (Reichskammergericht), to which all conflicts between the estates of the realm had to be referred for amicable adjustment. This is the largest measure of reform which the local governments in control of the Diet would, out of jealousy of the central government, concede. The emperor was left as before without an income, without any administrative functions, and without an army. He was and remained, as long as the Holy Roman Empire continued to exist, a poor lay-figure, draped for merely scenic purposes in the mantle of royalty. If we hear of powerful emperors in the future (Charles V., for instance), we shall discover that they owed their power, never to the empire, but always to the force which they derived from their hereditary lands.

Maximilian, sometimes called the last knight, was a kind, generous man, who might have been spared the various mis

[1] There were at this time about three hundred of these local governments, some, like Saxony and Brandenburg, large enough to be respectable, others as circumscribed as an American township. Germany was visibly verging toward a time when she would be decomposed, in fact and in law, into three hundred independent states.

fortunes of his life if he had not taken the empire and its threadbare splendours seriously. He tried to make good the ancient imperial claims to part of Italy, and naturally met with derision; he tried to unite Europe against the Turks, who had overrun the east (fall of Constantinople, 1453) and were moving westward up the Danube and along the Mediterranean, but he could not even influence his own Germans to a national war of defence. However, a number of matrimonial bargains richly compensated Maximilian for his many political disappointments. In the year 1477 he married Mary of Burgundy, the only child of Charles the Bold and the heiress of the Netherlands, and in 1496 his son Philip was united to Joan of Castile, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, first joint rulers of United Spain. Philip dying and Joan becoming insane, their son Charles was proclaimed, first, duke of Burgundy, and, later, on the death of Ferdinand (1516), king of Spain. Finally, when the emperor Maximilian died (1519), Charles fell heir also to Austria, and soon after was elected, in consequence of his great position, to succeed his grandfather in the empire. Thus Charles V. became, chiefly owing to the politic matches of Maximilian, the greatest monarch of his day.

The Hapsburg marriages. Charles V., the greatest monarch of Europe.

Italy

Italy, at the end of the Middle Age, had fallen into even worse confusion than Germany, for the very semblance of national unity had been abandoned. There were upon the peninsula five leading states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples. During the fifteenth century the five leading states had been constantly engaged in wars among themselves. These wars did no great harm until it occurred to the kings of Spain and France to turn the local divisions of Italy to their personal advantage. Spain, at the end of the fifteenth century, already possessed the islands of Sardinia and Sicily,

The five leading states.

and its royal House was closely related to the ruling House of Naples. Through these connections Spain acquired an active interest in Italian affairs. France also became interested in Italian affairs, when upon the death of the last male representative of the House of Anjou (1481),[1] such rights as the House of Anjou possessed to Naples were transferred to the king of France. Charles VIII. of France resolved on his accession to make good his claims upon Naples by force, and in 1494 he made his famous invasion of Italy. Spain being, of course, unable to permit without opposition the extension of France, there began in consequence that contest between the two rivals for the possession of Italy which lasted for over fifty years and ended in the complete victory of Spain. At the beginning of our period this result was not yet apparent. But within a few years after the outbreak of the French-Spanish wars, the states of Italy, overrun and plundered by superior forces, commenced to exhibit material alterations in their political status.

Naples.—If Naples, as it was the first, had remained the only source of quarrel between France and Spain, peace might soon have been re-established. For after having been traversed again and again by French and Spanish troops, the kingdom of Naples was definitely ceded by France to Spain (1504), of which it was destined to remain a part for two hundred years (till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713). Unfortunately, a second bone of contention between the two great western monarchies was found in the duchy of Milan.

Naples acquired by Spain, 1504.

Milan.—The duchy of Milan was legally a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but was held at this time in practically independent possession by the family of the Sforza. When Charles VIII. of France died in 1498, Louis XII., his successor, remembered that he was a descendant of a family, the Visconti, who had ruled in Milan before the Sforza. On the strength of this vague priority, Louis resolved

Struggle between France and Spain for the possession of Milan.

[1] The House of Anjou was connected with the royal House of France, and had an old claim to the kingdom of Naples.

to supplant the Sforza upstart. Having invaded and conquered Milan in 1499, he held that city successfully until there was formed against him the Holy League, cofnposed of the pope, Venice, Spain, and England (1512). The Holy League quickly succeeded in driving the French out of Italy and in reinstating the Sforza family in their duchy. Louis XII. died in 1515, without having reconquered Milan, but his successor, Francis I., immediately upon his accession, marched his army off to Italy to try in his turn the fortunes of war and conquest. His brilliant victory of Marignano (1515) again put the French in possession of Milan. For a short time now there was peace between France and Spain; but naturally the Spaniards saw with envy the extension of French influence over the north of Italy, and when Charles, king of Spain, was elected emperor in 1519, the necessary pretext for renewing the war with France was given into his hands. It has already been said that Milan was legally a fief of the empire. In his capacity of emperor, Charles could find a ready justification for interfering in the affairs of his dependency. Immediately upon his election he resolved to challenge the right of the French to Milan, and so the French-Spanish wars in Italy were renewed.

Venice.—In the fifteenth century Venice was the strongest of all the Italian states. She called herself a republic, but was more truly an oligarchy, the power lying in the hands of the nobles who composed the Great Council and elected the chief dignitary, the doge or duke. The power of Venice was due to her immense trade and possessions in the Orient.[1] In addition to these colonial territories she held the whole north-eastern portion of Italy. The Renaissance is the period of the glory of Venice; at the beginning of the Modern Period that glory was already rapidly waning. The first obstacle to the continued prosperity of Venice was the Turks. The Turks, having

Venice begins to decay.

[1] She held the Morea, Candia, Cyprus, and most of the islands of the Ægean and Ionian Seas.

begun their irresistible march through western Asia and eastern Europe, unsparingly wrenched from Venice, bit by bit, her oriental trade and possessions. The second misfortune which befell Venice was the discovery, by Vasco da Gama, of the sea passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope. This discovery, by drawing off the oriental commerce to Spain and Portugal, struck a fatal blow at Venetian prosperity. Thus decline set in, but nevertheless the republic continued to live in some fashion or other till Napoleon made an end of it in the year 1797.

Florence.—The Republic of Florence, far-famed in the period of the Renaissance for its great artists and writers, had, in the fifteenth century, lost its free constitution, and fallen under the domination of a native family, the Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent, the greatest of the line, ruled from 1469 to 1492). But in spite of the Medici the love for the republic remained enshrined in the hearts of the people. When, therefore, the invasion of Charles VIII. (1494) offered a chance to cast off the Medicean yoke, the people rose, banished their tyrants, and re-established the republic. Girolamo Savonarola, a pious monk, who had, through his stirring invectives against the general corruption of manners, acquired a great following, became the popular hero and leader, and for four years controlled the government, and laboured at the reform of morals. During the period of Savonarola's supremacy, Florence presented to her astonished contemporaries, who dwelt upon the free heights of the pagan Renaissance, the picture of a narrow Biblical theocracy. But in 1498 Savonarola's enemies compassed his overthrow and burned him at the stake. For a few more years the republic went on as best it could, until in 1512 the Medici reconquered the city. In 1527 the Florentines made a last attempt to regain their liberties. Again they cast the Medici out, but again the banished princes returned, this time with the help of Charles V. (1529), who now honoured the head of the Medicean House, Alexander, by conferring upon him and his

Florence subjected to the Medici.

Savonarola.

heirs Florence and her territory under the name of the duchy (later the grand duchy) of Tuscany.

The States of the Church.—During the period of the Renaissance, the popes, becoming pagan like the rest of the world, sacrificed every principle to the desire of being brilliant secular princes. Their dominant aspiration was to consolidate the territory of the Church. This territory, running across the middle of the peninsula, formed an extensive possession, but had fallen in large part into the hands of petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. (1492–1503), of the family of Borgia, infamous for his murders and excesses, has the merit of having carried the papal policy to a successful issue. Through the unscrupulous agency of his son Cæsar Borgia, the petty tyrants of the papal states were either poisoned or assassinated. Thus at last the pope became master in the hereditary dominion of St Peter.

The States of the Church acquire solidarity.

Alexander VI. was followed by two popes, who, if they are not great spiritual lights, have nevertheless interesting personalities. They are Julius II. (1503–13) and Leo X. (1513–21), the latter a member of the famous Florentine family of the Medici. Both of these popes will always be remembered for their splendid patronage of the arts.[1] It was during the papacy of Leo X., whose interests were literary, artistic, social, in short everything but religious, and whose nature and associations inclined him to a pagan conception of life, that there was raised in Germany the cry for reform which led to the Protestant schism.

Savoy.—In north-western Italy, on the border of France, lay among the Alps the duchy of Savoy. At the beginning of the Modern Period the duke of Savoy was not yet an influential power. But during the next centuries he grew stronger and stronger through perseverance and hardihood, until finally his power surpassed that of any other prince of Italy. In our own century the House of Savoy has become the royal house of united Italy.

[1] Church of St Peter begun; Michel Angelo and Raffaelle at Rome.

France

Under Charles VII. (1422–61) and Louis XI. (1461–83) France had lost her old feudal character and become an absolute monarchy. The great dukes and counts had been forced into submission to the will of the king. The king had become master; he had secured himself a revenue over which he had free disposal (through a land-tax called taille), and he had created a standing army, which was at his and not at the nobles' orders. Louis XI. also added to France several outlying provinces, which were necessary to the completion of the nation. These were Provence in the south-east and the duchy of Burgundy in the east. When his son Charles VIII. (1483–98) acquired Brittany in the north-west, the process of the unification of France may be said to have been completed. Being now united within under the constitution of the absolute king, she was also strong to act against external foes. Under these circumstances Charles VIII. could afford to turn his thoughts to foreign conquest, and, burning with ambition, undertook to conquer Naples on the strength of certain inherited claims, and invaded Italy (1494). But his policy of foreign conquest incited the hostility of his jealous neighbour Spain, and led to the great French-Spanish wars for the possession of Italy, which lasted, with occasional interruptions, for fifty years. The review of Italy has acquainted us with the early stages of this conflict. Charles VIII., after a brief triumph, was forced to give up Naples. Finally it was ceded to Ferdinand of Spain (1504). Louis XII. of France (1498–1515) renewed the struggle in Italy by laying hold of the duchy of Milan, and though he was forced to give up Milan in 1512 (the Holy League), his successor, Francis I. (1515–47), immediately re-conquered it by the victory of Marignano (1515).

The unification of France.

Spain

The movement toward national unity and absolutism, just observed in France, is no less characteristic of the political development, during the fifteenth century, of Spain. The unity of Spain, after having made steady progress for some centuries, was finally secured by the marriage of Ferdinand (1479–1516) and Isabella (1474–1504), who were the heirs respectively of the two largest Christian kingdoms on the peninsula, Aragon and Castile. Both of these kingdoms had grown strong by championing the national cause against the Moors, who had, in the Middle Age, overrun the peninsula. In the year 1492, Granada, the last foothold of the Moors, was captured, and therewith the Mohammedan power in Spain, which had lasted for eight centuries, came to an end.

The unification of Spain.

The unification of Spain inaugurated a period of territorial expansion which is unparalleled in history. In the same year in which the Moorish kingdom fell, Columbus discovered America, and opened up to Spain the vast dominion of the new world. Next Ferdinand, upon being drawn into war with France on account of the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII., succeeded in beating the French and seizing the kingdom of Naples for himself (1504). In 1512 he further acquired that part of the border-kingdom of Navarre which lay upon the Spanish slope of the Pyrenees. Thus it happened that when Ferdinand was succeeded upon his death by his grandson, Charles (1516–56), this young king found himself master of the most extensive territories of the world. Although Charles was, merely by virtue of his position as king of Spain, the leading sovereign of Europe, he had additional interests and resources as ruler of the Netherlands and archduke of Austria, which raised him far above any rival. Finally, in 1519, the electors of the empire made him emperor.

The expansion of Spain.

The growth of the royal power had meanwhile kept pace with the extension of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella, with the aid of the cities, put down the robber knights, and thus secured the peace of the land. Then the monarchs turned their attention to the nobility. The feudal Parliament of Castile (called Cortes) was first restricted in its influence, and then robbed of all importance. The Parliament of Aragon held out a little longer against the royal encroachments. But the act which more than any other registered the extension of the central power was the introduction of the Inquisition for the persecution of heretics and of enemies of the government—that is, of Jews, Moors, and, later, Protestants. How severely this organisation interpreted its task is witnessed by the fact that during the reign of the first Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada (1483–98), about 10,000 persons were burned alive, 6,000 burned in effigy, and 90,000 condemned to ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

Absolutism and the Inquisition.

England

England passed in the fifteenth century through the great domestic crisis known as the War of the Roses. But the end came in 1485, when Richard III., the last king of the house of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of Bosworth. The victor, himself of the House of Tudor, but at the same time a descendant of the House of Lancaster, succeeded to the throne as Henry VII. (1485–1509). Through the marriage of Henry VII. to Elizabeth, a daughter of the House of York, the new House of Tudor united the claims of both contending houses, and thus the civil war came at length to an end.

The end of the War of the Roses.

Under Henry VII., an extremely cautious and politic man, there grew up in England the "strong Tudor monarchy." Traditionally, the power in England lay in the hands of the king and the Parliament, composed of the two Houses of the Lords and the Commons. However, absolutism was in the air at the time, as

The "strong monarchy" of Henry VII.

is witnessed by the cases of France and Spain. By following a consistent policy, Henry succeeded in making the English monarchy, too, almost absolute. He did this, first, by lessening the authority of the turbulent nobility. He forbade them to keep armed and liveried retainers, thus depriving them of their military power, and by means of the Star Chamber court of justice, dependent on himself, he kept watch over them and punished them for all infringements of the public law. Secondly, by raising money irregularly through fines and forced loans, he became independent of the regular taxes which the Parliament alone could vote, and thus was enabled to get along, to a large extent, without calling the Parliament together. Of Henry's various measures the result was the pacification of the realm. England would now have fallen as completely into the hands of her sovereign as France had done, if it had not been for that saving law upon her statute-books that the king could raise no taxes without the consent of Parliament. This provision neither Henry VII. nor any of his successors dared abrogate, and in the course of time, when the common people had acquired wealth and dignity, it became the weapon by which the "strong monarchy" was struck to the ground and Parliament set in the monarch's place.

SECTION I

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION; FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1517–1648)

THE reason for setting off the century and a half which lie between Luther and the Peace of Westphalia as a separate section of Modern History, lies partly in convenience—as is the case with all historical divisions—and partly in the fact that this section has an unmistakable unity. This unity is furnished by the circumstance that throughout its length there remains fixed in the foreground of public interest the question of the Reformation. A new faith is born, it attempts to secure for itself legal recognition from the various governments, and the various governments are all perplexed with the problem how to adjust themselves to the novel creation. Anger and irritation are followed by wars, and, after much bloodshed, the worst sting is taken out of the rivalry of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism by the, at least, partial adoption in the Peace of Westphalia of the principle of mutual toleration

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)

LITERATURE.—Johnson, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century.*
Hausser, *Reformation.*
Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany (Trans.).*
Armstrong, *Charles V.*
Fisher, *History of the Reformation.*
Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus.*
Babington, *The Reformation.*
Emerton, *Erasmus.*
Kostlin, *Life of Luther.*
Jacobs, *Martin Luther.*
Richard, *Melancthon.*
Whitcomb, *Source-Book of the German Renaissance.* Univ. of Penn. *Translations and Reprints.* University of Penn.
Goethe, *Götz von Berlichingen.*

THE rising protest against the Roman Church has been discussed in the chapter on the Renaissance. To summarize once more what was there said, the hostility to the Church was due to the excessive taxes, powers, and privileges of the Church, to the corrupt manners and practices of the clergy, and to the larger and more intelligent views of life which were made popular among the cultivated classes by the Renaissance and the Revival of Learning.

The rising protest against the Church.

The movement of the Renaissance we discovered to have originated in Italy. From Italy it spread to the north, but took there an altogether different form, for whereas in Italy it led to an unparalleled artistic activity coupled with a frightful relaxation of manners, it induced among the more serious-minded and less impressionable peoples of the north a desire above all

The Renaissance in the south and in the north.

for moral reform. Hence we have the sharp contrast of Italy adorning herself at this time with glorious palaces and churches filled with statues and paintings, and of the north slowly recovering the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources of Christianity, and spreading the enthusiasm for a purer faith. Among the northern scholars and humanists thus engaged, those of Germany took a conspicuous place, and among them the most notable were Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten, and Erasmus. These men prepared the ground for the reception of the seed of the Reformation. A few words concerning them will show us the direction of their efforts.

The German humanists.

John Reuchlin (1455–1522) was purely a scholar whose most important work was a Hebrew grammar. However, he aroused the displeasure of the religious fanatics and was violently attacked by them. The friends of learning, among whom was Hutten, rallying to his support, aimed a series of telling shafts at monks, schoolmen, and the banded powers of superstition in the so-called *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (Letters of obscure men), and succeeded in this way in creating a large body of opinion hostile to all abuses in the Roman Church. To this end Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536) also contributed.

Erasmus.

He was a native of Rotterdam, and, because of his universal influence, has received the name of the Prince of Humanists. Like Reuchlin he was a scholar, his chief scholarly contribution being a critical edition in Greek and Latin of the New Testament (1516), by virtue of which he ranks as the father of modern Biblical criticism; but, unlike Reuchlin, he was also a powerful man of letters, and commanding a skilful pen, he held up to scorn in such writings as the "Praise of Folly" (1511) the shortcomings of his age and of the Church.

The early humanists reformers, not revolutionists.

Erasmus and his allies were students and not warriors. They wished to raise the culture of the day by spreading education, and they desired to reform the Church and make that institution wide and tolerant enough to embrace all forms of honest Christian belief. When therefore the next generation of scholars,

more aggressive than themselves, proposed separation from the Roman Catholic Church, the older humanists were in general horrified, and refused to lend a hand to carry out so radical a measure.

Thus the humanists helped to prepare the minds for the division of the Christian Church which we call the Reformation, but did not make it. The direct agent was Martin Luther. Martin Luther was born 10th November 1483, in Thuringia. He was of peasant ancestry, and peasant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant obstinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of him to the end of his days. His parents managed to send young Martin to the University, but instead of becoming a lawyer, as they wished, he followed his natural bent, and in 1505 joined the Augustine Order of Friars. He occupied himself very solemnly with the problems of salvation, and in 1510 undertook a journey to Rome, where he saw face to face the corruption of the papacy. On his return he applied himself more earnestly than ever to the study of St Augustine and the mystics and gradually became convinced that salvation was a matter not of externals, masses, beads, and pilgrimages, but solely of deep and triumphant faith. Meanwhile Luther had accepted a professorship in the University of Wittenberg, the capital of Saxony, and these questions were working in his heart and mind when the great event occurred which brought him into public notice.

Martin Luther.

In 1517 the Dominican, John Tetzel, hawked through Germany letters of indulgence.[1] Indulgences owed their origin to the teaching of the Church that an act of sin in order to be forgiven involved (1) contrition and (2) substantial punishment. The contrition always remained a pre-requisite, but it was soon decided that the substantial punishment could be remitted in return for a gift of money to the Church for some holy purpose. The letter in which the remission was certified was called an indulgence. Although indulgences were thus

Indulgences: doctrine and practice.

[1] Consult Lea, Hist. of Auricular Confession and Indulgences.

at first entirely honourable, the temptation always existed on the part of the popes to use them as a means of income, and there can be no doubt that the popes of the Renaissance employed them most unscrupulously in this way, permitting agents to dispose of them at a sliding scale of prices suited to every kind of sin.

As might have been foreseen, Tetzel's traffic aroused much indignation. Luther's distinction is that he had the courage to bring the matter before the public. On 31st October 1517, he affixed to the church door at Wittenberg a document enumerating ninety-five theses or arguments against indulgences. Loud applause rang through the land, but the supporters of rigid Romanism were not slow to meet the challenge. A fierce controversy ensued, and out of the contention arose gradually the Protestant Church.

The ninety-five theses.

At the time when Luther published his ninety-five theses, he was still a good son of the Church. But the opposition which he encountered in the next few years obliged him to submit the whole system of the Catholic Church to an investigation, and soon he discovered that there was much else in Roman doctrine besides indulgences which he could not accept. Above all, he grew suspicious of the authority of the pope which his opponents were always invoking. Against it, he put up the authority of the Bible, and, in 1520, in a pamphlet called "The Babylonish Captivity," he went so far as to renounce the pope and call him a usurper. At this point the patience of pope Leo X., who had been attempting to have the trouble in Germany smoothed over, became exhausted. He published a bull of excommunication against Luther, but Luther, now thoroughly fired with the sense of his mission, scornfully burned it amidst the rejoicings of his followers (1520). Luther could claim that reform had been proposed and rejected, and that nothing was left but revolution.

How Luther's protest led to a schism.

Luther, stigmatized as a heretic by the pope, was now in

danger of his life if the civil authorities followed up the pope's bull. In order to look into the case, the youthful Charles V., who had been elected to the imperial office in 1519, summoned Luther to his presence at Worms on the Rhine, where a Diet had assembled to discuss the affairs of the realm. To reassure him and that element of the German people which had become passionately attached to him, the emperor issued a formal promise that Brother Martin might come and go undisturbed. Nevertheless, his friends supplicated him not to go, reminding him of the fate of Huss at Constance. "I would go even if there were as many devils as there are tiles on the house-roofs," he is said to have answered fearlessly. On 17th April 1521, he appeared before the Diet.

Luther summoned before the emperor.

The scene is one of the impressive spectacles of history. The poor monk stood for the first time in his life before a brilliant concourse of princes and bishops, who for the most part regarded him with suspicion and aversion. He was ordered to recant, and he agreed, provided it could be proved by arguments from the Bible that he was wrong. "Here I stand," he ended, "I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." The nation applauded, but his friends were concerned for his safety, and the elector of Saxony, his kind master, taking possession of his person, conveyed him secretly to the Wartburg Castle.

Luther at Worms, 1521.

While Luther was thus secured against his enemies, the emperor at Worms came to a decision. Charles was an inexperienced youth, just twenty-one years of age, but he was endowed with political ambition and capacity, and felt instinctively that Luther, if allowed to go on, would cause a schism in Germany which would still further weaken the already weak position of the emperor. Moreover, Charles was a good son of the Church, and, though favourable to a reform, would not hear of effecting it against the will of the ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, he was about to begin a war against Francis I. of France for the possession of Milan, and for this enterprise he argued that he should

need the alliance of the pope. For all these reasons Charles published, on 26th May 1521, a decree of outlawry, called the Edict of Worms, against Luther, by which the heretic's life was declared forfeit and his writings forbidden. Having thus settled, as he thought, the German difficulties, Charles set out for Italy to begin the war against France.

The Edict of Worms.

But the movement of the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial order. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the real power in Germany had not lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathy, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As it was, however, Charles had interests in Spain, America, Italy, and the Netherlands, which often engaged him wholly, and the princes, if Romanist, half-heartedly received, and if Protestant, solemnly rejected, the Edict of Worms. Under these conditions the Reformation was for some time left to itself, and that proved its salvation.

The Edict of Worms is not executed.

The Protestant opinions of Luther and his followers made a rapid conquest of Germany. Monasteries were dissolved, and priests and bishops, abjuring their allegiance to Rome, instituted in the place of the Latin Mass a simpler worship which they conducted in the national idiom. With such ferment of opinion possessing the whole country, it is not unnatural that wild agitators occasionally caught the ear of the masses. In fact, the Reformation was not many months old before its welfare was threatened more by its own extreme elements than by its opponents. Nobody saw this more clearly than Luther. He was resolved that the movement should travel a sure road and at a moderate pace, and that whoever should venture to compromise it by extravagances and illusions, or whoever should attempt to use it for ends other than those of the religious reform with which it had originated, must be abruptly excluded from his party. These certainly not unwise considerations explain Luther's attitude toward the revolutions of the next eventful years.

The progress of the Reformation.

While Luther was still in concealment at the Wartburg, Protestant fanatics began to preach the breaking of images and other acts of religious violence. Hearing of this, Luther abruptly abandoned his retreat, rallied his followers about himself on his own moderate platform, and drove the fanatics out of Saxony (1522).

Radical upheavals.

The next year (1523) the ferment possessing Germany caused an outbreak among the knights of the Rhine country, and shortly after followed a great rising among the peasants of south-eastern and central Germany. This rising was due primarily to social causes, but the religious agitation of the time supplied the immediate pretext. The social origin of the Peasants' War is proved by the numerous peasant insurrections of the previous century, and by the fact that, like all the earlier movements, it had for its main object the amelioration of the condition of the peasant, who was a mere serf, subject in person and property to the will and whim of his master. These poor people thought they heard in the Reformation the announcement of the brotherhood of man, and so they rose to get a few simple human rights.[1] But led by fanatics, they soon indulged in excesses, butchered their lords, and created an insufferable anarchy. The imperial authority being as usual too weak to deal with the insurrection, the local authorities—that is, the princes—got together an army and scattered the disorderly bands of peasants to the winds. Hounded on by Luther in coarse pamphlets, the victors rioted in massacre, slaying many thousands of the poor insurgents.

The rising of the peasants, 1524–25.

Luther's attitude toward the peasants has been much criticised. Certainly no excuse can be offered for his brutal language, but his excited championship of the authorities is at least intelligible, when we reflect that he knew that the success of the movement which he had at heart depended on its being orderly and moderate and free from all entanglement with violence.

Luther's questionable attitude.

[1] The leading demands formulated in Twelve Articles were: abolition of serfdom, just rents, destruction of game preserves.

While these things were going on in Germany, Charles V. was wholly engaged with the war against France. In fact, the wars with France continued, in spite of periodical conclusions of peace, throughout his reign, and prevented him from ever giving his full attention to the German Reformation. It will be sufficient for our purpose if we take note of two or three crises in the long conflict. In 1525, the army of Charles defeated the French at Pavia in so signal a manner that the king of France himself, Francis I., was captured. The prisoner was transferred to Madrid, and there Charles wrung a peace from him on terms so severe that Francis on his release immediately broke it. He now managed to strengthen himself by drawing the pope and Henry VIII. of England over to his side, but a new war availed him little. In 1527, the troops of Charles, composed of Spaniards and German Lutherans, horribly sacked Rome, and shortly after the pope and Francis I. were obliged to come to terms with the emperor. By the Peace of Cambray (1529) Francis yielded Milan and the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders in the Netherlands to his rival, and in the next year the pope formally crowned Charles emperor at Bologna.

The wars of Charles V. and Francis I.

Pavia, 1525.

The sack of Rome, 1527.

The Peace of Cambray, 1529.

Charles, temporarily rid of France, was now resolved to look once more into German affairs. In 1530, after an absence of almost ten years, he again turned his face northward. The Reformation was by this time an accomplished fact, but Charles, who during his absence had received his information from Roman partisans and through hearsay, still inclined, as at Worms, to treat it as a trifle. He was destined to be rudely awakened. A Diet had been called to meet him at the city of Augsburg, and at the summons a brilliant assembly of both Lutheran and Romish princes came together. Charles at first made a show of acting as umpire, and invited the Lutherans to present their case. They did this in the document known as the Confession

Charles returns to Germany. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

The Confession of Augsburg.

of Augsburg, which straightway won such favour among Protestant[1] contemporaries that it became and has since remained the creed of the Lutheran Church. But in the end Charles sided with the Roman Catholic majority of the Diet, and signified his intention to execute at length the Edict of Worms against Luther, and to punish every one who had introduced religious innovations. Rather than suffer this, the Protestants resolved to appeal to force, and united themselves in a great defensive league, called, from the place of meeting, the League of Schmalkalde (1531).

Thus the schism in the Church threatened a schism in the state of civil war. But for the present the struggle was postponed, owing to the fact that Charles still hoped to be able to arrive at an amicable settlement, and to the further circumstance that he had his hands full with other affairs. Immediate attention had to be given to the Turks. They were pushing up the Danube and threatening Vienna, and in order to be able to meet them Charles felt obliged to court the Protestants. Finally, he promised to suspend all action against them for the present, and was rewarded by their hearty assistance in his campaign against the Turks (1532). But these enemies had hardly been repelled when the emperor found that he would have to give attention to the Mohammedan pirates of north Africa, who were destroying the commerce of the Mediterranean and plundering the coasts of Italy and Spain. And hardly had these pirates been punished when Francis I. of France again began to stir. Charles's mind often travelled back to Germany, and he saw with horror the progress of the Protestant opinions, but what could he do? The French, the Turks, the African pirates were successively demanding all his time, and intercepted his arm every time he made preparations to draw his sword against the Protestant revolution.

Pressure of circumstances hinders Charles from employing force against the Protestants.

[1] The party name of Protestants began to be applied to the Lutherans at this time. It had its origin in the *protest* published by the Lutherans, in 1529, against the execution of the Edict of Worms.

Owing to these affairs, it was not till 1545 that Charles again gave his undivided attention to the German Reformation, and this time he had good hopes of arriving at a definite settlement. He had just (Peace of Crespi, 1544) concluded another war with Francis, in which the French king was no more successful than in any of the earlier ventures; further the emperor was at peace with the Turkish Sultan, Solyman; and at that moment he enjoyed, finally, the good will of the pope. The pope, in fact, had gone so far as to call together at Trent a General Council of the Church (1545), which the emperor had long urged, and which he regarded as a sure remedy for the Protestant schism. To this authoritative body the Protestants were to send delegates; these were to plead the Protestant cause; and the whole Protestant party was expected to bow to the verdict which the Council would then render. When, therefore, the Council had assembled, the Emperor notified the Protestants; but they, suspicious of the composition of the meeting, refused to take the proffered hand. In 1546, assured that further negotiations were futile, Charles appealed to force. As the Protestants, united in the League of Schmalkalde, would not yield, Germany was now afflicted with her first civil war over the question of the Reformation.

In 1545 Charles once more takes up the matter of the Protestants.

The Council of Trent.

Failure of the last negotiations.

Just before hostilities began Luther died (1546), and was thus spared the pain of seeing his countrymen in arms against each other because of a movement of which he had been the creator. His life throughout was brave and simple, and if it is stained with outbursts of coarseness and vulgarity, it is the part of generosity to ascribe them to the position of weight and responsibility to which circumstances suddenly raised him who had but the training of a monk and a recluse.

The death of Luther, 1546.

The first war of religion in Germany was for awhile very advantageous to the emperor. The Protestant princes did not stand together, and at the only serious battle of the war,

the battle of Mühlberg (1547), Charles took the leading Protestant prince, the elector of Saxony, prisoner. The victory of Charles was in no small measure due to the fact that Maurice of Saxony, a relative of the elector's, went over to the Roman Catholic side. He got as reward his relative's electorate, but, the price once paid, he began to edge over again toward his fellow-Protestants, and with characteristic selfishness prepared to betray his benefactor.

The first war of religion, 1546–47.

Charles, after his victory, bethought himself of his old remedy—a conference of the factions in a General Council, but his plan once more suffered shipwreck upon the ill-will of the pope and the suspicions of the Protestants. Try as he would, there was nothing left for him to do but to *dictate* a religious peace. This he did in an arrangement called the *Interim*, which, although Roman in spirit, made the Protestants a few temporary concessions. But the *Interim* rapidly grew distasteful to the Protestants, the foreign rule maintained by Charles's Spanish soldiery was hateful to all alike, and, when Maurice of Saxony went over to his co-religionists, Germany suddenly rose, and the emperor found himself helpless before the united demonstration (1552). He had to flee precipitately across the Alps, and now at last, racked with gout and prematurely old, he gave up his life-long war against the Lutheran heresy. His brother, Ferdinand, signed a preliminary peace with the Protestants at Passau, and at the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1555, a final peace, known as the religious peace of Augsburg, was ratified by the estates.

The reaction against Charles.

Charles gives up the fight.

In the Peace of Augsburg the Lutheran Church received legal recognition. It was determined that every estate of the Diet—that is, every prince or imperial city—should have the right to accept or reject the Lutheran faith. Tolerance was to be granted to the rulers in accordance with the principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio* (he who rules a country may settle its religion), but there was not

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

granted an individual and general tolerance, and every subject could be obliged to accept the religion adopted by the state. A great deal of trouble was caused in the negotiations by the question of the numerous territorial bishoprics which existed in Germany. The Protestants desired that the territorial bishops should be given the same right of choice between Protestantism and Romanism that every prince possessed, but their opponents objected. Finally, it was decided in an article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, that a bishop might become a Protestant personally, but that he would then have to relinquish his place. This article, which was altogether in the Roman Catholic interest, soon caused much confusion, for it was found in practice that it could not be kept. Many bishoprics, especially in the north, fell into Protestant hands, and the quarrels resulting from this breach of the Peace of Augsburg contributed toward keeping up the religious agitation in Germany, and led in the end to a second religious war.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

The victory of the Protestants over the emperor was not purchased without a heavy loss for Germany. Maurice of Saxony had found it necessary, in order to make sure of victory, to ally himself with Henry II. of France, and in the same year (1552) in which Maurice drove the emperor over the Alps, Henry II. invaded Germany and occupied the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from which it was found impossible to dislodge him.

Alliance of the Protestants with France.

The emperor was broken in spirit by these last disasters. He abdicated his crown (1556), and retired to the monastery of San Yuste, in Spain, where he died two years later. Upon his abdication the vast Hapsburg possessions, which he had held in his sole hand, were divided. His son Philip got Spain (with her colonies), the Italian territory (Naples and Milan), and the Netherlands. His brother, Ferdinand, got the Austrian lands, and therewith the imperial crown. Henceforth until the extinction of the Spanish line (1700) we have in Europe two Hapsburg Houses, a Spanish and an Austrian branch.

Resignation and death of Charles.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LITERATURE.—Johnson (as before).
Fisher (as before). Chapters VI., VII., XI.
Ranke, *History of the Popes.*
Alzog, *Church History.*
Ward, *The Counter Reformation.*
Köstlin, *Luther.*
Häusser, *Reformation.*

THE Protestant Reformation spread rapidly from Germany over the Teutonic north, and made inroads even upon the Latin countries—France, Italy, and Spain. In the Scandinavian north it won an early and complete triumph. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the three Scandinavian powers, had been united under one king since the Union of Calmar (1397). But at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Union fell apart, for Sweden revolted and established her independence under the native house of Vasa. Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, remained united, under a Danish king, down to the time of Napoleon. The political confusion that was occasioned in Scandinavia by the struggle of Sweden for independence favoured the religious innovations, and within twenty years after Luther's proclamation against indulgences (1517) the Lutheran Church had become the sole and state Church of all the Scandinavian countries. The north produced no great reformer of its own, and therefore accepted the Church of its nearest neighbour, Germany.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden accept Lutheranism.

The Reformation in Switzerland. Ulrich Zwingli.

The case was different in Switzerland. Switzerland consisted, in the sixteenth century, of many little cantons, all technically a part of the empire, but practically constituting independent republics, bound together in a very loose federation. In 1518, Ulrich Zwingli, a priest of the canton of Glarus, made an energetic protest against the doctrine of indulgences. By transferring his activity to Zurich, the intellectual centre of the country, he soon gathered around himself a powerful party of reform. His success in Switzerland was as immediate and signal as that of Luther in Germany.

Religious division of the Swiss.

Zwingli always maintained that he had arrived at his reform doctrines in complete independence of Luther, and there is every reason to believe that this assertion is true. It simply goes to prove that there was in Europe a general trend of opinion toward reform. After an attempt at a union between himself and Luther had failed, chiefly because of some doctrinal differences, Zwingli established his own Reformed Church in Switzerland. All the Swiss cantons, however, were not won to the new faith. The simple and uneducated foresters and mountaineers of the upper Alps (inhabitants of the so-called Forest Cantons) remained staunchly Roman Catholic. Only the cantons on the Swiss border, which were under the influence of the two progressive cities, Zurich and Berne, accepted Zwingli's teaching. In the war between the two faiths which followed (1531), the Roman Catholic cantons won the decisive victory of Cappel, and as Zwingli himself fell on this occasion, the Romanists might have driven a hard bargain. Nevertheless they concluded peace with the Protestants on the same basis as the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Germany did a few years later at Augsburg: each local government or canton was allowed to accept or reject the Reformed faith as it pleased. In consequence of this settlement, Switzerland, like Germany, is partly Roman and partly Protestant to this day.

A little after these events in the eastern or German part of Switzerland there arose in the western or French part another

great Protestant leader, whose influence was destined to become more wide than that of Luther himself. This leader was John Calvin, and the city which he made famous as the great hearth of the new Protestant worship was Geneva.

The Reformation in Geneva.

It was a stroke of chance that brought John Calvin to Geneva. Originally a Frenchman—he was born in 1507, in Picardy—he had studied law, and during his student days had imbibed the current Protestant doctrines. Having become an enthusiastic advocate of the new faith, he had to leave France, and spent his exile in deep study in Germany and Switzerland. His life thus far had been that of a student, and in 1536 he crowned his reputation in this line by publishing a theological treatise, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which was immediately accepted as the best defence of Protestantism then in existence. Shortly after this work appeared, he undertook a journey to France, which brought him for a night's rest to Geneva.

The early life of Calvin.

That night was the turning point of his career. Geneva, a self-governing community, had lately declared for Protestantism, but Protestantism was by no means yet firmly established. Naturally the preachers of Geneva called upon their celebrated guest, and after a long debate prevailed upon him to stay and labour in God's vineyard. Thus he who had hitherto been a student elected to become an active worker. That he was successful in the new province is proved by the fact that with the exception of a short exile he dominated the city politically and ecclesiastically until his death (1536–1564).

Calvin established at Geneva.

The leading conception of Calvin's theology is the absolute supremacy of God's will. God's will determining everything, man's action is proportionately insignificant, and his claim to save himself by either works or faith preposterous. Salvation is solely an act of God's grace, and as an omniscient God must know the whole life of a man from the moment he is born, logic urged the belief that it is determined at a man's birth whether

The rigorous theology of Calvin.

he is to be saved or not. This is the famous doctrine of predestination, which the modern world is inclined to reject as harsh and cruel. However, the mere conception of this idea conveys to us a sense of the uncompromising logic and stubborn enthusiasm which made Calvinism, wherever it appeared, an irresistible power.

The vigour of his theological conceptions Calvin enforced by his system of Church government. The Roman idea, that the government of the Church belongs solely to the clergy, he rejected utterly. As the Church belonged to all Christians, he urged that the ministers should be obliged to share the government with selected laymen, called elders or presbyters, and that in certain affairs the whole congregation should have a voice. This system, possessed of conspicuous democratic elements, is called the Presbyterian form of Church government.

Calvin father of the Presbyterian form of Church government.

Geneva became a city of refuge to all the distressed Protestants of France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. Calvin laboured for the spread of his doctrines in all these lands, and aided the exiles to return and work secretly as missionaries of the Reformed faith. In this way, and with the aid of other circumstances, he was able to replace the influence of Luther in all of the countries west of the Rhine, and even in parts of Germany itself, and to introduce into them his type of Protestantism. From the point of view of the success of the Reformation this was entirely well. For toward the middle of the century, the Roman Church was marshalling its forces for an attack upon its revolted subjects, and the grim and combative Calvinism was much better suited than the conservative Lutheranism to meet and rout the opposition.

The spread of Calvinism.

We have seen that there had been raised in Europe, ever since the thirteenth century, loud cries for the reform of the church, but that the popes had remained deaf to the call. At length, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, frightened by the movement begun by Luther, the Church of Rome yielded to

The Roman Church undertakes a reform.

the new spirit and instituted a series of reformatory measures.

Change in the character of the papacy.

This Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church must, in order to be rightly understood, be recognised as a real religious revival which, without affecting the doctrines or the system of government, brought about a great improvement in the life of the clergy. We have noticed that the popes of the Renaissance, concerned chiefly with their aggrandizement and pleasures, were stubbornly hostile to reform. This spirit continued to animate the papacy until the accession of Paul IV. (1555–59). Paul IV. was the first pope who perceived the precarious condition of the Church. He abandoned the splendid ways of his Renaissance predecessors, maintained a high personal standard, and devoted himself with zeal to ecclesiastical interests. Paul IV. gave the papacy a new moral energy which was handed on to his successors and affected the whole clergy down to the parish priest.

The Catholic revival was accompanied by a number of events and creations within the bosom of the Roman Church which should receive our attention. They were: 1, The Society of the Jesuits; 2, The Council of Trent; 3, The Inquisition.

Ignatius Loyola.

The Order of the Jesuits or Regiment of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman, whose highest ideal was that of a soldier until, in consequence of a severe wound received in the service of the king, his master (1521), he chanced to read some "Lives of the Saints." These so fired his imagination that he became filled with the desire to emulate the Christian heroes. His first efforts were wildly romantic and fruitless. He eventually saw that his education was not sufficient, and at thirty-three years of age he began to study Latin, philosophy, and theology. While at school in Paris he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits, and with them he founded his new society (1534), for the purpose, at first, of doing missionary work among the Mohammedans. Circumstances prevented the sailing of the enthusiasts for the East, whereupon they

resolved to go to Rome to offer their services to the pope and also to secure his sanction for their order. In 1540, after considerable hesitation, pope Paul III. confirmed the order and the rules which Loyola had composed for it.

Loyola fashioned his order after the manner of an army, the final authority over it being concentrated in the hands of a general. As with the army, the fundamental principle was discipline. Since the members of the order took a special vow of obedience to the pope, this ruler soon saw their usefulness, and by heaping the order with honours, rights, and privileges, quickly made it the most powerful one in Europe.

Military discipline the basic principle of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits engaged in every kind of activity. They were famous preachers and confessors, and became especially expert in dealing with the individual conscience and in caring for souls. They carried on foreign mission work on a grand scale, planting their stations in all parts of the world. Realizing that youth is the most impressionable age, they fostered education. By their superior methods of instruction they attracted to their schools the best young men of the time, and instilled into them the doctrines of their faith. For more than a hundred years they led Europe in education. They devoted themselves also to politics, and became cunning diplomats and intriguers. Everywhere they made themselves felt, and it was due in great measure to their comprehensive and untiring efforts that Protestantism was destroyed in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, and in the dominions of the Hapsburgs, and that these lands remained attached to the Church of Rome. Even in the Protestant countries, Germany, England, and Scandinavia, the Jesuits were able to bring their Church into prominence again, and to put into jeopardy the existence of the Reformed Churches. Their work in the high places of the world was especially successful, and in the course of the seventeenth century Germany was startled by the news of the return of many a Protestant prince to the bosom of mother Church.

The activities of the Jesuits.

The Council of Trent (in session at intervals, 1545–63), rendered the Church of Rome the signal service of unifying her doctrines as they had never been unified before. In the body of the tradition of the Roman Church there were many conflicting tendencies and records. These differences the Council of Trent removed, and then formulated the Roman Catholic creed anew, in sharp opposition to the doctrines set up by the Protestants. There were many Catholics present at this Council who were inclined to a compromise with the Protestants for the sake of making the Church one again, but the strict papal party, under the leadership of the Jesuits, was able to prevent the Council from making any concession. The acts of this Council now constitute a part of the creed of the Roman Catholic Church. Only a few important additions have since been made; such are, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which was announced in the year 1854, and the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope, which was promulgated at the Council of the Vatican, in the year 1870.

The Council of Trent.

The word Inquisition[1] describes an ecclesiastical court, established for the purpose of tracing and punishing heresy. The penalty, which the judges or inquisitors pronounced, was usually confiscation of property or death, and was executed by the civil authorities. The Inquisition was not an invention of the Counter-Reformation. In a mild form it existed throughout the Middle Age. Pope Innocent III. (1198–1216) first organized it effectively, and had himself the pleasure of seeing its complete success against the Albigenses. Naturally, the zealots of the Counter-Reformation began early to urge its employment against the heretical followers of Luther and Calvin. Owing, however, to the abhorrence with which the Inquisition, because of its terrible and vague prerogative, filled the people, and owing further to the jealousy of the governments, which dreaded the interference of an ecclesiastical

The ecclesiastical court called Inquisition.

[1] Consult Lea, History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. 3 vols.

court, this engine of repression was not everywhere admitted. A notable activity it exhibited only in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. In the last-named country it produced quite the opposite effect of that intended; but in Italy and Spain it operated with such complete success that the Reformation no sooner showed in those countries signs of life than it was crushed.

CHAPTER XX

SPAIN UNDER CHARLES I. (1516-56), KNOWN AS EMPEROR CHARLES V., AND PHILIP II. (1556-98); HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY.

LITERATURE —Johnson (as before).
M. A. S. Hume, *Philip II.* (Foreign Statesmen).
M. A. S. Hume, *Spain, Greatness and Decay* (1479-1788).

FROM a Spanish national point of view it was a great misfortune that Charles I. (1516–56) was elected to the empire in 1519, and became the Emperor Charles V. Henceforth, although representing imperial rather than Spanish interests, he nevertheless relied almost exclusively upon Spanish resources. Thus Spain was drained of men and money, to advance not her own cause in the world, but the personal prestige of her sovereign.

Charles as king of Spain.

Because of Charles's divided affections, and further because of his short-sighted home-policy, Spain suffered irremediable internal injuries during his outwardly brilliant reign. In fact, her gradual decay may be dated from this time. We have seen that the Spanish monarchy tended under Ferdinand and Isabella toward absolutism, but we have also seen that absolutism was on the whole worthily used for the abasement of the nobles and for the advancement of peace and order. Under Charles it was unfortunately used against the people. The cities of Castile enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government, but when in 1521 they rose in revolt against certain arbitrary measures of the crown, Charles, crushing them by means of an army, deprived them of almost all their liberties. At the same

Charles, enemy of free institutions.

time the Parliament (Cortes) of Castile, which had once enjoyed even more influence than the Parliament of England, was stripped of most of its power. Thus Charles contributed to the ruin of the free institutions of his country and therewith sealed up a spring which at all times has been an important source of a people's vitality. And to make things worse, the Inquisition, already under Ferdinand and Isabella an instrument of tyranny, grew now to more and more monstrous proportions. The executions of Moors and Jews were conducted with zest, but we should, in fairness to Charles, remember that, cruel and unwise as this policy of persecution was, it was heartily endorsed by the sincere and fervid tolerance of the Spanish people.

Charles, friend of the Inquisition.

The last thirteen years of his reign Charles spent in Germany. The Protestant successes there broke his spirit, and he resigned his crowns in 1556, Spain to his son Philip, Austria to his brother Ferdinand. Philip II. (1556–98) on his accession found himself at the head of states (Spain and colonies, Naples, Milan and the Netherlands) hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed, and as he did not become emperor, he had, from the Spanish point of view, the great excellence over Charles that he was a national king. As such, he endeared himself to his people, and still lives in their memory.

Philip II. succeeds to the kingdom of Spain.

It is curious that this same Philip, whom the Spaniards esteem so highly, should stand before the rest of Europe as the darkest tyrant and most persistent enemy of light and progress whom the age produced. To this traditional European picture there certainly belongs a measure of truth; but calm investigation teaches us that this truth is distorted with prejudice. Philip II. was a severe, cold, and narrow-minded man. He looked upon himself as God's agent on earth, and therefore hated all resistance to his will. Further he was a fervid Romanist, and abominated heresy of whatever form or description. Because of these views he clashed with the world of the north, which had freer concep-

The character of Philip.

tions of religion and government, and because of them he remains to this day to friends of progress an unsympathetic figure. But, whatever our judgment of him, it is due to him to remember that he was what he was with entire conviction.

Philip, champion of Catholicism.

With such ideas as the above governing his life, it was only natural that Philip should have become the champion of Roman Catholicism, and should have directed the chief effort of his reign against the Protestants. However, these religious wars were not altogether his fault. An impartial student must agree that they were as much forced upon him by Protestant aggression and the logical progress of events, as determined by his own Catholic impulses. As things stood, after the Council of Trent, a great Protestant-Roman world-war was inevitable. It came by way of the Spanish Netherlands. The Netherlands revolted, and Philip set about putting down the revolt. But the Netherlands could not be pacified by him, and, adopting Protestantism, gradually won the sympathies and secured the aid of the French Huguenots and the German and English Protestants. So the war widened; finding himself opposed in the Netherlands by the united Protestant peoples, Philip, in order to secure the Roman sympathies, put himself forward as the champion of the pope and of Roman Catholicism.

Philip clinches his hold on Italy.

Philip's reign began with a war (1556–59) against Henry II. of France. The French once more attempted to weaken the hold of the Spaniards on Italy and the Netherlands, and once more they were unsuccessful. In the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) the long rivalry over Italy, inaugurated a half century before, was closed, and Spain left in undisputed possession of Naples and Milan. This war was entirely a political affair. But shortly after began the revolt of the Netherlands, and the long chain of wars pertaining thereto have all, more or less, a religious aspect.

Philip's war against the Dutch will be treated in a separate

chapter. We note here merely that after a decade of uninterrupted fighting, it assumed, owing to the sympathies and alliances vouchsafed the Dutch, a universal character: to the war with the Protestant rebels was added a war with the French Huguenots under Henry of Navarre and a war with the England of Elizabeth. Furiously Philip turned at length upon his leading Protestant enemy, upon England.

The war against the Dutch becomes general.

The height of the struggle between Spain and England was the sending of the great fleet, the Armada, against the northern power (1588). The Atlantic waters had never seen the like; but the expedition failed miserably by reason of the superior skill and audacity of the English sailors and the disasters caused by wind and water. Philip bore his defeat with his usual calmness. He spoke unaffectedly of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God this great service." But the destruction of the Armada settled the great religious conflict. It determined that the Dutch should not be reconquered; it secured the Protestant world henceforth against the Roman Catholic reaction; and it put in the place of decaying Spain a new sea-power—England.

Philip turns against England. The Armada.

But the Protestant heretics were not Philip's only enemies. The Turks, who had for some generations been threatening the west, engaged much of his attention. Bit by bit they had reduced the Venetian possessions in the east; foot by foot they had pushed across Hungary toward Germany; and Mohammedan pirates planted in northern Africa constantly plundered the Spanish coasts. Finally, in their great need, the pope, Venice, and Spain formed an alliance (1571), and in the same year their united fleet, under Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, won a brilliant victory over the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto, in Greece. More than two hundred and fifty vessels were engaged on either side, and when the day was over no more than fifty Turkish vessels were found to have escaped destruction. Although the victory brought no

Philip opposes the Turks.

Lepanto, 1571.

tangible conquests to Christendom, the Mohammedan sea-power received a set-back from which it never again completely recovered. Lepanto is one of the proud moments of the history of Philip and of Spain.

Another triumph of Philip's reign was the acquisition of Portugal, the only state of the peninsula of the Pyrenees which Spain had not yet absorbed. The event occurred in the year 1580, when the last native king of Portugal died, and Philip, who had a claim based upon the frequent intermarriages of the two reigning houses, took possession of the state and of her colonies. However, the Portuguese, proud of their nationality and their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, accepted the yoke of the greater state unwillingly. The memories of Portuguese independence would not perish, and after Spain had entered upon her decline, and only forty years after Philip's death, Portugal rose and won back her freedom, under a new royal House, the House of Braganza (1640). Since then Portugal and Spain have never been united.

Philip acquires Portugal.

If the great wars with the Protestant powers, Lepanto, and the acquisition of Portugal gave a certain outward splendour to Philip's reign, beneath that splendour and within the boundaries of Spain everything pointed to ruin. Absolutism lay like a weight of lead upon everybody, crushing individual thought and business enterprise. Its bad effects were supplemented by the Inquisition, which killed or banished the Jews and systematically exterminated the poor descendants of the Moors whose agricultural knowledge and industrial skill were far in advance of anything the Spaniards themselves could boast.

Domestic ruin.

Inquisition and absolutism—these are the names of the chief diseases which racked the body of the Spanish nation. As they are associated with the central power, it is customary to describe the decline of Spain solely to her bigoted, unwise kings. But the Spanish people themselves must bear a share of the blame. To a stubborn religious intolerance which shut them off from all

Inquisition and absolutism.

new ideas, they added a lordly pride and a southern indolence which made them contemptuous of the great and saving gospel of work.

Philip III. (1598–1621), who succeeded Philip II., was an utterly incapable man. In 1609 he was obliged to bend his pride in a way in which his father refused to do, and conclude with the rebel Dutch a twelve years' truce. It was the public acknowledgment of Spain's decline. Under Philip IV. (1621–65) the country dropped definitely to the second and third rank among European powers in consequence of the disgraceful treaties of Westphalia (1648) and of the Pyrenees (1659), which closed her long wars with the Netherlands and with France. In 1659 the political, social, and material decline of Spain was patent to every observer.

Philip III. (1598–1621).

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS (1485-1603); FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH (1559-1603).

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HENRY VII., the first Tudor monarch and creator of the "strong monarchy," was succeeded on his death in 1509 by his son Henry VIII. Henry VIII. was an attractive youth of twenty, skilled in gentlemanly sports such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation, which received him with acclamations

Great expectations aroused by Henry VIII.

of joy. As he had humanistic leanings, it was at first supposed that his reign would lead to a great culmination of humanism.

The English humanists.

The leading English humanists were John Colet and Sir Thomas More. Erasmus also deserves to be named in this connection, for, although he was born at Rotterdam, he lived for a time in England and exercised a great influence there. These men, like their contemporaries in Germany, stood for the new classical learning; they interested themselves in the ideal philosophy of Plato; and they spread through England the passion for a reformed and simple Christian life. Because the University of Oxford became a seat of humanistic influence, the English humanists are generally known as the Oxford reformers.

Colet's work in education.

The Oxford reformers did, each in his own way, important civilizing work. Colet's interest lay largely in education. With his own fortune he founded St Paul's school for boys along lines that were as far as possible removed from any followed in the Middle Age. The old pedagogic brutality was replaced by affectionate interest, and Greek and Latin, taught in a fresh, human way, crowded out the petrified studies of the schoolmen. St Paul's school became the model for many new schools created in the following years.

Sir Thomas More's Utopia.

Sir Thomas More, having adopted a political career, became chiefly interested in problems of good government. His ideas on this subject he laid down in a famous book, "Utopia" (the Kingdom of Nowhere, 1516). The Utopia is not a realistic political treatise, such as Machiavelli's Prince, but presents an ideal which human government and society should strive to reach. Justice, freedom, and equality are the pillars of More's visionary kingdom, and by exhibiting the delightfulness of a life established upon such a basis, he brought sharply to the mind of his contemporaries the shortcomings of the kingdoms of which they formed a part. In Utopia education was obligatory; there were wise sanitary provisions; animals were

treated with kindness; religious tolerance was a government rule. People reading of these things must have wished greatly to realize them in this life.

Henry did not yield to the humanistic influences for long. He heaped many favours upon individual humanists, but showed at the same time that he cared not so much for domestic reform as for personal aggrandizement. Under the smooth exterior of the king there gradually appeared a stubborn and imperious egotism which would brook no opposition to its will.

Henry adopts a policy of aggrandizement.

The leading events of the next years are associated with Henry's wars. In 1512 the king joined Spain and the pope in the Holy League, which was created for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy, and while Louis XII. of France was busy defending Milan, Henry invaded his rival's territory from Calais, then still an English possession. The most notable results of these campaigns across the Channel was a cheap victory, known as the Battle of the Spurs (1513).

Henry plunges into the French-Spanish imbroglio.

However, a more decisive advantage was gained in another direction. When the king of France found himself threatened by the king of England, he naturally sought the alliance of the monarch of Scotland, James IV., and while Henry was campaigning in France, James crossed the Scottish border and pushed south. Brought to a halt at Flodden Field, he was there signally defeated, himself and the flower of his nobility remaining dead upon the field. It was the last time the Scots seriously threatened the prestige of England.

Troubles with the Scots.

The favourite adviser of Henry at this period of his life was Thomas Wolsey (1471–1530). Wolsey was a mere burgher's son, but having joined the clergy rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favour won for him the archbishopric of York, and at the same time raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor, the highest post in the civil administration of the realm (1515). Thus Wolsey became the king's second self.

Wolsey archbishop and Lord Chancellor.

Unfortunately he was over-fond of power and its outward symbols, such as gorgeous palaces, trains of servants, and sumptuous feasts, and altogether his ambition and vanity subtracted somewhat from his undoubted patriotism and intelligence.

Meanwhile, beginning with the ninety-five theses of 1517, Europe had become agitated by the question of the Reformation, and it seemed to Henry to devolve on him to adopt some definite attitude toward Luther's heresy. Henry was not untutored in theology. In fact, he prided himself upon being a master of all its intricacies, and his vanity urged him not to conceal his light under a bushel. When Luther went so far as to attack the sacraments and the authority of the pope, Henry published a vehement pamphlet against him (1521), in return for which service the pope, gratified at finding a champion among the royalty, conferred upon Henry the title of Defender of the Faith. The good understanding between the king and the pope was, however, sadly ruffled before long by the rise of the divorce question.

Henry takes sides against Luther.

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII., in pursuance of his peace policy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. He calculated that England was threatened by France alone, and that Spain and England in alliance would render France harmless. Spain did not fail to see her own advantage in this policy of Henry, and finally Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VII. of England agreed to cement their interests by a matrimonial alliance. Accordingly the boy-prince of Wales, Arthur, was married to Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. But shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and, as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to Arthur's surviving brother, Henry. However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a Church law, which forbade a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma the then pope, Julius II., granted a special

Henry's marriage.

dispensation, whereby the church law was annulled for Catharine's and Henry's benefit. The way being thus cleared, the marriage actually took place immediately upon Henry's accession (1509).

It will be readily seen that the legality of Henry's marriage depended upon the pope's dispensation. And for a number of years Henry seems never to have doubted that his marriage was a real marriage, nor to have thought that there was anything wrong with the pope's special warrant. But gradually circumstances arose and conditions were created that made it very desirable to him to get rid of his wife. These were as follows: Catharine was five years older than himself, and her melancholy religious temperament was incompatible with his boisterous worldliness; he hoped for a son to secure the succession and he had by Catharine only a sickly daughter, Mary; the marriage with Catharine was merely a concession to the Spanish alliance and that had just (1525) been broken; finally, he loved another woman, the young and charming maid of honour, Anne Boleyn. For all these reasons Henry began to think of a divorce, and naturally enough he attacked, in order to get it, the pope's dispensation upon which the marriage hinged.

Reasons why Henry desired a divorce.

It was in 1527 that Henry took up the divorce matter. He informed the pope, who was Clement VII., that he considered the dispensation to be technically faulty, and begged him to annul it. Naturally, the pope wished to proceed slowly in so important a matter, and his hesitation was further increased by the sack of Rome, which, coming at this time (1527), impressed him with the power of the emperor. Under the terror of recent punishment Clement opined that he had better proceed cautiously in a divorce that touched the family honour of Charles V. so intimately. His policy, therefore, was to put Henry off, and, to gain time, he even ordered, in 1529, an investigation to be conducted in England by two special legates Wolsey and an Italian, named Campeggio. But no more came

The pope treats the divorce suit dilatorily.

of this move than of any other; Campeggio suddenly betook himself home, and Henry, outraged by the failure of his hopes, disgraced Wolsey, and might have had him executed if an opportune death had not intervened (1530).

Henry determines on a breach with Rome.

Henry, despairing more and more of getting what he wanted from the pope, now gradually determined on the breach with Rome. If the English Church were declared independent, the divorce would go before an English ecclesiastical tribunal, and how such a court would decide was not a matter of doubt in Henry's mind. Luckily, too, the breach with Rome was popular with the English people, who had long looked with disgust upon papal interference in national affairs. Thus Henry, without very great difficulty, destroyed by a series of measures the pope's authority in England. As far as he took advice, he gave ear to two councillors, Thomas Cranmer, a learned divine, and Thomas Cromwell, who, once a servant of Wolsey, soon took Wolsey's place in the council.

The main steps in the breach.

Henry's leading measures were as follows: first, he secured by threats the submission of the English clergy to his authority; then, appointing his friend Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, he referred the divorce to him (1533) and got a decree of separation; finally, he married Anne Boleyn and proclaimed her queen (1533).

Parliament completes Henry's work.

All this implied a challenge of the pope which was only likely to prove successful if followed by a legal dissolution of all bonds uniting Rome and England. Parliament was therefore called in at this point, and in 1534 completed Henry's work. It forbade all appeals to Rome "of whatever nature, condition, or quality;" it gave the king the right to appoint the bishops; and finally it passed the Act of Supremacy, by which it declared that the king "was the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

The Act of Supremacy, 1534.

Thus Henry, head of the state, became also head of the Church, or briefly, the English pope. And never did a pope

at Rome insist more strenuously on his authority. Henry would brook no opposition to the new arrangements, and in order to terrorize the malcontents executed two of the leading men of England, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the humanist. The crime of these men was that they did not believe in the late changes.

Henry, the English pope.

From the first, it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Roman organization, doctrines, and practices, and how far he would adopt the Protestant position. The crisis terminating in the Act of Supremacy had established the independence of the English Church from Rome. To a certain extent, however, Henry was likely to be influenced by the Protestant Reformation, especially in view of the fact that his most trusted councillor was Cromwell, who had strong Lutheran leanings.

Henry's attitude toward Protestantism.

A number of innovations were therefore gradually admitted. The English Bible was put into every church; the doctrines concerning purgatory, indulgences, and masses for the dead were condemned; pilgrimages were forbidden and miraculous images destroyed. But the most incisive innovation was the suppression of the monasteries.

Protestant changes.

There existed at Henry's accession about 1,200 monasteries in England, the wealth of which, especially in land, was very considerable. Many of these monasteries had become corrupt, and the whole system no longer enjoyed the favour with which it was once regarded. Cardinal Wolsey himself had therefore begun the policy of suppression, and now under Cromwell it was completed. In 1536 Henry got a decree from parliament which rang the death-knell of the monks in England. The monastic foundations were declared the property of the king, who made them over in large part to the nobility, and applied the rest to the endowment of bishoprics and schools, or in wasteful court expenditures.

The suppression of the monasteries, 1536.

Thus far the majority of the English people had concurred

with Henry, for, although papal in feeling, they wished to be free from Rome, and believed that the monasteries were an evil. But Henry was now to receive a warning that he had gone as far as the people would permit. In the north of England, where medieval conditions continued to linger, a protest was raised against the suppression of the monasteries which soon took the form of a revolt. This was the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), which, although vigorously suppressed, had an effect in that it convinced the king that he had better go no further for the present. He therefore not only called a halt, but in 1539 fell a victim to a partial reaction. Frightened by the advance of Lutheran opinion, Henry disgraced and executed Cromwell, the Lutheran sympathizer, and published a Confession of Faith in Six Articles in which he declared for a number of leading Roman doctrines, such as celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and transubstantiation. For the rest of his reign, Henry punished both Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former for differing with the Six Articles, the latter for refusing to accept his supremacy.

Henry calls a halt in the matter of reform.

The Six Articles, 1539.

Henry's foreign policy was throughout the first part of his reign directed by Wolsey. The important political matter of the time was the rivalry between France and Spain, the respective sovereigns of which were Francis I. and Charles V. Henry's alliance was solicited by both monarchs, and he sided sometimes with Charles and sometimes with Francis.

His unprofitable foreign policy.

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. We have already followed the tragedy of Catharine of Aragon to the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed (1536). The next wife was Jane Seymour, who died a natural death, leaving a son Edward. The fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all, and was hardly married when she was divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catharine

His six marriages.

Howard, proved untrue, she was beheaded (1542), and so room was made for a sixth Catharine Parr, who, although occasionally in imminent danger, managed, by submission, to outlive her husband.

Henry died in 1547. Having been given the right by Parliament to determine the succession by will, he entailed the crown upon his three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, in the order named. *The succession.*

Edward VI. (1547-53).

Gardiner.
Powers.
Green.
Pollard, ***Protector Somerset.***

As Edward VI. was but nine years old when his father lay at the point of death, Henry provided, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset. Somerset, however, disregarding Henry's will, assumed complete control, with the title of protector. *The protector Somerset.*

The great question of the hour was the question of religion. The Church, being neither Papal nor Protestant, displeased the faithful of either fold, and Somerset, who had Lutheran sympathies, resolved before long to carry through a thorough Protestant reform. He had in this the support of Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was also a Protestant at heart. These two men now inaugurated an era of change which Anglican historians usually speak of as "The Protestant Misrule." Pictures and altars were swept out of the churches, the rich vestments and the sacred processions were abandoned, and the Latin mass was replaced by an English service. In order to make possible the conduct of this service, Cranmer issued in 1549 the English Book of Common Prayer. At the same time, the English Church shifted from Roman to Protestant doctrinal ground, and in the year 1552 there was issued a new Confession of Faith, known as the Forty-two Articles of Religion, which is saturated through and *The adoption of Protestantism.* *The Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion.*

through with the Protestant and even the Calvinistic spirit. Entirely in line with these changes, the principle of celibacy was abandoned and the clergy permitted to marry.

Northumberland assumes the regency.

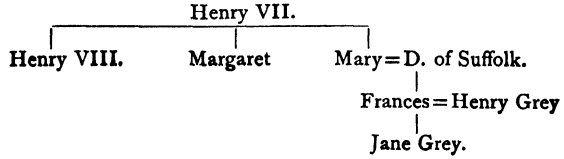
The protector Somerset, however, did not live to complete the establishment of the Protestant Church. Discontent was rife everywhere at his inconsiderate manner and his revolutionary programme, and in 1549 he fell a victim to a plot of the nobles, and later was beheaded. Although he was succeeded in power by his political opponent, the duke of Northumberland, the new regent substantially adopted Somerset's radically Protestant policy.

The precocity of Edward.

Even had Northumberland been willing to make concessions to the Papal party, he would have been hindered by the will of the young king. Edward VI. was, as is frequently the case with invalid children, a boy of remarkable precocity. His uncle Somerset had given him a severe Protestant training, and he pored over the Scriptures with the fervour of a Calvinistic preacher. However, in the course of the year 1553, his vitality becoming very apparently exhausted, the question of the succession came to the front. On his death the crown would rightfully fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catharine, was a devout Roman Catholic. The prospect of her reign frightened Northumberland, who, as a Protestant, had reason to fear a papal sovereign. He therefore played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to make a testament excluding his sisters Mary and Elizabeth from the throne, and nominating as his successor a great granddaughter of Henry VII., the Lady Jane Grey.[1] The calculating Northumberland,

Northumberland's succession plot.

[1] GENEALOGY OF LADY JANE GREY.



however, had previously married Lady Jane Grey to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley. Thus he hoped to perpetuate his power. In July, 1553, Edward died.

Mary (1553–58).

Ranke, *History of England*, Vol. I.
Gardiner.
Green.

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his despicable intrigue and rallied around Mary, their legitimate sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of justice, but also their dearest hopes, designated her as their queen. For the majority of the people were still Roman Catholic, and the radical Protestantism of Edward and Northumberland had aroused their animosity. From Mary they expected the return of the mass and of the ancient Roman practices, from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

Mary hailed as sovereign.

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland justly paid for his ambition with his head. Unfortunately, Lady Jane Grey, who was utterly innocent of the plot to depose Queen Mary, and who had accepted the crown from her father-in-law almost against her will, paid the same penalty.

The Lady Jane Grey.

It is certain that if Mary had adopted a moderate religious policy, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She, therefore, planned nothing less than a return of England to the pope's fold—a full restoration of the Church of Rome. And that was a delusion. For, however the English people were attached to their ancient practices,

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration.

the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the consent of the nation.

The very first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The parliament straightway abolished all the acts which had been voted under Edward, re-established the old faith, and forbade the new. When the married clergymen had been expelled and the old liturgy had been introduced, the last measure necessary for the undoing of the work of the past years could be undertaken. In November, 1554, there arrived in London Cardinal Pole, the legate of the pope, and the parliament having abolished the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the English nation was solemnly received back by Pole into the bosom of Mother Church.

The Act of Supremacy abolished.

If the ultra-papal policy of Mary alienated popular sympathy, she still further aroused the hostility of her subjects by her marriage with a foreigner, Philip, son and heir of Charles V. (1554). But as opposition to her increased, her Tudor imperiousness rose to meet it, and led her soon to adopt that policy of persecution which has won for her from a Protestant posterity the title of Bloody Mary, and has made her reign famous as the period of the Protestant martyrs. The record of deaths is heavy: sixty-five men died by the fagot in the year 1555, seventy in 1556. Their staunchness in death did more toward establishing Protestantism in England than the doctrinal fervour of an army of Calvinistic preachers could have done. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played, Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble, victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, who had always shown a subservient spirit, flinched

Unpopular marriage with Philip.

Unpopular persecutions.

when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there, said, resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation, therefore it first shall suffer punishment."

If Edward's radical Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's radical Catholicism produced the same result. The hatred of her subjects soon pursued her even into her palace. She was a quiet, tender woman, whose intolerance was more the crime of the age than her own, and the harvest of aversion which was springing up about her was more than she could bear. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip cared nothing for her, and did not even trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favoured woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honour and Mary suffered all the disgrace, by the loss of the last point which remained to England from her former possessions in France, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to the living generation of Englishmen the capture seemed an insufferable dishonour, and no one felt it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

The loss of Calais.

Tennyson, Queen Mary (drama).

Elizabeth (1558-1603).

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The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated a reign which proved to be the most glorious of any which England has ever had. Under Elizabeth, Protestantism was firmly established in England; the great sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated; and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly and more exquisitely than ever before or since.

The character of Elizabeth.

To the national greatness, to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has had the good fortune to lend her name. In consequence she appears in a halo that is calculated to blind us to her faults. Of these, however, she had her full human quota: vanity, fickleness, and love of amorous intrigue being especially prominent. But these qualities hardly more than superficially obscure her great merits. Throughout her reign she exhibited a statesmanlike grasp of circumstances and an inflexible determination.

Her religious indifference.

As regards the great matter of religion, which her contemporaries regarded as the eminently important thing in life, Elizabeth seems to have been comparatively lukewarm. Thus inclined by nature to be moderate, she was delivered from the destructive radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and happily given to the search rather of what united than what divided men.

The chief organs of Elizabeth's government were the Privy Council and the parliament. The Privy Council answered the purpose of a modern cabinet, and Elizabeth regularly heard its advice before arriving at a decision. No little credit is due to her for her wise choice of councillors, and especially for the confidence she put in William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was the greatest English statesman of the time. The Privy Council, a body of her own choice, Elizabeth was far more anxious to consult than the parliament, a body elected by the people. Parliament under Elizabeth remained therefore what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient instrument of the royal will. The real power was concentrated almost absolutely in Elizabeth's hands.

Privy Council and Parliament.

The great question of the Reformation was the first question that confronted Elizabeth. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and had failed; Mary had followed a policy of strictly Roman Catholicism and had failed; it was plain that the wise course would be a moderate course, and should lie between these two.

Elizabeth adopts a moderate religious policy.

Elizabeth therefore began by letting the Parliament pass, in 1559, the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity, which are the foundations of the English Church as that Church stands to-day. By the Act of Supremacy the independence of England from Rome was again proclaimed and Elizabeth declared the supreme governor of the realm in spiritual as well as temporal matters; by the Act of Uniformity the clergy were forbidden to depart from the service laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. Later on, it may here be noted, uniformity was also required in the matter of the creed which was stated in the Thirty-nine Articles, a revision of the Forty-two Articles of Edward's time. Thus the Anglican Church (also called Episcopal Church, because of its government by bishops) was finally established, and practically in the form in which we have it to-day.

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559.

Elizabeth's attitude toward the Catholics.

Elizabeth's policy of a moderate Protestantism conformed to the wishes of the majority of the English people. In consequence the feeling of uncertainty, occasioned by the rapid changes of the previous reigns, was soon replaced by a merited confidence. Slowly Protestantism won its way into the hearts of the English people and crowded out the medieval faith. But for a long time the papal party was still a considerable factor in English life. However, Elizabeth was not, strictly speaking, a persecutor. Freedom of worship she would not suffer, and Roman Catholics had to attend the national Church or pay fines for absenting themselves (recusancy fines). But they were not punished in their persons if they did not engage in political conspiracies.

Puritans and Separatists.

In the proportion in which Roman Catholics decreased in number and importance, another party, as ill-disposed in its own way to the Anglican Church as the Catholics were in theirs, increased. This was the party of the Protestant radicals, who were not satisfied with Elizabeth's half-measures, and clamoured for a thorough-going Protestant organization. The non-conformists, as these Protestants were called, soon split into two parties, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were moderate opponents, who did not sever their connection with the Anglican Church, because they hoped to win it over to their programme. Their name was originally a nick-name, given them by their Anglican adversaries in consequence of their demand for what they called a purer worship. This purer worship aimed at stripping the Anglican Church of many of the Roman practices which had been retained, such as genuflections, wearing the surplice, and decorating the altar. The Separatists (also called Brownists, after their founder, Robert Brown) were radicals who knew no compromise. The Established Church being to them no better than the Roman Church, they refused to attend it, and thus made themselves liable to persecution under the Act of Uniformity.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne her religious policy

was so moderate that both Philip and the pope for a while maintained good relations with her. But gradually a coolness sprang up, and in 1570, the pope announced that his patience was exhausted by publishing a bull of excommunication against the queen. From this time, England more and more and almost unconsciously assumed the leadership of the Protestant world, and since the Roman reaction was growing more ambitious every day, it was plain that a great world-struggle between Protestantism and Rome, conducted chiefly by their respective champions, England and Spain, could not be long put off.

Elizabeth compelled to champion Protestantism.

Every event in Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the struggle; notably the queen's relations with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries, and the bitterness between the two kingdoms was probably never fiercer than at this time. Henry VII. had wisely attempted to establish a greater harmony between the royal houses by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV. and James V. both sympathized with France and both perished in the struggle against England, the latter (1542) when his only heir and successor, Mary, was but a few weeks old. Mary Stuart's descent from Henry VII. and the prospective failure of Henry VIII.'s direct descendants, opened for the child the prospect of the English succession. On the death of Mary Tudor (1558), there was, with the exception of Elizabeth, no other descendant of Henry VII. alive as prominent as she. To the Roman Catholics, moreover, who saw in the daughter of Anne Boleyn merely an illegitimate child, she had even a better claim than Elizabeth. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their intense hatred of each other, and the long and bloody drama of their jealousy, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

The affairs of Scotland.

Schiller, Mary Stuart (drama).

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of

the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from possible English influences, sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne. Thus the interests of France and Scotland were newly knit, to the detriment of England.

Mary sent to France.

Mary of Guise soon met in Scotland the difficulties associated with the Reformation that every sovereign of that day had to face, for during her regency a number of enthusiastic Calvinist preachers, among whom John Knox (1505–72) occupies the first place, began proclaiming with success the new faith. For a while the issue trembled in the balance, but when the nobles, lured by the prospect of the rich church lands which awaited secularization, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Scotch Reformation was assured. A last desperate attempt of the regent to put down the Protestants with the aid of the French troops having failed, owing chiefly to the assistance which the cunning Elizabeth lent the Scottish rebels, the regent was obliged to sign the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) and sent the French troops home. As she died this same year, and Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestant lords suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a parliament composed of the friends of Knox, they established the new Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Kirk (1560).

Scotland becomes Protestant, 1560.

Up to this time the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of far away Scotland. Her husband, Francis II., had lately (1559) become king of France, and ever since the death of Mary Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Roman Catholic world, looked upon herself as queen, too, of England. But the year 1560 disturbed her outlook greatly. Her husband Francis II. died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

Mary comes to Scotland, 1561.

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Roman Catholic, was an object of suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and you have the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved. *Her difficulties.*

But though Mary proved inadequate, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. She had been brought up in France in the refinement that adorned the court of the Valois; she had wit and beauty, nay, more, she had a certain indefinable charm which enabled her to dominate all men whom she approached. But unfortunately Mary was also the slave of her passions, and therein lay the distinction between her and her cousin Elizabeth. Elizabeth was in the final instance always the statesman guided by the sense of her duty to her country; Mary in the final instance was always a woman, swayed by her love or her hatred. *Her character.*

In the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and from that moment everything went badly. Lord Darnley turned out to be proud, loutish, and dissolute. He plotted with a party of the nobles hostile to Mary, and in conjunction with them planned and executed the murder of the Italian, David Rizzio, one of Mary's secretaries (1566). Such love as Mary had for Darnley now turned to hate, and when in February, 1567, Darnley was murdered in a house just outside of Edinburgh, report immediately connected Mary with the crime. Its real author was soon known to be the earl of Bothwell, a dare-devil cavalier, who was deeply in love with the queen, but was the queen his accomplice? The question has been asked again and again but never answered conclusively. By what followed the murder, however, Mary compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she fail to prosecute Bothwell seriously, but shortly after the murder she married him. *Mary's tragical marriage.*

The Scottish Revolt.

The result might have been foreseen. Her subjects, horrified at her conduct, revolted, and although she made a brave resistance she was defeated, and by the year 1568 found herself without support. Despairing of success, she now left Scotland in the hands of her enemies, who had proclaimed the accession of her infant son James, and sought refuge with Elizabeth. It was not a happy step. Mary became Elizabeth's prisoner, and won her release only, after nineteen years, by laying her head upon the block.

Mary seeks refuge in England, 1568.

The cue for this ungenerous conduct of the English queen toward her suppliant cousin is to be found in the political situation of Europe. We must again recall that this was the period of the counter-Reformation, and that in measure as the movement ripened toward a climax, the struggle between England and Spain was becoming inevitable. Luckily at the approach of the great crisis the temper of Englishmen was hardening to steel. Conscious of their power, they even invited the threatening storm. Free-booters—Sir Francis Drake and others—harried the Spaniards on the Atlantic main, and soldiers enlisted under William of Orange to fight for freedom in the Netherlands. Finally, Elizabeth's grant of open aid to the revolted Dutch made an end of Philip's patience. He prepared against England an unexampled armament.

The struggle with Spain.

It was the rumour of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the Papal supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

Execution of Mary, 1587.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip, having at length got together one hundred and thirty-two ships, proudly called his Invincible Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The island-realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader all religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a national enthusiasm uniting all parties. An eloquent witness of this

The English prepare to meet the Armada.

elation is furnished by the fact that the English mustered even more ships than the Spaniards, finally, no less than one hundred and ninety-seven. Though these ships were no match in size for the Spanish galleons, by their speed, their excellent equipment, and the perfect seamanship of their sailors they more than made up the difference in bulk. The Spanish fleet had hardly appeared, toward the end of July, 1588, off the west coast of England, before the small and rapid English vessels darted in upon their rear and flank. The damage which was done the Spaniards during a passage of the Channel lasting eight days, forced them to harbour off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them discomfited them so completely that the admiral gave up the enterprise. Finding the Channel blocked behind him, he tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland, but untimely storms struck across his path and completed the work of the enemy.

The defeat of the Armada.

England was safe; and more than England, the cause of Protestantism the world over. For with the Armada the Roman Catholic reaction reached its height, and with the Armada's failure there set in an inevitable ebb.

The Armada, a turning-point.

As for Elizabeth, the coming of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her brilliant reign. Henceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last sincere attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her nothing but sorrow, for Essex plotted against her and had to be executed (1601). Slowly the shadows thickened around her, and in the year 1603 she died.

Elizabeth's last years.

Most wonderful to consider remains England's varied progress during this reign. In fact, the reign became the starting-point of a new development, as, under Elizabeth, Englishmen for the first time grew aware that their true realm was the sea. The

England adopts the sea.

great sailors like Drake, Davis, and Frobisher voyaged to the remotest lands, and though they established no colonies, and though such attempts as were made by Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, in Virginia, turned out to be premature, the idea of a colonial empire in the future was implanted in the minds of Englishmen; and for the present there were established lucrative commercial relations with various parts of the world. Before the death of Elizabeth, England, which had hitherto allowed Spain a monopoly of the sea, had fairly entered upon the path of oceanic expansion. The spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most significant events of Modern History, may therefore be dated from the time of Good Queen Bess.

The expansion of life.

With the increase of commerce, there came an increase of industry and wealth and a more elevated plane of living, which showed itself in a greater luxury of dress, in a courtlier society, and in the freer patronage of the theatre and the arts. Altogether England was newmade. The Italian Renaissance poured out its cornucopia of gifts upon her, and there followed such an energy of existence and expansion of the intellectual life of man as made this period one of the great culture-epochs of history.

Shakespeare and Bacon.

The art by which this new life was immortalized was the drama, and Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), Ben Jonson (d. 1637), and William Shakespeare (d. 1616) are its great luminaries. But the other fields of art and science were not left uncultivated. Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) wrote the great epic poem of the English tongue, the Faërie Queene, and Francis Bacon (d. 1626), the philosopher, gave a new zest to science by referring man directly to nature for his facts.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES (1566-1648).

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THE part of Europe which has been designated from of old as the Netherlands or Low Countries is embraced approximately by modern Holland and Belgium In the Middle Age the Netherlands consisted of a number of feudal principalities or provinces, constituted as duchies, counties, or lordships (for instance the duchy of Brabant, the county of Flanders, the county of Holland), all of which were practically independent of all foreign powers, and of each other, although there was not one to which France or Germany did not, by some unforgotten feudal right, have a claim. In the later Middle Age the House of Burgundy, a collateral branch of the House of France, had attempted to consolidate these provinces into a state, which should be independent of both the western and the eastern neighbour; but before the project had succeeded the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477). Thereupon Louis XI. of France seized the duchy of Burgundy, which was a fief of France, but the Netherlands proper passed into the hands of Charles's daughter, Mary, and from her, through her marriage with emperor Maximilian, to

The Netherlands under the Burgundian princes.

the House of Hapsburg. At the time of the Reformation, the Netherlands were therefore ruled by Charles V.

The Kelts and Teutons.

The Netherlands are peopled by two races, Kelts and Teutons, who, on the whole, have got along very well together here. The Kelts are a minority, speak a French dialect, and inhabit the southern districts of what is now Belgium. The Teutons inhabit the northern half of what is now Belgium and the whole of what is now Holland. Although originally one in blood and speech, they have been artificially divided, by the chances of history, into Flemish, the Teutons of Belgium, and Dutch, the Teutons of Holland, and employ two slightly different German dialects.

Physical features: dykes and canals.

A good part of the land of the Low Countries is below the level of the sea, and has been won from that element only in undaunted, century-long struggles by means of a system of dykes, which form the rampart of the land against the hungry water. But the sea was not the only enemy to overcome in order to render the Netherlands habitable. The equally great danger arising to life and property in these parts from the periodical inundations of the great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, had to be met by an enterprise no less gigantic than the dykes. To carry off the overflow there was devised and gradually completed a system of canals, which covers the country like a net and distributes the water from the rivers over a vast area. The plentiful water-ways of Holland and Belgium, although due in the first instance to necessity, have proved a great blessing. They have given the country the greenest and richest meadows of Europe, and besides, furnish thoroughfares for traffic, which have the merit of cheapness, durability, and picturesqueness.

The question of Protestantism.

The reign of Charles V. proved very advantageous for the material development of the Netherlands, and was unsuccessful in only one particular, religion. The Protestant agitation which troubled Germany was naturally disrespectful of landmarks, and at an early point of its history was carried into the Low Countries. Charles, who

was forced, as we have seen, by his dependence on the princes of the Diet, to a disastrous dilatory policy in Germany, was not the man to hesitate when he had the power to act. In the Netherlands the Lutheran heresy was met on its appearance by a relentless hostility, which waxed more and more fierce as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, already engaged in its hateful activity in Spain, was established in the Netherlands also, and confiscations, imprisonments, and burnings at the stake became common occurrences. Still Protestantism refused to disappear. The original Lutheran opinions were even strengthened by the invasion of Calvinism, and at the end of Charles's reign heresy was more firmly established than ever before.

The accession of Philip, 1555.

That end came on October 25, 1555, when Charles, broken by his failure in Germany, resigned his crown, in a ceremonial session of the States-General of the Netherlands, to his son and heir, Philip II. Unfortunately Philip, owing to his harsh Spanish qualities, was even less likely than his father to find a settlement for the religious troubles of the Netherlands. The Inquisition was immediately spurred on to greater activity than before, and the fagot fires lighted for the victims of the new faith fairly wrapped the country in flames. Though the majority of the people were still Catholic, they shared with the Protestants the aversion to the senseless policy of the Inquisition, and nursed a smothered discontent which boded a storm.

The activity of the Inquisition.

Philip's war with France, 1556–59.

But there was other work in the world for Philip besides persecuting the Dutch Protestants. He argued that it would be a fine feather in his cap, if he could close, by a decisive stroke, his father's long wars with France. He therefore prepared for a vigorous campaign. Having defeated the French at Saint Quentin (1557) and at Gravelines (1558), and having, in consequence, disposed them to a settlement, he concluded with them the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). This peace ended for the present the long rivalry of France and Spain concerning Italy

and the Netherlands, by the admission of Spanish supremacy in both those countries. This accomplished, Philip resolved to go to Spain. Leaving his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent in the Netherlands, he sailed away (1559), never to return.

The regent, Margaret, was herself a fairly moderate person, but the Spanish councillors who controlled her were under orders from Philip to maintain the existing system of rigour. The alienation of the people therefore went on apace. The nobles, of whom prince William of Orange and count Egmont were the leaders, were angered by the attempt to replace their traditional influence by that of foreign favourites, while the people generally were incensed by the presence among them of Spanish troops and by the increased activity of the abominable Inquisition. Discontent was plainly ripening to revolt.

Increasing discontent.

The signal for the rising was given by the nobles. In 1565 some of the more hot-headed members of the aristocracy formed a league, the purpose of which was to secure the abolition of the Inquisition, operating, as they put it, "to the great dishonour of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands." In the same document in which they made this complaint they avowed their continued allegiance to the king. It was not the dynasty against which they protested, but the abuse which the dynasty upheld. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of them marched on foot through Brussels, which served as the capital of the country, to the palace of the regent, to lay a statement of their grievances in her hands. In a banquet that followed they took, amidst a scene of unbounded enthusiasm, the name of beggars (gueux), which, so the legend runs, was flung at them insultingly by one of the favourites of the regent's court, as they presented themselves with their petition.

The protest of the nobles.

The "beggars."

The bold act of the "beggars" was received with general applause Unfortunately it unchained also the long-repressed indignation of the people. The government of the regent

was set at nought, and to all who had suffered oppression it seemed that the time had come when the restraints that had weighed upon them should be cast off. At length the excitement, carefully nursed by Calvinistic exhorters, culminated in a furious outbreak. The Roman Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government rallied enough of the orderly elements to repress the insurgents. Philip had received his warning. Would he understand it?

The general insurrection, 1566.

Iconoclasm.

It is very possible that the abolition of the Inquisition and the proclamation of religious tolerance, which the nobles demanded, would have put an end to all trouble. But these ideas were foreign to the rulers of that day, and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a bigoted Papist like Philip. Instead of assisting the regent in confirming the recently established order, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva. Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of his day, animated with blind devotion to his king and to his faith. Him, Philip commissioned with the punishment of the Netherlands, and in the summer of 1567, Alva arrived at Brussels at the head of an excellent corps of 10,000 Spaniards. Terror marched in his van, and Orange, just before the arrival of the troops, crossed the border into safety.

Philip plans revenge, and sends Alva, 1567.

Alva immediately began his work of military repression. A Council, famous in history as the Council of Blood, was set up to ferret out all who had taken part in the late disorders. Thousands were seized by the police and perished on the scaffold; thousands fled from the country. Count Egmont, who had refused to flee with Orange, was executed as a warning to the discontented nobles.

The Council of Blood.

While the country was afflicted with this scourge, William of

Orange [1] was busying himself with plans for its liberation. He now began that glorious career by which he founded the liberties of his country and became its hero and martyr. There have been many better generals and some better statesmen; what makes William memorable is his steadfastness in adversity, which has won for him the name of William the Silent.

William of Orange.

In the spring of 1568 William, with the aid of such moneys as he could get together, collected an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. He counted on being assisted by a rising within, but in this he proved mistaken, for the people, terrified by Alva's severity, did not as much as budge. Alva therefore, commanding a superior infantry, had no difficulty in meeting William's forces and scattering them to the winds.

William's campaign of 1568 a failure.

But the advantage of his position Alva himself soon threw away; he bent the bow till it snapped. In 1571, feeling sure of the country and urged by the needs of his treasury, he ventured to propose an unheard-of and appalling tax, called the tenth penny. By this an impost of ten per cent. was put upon every commercial transaction, including the simple daily purchases for the household. Indignation flared up once more. There was only one answer for the merchants to make, and they made it by closing their shops and suspending business.

The tenth penny.

At this juncture occurred the first successful feat of arms by the Dutch rebels—the feat from which dates the general movement for Dutch independence. The "beggars of the sea," hardy Dutch free-booters, swept down suddenly upon the little town of Brille, and took it. The whole country was electrified by this success, and now the internal rising for which Orange had looked for four years in vain took place spontaneously, and town after town, especially of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, drove out its Spanish garrison. Therewith these two

First success of the Dutch rebels, 1572.

[1] Orange was a small principality on the Rhone in France, which William's family had acquired by marriage.

provinces had put themselves in the front of the opposition, and now calling William to their aid, in the capacity of Stadtholder or governor, prepared to resist to the utmost.

But Alva, not easily cowed, prepared immediately to stamp out the new rebellion. With his splendid Spanish infantry, he won a number of successes, and Mechlin, Haarlem, and several places which he recaptured had each its tale to tell of bloody and cruel reprisals. But this time the Dutch answered courage with courage, and soon ferocity with ferocity. The success at Brille was the beginning of a long war.

The internal rising is sustained.

Alva's incapacity to deal with the situation efficiently was soon apparent to friend and foe. Six years of government (1567-73) by Council of Blood and Inquisition had ended in unqualified disaster, and tired himself of staring at the ruin about him he demanded (1573) his recall.

Alva's recall, 1573.

His successor as Spanish governor-general was Requesens (1573-76). Requesens was a sensible, moderate man, who might have done something if matters had not gone so far under Alva. But although he abolished the Council of Blood and proclaimed an amnesty, everybody continued to look upon him with distrust. So he had to proceed with the military subjugation of the revolted provinces. The most notable event of his lieutenancy was the siege of Leyden (1573–74). When the city seemed for failure of provisions to be lost, William of Orange resolved on an extreme measure: he ordered that the dykes be cut. As the waters of the sea rushed over the fields, the "beggars" crowded after in their ships, until their heroic efforts brought them to the wall of the city. The incident well illustrates the desperation of the Dutch resistance.

The siege of Leyden, 1574.

The death of Requesens, which occurred in 1576, was the indirect cause of a further extension of the revolt. As yet it had been confined to the provinces of the north, which had generally adopted the Protestantism of Calvin, and to such occasional cities of the south as inclined toward the same faith. Revolt

The death of Requesens and the Pacification of Ghent, 1576.

from the Spanish yoke seemed to follow wherever Protestantism had gone before. The grievances of the southern provinces against Spain were certainly as great as those of the north, but as the southerners clung to the Roman faith, they always retained some affection for the Spanish rule. For a brief moment, however, following the death of Requesens, north and south, Teuton and Kelt, Protestant and Catholic—in a word, the United Netherlands—bound themselves together in one resistance. The occasion was furnished by the general horror inspired by the Spanish soldiery, which, left leaderless upon the death of Requesens, looted what cities it could, and indulged in particular horrors at the rich metropolis of Antwerp. The indignation aroused by this lawlessness united the country, and in the Pacification of Ghent (1576) north and south proclaimed their common interests and prepared to make a common stand against the oppressor.

North and south goes each its own way.

It was the most auspicious moment of the revolution, but it was not destined to bear fruit. Provincial jealousies and religious distrust, fomented by the shrewd governors, Don John of Austria (1576–78) and the duke of Parma (1578–92), who succeeded Requesens, soon annulled the Pacification of Ghent, and drove a wedge between the north and south, the result of which we still trace to-day, in the existence of a Protestant Holland and a Roman Catholic Belgium.

The Union of Utrecht, 1579.

It was especially owing to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a most excellent general and diplomat, that the southern provinces were saved for Spain. He was clever enough to flatter their Catholic prejudices and to promise a restoration of their political privileges. If he had not been constantly interfered with by Philip he might even have reconquered the north. Thus with heavy heart William the Silent had gradually to relinquish the hope, extended by the Pacification of Ghent, of a united action of the whole Netherlands against Spain. Still he never wavered in his faith, and soon succeeded, on a smaller scale, in effecting an organization of the revolt. Hitherto the re-

sistance had been left almost exclusively to the separate provinces. In 1579, the Protestant provinces of the north, finally seven in number (Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Friesland), formed, for the purpose of an improved defence, the Union of Utrecht. The articles of the Union of Utrecht, which formed the constitution of the Dutch Republic well into modern times, mark the entrance of a new state into history.

Philip had already seen that William the Silent was the backbone of the resistance, and that by good or bad means the leader must be got rid of if the revolt was to be mastered. When bribes failed to detach William from the cause of freedom, the Spanish sovereign published a ban against him, declaring his life forfeit, and putting a price upon his head. In that fanatical age, many men were seduced by such an offer. It is, therefore, no cause for wonder that dastardly attempts upon William's life should have become common occurrences. At last Balthasar Gérard, a Roman Catholic enthusiast from Burgundy, fatally shot him as he was coming down the stairway of his palace at Delft (July 10, 1584).

Philip's ban.

William murdered, 1584.

William's death was a heavy blow to the cause of the Dutch, especially coming at the time it did. The duke of Parma was just then winning victory after victory, and constantly narrowing the territory of his enemies; in fact hardly more than Holland and Zealand still held out against him. Nevertheless, these two provinces did not abate their resistance. Maurice, the talented seventeen-year-old son of William, became Stadtholder and military commander, and at his side there rose to influence, as Pensionary or Prime Minister, the wise, statesmanlike John of Barneveld.

William's successor.

Still, the new Dutch Republic would hardly have survived if help had not come from without. Already during William's lifetime frequent efforts had been made to interest France and England in the war, but neither the one nor the other could be persuaded to throw in its lot wholly with the Netherlands. However, English Protestant opinion

Help from England.

had loudly declared for the Dutch, and Elizabeth, noting from what quarter the wind blew, began to despatch secret money help to William. Finally, in 1585, she sent her first open aid—a body of English troops under command of her favourite, the earl of Leicester.

Although Leicester proved thoroughly incompetent, and had, in 1587, to retire in disgrace, his interference brought relief, and probably through its consequences saved the Dutch.

Philip turns upon England. Abandoning the prey which he had almost captured, Philip II. turned furiously upon the English. For the next years, he seems to have forgotten his original enterprise; first the English, and then the French Huguenots engrossed his thoughts. There follow the disaster of the Armada (1588), the campaigns in France against the Protestant Henry of Navarre (1589–98), and in general such a dissipation and ruin of the Spanish power as made it forever impossible for Spain to return, with anything like the old energy, to the attack upon the young Republic. However, Philip II. stubbornly held out against the Netherlands. Even after the death (1592), of his great general, the duke of Parma, whose advice had almost always been good and had almost never been followed, he continued the war. Philip III., who was as proud as his father, succeeded him (1598), and he too refused at first, with the same obstinacy, to listen to peace. But all this time the Dutch fortunes were plainly in the ascendant, and while Maurice, who was a gallant soldier, especially skilled in conducting a siege, won back from the Spaniards place after place, the brave Dutch sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish fleets.

The victories of Maurice.

Under these conditions Spain at last saw herself forced to come to terms with her revolted subjects. Too arrogant to acknowledge herself defeated and once for all recognize the Republic, she would do no more than conclude a Twelve Years' Truce (1609). It was not the end, but as good as the end. When the truce was over (1621) the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe,

The Twelve Years' Truce and the Peace of Westphalia.

and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purposes, the firm resistance offered by the hardy little nation rendered the second effort at the subjugation of the Dutch even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great humiliation. Together with Germany and the other signatory powers of that famous peace-instrument she acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic.

Domestic struggles.

The domestic affairs of the new Republic revolved, from the Union of Utrecht through the next two centuries, around the interesting question of rivalry between the provincial and the central authorities. The Union of Utrecht had established as central authorities a Council of State and a States-General, but their jurisdiction was severely limited, and they were jealously watched by the seven local governments. To this question of unity was added what turned out to be largely a class conflict. The political power was reserved throughout the provinces to the wealthy middle class, but naturally the common people began to demand rights, and that demand soon acquired an immense importance through the support of the Orange family. The House of Orange urged by the people toward monarchy and grimly opposed by the burgher oligarchy—that is the confrontation of Dutch parties for several centuries.

Commercial and intellectual prosperity.

The commercial and intellectual advance of the Republic, during the course of the war, remains a remarkable feature of the period. It was as if the heroic struggle gave the nation an irresistible energy, which it could turn with success into any channel. The little sea-board state, which human valour had made habitable almost against the decrees of nature, became, in the seventeenth century, not only one of the great political powers of Europe, but actually the leader in commerce and in certain branches of industry; contributed, beyond any other nation, to contemporary science; and produced a school of painting, the glories of which are hardly inferior to those of the Italian

schools of the Renaissance. Such names as Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), the founder of international law; as Spinoza (d. 1677), the philosopher; as Rembrandt (d. 1674) and Frans Hals (d. 1666), the painters, furnish sufficient support to the claim of the United Provinces to a leading position in the history of civilization. Their trade was particularly extensive with the East Indies, and it was here that there were developed the most permanent and productive of the Dutch colonies, although there were such also, at one time, in Asia, Africa, and America. The city of Amsterdam, in the province of Holland, was the heart of the vast Dutch trade, and, much as modern London, performed the banking business and controlled the money market of the entire world.

The decay of the Spanish provinces.

It was not a pleasant lot that awaited the southern provinces, which had remained Roman Catholic and had docilely submitted to the Spanish rule. These were henceforth governed from Spain as the Spanish Netherlands, and having lost their political spirit, soon lost, too, their material prosperity, and were sapped of their energy and vitality.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE TO THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENTS OF 1598 (EDICT OF NANTES) AND 1629

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In the year 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. Ever since 1494, when Charles VIII. had invaded Italy, the eyes of French monarchs had been riveted upon the peninsula. They seemed not to be able to give up the dream of the south which filled their minds, and although driven from their conquests again and again, they always plucked up courage to return to the attack. Francis, who was young and filled with knightly ambition, had hardly acquired his crown, when he hurried across the Alps. At Marignano (1515) he won a splendid victory over the Swiss mercenaries of the duke of Milan, and gained, as a result, the possession of Milan itself. But the success naturally excited the jealousy of Spain, and as soon as Charles V. had, at the Diet of Worms (1521), settled the affairs of Germany to his fancy, he undertook to drive Francis out of Milan. There followed the long duel between Francis and Charles, the

The rivalry of Francis and Charles.

incidents of which have been narrated in connection with the history of Germany. The student will remember that the most notable events of the wars of these two monarchs were the battle of Pavia, where Francis was captured (1525), and the sack of Rome (1527).

The beginnings of the Reformation.

In addition to this matter of the war with Spain over Italy, there are also to be considered, in connection with the reign of Francis, the beginnings of the Reformation in France. Francis himself was a child of the artistic spirit of the Renaissance, and brought neither interest nor understanding to bear upon the questions of religious reform. But it was different with his people, who, of course, could not remain uninfluenced by the greatest matter of the age.

The circle of reformers.

The beginnings of the Reformation in France are quite independent of Luther. In France, as elsewhere, the Revival of Learning had brought a desire for reform in state and Church, and at the opening of the new century certain select spirits were beginning to formulate their protests against existing conditions. At the time when Luther was stirring up Germany, a small circle of reformers, of whom the venerable Lefèbre is the most important, had already begun to preach the abolition of abuses, and had acquired a considerable influence.

Francis inaugurates the policy of persecution.

This influence the Roman Catholic seminary of Paris, the Sorbonne, which looked upon itself as the guardian of the orthodox faith, undertook to combat. Nevertheless, the opposition of this pedantic institution counted for little until the king was brought to its side. That occurred after the battle of Pavia (1525), when Francis needed the help of the pope and the favour of his Roman Catholic subjects to recover from the results of his defeat and captivity. The first executions of heretics in France were ordered at this time. Henceforward Francis wavered in his attitude, but grew on the whole increasingly intolerant.

The successor of Francis was his son, Henry II. (1547–59). He was a different man from his affable father, and his sombre

character may be taken as an indication of the age of Roman Catholic fanaticism which was approaching. On the day of his coronation Henry II. promised that "he would exterminate from his kingdom all whom the Church denounced." If he did not succeed in this pious enterprise it was because the spirit of resistance, animating the Protestants, was stronger even than the spirit of cruelty which filled the king. Edict after edict was published against the heretics, and there were many executions, but the only result was that the faith confirmed by martyrs' blood struck its roots into the hearts of a constantly increasing band of Protestant worshippers.

Henry II. continues the persecutions.

The bigoted Henry died in 1559. Up to his death the Protestants of France had suffered their persecutions in patience; they had not preached revolt nor sought political influence. But from the mere religious sect they had been, they now advanced to the rôle of a political party. This change was due in a large measure to the political confusion that ensued on the unexpected death of Henry II.

The Protestants begin to take a hand in politics.

At the death of Henry, his son, Francis II., who was but sixteen years old, and physically and mentally feeble, succeeded to the throne. The real responsibilities of rule he was, of course, unable to assume, nor could his wife, who was Mary, queen of Scots, a very intelligent woman, undertake them for him, because of her extreme youth. The power, therefore, fell into the hands of Mary's two uncles of the family of Guise, duke Francis, the soldier, and cardinal Lorraine, a churchman.

The situation on the accession of Francis II.

The Guises.

There were those, however, who believed their own rights were infringed upon by this domination of the Guises at court and throughout the country. First to consider is the mother of Francis II., Catharine de' Medici, a member of the famous house that ruled at Florence. To an inordinate love of power she added some of the characteristic qualities of her nation — a rapid in-

Catharine de' Medici.

telligence, diplomatic skill, and an entire unscrupulousness. The religious fanaticism with which she has been sometimes credited has been much exaggerated, and if she plays a sinister rôle on several occasions in the subsequent religious troubles, it can be intelligently explained by sole reference to her political ambitions. But as intrigues and secrecy, and not open and frank enmity, were Catharine's political methods, the most earnest opposition to the Guises came not from her, but from the Bourbons. The House of Bourbon was a collateral branch of the royal family, and its leading members at this time were, Anthony, king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé. Anthony was graced with the royal title, not in his own right, but because he had married the heiress of the small kingdom of Navarre, on the border between France and Spain. Not unnaturally the Bourbons thought that they had a better claim to direct the policy of the kingdom than the Guises, and when they found themselves systematically excluded from power, they sought to bring about a league of all the opposition elements Now among these elements were also the persecuted Huguenots,[1] and out of the common hatred of the Huguenots and the Bourbons there grew, before long, an intimacy and an alliance. Anthony in a faithless, vacillating spirit, Condé more firmly, accepted the reformed faith; and, many of their aristocratic supporters following their example, it came to pass that Protestantism in France became gradually connected with political intrigue.

The Bourbons.

Of all these high-stationed Huguenots, the one man who has won the respect of friend and foe is Gaspard de Coligny. He was related to the great family of Montmorency, and bore the dignity of admiral of France. Though he was not without political ambition, he merits the high praise of having been a man to whom his faith was a thing not to be bought and sold, and of having served it with single-mindedness to his death.

Coligny.

[1] The term Huguenots was probably first applied in derision to the French Protestants. Neither origin nor meaning has been satisfactorily explained.

Out of these relations of the factions around the throne grew the intrigues which led to the long religious wars in France. It is useless to try to put the blame for them upon one or the other side. Given a weakened royal executive, the implacable religious temper which marks the parties of the sixteenth century, and a horde of powerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a necessary consequence. The reader is now invited to note the leading circumstances connected with the outbreak.

Civil war inevitable.

The sickly Francis II. died in December, 1560. Thereupon his widow, Mary, finding her rôle in France exhausted, left for Scotland, and the Guises, who owed their position largely to her, presently discovered that their power had come to an end. The successor of Francis was his brother, Charles IX., a weak boy but ten years old, during whose minority his mother, Catharine de' Medici, undertook to act as regent. Thus Catharine at last realized her dream of power. But her new position was far from easy, as Guises and Bourbons alike watched her with jealousy. She resolved, therefore, with much moderation, upon a policy of balance between the hostile factions; called representatives of both into her council; and published an edict, securing to the Huguenots a limited toleration. It was the first effort of the kind that had been made in France to settle the religious difficulties. Its ending in failure proved again, if proof were necessary, that no compromise could satisfy men who, like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own ideas without the abatement of a jot or tittle. While the Roman Catholics were embittered by the extent of Catharine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

Charles IX. (1560–74); Catharine as regent.

One of these conflicts, the Massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed

retainers, when he happened, at Vassy, upon a band of Huguenots, assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away, forty Protestants lay dead upon the ground and many more had been wounded. A fearful indignation seized their brothers in the faith, and when the duke of Guise was not immediately called to account for his breach of the law, Condé and Coligny armed and took the field.

The Massacre of Vassy.

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France, which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms, supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.[1] The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and conflagrations, pillagings, massacres, and assassinations blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics became brutalised, and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

Character of the war.

When the Treaty of St Germain (1570), granting the Protestants the largest toleration which they had yet enjoyed, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. Anthony of Navarre had been killed in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he had treacherously deserted (1562); the duke of Guise had been assassinated (1563); and Condé had been unfairly slain in a charge of horse (1569). The head of the Huguenot party was now Anthony's young son, king Henry of Navarre, but the intellectual leadership fell, for the present, upon Coligny.

The Peace of St Germain.

Meanwhile, a moderate party had formed in France, which

[1] Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562-63; second war, 1567-68; third war, 1568-70 (ended by the peace of St Germain); fourth war, 1572-73; fifth war, 1574-76; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579-80; eighth war (called the War of the three Henries), 1585-89, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

tried to make the Peace of St Germain the beginning of a definite settlement. It was only too clear that the bloodshed which was draining the country of its strength, ruined both parties and brought profit to none but the enemies of France. The more temperate of both sides, Coligny prominent among them, began to see the folly of the struggle, and king Charles himself, who was now of age, inclined to their view. And yet such were the mutual suspicions and animosities, that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel precipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the Massacre of St Bartholomew.

Growth of a moderate policy.

After the Peace of St Germain, Coligny had come up to Paris and had rapidly acquired a great influence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be disposed to put an end for all time to internal dissension, and to turn the strength of the united country against the old enemy of France, Spain. For this purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between his sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully responding to the invitation of king Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms into Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

The wedding of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois.

The wedding seemed to inaugurate an era of Protestant triumphs. Coligny's star, shedding the promise of toleration, was rising steadily; that of the Guises and their ultra-Catholic supporters, standing for the principle of no-compromise, was as steadily setting. But suddenly the orthodox party, which, seeing ruin ahead of it, had fallen into a desperate mood, ready for any undertaking, received an unexpected addition. Catharine de' Medici, originally hardly more attached to the Guises than to the Huguenots, because primarily solicitous only about her own power, had lately lost all influence with the king. She knew well whither it had gone, and fixed the hatred of a revengeful and passionate nature upon Coligny. Burning to regain her power, she now put herself in communication with

The alliance of Catharine and the Guises against Coligny.

the Guises. On August 22, as Coligny was entering his house, a ball, meant for his breast, struck him in the arm. The king, who hurried in alarm to the bedside of his councillor, was filled with indignation, and swore to take a summary revenge upon the assassin and his accomplices.

The terror of discovery and punishment, which now racked Catharine and the Guises, drove them to devise some means by which they might deflect the king's vengeance. On the spur of the moment, as it were, they planned the Massacre of St Bartholomew. This famous massacre is, therefore, not to be considered, as was once the custom, the carefully laid plot of the Roman Catholic heads of Europe, but rather as the bloodthirsty improvization of a desperate band. Catharine de' Medici and the Guises were its authors, and the fervidly Roman Catholic population of Paris was the instrument of their will. How the king's consent was got, when all was ready, would be difficult to understand, if we did not know that he was weak and cowardly, and ready for any measure when hoodwinked and terrorized. On St Bartholomew's day (August 24), in the early hours of a Sunday morning, the tocsin was sounded from the churches of Paris. At the signal, the Roman Catholic citizens slipped noiselessly from their houses, and surrounded the residences which had been previously designated by a chalk-mark as the homes of Huguenots. Coligny was one of the first victims of the ensuing fury, Henry of Guise himself presiding at the butchery of his Huguenot rival. That night the streets flowed with blood, and for many days after the provinces emulated the example of the capital. Henry of Navarre escaped death only by temporarily renouncing his faith. The victims of this fearful exhibition of fanaticism amounted approximately to 2,000 in Paris, and 8,000 in the rest of France. We are helped in understanding the spirit of the time when we hear that the Roman world, the pope and Philip of Spain at its head, made no effort to conceal its delight at this facile method of getting rid of adversaries.

The Massacre of St Bartholomew, 1572.

War with all its dreary incidents straightway flamed up

again. In 1574 Charles IX. died, out of remorse, as the Huguenots were fain to believe, for his share in the great crime of St Bartholomew. His brother, Henry III., succeeded him on the throne. A new element of interest was introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's last brother, the duke of Alençon, and his own failure to have heirs, involved, with the religious question, the question of the succession.

Henry III., 1574-89.

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass, upon Henry's death, to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head of the collateral branch of Bourbon. But Henry was a Huguenot, the enemy of the faith of the vast majority of his future subjects. When therefore his succession became probable, Henry of Guise and his followers formed the Holy League, which pledged itself to the interests of the Church, even against the king. As the Holy League satisfied the current fanaticism of the day, it became the rallying-point of Roman Catholic France, and before long Henry III. found at his side a man more really king than himself—his former friend and present head of the League, Henry of Guise. In measure as he tried to live up to his royal duty of mediating between the contending factions and establishing peace, he found himself deserted by the League, which would have no peace. France was, in consequence, soon divided into three camps, the ultras of the two religious parties, headed respectively by Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre, and between them a moderate party headed by king Henry.

Prospect of the succession of Henry of Navarre.

There follows the phase of the struggle known as the war of the Three Henries (1585-89), which steeped the country in new confusion. In December, 1588, king Henry, who had tried all possible shifts to secure peace, even to the point of resigning the real power into the hands of the head of the League, indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation. He invited Henry of Guise to his cabinet, and there had him treacherously despatched by his guard. But the League now turned in horror from the

The war of the Three Henries.

murderer, and Paris and Roman Catholic France declared for his deposition. In his despair the king fled to Henry of Navarre, and was just about to advance with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and killed him with a knife (August, 1589). Thus the House of Valois had come to an end. The question was now simply between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, which would have none of him.

Henry IV. and the League.

The new Henry, Henry IV., first king of the House of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent ruler, and an affable gentleman. He was the idol of his followers, but his followers were only a small part of France. The attachment of the Roman Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and certainly not by force. Therefore he undertook with wisdom and patience to assure them of the loyalty of his intentions and win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated; but his claim was incontrovertible, and that was his strength. For the present no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engagements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, supported by Philip of Spain, could not be scattered.

Henry abjures Protestantism.

At last Henry, weary of the interminable struggle, resolved to take a decisive step. He abjured his faith and begged to be re-admitted into the Roman Church (1593). His calculation of the consequences of this measure proved to be correct, for he was almost immediately recognized throughout France, the League fell apart, and the war ceased. In February, 1594, Henry was solemnly crowned at Chartres, and in March he took possession of his capital amidst the unbounded rejoicings of those same Parisians who had clamoured, on St Bartholomew's day, for his head.

Opinion has always been much divided on Henry's conversion. But there is no necessity for lingering over it long. It was purely a political measure, and a well-calculated

one, as the result shows, and though Henry professed before the priest that the change was with him a matter of conscience, we know that the conversion sat lightly upon him. "Paris is well worth a mass," was the light-hearted comment he offered his friends to explain his defection.

Henry's justification.

The first important business of the recognized king was to secure his country the benefit of a permanent religious pacification. The edict designed for this end was published at Nantes, April, 1598, and although it was not a decree of toleration such as satisfies our modern feeling, it was the best the time could afford. The Edict of Nantes gave the great nobles and the people in certain specified places permission to establish a Protestant worship; furthermore, it placed the Huguenots on a level with the Roman Catholics before the law; and finally, to reassure the party of the minority, and as a kind of guarantee of its promises, it made over to the Huguenots a number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the most important. It was this last measure that later caused a renewal of the civil war, for it was a dangerous concession and made the Huguenots an independent armed power within the state.

The Edict of Nantes, 1598.

In the same year (1598) Henry closed the war with Spain, due to Spanish interference in behalf of the League. Though he was not unwilling to proceed against his meddling neighbour with all vigour, he saw that his country was for the present in no condition for foreign conquest, and that he would better reserve his strength for the future. So he signed the Peace of Vervins (1598) on the basis of mutual restitutions.

Henry ends also the war with Spain, 1598.

Now that France was at peace within and without, Henry seriously set about the task of building up again his ruined country. With the aid of his Protestant minister, the duke of Sully, he re-established the finances, and advanced commerce and industry, and only when, after years of labour, he saw himself in possession of an ordered and flourishing commonwealth, did

Internal government of Henry and Sully.

he again turn his attention to foreign affairs. The House of Hapsburg, governing through its two branches the dominions of Spain and Austria, was still to his mind the great enemy of France. That France and the House of Bourbon must grow at the expense of Spain and the House of Hapsburg became Henry's fixed resolution. In 1610, a local quarrel in Germany was just about to furnish him with a desired pretext to interfere against the Hapsburgs, when he was killed by the dagger of a half-insane Roman Catholic fanatic, named Ravaillac. To this day king Henry is dear to the French people, and his popularity has never been eclipsed by that of any of his successors.

Henry plans to abase the House of Hapsburg.

His death.

At Henry's death his son, Louis XIII. (1610–43), was but nine years old. A regency was therefore established under Marie de' Medici, Henry's second wife. As Marie de' Medici was a weak woman, the puppet of favourites, the nobility and the Huguenots, whom Henry had vigorously kept within bounds, again raised their heads, and threatened to involve France in new civil wars.

Regency of Marie de' Medici.

If France was saved from this calamity, it was due, and solely due, to cardinal Richelieu. When this churchman became the leading minister in 1624, the queen-regent had already been supplanted by the king, but the change had not brought with it an improvement in the situation, owing to the fact that the king was indolent and commonplace. Richelieu was confronted by a heavy task. Luckily the king fully appreciated the talents of his minister, and left him in control until his death, a period of eighteen years (1624–42). The extraordinary power enjoyed by Richelieu was, on the whole, put by him at the service of an enlightened patriotism. He set himself two aims: the first, to strengthen the national monarchy, for which purpose he must sap the political power of the nobility and the Huguenots; the second, to enlarge France territorially, in pursuance of which end he must renew the wars with his country's old rival, Spain and the House of Hapsburg.

Richelieu.

His two aims.

The political power of the nobility Richelieu did not succeed in reducing without resistance. He planned to bring the nobles under the law of the land, and when they protested by means of plots and insurrections, he executed a number of them and thus frightened the rest into obedience. *He curbs the nobles.*

More serious was the case of the Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes had, in addition to toleration, which was entirely just, given them political power—an army and fortified towns. Since the death of Henry IV. they had frequently created disturbances, and certain of their measures indicated that they were planning to secede from France. That Richelieu was resolved not to suffer. He would leave them their freedom of worship—for Richelieu, although a churchman, was not a fanatic—but their pretension to independence would have to be surrendered. His campaign against the Huguenots was carefully planned, and culminated in the siege of La Rochelle (1628). La Rochelle was the greatest of the Protestant strongholds, and although the Rochellese, aided by the English, defended themselves with heroism, they were obliged in the end to deliver themselves into the cardinal's hands. Although victorious, Richelieu remained true to his principle of toleration, and signed a peace, first with the Rochellese, and later with the other Huguenots, in which he secured them all the privileges of the Edict of Nantes, barring the exceptional political power. *He curbs the Huguenots.* *La Rochelle (1628) and the pacification of 1629.*

The domestic troubles of France being thus smoothed over, and all classes having been brought under the law of the king, Richelieu could turn to the second part of his programme: the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg. A circumstance most opportune for his policy was that Germany was then convulsed by her Thirty Years' War. With the instinct of the statesman Richelieu felt that if he helped the Protestants of Germany against the Roman Catholics backed by the House of Hapsburg (Emperor and Spain), he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages *Enmity to Hapsburg.*

for France. His gradual interference finally secured his king the balance of power in the German war, and made France practical dictator of Europe when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the advantages which France secured on that occasion may be written down to his statesmanlike conduct of the government.

France in the Thirty Years' War.

Richelieu is sometimes called the creator of the absolute monarchy of France. That is an exaggeration, for the French kings had for centuries been working toward that end, but though not the creator, Richelieu certainly was the promoter of absolutism. Attention has already been called to his systematic abasement of the nobility. Further he refused to call, and thus permitted to fall into disuse, the States-General, the old feudal parliament of the realm. This body was not assembled from 1614 to 1789, and during that period the king's power was free from very effective check. Thus, although the benefits conferred by Richelieu upon France was great, it is a question whether he is not partially responsible for the ills which, in the eighteenth century, grew out of the unlimited royal prerogative.

Richelieu stands for absolutism.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

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Lodge, *Richelieu.*

THE Peace of Augsburg (1555) ended the first religious war of Germany, by an attempt to accommodate the claims of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, but the attempt did not and could not succeed. The article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which tried to protect the Roman Church by forbidding all future secularizations of her territory, had hardly been adopted when triumphant Protestantism infringed upon it at every point. The Papists were thus furnished with a standing complaint against their rivals. And other difficulties were not wanting. Shortly after the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism spread through the south and west of Germany, but as only Lutheranism was mentioned in the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism had no legal basis. Thus Calvinism led a very precarious existence.

The religious quarrels in Germany continue.

It is a wonder that in spite of the incessant quarrels of the three parties, which filled all the Diets with their clamour, the peace was so long preserved. Probably jealousy of one another and fear of the consequences of the sanguinary struggle which would follow, kept them from proceeding to extremes. Meanwhile, the long truce which outlasted the century proved, at least for

Protestantism continues for a time its triumphs.

a time, favourable to the Protestants. Lutherans and Calvinists alike were little impeded in their propaganda, and soon the whole German north had become solidly Protestant, while in the south, Austria and Bavaria themselves, states which were looked upon as mainstays of the Roman faith, were becoming dangerously infiltrated with the heretical poison. It seemed that the Lutherans and Calvinists would only have to cease their mutual bickerings, and organize their action, and Roman Catholicism would be driven out of Germany.

The Catholic reaction.

But organize the Protestants would not, and soon the Roman Catholics, arousing themselves from the lethargy into which they had fallen, gathered their forces at the Council of Trent, under the leadership of the Jesuits, and boldly undertook the reconquest of Germany. From the time of emperor Rudolph II. (1576–1612), a new Catholic vigour became noticeable. The Jesuits made their way to the hearths of the ruling Roman Catholic families, and from the courts of Vienna and Munich, as operating centres, gradually widened the sphere of their influence. They did their work with firm zeal and noiseless caution. They served their princely masters as father-confessors or as ministers of state, and in either case controlled their policy; they founded schools and colleges; they sent their missionaries into all hesitating communities, and soon amazed the Protestants with the news of the reconversion to Mother Church of princes and whole territories.

The Protestant Union and the Catholic League.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tension had so increased that the more assertive Protestants established a Union for the purpose of mutual protection (1608). This step was answered the next year (1609) by a similar organization on the part of the Roman Catholics, which they called the Holy League. Henceforth, Germany was divided into the two hostile camps of League and Union, either ready to take the field against the other as soon as the occasion served. Under the circumstances the opinion was becoming general that the terrible suspense about the endless religious questions ought finally to

be terminated, one way or another. From the first, however, this difference between the two religious camps ought to be noted, that, while the Roman Catholics were firmly organized under a capable man, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the Protestants, owing to their old divisions, gave their Calvinistic president, Frederick, the count palatine of the Rhine, only a wavering support.

The occasion that the two parties were looking for, in order to begin the war, was at length furnished by Bohemia. The kingdom of Bohemia, a state inhabited by Slavs (Czechs) and Germans, was a part of the possessions of the House of Hapsburg. Lutheranism had got a foothold in Bohemia, and after a period of persecution, the emperor Rudolph had issued (1609) a royal charter in which he agreed to tolerate it. But both Rudolph and his successor, Matthias (1612–19), bore with the Protestants in Bohemia only out of necessity. They continued to vex them even after the decree of toleration, with the result that the Protestants lost patience, and in 1618 rose in revolt. They invaded the castle at Prague, the residence of the emperor's lieutenants, and laying violent hands upon the persons of their oppressors, tossed them roughly out of the window. Then they set up a government of their own. Thus the challenge that the Protestants and Roman Catholics had been awaiting for years was given; the Thirty Years' War had begun.

The affairs of Bohemia.

The Revolution of 1618.

It is customary to divide the Thirty Years' War, for convenience sake, into four periods—the Bohemian-Palatine Period (1618–23), the Danish Period (1625–29), the Swedish Period (1630–35), and the French-Swedish Period (1635–48). Perhaps the most striking feature of the war is, that, beginning with a local struggle in Bohemia, it should gradually have spread until it included all Europe. The above divisions indicate the widening circles. From Bohemia it first extended over southern Germany (Bohemian-Palatine Period); then slowly, northern Germany and its nearest Protestant neighbour caught fire (Danish Period); and, finally, country upon country was

The four Periods of the Thirty Years' War.

moved to take part, until the war was no longer a German struggle at all, but assumed, first, the aspect of a general conflict between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and secondly, the character of a struggle between the two great dynasties, Hapsburg and Bourbon, for the supremacy in Europe.

The Bohemian-Palatine Period.—The insurgents at Prague had hardly set up their government, when they appealed to the Protestant Union for help and prepared themselves for war. In the midst of the first campaign the incapable emperor Matthias died (1619), and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a man of altogether different mould, Ferdinand II.

Ferdinand II., 1619–37.

Ferdinand II. (1619–37), who had been brought up by the Jesuits, united with a narrow Roman Catholic enthusiasm many incontestable Christian virtues. He was acknowledged on his accession in most of his dominions, and the electors of the empire, although three of the seven electors were Protestant, so far accepted the time-honoured ascendancy of the House of Hapsburg as to choose him emperor. Ferdinand felt that having gained so much, he must now undertake the recovery of Bohemia. He appealed to the Catholic League for help, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its president, readily granted it.

Maximilian of Bavaria.

Maximilian and Ferdinand had been brought up together under the same Jesuit influences, and Maximilian, who was an exceedingly capable man, was always glad to do something for the cause of Rome. Moreover, the newest developments in Bohemia had greatly stimulated this eagerness. In order to strengthen their hand, the Bohemian Protestants had just elected (1619) Frederick, count palatine of the Rhine and head of the Protestant Union, king of Bohemia, and Maximilian, as head of the League, felt that he could not let this adversary assume this honour unchallenged.

The battle of the White Hill, 1620.

In the year 1620 there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Frederick, the new king, proved utterly inadequate to his task. At the battle of the White Hill, just outside of Prague, the united forces of the emperor and the League scattered

the army of the rebels to the four winds, and drove Frederick himself into exile. Ferdinand and his Jesuits immediately took possession of Bohemia and forced it back to Roman Catholicism.

The war would now have been over if the Catholics had been contented with their first success. But urged on by his advisers, the emperor allowed himself to be hurried into a new and larger enterprise. He placed the defeated count palatine Frederick under the ban of the Empire, and commissioned Maximilian to occupy his territories, which straggled in loose array along southern Germany from the Rhine to Bohemia, and were known under the name of the Palatinate. Even the Lutherans, hitherto indifferent, became excited at this outrage, and a number of campaigns were necessary before Maximilian's troops could execute the imperial order.

The Palatinate occupied by the Catholics.

And now a new danger arose. Protestants the world over had expressed their grief at the defeat of their co-religionists in Germany, while the European Roman Catholics celebrated the emperor's victory as their own. Religion, it must be remembered, was still the dominant interest of the day. Thus Frederick's misfortunes gradually won him the sympathies of foreign Protestant monarchs, and especially of James I. of England, whose daughter Elizabeth, Frederick had married. But all the larger states which sympathized with Frederick happened to have their hands full at the time, and thus it happened that the only power which could, for the present, be persuaded to interfere actively in his behalf, was Denmark.

The situation begins to interest the rest of Europe.

The Danish War (1625–29).—In the year 1625, Christian IV., king of Denmark, gave ear to the supplication of the more radical wing of the German Protestants and placed himself at their head. The theatre of war was thus immediately transferred from the south to the north.

Again, the Roman Catholics won a complete victory, for against the Protestant forces they put into the field two

armies, superior in every way to their Protestant rivals. The first of these was equipped by the Catholic League and commanded by Tilly, the victor of the White Hill, while the second had only lately been got together by the personal activity of a Bohemian nobleman, one Wallenstein, who placed it at the service of the emperor.

Protestant and Catholic forces compared.

This Wallenstein was destined to play a great rôle on the imperial side. The emperor, owing to the exhaustion of his treasury, had hitherto waged the war primarily with the troops of the League. Wallenstein now proposed the bold plan of raising an army for him which should cost him nothing. His notion was convincingly simple: the army was to live by a system of forced contributions. Wallenstein's personal magnetism, his promise of large pay and plunder, soon furnished him with a numerous army of adventurers, who cared neither for Romanism nor Protestantism, and blindly served their chief.

Wallenstein creates an imperial army.

In the year 1626, Tilly and Wallenstein completely scattered their Protestant adversaries, and then proceeded to invade Denmark. Christian defended himself for a time as best he could, but in the end had to give way. In the year 1629 he was glad to sign the Peace of Lübeck, upon terms which secured him his territory in return for the promise that he would not again interfere in the affairs of Germany.

Victories of Wallenstein and Tilly.

Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed Wallenstein had covered the whole Protestant north of Germany with his troops. His remarkable mind was nursing vast and intricate designs, the gist of them being to destroy the local power of the princes, and to build up a strong united Germany under the emperor, with himself as the power behind the throne. His successes were unchecked till he arrived at Stralsund, a port of the Baltic Sea. This city, although he vowed in his wrath he would have it, "even though it were fastened

Wallenstein's imperial plans.

First defeat at Stralsund, 1629.

to heaven by chains of iron," he could not take, and was forced to retire. Next to herself, Stralsund owed her deliverance to the supplies, secretly contributed by a voluntary ally, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This monarch had been for some time planning to interfere in the German war, but he was detained by a war which he had begun with Poland. While he was bringing this to a close and preparing to come in person to Germany, a number of events occurred there that greatly facilitated his projects.

In spite of the check at Stralsund, the year 1629 marks the climax of the Roman Catholic successes. The Peace of Lübeck had removed Denmark from the struggle; in the length and breadth of Germany there was no army to resist the emperor; and Wallenstein and Tilly held both the north and the south. This triumphant situation persuaded Ferdinand II. to strike a decisive blow at the Protestant religion. He published (1629) the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were ordered to give up all Church territories which had been taken into possession since the Peace of Augsburg (1555). As this affected two archbishoprics, nine bishoprics, and many monasteries, altogether a considerable fraction of German land, it will be understood why all Protestants, even the sluggish Lutherans, were seized with consternation. For a moment differences were forgotten, and all stood firm, ready to renew an opposition which seemed to have been broken by the tide of Papist victories.

The Edict of Restitution, 1629.

Luckily for the Protestants, the emperor himself by his very next step frustrated his own policy. Wallenstein's savage warfare, above all, his imperial policy, which involved the ruin of the princes, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, had won him their united hatred. At the Diet of Ratisbon (Regensburg, 1630), they fiercely demanded his dismissal. The emperor hesitated for a moment, and then gave way. Wallenstein was forced to take leave of his army at the very moment when there gathered against Ferdinand the worst storm which had yet threatened.

Dismissal of Wallenstein.

Swedish Period (1630–35).—Wallenstein's retirement occurred almost at the same time as the landing in Germany of an army of Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus. What were the motives of this Swedish king in thus intervening in German affairs? They can still be made out with perfect ease. First, he was certainly moved by self-interest. Sweden was a Baltic power and had been striving for some time to make of the Baltic a "Swedish lake." The wars which Gustavus Adolphus had directed against Russia and Poland were waged in obedience to this ambitious policy, and had practically secured Sweden the whole Baltic coast as far as Prussia. The attempt of Wallenstein to establish the emperor along the northern coast of Germany might certainly be conceived as a danger by a Swedish patriot, and Gustavus, frightened at Wallenstein's successes, gradually became convinced that the safety of his state depended upon the defeat of the House of Hapsburg. Secondly, he was an ardent Protestant, ready to risk a blow for a cause he loved. It is unnecessary to try to measure mathematically, as some historians have attempted to do, which of these two motives was dominant in his mind. Capable men, such as Gustavus, who combine ideal aspirations with a sense of the necessities and realities of power, always follow a line of action which delicately strikes the balance between a multitude of considerations. In any case, Gustavus came as a rescuing angel to the aid of a dying cause, and immediately gave to events that larger proportion, which lifted the brutal struggle of the religious parties momentarily to a higher plane.

Reasons for the coming of Gustavus Adolphus.

Gustavus attempted, upon landing in Germany, to secure the alliance of the Protestant princes. But this was no easy matter. They were glad enough to have his help, but they had legitimate scruples about handing over Germany to a foreigner. While Gustavus was still negotiating with them aid came to him from another quarter. Richelieu had now mastered the Huguenots (fall of La Rochelle, 1628), and was determined, like Gustavus, to

Attitude of the German princes.

proceed vigorously against the Hapsburgs. Under the circumstances it was not unnatural that France and Sweden should form an alliance, which was duly concluded in 1631, and which henceforth determined the course of the war. For the present, however, the part of France was limited to a contribution of money to the Swedish treasury.

Alliance with France.

All this time Gustavus was in the north, waiting for the Protestant princes to join him. While they were still hesitating, the army of the League, under Tilly, took, plundered, and utterly destroyed the great Protestant city of Magdeburg (1631). The horror of the terrible massacre (20,000 inhabitants were butchered by the soldiery) added to the irritation caused by continued imperial aggressions, threw the Protestants, and, above all, the greatest prince of the north, the elector of Saxony, upon the Swedish side. Having secured this important ally, Gustavus could now march south against Tilly without fear of an insurrection at his back. At Breitenfeld, near Leipsic, a great battle took place, in which Swedish generalship and discipline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army of Tilly (September, 1631).

The sack of Magdeburg, 1631.

The battle of Breitenfeld, 1631.

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus. Never was there a more complete dramatic change. The Roman Catholics, who, a year before, had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly the same helpless position in which the Protestants had then found themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere with jubilation by the Protestants, whom he had delivered, marched, without opposition, straight across Germany to the Rhine.

Gustavus becomes the hero of Protestant Germany.

In the spring, Gustavus again took the field, aiming straight for Munich and Vienna, the capitals respectively of Maximilian and Ferdinand. Munich fell into his hands, and Vienna seemed likewise doomed, when Ferdinand in his cruel predicament turned once more to Wallenstein for help. That general, since his dismissal, had

Wallenstein comes to the rescue.

been sulking on his estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador now besought him for aid he affected indifference, but at length he allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army, upon conditions that practically made his command absolute. Then he floated his standards to the wind, and immediately the old veterans flocked around their beloved leader.

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long futile manœuvring around Nuremberg, in which Wallenstein won some slight advantages, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipsic (November, 1632). The armies of that day were not large; 20,000 Swedes confronted about as many Imperialists. After the Swedish army had knelt in prayer and the trumpeters had sounded the grand old hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and fierce, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus had carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy, and he was surrounded and slain.

The battle of Lützen, November, 1632.

For a few more years the Swedes, under various lieutenants trained in the school of Gustavus, and under the political direction of the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who represented Gustavus's infant daughter, Queen Christina, tried to hold what had been won for them. But in 1634 they were defeated by the Imperialists, under the younger Ferdinand, the emperor's son, at Nördlingen, and had to give up southern Germany. Wallenstein was, at that time, no longer at the head of the imperial forces. Having fallen under the suspicion of treachery he was murdered by a band of conspirators (February, 1634).

Swedes defeated at Nördlingen, 1634.

Murder of Wallenstein.

At this juncture France entered the war. We have seen that Richelieu had made with Gustavus, on Gustavus's landing in Germany, a treaty limited to money-support. But the battle of Nördlingen establishing the fact

Richelieu enters the war.

that Sweden without its king was no longer a match for the emperor, Richelieu now resolved on more vigorous measures against the House of Hapsburg. In 1635 he declared war against both branches.

French-Swedish Period (1635–48).—From now on the war was the conflict of the House of Bourbon, allied in Germany with Sweden and in the Netherlands with the Dutch, against the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the House of Hapsburg; and the theatre of the struggle of these two dynasties for the leadership in Europe was the territory where their interests clashed—the Netherlands, Italy, and, of course, Germany. The Protestant princes, mere pygmies in this universal contest, sank more and more out of sight. If the war continued, it was not because of any interests of theirs, but because Richelieu was set upon reducing the Hapsburgs in the world, and would not retire until France and Sweden had gained a firm foothold in Germany.

Changed character of the war.

The campaigns of this last period of the war consist, therefore, of a patient forward thrust across the Rhine into southern Germany, on the part of France, and a steady movement southward from the Baltic, on the part of Sweden. The emperor, aided by subsidies from Spain, but rarely by her troops (for Spain was engaged to the extent of her capacity in the Netherlands and Italy), made what resistance he could, while the Germans looked on, for the most part indifferent, weary to death of the long struggle, and unable to see any further meaning in it. Under these conditions, and especially after the great generals, Turenne and the prince of Condé were put at the head of the French troops, the emperor was steadily pushed back. During these years, Germany was harried by fire and sword. The cities fell into decay, and the country was deserted by the peasants. When the product of labour was sure to become the booty of marauders, nobody cared to work. So the people fell into idleness, were butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. The only

The attack of France and Sweden.

The long agony of Germany.

profession which afforded security and a livelihood was that of a soldier, and soldier meant robber and murderer. Armies, therefore, became mere bands, organized for pillage, and marched up and down the country, followed by immense hordes of starved camp followers, women and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance which they could not find at home. Finally, defeat upon defeat brought the emperor to terms. Ferdinand II., who had begun the war, having died in the meantime, it was his son and successor, Ferdinand III. (1637–57), who put an end to the general misery by signing, after wearisome negotiations, a peace with all his enemies, called the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

The end of the war.

The Peace of Westphalia is, from a variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history. First, it determined what territorial compensation France and Sweden were to have in Germany for their victories over the emperor; secondly, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; and, thirdly, it authorized an important political readjustment of Germany. All these points will be considered separately.

The main sub-heads of the Peace of Westphalia.

As to the first point, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun. By these possessions she was put in control of the mouths of the German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser. France was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had acquired under Henry II. (1552), and received, in addition, Alsace, with the exception of the city of Strassburg and a few inconsiderable districts.

Cessions to Sweden and to France.

Under the second point, we note that the Peace of Augsburg was confirmed, and that the toleration there granted to the Lutherans was extended to the Calvinists. In regard to the bishoprics, which the Edict of Restitution had declared to be Catholic, the victory remained substantially with the Protestants, for

The religious settlement.

January 1, 1624, was designated as a test day, it being agreed that whatever land had been Protestant at that time should remain Protestant, and *vice versa*.

Under the third point it is necessary to note a variety of political and territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were given a number of new sovereign rights; among others, the right of forming alliances with each other, and with foreign powers. Therewith the decentralization of Germany was completed, and the single states legally declared as good as independent. Furthermore, the elector of Brandenburg received additions of territory, which made him not only the greatest Protestant prince, but the greatest prince altogether in Germany, after the emperor. Brandenburg, thus enlarged, was destined to grow into a kingdom (Prussia), and become in time the rival and conquerer of Austria, and the recreator of the German political unity of which the Peace of Westphalia made an end. As a last curious item, it may be added that Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands (seven United Provinces), which had once been members of the Empire, but had long ago won a practical independence, were formally declared free from any obligations to that body.

Disruption of Germany.

Growth of Brandenburg.

Switzerland and the Netherlands.

The Peace of Westphalia had also a European significance. It dealt with so many international affairs, that it may be said to have been, in a measure, a constitution of Europe, and practically, it was the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning-point in the destinies of civilization. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of Religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia, the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning—which was, that such a fight was futile, and that they would better learn to put up with each other. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant,

The Peace of Westphalia closes the era of religious wars.

even if the *laws* were not always so, and this is, when all is said, the more satisfactory progress. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century, is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration there granted was merely of the old kind—the toleration of the princes, but not of the individuals, expressed by the famous *cujus regio, ejus religio* (he who rules the country may settle its religion)—yet, persecution of individuals was henceforth the exception, and not the rule. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of toleration had now been conquered for humanity, or that the squabbles for religion's sake ceased in the world, but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a definite recognition among the upper and the cultured classes. During the next one hundred and fifty years, the principle filtered gradually, through the literary labour of many noble thinkers, to the lowest strata of society, and became, in the era of the French Revolution, a possession of all mankind.

The principle of toleration.

SECTION II

THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM AND THE DYNASTIC WARS: FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1648–1789).

THE reader is again warned that any staking off of a section of Modern History is entirely arbitrary, and is solely justified on the score of convenience and in the interest of analysis. Now the above so-called Second Section has, like the First, an essential unity, or, to use a musical expression, a leading motive. This motive is found in the circumstance that during the century and a half between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the French Revolution (1789), Europe was dominated by the principle of government known as absolutism, and was constantly shaken by the wars of the various absolute dynasties waged for the selfish purposes of territorial aggrandizement. But this once understood, the reader must guard himself against imagining that there was no absolutism and self-aggrandizement both before and after our Section II. Of course there was, and all that is meant by this introductory word is that never at any other time did these two closely wedded tendencies stand so prominently in the foreground of public affairs.

CHAPTER XXV

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. THE STUARTS, THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY UNDER WILLIAM III.

LITERATURE.—Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution.* (Epochs.)
Gardiner, *History of England* (1603-42).
Gardiner, *History of the Civil War* (1642-49).
Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (1649-60).
Firth, *Cromwell* (*Heroes*).
Morley, *Cromwell*, and *Cromwell's Place in History.*
Seeley, *Growth of England's Foreign Policies.*
Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.*
Of Memoirs on the Restoration, see Pepys.
Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (1628-60).
Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History.*

Reign of James I. (1603–25).

Gardiner, *Student's History of England.*
Green, *Short History of the English People.*
Wakeling, *Oxford Manuals of English History.* Vol. V.

James, the first monarch of Great Britain.

ELIZABETH was succeeded upon her death by the next heir to the crown, James I., the son of Mary Stuart. James, who was already king of Scotland, united in his person for the first time the sovereignty over the kingdoms constituting Great Britain. But it must be understood that the union of England and Scotland which the accession of James established, was, for the present, merely a personal union; that is, the accession of James gave the two countries a common sovereign, but not, as yet, common laws and institutions.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the character of the sovereign greatly influenced the government, such a man as James should have been on the throne. His figure was almost ludicrously disjointed, and his character was devoid of force and fibre. Under the circumstances his really considerable information was not likely to help him much, whereas his exaggerated idea of his office was sure to do him harm. Concerning this office, he obstinately believed that it was of divine origin, and that its prerogatives were so extensive as to render him practically absolute.

Character of James.

The accession of James occurred at a favourable moment. The defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) had established the authority of England without. Within, the Roman Catholics were a waning party, and the Anglican Church, which was alone recognized by the law (Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559), had, under Elizabeth, acquired solidarity and respect. The Puritan party within the Church, which inclined toward Calvinistic views, was by no means violent, and could be conciliated by a few concessions taking account of their aversion to the surplice, to genuflections, and similar externals of the service. The question was whether James would show the breadth of mind which the solution of this question demanded.

The favourable condition of the kingdom.

Shortly after his accession, in 1604, James met the Puritans in a conference at Hampton Court. He there bitterly denounced them as the enemies of episcopacy, and completely identified himself with that system of Church government. Now the king's charges against the Puritans were far from true. Once more let us remember that the Puritans at this time were not revolutionary; that they accepted the Church of England and the principle of episcopacy; and that they demanded only a few liberties, chiefly respecting ceremonial non-essentials. It was, therefore, extremely unwise on the part of the king to dismiss the Puritan conference gruffly, and to order, shortly after, the removal from their livings of those of the clergy who refused

James estranges the Puritans.

to conform to every minute description of the Anglican service.

The Roman Catholic party, too, had expected an alleviation of its position through James's accession. When it found that nothing was done to make its lot lighter, certain desperate men resolved upon vengeance. They deliberately planned to destroy the whole English government, king, Lords, and Commons, by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the Parliament cellars, and set November 5, 1605—the day of the opening in state of a new session—for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened through a letter of warning, sent by a conspirator to a friend who was a member of the House of Lords; and luckily, on the very eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardiest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. He and his helpmates were arrested and executed, and the English people were once more confirmed in that intense hatred and distrust of the Roman faith which long remained the first article of their religious and political programme.

The gunpowder plot.

The troubles with the Puritans and Catholics were not the only difficulties which James's policy raised about him. He managed also to quarrel with his Parliament. In the England of that time the rights of king and of Parliament were not accurately determined, and the king's prerogative was necessarily vague. It must be remembered that there was no written constitution, and that the legal basis for every political action was found in a mass of frequently conflicting customs and statutes. Under these circumstances a monarch could do a great many things which a Parliament might, on the ground of some ancient ordinance, dispute, but which a Parliament, if well-disposed in general toward the monarch, and if convinced that the particular act was wise, would not dispute.

The rights of king and Parliament.

Now James's finances fell into disorder—a sore matter with every government. Probably a little clever leading of Parliament would have brought that body around to a complete

and wholesome reform of the finances, but James preferred, in his high-handed and stupid way, to order the levy of a number of questionable taxes on his own authority, and to trust to luck that Parliament would, after a little haggling, yield him the point. In this he was mistaken. Parliament after Parliament allowed itself to be dissolved rather than take his dictation in this matter. And what was the result? What originally had been merely a practical business question, was soon raised to a matter of principle, and the irritated Commons began to ask themselves if the king had a right to raise any kind of tax at all without their consent. In this way the question, who controlled the nation's purse, was definitely placed before the people, and an answer would have to be found sooner or later, whether by peaceful adjustment or by war.

The question of who controlled the nation's purse.

To his unpopularity James's foreign policy contributed. His one notion was peace. That was not bad in itself, but James contrived an impracticable course. He tried to associate himself with Spain, arguing that an understanding between the leading Protestant and Roman Catholic powers would secure peace to the world. Unfortunately the Spaniards only hoodwinked him, and the English became thoroughly disaffected by this policy of truckling to their ancient foe. Nevertheless the king persisted in his course. In 1618 he had Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the popular Elizabethan heroes, executed for venturing to attack a Spanish village in South America. And when, in that same year, the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany, instead of assisting his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate, who was elected king of Bohemia, he remained an impotent spectator, in the hope that Spain would somehow kindly interfere in his relative's behalf. In the end his son-in-law was driven from Germany. But in spite of the fact that everybody now looked upon a conflict as inevitable, James continued his futile negotiations, and did not prepare for war against Spain until within a few months of his death, which occurred in 1625.

James's policy of peace.

It is a relief to turn from this chapter of mistaken efforts to the more productive field of James's colonial enterprises. In 1601 occurred the first settlement of Ulster, the North-eastern province of Ireland, with English and Scottish colonists. Before James's time Ireland had given to monarch after monarch nothing but trouble, and it was hoped that the scheme of colonization would bring the unruly island under control. However, in order to carry out this policy James had to confiscate the land and crowd the natives back into the marshes. This act of violence, which the Irish took to be nothing less than a crime, stamped an indelible hatred of the English in their souls. In the new world, another and an altogether more happy colonization was undertaken. In 1607 the first permanent English colony was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 the first band of radical Puritans, who had separated themselves from the Anglican Church and had at first taken refuge from persecution in Holland, set out across the Atlantic. From the valiant labours of themselves and their Puritan successors in the wilderness of Massachusetts developed in time a prosperous colony, and sprang the germs of that society which became the United States of America. Furthermore, in 1612, the East India Company, which had been chartered under Elizabeth, secured its first foothold in India. Thus, the victories of Elizabeth's reign having cleared the way, the Anglo-Saxon race planted under James the seeds of its expansion in the east and in the west, and laid the foundations of the English commercial supremacy of our day.

English colonization.

Ireland.

America.

India.

Reign of Charles I. (1625–49).

Gardiner (as before).
Green (as before).
Hutton, *Laud.*
Morley, *Cromwell.*
Firth, *Cromwell.*
Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

Charles I., who succeeded James in the year 1625, was outwardly very unlike his father. His face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's frequent reproductions, was handsome, and his manner kingly. He was also intelligent and conscientious, but viewed the royal prerogative like his father, and believed, like him, that a parliament ought not to be conciliated, but cowed.

Character of Charles.

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and dangerous fruit in the new reign. James had roused the slumbering Puritanism of his subjects and had raised the question with his Parliament as to who controlled taxation. Charles, by persisting in James's course of hostility to Puritans and Parliament, succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in developing the prejudices of his people into a violent opposition to himself, and in rousing the Commons, who had been servilely docile under Elizabeth, and, even while protesting, had been deeply respectful under James, to the point where they plainly put the question: who was sovereign in England, Parliament or king?

Struggle between Parliament and king comes to a head.

In the very year of his accession, Charles married Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. of France. This marriage which was unpopular in England in itself, was rendered doubly so by the fact that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to offer the English Roman Catholics his protection. Over this concession to a hostile faith the Parliament straightway flew into a passion. It grew still more excited when the fact became known that the king had lavished favours upon

Charles falls out with the Commons in matters of religion.

certain Anglican churchmen who had publicly attacked the Calvinistic doctrines then held by the majority of Englishmen. There is no doubt that the king meant well enough, and certainly he was far from the thought of betraying the cause of Protestantism; but his religious liberalism bore the character of laxity in the minds of the severe believers of that day, and aroused general suspicion. The Commons in consequence, adopted an uncompromising Protestant policy. They began to lay more and more stress on those features of the Anglican Church which were emphatically Protestant, and less and less on those which had been retained from the Papal establishment. Thus while the doctrines aroused their enthusiasm, they grew increasingly indifferent about the practices and ceremonies. From these latter, however, the king, who had a fondness for outward show, would abate no jot nor tittle. Monarch and Commons, as a result, drifted farther and farther apart on questions of religion; and under the unconscious action of resentment, the people began falling away from their own ceremonial Anglican traditions and edging over to Puritan ground.

Charles falls out with his Parliament over the war with Spain.

Not satisfied with alienating his people by arousing their religious animosity, the king also alienated them by his political conduct. The war with Spain furnished him the occasion. He had inherited it from his father, and was bent on carrying it on. The Parliament was not unwilling to give him support—for the war with Spain was popular—but to such grants of money as it made, it attached the condition that the war should be carried on effectively and under good leaders. This condition Charles, to his misfortune, neglected. He intrusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buckingham, once his father's favourite and now his own, and Buckingham, who was handsome and dashing, but unfit for weighty business, reaped nothing but disaster. Thus an expedition sent in 1625 against Cadiz ended in utter failure. Thereupon, the Commons refused to give the king more money until the duke was removed from the council, and, as the king refused to allow himself to be

dictated to in the manner of his ministers, there ensued a deadlock which Charles tried in vain to break by the repeated dissolution of Parliament.

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with one war upon his hands, allowed himself to be driven into a war with France, in behalf of the French Huguenots. The Huguenots were being besieged in La Rochelle. As there was no other way of getting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous device: he forced the rich to make him a loan. But the sums, thus illegally extorted, brought no blessing. A relief expedition, which sailed for La Rochelle under Buckingham, failed as miserably as the attack upon Cadiz. As a result, ignominy in the war with France was added to the ignominy already incurred in the war with Spain.

Buckingham and the war with France.

The Parliament which met in 1628 was therefore justified in its outbreak of wrath against the Government. Before granting another penny it insisted that the grievances of the nation be redressed In a document called the Petition of Right, it made a formal assertion of its claims. The Petition of Right declared forced loans illegal, and condemned a number of practices, such as arbitrary arrests and billeting of troops upon householders. The Petition of Right was firmly announced to be a prerequisite to all further concessions by the Parliament. Charles, who had two wars on his hands and no money, had to give way. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Carta, was accepted, and became the law of the land (1628).

The Petition of Right, 1628.

Unfortunately the Petition of Right did not dispose of all the internal troubles. The obnoxious Buckingham was not dismissed; the excitement, which had permeated all classes, did not subside. Proof of the degree of hatred which the party strife had reached was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to La Rochelle was fitting out at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, stabbed Buckingham to death (1628). The king grieved over the loss of his favourite, but his policy re-

Murder of Buckingham, 1628.

hazardous and certain to arouse a great deal of opposition. This appeared when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred rather than pay his share of the tax to suffer arrest and trial. The court, when the case came up, decided against Hampden, but so wide was the disaffection following upon Hampden's trial that it required only an occasion for England to show that the loyalty which had bound her for ages to her royal house, had suffered a severe shock.

The case of John Hampden.

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. In the year 1637, Charles, with his usual neglect of popular feeling, ventured to introduce into Presbyterian Scotland the Prayer-Book and certain of the Episcopal practices of England. The answer of the Scots to this measure was to rise in insurrection. They drew up a national oath or Covenant, by which they pledged themselves to resist to the utmost all attempts at changing their religion, and when Charles did not immediately give in, he found that he had a war on his hands.

Charles falls out with the Scots.

There follows the campaign of 1639 against the Scots, which is known as the First Bishops' War. It was a miserable fiasco. Owing to want of funds, the king led northward a mere ill-equipped rabble, and when he arrived upon the scene, found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and English subjects, whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money help from England, and effective money help from England involved calling a Parliament. In one or the other direction, he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was the more pressing, he summoned a Parliament (1640).

The Scottish war of 1639 over the question of Episcopacy.

Thus the long period of government without a Parliament had come to an end. When, however, the Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting moneys, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up

once more, and dismissed it. Once more, in despite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment had failed as badly as the first, he had to acknowledge himself finally beaten.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

In the autumn of 1640 he summoned another Parliament, which he knew he should not be able to send home at his will. The Parliament which met has received from history the name of the Long Parliament, and is the most famous legislative body in English annals.

The Long Parliament, 1640.

The Long Parliament, as soon as it was installed, took the reins into its hands. First the desire for revenge had to be satisfied, and accordingly Strafford (1641) and Laud (1645) were executed. Then the whole constitution was practically remodelled, Parliament declared everything, the king nothing. It was the Parliament's answer to the king's despotic rule. Could a king of Charles's temperament submit for long to such a terrible abasement?

The victory of the Commons.

For a year the king bore with the altered circumstances. But he was watching for his chance, and the first division among the Commons was his signal to strike. The Commons had agreed admirably on all the political questions at issue between themselves and the king. Differences appeared only when the religious question was presented.

Division in the Commons.

The sentiment against the Episcopal system had made a great deal of progress of late years, but a strong conservative element still supported it. Under the circumstances Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons frequently came to hard words, and naturally, as soon as this opening in the hitherto solid phalanx of the opposition was apparent, Charles took advantage of it. He threw in his lot with the Episcopalians, and so once more rallied about him a party.

Charles sides with the Episcopalians.

In January, 1642, he calculated that he was strong enough

to strike a blow at the predominance of Parliament, and attempted to arrest the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode, in full Parliamentary session. But the attempt failed, and Charles, always a little timorous, had not the courage to brave the situation which he had himself created. When London rose in arms, Charles fled, and the schism was complete. In August, 1642, unfurling his banner at Nottingham, he bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The Parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

Attempted arrest of the five members.

The king unfurls his banner at Nottingham.

The parties about to engage each other seemed to be very equally matched. The king's party, called the Cavaliers, held the north and the west, York and Oxford being their chief towns, while the adherents of the Parliament, known derisively as Roundheads, for the reason that many of them cropped their hair close, held the south and the east, with London for their centre. Neither side was well furnished with troops, but the fact that the slashing country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side, at first, the advantage. In the early campaigns the army of the Parliament was steadily driven back, and on one occasion London, the Parliamentary centre, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the Parliament began to develop an efficient army. At the same time there rose into prominence the man who was destined to turn the tables on the king and bring the war to a conclusion—Oliver Cromwell.

The advantage is, at first, with the king.

Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's history. He was a country gentleman of the east of England, whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With firmness and strength, he coupled an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. Now the great business of the hour was a good army. Gradually, therefore, Cromwell collected about himself a special troop of men of his own mind—Puritans who had their

hearts in the cause; and this troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their worth. They contributed largely to the great victory of Marston Moor over Prince Rupert,[1] the king's nephew and the dashing leader of his horse. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king would have been crushed entirely if Cromwell had not been thwarted by his sluggish and incapable superiors.

Marston Moor, 1644.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in Parliament the lax method of carrying on war which had hitherto prevailed, and so convincing were his criticisms that the Commons now carried out a number of sweeping reforms. By means of certain ordinances the army was completely reorganized and the spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides introduced into the whole service. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces and Cromwell in command of the horse.

The army reforms.

The effect of the change made itself felt at once: the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort (June 14). The gallant Rupert plunged, as usual, through the squadrons of horse opposite him, but Cromwell in the meantime broke the king's left and centre and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scots, who occupied the English north.

The decisive campaign of 1645. Naseby.

The Scots had joined the English Parliament against the king in the year 1643. They had treated the first suggestions of alliance with indifference, and when they finally consented to join the English, they made a very hard condition: they demanded that their own Presbyterian system of church government be

Alliance between the Scots and Parliament.

[1] Prince Rupert, known as Rupert of the Rhine, was the son of Elizabeth, the daughter of James, who had married Frederick of the Palatinate.

established also in England. The stiff Puritan opinion in the Parliament revolted at first at the thought of a foreign dictation, but as the majority were well disposed to the Presbyterian system, and the danger from the king was pressing, the alliance between Scots and Parliament was formally approved on the proposed basis.

However, a handful of commoners standing for religious tolerance protested against the treaty to the last. To them the uniformity of belief enforced by the Presbyterian Kirk was no whit less hateful than the uniformity of service demanded by the Anglican Church. But being a mere handful, they would have been over-ridden without a word if they had not received support from a very important quarter: their religious views had the approval of Cromwell and his Ironsides. Under the circumstances the majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially while the war continued and the troops had to be kept in good humour. Thus the contention slumbered for a time, but as soon as the battle of Naseby had been won and the enemy scattered, the quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents, as the advocates of tolerance were called, assumed a more serious aspect.

Presbyterians and Independents.

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well-informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his small-minded way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of the Parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their uncompromising system of uniformity, and his, the king's, alliance would prove invaluable.

The calculation of the king.

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots surrendered him, on the payment of a good price, to the Parliament. The Presbyterians thereupon tried to hurry through a settlement, while the army offered a different set of terms. Endless intrigues resulted, in which the Scots, too, took a hand, and

The Parliament offends the army.

the consequence was that in the year 1648 there broke out a war among Charles's enemies—the Scots supported by English Presbyterian influence being pitted against the army. So far Charles had calculated well. In the long run, however, his petty calculations shot wide of the mark, for Fairfax and Cromwell very quickly laid their enemies at their feet.

The civil war renewed, 1648.

Then the army returned to London to have vengeance upon what it called the bloody authors of the struggle, the Presbyterian majority of the Commons, and the king. On December 6, 1648, a troop under the command of Colonel Pride expelled the Presbyterian members, to the number of about one hundred, from the House. No more than fifty or sixty commoners retained their seats, and these, the mere tools of the army, received the contemptuous name of the Rump Parliament.

Pride's purge, 1648.

Next the army turned upon the king, firmly resolved to subject him to a trial. As there were no legal provisions in the constitution for such a step, the now servile Parliament created a special high court of justice to try the king. The end, of course, was to be foreseen. The high court of justice found the king guilty of treason, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold before his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died bravely in that belief.

The execution of the king, January 30, 1649.

The king's death had been preceded by the dissolution of the House of Lords because of the refusal of that body to take the army's side. The English constitution, therefore, was now a wreck; the king and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay solely with the army, and the burning question of the day was: Would the revolutionists of the army be able to build a new constitution along new lines?

The breakdown of the constitution.

The Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1649–60.)

Gardiner (as before).
Green (as before).
Firth, *Cromwell.*
Morley, *Cromwell.*

The commonwealth.

On the death of the king, the Rump Parliament voted that England was a commonwealth, and appointed, provisionally, a council of state to act as the executive branch of the government.

Cromwell subdues Ireland (1649) *and Scotland* (1651).

There was work enough ahead for the young republic, for in Ireland and Scotland Charles II. had been proclaimed king. The council of state insisting that these kingdoms should not be allowed to go a separate way in politics, Cromwell was despatched against them. In 1649 he brought the Irish to terms by means of bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered one Scottish army; and when a second army, with Charles II. in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell starting in pursuit met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II. escaped, after various romantic adventures, to the continent; but the Scots came to terms, and thus the authority of the commonwealth was established throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

Dismissal of the Rump Parliament, 1653.

Now that England had peace, the question of a permanent government became more pressing. Everybody clamoured for a settlement. Only the Rump Parliament was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty members who composed it clung to office, finding power a delightful thing. In April, 1653, Cromwell, despairing of good through such a Parliament, resolved to have done with it. He invaded the Parliament with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this.

It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old constitution had vanished.

A new Parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been one solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a Parliament would immediately have called back the king, and Cromwell was ready to try all possible means before he declared that the great cause had failed. After a few vain shifts, he therefore accepted a constitution, called the Instrument of Government, which was drawn up by his officers, and which named him Lord Protector. By the Instrument of Government, Oliver, the Lord Protector, together with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive, while a Parliament of a single house, from which all partisans of the king were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The new attempt came nearer than any of the others to being a solution of the political difficulties into which England had been plunged; but, unfortunately, even this partial success was due solely to the fact that the new constitution practically placed in control an entirely efficient man.

Oliver, Protector.

The five years (1653-58) of Oliver's rule as Protector were full of difficulties. His first Parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver dissolved the Parliament in anger (January, 1655). For awhile now he ruled without a Parliament. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from power. But his brave spirit was undaunted, and he met every difficulty as it arose. As it was better to rule with the nation than without, he called a second Parliament in the year 1656, and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism governed this assembly, and it tried to get back upon the lines of the old constitution. It even offered to make Oliver king. But he declined the honour, and soon

The Protectorate a failure at home.

new quarrels arose which led to a new dissolution (February, 1658).

In all this time the great principle of toleration for which Oliver stood had made no progress. Oliver's idea had been to give all Protestant Christians, whether they were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Puritans, the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time hindered the majority from seeing any right outside of their own faith, or feeling any obligation to put up with any other. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support. The animosities of his antagonists, as well as of his followers, even forced him before long to trench upon his own principles. In 1655 he began persecuting those who held to the Book of Common Prayer, and long before his end he had the bitter conviction that the government of the Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation, and that it lived entirely by the will and vigour of one man.

England refuses to accept toleration.

If Oliver was thus reaping failure at home, he added triumph to triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there had been a war with the Dutch caused by the famous Navigation Act. The Dutch had in the seventeenth century got the carrying trade of the world into their hands; by means of the Navigation Act (1651) the Parliament strove to bring part of it to England. The Act ordained that imported goods should be carried in English ships, or else in ships belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. The Dutch declared war rather than suffer this injury, but after a few defeats had to accept what they could not alter.

The Protectorate a success abroad.

The first Dutch war (1652–54).

Soon after Oliver entered into an alliance with France (1657) against Spain. Jamaica, in the West Indies, was taken from Spain by an English fleet, and Dunkirk, in the Spanish Netherlands, after a French-English victory over the Spaniards on the Dunes, was surrendered to Cromwell's representatives. Since the

War with Spain.

days of Elizabeth, the name of England had not enjoyed such respect as it did now.

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities, and on the third day of September, 1658, shortly after a great storm had swept over the island, he passed away.

The death of the Protector, September 3, 1658.

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of pure anarchy. The republic was dead. For a while, however, Richard Cromwell, Oliver's commonplace son, ruled as Protector (to April, 1659); then the soldiers tried their talents; and finally, even the Long Parliament appeared again upon the scene. Clearly, after all these shifts, Charles II. was the only choice left; it was but necessary that some strong man should act in the absent king's behalf and order would be restored. The strong man was found in General George Monk. Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants, refusing to close his eyes longer to the real situation, determined to promote the restoration of the Stuarts and the re-invigoration of the old constitution. Charles II. was merely asked to promise a general pardon. This Charles did, and when, a month later, he landed at Dover (May, 1660), he was received with universal shouts of welcome. Some days before a new Parliament had formally restored the ancient constitution, voting that "the government is, and ought to be, by king, Lords and Commons."

Anarchy.

The restoration, May, 1660.

The Restoration. Charles II. (1660–85) *and James II.* (1685–88).

Gardiner (as before).
Green (as before).
Osmund Airy, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV.*
Taswell Langmead, *English Constitutional History.*

Charles II. was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had; but his popularity was due not so much to his

talents as to his vices. To understand this we must remember that the Restoration is a complex movement. It marks not merely the break-down of the Puritan experiment of government, but also a revulsion from the severe and colourless scheme of life which the Puritans imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration, therefore, threw himself greedily upon splendour and distractions. Profligacy became the fashion of the day, and Charles, because he satisfied the contemporary ideal in that he was corrupt, witty, and amiable, assumed the position of a sort of popular hero.

The Restoration is a change in life and manners.

Now that the monarchy was restored, it was almost as if the Rebellion had not taken place, for the constitutional questions at issue between king and Parliament were left much as they had been before the war broke out. For the present, however, everybody was so entirely taken up with rejoicing at the restoration of order, that the quarrel about the measure of the king's prerogative dropped from sight.

The Cavalier Parliament, as the Parliament elected in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, completely expressed this reactionary sentiment of the country: it was more royal than the king. An index of its political sentiment is furnished by its vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign. In religious matters its stand was even more uncompromising. The Cavalier Parliament stood for the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England, and initiated against all non-Anglicans a severe policy of persecution.

The Cavalier Parliament.

In the year 1661 the Parliament enacted the Corporation Act, which provided that every one who held an office in a municipal corporation would have to take the oath of non-resistance to the king, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The measure, of course, turned all non-

The Corporation Act, 1661.

Anglicans out of the city governments. The next year (1662) there followed a new Act of Uniformity, by which every clergyman who did not accept every prescription of the Book of Common Prayer was expelled from his living. Hundreds of the Presbyterian and Puritan clergy resigned their cures rather than assent, and henceforward men of these faiths, together with the adherents of the other sects which had lately arisen, such as the Baptists and the Quakers, were embraced by the common name of Dissenters.

The new Act of Uniformity, 1662.

The Dissenters.

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Roman Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Popery was stronger in the land than ever, because of the secret machinations of the court in behalf of this faith. Had the facts that were only whispered in the palace-passages been known at Westminster, there can be no doubt that the religious legislation would have been even more stringent than it was; for Charles, although afraid to publish the truth, had, not long after the Restoration, secretly embraced Roman Catholicism.

The real enemy is Roman Catholicism.

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in foreign affairs. In fact, his guidance of England was weak and unintelligent, being determined simply by aversion to the Dutch and affection for Louis XIV. of France.

Foreign policy.

The commercial rivalry between the Dutch and English had ever since the Navigation Act (1651) been very intense. It is not astonishing therefore that the war of Oliver's time should have been followed soon by another, known as the first Dutch War of the Restoration (1664–67). Both nations proved themselves plucky seamen, and when peace was signed, England relaxed the Navigation Act somewhat in favour of the Dutch, and

The first Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664–67.

the Dutch ceded their colony New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York.

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV. was scheming to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbours. The logical policy of England as the rival of France would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but Charles allowed himself to be directed by personal motives. Naturally his riotous life kept him involved in constant money difficulties. Fortunes were flung away on entertainments or were lavished on courtiers and mistresses. To get money, therefore, became Charles's first object in life, and Louis XIV., who was always a clever manager, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or at least, her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his aggressions in the year 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, partly owing to the formation of the Triple Alliance (England, Holland, Sweden). No wonder that Louis resolved to have revenge on the Dutch nation. By the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) he won over Charles, by a handsome sum, to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Roman Catholic and to accept aid from Louis in case his subjects, on the news of his conversion, revolted against him.

The friendship of Louis and Charles.

Treaty of Dover, 1670.

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis and Charles fell upon the Dutch, engaging in what, in England, is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to announce his real religion, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which overriding the statutes of Parliament, gave to Roman Catholics and Dissenters freedom of worship. Such a declaration invites

Second Dutch War of the Restoration (1672–74).

sympathy in our day, but it is necessary to remember in judging it that its motives were impure. This the people felt, and when Parliament met, its tone became so threatening that the king withdrew his Declaration. When this was done (1673), the war had lost its interest for Charles, and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy were the French and not the Dutch, Charles further gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic combat for life and liberty. So stubborn was their defence under their Stadtholder, William of Orange, that Louis XIV. finally followed Charles's example and withdrew from the struggle (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

The Declaration of Indulgence.

But the Parliament was not satisfied with having forced the king to withdraw his Declaration of Indulgence. To secure the country further against the secret machinations of the court, it added a crowning act to its intolerant religious legislation—the Test Act (1673). The Corporation Act (1661) had already purged the municipalities of non-Anglicans; by the Test Act[1] the exclusion was extended to office-holders of any kind.

The Test Act, 1673.

Till 1681 Charles was violently opposed by a powerful body in Parliament headed by Shaftesbury. Danby, the chief minister, was attacked and impeached, and after the country had been thrown into a panic by an imaginary Popish Plot, a bill was brought forward to exclude James, duke of York, from the throne. Though this Exclusion Bill passed the Commons it was thrown out in the Lords, and when the Parliament met in Oxford, in 1681, a reaction was setting in against the violence of Shaftesbury and his followers. From 1681 to 1685 Charles was undisturbed by any opposition and ruled supreme.

[1] The Test Act is so named because every man, before taking office was *tested* with regard to his faith by his willingness or unwillingness to take the sacrament as prescribed by the Church of England.

The death of Charles II., 1685.

Charles died in the year 1685, after a reign of twenty-five years. On his death-bed he did what he had been afraid to do during his life: he confessed himself a Roman Catholic.

Charles's reign is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which deserves close attention. Under him there began to be formed for the first time parties with a definite programme and something like a permanent organization. These were the parties known as Whigs and Tories,[1] and the chief question on which they split was the question of toleration. The Tories, who were mostly the small country gentlemen, stood for no toleration for Dissenters; the Whigs, on the other hand, whose ranks were filled up largely from the great nobles and the middle classes, wished to promote this act of justice; both parties, being equally Protestant, agreed in denying toleration to the Roman Catholics. Whigs and Tories henceforward play a rôle of increasing importance in the history of England.

Creation of parliamentary parties: Whigs and Tories

James II., who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only a Roman Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I., and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. Under these circumstances the new reign did not promise well.

James is unpopular.

As James was a Romanist among Protestants, he should at the very least, have kept quiet. But he seems to have been possessed with the idea that he had been made king expressly to further the Roman Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously, and in imitation of his brother, published, in the year 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penalties

His Roman Catholic policy.

[1] These names were originally taunts. Tory is derived from the Irish, and signifies robber. Whig comes from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scottish peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a sneaking Covenanter.

against Roman Catholics and Dissenters. Regardless of the universal discontent he published the next year a Second Declaration, and ordered it to be read from all the pulpits. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order, and seven bishops presented to the king a written protest. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, which occurred in June, 1688.

The trial of the bishops, 1688.

These and other irregularities were borne with for a time, because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter, Mary, who was a child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. When, however, James's second wife gave birth in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. The son, it was foreseen would be educated in the Romish religion, and thus the Roman Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops occurred about the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity, a few patriotic nobles invited William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

Son born to James II.

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and immediately the people of all classes gathered around him. The army which James sent against him refused to fight, and James found himself without a supporter. Seeing that all was lost, he sent his wife and child to France, and shortly after followed in person. Perhaps never in history had there been so swift and so bloodless a revolution.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688.

The Parliament, which met to deliberate on these events, declared the throne vacant, and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. As William and Mary were not the legitimate heirs, the sovereign of England was by this act virtually declared to be the nominee of the Parliament, and henceforth, the doctrine that an English king held his office by Divine Right

Throne offered to William and Mary.

was quietly dropped. The Parliament furthermore fortified its position against the king in a Bill of Rights (1689), by which it declared the law supreme over the king. Therewith the conflict between king and Parliament was over, and Parliament had again won. And the new victory was far more satisfactory than the earlier victory of Cromwell, for the ancient historical constitution was not *destroyed* this time, but merely *modified* in accordance with the national needs.

Bill of Rights, 1689.

But the "Glorious Revolution" did more; it also paved the way for a religious settlement. On the motion of the Whigs, Parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act, by which Dissenters were given the right of public worship. The repressive legislation indeed was not repealed, and Roman Catholics were treated as harshly as ever, but the Toleration Act satisfied the religious demands of the majority of Englishmen, and religious peace was, by means of it, established in the kingdom. The Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act inaugurated in England the era of a new and genuine constitutionalism.

The Toleration Act, 1689.

The literature of the seventeenth century presents, in sharp contrast, the two theories of life which combated each other under the party names of Cavalier and Roundhead. The moral severity, the noble aspirations of Puritanism found a poet in John Milton ("Paradise Lost," 1667), and a simple-minded eulogist in John Bunyan ("Pilgrim's Progress," 1675). But the literary reign of these men and their followers was short, for the Restoration quickly buried them under its frivolity and laughter. Inevitably literature followed the currents of the contemporary life, and Milton and Bunyan were succeeded by a school of licentious dramatists and literary triflers. John Dryden (1631–1701), although himself a man of sturdy qualities, became, by the force of circumstances, the leader of the Restoration set.

The literature.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV. (1643-1715).

LITERATURE.—**Wakeman**, *The Ascendancy of France*, 1598-1715.
Kitchin, *History of France*. 3 vols.
Hassall, *Louis XIV.* (Heroes).
Macaulay, *History of England*.
Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*.
Grant, *The History of the French Monarchy*, 1483-1789.
Cheruel, *Histoire de la Minorité de Louis XIV.*, and *Le Ministère de Mazarin*.
Clements, *Histoire de Colbert et de son Administration*.
Ranke, *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*.
Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*.
Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*.
Morris, *The Age of Anne*.
Parnell, *The War of the Spanish Succession*.

THE work of Richelieu had cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots and by breaking the power of the nobility, he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it, and had rendered it absolute. In foreign matters Richelieu had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War, and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved, for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war. *The work of Richelieu.*

The government, upon the death of Louis XIII. (1643), passed into the hands of his queen, Anne of Austria, who was named regent for the five-year-old king. At the same time the post of first minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu,

fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, cardinal Mazarin. Mazarin carried out faithfully the political intentions of Richelieu, but encountered, like his predecessor, the envy of the great nobles, the chief of whom was the famous general, the prince of Condé. The Peace of Westphalia had not yet been signed, when certain nobles rose (1648) against the crown, in the hope that the new minister would prove not to be of the metal of his predecessor. The event showed that they were mistaken. Although the *Parlement* of Paris joined the high-born rebels, thus giving the new civil disturbances something of the character of a popular movement, the Fronde (1648–53), as the rising against Mazarin was called, was, after the first year, nothing but the struggle of the nobility to recover its feudal privileges. Such a struggle deserved to fail; and if it now failed it was chiefly because France saw that in a question between king and nobles, her self-interest bound her to the former. The Fronde may be called the death-agony of the nobility as a feudal governing class. From the time of its suppression the nobles gradually transformed themselves into a body of docile courtiers, who were rarely occupied with anything more serious than the dances and spectacles of Versailles.

Mazarin Richelieu's successor.

The Fronde (1648–53).

The Peace of Westphalia was signed between France and the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg. Because France, in union with the Dutch, had been very successful in the Spanish Netherlands, she was unwilling to draw off and conclude a peace with the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs without an adequate reward. As this was refused, war with Spain still went on after the Peace of Westphalia had composed the rest of Europe. The Fronde occurring at this time, turned the tables and inclined the balance for some years in favour of Spain, but as soon as the Fronde was beaten down, Mazarin was able (by means of the English alliance) to win back the lost ground and force Spain to terms. Owing to foreign war and internal revolution, Spain was, in fact, at her last gasp. When

The war with Spain.

she signed with France the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659), she signed away with it the last vestige of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe.

The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering around him, Mazarin died (1661). Thereupon the young Louis XIV., now twenty-three years of age, resolved to take the government into his own hands, and from this forward the business of the French Government was transacted practically by himself. It is said that he once stated his political theory in the words: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). The phrase expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, and regarded his ministers not as the responsible heads of departments, but as clerks. Absolutism had existed in Europe long before Louis XIV., but Louis XIV. hedged the absolute monarchs around with a new divinity, and gave the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings a more splendid setting and a more general currency than it had ever had before.

The personal government of Louis XIV.

Absolutism becomes Divine Right.

Louis began auspiciously enough by giving much attention to the improvement of the machinery of government. He re-organized the diplomatic service; he rendered the administration more effective; he enlarged the army and navy; and he purged the finances of disorder and established them upon a sounder basis. The king's most efficient helper in all this was Jean Colbert (1619–83). Colbert served the king as minister of finance, and merely by putting an end to peculation and applying the principles of business order, he succeeded in turning the annual deficit of the state into a surplus.

The king's reforms.

Colbert.

This same Colbert was also a great economic thinker, and is celebrated as the father of the system of protection. He wished to increase the national wealth, and in pursuit of this aim, encouraged exportation, and, as far as possible, discouraged importation. Whether this policy be scientifically right or

Colbert establishes the protective system.

wrong, French manufacturers certainly developed greatly under Colbert, and French silks, brocades, and glass captured, and have held to this day, the markets of the world. Colbert also developed internal communications by an admirable system of roads and canals, and supported colonial enterprises, settlements being made at this time in the West Indies, Louisiana, and India.

Louis becomes a conqueror.

Unfortunately Louis's successes turned his head. He was only a young man, and had governed only a few years, and now he found himself the cynosure of all Europe. In all truth he could say that he was the first power of the world. But in proportion as he found that his neighbours were no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of making them his dependents. It was not a high ambition, this, still it won the day with him. In the year 1667, therefore, Louis entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which, after a few brilliant results, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose progress had been attended by clouds of incense, wafted by admiring courtiers, closed his career in ignominy.

His wars.

Four great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They were: 1, The War of Devolution (1667–68); 2, the War with the Dutch (1672–78); 3, the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97); 4, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14).

The war of Devolution, 1667–68.

In 1667 Louis suddenly invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some vague claims of his Spanish wife to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence. His well-appointed army took place after place. Spain was too weak to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbour as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun all the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, who was at this time at the head of the Dutch Government, bade Louis halt. Louis, on

occasion, could distinguish the possible from the impossible. Having already made a secret Treaty with the emperor for the future partition of Spain, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip, and retired. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold theft (1668).

The isolation of the Dutch.

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought—revenge upon the Dutch, and the plan he formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies, and then fall upon them unawares. The diplomatic campaign, preliminary to the declaration of war, was crowned by complete success. Sweden and the emperor were detached from the Dutch by treaties of neutrality; and Charles II., by the Treaty of Dover (1670), was even pledged to join the forces of England with the French in the proposed war. In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the Channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

The House of Orange to the front.

In a few weeks most of the provinces were in the hands of the French. And now a terrible indignation swept over the alarmed Dutch. They fell upon and murdered the republican leader, de Witt, whom they blamed for their calamities, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the re-instatement of the House of Orange, which, at the close of the Spanish War, had lost its influence. In an outburst of enthusiasm, William III. of Orange was made Stadtholder and supreme commander on sea and land. This William was far from being a genius, but he was sprung from an heroic race, and the responsibility for a nation's safe-keeping which was put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. The English ambassador, on the occasion of the French invasion, invited him to submit, urging that it was easy to see that the Republic was lost. "I know one means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die in the last ditch." It was this spirit that now steeled

The character of William.

the temper of his people and enabled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain.

The Dutch war becomes general.

Before Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William, cut the dykes, and restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. Louis had to retreat; his opportunity was lost. But Europe was now thoroughly aroused, and before many months had passed, there had rallied to the cause of the Dutch, the emperor, the states of the Empire, and Spain. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was still further weakened. In that year the state of English public opinion forced Charles II. to abandon Louis and make his peace with the Dutch. Louis was thereupon left to face a great continental coalition with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in a struggle with all Europe were patently against Louis, and although the superiority of French organization and French generalship enabled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad enough to end the war when peace was offered. By the treaty of Nimwegen (1678) he was permitted to incorporate the Franche Comté (the Free County of Burgundy) with France.

Louis takes Strassburg (1681).

The second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance against Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis was now at the zenith of his glory. The imperious temper he developed is well exhibited by an event of the year 1681. He formed Chambers of Re-union which handed over to him considerable territories in the east and north-east of France. At the same time and in a period of complete peace he fell upon the city of Strassburg, the last stronghold of the Empire in Alsace, and incorporated it with France. After a short war with Spain he concluded the Truce of Ratisbon in 1683, and obtained possession of Strassburg and the "re-united" districts for twenty years.

A cloud that settled on the spirit of the king at this time prognosticated a monstrous action. The frivolous, pleasure-loving

Louis, having fallen under the influence of a devout Roman Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon, the governess of some of his children, was suddenly seized with religious exaltation. To Madame de Maintenon the eradication of heresy was a noble work, and Louis, taking the cue from her, began gradually to persecute the Protestants. At first, innocently enough, rewards were offered to voluntary converts; then the government proceeded to take more drastic measures; and, finally, in 1685, two years after Louis had formally married Madame de Maintenon, and had thus become thoroughly enslaved to her policy, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by virtue of which the Huguenots had enjoyed a partial freedom of worship for almost one hundred years. Therewith the Protestant faith was proscribed within the boundaries of France. The blow which by this insane measure struck the prosperity of the country was more injurious than a disastrous war. Thousands of Huguenots—the lowest estimate speaks of 50,000 families—fled across the border and carried their industry, their capital, and their civilization to the enemies of France—chiefly to England, Holland, America and Prussia.

Madame de Maintenon.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

The occupation of Strassburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were events belonging to an interval of peace. But Louis was already planning a new war. He wished to take advantage of the war between the emperor and the Turks to convert the Truce of Ratisbon into a definite peace, and so to secure permanent possession of the territories seized since 1678. When his preparations became known, the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain concluded, at the instigation of William of Orange, a new alliance, called the League of Augsburg. Happily before the war had well begun, a lucky chance won England for the allies. In 1688 James II. was overthrown by the "glorious revolution," and William of Orange became king of England. As the temper of the English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-French, William had no difficulty in persuading them to join Europe against the French

England joins Europe against Louis.

monarch. Thus in the new war—called the war of the League of Augsburg — Louis was absolutely without a friend.

The War of the League of Augsburg, 1688–97.

This third war (1688–97) is, for the general student, thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, but no one winning a decisive success, all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of, practically, mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick (1697).

The Spanish inheritance.

The war of the League of Augsburg was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. The fact should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And perhaps he would not have been so utterly scornful of the hostility of Europe if there had not opened up to him at this time a peculiarly tempting prospect. The king of Spain, Charles II. had no heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion—Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands —would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg had, of course, a claim, but Louis fancied that his children had a better title still in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The matter was so involved legally that it is impossible to say to this day where the better right lay.

Louis signs and rejects the partition treaty.

Anticipating a struggle with Europe over the coming inheritance, Louis entered into negotiations with his chief adversary, William III. of England, long before the death of Charles II. had made the inheritance a burning question. Partition treaties were accordingly agreed on by the two leading powers of Europe, as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II. of Spain, November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favour of Philip, the duke of Anjou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis threw the partition treaties to the winds. He sent Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided dominion of Spain. The House of Bourbon now ruled the whole

European west. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," were the words of the Spanish ambassador.

It was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its surprise over this bold step, and nerved itself to a resistance. William, of course, was indefatigable in arousing the Dutch and English, and at last, in 1701, he succeeded in creating the so-called Grand Alliance, composed of the emperor, England, the Dutch, and the leading German princes. Before the war had fairly begun, however, William, the stubborn, life-long enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). In the war which broke out, called the war of the Spanish Succession, 1702–14, his spirit is to be accounted none the less a potent combatant.

The Grand Alliance.

In the new war the position of Louis was more favourable than it had been in the preceding war. He commanded the resources not only of France but also of Spain; his soldiers still had the reputation of being invincible; and his armies had the advantage of being under his single direction. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily divided by conflicting interests. What advantages they had lay in these two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: the allies possessed greater resources of money and men, and they developed in the English duke of Marlborough and in prince Eugene of Savoy two eminent commanders. Equally gifted, they planned their campaigns in common, with sole reference to the good of the cause, and they shared the honours of victory without the jealousy which often stains brilliant names.

The combatants compared.

Not even the Thirty Years' War assumed such proportions as the struggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally universal, and raged at one and the same time, at all the exposed points of the French-Spanish possessions. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves with noting the striking military actions and the final settlement.

The war of the Spanish Succession is a world struggle.

The first great battle of the war occurred in 1704, at

Blenheim, near the upper Danube. The battle of Blenheim was the result of a bold, strategical move of Marlborough, straight across western Germany, in order to save Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. Together with Eugene, Marlborough captured or cut to pieces the French army. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove them out of Italy. These signal successes were followed in the year 1708 and 1709 by the great victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Oudenarde and Malplaquet left France prostrate, and seemed to open up the road to Paris.

The victories of Eugene and Marlborough.

The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences, which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the Whig ministry in England, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was overthrown, and a Tory ministry, in favour of peace at any price, succeeded. Thus from 1710 on, Marlborough's actions in the field were paralyzed. The next year was marked by still another calamity.

A Tory ministry succeeds the Whigs.

In 1711 the emperor Joseph died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, the death of Joseph held out the prospect of the renewal of the vast empire of Charles V. Such a development did not lie in the interests of England and the Dutch, and these two nations now began to withdraw from the grand alliance and urge a settlement with the French. Louis, who was utterly exhausted and broken by defeat, met him more than half way. In 1713, the peace of Utrecht ended the war of the Spanish succession.

The death of emperor Joseph.

By the peace of Utrecht the Spanish dominions were divided, everybody managing to get some share in the booty. First, Philip V., Louis's grandson, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that France and

Spain should remain for ever separated. Next the emperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian possessions (Milan and Naples), together with the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth the Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch were appeased with a number of border fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands, as a barrier against France; and England took some of the French possessions in the New World, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Arcadia) and the Hudson Bay Territory, together with the Spanish rock of Gibraltar, which gave her the command of the Mediterranean Sea. The ambitious and dissatisfied emperor refused, at first, to accept this peace, but he was forced to give way and confirm its leading arrangements by the peace of Rastadt (1714).

The peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Shortly after the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis XIV. died (September, 1715). The material prosperity that he and Colbert had created in his early years had vanished, and he left a debt-burdened country and a famished population. His disastrous end was a merited penalty for a foolish ambition. But to his contemporaries he remained to the day of his death, the *grand monarque;* and that title is a good summary of him as he appears in history, for it conveys the impression of a showy splendour which is not without the suspicion of hollowness.

Louis's death, 1715.

The brilliancy which Louis's long reign lent France, cast a spell upon the rest of the world. Louis's court, which he established at Versailles, became the model court of Europe, and French civilization was mimicked all the way from London to Moscow. A number of great dramatists, Corneille (died 1684), Racine (died 1699), and Molière (died 1673) added literary distinction to Louis's reign, and altogether we cannot fail to recognize that the age of the *grand monarque* possessed beneath the artificial polish genuine dignity and intellectual power.

Brilliancy of French civilization.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA UNDER PETER THE GREAT (1689–1725) AND CATHARINE THE GREAT (1762–96); THE DECAY OF SWEDEN.

LITERATURE.—Wakeman (as before).
Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, 1715-1789.
Rambaud, *History of Russia*, 3 vols.
Morfill, *Russia.*
Waliszewski, *Peter the Great.*
Nisbet Bain, *Charles XII.*, and *The Successor of Peter the Great.*

The early history of Russia.

ATTENTION has been called in an earlier section to the unification of the Russians under the dynasty of Rurik; to their Christianization by Greek missionaries; to the Mongol invasions; and to the liberation of the people under Ivan III., known as the Great (1480). Ivan IV. (1533–84), known as the Terrible, added to these triumphs. By the conquest of Astrachan from the Tartars, he pushed the Russian boundary southward to the Caspian Sea.

The House of Romanoff.

The House of Rurik came to an end in 1598, and for the next ten years Russia was in a condition of anarchy, the whole state seeming on the verge of falling a prey to its jealous western neighbours, Sweden and Poland. In 1613 the national party, however, succeeded in putting one of its own number, Michael Romanoff, upon the throne, and under the House of this prince the state rapidly revived. In a very few decades, the Romanoffs had not only banished the Polish and Swedish influence, but had also acquired the vast territory of Siberia.

But the Romanoffs came to particular honour in the person

of Peter, who succeeded to the throne, together with his older brother Ivan, in the year 1682. As the new czars were, at that time, still boys, and Ivan little better than an imbecile, the government was exercised for some time by an older sister, Sophia, in the capacity of regent. However, in 1689, Peter, who had then attained his seventeenth year, resolved to take matters into his own hands, summarily declared the regency at an end, and sent Sophia to a nunnery. As the sickly Ivan (died 1696) was harmless, Peter allowed him to play the part of co-ruler for the few more years that he lived.

The accession of Peter, 1682.

In order to understand Peter's programme, it is necessary to review the chief elements of the political and intellectual position of Russia at the time of his accession. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Russians were still in life and manners an Asiatic people, who were connected with European culture by but a single bond—their Christian faith. Their political situation seemed, at first sight, more hopeful. But in spite of the vast area of the state, which included the eastern plain of Europe and the whole north of Asia, Russia was so cooped in on the west and south by a ring of great powers, Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden, that she was practically an inland state. Finally, it is necessary to understand the Russian constitution. The czar was absolute master, but there existed two checks upon his power—the patriarch, the head of the Church, who exercised great influence in religious matters, and the Streltsi, czar's body-guard, who, because they were a privileged force, felt inclined to regard themselves superior to their master. This whole composite situation Peter soon seized with a statesman-like grasp, and admirably moulded it, through the efforts of a long rule, to his own purposes. He set himself in the main, three aims, and met in all a degree of success which is fairly astonishing. These aims were the following: He resolved to make the connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate; he laboured to open a way to the west by gaining a hold on the Black and on the Baltic seas; and, lastly, he

The three great aims of Peter's life.

prepared to rid himself of the restraint put upon his authority by the patriarch and the Streltsi.

Peter's character.

Peter is a difficult person to understand. One aspect presents him as a murderer, another as a monster of sensuality, and still another as a hero. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius—never anything more. With barbarian eagerness he assimilated every influence that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly, his distinguishing characteristic was an indomitable energy: Peter's life burned at a white heat.

Peter's first conquest: Azov.

Peter's first chance to distinguish himself came in the year 1695. The emperor was at that time waging war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Seeing his opportunity, Peter resolved to make use of the fortunate embarrassment of the Turks to acquire a southern outlet for Russia. In 1696 he conquered the port of Azov. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the West and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter's journey of instruction.

Peter spent the year 1697–98 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter was indefatigable in his efforts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western government, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of western trade and manufacture. At Zaandam, in Holland, he hired out for a time as a common ship-carpenter, and everywhere he attended surgical lectures, visited paper-mills, flour-mills, printing presses, in short, was untiring in his efforts to assimilate, not a part, but the whole of western civilization.

The Streltsi disbanded.

The opportunity for putting the results of his trip to the test of practice came sooner than Peter expected. At Vienna he heard that the Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, established order, and then

took a fearful vengeance, executing over a thousand of the luckless guards with terrible tortures. Rumour reports that Peter in his savage fury himself played the headsman. Sovereign and executioner—this combination of offices filled by Peter, clearly exhibits the chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no one will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The Streltsi had been a constant centre of disaffection, and were now replaced by a regular army, organized on the European pattern and dependent on the czar.

Peter's reforms now crowded thick and fast. Everything foreign was fostered at the expense of everything national. Thus he introduced western dress and opposed the Russian custom of wearing long beards. But the clergy especially became increasingly suspicious of Peter's policy. As the discontent of the clergy was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reforms, the czar resolved to make that order more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed the functions of the primate to a synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the czar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

The Church made dependent on the Czar.

To enumerate more than a part of Peter's activities in behalf of his state is quite impossible. He built roads and canals; he encouraged commerce and industry; and he erected common schools. The fruits of these vast civilizing labours ripened of course slowly, and Peter did not live to gather them. But his efforts at making himself strong through a navy and army, and at extending his territory to the sea, were crowned with a number of brilliant and almost immediate successes.

His civilizing labours.

After his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining a hold on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black Sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. The west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. The Baltic coast was largely held by Sweden, and

Peter turns to the Baltic.

Sweden, the first power of the north, was prepared to resist any attempt to displace her with all her energy.

The rise of Sweden to the position of the first power of the north, dates from the time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–32). *The greatness of Sweden.* Gustavus extended his rule over almost the whole of the northern and eastern shore of the Baltic, and by his interference in the Thirty Years' War, his daughter, Christina, who succeeded him, acquired, as her share in the German booty, western Pomerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (1648). Sweden was now for a short time the rival of France for the first honours in Europe. Unfortunately, her power rested solely on her military organization, not on her people and her resources, and, as experience proves, no purely military state is likely to live long. But as the Swedish rulers of the seventeenth century were capable men, especially in war, they succeeded in maintaining the supremacy which Gustavus had won. However, they roused the antagonism of so many neighbours that it was only a question of time when these neighbours would combine against the common foe. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia to the south, Poland and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's growth with severe losses, and nursed a deep grudge against her in patience and silence. *The League of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, 1700.* The long-awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII., a boy of fifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared to mark him as an easy victim. Therefore, Denmark, Poland, and Russia now formed a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700).

The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. Charles XII. turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the *Charles XII. of Sweden.* most warlike member of a warlike race. But beyond his military qualities he lacked almost every virtue of a ruler. He was Don Quixote promoted to a throne, and though he could fight with admirable fury against windmills, he could not govern and he could not build.

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered his troops and fell upon the enemy. As the forces of Denmark, Poland, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated that if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of victory would be much increased. He laid his plans accordingly. *The marvellous campaign of 1700.* In the spring of 1700, he suddenly crossed from Sweden to the island of Seeland, besieged Copenhagen, and obliged the king of Denmark to make peace. The ink of this treaty was hardly dry before Charles was off again like a flash. This time he sailed to the Gulf of Finland, where Peter was besieging Narva. *Victory of Narva.* Peter had with him at Narva some 50,000 men, while Charles was at the head of only 8,000; but Charles, nevertheless, ordered the attack, and his well-disciplined Swedes soon swept the confused masses of the ill-trained Russians off the field like chaff. The Russians now fell back into the interior, and Charles was free to turn upon his last and most hated enemy, Augustus the Strong, king of Poland. Before another year had passed, Charles had defeated Augustus as roundly as the sovereigns of Denmark and Russia.

Thus far the war had been managed admirably; Charles might have made his conditions and gone home. But obstinate as he was, he preferred to have revenge on Augustus, whom he regarded as the instigator of the alliance, and resolved not to give up until he had forced his adversary to resign the Polish crown, and had appointed as successor a personal adherent. *Charles's mistake.*

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles held all the power and were sovereign on their own lands. The only remaining witnesses of a previous unity were a Diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who was allowed no power and had nothing to do. *Anarchy in Poland.* In the year 1697, the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony. Now when in the year 1701 king Augustus was defeated by Charles, the majority of the Poles

were glad rather than sorry, for Augustus had engaged in the war without asking the consent of the Polish Diet; but when Charles insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the Poles, a national party naturally gathered around Augustus, who, although a foreigner, was, nevertheless, the rightful king.

Charles in Poland.

For many years following the brilliant campaign of 1700 Charles hunted Augustus over the marshy and wooded plains of Poland, and though always victorious, he could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even his taking Warsaw and crowning his dependent, Stanislaus Lesczinski, king, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles decided on a radical measure. He suddenly invaded Saxony, to which Augustus had withdrawn, and there wrung a treaty from Augustus, in which that monarch acknowledged his rival, Stanislaus, king of Poland. Of course, a peace signed under such condition was illusory. In fact, Augustus broke it as soon as an opportunity offered.

The progress of Peter.

But the peace with Augustus at length set Charles free to act against the Russians. Too much time had been lost already, for since Peter's defeat at Narva, great things had happened. The czar had indeed fallen back, but he was resolutely determined to try again, and while Charles was, during six long years, pursuing spectres in Poland, Peter carefully re-organized his troops, and conquered half the Swedish provinces on the Baltic. In 1703 he founded on the newly-acquired territory the city St Petersburg, destined to become the modern capital of Russia.

Pultava, 1709.

Charles, immediately after having made his peace with Augustus, resolved on a decisive stroke against the Russians. He marched (1708) for the old capital, Moscow, but was overcome by the hardships of the march and the rigours of the climate before he met the enemy. When Peter came up with him at Pultava (1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed bravery, but their sufferings had worn them out. And now, Narva was avenged. The Swedish army was literally destroyed, and Charles, accompanied by

a few hundred horsemen, barely succeeded in making his escape to Turkey. The verdict of Pultava was destined to be final. Sweden stepped down from her position as a great power into obscurity, and a new power, Russia, ruled henceforth in the north.

Russia takes the place of Sweden.

Charles remained in Turkey for five years, obstinately set on involving the Turks in a war on his behalf. When he returned (1714) to his native country, the Swedish destiny was already fulfilled, for the surrounding powers had taken advantage of the king's long absence to help themselves to whatever part of Sweden they coveted. Charles met them, indeed, with his accustomed valour, but his country was exhausted, and his people alienated. In 1718, while besieging Frederikshald in Norway, he was killed in the trenches. His sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who succeeded him, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious limitation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes hastened to sign a peace with their enemies. Denmark agreed to the principle of mutual restitutions; the German states of Hanover and Brandenburg acquired payments out of the Swedish provinces in Germany; Augustus the Strong received recognition as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed the most to the defeat of Charles, got too, by the Treaty of Nystäd (1721), the lion's share of the booty: Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

Charles in Turkey.

The death of Charles, 1718.

The Russian acquisitions.

Peter was now nearing the end of his reign. His rule had brought Russia a new splendour, but he was not spared defeat and chagrin. For one thing his efforts in behalf of Russian civilization were not appreciated. The extreme nationalists among the Russians objecting to being lifted out of their barbarism, soon fixed their hopes upon Peter's son and heir, Alexis, and Alexis, for his part, shunned no trouble to exhibit his sympathy with a re-actionary policy. With a heavy heart Peter had to face the possibility of a successor who would undo his cherished life-

The execution of Alexis.

work. For years he took pains to win Alexis over to his views, but when his efforts proved without avail, he resolved, for the sake of the state, to strike his son down. The resolution we may praise; the method was terrible. The czarewitz was tortured in prison until he died (1718), and the probability is that the father presided in person at the execution of the son.

When Peter died (1725), it seemed for a time as if Russia would return to her former Asiatic condition. Catherine I., Peter's wife, who reigned till 1727, made an important Treaty in 1726 with Austria. On her death and throughout the reign of Peter II. (1727–1730), the old Russian party triumphed. But with the reigns of Anna Ivanovna (1730–1740), and of Elizabeth (1741–1762), Russia took up the threads of Peter the Great's policy and gradually obtained recognition as a European Power. Her influence made itself felt in the Polish Succession war (1733–1735), while towards the close of the Austrian Succession war (1740–1748) her intervention was invited by England and Holland. In the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) the czarina took a leading part in opposing Frederick the Great. Russia, however, did not definitely take her place with the Great Powers till the accession of a remarkable woman, who had enough good sense to accept the traditions of Peter's reign, and enough power to continue them. This was Catharine II., the wife of Peter III. Catharine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, had married Peter III., when he was heir-apparent. She was not only intelligent and energetic, but also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after Peter III., who was crotchety and half insane, had ascended the throne (1762), she had him strangled by two of her favourites. Although she thus acquired the supreme power by means of a crime, once in possession of it, she wielded it with consummate skill. Being of western birth, she naturally favoured western civilization. Peter the Great himself had not been more anxious to found schools, create industries and foster commerce. More important still, she took up Peter's idea of expansion toward the west.

Catharine II., 1762–96.

With Sweden deprived of its ascendancy in the north of Europe by Peter, the only other European powers which checked the advance of Russia, were Poland and Turkey. Catharine gave her life to the abasement of these two European neighbours, and before she died she had succeeded in destroying Poland and in bringing Turkey to her feet.

Catharine plans to destroy Poland and Turkey.

The hopeless anarchy of Poland had been brought home to every one in Europe, when Charles XII. of Sweden succeeded in holding the country for a number of years with a mere handful of troops (1702–1707). The weakness of the country was due to the selfish nobles and their impossible constitution. To realize the ludicrous unfitness of this instrument, one need only recall the famous provisions called *liberum veto*, which conferred on every noble the right to forbid by his single veto the adoption by the Diet of a measure distasteful to himself. By *liberum veto* one man could absolutely stop the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland fell a prey to internal conflicts, and soon to ambitious foreign neighbours.

Polish anarchy. Liberum veto.

It is useless to investigate what one person or power is responsible for the idea of the partition of Poland. The idea was in the air, and the three powers which bordered on Poland and benefited from the partition—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, governed at the time by Catharine, Maria Theresa, and Frederick—must share the odium of the act among them.

Russia, Prussia, and Austria equally responsible for the partition.

Diplomatically considered, the First Partition of Poland was a triumph for Frederick the Great; for Catharine was counting on pocketing the whole booty, when Frederick stepped in, and by associating Austria with himself forced the czarina to divide with her neighbours. The First Partition belonging to the year 1772 did not destroy Poland. It simply peeled off slices for the lucky highwaymen: the land beyond the Dwina went to Russia, Galicia to Austria, and the Province of West Prussia to Prussia. But the

The First Partition, 1772.

precedent of interference had been once established, and a few years later the fate of Poland was sealed by a Second and a Third Partition (1793 and 1795). Poland ceased to exist as a state, when her last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians; but as a people she exists to this day, and stubbornly nurses in her heart the hope of a resurrection.

The Second and Third Partitions, 1793, 1795.

Her signal success over the Poles excited Catharine to increased efforts against the Turks. In two wars (first war, 1768–74; second war, 1787–92) she succeeded in utterly defeating the Turks, and in extending her territory along the Black Sea to the Dniester. It was a fair acquisition, but it did not satisfy her ambitious nature. She left the dream of Constantinople as a heritage to her successors, who have cherished it tenderly, and during the hundred years since her death have struggled patiently to push their frontiers to the Bosphorus.

Catharine's successes over the Turks.

Catharine left Russia at her death (1796) the greatest power of the north. Her life, like that of Peter, is stained with crime and immorality, but these two have the honour of having lifted Russia almost without aid, and often in spite of herself, to her present eminent position.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

LITERATURE.—**Wakeman (as before).**
Hassall (as before).
Longman, *Frederick the Great.*
Tuttle, *History of Prussia,* **4 vols.**
Carlyle, *Frederick the Great,* **8 vols.**
Malleson, *London.*
Brackenbury, *Frederick the Great.*

THE cradle of the modern kingdom of Prussia is the Mark of Brandenburg. Concerning the Mark we have been told in the medieval section how it became an electorate, and how it passed into the hands of the House of Hohenzollern. Since the medieval period two further events had occurred which contributed to prepare the Brandenburg state for the rôle which it was destined to play. The elector of Brandenburg and his people, had, at the time of Luther, become Protestant, and in the early seventeenth century the elector had fallen heir to considerable territories in the extreme west and in the extreme east of Germany—Cleves in the Rhine country, and the duchy of Prussia.

The history of Brandenburg.

The duchy of Prussia thus joined to the Brandenburg possessions had an interesting history. To understand it we must go back to the Middle Age, when the term Prussia was applied rather vaguely to all the land which lay along the eastern Baltic and was inhabited by a heathen and Slav tribe called Prussians. This territory had been conquered in the thirteenth century by the military order of the Teutonic Knights, who had ruled and Christianized it,

The history of the duchy of Prussia.

but were themselves conquered in the fifteenth century by the king of Poland. The king of Poland thereupon made the following arrangement: he incorporated the western half of Prussia with his own dominions, and gave back the eastern half to the Knights upon the condition that they hold it as a fief of his crown. East Prussia thus became a feudal dependency of Poland, and its status was not changed when at the time of Luther the Knights became Protestant, the order was broken up, and the then grand master, Albert, a younger member of the House of Hohenzollern, assumed the title of duke (1525). The line of this Albert having failed in 1618, the duchy of Prussia, or more exactly of East Prussia, fell to his relative of Brandenburg.

Still Brandenburg, thus enlarged by East Prussia and Cleves, played no rôle in Germany or Europe until the accession in 1640 of Frederick William, known as the Great Elector. At the time of his accession, the Thirty Years' War was raging, and Brandenburg had been reduced to the greatest misery. But Frederick William, although only twenty years old, displayed an admirable energy, made peace all round, and when the great Treaty of Westphalia was signed (1648), received valuable additions of territory—namely, a number of secularized bishoprics (Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Camin, Minden) and the eastern half of Pomerania. Brandenburg had a valid claim to all of Pomerania, but the claim could not be made good, as a great power, Sweden, took the western and better half of Pomerania for herself.

The Great Elector, 1640–88.

Now the domestic situation of Frederick William was, at his accession, as follows: he found himself at the head of three separate territorial groups—the Brandenburg territory, the Cleves territory, and the Prussian territory—and each group was organized as a separate little state with its own Diet, its own army, and its own administration. Frederick William wisely resolved to replace this diversity by uniformity. He therefore dismissed the Diets and made himself absolute; he united the three local armies under a

The domestic problem.

single national organization; and he merged the three separate administrations into one. He thus amalgamated his three territories, and to all intents and purposes created a united monarchy of which he was as completely master as Louis XIV. was of France.

Frederick William was also a man with territorial aspirations. In order to be ready when the chance came he tirelessly increased and perfected his army. And the chance did come, for in 1655 there broke out a war between Poland and Sweden. In this war the Great Elector put himself forward so successfully, that, after a great deal of skilful and unscrupulous manœuvring, he wrung from the king of Poland a treaty, by which that monarch renounced the suzerainty over East Prussia, and gave the duchy to Frederick William in full sovereignty. This was his greatest political triumph.

Frederick William acquires East Prussia in full sovereignty.

A much greater military triumph he won a few years later. In 1672, Louis XIV. fell upon Holland, and Frederick William, together with the emperor, marched to the assistance of the hard-pressed Republic. In order to draw the elector back from the Rhine, Louis now persuaded the Swedes, his only ally, to invade Brandenburg. The elector thereupon hastened homeward at his best speed, and succeeded in surprising and utterly defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin (June, 1675). The military reputation of Brandenburg was henceforth established, and in the course of the next few years the elector clinched matters by driving the Swedes completely out of Pomerania. But when the general European war came to an end, by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678), Frederick William was not allowed to keep his conquest. Louis XIV. stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and insisted that she should not pay for her help to him by territorial sacrifices. With a sore heart, Frederick William had to give way, and in a treaty, signed near Paris, at St Germain-en-Laye (1679), he regretfully restored to the Swedes what he had won.

He defeats the Swedes.

The elector becomes king in Prussia, 1701.

The Great Elector died in the year 1688 and was succeeded by his son Frederick, a man of an altogether different type. Having been weak and deformed from his birth and incapable of hard work, he had learned to care very much more about the pleasures of the court than about the duties of his office. His reign is memorable for one fact only: he won for the elector of Brandenburg the new title of king in Prussia. The title was granted by the emperor Leopold, in order to secure Frederick's alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession which was just breaking out. On January 18, 1701, the coronation of Frederick took place at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and henceforth the elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg was known by his higher title of king Frederick I. The title, king in Prussia,[1] was adopted in preference to that of king of Brandenburg, because Frederick wished to be king in full independence, and that was possible only in Prussia, as Prussia was not a part of the empire. The name Prussia was henceforth used as a common designation for all the Hohenzollern states, and gradually supplanted the use of the older designation, Brandenburg.

Frederick William I., the great internal king, 1713–40.

Frederick's successor, king Frederick William I. (1713–40), is a curious reversion to an older type. He was the Great Elector over again, with all his practical good sense, but without his genius for diplomatic business and his political ambition. He gave all his time and his attention to the army and the administration. By close thrift he managed to maintain some 80,000 troops, which almost brought his army up to the standing armies of such states as France and Austria. And excellent troops they were, for an iron discipline moulded them into the most precise military engine then to be found in Europe. In his civil government he continued the work, begun by the Great Elector, of centralizing the various departments. A "General

[1] The form of the title, king *in* Prussia, was due to the fact that all of Prussia did not belong to the Hohenzollern: Poland still held the western half, and might reasonably have objected to the title, king *of* Prussia.

Directory" took complete control of finances and administration, and its severe demands gradually called into being the famous Prussian bureaucracy, which in spite of its inevitable "red tape," is notable to this day for its effectiveness and its devotion to duty. Certain it is that no contemporary government had so modern and so thrifty an administration as that of Frederick William.

Creation of the Prussian bureaucracy.

For these creations of an efficient army and a unified civil service, both of which were made to depend directly and solely upon the crown, and for a healthy financial system, which yielded that rare blessing, an annual surplus, Frederick William I. deserves to be called Prussia's greatest internal king. But he did not contribute much to the territorial growth of Prussia, owing largely to his distrust in his power to handle international affairs. However, he was successful enough in the one war which he undertook. That was a war against Sweden in the period of Sweden's abasement after the defeat of Pultava. As all of the Swedish neighbours, Russia, Denmark, and Poland, were helping themselves to Swedish territories, Frederick William did not see why Prussia should be left out, and in one rapid campaign conquered Swedish Pomerania. In a peace signed (1720) after Charles XII.'s death, he declared himself satisfied with the territory about Stettin, which furnished Prussia a needed port upon the Baltic.

Frederick William's one war.

He acquires Stettin.

In 1725, alarmed at the alliance between the emperor Charles VI. and Philip of Spain, he joined England and France in the League of Hanover. The following year, however, he joined the emperor, who promised to guarantee his house the reversion of the duchies of Berg and Ravenstein.

Sturdy and hard-working as Frederick William was, he was also crotchety. For example: his ideal of the king was the patriarch, and he was constantly prying into people's private affairs and making their lives a burden. His own family he treated in the same tyrannical way, with results

that were not always pleasant. Once he even brought matters to the verge of a great tragedy. That was when his son and heir, Frederick, known afterward as the Great, resolved to withdraw himself from his father's contemptuous treatment of him by flight into foreign parts. Unluckily for the young prince the plan failed, and the old king, lashed into a white heat, seemed at first to be bent on taking his son's life. Even after he had been moved to take better counsel, he was still resolved on punishment, and put the crown prince through such an apprenticeship in the civil and military administrations from the lowest grades upward, as perhaps no other royal personage has ever received. The discipline doubtless awakened resentment in Frederick, the gay prince; but Frederick, the serious-minded king, was enabled thereby to know every branch of his vast administration.

Clash between father and son.

In the year 1740 Frederick II., who had now reached the age of twenty-eight, succeeded his father. As he had spent the last years of his father's life in retirement, giving himself up to the pursuit of art and literature, everything else was expected of him, when he ascended the throne, rather than military designs and political ambition. But an unexpected opportunity immediately plunged him into great undertakings.

Frederick's accession, 1740.

A few months after Frederick's accession in October, 1740, the Emperor Charles VI., the last male of the line of Hapsburg, died. Long before his death, foreseeing the troubles of Austria, he had by a law, which received the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, appointed his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, his sole heir, and throughout his whole life he bestirred himself to extract from the European powers guarantees of this Pragmatic Sanction. These guarantees having been obtained from all the leading states, sometimes at a great sacrifice, he died with composed conscience, and the archduchess Maria Theresa prepared immediately to assume the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the other Hapsburg lands. It was at this point that

The death of Charles VI., 1740.

Frederick stepped in. His father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, too, but Frederick did not choose to consider that circumstance. He thought only of the unparalleled opportunity of acquiring fame and position by pitting his father's large army, backed by a full treasury, against the weakened power of Austria. The fact that his House of Hohenzollern possessed some old claims to Silesia, a territory held by Austria, served as a pretext, and unfurling his banner, he marched in December, 1740, into the coveted province.

Frederick invades Silesia.

It might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found splendid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not gained the undivided support of the many nationalities under her sway. Her enemies were descending upon her in two main directions, the French and their German allies from the west, by way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the north. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at first, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won a great victory over the Austrians, clinching, by means of it, his hold upon Silesia. His victory was the signal for a general rising. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, and Saxony, following his example, all dished up some kind of claim to parts of the Austrian dominions. They sent their armies against Maria Theresa, and their greed merely mocked at that poor princess's indignant remonstrances. Thus hardly was Charles VI. dead, when it was apparent that the Pragmatic Sanction was not worth the paper it was written on. In the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians invaded Bohemia.

The War of the Austrian Succession.

But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again, owing, in no small measure, to the enthusiasm with which she filled her soldiers. The army of the coalition was driven out of Bohemia; Bavaria was in turn invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia, in order to help the French, were hard pressed, but saved themselves by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, by the advice of the

End of the First Silesian War, 1742.

English ambassador, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the preliminaries of Breslau, by which she gave up practically the whole province of Silesia. What is known in Prussia as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

Converted into the definition Treaty of Berlin.

Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigour. England and Holland, old friends of Austria, joined her, and the war assumed wider dimensions. During the next years the French consistently fell back; Maria Theresa conquered Bavaria, overran south Germany, and seemed on the point of becoming mistress of Germany. Aware that in that case he could not hold his new conquest a year, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated his enemy at the battles of Hohenfriedberg, Sohr, Gross Hennersdorf, and Kesselsdorf (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria Theresa bought her peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia (Peace of Dresden).

The Second Silesian War, 1744–45.

For a few more years the general war continued. Finally, in 1748, everybody being tired of fighting, the combatants signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), by which Maria Theresa was universally recognised as the sovereign of Austria. Already as early as 1745, her husband, Francis of Lorraine, had been elected emperor, thus confirming to Maria Theresa's family the honour which it had so long held. The war of the Austrian Succession had come to an end, and, against everybody's prediction, the empress's splendid qualities had maintained the Austrian dominions intact, with the exception of the sacrifice of Silesia, and some smaller losses in Italy.

End of the War of the Austrian Succession, 1748.

When Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, the position of Prussia had been revolutionized. The king had

received from his father a promising state, but it was of no great size, and it enjoyed no authority in Europe. Frederick, by adding Silesia to it, gave it for the first time a considerable area, but that acquisition alone would not have raised Prussia to the level of Austria, France, England, or Russia. It was the genius displayed by the young king, who stood at the head of Prussia, which fell so heavily into the balance, that Prussia was henceforth counted among the great powers of Europe.

Prussia a great power.

Frederick, having thus won his military laurels, settled down to the much harder work of governing with wisdom and elevating his people materially and mentally. The ten years of peace which followed the Second Silesian War were crowded with vigorous internal labours; for example, he drained the great swamps along the Oder, promoted internal traffic by new canals, and established new iron, wool, and salt industries.

Frederick's peace labours.

All Frederick's various labours never destroyed in him the light, humanistic vein which marks him from his birth. He engaged in literature with as much fervour as if it were his life-work, and took constant delight in composing music and in playing the flute. What pleased him most, however, was a circle of spirited friends. He was especially well inclined to Frenchmen, because that nation represented, to his mind, the highest culture of the Europe of his day, and for several years (1750–53) he even entertained at his court the prince of the eighteenth-century philosophers, Voltaire. But after a period of sentimental attachment, the king and the philosopher quarrelled, and Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scandal. In any case, the momentary injunction of the two brilliant spirits of the eighteenth century—the one its greatest master in the field of action, the other its greatest master of thought and expression—has an historical interest.

Frederick the philosopher.

Voltaire.

All this while Frederick was aware that Maria Theresa was not his friend and had not forgotten the deceit of which she had been made the victim. In fact she hoped to get back

Silesia, and for years carefully laid her plans. An important preparatory measure seemed both to her and to her minister Kaunitz, to be the alliance with France. In the eighteenth century an alliance between Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemies, seemed ridiculous. The rule in Austria had been the alliance with England, and any other arrangement seemed to be contrary to the law of nature itself. Kaunitz, however, accomplished the miracle of a diplomatic revolution, which during the next years turned Europe topsy-turvy. His plans were greatly aided by the following circumstance: England and France were making ready, in the middle of the century, to contest the empire of the sea. Both were looking for continental allies, and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, was induced at last to sign a convention with England, France was naturally pushed into the arms of Prussia's rival, Austria. In the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was thus an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France on the one hand, and of Prussia and Austria on the other, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War (1756–63), and the two northern and Protestant powers of England and Prussia were to consolidate therein their claims and interests against the claims and interests of the Roman Catholic powers, France and Austria.

Maria Theresa nurses plans of revenge.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756.

The Convention of Westminster, January, 1756.

The Treaty of Versailles, May, 1756.

But Maria Theresa was far from being dependent upon the French Alliance. She had signed alliances with Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, and therefore, when the war broke out, had good reason to hope that Frederick would be smothered by mere numbers.

The great league against Frederick.

Frederick's one chance in this tremendous crisis was to move quickly. Therefore before the allies were ready, he occupied Saxony, and invaded Bohemia (autumn 1756). The next year his enemies, whose number had meanwhile, at the instigation of Francis I., the

The Seven Years' War begins, 1756.

husband of Maria Theresa, been increased by the accession of the states of the empire, marched upon him from all points of the compass. Again he manœuvred to meet them separately before they had united. He hurried into Bohemia, and was on the point of taking the capital, Prague, when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18, 1557), forced him to retreat to Saxony. Slowly the Austrians followed and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes were in Pomerania, and the French, together with the Imperialists—as the troops of the Empire were called—were marching upon Berlin. The friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage and intelligence freed himself from all immediate danger by a succession of surprising victories. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell, with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Imperialists of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds (November 5, 1757). Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east. During his absence, in Thuringia, the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia, and were already proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell-mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before the winter came, both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

The famous campaign of 1757.

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year England had fitted out an army which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick from that side. As the Swedish attack degenerated at the same time into a mere farce, Frederick was allowed to neglect

The situation is simplified.

his Scandinavian enemy, and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous. Prussia was a poor barren country of barely 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources, Austria and Russia together outstripped her at least ten times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius, with a spirit that neither bent nor broke, and that fact sufficed for a while to establish an equilibrium.

Prussia against Austria and Russia.

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately, in order to keep them from rolling down upon him with combined forces. In 1758, he succeeded in beating the Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back, but in 1759 they beat him in the disastrous battle of Kunersdorf. For a moment now it looked as if he were lost, but he somehow raised another army about him, and the end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However, he was evidently getting weak; the terrible strain continued through years was beginning to tell; and when George III., the new English monarch, refused (1761) to pay the annual subsidy, by which Frederick had been enabled to keep his army on foot, the proud king himself could hardly keep up his hopes.

Frederick grows weaker.

England deserts him.

At this crisis Frederick was saved by the intervention of fortune. Frederick's implacable enemy, the czarina Elizabeth, died January 5, 1762. Her successor, Peter III., who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, not only straightway detached his troops from the Austrians, and signed a peace, but went so far as to propose a treaty of alliance with the late enemy of Russia. Peter III. was soon overthrown (July, 1762), but although his successor, Catharine II., cancelled the Prussian alliance, she allowed the peace to stand. This same year England and France came to an understanding (Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762), and hostilities between them were at once suspended on all the seas. So there remained under arms only Austria and

Peace with Russia, 1762.

Prussia, and as Austria could not hope to do unaided, what she had failed to do with half of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, resolved to come to terms. In the peace of Hubertsburg (February, 1763), the cession of Silesia to Frederick was made final.

Peace with Austria, 1763.

Counting from the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three years before him. They were years devoted to the works of peace. And all his energy and administrative ability were required to bring his exhausted country back to vigour. We now hear again, as during the first period of peace (1745–56), of extensive reforms, of the formation of provincial banks, the draining of bogs, the cutting of canals, and the encouragement of industries; in a word, we hear of Frederick doing everything that an energetic ruler has ever been known to do.

The second period of peace, 1763–86.

Only one political event of the last period of Frederick's life claims our attention. In 1772 the troubles in Poland led to the First Partition of that unhappy country among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Frederick received, as his share, the province of West Prussia, establishing, at last, by means of it the necessary continuity between his central and his eastern provinces.

The acquisition of West Prussia.

The great result of Frederick's reign was, that he created the dualism between Austria and Prussia, and that from his time forward the ancient Roman Catholic power, Austria, the traditional head of the German confederation, was engaged in fierce rivalry with upstart Protestant Prussia for the control of Germany. In fact the mutual jealousy of these two states is the central theme of German history for the next century, and it is only within the memory of living men (1866) that this chapter has been definitely closed by the final victory of Prussia and by the exclusion of Austria from Germany. In that famous settlement, introductory to the unification of Germany (1871), it is not difficult to perceive that Frederick had a hand.

The rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

LITERATURE.—Gardiner, *Student's History of England.*
Adams, *Growth of the French Nation.*
Perkins, *France under Louis XV.*
Green, *History of the English People.*
Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century.*
Mahan, *Influence of Sea-Power upon History.*
Traill, *William III.*
Hassall, *The Balance of Power.*
Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover.*
Bright, *History of England.*
Channing, *Student's History of the United States.*
Seeley, *The Expansion of England.*
Grant, *The French Monarchy*, 1483-1789.
Innes, *Britain and her Rivals*, 1713-1789.
Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, and *Half Century of Conflict*, and *Montcalm and Wolfe.*
Hunter, *A Brief History of the Indian People.*
Castonnet des Fosses, *L'Inde française avant Dupleix.*
Armstrong, *Elizabeth Farnese.*
Hawke, and Carr Laughton, *Admiral Hawke.*
Malleson, *History of the French in India.*
Story, *Building of the British Empire.*
Wilson, *Clive.*
Lyall, *Hastings*, and *The Rise of British Dominion in India.*
Doyle, *The English in America.*
Ludlow, *The War of American Independence.* See also Besant, *Captain Cook*; Thackeray, *Esmond* and *The Virginians*; Scott, *Waverley.*

The result of the "Glorious Revolution."

THE "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 ended the period of the civil wars in England. It had established the Protestant sovereigns, William and Mary, upon the throne; it had, by the Bill of Rights, made the law supreme over the king; and it had paved the way to an understanding between the Established Church and the Dissenters by the Toleration Act.

For the first few years of his reign, William had to secure his throne by fighting. James II. had sought refuge with Louis XIV., and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just engaged in the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688-97). This was the first time that England had reached out a hand to the powers of the Continent to help them against the continued aggressions of Louis XIV. Her national interests had long ago demanded that she should associate herself with the enemies of France, but it was one of the penalties she paid for putting up with Stuart rule, that she was not governed for her own, but for dynastic ends. It is the great merit of William to have amalgamated the interests of the nation and the interests of the monarchy, and to have given a direction to English affairs which was steadily maintained during the next century, and ended not only with checking the ambition of France on the Continent, but also in wresting from her her best colonies, and in winning the supremacy of the seas.

William introduces a new foreign policy.

Rivalry of France and England.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with elsewhere in connection with Louis XIV.; one chapter of it, however, the insurrection of Ireland, must be embodied in the history of William's reign. In March, 1689, James II. landed in Ireland, and the Irish, who were enthusiastic Roman Catholics, gathered around him. However, on July 1, 1690, William defeated James II. at the battle of the Boyne, whereupon James, who was a poor soldier, hurried back to France, shamefully abandoning to the English mercies the people who had risen in his behalf. The measures now taken by William and his successors against the Irish broke their resistance to English rule for a hundred years.

William conquers Ireland.

Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

It will be well before we speak of these measures, to review the relations of England and Ireland during the whole

seventeenth century. When James I. mounted the throne (1603), Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for centuries, but never more than a nominal one. James, by breaking the power of the family of O'Neill, became real master there. The question now was how to secure the prize? After much deliberation, James resolved (1610) to confiscate the province of Ulster and settle it with English and Scottish colonists. The Irish were simply crowded out, with no more said than that they must seek subsistence elsewhere. The act of 1610 created an implacable hatred between oppressors and oppressed.

The relations between England and Ireland.

The policy of confiscation.

In consequence, the next century of Irish history is crowded with rebellions and horrors. In the year 1641, during the civil disturbances in England, the Irish fell upon the colonists and destroyed them. But England got her revenge in 1649. In that year Cromwell overthrew the rebels with terrible slaughter, and set the crown on his work of violence by confiscating, in addition to Ulster, the provinces of Leinster and Munster. The rebellious Irish were driven beyond the Shannon and forced to take refuge in the province of Connaught. But when William III. overthrew the next insurrection at the battle of the Boyne (1690), the policy of confiscation was applied to Connaught too. Therewith the Irish became a landless people in their own land, and were reduced to becoming tenants, day-labourers, and beggars.

Confiscation continued.

It has already been said that William's great merit, as sovereign of England, was that he enabled her to follow her natural inclination and range herself with the enemies of Louis XIV. He gave all his life as English sovereign to creating a system of balance to the power of France. This system he discovered in the alliance of England, the emperor, and the Dutch, and it was this alliance which waged the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97), with the result that Louis XIV. drew off, at the Peace of Ryswick, without a gain. It was only in

William labours to check France.

the next war, the war of the Spanish Succession, that the allies soundly defeated Louis, but that war William, although he had prepared for it, did not live to see, as he died in 1702. His wife, Mary, having died some years before (1694), without issue, the crown now passed, by virtue of the Act of Settlement (1701), to Mary's sister, Anne. The Act of Settlement further provided, with regard to the succession, that, in case of Anne's death without heirs, the crown was to pass to the electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants, the principle which determined the selection of Sophia being that she was the nearest Protestant heir.[1]

The Act of Settlement, 1701.

William's reign is constitutionally very interesting. Although the Parliament, as we have seen, had won in the long struggle with the king, it was not inclined, for that reason, to rest upon its laurels. It now proceeded to reap gradually the harvest of its victory. From William's time on we have, therefore, to notice a continual enlargement of the sphere of the Parliament, accompanied by a proportionate restriction of the sphere of the king, until we arrive at the condition which obtains in this century, when the sovereign of England is hardly more than a sovereign in name.

Growth of Parliament; decline of king.

A number of acts, passed under William, prepared this development. We notice only the more important of them. First to consider is the removal of all restrictions weighing on the freedom of the press (1695); henceforth there obtained in England that state of free opinion which is the necessary concomitant of free government. Secondly, we note that William's Parliaments fell into the habit of making their money-grants for one year only—which custom had the consequence of necessitating annual Parliaments, since the king's officers were not qualified to collect a revenue that had not first been regularly voted. From William's time on, therefore,

Freedom of the press.

Annual vote of supplies.

[1] See genealogical chart No. x., 3.

the king's old trick of getting rid of Parliament by indefinite adjournment, had to be abandoned.

The War of the Spanish Succession.

The event of the reign of Anne (1702-14), overshadowing all others, was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere. Although England won therein a leading position among the powers of Europe, Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet did not excite universal approval. The Tories, who were recruited largely from the gentry, had never looked upon the war with favour. As the taxes grew heavier and the national debt became more burdensome, an increasing part of the population rallied to the opposition. It was with the aid of the Whigs, who were paramount in the ministry, and of the Duchess of Marlborough, who controlled the easy-going, good-natured queen, that the duke was enabled to carry on his campaigns in the Netherlands and Germany. However, the duchess, being an arrogant lady and not always capable of holding her tongue, gradually fell out of favour, and in 1710 the queen, having become disgusted with the whole Whig connection, abruptly dismissed the Whigs from office. There followed a ministry of Tories, with a policy of peace at any price, and the result was that Marlborough was disgraced, and that England signed in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht, by virtue of which she acquired from France, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; but, best of all, she could now boast herself without a rival upon the sea.

Union with Scotland, 1707.

An event of Anne's reign, which, although not much noticed, was hardly less important than the War of the Spanish Succession, was the union with Scotland. Since the accession of James I., Scotland and England had had the same sovereigns, but, for the rest, had, with the exception of the period of Cromwell's rule, remained jealously independent of each other under separate Parliaments and separate laws. In 1707 the century-old suspicion between the two nations was forgotten long enough for an

agreement to be arrived at, by which the two Parliaments were merged in one.

Accession of the House of Hanover, 1714.

In the year 1714, Anne died, and the crown fell to the House of Hanover. The electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, having preceded Anne in death, her son, George I., now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender, the son of James II., was expected, but when it fell (1715), it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III. had hardly landed when his courage failed him, and he turned back to France.

Rule of the Whig aristocracy.

George I. (1714-27), immediately dismissed from office the Tories, who were known to be favourable to the Stuarts, and chose his advisers from among the Whigs. He clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life, and so introduced that government of the Whig aristocracy, which is one of the leading features of the constitutional history of the eighteenth century.

Development of cabinet government.

This prolonged power of a single party helped Parliament in taking another step toward acquiring complete control of the state; with George I. is associated the beginning of cabinet government. We have already seen that, as far back as Charles II. the Parliament was divided into Whigs and Tories. As things stood then, though the majority of the Commons were Tory, the king could continue to choose his ministry from the Whigs. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division was harmful, and that to attain the best results the ministry would have to be in accord with the majority of the Commons. The reform meant a new loss of influence by the king, but under George I. the development was duly effected. Henceforth the ministry was still named by the king, but, as no set of men who had not first assured themselves that they were supported by a majority in the Commons, would accept the appointment, the Parliament practically dictated the king's cabinet. With the annual vote of supplies, and with cabinet

and party rule established as practices of the English Government, the constitution may be said to have reached the character which distinguishes it to-day.

George's reign was a reign of peace. It furnished just the opportunity which the Whigs wanted to develop the prosperity of the great middle class, upon which they depended against the combination of Tory squire and Tory clergyman. The leading man among the Whigs, and author of their policy, was Sir Robert Walpole. One may sum up his ideas by saying that he wished to settle England under the Hanoverian dynasty, and give free play to the commercial and industrial energy of his countrymen. The period which he directed is therefore well described as the era of common sense.

Walpole's rule of common sense.

It was only when Walpole deliberately set himself against the people that he lost his hold. George I. had meanwhile been succeeded by George II. (1727–60). The new king like his father, was possessed of a certain honesty and solidity, and under the direction of Walpole, he continued the peace policy of George I., until a succession of events plunged Europe again into war. In the year 1738, a storm of indignation swept over the English people at the restrictions which Spain had for ages been putting upon English trade with the Spanish colonies. Walpole, against his will, was forced to declare war (1739). The next year the continental powers becoming involved among themselves, owing to the death of emperor Charles VI. (1740) and the dispute about his heritage, there followed the war known as the war of the Austrian Succession (1740–48). As Walpole was unsuited for an enterprise of this nature, and as, moreover, he stood personally for peace, his majority melted away, and, in 1742, he resigned. He had directed the destinies of England for twenty-one years (1721–42).

War with Spain, 1739.

The war of the Austrian Succession was, as far as England is concerned, entirely inconclusive, and, when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, left matters as they were. The one incident associated with the war which is now re-

membered in England, was the attempt of Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his kingdom. In July, 1745, he landed with only seven men, in the Highlands of Scotland, and the Highlanders flocking to him in crowds, he was soon enabled to take Edinburgh, though not the Castle. For a moment now the government at London lost its head, and though the Pretender reached Derby it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746) the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape; but he lived ever afterward in indolence abroad, and gave no further trouble (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The invasion of the Young Pretender, 1745.

While England, under Walpole, was preparing to assume the industrial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When Louis XIV. died, in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV. (1715–74). As Louis XV. was but five years old at the time, the government during his minority was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV., Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent Orleans, although a man of intelligence, was utterly debauched, and succeeded only in plunging France into deeper misery. Nobody grieved when he died in 1723.

The Regency in France, 1715–23.

The great event of Louis XV.'s reign is, of course, the struggle with England for colonial empire in the Seven Years' War. Chronologically, however, that event is subsequent to two others which must be briefly recorded. From 1733 to 1735 France waged war with Austria, because of a difference over a Polish royal election—the war of the Polish Succession—and in this war France rapidly worsted Austria and won the duchy of Lorraine. This turned out to be the last gain that France

The War of the Polish Succession, 1733–35.

made from Germany under the old régime, and rounded off the long list of conquests that had been begun by the acquisition almost two centuries before of Metz, Toul, and Verdun by Henry II. (1552). The other war, the war of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) effected no territorial change in France, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle being concluded upon the basis of mutual restitutions.

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–48.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the great question for France was: would she hold her own in the increasing maritime and colonial rivalry with England. These two powers, indisputably the greatest in the world, had begun to clash in America, India, and on all the seas, and, as the settlement of their conflicting claims by means of amicable negotiations was out of the question, it became plain that the disputants would have to resort to arms. We have already seen, in treating of Frederick the Great, how this rivalry got subtly bound up with the question of supremacy in Germany that had risen between Prussia and Austria, and we have also seen how the outbreak of the French-English struggle was preceded by a diplomatic revolution. This revolution came to a head in 1756, and leagued England and Prussia together against France and Austria. The Prussian-Austrian phase of this world-conflict, called the Seven Years' War (1756–63), has already been studied. We turn now to the French-English phase of it, and therewith to a struggle which is properly the most important contest of the century, for it determined whether America and India were to be French or English.

Rivalry between France and England.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756.

France made great sacrifices in the Seven Years' War to maintain her power. She sent an army over the Rhine to co-operate with the Austrians against the Prussians and the English, and she prepared to defend herself with might in America and on the sea. Unfortunately she was governed by an ignorant and vicious king, who was too feeble to persist in any policy, and who was

The Seven Years' War, 1756–63.

no better than the puppet of his courtiers and his mistresses. The real direction of French affairs during the war lay in the hands of Madame de Pompadour.

While government was thus being travestied in France, the power in England fell into the hands of the capable and fiery William Pitt, who is known in history as the Great Commoner, and who now organized the strength of England as no one had ever organized it before. Fleets and armies were equipped and dispatched in accordance with a simple and comprehensive plan to all parts of the world. Under these circumstances, victory necessarily fell to England. The French army in Germany was badly beaten by Frederick the Great at Rossbach (1757), and later held in effective check by the English and Hanoverian forces under Ferdinand of Brunswick. But the most signal advantages of the English were won, not in Europe, but on the sea and in the colonies. First, the French were driven from the basin of the Ohio (1758).[1] In the next year Wolfe's capture of Quebec secured the course of the St Lawrence, and therewith completed the conquest of Canada. Furthermore in India, the celebrated Lord Clive (victory of Plassey, 1757) crowded out the French and established the English influence, while the great maritime victories (1759) of Lagos and Quiberon confirmed England's ancient naval greatness.

Pitt, captain of England.

English victories.

In the year 1760, while the war was at its height, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. (1760–1820). George III. had one leading idea, which was to regain for himself the place in the government which had been usurped by the Parliament. So completely was he absorbed by this policy, that the war had only a secondary interest for him. He therefore dismissed Pitt, who was identified with the war, from office (1761), and shortly

George III., 1760–1820.

[1] The French had claimed the whole Mississippi basin, and in order to shut out the English had built a fort on the upper Ohio. In 1755 General Braddock was sent out to destroy the French fort, but refusing to be guided by the advice of the Virginian officer, George Washington, was badly beaten. When the French fort was finally taken, it was re-baptized Pittsburg, in honour of England's great minister.

after ordered Lord Bute, a minister of his own independent appointment, to conclude peace with France. Although the English negotiators, in their haste to have done, occasionally sacrificed the English interests, the great results of Pitt's victories could not be overturned. By the Peace of Paris (1763) England acquired from France, Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi River, and reduced the French in India to a few trading posts.

Peace of Paris, 1763.

If the Seven Years' War is the greatest triumph of England in history, she was visited soon afterward with her severest disgrace. In the year 1765 the British Parliament levied a tax upon the American colonies, called the Stamp Act. When it became known that the tax aroused discontent, it was wisely withdrawn, but at the same time the principle was asserted and proclaimed that the British Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. As the Americans would not accept this point of view, friction grew apace and soon led to mob violence. Townshend imposed some unpopular taxes, the British ministry resorted to military force, and the answer of the Americans to this measure was the resolution to revolt (Declaration of Independence, 1776). In 1778 the colonists, through their agent, Benjamin Franklin, made an alliance with France, and from this time on the English were hard pressed by land and by sea. Finally, the surrender of Yorktown (1781) to the American hero of the war, George Washington, disposed the English to peace. In the peace of Versailles (1783) England made France a few unimportant colonial concessions, but the really memorable feature of the peace was the recognition of the independence of the American colonies.

The American Revolution, 1776.

The Peace of Versailles, 1783.

This American success once more stirred the Irish to action. Ever since the severe confiscations of the time of William III. they had borne their ills in silence; they were crushed. But now they began an agitation for Legislative Independence or Home Rule, with the result that the ministry at London, intimidated by

Renewal of agitation in Ireland.

the American calamity, yielded the point (1782). The troubles in the island, however, did not cease; bloody encounters between the Roman Catholic natives and the Protestant colonists were common occurrences; and in 1800 the younger Pitt, who held the post of Prime Minister, resolved to make an end of these conditions, and passed an Act of Union which destroyed the independence of Ireland for good and all, and incorporated the Irish Parliament with the British Parliament at London. Since then Ireland has been ruled in all respects from the English capital.

The Act of Union, 1800.

The Act of Union did not greatly occupy the public mind. For when it was passed the French Revolution, though it was now in its twelfth year, was still holding the attention of all Europe riveted upon it.

SECTION III

REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION; FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO OUR OWN TIME (1789–1900)

OUR third section begins with the French Revolution, which gave general currency to those essentially modern principles, the sovereignty of the people and national unity. As these principles were opposed to the principles of absolutism in vogue during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there arose a struggle, which, under the form of liberalism versus conservatism, has continued throughout the nineteenth century. The end, however, was the victory of liberalism, resulting in the very general establishment throughout Europe of constitutional or limited monarchies on a national basis.

CHAPTER XXX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ERA OF NAPOLEON (1789–1815)

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Wolseley, *The Decline and Fall of Napoleon.*
Napier, *History of the Peninsular War.*
Shand, *The War in the Peninsula.*
Seeley, *Life of Stein*, and *A Short History of Napoleon.*
Houssaye, 1814.
O'Connor Morris, *The Campaign of* 1815.
Also Erckmann-Chatrian, *Histoire d'un Paysan*, 1789.

IF the seventeenth century, which recalls the names of Richelieu, Colbert, and Louis XIV., was the period of the expansion of France, the eighteenth century, associated with

such names as the regent Orleans, Louis XV., and Madame de Pompadour, proved the period of French decay. We have just seen that the Seven Years' War all but completed the ruin of the kingdom, for the defeats of the armies of France in Germany destroyed her military prestige, and her maritime disasters overthrew her naval power and deprived her of her colonies. But the loss of her great position was not the worst consequence of the Seven Years' War. France found herself, on the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1763), in such a condition of exhaustion, that it was doubtful, even to patriots, whether she would ever recover health and strength.

The condition of France at the end of the eighteenth century.

The case, at first sight, seemed anomalous. Here was a country which, in point of natural resources, had the advantage over every other country of Europe; its population, which was estimated at 25,000,000, was greater than that of any rival state; and the mass of the nation had no cause to fear comparison with any other people as regards industry, thrift, and intelligence. If this people so constituted tottered in the second half of the eighteenth century on the verge of disruption, that circumstance cannot be ascribed to any inherent defect in the nation. It was due solely to the break-down of the system of government and of society, which bound the nation together.

Decay due to system of government.

The reader is acquainted with the development of the absolute power of the French king—he had absorbed, gradually, all the functions of government. In fact, as Louis XIV. himself had announced, the king had become the state. Now it is plain that such extensive duties devolving on the king, only a very superior monarch was capable of holding and giving value to the royal office. Louis XIV. never failed at least in assiduity. But his successor, Louis XV., who was weak and frivolous, and incapable of sustained work, shirked the exercise of the powers which he none the less claimed as his due. The result was that the business

The king is the state.

Louis XV.

of governing fell to a greedy horde of courtiers and adventuresses, who were principally concerned with fattening their fortunes, and who sacrificed, with no more regret than is expressed by a shrug of the shoulders and a laugh, every interest of the state.

The feudal orders become privileged orders.

If under Louis XV. the centralized monarchy progressively declined, the whole social fabric which that monarchy crowned, exhibited no less certain signs of decay and disruption. French society, like that of all Europe, had its starting-point in the feudal principle of class. In feudal times there had been recognized two great ruling classes, the clergy and the nobility, which in return for the services they rendered as the provincial government, enjoyed exemption from taxation. In the eighteenth century the central government was performing those local services, but the clergy and nobility still enjoyed exemption. What for? Plainly the arrangement was iniquitous, for it divided France into privileged and unprivileged classes, or into subjects who paid and subjects who did not pay. But the social inequality did not end here, for the privileged classes had also a monopoly of the honours and emoluments. Not even a lieutenancy in the army, which the money of the commoners supported, was open to the son of a commoner, and neither the Church nor the government, except in rare instances, admitted into their high places the man of humble birth.

The numbers and the wealth of the privileged.

The membership of the two orders, to whom these extensive privileges were reserved, was not very large. The noble families numbered 25,000 to 30,000, with an aggregate membership of perhaps 140,000; and the clergy, including the various religious orders and the parish priests, had an enrolment of about as many names. These two castes between them owned about half the land of France, so that it could be fairly claimed by the indignant people that the principle of taxation which obtained in their country was: to relieve those who did not need relief, and to burden those who were already overburdened

The commoners, or members of the Third Estate (tiers état), who were shut out from the places of authority reserved to the first two estates of the realm, were reduced to finding an outlet for their energy in the field of business enterprise or else in literature. They succeeded in piling up wealth both in Paris and in the cities of the provinces, until their resources, constantly increased through thrift and hard work, far exceeded those of the nobility, who concerned themselves only with elegantly spending what they had and what they could borrow. Thus the bourgeoisie had long been better off than the nobility; and now they proceeded to surpass the nobility in other respects. For increase of wealth had brought increase of leisure and of the desire and power to learn and grow. So it happened that in the progress of the eighteenth century, the Third Estate had fairly become the intellectual hearth of France.

The progress of the Third Estate.

But if the bourgeoisie was undoubtedly prospering, the case was different with the vast majority of French subjects, who are often called the Fourth Estate, and who embraced the two utterly wretched classes of the urban proletariat and the peasants. The proletariat was composed of the artisans and day-labourers, and was, owing to the fact that the middle class controlled the commercial and industrial situation by means of close corporations called guilds, completely under the heel of its richer fellow-citizens. But still worse off than the working people were the peasants, for their obligations exceeded all justice and reason. The lord of the manor exacted rent from them; the Church levied tithes; and the king collected taxes almost at will. The result was that the peasants did not have enough left over from their toil to live on. And if these regular taxes did, by any chance, leave anything in their hands, that little was constantly jeopardized by certain remaining feudal obligations. Thus the lord of the land had the sole right to hunt, and the peasant was forbidden to erect fences to shut out the game from his fields. If the cavalcade from the château dashed over the young wheat in

The misery of the labouring class.

The misery of the peasants.

spring, the peasant could do nothing but look on at the ruin of his year, hold his peace, and starve.[1]

A government struck with impotence, a society divided into discordant classes—these are the main features of the picture we have just examined. French public life in the eighteenth century had become intolerable. Dissolution of that life, in order that reform might follow, was patently the only possible escape out of the perennial misery. This the educated people began to see more and more clearly, and a school of writers, known as the philosophers, made themselves their mouthpiece.

The demand for reform.

The eighteenth century is the century of criticism. Men had begun to overhaul the whole body of tradition in state, Church, and society, and to examine their institutional inheritances from the point of view of common-sense. If things had been allowed to stand hitherto, because they were approved by the past, they were to be permitted henceforth only because they were serviceable, and necessary to the present. Reason, in other words, was to be the rule of life. This gospel the philosophers spread from end to end of Europe. They opened fire upon everything that ran counter to reason and science—upon the intolerance of the Church, upon the privileges of the nobility, upon the abuse of the royal power, upon the viciousness of criminal justice, and a hundred other things.

The intellectual revolt.

Although the revolt against the authority of tradition was universal in the eighteenth century, the leading names among the philosophers are those of Frenchmen, and of all the French philosophers, Voltaire [2] and Rousseau [3] carried on the most effective

The centre of the intellectual revolt is France.

[1] Other vexatious feudal dues were the corvées (compulsory mending of the roads), bridge-tolls, and the obligation to grind corn in the mill of the lord, and bake bread in his oven.

[2] Voltaire (1694–1778) excelled in the use of mockery. He made the contemporary world ridiculous to itself. Because his writings were so specifically addressed to his own time, they have not retained all their savour. Perhaps his most valuable production is "l'Essai sur les Mœurs."

[3] Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) was a Genevan by birth. In his "Émile" (a work on education) and his "Contrat Social" (a work on

agitation. By means of their work and that of their followers, it was brought about that long before the Revolution of 1789, there had occurred a revolution in the realm of ideas, by which the hold of the existing Church, state, and society on the minds of men had been signally loosened. All that the material Revolution of 1789 did was to register this fact in the institutions and in the laws.

A society which has become thoroughly discredited in the minds of those who compose it, is likely to fall apart at any moment, and through a hundred different agencies. The agency which directly led up to the French Revolution, and gave the signal, as it were, for the dissolution of the ancient régime, was the state of the finances. The debts of Louis XIV. had been increased by the wars and extravagances of Louis XV., and by the middle of the eighteenth century France was confronted by the difficulty of a chronic deficit. As long as Louis XV. reigned (1715–74), the deficit was covered by fresh loans. Although the device was dangerous, it did not arouse any apprehension in that monarch's feeble mind. "Things will hold together till my death," he was in the habit of saying complacently, and Madame de Pompadour would add, nonchalantly: "After us the deluge."

The chronic deficit.

When Louis XVI. (1774–92) succeeded his grandfather, the question of financial reform would not brook any further delay. The new king was, at his accession, only twenty years old, and was honestly desirous of helping his people, but he had, unfortunately, neither the requisite energy nor the requisite intelligence for developing a programme, and carrying it through, in spite of opposition. His queen, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, was lovely and vivacious, but as young and inexperienced as himself.

The accession of Louis XVI. (1774).

The fifteen years from Louis's accession to the outbreak of

society), he preached the return from artificiality to nature. Voltaire and Rousseau differed in many important respects, but were both eloquent in their demand for civil and religious liberty.

the Revolution (1774–89), constitute a period of unintermitted struggle with the financial distress. The problem was how to make the revenues meet the expenditures, and plainly the only feasible solution was reform: the lavish expenditure of the court would have to be cut down and the privileged orders would have to give up their exemptions. For the consideration of these matters Louis at first called into his cabinet a number of notable men. Among his ministers of finance were the economist Turgot (1774–76), and the banker Necker (first ministry, 1778–81; second ministry 1788–90). But although these men laboured earnestly at reform, they could make no headway owing to the opposition of the nobles, and the ruinous expenditure caused by the aid given by France to the Americans. Toward the end of the eighties the king stared bankruptcy in the face. Since he was absolutely without further resource, he now resolved to appeal to the nation. The determination was in itself a revolution, for it contained the admission that the absolute monarchy had failed. In May, 1789, there assembled at Paris, in order to take council with the king about the natioual distress, the States-General of the realm.

Attempts at financial reform.

Appeal to the nation (1789).

The States-General were the old feudal Parliament of France, composed of the elected representatives of the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the commons. As the States-General had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, it was not strange that nobody was acquainted with their mode of procedure. So much was certain, however, that the assembly had formerly voted by orders, and that the action of the privileged orders had always been decisive.

The States-General formerly controlled by the feudal orders.

The first question which arose in the assembly was whether the nobles and clergy should be allowed this traditional supremacy in the new States-General. Among the members of the Third Estate, as the commons were called in France, there was, of course, only one answer. These men held that the new States-General were representative, not of the old

feudal realm, but of the united nation, and that everybody, therefore, must have an equal vote. In other words, the Third Estate maintained that the vote should not be taken by order, but individually. As the Third Estate had been permitted to send twice as many delegates (six hundred) as either clergy or nobility (three hundred each), it was plain that the proposition of the Third Estate would give that body the preponderance. The clergy and nobility, therefore, offered a stubborn resistance; but, after a month of contention, the Third Estate cut the knot by boldly declaring itself, with or without the feudal orders, the National Assembly (June 17). Horrified by this act of violence the king and the court tried to cow the commons by an abrupt summons to submit to the old procedure, but when the commons refused to be frightened, the king himself gave way, and ordered the clergy and nobility to join the Third Estate (June 27). Thus, at the very beginning of the Revolution, the power passed out of the hands of the king and feudal orders into the hands of the people.

The question whether the States-General were to be an ancient or a modern body.

The National Assembly (1789–91)

The National Assembly, which was thus constituted to regenerate France, was composed of very intelligent men who were animated by a pure enthusiasm to serve their country. But a fatal defect more than counterbalanced this generous disposition. The Assembly was composed of theorists, of men who were inexperienced in the practical affairs of government, and was, therefore, calamitously prone to treat all questions which arose as felicitous occasions for the display of parliamentary eloquence.

The National Assembly intelligent, but unpractical.

Out of this immense body of 1200 legislators there gradually came to the front a number of men of whom Lafayette,

Robespierre, and Mirabeau are the most important. The marquis de Lafayette had won a great name for himself in the American Revolution, and though a noble, sympathized with the people. Robespierre, a lawyer by profession, was vain and narrow-minded, but fanatically attached to the principles of democracy. Head and shoulders above these two, and above all his colleagues, rose the count de Mirabeau, for he was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government was as natural and gradual a growth as a plant or a child. He wished, therefore, to keep the inherited monarchy intact, with just such reforms as would restore it to health and vigour, but unfortunately, he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble, and therefore subject to suspicion; then his early life had been a succession of scandals, which now rose up and bore witness against him, undermining confidence in his honour.

Lafayette.

Robespierre.

Mirabeau.

The primary business of the National Assembly was the making of a new constitution. It was of the highest importance that this work should be done in perfect security, free from the interference of popular passion and violence. As the National Assembly represented the propertied interests, there seemed to be every chance of calm and systematic procedure; but unfortunately the Assembly soon fell under the domination of the mob, and that proved the ruin of the Revolution. The growth of the influence of the lower elements, who interpreted reform as anarchy, is the most appalling concomitant of the great events of 1789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the awful degeneration of what certainly was, at its outset, a generous movement.

Degeneration of the Revolution due to the mob.

For this degeneration the king and the National Assembly are both responsible, for, instead of working together in harmony, they tried to injure each other as much as they could. In consequence the people were kept agitated with rumours of court plots, and were

The insurrections of Paris.

ever ready to rise in insurrection against the monarch whom the orators designated as "the tyrant." Thus, on July 14, the populace of Paris threw itself in a rage upon the Bastille, an ancient state prison in the heart of Paris, and after a bloody encounter with the royal troops, razed it to the ground.

The storming of the Bastille, July 14, 1789.

The king at Versailles did not misread the lesson which the episode of the Bastille pointed. If he had had any thought of employing arms against the Revolution, he now abandoned it, and tried to make his peace with the people. And the citizen class, too, adopted temporarily, at least, a more conciliatory attitude. Resolved to have done with violence, they organized for the maintenance of order a militia, called the National Guard, and made the popular Lafayette commander. The question now was whether the national guard understood its duty, and was strong enough to repress the lawless elements which were constantly growing more bold and more numerous.

Formation of the National Guard.

The test came soon enough. In October the rumour of another court plot tremendously excited the people. It was said that "the tyrant" was once again scheming to put down the Revolution with troops; and it was further said that he and none other had caused the dreadful famine in the city by buying up all the grain in the land. On the morning of October 5th, 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. The transfer, they were brought to believe, would somehow inaugurate a reign of plenty. Naturally enough as they straggled along, all the male and female riffraff of the city joined them. But where were the authorities? Where was Lafayette, the commander of the National Guard? His duty in the face of this popular uprising was plain, but certain it is that he did nothing to break up the rioters, probably because he himself sympathized with their aim to bring the king to Paris. Only long *after* the insurgents he set out for Versailles, where, on his arrival, he found everything in the greatest confusion, but where, by

The insurrection of October 5 and 6.

his timely intercession, he saved the lives of the royal family. However, if the mob spared the king and queen, it declared firmly, at the same time, that it would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the king and the royal family to the capital. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th, the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted the royal family to the Tuileries at Paris. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king, and was quartered in the riding-school, near the palace.

The king conducted to the Tuileries.

The events of October 5 and 6, in literal truth, ruined the monarchy, and Lafayette cannot escape the charge of having contributed in large measure to the result. The king at the Tuileries, indeed, if that was what Lafayette wanted, was now practically Lafayette's prisoner, but Lafayette himself, even though it took him some months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the mob.

The mob henceforth supreme.

What greatly contributed to the power of the mob was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all classes alike. We must always remember, in order to understand the tremendous pace at which the Revolution developed, that the year 1789 marks an almost unparalleled agitation of public opinion. Leading symptoms of this agitation were the innumerable pamphlets and newspapers which accompanied the events of the day with explanatory comment, but a still more striking witness of the exaltation of men's minds was offered by the clubs. Clubs for consultation and debate became the great demand of the hour; they arose spontaneously in all quarters; in fact, every coffee-house acquired, through the passion of its frequenters, the character of a political association. Of all these unions the Jacobins soon won the most influential position. Beginning moderately enough, they offered a meeting-point for the constitutional and educated elements, and rapidly spread in numberless branches or so-called daughter-societies over the length and breadth of France. Unfortunately, however, this club, too, soon fell under the domination of the extreme revolutionary

The clubs.

The Jacobins.

tendencies. Lafayette and Mirabeau, whose power was at first dominant, were gradually displaced by Robespierre; and Robespierre, once in authority, skilfully used the club as a means of binding together the radical opinion of the country.

The abolition of privileges, August 4.

Throughout the years 1789 and 1790, the National Assembly was engaged with providing for the government of France, and in making a constitution. The great question of the privileges, which had proved unsolvable in the early years of Louis XVI., caused no difficulties after the National Assembly had once been constituted. On August 4, 1789, the nobility and clergy, in an access of magnanimity, renounced voluntarily their feudal rights, and demanded that they should be admitted into the great body of French citizens on a basis of equality. August 4 is one of the great days of the Revolution.

The character of the new constitution.

In the intervals of the discharge of the current business, the Assembly deliberated concerning the future constitution of France. Of course it is not possible to examine it here in any degree of detail, but if we remember that it was the work of men who had suffered from an absolute executive, we shall understand its principal feature, which was that the legislative branch of the government was made superior to the executive branch. The legislative functions were entrusted to a legislature of one house elected for two years. Mirabeau, the great statesman of the Revolution, fought hard to preserve for the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to be efficient; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues, and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken down by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

The death of Mirabeau, April, 1791.

The uncomfortable position of the king.

The death of Mirabeau, the supporter of monarchy, greatly weakened the king's position. Ever since October 6, Louis had been the virtual prisoner of the populace, and ever since that time he was being systematically deprived of his authority by the National

Assembly. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearing completion, he regarded as impracticable, and since the death of Mirabeau destroyed the hope of an effective revision, it is not strange that he should have meditated flight.

The attempted flight, June 20, 1791.

The flight of the king and the royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20. A little less delay at the post stations, or a little more care on the part of the king to keep himself in concealment, would have crowned the venture with success. But the king was recognized at Sainte Menehould, and a little farther on at Varennes, where the change of horses was accidentally prolonged, the travellers found themselves hemmed in by the mob, and arrested. A few days after their departure the fugitives were brought back to Paris as prisoners.

Division of opinion.

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. To the constitutional monarchists it gave their first inkling that they had gone too far, for a monarch was necessary to their constitutional fabric, and here they beheld their chosen monarch refusing to serve their plan. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly for the captive and disarmed Louis a consideration which they had never accorded him in the days when he still had favours to dispense. The democrats, on the other hand, such as Danton and Robespierre, regarded the flight as a welcome pretext for proclaiming the republic. A struggle followed (July 17, 1791), the most ominous which Paris had yet witnessed; but the monarchists were still a majority, and by ordering out the National Guard against the rioters, won a victory. The Assembly, on hearing from the king that he had never meant to leave the soil of France, solemnly welcomed him back to office; and Louis, in return, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and swore to observe the constitution. On September 30, 1791, the last artistic touches having been added to the constitution, the

The king reinstated.

The Assembly dissolves itself, 1791.

assembly dissolved itself, and retired from the scene. Its strenuous labours of two years, from which the enthusiasts had expected the renovation of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the completed liberal constitution. The question now was: would the vaunted constitution at length inaugurate the prophesied era of peace and happiness?

The Legislative Assembly (*October* 1, 1791, *to September* 21, 1792).

The answer to the above question would depend largely upon the First Legislative Assembly, which, elected on the basis of the new constitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. By a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanimity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted the exclusion of its members from the Legislative Assembly. The seven hundred and forty-five new legislators of France were, therefore, all men without experience. That alone constituted a grave danger, which was still further increased by the fact that the prevailing type of member was that of the young enthusiast, who owed his political elevation to the oratorical vigour he had displayed in his local Jacobin Club.

Inexperience of the new legislature.

The dangerous disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soon as the members grouped themselves in parties. Only a small fraction, called the Feuillants, undertook to support the constitution. The two most influential parties, the Gironde[1] and the Mountain,[2] favoured the establishment of a republic, and, from the first day, set deliberately about destroying the monarchy. The stages by which they accomplished their work of ruin we need not

Republicanism of the assembly.

[1] So called from the fact that the leaders of the party hailed from the department of the Gironde (Bordeaux).

[2] This party owes its name to the circumstance that its members took their seats in the Assembly upon the highest tiers of benches.

here consider, but the supreme blow against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare war against Austria, and except for this declaration, which marks a new milestone in the Revolution, we can almost forget the Legislative Assembly entirely.

War against Austria, April 20, 1792.

The declaration of war against Austria was the result of a variety of circumstances. In the first place, monarchical Europe, the natural head of which was the emperor Leopold, the brother of Marie Antoinette, had begun to exhibit hostility to the Revolution, and the Declaration of Pilnitz by Austria-Prussia in the autumn of 1791 had irritated the French; then the French nobility which had migrated and lived chiefly along the Rhine, where it was organized under the leadership of the count of Artois, brother of Louis XVI., exasperated the French by its threats of revenge; finally, the Gironde desired war in the expectation that war would overthrow the monarchy. Though Robespierre and the leading Jacobins opposed war, the interaction of these various motives and circumstances led the Assembly in an access of passion to compel Louis XVI. to declare war against Austria (April 20, 1792).

The war destined to become general.

Unfortunately, the capable Leopold had died a month before the declaration was made, and it was his incapable son, Francis II. (1792-1835), who was called to do battle with the Revolution. But Leopold had before his death made some provision against the eventuality of war with France. In February, 1792, frightened by the dangers to the cause of monarchy lurking in the Revolution, he had persuaded Frederick William II. of Prussia to ally himself with him. The declaration of April 20 brought, therefore, not only Austria, but also Prussia, into the field. Thus began the revolutionary wars which were destined to carry the revolutionary ideas to the ends of the earth, to sweep away landmarks and traditions, and to lock old Europe in a death-grapple with new France, for over twenty years.

There can be no doubt that the republican Girondists, who

were the real originators of the war, expected an easy victory. *French defeats.* They saw, in a vision, the thrones of the tyrants shaking at the irresistible onset of the revolutionary ideas, and themselves hailed everywhere as the liberators of the human race. But the first engagement brought a sharp disappointment. The undisciplined French forces, at the mere approach of the Austrians, scampered away without risking a battle, and when the summer came it was known that the Austrians and Prussians together had begun the invasion of France. At this unexpected crisis wrath and terror filled the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word treason, and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly, and in the vilest language, as the author of the French defeats. Every day brought the Prussian van nearer Paris; every day added to the excitement of the frightened citizens. When the duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, threatened, in a senseless proclamation, to wreak vengeance on the capital, if but a hair of the king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of uncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10, the mob, which on June 20 had failed to carry out an insurrection, *Blame put on the king.* organized by the republican leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the orators had represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother, France.

With his regiment of Swiss mercenaries, who alone could be depended upon, Louis might have made a brave resistance. But he was not the man to be moved by a heroic impulse. If there had ever been one settled determination in his breast, it was that no French blood should flow for him in civil war. *August 10, 1792.* At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was making ready to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter in the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand, and only on the king's express order gave up the Tuileries, and attempted to effect a retreat. But the odds were against them, and most of them were butchered in the streets.

Meanwhile the Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. With Louis himself present, the members voted the suspension of the king, and ordered the election of a National Convention to consider the basis of a new constitution. The present Assembly was to hold over till September 21, the day when the new body was ordered to meet. Thus perished, not only the monarchy but also, after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had been trumpeted forth as the final product of the human intellect.

Break-down of the monarchy and the constitution.

The suspension of the king left the government legally in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and of the ministry which the Assembly appointed. But as the capital was in the hands of the mob and the machinery of government paralyzed, it was found impossible to keep the real power from falling into the hands of the demagogues, who, on August 10, had had the courage to strike down the king. These victorious demagogues were identical with the Mountain party in the Assembly, and with the "patriots," who had just possessed themselves, by means of violence, of the city council or commune. The most prominent figures of this dread circle were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, and these and their henchmen were the real sovereigns of France during the interlude from August 10, the day of the overthrow of the monarchy, to September 21, the day of the meeting of the National Convention.

The government in the hands of the demagogues.

It was plain that the first need of France in this crisis was to beat back the invasion. The Prussians were already advancing, and the Mountain, therefore, made itself the champion of the national defence. The fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but those which provided for the necessaries of life and furnished weapons of defence; finally, the whole male population was invited to enlist. The famous September massacres terrorized Paris, and indeed France; and whatever we may think of this system of government by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished its end: it put

The Mountain defends France.

an army into the field composed of men who were ready to die, and so saved France.

Slowly the republican recruits checked the Prussian advance. Finally, on September 20, General Kellermann inflicted a defeat upon the Prussians at Valmy, whereupon king Frederick William, whose thoughts were already directed towards Poland which was on the eve of the further partition, gave the order to retreat. A few weeks later not a Prussian was left upon French soil.

Prussians defeated at Valmy, September, 1792.

This really great achievement of the radical democrats had been unfortunately preluded by a succession of frightful crimes. To understand why these were perpetrated, we must once again picture to ourselves the state of France. The country was in anarchy; the power in the hands of a few men, resolute to save their country. They were a thoroughly unscrupulous band, the Dantons, the Marats, and their colleagues, and since they could not afford to be disturbed in their work of equipping armies by local risings among the supporters of the king, they resolved to cow the constitutionalists, still perhaps a majority, by a system of terror. They haled to the prisons all to whom the suspicion of being devoted to the king attached, and in the early days of September they emptied the crowded prisons again by a deliberate massacre of the inmates. An armed band of assassins, regularly hired by the municipality, made the round of the prisons, and in the course of three days dispatched about two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand was raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearances, looked on, stupefied.

The September massacres, September 2, 3, and 4.

The National Convention (September 21, 1792, to October 26, 1795).

This short interlude of government by terror came to an end temporarily when the National Convention met (September 21)

and assumed control. The first act of this body was to declare the monarchy abolished. As the defeat of the Prussians at Valmy, which occurred about this time, was followed soon after by the repulse of the Austrians from the walls of Lille, France was freed from all immediate danger from without. The French armies then invaded Saxony, advanced to the Rhine, and in November, by the battle of Jemappes, conquered the Austrian Netherlands. France being thus secure from attack the Convention could turn its attention to internal affairs.

France becomes a republic.

In the precarious condition in which France then found herself, everything depended upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made up of almost eight hundred members, all republicans; but they were republicans of various degrees of thoroughness. There were the two parties of the Gironde and the Mountain, known to us from the Legislative Assembly; and between them, voting sometimes with the Gironde, sometimes with the Mountain, but definitely attached to neither, was the Plain. The Girondists dreamed of a new Utopia, which was to be straightway realized by legislation; they wished to end the period of murders, and thus wipe away the stains which were beginning to attach to the name of liberty. The Mountain were men of a more fierce and practical mood; they thought primarily of saving France from the foreigners, and were willing to sacrifice liberty itself to further that great end.

The Gironde and the Mountain.

That the chasm between the Gironde and Mountain was absolutely unbridgeable was exhibited on the Convention's taking up the trial of the king, who, ever since August 10, had been confined with his family in the prison of the Temple. In December the deposed monarch was summoned before the bar of the Convention. The Girondists were anxious to appeal to the people; but the Mountain, backed by the threats of the mob, carried the Convention with them, and the citizen Louis Capet, once Louis XVI., was condemned to death. On January 21, 1793, he was executed by the guillotine.

Trial and death of the king, January 21, 1793.

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation over Europe, and France was threatened by a great coalition. The challenge was accepted; and in February 1793 France declared war on England and Holland, and in March on Spain. On March 23, the Holy Roman Empire itself declared war against France. Thus the war with Austria and Prussia developed into one with Europe, and under these circumstances, the question of the defence of French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. On March 21, the French troops were routed at Neerwinden, and the effect on the Convention was striking. It was plain that, in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would be required to display an almost superhuman vigour.

The first coalition against France, 1793.

The first Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine members, was at once formed, and the new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic, but it was not now primarily a question of patriotism between them, but of the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on presenting moral scruples, on spinning out endless debates; because the case would not wait upon scruple or debate, the fanatics of the Mountain resolved to strike their rivals down. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat to invade the Convention, and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. Finally, on June 2, 1793, thirty-one of them, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Brissot, and Gensonné, were declared under arrest.

Overthrow of the Gironde.

The fall of the moderate Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the ferocity of the Mountain. The government now lay in its hands to use as it would, and the most immediate end of government, the Mountain had always maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great

The Mountain supreme.

purpose, the Mountain now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792—the system of terror. The phase of the Revolution, which is historically famous as the Reign of Terror (La Terreur)—it may profitably be called the Long Reign of Terror in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792 — begins on June 2, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate element, represented by the Gironde.

The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793, to July 27, 1794).

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked by two conspicuous features: first, an energetic defence of the French soil, and, secondly, a bloody repression of the opposition elements in Paris. The Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements developed into a system. What is more likely to secure an energetic defence than a strong executive? The Mountain, therefore, created a new Committee of Public Safety, consisting of twelve members, to whom it intrusted an almost unlimited executive power. As the most conspicuous, though certainly not the most capable figure of this committee was Robespierre, the rule of the Committee of Public Safety is generally identified in people's minds with his name.

The Great Committee of Public Safety.

Robespierre.

The executive having been thus provided for, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following constituents: First, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison any and everybody who was denounced to them as "suspect." The iniquitous Law of the Suspects soon taxed the prisons to the utmost. To empty them was the function of the second element of the terrorist

The machinery of the Terror.

machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice, created for the purpose of trying the suspects with security and dispatch. At first the Revolutionary Tribunal adhered to certain legal forms, but gradually it sacrificed every consideration to the demand of speed. The time came when prisoners were haled before this court in companies, and condemned to death with no more ceremony than the reading of their names. There then remained for the luckless victims the third and last step in the process of the Terror; they were carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amidst staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day, as to a feast, their heads fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

Marat and Charlotte Corday.

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its prime instigators, Marat, was overtaken by a merited fate. Marat, was the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and abject element of Paris. His savage thirst for blood had aroused the aversion of all decent people, and finally awakened in the breast of a beautiful and noble-minded girl of Normandy, Charlotte Corday, the passionate desire to rid her country of this monster. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance into his house, and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act meant her own death; but her exaltation did not desert her for a moment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed with the sustained calm of a martyr.

Death of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793.

The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims of the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In October, Marie Antoinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. A number of untenable charges were brought up against her by the prosecuting attorney. She behaved with noble dignity, and on receiving her death-verdict, mounted the scaffold with all the courage befitting a daughter of the Cæsars.[1]

[1] Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years, and the dauphin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that mercy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman

Another victim was the duke of Orleans, perhaps the most despicable character of the Revolution. He was head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, but he had deserted the cause of monarchy and had sunk so low as even to vote for the death of his relative, the king. A person of a very different type was Madame Roland, who was animated with the vague and generous republic enthusiasm which we know to have been the characteristic possession of the Girondists. To this party she had been naturally drawn, and she was compelled to mount the scaffold.

The duke of Orleans.

Madame Roland.

But the rule of the Terror was, perforce, exceptional. Sooner or later there was bound to occur a division among its supporters, and when division came the terrorists were sure to rage against each other, as they had once raged in common against the aristocrats. And in the autumn of 1793, unmistakable signs of the disintegration of the party of the Terror began to appear. The most radical wing, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the city of Paris, and followed the lead of one Hébert, had turned its particular animosity against the Roman Catholic faith. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristocratic, there was proclaimed the religion of Reason; and, finally, in order to hurry the victory of this novel faith, the Hébertists in the municipality decreed the closure of all places of worship in Paris. As this ultra-revolutionary step was sure to alienate the affections of the sincere believers, who were still very numerous, and as Hébert opposed the despotism of the new government, Robespierre took the earliest opportunity to denounce him and his followers before the Jacobins. Finally, in March, 1794, the Committee of Public Safety ordered the whole atheistic band to the guillotine.

Disruption of the Terror inevitable.

End of the Hébertists, March, 1794.

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton

treatment of his jailers. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin, who is reckoned as Louis XVII., is one of the most hideous blots upon the Revolution.

and his friends, although for an altogether different reason. No man had done more than Danton to establish the reign of the Mountain. A titanic nature, with a claim to real statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more than one great crisis; France had primarily him to thank for her rescue from the Prussians in the summer of 1792, and for the formation of a strong government. But now he thought the reign of Terror to be carried too far. The uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him, and he raised his voice in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower, the arch-fanatic, Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and in sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation," they hurried him and his friends to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was rid of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad that he was designing to make himself dictator.

End of the Dantonists, April, 1794.

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in the spring of 1794, only one thing—his own political incapacity. That he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was proved by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On May 7th he, the deist, who borrowed his faith as he borrowed his politics, from the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, had the satisfaction of wresting from the Convention a supreme decree. Thereby the religion of Reason, advocated by the atheists, was overthrown, and the Convention declared that the French people recognized a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; and on June 8, 1794, the ludicrous religion of the Supreme Being was inaugurated by a splendid festival, at which Robespierre himself officiated as high priest. Two days later, he showed in what spirit he interpreted his new spiritual function, for he succeeded, by regular decree, in having the Revolutionary Tribunal stripped of its last vestiges of legal form (June 10). Now only it was that the executions in Paris began in a really wholesale manner. During the forty-five days

Robespierre supreme.

Introduces the religion of the Supreme Being.

before the reorganization of the Tribunal, the numbers of those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577; during the forty-five days after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356. No government office, no service rendered on the battlefield secured immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror gathered like a cloud over the Convention itself, and, paralyzed by fear, that body submitted for a time to the unnatural situation. But when the uncertainty connected with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intolerable, the opponents of Robespierre banded together in order to crush him. With his immense following among the people he could doubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of acting, he preferred to harangue and denounce. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27),[1] he and his adherents were outlawed by the Convention, and executed the next day.

Fall of Robespierre, 9th Thermidor.

The Rule of the Thermidorians (July 27, 1794, to October 26, 1795).

The fall of Robespierre put an end to the Terror, not so much because he had created it, as because the system had, after a year of frightful ravages, become thoroughly discredited, and further, because the Thermidorians, many of whom had been the most active promoters of the Terror, were politic enough to bow to the force of circumstances. They therefore heaped all the blame for the past

Return to mild counsels.

[1] The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced a new system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the Republic was regarded as more important than the birth of Christ, September 22, 1792, the first day of the Republic was voted the beginning of a new era. The whole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with aristocracy, and a new calendar devised. The chief feature of the new revolutionary calendar was the invention of new names for the months, such as: Nivôse, Snow month; Pluviôse, Rain month; Ventôse, Wind month, for the winter months. Germinal, Budding month; Floréal, Flower Month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc.

It is worthy of notice that the Convention introduced one change which has become popular. It supplanted the old and complicated system of weights and measures by the metrical system.

year on the dead Robespierre, and impudently assumed the character of life-long lovers of rule and order. Slowly the bourgeoisie recovered its courage, and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party; finally, a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the citadel of the rioters, was dissolved; the Revolutionary Tribunal dispersed; the functions of the Committee of Public Safety restricted; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobin Club, the old hearth of disorder, was closed. During the next year—the last of its long lease of power—the Convention ruled France in full accord with the moderate opinion of the majority of the citizens.

The Thermidorians destroy the instruments of the Terror.

But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due also to the fact that it had accomplished its end. Its excuse, as we have seen, was the danger of France, and whatever else be said of it, it had really succeeded in defending France against the forces of a tremendous coalition. On this defence the reader must now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 1793 the French had just about held their own, but, in 1794, the splendid power of organization exhibited by Carnot, the military expert of the Committee of Public Safety, and his gift for picking out young talent, enabled the revolutionary army to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. In the course of this year Jourdan's victory at Fleurus (June 26) laid Belgium at the feet of the French armies, and shortly after Pichegru occupied Holland. Belgium, as a part of the Austrian dominions, was quickly annexed to France, but Holland was merely modelled, after the example of France, into the Batavian Republic, and, for the present, confirmed in its independence (1795). These astonishing victories prepared the disruption of the coalition, and as the Thermidorians, for their part, had no desire to continue the war for ever, they entered, on receiving information of the favourable disposition of Prussia and Spain, into negotiations with these governments, and in the spring of

Progress of the war.

Peace with Prussia and Spain, 1795.

1795 concluded peace with them at Basle. By these treaties, as well as by those with Tuscany and Hesse Cassel, the position of France was made very much more simple; of the great powers, England and Austria alone were now left in the field against her.

The Convention completes its constitution.

Meanwhile, the Convention had taken up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned: in the course of the year 1795, it suppressed the insurrections of the 12th Germinal (April 1) and of the 1st Prairial (May 20) which were stirred up by the Jacobins, and it completed a new constitution for republican France. This constitution was all ready to be promulgated, when, in October, the Convention had to meet one more assault of the lawless elements, known as the insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire (October 5). But somewhat more courageous of late it resolved to defend itself, and entrusted the task to a committee, which in turn trusted it to a young officer, present in Paris by chance, Napoleon Bonaparte. This young officer had already creditably distinguished himself at Toulon, and wanted nothing better than this opportunity. When the mob marched against the Convention on October 5, young Bonaparte received them with such a volley of grape-shot, that they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating the Parisian mob, and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of such resolution, the mob lost taste for the dictation which it had exercised unquestioned for six years. Thus the appearance on the scene of Bonaparte and his soldiers meant the dawn of a new era of order.

Bonaparte protects the Convention, October, 1795.

The Constitution of the year III.

The Convention could not perform its remaining business without fear. On October 26 it dissolved itself, and the new constitution went immediately into effect. This constitution is called the Constitution of the year III., from the year of the republican calendar in which it was completed. It established an executive of five members, called the Directory, while it entrusted the

legislative functions to two houses—a significant departure from the constitution of 1791, the single legislative house of which had proved a failure — called, respectively, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients.

The Directory (1795–99).

The Directory plans a campaign against Austria.

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by a brilliant victory over the remaining enemies of France—England, Austria, and Sardinia. But an attack upon England was, because of the lack of a fleet, out of the question. With Austria, the case was different, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strike with the combined armies of France. In accordance with this purpose, "the organizer of victory," Carnot, who was one of the Directors, worked out a plan by which the Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Italy. Two splendid armies under Jourdan and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarded as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, undertaken as a mere diversion, was entrusted to a shabbily equipped army of 30,000 men, which was put under the command of the defender of the Convention, General Bonaparte. But by the mere force of his genius, Bonaparte upset completely the calculations of the Directory, and gave his end of the campaign such importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the war.

Bonaparte in Italy, 1796.

Bonaparte's task was to beat, with his army, an army of Piedmontese and Austrians twice as large. Because of the superiority of the combined forces of the enemy, he naturally resolved to meet the Piedmontese and Austrians separately. Everything in this plan depended on quickness, and it was now to appear that quickness was Bonaparte's great military merit. Before the snows had melted from the mountains, he arrived unexpectedly before the gates of Turin, and wrested a peace from

the king of Sardinia, by the terms of which this old enemy of France had to surrender Savoy and Nice (May, 1796). Then Bonaparte turned against the Austrians, and before May was over, he had driven them out of Lombardy. The Pope and the small princes, in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli (January, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him. Then he crossed the Alps to dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

The Peace of Campo Formio, 1797.

This sudden move of Bonaparte's determined the emperor Francis II. to sue for peace, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797). By this Treaty Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, recognized the political creations of France in Italy, and the French possession of the Ionian islands, and promised to use her influence to get the empire to accept the principle of the Rhine boundary. In return for these concessions, she received from France the republic of Venice and Venetian territories in Istria and Dalmatia and as far as the Adige.

Bonaparte creates two republics in Italy.

The French political creations in Italy which Austria recognized by the Peace of Campo Formio were the personal work of Bonaparte, having been established by him out of the conquests of the war. They were the Cisalpine republic, identical, in the main, with the old Austrian province of Lombardy, and the Ligurian republic, evolved from the old republic of Genoa. Both these republics were modelled upon the republic of France, and were made entirely dependent upon their prototype.

Bonaparte the hero of France.

When Bonaparte returned to France he was greeted as the national hero, for he had at last given France the peace which she had been so long desiring. And while renewing peaceful relations between her and the Continent, he had won for her terms more favourable

than her greatest monarch had ever dreamt of. A man who had in a single campaign so distinguished himself and his country naturally stood, henceforward, at the centre of affairs.

Bonaparte's life.

That Napoleon Bonaparte should obtain a position of pre-eminence in France, before he had reached the age of thirty, would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born on the island of Corsica on August 15, 1769. It so happened that at the time of his birth, France, which had just obtained this Italian island by cession from the small state of Genoa, was engaged in establishing her rule there, and though the Corsicans resisted this act of aggression, they had in the end to yield. One curious consequence of this struggle between the French and the Corsicans was, that the boy Napoleon learned to detest the French so bitterly that he was dominated by this hatred throughout the period of his early manhood. Only very gradually did he make his peace with the conquering nation, and chiefly through the agency of the French Revolution. The French Revolution opened a career for talent, and thus enabled him, who had adopted the military profession, to rise rapidly from grade to grade, and satisfy his passionate dream of ambition. First at the siege of Toulon, and then at Paris, he had won distinction. Now the Peace of Campo Formio lifted him head and shoulders above all rivals.

England alone in the field.

With the continent at peace with France, the Directory had cause to congratulate itself. It had beaten down all the enemies of France with the exception of England, but England still showed no disposition to yield to the Republic.

England attacked in Egypt, 1798.

Therefore, in the year 1798, the Directory, having by the *coup d'état* of Fructidor (September, 1797) strengthened its position, engaged in a determined attack on England in order to bring her to terms. As the lack of a fleet put an invasion of the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved to strike England indirectly, by threatening her possessions.

With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon, and Bonaparte was given the command. Nelson, the English admiral, was, of course, on the watch, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance, and in May, 1798, set out for Egypt. Egypt, then a province of Turkey, has always been regarded as the key to the East, and Bonaparte by establishing himself on the Nile, could threaten the connection of England with India and the East. It was for this reason that Nelson immediately gave chase as soon as he heard of Bonaparte's movements, and although he arrived too late to hinder the French from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined the French expedition, by attacking the French fleet on August 1, at Abukir Bay, and destroying it utterly. Bonaparte might now go on conquering Egypt and all Africa—he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Battle of Abukir Bay.

Thus the Egyptian campaign was lost before it had fairly begun. Napoleon could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet, and by his brilliant victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798) he made himself master of the basin of the Nile. The next year he marched to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in order to establish communication with France, repulsed his attack; the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart Bonaparte returned to Egypt, and despairing of a change in his fortunes, suddenly resolved to leave his army. On August 22, 1799, he contrived to run the English blockade, and on October 9 he landed with a few friends at Fréjus. Though the army he had abandoned was irretrievably lost,[1] that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings with which the conqueror of Italy was received in France.

The failure of the Egyptian campaign.

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bonaparte's journey to Paris into a triumphal procession, was due

[1] The army surrendered to the English a year later.

partly to the unexpected reverses which the Directory had suffered during the young general's absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the warlike republic. Austria and Russia, supported by English money, renewed the continental war, and the year 1799 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany.

The Second Coalition, 1799.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing military leader. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such glory for himself and France? Besides the executive of the five Directors, unable to maintain even the show of harmony, was beginning to lose its grip. So evidently had disorder set in that the royalists came out of their hiding-places, and negotiated openly about the return of the legitimate king. In short, in October, 1799, France was in such confusion that everybody turned spontaneously to Bonaparte as toward a saviour.

Napoleon, the saviour.

Bonaparte was hardly apprized of this state of public opinion when he resolved to overthrow the government. The only resistance which he encountered was from the Chamber of Five Hundred, and that body was overcome by the use of military force. The ease with which Bonaparte executed the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November 9), 1799 (18th Brumaire), proves that the Constitution of Year III. was dead in spirit, before he destroyed it in fact.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, 1799.

The Consulate (1799 *to* 1804).

Bonaparte was now free to set up a new constitution, in which an important place would be assured to himself. Rightly he divined that what France needed and desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had

prepared the people for the renewal of despotism. Thus the result of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Consular Constitution, the creation of the able Siéyès, by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul. Of course, the appearances of popular government were preserved. The legislative functions were delegated to two bodies, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter merely voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état*, by means of a simple change of title, the consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the emperor Napoleon.

Bonaparte gives France a new constitution.

But for the present, there was more urgent business on hand, for, as France was at war with the Second Coalition, there was work to be done in the field. The opportune withdrawal of Russia, before the beginning of the campaign, again limited the enemies of France to England and Austria. The situation was, therefore, analogous to that of 1796, and the First Consul resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau against her into Germany, while he himself went to meet her, as once before, in Italy. By a dramatic march in the early spring over the Great St Bernard Pass, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat, and to force the enemy to make a stand. In the Battle of Marengo, which followed (June 14, 1800), he crushed the Austrians, and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II. had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801), he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the empire became a party to the Peace of Lunéville, there was no flaw this time in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the Peace, furthermore, re-delivered Italy into Bonaparte's

Napoleon again in Italy.

Peace of Lunéville, 1801.

The Rhine boundary.

hands, to do with as he pleased, he now re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics in their old dependence upon France.

Again, as in 1798, the only member of the coalition which held out against France was England. How was the great sea-power to be humbled? Bonaparte's naval force was always unequal to this task, and he had no desire to renew the Egyptian experiment. Being at the end of his resources, he opened negotiations with the cabinet at London, and in March, 1802, concluded with England, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

Peace of Amiens, 1802.

France was now, after ten years of fighting, at peace with the whole world. The moment was auspicious, but it remained to be seen whether she could accumulate the strength within, and inspire the confidence without, which would enable her to make the year 1802 the starting-point of a new development.

France at peace with the world.

Certainly Bonaparte showed no want of vigour in engaging in the tasks of peace, although even a strong man might have been discouraged by the chaotic aspect of the country. It is not too much to say, that in consequence of the wholesale destruction which characterized the last decade, there was not, when Bonaparte assumed power, a principle or an institution of government which stood unimpaired. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole of France. But this reconstructive labour Bonaparte now undertook, and a good deal of it survives to this day, constituting his best title to fame.

Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France.

First to consider is Bonaparte's system of administration. The internal administration of France had, during the last ten years, fallen into complete anarchy. To remedy the disorder in the departments, Napoleon invented a system of prefects and sub-prefects, who, appointed directly by himself, ruled the department like so many "little first consuls." This meant, of course, the abandonment of the ideas of self-government developed by the Revolution, but it

A centralized administration.

meant also order, and that was all the people wanted for the present.

Next Napoleon gave back to France her religion and her Church. The Revolution had consistently opposed the Roman Church; it had confiscated its property, and had attempted to make its ministers officials of the state. Napoleon knew that the restoration of the Church would win him the gratitude of the people, and, therefore, soon after his advent to power he opened negotiations with the pope which ended in a peace called the Concordat (1801). By the terms of the Concordat, the Church, on the one hand, resigned its claims to its confiscated possessions, but the state, in return, assumed the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of the priests and bishops. Besides, the government reserved to itself the nomination of these latter. Thus the Church was re-established, but on very close dependence on the state.

Reconciliation with the Church, 1801.

But Bonaparte's greatest creation was the reconstruction of the French courts and laws effected by the *Code Napoléon*. The juridical confusion reigning in France, before the Revolution, is indescribable. By the *Code Napoléon* (1804), all France received a common book of laws and a common system of justice, whereby the handling of lawsuits was made rapid, cheap, and reliable. No labour of a similar degree of perfection had been performed since the great codification of Roman laws under the emperor Justinian.

Return of justice. The Code Napoléon.

If Bonaparte had sincerely attached himself to the policy of peace, heralded by the above creations, it is not improbable that he would have succeeded in consolidating the results of the Revolution. But the works of peace and the duties of a civil magistrate could not long satisfy his boundless hunger for action and his love of glory, which led him to aspire to the splendour of a conqueror like Alexander, or to the majesty of an emperor of the sway of Augustus. In 1802 he had himself elected consul for life. The step brought him within view of the throne, and in May, 1804, he dropped the last pretence of republicanism, and had himself proclaimed emperor of the French. Finally, in

Napoleon crowns himself emperor (December 2, 1804).

December of the same year, amidst ceremonies recalling the glories of Versailles, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine at the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris.

The Empire (1804 *to* 1815).

The change of France from a republic to a monarchy, naturally affected the circle of subject-republics with which she had surrounded herself. Their so-called "freedom" had been the gift of France, and could not logically stand when France herself had surrendered hers. At a nod from Napoleon, the Batavian Republic now changed itself into the Kingdom of Holland, and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, for king. In like manner, the Cisalpine Republic became the Kingdom of Italy; but in Italy, Napoleon himself assumed the power, and in May, 1805, was formally crowned king of Italy at Milan.

Napoleon king of Italy, May, 1805.

Even before these momentous changes, the confidence with which the European governments had first greeted Napoleon had vanished. Slowly they began to divine in him the insatiable conqueror, who was only awaiting an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued negotiations between him and England had ended in a renewal of the war. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for a year, at least, England was agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts; but the lack of an adequate fleet made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

Renewal of the war with England.

He gave it up because his fleet proved incapable of holding the sea. In the meantime, England had succeeded in arranging with Austria and Russia a new coalition (the third). No sooner had Napoleon got wind of the state of affairs, than he abandoned his English expedition, and threw himself upon the task of defeating his continental enemies. At Austerlitz, in Moravia, he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the combined Austrians and Russians

The Third Coalition.

Austerlitz, 1805.

(December 2, 1805). Again the emperor Francis II. was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican, and at the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805) he gave up Venice, which was incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy, and Tyrol, which was incorporated with Bavaria. At the same time, the small South German States, Bavaria and Wurtemburg, were recognized as kingdoms.

This last provision of the Peace of Pressburg made a full revelation of Napoleon's German policy; clearly he wished to increase the lesser states of Germany to the point where they could neutralize the power of the two great states, Austria and Prussia. For this reason he lavished favours upon them, and made them so dependent upon his will, that they could offer no resistance when he proposed to them the idea of a new political union. This union was the Confederation of the Rhine, which all the important German states, with the exception of Austria and Prussia, agreed finally to join, Napoleon himself assuming the guidance of it, under the name of Protector (1806).

Napoleon creates the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

Naturally the Confederation of the Rhine effected a revolution in the old German political system. With southern and western Germany acknowledging allegiance to a new union of French origin, what room was there for the old empire? Having been deserted by its supporters, it was actually at an end. Therefore, at the news of the new Confederation, the emperor Francis II. resolved to make a legal end of it as well, and formally resigned. Thus perished the Holy Roman Empire, which had stood in the world since the times of the great Augustus. Never was there an institution so long in dying. Centuries ago it had lost its efficacy, and its dignity. Certainly no German had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of such a national government. As for Francis II., he adopted the unhistorical title of emperor of Austria.

The end of the Holy Roman Empire.

The interference of Napoleon in Germany brought about

next, the ruin of Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basle), Prussia had maintained toward France a friendly neutrality, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to join the Second and Third Coalitions. But now that Napoleon had set himself the aim of conquering Europe, and had already reduced Austria, Italy, and Germany to terms, peace with Prussia was no longer in accordance with his plans. He therefore deliberately provoked Prussia, until the obsequious government of king Frederick William III. (1797–1840) could sink no lower, and had to declare war (1806).

Relations of France and Prussia.

Prussia declares war, 1806.

The campaign of 1806 was the most brilliant that Napoleon had yet fought. In a few weeks he had defeated the Prussians at Jena, entered Berlin, and practically ruined the monarchy of Frederick. With a bare handful of troops Frederick William III. fled eastward, in order to put himself under the protection of Russia.

The campaign of 1806.

All central Europe now lay in Napoleon's hand, but he was not yet content. In order to humiliate the presumptuous ally of Prussia, the Czar Alexander (1801–25), Napoleon now set out for Russia. But having in June, 1807, won the splendid victory of Friedland (East Prussia), he accepted Alexander's overtures of peace.

Campaign against Russia, 1807.

The Czar Alexander had long felt a secret admiration for the great Corsican, and now, when he met him under romantic circumstances, on a raft moored in the river Niemen, he fell completely under the spell of his personality. The consequence of the repeated deliberations of the emperors, to which Frederick William of Prussia was also admitted, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this Peace Russia was restored without loss, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine were made into a Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome, and the Prussian

Peace of Tilsit. Prussia humbled.

spoils of the later Polish partitions were constituted as the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the elector of Saxony, whom Napoleon in pursuance of his established German policy, created king. Thus, Prussia was virtually reduced to a secondary state.

But the most important feature of the Treaty of Tilsit was, perhaps, the alliance between France and Russia, which was developed from the simple peace. The gist of it was that Napoleon and Alexander should divide Europe between them, Napoleon exercising supremacy in the west and Alexander in the east.

Alliance between Napoleon and Alexander.

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career. He was now emperor of the French and king of Italy; he held Germany as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland as Mediator of the Helvetic Republic; and in certain scattered territories, which he had not cared to absorb immediately, he ruled through subject-kings of his own family: through his brother Louis in Holland, through his brother Jerome in Westphalia, through his brother Joseph in Naples. Central Europe lay prostrate before him, while in the east Russia was his ally. To a man of Napoleon's imperiousness it was an intolerable indignity that one nation still dared threaten him with impunity—England.

Napoleon at the zenith of his career.

The war with England was renewed in 1803, and in October, 1805—Napoleon being then on his march to Vienna—Nelson destroyed the allied French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar. The great Nelson perished in this engagement, at the moment of victory. Since then fighting on the seas has ceased. Though Napoleon might strike the inhabitants of Vienna and St Petersburg with fear, his power, being military and not naval, ended with the shore. In the dilemma in which he found himself he now hit upon a curious device in order to bring England to terms. He resolved to ruin her commerce and sap her strength by the so-called Continental System. As early as November, 1806, he sent out

War against England: the Continental System.

from Berlin a number of decrees enforcing the seizure of English goods, and ordering the cessation of English traffic in all French and allied ports; and at Tilsit he had, with the consent of Alexander, declared the commercial breach with England incumbent on all Europe. As England immediately responded with a blockade of all the continental ports, the conflict between England, dominant on the seas, and Napoleon, dominant on the Continent, now took the form of a vast struggle between the sea power and the land power.

The Continental System prepares Napoleon's downfall.

The Continental System may fairly be called the beginning of Napoleon's downfall, for it marks the point where the great genius overreached himself. By means of the Continental System trade was ruined and misery and famine systematically created. More and more the people of Europe became incensed at their oppressor, and more and more did the subject-nations incline to revolt from him. But if ever the nations of Europe rose of one accord what chance was there for Napoleon's loose-jointed, cosmopolitan empire?

Napoleon occupies Portugal.

The first protest against the Continental System was made, curiously enough, by little Portugal. In order to close its ports against the English, Napoleon occupied it with an army, November, 1807. The resistance offered at first was small, and the royal family fled to Brazil.

Napoleon gives Spain to his brother Joseph, 1808.

For the same purpose, Napoleon next occupied Spain. The relations between France and the Spanish Bourbons had, since the peace of 1795, been exceedingly friendly; Napoleon and Charles IV. of Spain had even become allies, and the latter had exhibited his good faith by sacrificing his fleet, for Napoleon's sake, at Trafalgar. Nevertheless, Napoleon now deliberately determined to deprive his friend of his kingdom. Taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son Ferdinand, he invited the royal pair to France, to lay their quarrel before him, and then, instead of adjudicating between them, he

forced both to resign their rights to the throne (May 1808). Spain was thereupon given to Napoleon's brother Joseph, who, in return, had to hand over his kingdom of Naples to Napoleon's brother-in-law, the great cavalry leader Murat.

This unexampled violation of law and justice occasioned a terrible excitement among the Spaniards. Spontaneously the various provinces of the proud nation rose in revolt against the foreign usurper, and attacked him not with a professional army but in guerilla bands. The result was that the summer of 1808 brought Napoleon a harvest of small calamities, and to make things worse, England began, gradually, to take a hand in Spanish affairs. Having waited in vain for Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this opportunity to seek him on the land, and in the summer of 1808 dispatched an English army into Portugal for the purpose of supporting the Portuguese and Spanish national revolts. Alexander's support was now absolutely necessary for Napoleon, who met the Czar at Erfürt. There, by concessions (October 1808), he made himself safe on the side of Russia, and hurried to Spain. He had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hills and the English to their ships, but he was hardly gone when the Spaniards again ventured forth from their retreats, and the English forced a new landing.

The Spanish revolt.

England helps Spain.

Napoleon had now to learn that a resolute people cannot be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed immense sums and immense forces; but Napoleon, as stubborn in his way as the Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concession. Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. The revolts showed no signs of abating, and when, in 1809, a capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, known by his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the English forces, and foot by foot forced his way toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. Of course, that was not immediately apparent; but what did become very soon apparent was that the enslaved states of central Europe were taking the cue from the Spaniards

Successes of the Spaniards and of Wellington.

and were preparing, in a similar manner, a popular struggle to the death with their oppressor. Among the causes of Napoleon's hurried departure from Spain at the end of 1808 was the knowledge that Austria was arming.

Failure of the Austrian revolt, 1809.

In the year 1809, Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, attempted to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the result proved that the effort was premature. At Wagram (July, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth time at his feet, and in the Peace of Vienna which followed, forced her to make further cessions of territory. It is not improbable that Napoleon would now have made an end of Austria altogether, if he had not been forced to provide for a complete change of his political system.

Napoleon and Czar Alexander draw away from one another.

The fact was, that the Czar Alexander was getting tired of the arrangements of Tilsit. The Peace of Tilsit practically shut Russia off from the west, and made it incumbent upon the Czar to accept beforehand every alteration in that part of Europe which Napoleon chose to dictate. Then the Continental System, to which Alexander had pledged himself, was proving in Russia, as elsewhere, a heavy burden. Moreover, Alexander had promised to Napoleon the hand of a Russian princess, and when he would not carry out his promise, Napoleon turned to Austria. Austria was, after the war of 1809, in no position to refuse the proffered friendship, and when Napoleon demanded the hand of the emperor's daughter Marie Louise, that request, too, had to be granted. In consequence of these changed political plans, Napoleon divorced his first wife, the amiable Josephine Beauharnais, and in April, 1810, celebrated his union with a daughter of the ancient imperial line of Hapsburg. When, in the succeeding year, there was born to him a son and heir,[1] he could fancy that his throne had finally acquired permanence.

Napoleon seeks an alliance with Austria.

Napoleon divorces Josephine.

[1] Known as king of Rome and styled Napoleon II. He died young (1832), at the court of his grandfather, the emperor of Austria.

The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1810. The seizure by Napoleon of the duchy of Oldenburg, the ruler of which was Alexander's relative, and the cession of Western Galicia to the duchy of Warsaw, made the Czar furious. At last, on December 31, 1810, he issued an edict, modifying his adhesion to the Continental System. This completed the rupture, and during 1811 both powers, therefore, eagerly prepared for war, and in the spring of 1812, Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen. A half million of men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the Czar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was, at first, attended by a series of splendid successes. In September Napoleon even occupied Moscow, the Russian capital, and there calmly waited to receive Alexander's submission.

The campaign of 1812.

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the empire of the Czar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every man, woman, and child, and Napoleon was destined to receive, at the very culmination of a triumphant campaign, a terrible witness of the popular aversion. He had hardly arrived in Moscow when the whole city was, in accordance with a carefully laid plan on the part of the retreating Russians, set on fire and burned to the foundations.

The burning of Moscow.

The burning of Moscow meant nothing more nor less than the loss of the campaign, for Moscow gone, there was not the least chance of finding adequate winter quarters in Russia. What was there left to do? Napoleon, with heavy heart, had to order the retreat. The rest of the campaign can be imagined, but not told. The frost of a winter unexampled even in that northern climate; the gnawing hunger, which there was nothing to appease but occasional horseflesh; and, finally, the fierce bands of enveloping Cossacks racked that poor army, till its discipline broke and its deci-

The retreat.

mated battalions melted into a wild heap of struggling fugitives. Napoleon, in order to check discontent in France, on December 5, deserted the army, and hurried to Paris. Only late in December the remnant of the so-called grand army dragged itself across the Niemen into safety.

The loss of his splendid army in Russia was, in any case, a serious calamity to Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe, if it encouraged Central Europe to a general revolt, and created new complications at a juncture when he required all his strength to repair the greatest disaster which had hitherto befallen him. Unluckily for Napoleon, patriots everywhere felt this fact instinctively. Here was a moment of supreme importance, offering to all the conquered peoples of Europe the alternative of now or never, and at the call of the patriots, they rose against their military master and overthrew him. But the honour of having risen first belongs to Prussia.

Europe prepares to rise.

The Peace of Tilsit had indeed ground Prussia into the dust, but it had also prepared her redemption. A number of sober and patriotic men, notably Stein, Hardenburg, and Scharnhorst, had, after the overthrow at Jena, gained the upper hand in the council of the weak king, and had carried through a series of reforms, such as the abolition of serfdom and the reorganization of the army on a national basis, which, as by some process of magic, rejuvenated the state. When this renovated nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snowfields, it was hardly to be contained for joy and impatience. All classes were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on the part of the timid king was suffered, and resistlessly swept along in the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia at Kalisch (February, 1813), and declare war (March, 1813).

The revival of Prussia.

Prussia declares war, 1813.

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have exhausted any other man than Napoleon. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts he succeeded

in mustering a new army, and in the spring of 1813 he appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the Prussians and the Russians. At Lützen (May 2), and at Bautzen (May 20), he maintained his ancient reputation. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over, for the allies after their defeat fell back in good order upon Silesia, and Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4 he agreed to an armistice (of Pleswitz) till August 10, in order to reorganize his troops.

First half of the campaign of 1813.

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria; so delicately adjusted were the scales between the combatants that the side upon which she would throw her influence would win. In these circumstances Metternich, Austria's minister, undertook, at first, the rôle of mediator, but when Napoleon indignantly rejected the conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, and the armistice came to an end, Austria threw in her lot with the European coalition, and in the autumn of 1813 there followed a concerted forward movement on the part of all the allies: Prussians, Russians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon from all sides. Having the smaller force (160,000 men against 255,000 of the allies), he was gradually out-manœuvred, and at the great three days' battle of Leipsic (October 16–18) crushed utterly. With such remnants as he could hold together he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond recovery. The question now was merely: would he be able to retain France?

Second half of campaign of 1813.

Battle of Leipsic.

On November 9, the allies offered Napoleon excellent terms at Frankfort, leaving to his empire the "natural boundaries" of France, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. But Napoleon refused the conditions, and therefore, after a moment's hesitation on the shores of the Rhine, the allies invaded the French territory, resolved to make an end of their enemy. Still Napoleon, always fearless, held out. Military men regard his

campaign of the winter of 1814 as worthy of his best years, but he was now hopelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31, the allies forced the gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. As he looked about him, he saw the whole east of France in the hands of his enemies of Leipsic, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power of Wellington, who, having signally defeated the army of Marshal Soult in Spain, was now pursuing it across the Pyrenees. On April 6, 1814, Napoleon declared at his castle at Fontainebleau that all was over, and offered his abdication. The allies conceded him the island of Elba, as a residence, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future of France. Not from any enthusiasm for the House of Bourbon, but merely because there was no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII., brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris that France was to receive the boundaries of 1792.

Campaign of 1814.

Napoleon abdicates.

This important work being completed, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has not seen a more brilliant gathering, all the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood at the centre of public attention during the last momentous years being, with few exceptions, present. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labours, the military coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For, in March, 1815, the news reached the sovereigns at Vienna, that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba, and had again landed in France.

The Congress of Vienna.

The resolution formed by Napoleon in February, 1815, to try conclusions once more with united Europe was a desperate measure. On March 1 he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, and no sooner had he displayed his banners, than his former soldiers streamed to the standards, to which they were attached with heart and soul by

Napoleon's return from Elba, 1815.

innumerable glorious memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by Louis XVIII. to take Napoleon captive, broke into tears at sight of his old leader, and folded him in his arms. There was no resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon. Louis XVIII. again fled across the border, and the hero of the soldiers and the common people entered Paris amidst the wildest acclamations.

The Hundred Days—an historical interlude.

The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a mere after-play to the great drama of the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, for there was never for a moment a chance of the emperor's success. The powers had hardly heard of the great soldier's return when they launched their excommunication against him, and converged their columns from all sides upon his capital. That Napoleon might under the circumstances win an encounter or two was undeniable; but that he would be crushed in the end was, from the first, certain as fate. The decision came in Belgium. There Wellington had gathered an English-German army, and thither marched to his assistance Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These enemies, gathered against his northern frontier, Napoleon resolved to meet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16 at Ligny, before Wellington could effect a junction, and beat him soundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians, he next turned, on June 18, against Wellington.

The Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near Waterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry against the iron duke's positions; he could not dislodge his enemy, and when, toward evening, the Prussians unexpectedly made their appearance on his right, he was caught between two fires, and totally ruined. Precipitately he fled to Paris, and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by all in his misfortunes, he now formed the idea of escaping to America, but on being recognized as he was about to

Napoleon sent to St Helena.

embark, he was taken prisoner, and by the verdict of the European coalition conveyed, soon after, to the rocky, mid-Atlantic island of St Helena.[1]

The Bourbon Restoration.

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies were celebrating their victory by again raising Louis XVIII. to the throne (Second Peace of Paris).

[1] At St Helena Napoleon died (1821), after a captivity of six years.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

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THE battle of Waterloo having rung down the curtain on the great Napoleonic drama, the plenipotentiaries at Vienna could, in all peace of mind, bring their deliberations to a close. These were embodied in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, and, than this, no political treaty has ever been more universally condemned, because of the hide-bound conservatism which is its informing spirit. But all things taken into consideration, it was not so very unnatural that governments, which had suffered so severely from revolution, as the governments represented at Vienna, should have inclined toward a reactionary policy. Since revolution had proved an unmitigated evil, the best thing possible was to return to the pre-revolutionary conditions, and to restore the pre-revolutionary sovereigns or their heirs. This dominant principle of the Congress received the name of "legitimacy," and its most fanatical champion was the Austrian minister, Metternich.

The Congress of Vienna ruled by conservative principles.

Metternich and "legitimacy."

Now such a principle certainly had its excuse, but the

Congress at Vienna made the mistake of applying it blindly and in direct contravention, in frequent cases, to the rights of nationality and to the popular demand of free institutions. Only the overmastering longing for rest, which had come over Europe, after the unparalleled agitation of the last twenty-five years, explains why the very arbitrary arrangements of the Congress were accepted without protest. Sooner or later, however, a protest was sure to be made. The various peoples of Europe would remember the national and liberal ideas, which had been made common property by the Revolution, and then the narrow, reactionary policy of the Congress would become the subject of criticism and attack. In fact, the substance of the history of the nineteenth century may be said to be the conflict between the reactionary policy adopted by the *governments* at the Congress of Vienna and the expanding national and liberal ideas of the *people* themselves.

Extravagance of the reactionists.

The Congress of Vienna concerned itself, first of all, with the restoration of the great powers. The two German powers, Prussia and Austria, acquired a territory as extensive as, but not identical with that enjoyed before the era of Napoleon. Though they gave up their claims to some of their Polish provinces, they received ample compensation, Austria in Italy, and Prussia in western Germany. The Polish provinces surrendered by Austria and Prussia were given to the Czar Alexander, who formed them into a new kingdom of Poland, with himself as king. England was rewarded for her share in the victory over Napoleon by a number of French and Dutch colonies, notably South Africa (the Cape) and Malta. Thus each one of the great powers, which had contributed to the overthrow of the Corsican conqueror, was not only restored to its former condition, but received a substantial increase.

The territorial reconstruction of the great powers.

The Congress encountered its greatest difficulties in arranging the affairs of Poland, Italy, and Germany. After angry discussions Poland was partially restored, and given a constitution, Alexander promising to rule as a constitu-

tional king. As regards Italy, these difficulties were finally met by the application, in a loose way, to the Italian situation of the principle of legitimacy. The kingdom of Naples (also called the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) was restored to the "legitimate" Bourbon king; the pope got back the States of the Church; Tuscany was returned to its legal sovereign, a younger member of the House of Hapsburg; Piedmont, increased by the Republic of Genoa, was restored to the king of Sardinia; and Lombardy and Venice, far and away the richest provinces of Italy, were delivered over to Austria. There were also established a number of smaller states — for instance, Parma, Modena, Lucca—but it will be seen at a glance that the dominant power of the peninsula, on the basis of these arrangements, was Austria.

The "legitimate" rulers restored in Italy.

As for Germany, the Napoleonic wars had been a blessing in disguise. To note only one result: they had destroyed the old impotent empire, and had reduced the number of sovereign states from over three hundred to thirty-nine.[1] In September 1813, Prussia and Austria had made the Treaty of Töplitz settling the lines of the future government of Germany. The hopes of Stein for the establishment of a strong, independent German nation were dashed to the ground, and Metternich's policy of preserving the small states triumphed. From century-old habit the thirty-nine states looked upon each other with ill-favour, and even if the lesser ones could have mastered their mutual distrust, there still remained as a barrier to union the ineradicable jealousy between Austria and Prussia. Under these untoward circumstances, the utmost concession of the sovereign states to the popular demand for unity was a loose confederation called *Bund*. The constitution of the *Bund* provided for a Diet at Frankfurt, to which the governments of the thirty-nine states were invited to send

Instead of unity Germany gets the Bund.

[1] The thirty-nine states may, for convenience sake, be divided into three groups: 1, large states, Austria and Prussia; 2, middle states, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemburg, all raised to the rank of kingdoms by Napoleon; 3, small states, Hesse, Weimar, etc.

delegates, but as the constitution carefully omitted giving those delegates any notable functions, the Diet could enact no laws to speak of, and the *Bund* remained a farce.

The Holy Alliance.

We have already seen that the point of departure for the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna was the hatred of revolution. This hatred developed into a fanatical faith, and in order to support better the cause of quiet and order against revolutionary disturbers, it was agreed on the part of the more ardent of the reactionary powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—to form what is known in history as the Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance was on its face nothing more than a pledge on the part of the Czar Alexander, the emperor Francis, and king Frederick William to rule in accordance with the precepts of the Bible, but as these precepts were understood to be absolutist and reactionary, the Holy Alliance came to mean the determination to fight revolution with united forces wherever it showed itself.

Reaction in Spain followed by revolution.

The first revolution to shake Europe out of the unworthy stupor into which she had fallen on the overthrow of Napoleon, occurred in Spain. The fall of Napoleon had brought back to that country the deposed Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII. On his return to Spain he thought only of recovering all the autocratic rights of his ancestors, and deliberately set aside the constitution which the patriots had enacted during his absence, and which is always referred to as the Constitution of 1812. Then he started out on a policy which involved the abolition of all the Napoleonic reforms, the restoration of the monasteries, and the persecution of the patriots. By 1820 his government had made itself so intolerable that the liberals rose in revolt, with the result that the king, who was a coward at heart, immediately bowed to the storm, and restored the Constitution of 1812.

Revolution in Naples, 1820.

Before reactionary Europe had recovered from the surprise and indignation caused by the news from Spain, a revolution similar to that of Spain shook the kingdom of Naples. In Naples

the Congress of Vienna had restored another Bourbon king, also named Ferdinand. A weak-kneed individual, he was frightened by a mere public demonstration into accepting a constitution similar to that of Spain.

Metternich persuades Europe to put down revolution.

In view of these threatening movements in Spain and in Naples, Metternich, the Austrian premier, called together a European Congress, first at Troppau (1820), and later at Laibach (1821). At these conferences he put the question before the great powers, whether revolutions should be suffered, or whether Europe would not be acting more wisely to interpose wherever the sacred rights of a legitimate monarch were attacked. Backed by his friends of the Holy Alliance, he carried his point at these Congresses; Europe formally adopted a policy of repression against revolution, and initiated its programme by charging Austria with the restoration in Naples of what Metternich was pleased to call "order."

Austria makes an end of the constitution of Naples.

Of course it was hardly to be expected that the Neapolitans would stand up against Austria. At the approach of the Austrian army, the liberal government immediately went to pieces, and king Ferdinand was restored as absolute monarch.

France restores despotism in Spain, 1823.

This first success so greatly delighted Metternich and his reactionary henchmen that they resolved to play a still bolder game. At a new Congress, held at Verona (1822), they resolved on intervention in Spain, and this time commissioned France with the execution of their verdict. As a result king Ferdinand was restored by a French army, and celebrated his return to absolute power by a series of cruel executions. Thus the reaction maintained its grip on Europe.

The renascence of Greece, 1821.

While the west was thus cowed and degraded by a ridiculous tutelage, a little country in the far east boldly ventured to assert the inalienable right of every people to liberty and self-government. This little country was the historic land of Greece. The very name of Greece had almost fallen into oblivion when, in 1821,

the inhabitants of the ancient peninsula aroused Europe to surprise and enthusiasm by rising concertedly against the power of the Turks, in whose repulsive bondage they had lain for many centuries. The sultan, in his rage at the audacity of the little people, allowed himself to be hurried into abominable atrocities (20,000 Greeks, for instance, were murdered in the island of Chios), but the Greeks resisted the Turkish tyranny every whit as bravely as their ancestors had, at Marathon and Thermopylæ, held out against the Persian invasion, and, though defeated, could not be subdued.

For a long time the governments of Europe took no part in the struggle, though it was a Christian nation which was fighting against Mohammedans. The European *peoples*, indeed, had exhibited a sympathy which stood out in noble contrast with the apathy of the *rulers*, and many were the volunteers who, joining the Greek ranks, had sacrificed wealth and life for the sacred soil of the old Hellenic culture; but scattered volunteers do not decide great causes, and the governments, as has been said, remained cold and indifferent. At last the English minister, Canning, succeeded in persuading the Czar Nicholas, who had succeeded Alexander in 1825, to interpose with him in behalf of the Greeks. France also lent her aid to Canning's project of intervention, and when the Mohammedans refused to assent to the demands of the western powers, the united French and English fleets attacked them at Navarino, and totally ruined their naval power (1827).

England, France, and Russia interfere in behalf of Greece.

Battle of Navarino, 1827.

The sultan now saw that he must grant the Greeks their independence, but before he had made up his mind to humble himself in so conspicuous a manner, the Czar Nicholas, impatient of further delay, declared war against him (1828), invaded the Danubian provinces, and forced him to sign the Peace of Adrianople (1829). By this Treaty the sultan granted Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. the leading provinces of the Balkan peninsula, Christian governors, and

Russia forces the Sultan to acknowledge the independence of Greece, 1829.

recognized the independence of Greece. A conference of the powers at London, held to settle the affairs of their *protégé*, determined that Greece was to be a free monarchy, and offered the crown to prince Otto of Bavaria. This Otto ruled as first king of Greece until the year 1862.

The independence of Greece was the first great victory of liberalism in Europe since the Congress of Vienna. It was destined to be the prelude of a much greater one in the old home of revolution—France.

The danger of the Bourbon restoration in France.

The battle of Waterloo had for the second time brought the Bourbons back to France. But upon the second restoration, as upon the first, wise men everywhere looked with apprehension. For, unfortunately, the Bourbons and the emigrant nobles returned with all the old prejudices with which they had departed; during their long foreign residence they had, as Napoleon said, learned nothing, and forgotten nothing.

Louis XVIII. grants a constitution.

The allied monarchs themselves entertained grave doubts about the wisdom of the Bourbon restoration. In order to set the king upon the right path, they insisted, before they would leave French soil, that Louis XVIII. should pledge himself to a constitutional government. Louis XVIII., who was happily the most sensible and moderate member of the royalist party, very willingly acceded, and published a constitution (*la charte*), by which he accepted the situation created by the Revolution, and assured the people a share in the government by means of two legislative chambers, the chamber of Peers and the chamber of Deputies.

Charles X. (1824–30) attempts to restore absolutism.

For a while the government did well enough, but when Louis XVIII. was succeeded on his death (1824) by his brother, Charles X., things rapidly went from bad to worse. Charles X., as count of Artois, had been the head of the noble emigrants, and was as much detested by the people as he was idolized by the feudal party. The reign of reaction was now unchecked. Among other measures, one billion francs were voted to the

nobles to indemnify them for their losses during the revolution. Finally, it was planned to muzzle the press and gag the universities. But at this point the chamber of Deputies refused to serve the reaction further, and had to be dissolved (1830). Thereupon the prime minister, the unpopular duke of Polignac, urged the king to take by decree what he could not get by law, and on July 26, 1830, there appeared under the king's seal four ordinances, which arbitrarily limited the list of voters, and put an end to the freedom of printing. The ordinances substantially meant the abandonment by the king of legal courses, the revocation of the constitution, and the return to absolutism. Had France no answer to so monstrous an attempt?

The July ordinances, 1830.

The four ordinances of July 26 caused an immediate tumult in the capital, bands of students and workmen parading the streets and cheering the constitution. But their cheers changed soon to the more ominous cries: down with ministers! down with the Bourbons! The king was living at the time at St Cloud, and hardly raised a hand in his defence. The few troops in the city soon proved themselves inadequate to restrain the multitude, and after a number of sharp encounters withdrew into the country. For a moment it seemed that the capital was delivered over to anarchy.

The July revolution at Paris.

In this confusion a number of prominent members of the middle class or bourgeoisie met to discuss what was to be done. They were men equally averse to tyranny and to disorder; all that France needed and desired according to them was a *genuinely* constitutional monarchy. They therefore resolved to concur in the deposition of Charles X. and his heirs, and offer the crown to the popular head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe was the son of that disreputable duke of Orleans, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and had been guillotined by the Terror. As a young man he had served in the revolutionary army, and though he had abandoned France

The moderates offer the crown to Louis Philippe.

in 1793, and little had been heard of him since, he was reputed to be a man of firm, liberal principles. When the self-constituted committee of the Parisian moderates waited upon him to tender him the crown, he at first feigned reluctance, but was finally persuaded to accept provisionally, until such time as the Chamber of Deputies, representing the country, had come to a final decision.

When the Chamber of Deputies assembled it immediately offered the crown to Louis Philippe. He had already appeared in the city some days before, and had, after publicly assuming the tricolour, the emblem of the Revolution, undertaken the government temporarily as lieutenant-governor. Now he hesitated no longer to take the final step; at the solicitation of the chamber, he solemnly swore to observe the constitution, and adopted the style of Louis Philippe, king of the French. This news blasted the last hopes of Charles X., and he now abandoned the kingdom. Thus France had inaugurated a new experiment in government which is named from the Orleanist dynasty, now promoted to the control of affairs.

Louis Philippe becomes king of the French.

Meanwhile the report of the July Revolution in Paris had spread abroad. Ever since the seventeenth century France had assumed in Europe the leadership in political ideas, and every action upon her public stage was watched by her neighbours with eager interest. Therefore the fall of the Bourbons and the victory of the people sent a flutter of eager hope through the peoples which had been injured and shackled by the Congress of Vienna. Evidently the time had at last come to venture a blow, and in the course of the year 1830, country after country, imitating the example set by the Parisians, raised its voice in behalf of freedom and self-government.

The July revolution awakens an echo in Europe.

The most immediate stir was caused among the north-eastern neighbours of France, the Belgians, than whom perhaps no people had suffered more from the high-handed methods of the Congress of Vienna. Without even the pretence of consulting the wishes of the

The revolution in Belgium.

inhabitants, the country of Belgium had, at Vienna, been incorporated with Holland. The kingdom of the Netherlands, as the fused states of Holland and Belgium were called, was put under the government of the ancient Dutch House of Orange, and was expected to keep a close eye, in behalf of the European peace, on the old disturber of that peace—France.

The breach with the Dutch, August 1830.

However, the union caused discomfort to the Belgians from the first. They protested against the over-lordship which Holland, the smaller partner, was exercising, and finally demanded a separate administration. When king William resisted these claims, they resolved, in August, 1830, to imitate the Parisians, and accordingly revolted. But at this point, the European powers became alarmed, and at a conference held at London resolved to interfere. Although the members of the Holy Alliance would gladly have supported the House of Orange, they had troubles of their own to attend to, and so reluctantly acceded to the proposition of France and England to grant the Belgians independence. This matter having been settled without much difficulty, the powers next approved of a Belgian congress to take into its hands the internal affairs of the country. When this congress met (November, 1830), it declared in principle for a limited monarchy, and then set about constructing an appropriate constitution. When all was done, it offered the crown to prince Leopold, of the German House of Saxe-Coburg, and Leopold actually assumed the government in 1831, with the title of king of the Belgians. It is to the credit of king Leopold (1831–65) that, although a foreigner, he should have made himself entirely acceptable to his new people, and that under his wise rule Belgium prospered, as she had not prospered since the evil day when she fell into the clutches of Spain.

Belgium made an independent kingdom.

King Leopold I., 1831–65.

Germany and Italy.

As the two great central European countries, Germany and Italy, had received very ungenerous treatment at the Congress of Vienna, it might be expected that the July revolution would create a widely sympathetic move-

ment among them. But although they enjoyed neither national unity nor freedom, and had every cause for discontent, their revolutions of 1830 were, for different reasons, most insignificant affairs.

In Germany every important development hinged, naturally, upon the action of the two great states, Prussia and Austria. But owing chiefly to the ancient habit of obedience, the people of these two states did not, in 1830, stir against their reactionary monarchs. However, in a great many of the smaller states, like Brunswick, Hanover, and Saxony, the cry was raised for a liberal constitution, and in each instance the princes had to give way, and establish a modern representative government. As the south German states, the most notable of which were Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden, had, by the free act of their sovereigns, been granted liberal constitutions soon after 1815, the result of the commotions of 1830 for Germany may be summed up thus: With that year practically all the smaller German states had declared for sensible constitutional progress, Austria and Prussia, the natural leaders, alone persisting in the antiquated absolute system.

In Germany the small states become constitutional.

If in Italy there was aroused no great commotion by the July revolution, it was due to the lingering memories of the unfortunate Neapolitan insurrection of 1820, and of the armed intervention of Austria which had followed. Ever since, Metternich was keeping a close watch upon the peninsula, and holding himself ready to fall, at a moment's notice, from his vantage-point of Lombardy upon any disturber of the peace. Thus the liberals could nowhere make a successful beginning, and the total result for Italy of the revolution of 1830 was an increased hatred of the Austrians.

The Italian revolution of 1830 *of no consequence.*

The agitations of Germany and Italy were mere trifles compared to the great insurrection which took place in Poland. The reader will remember that at the Congress of Vienna Poland was partially restored.

Poland in 1830.

Prussia and Austria having surrendered for an adequate compensation certain of their Polish spoils to Russia, the Czar Alexander, who was a man of extremely generous disposition, and full of kindly feeling toward the unfortunate Poles, seized the opportunity, afforded by this acquisition, to re-establish, with somewhat restricted boundaries, the old kingdom of Poland. Although a despot in Russia, he gave the kingdom of Poland a constitution, and promised to rule there as a constitutional king. Under him Poland had a separate administration and its own army. This was certainly something; but unfortunately it was not enough for the proud nation, which remembered that it had been a great power when Russia, its present master, was no more than a snow-bound duchy of Muscovy.

Everywhere there were murmurs of discontent, and when the magnanimous Alexander died (1825), and was succeeded by his severe and unpopular brother, Nicholas, they swelled to ominous proportions. In November 1830, under the leadership of a few young enthusiasts, the capital, Warsaw, suddenly rose in insurrection. The rest of the country followed the example of the capital, and before many days had passed, the Poles were masters in their own land and had set up a provisional government at Warsaw.

Discontent.

The rising of 1830.

If mere valour could have availed, the Poles would now have maintained their independence. But they had to face disciplined Russian armies which overwhelmingly outnumbered their own, and after a year of stiff resistance were forced to surrender. Thus the seal of fate was set upon the *finis Poloniæ* pronounced in the previous century.

When the Czar Nicholas again took hold, it was with the grim resolve to remove all chances of another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with by the Poles because he had proved himself too kind. He would not err in that way any more, and now determined that Poland should be merged with Russia as a Russian province; the very language of the Poles was to be

The rising fails.

replaced by the Russian tongue; and their Roman Catholic faith was to make room for the Greek Orthodox Church, of which the Czar was the head. Poland now fell into a state of sad eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia; but as long as there was life, her people were determined to cling to their national memories. And they have clung to them to this day.

Poland definitely absorbed by Russia.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

(*a*) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

LITERATURE—Debidour, Phillips, Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, } As before.

MEANWHILE France, the country in which the revolutionary movement of 1830 had begun, was experimenting with its new Orleanist government. Clearly the success of the venture depended, first of all, on the character of the new king and his power to conciliate the numerous opposition. And at first glance Louis Philippe, who was shrewd and well-meaning, and quite without the ancient affectations of royalty, did not seem an unsuitable man for the royal office. But his situation was extremely perilous, for France was divided into four parties, three of which could not possibly be reconciled with the reigning government. The Bonapartists, the Bourbonists (or Legitimists), and the Republicans, although differing radically among themselves, existed by virtue of governmental principles which were antagonistic to the Orleanist dynasty, and so there remained nothing for Louis Philippe to do but to identify himself with the party of quiet Constitutionalists which recruited its numbers from the well-to-do middle class or bourgeoisie. By that step, however, he declared himself not the head of the

Louis Philippe, the citizen-king.

country, but the head of a party, and gave an undeniable basis to the derisive sobrique of *roi-bourgeois* (citizen-king) fixed upon him by the opposition.

Growth of the industrial classes.

And there was another and unexpected reason why this championship of the capitalist middle class was likely to prove threatening. As is well known, the most important social fact of the nineteenth century is its industrial development. The growth of manufactures has drawn together in the cities vast aggregations of workmen, and the growth of intelligence has led these workmen to combine in trades-unions and political parties, and to demand increasing social and political benefits. The result has been the conflict of capital and labour, for which we have found no solution to this day. Now, at the time of Louis Philippe this conflict was just beginning, and the phenomenon being new, his government was thoroughly dismayed by it. What was to be made of the enthusiasts called socialists who were advancing all kinds of humane but dangerous programmes? That Louis Philippe should have treated these people with harshness is not particularly strange, but he ought to have considered that he was thereby alienating from his dynasty the whole working population of France, and turning them over to the Republicans.

Guizot and Thiers, the king's advisers.

Because of the natural preference of Louis Philippe for the middle class, the whole period of his government (1830-48) has been called the reign of the bourgeoisie. And most of the prominent advisers of the king were men of that estate. Their programme, as is usual with persons of the thriving middle class, had, on the whole, an honest, virtuous character, but was disfigured by occasional narrow prejudices. The leading men of the Chamber of Deputies were Guizot and Thiers, distinguished alike in their day for their literary labours, and filled equally with eager patriotic zeal. They became determined rivals, dividing the Chamber between them, and occupying in turn the chief place in the ministry. Both were equally resolute in standing by Louis Philippe and in fighting the plots of the Legitimists, the

Bonapartists, and the Republicans, but they fell out over the important question of the enlargement of the voting body, which became more prominent every year, and finally caused a new revolution.

The question of the extension of the suffrage.

Now the franchise situation was anomalous and stood as follows: among a population of 30,000,000, there were, owing to a high property qualification, only 200,000 voters. The discontent of the masses at so absurd a situation was rapidly becoming ominous. Thiers, having a warmer feeling for the people than most Orleanists, proposed in the chambers again and again an extension of the suffrage. Guizot, who in the year 1848 was prime minister, and narrow-minded in proportion to his respectability, would not even listen to the new demands. Thiers and his friends thereupon resolved to stir up public opinion, and so force the minister's hand. They held political meetings, coupled with banquets, all over the country, and set February 22, 1848, for a so-called Reform Banquet in Paris. When its arrangements were interfered with by the police, the meeting was given up, but the great crowd which had gathered for the celebration thereupon took to parading the streets and shouting for the deposition of Guizot.

The breakdown of the Orleanist monarchy, February, 1848.

The next day (February 23), the king dismissed the ministry and made an effort to conciliate the opposition, but a company of soldiers having fired at the mob, killing and wounding some fifty men, caused the passions of the people to flame up anew. Houses were sacked and the palace of the Tuileries surrounded by armed men. Finally, on February 24, Louis Philippe, convinced that discretion was the better part of valour, fled from his capital to take refuge, as Charles X. had done eighteen years before, in England.

The cause of monarchy might yet have been saved if the deputies, among whom the Constitutionalists had a clear majority, had stood their ground like men, and proclaimed the succession of the young grandson of Louis Philippe, the count of Paris. But when the rioters broke into the parlia-

mentary hall, the frightened members surrendered the field, and sought safety in flight. Thus the rabble, with the poet Lamartine at its head, found itself master of the situation. Spurred on to act with promptness, it declared for a republic, and appointed a provisional government of which Lamartine became the moving spirit.

A republic with a provisional government.

Thus on February 24, 1848, the republicans had won the day. But they were far from being a unanimous party, for the socialists formed an important wing of the republican section, and that they were not going to permit themselves to be simply merged with the majority appeared from the first. They secured a representation in the provisional government, and straightway demanded the proclamation of their utopian programme. The provisional government had to give in so far as to proclaim the so-called "right to labour" and to establish "national workshops," where the unemployed of Paris were guaranteed a living in the service of the state.

The socialist demands.

Meanwhile elections had been ordered for a National Assembly to settle in detail the forms of the new republic. It met at the beginning of May, 1848, and straightway taking the control into its own hands, dismissed Lamartine's provisional government. Being composed largely of solid, order-loving republicans from the country, the Assembly was imbued with the strongest antipathy toward the socialist city faction, which aspired to manage the state. Sternly it made ready to put an end to the prevalent confusion, and win Paris back to the principles of law and decency. Great masses of troops were concentrated in the city; then the most virulent of the disturbers were put under lock and key; finally (June), the Assembly attacked the root of all the difficulties, and dissolved the "national workshops."

Republicans vs. Socialists.

At this juncture the socialists barricaded themselves in their quarters, and for four days (June 23 to 26) made a heroic stand against the troops under General Cavaignac, who in

this crisis had been appointed dictator. Never had Paris, accustomed as it was to rioting, witnessed street-fights of such dimensions as it witnessed now: the socialists were not put down until ten thousand men had been stretched dead or wounded upon the pavements.

The socialists overthrown, June, 1848.

The National Assembly, now at last in unquestioned authority, turned next to its business of making a republican constitution. It voted that the legislative function should be entrusted to a single chamber, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and it assigned the executive to a president, elected directly by the people for a period of four years. When the constitution prepared on the above lines was ready, the Assembly ordered the presidential election (December 10, 1848). To the surprise of Europe, Cavaignac, who had been most in sight during the previous months, received only a small proportion of the votes; the vast majority of ballots were cast for prince Louis Napoleon.

The new republican constitution.

Louis Napoleon, president.

Prince Louis Napoleon was the nephew of the great Napoleon and the heir of the Napoleonic traditions. His life had been largely spent in banishment, but the revolution of 1848 had built a bridge for his return. If he now won an astonishing victory at the polls, that was not due to any known virtues of his own, but solely to the prestige of his famous uncle. However, the election victory of the imperial pretender clearly revealed, that although France had a republican constitution, a large majority of her people were still attached to the principles of monarchy.

Danger lurking in the election of Prince Napoleon.

(*b*) THE GERMAN, AUSTRIAN, AND ITALIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

LITERATURE.—**Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, Phillips, Debidour,** As before.
Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence.*
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Maurice, *The Revolutionary Movement of* 1848-49 *in Italy, Austria, and Hungary.*

FROM 1830 to 1848, Germany and Italy, divided and impotent, were delivered over to reactionary influences. But because the liberal and national spirit, fostered by the poets and writers, had been steadily growing, the news of the Paris Revolution of 1848 straightway set both eastern neighbours of France on fire.

Central Europe prepared to follow the example set by France.

In Germany, the month of March saw revolutions everywhere. These revolutions were of special importance at Vienna and Berlin, capitals respectively of Austria and Prussia, for by means of the movements in these two cities absolutism was abolished and constitutionalism established in its place. Thus the liberal party had suddenly realized one half of its programme—the victory of constitutionalism; no wonder that it now gave its attention to the other half—national unity. That Germany must be united became the resolution of all the progressive elements, and in order to establish that unity there was now called together a general German Parliament.

The triumph of constitutionalism at Vienna and Berlin, March, 1848.

Desire for unity: the German Parliament.

The German Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, met

in May, 1848, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. It was composed in large part of the most distinguished men of the land, and was animated by a generous zeal for German unity. But intelligence and zeal alone do not suffice for lasting performances; what heart and mind conceive, force must realize. Thus the great question before the German Parliament was not so much: would it prove itself *wise* enough, but rather would it have the *force* to effect the changes which it was about to advocate; in other words, could it make good the claim which it was putting forward of being the sovereign body in Germany?

The position of the German Parliament.

For the first few months the German Parliament experienced no difficulties, and even the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia seemed to have resigned their sovereign rights to the democratic body sitting at Frankfurt. But suppose the case that, on the lessening of the popular pressure at Vienna and Berlin, one or the other of the great monarchs refused to accept a decree forwarded from the Parliament—what then? There would then be a conflict of authorities which would furnish a test of the relative strength of the new national assembly and the old state governments.

Certainty of struggle between the Parliament and the governments.

The test was offered, and that soon enough, by the Schleswig-Holstein complication. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupy the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland, and are inhabited for the most part by a German-speaking people. They were at that time united with Denmark in a personal union, that is, their duke was also king of Denmark; but they lived, in spite of that fact, under their own laws, of the observance of which by the king of Denmark they were exceedingly jealous. Now it had lately become apparent that the Danish royal house would soon die out in the male line. The Danish law provided that, in such an event, the crown should pass to the female line; by the law of the duchies, however, the succession to Schleswig-Holstein would fall to a secondary male branch.

The question of Schleswig and Holstein.

In fear of this separation, the king of Denmark published for Schleswig-Holstein, in the year 1846, a new law of succession, by virtue of which the union of Denmark and the duchies was secured for all time. The disaffection aroused thereby throughout the duchies was general, and in 1848 the Schleswig-Holsteiners, encouraged by the general confusion in Europe, boldly cast off the Danish yoke. Since as Germans they appealed to the Parliament at Frankfurt for help, that body, claiming to represent the German name, could not remain deaf to their cries. It ordered Prussia and some other states of the north to march their troops into the duchies, and in the name of Germany drive the Danes out. That feat was soon accomplished, for the Danes are not a powerful nation; but the Danes took revenge by destroying the Prussian shipping of the Baltic. This the king of Prussia stood for a while, but when in the course of the summer it seemed to him that the tide of revolution in Germany was running lower, he took heart, and, without consulting the German Parliament, signed the Convention of Malmö with the Danes, which practically delivered the brave Schleswig-Holsteiners over to their Danish masters (August 26, 1848). When the Parliament heard of this act it was furious against the disobedient king. There was talk for a time of civil war; but the talk subsided very quickly, and, on second thoughts, the Parliament endorsed everything which Prussia had done. The long and short of the situation was that Prussia had an army and the Parliament had not. But Prussia having by this occurrence discovered the essential impotence of the Parliament, would not the other governments before long discover it too? In fact, the local governments began gradually to pick up courage, and as early as September, 1848, it was plain that the national Parliament at Frankfurt was a beautiful illusion.

The revolt of the duchies, 1848.

The Parliament helps.

Prussia makes a separate peace, August, 1848.

The Parliament yields to Prussia.

While the local revolutions, the national Parliament at Frankfurt, and the Schleswig-Holstein war were engaging the

attention of Germany, Italy was stirred from Sicily to the Alps by a similar political movement, for at the first news of the revolution at Vienna, Milan and Venice had risen against the Austrians, driven out the troops, and declared for independence (March, 1848). Then they had set up provisional governments and called upon Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, and the other Italian governments to come to their help against the foreign tyrants. As the revolutionary fever had already seized Tuscany, Rome, Sicily, and the other states, and the liberal spirit was everywhere triumphant, assistance was freely promised from all sides, and in the spring of 1848 Italian troops, contributed by all the provinces of the peninsula, converged in long lines upon the middle course of the Po. The expected war of all Italy against the Austrian oppressor was at length engaged.

Milan and Venice rise against Austria, March, 1848.

All Italy resolves to help.

Of the motley Italian army thus hurriedly mobilized to assist the Lombards and Venetians, Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, assumed the command. The fact that he was the head of the house of Savoy, the oldest ruling family of Italy, and that he had expressed his sympathy with the constitutional and national aspirations of his countrymen, pointed him out to all Italians as their natural leader. But when the clash came at Custozza on July 25, 1848, the Austrians won, scattered the Italian forces, and straightway re-entered Milan. Sick at heart, Charles Albert now abdicated, and was succeeded by his son, the famous Victor Emmanuel II. (March, 1849). When young Victor Emmanuel professed his willingness to sign a peace, Austria, harassed sufficiently in other quarters, made no objections. By the terms of the peace agreement the defeated monarch of Sardinia-Piedmont paid a money-fine to Austria, but did not lose a foot of territory.

The Austrians crush the king of Sardinia and his Italian allies, 1848–49.

Sardinia makes peace, March, 1849.

Before that document was signed, Austria had already re-established her hold on Lombardy, and now, after a brave resistance on the part of the people, she put her yoke

on Venice as well. Thus, only a little over a year after the hopeful rising of March, 1848, the Austrian soldiers had again laid the Italian north at their feet. But to the Italians the war had nevertheless brought a benefit. Through stinging disaster they had learned the lesson that they must stand shoulder to shoulder if their righteous cause was ever to triumph; and they had become persuaded by a comradeship of arms, no less sacred because disastrous, that the house of Savoy was their natural point of union.

Lombardy and Venice reconquered.

While Sardinia was fighting a futile battle for Milan and Venice in the north, the states of the centre and south, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, had also been shaken by revolutions. Everywhere, the liberals had been successful for a while, but when the Austrians had triumphed in the north, the reaction thus begun, perforce affected the south and swiftly brought back all the old petty despots. In Rome alone did this game of revolution and reaction assume a form that makes it worth attending to.

Liberal interlude in the centre and south followed by reaction.

In the year 1848, Pius IX., a very earnest and able man, who had won the favour of his subjects by a number of generous measures, was sovereign Pontiff and lord of the States of the Church. He sympathized somewhat with the liberal party, and on the first stirrings of the revolution granted his people a constitution. Only when it came to joining in the national war with the rest of Italy against Austria did he call a halt. A universal pope, he argued, leading Christians to be slaughtered by other Christians was a ludicrous and impossible figure. On the other hand, the Romans generally maintained, and with as much show of reason, that an Italian prince who contributed nothing to the overthrow of the tyrants of Italy was no better than a traitor. Now it was that the pope began to experience the calamity of his double position as a spiritual and a temporal ruler. In his dilemma he adopted contradictory measures; but the Romans, who wished passionately to help their

The pope, Pius IX., between two fires.

Lombard brethren against Austria, grew so dangerously restless that Pius IX. finally fled from the city, and took refuge at Gaeta, on Neapolitan soil (November 24, 1848). Thereupon Rome fell completely into the hands of the revolutionists under the leadership of the famous agitator Mazzini, and at Mazzini's instigation, the pope was declared to have forfeited his temporal dignities, and the papal dominions were on February 9, 1849, proclaimed a republic.

The Pope flees, November, 1848.

Mazzini's new Roman republic never had any real chance of establishing itself. Roman Catholic peoples all the world over were horrified at its treatment of the Holy Father, and Louis Napoleon, the new president of the French republic, was delighted at the opportunity offered by the Roman events to curry favour with the Roman Catholic clergy and peasantry of France. In March the Piedmontese were defeated by the Austrians at Novara, and in April Napoleon sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his republicans out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been made commander-in-chief, made a gallant fight, but in the end had to give way to numbers. In July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city, the old papal rule was re-established, and a few months later the hated pope himself returned to the Vatican.

The Roman republic.

The Pope restored by the French.

But while the reaction was winning these victories in Italy it was making ready to celebrate great triumphs also in Germany and Austria. And first as to Austria. In the spring of 1848, Austria, that empire of many races, seemed likely to fall into disruption, for hardly had the Germans revolted at Vienna, when all the other Austrian peoples followed suit. In a few weeks there were separate revolutions among the Slavs (Czechs) at Prague; among the Hungarians at Budapest, and among the Italians at Milan and Venice; Austria seemed destined to fall into four independent states corresponding to the four leading races of which she was made up. If that dissolution did not

Austria apparently in dissolution.

actually occur in 1848, it is due solely to one institution —the Austrian army. During all the disturbances the army held loyally together under its natural head, the emperor, and gradually restored quiet.

Salvation depends on the army.

The army first put down the revolution of the riotous Slavs at Prague, and then the revolution of the Germans at Vienna. This was comparatively easy work, real difficulties arising only when the army approached the problem of reducing to order the Italians and Hungarians. However, when, at Custozza, the submission of the Italians, too, had been secured (July 25, 1848), the government and army could concentrate their attention upon Budapest.

The army reduces the Czechs, the Germans, and the Italians in quick order.

Although the Hungarians had bowed for centuries to the yoke of the Hapsburgs, they had never lost their proud independent spirit. Under their leader, Louis Kossuth, they had now, in the summer of 1848, made themselves as good as independent. They did not object to a ruler of the house of Hapsburg, but they wished to be free of the connection with the other parts of the many-tongued empire. As the programme of the emperor and his ministry was, in sharp contrast to the Hungarian idea, the maintenance of the indivisible Hapsburg realm, an Austrian general moved in the winter to Hungary at the head of 100,000 troops.

The Hungarians desire home rule.

The Hungarians fought splendidly for their freedom, and at first actually drove the Austrians back; but Kossuth, overelated at his success, made the mistake of proclaiming Hungary independent (April, 1849), and immediately the Czar Nicholas, in alarm at the progress of the democratic spirit at his very border, offered to assist his brother of Austria with a flank attack. In the summer the Austrians from the west and the Russians from the east caught the Hungarians between them and quickly made an end of their resistance, and at Vilagos Górgéii with all his army capitulated (August, 1849). Hungary, broken in spirit and resources, stolidly reassumed the Austrian yoke.

Russia and Austria check the Hungarian rebellion, August, 1849.

Austria again on her legs.

As for Austria, she had, after a year of terrible commotions, successively subdued the revolution among her Slav, her German, her Italian, and her Hungarian subjects, and was now again a great power under the absolute government of her young emperor, Francis Joseph, who had only just succeeded his uncle, Ferdinand, on the throne (December, 1848).

The reaction spreads to Germany.

The victory of the reaction in Austria was sure to affect greatly the affairs of Prussia and Germany, for just as revolution begot revolution, so reaction begot reaction. Hardly, therefore, had the reaction begun to triumph in Austria, before Frederick William IV. of Prussia dismissed the Prussian Diet at Berlin, which was at work making a constitution for the kingdom. However,

Prussia gets a constitution, 1849.

Frederick William showed some moderation. Of his own free will he presented the people, in February, 1849, with a constitution, and although it was not as democratic as could have been wished, it at least secured the Prussian people a share in the government. Revolution was thus put down in Prussia as elsewhere, but here, almost alone, the king had been wise enough to accept the more moderate popular demands.

The German Parliament endangered by the reaction.

We left the German Parliament at Frankfurt at the time of its first great discomfiture, in the matter of the Schleswig-Holstein war (September, 1848). That difficulty had proved that the Parliament could not exact obedience from a great state like Prussia. But if that was the case before the triumph of the governments at Vienna and Berlin over the revolutionists, how would matters stand after these governments had recovered their strength?

The crown offered to Frederick William IV. of Prussia.

Although the members of the Parliament were themselves bitterly conscious that their power was waning, they kept bravely to the task for which they had been called together. In the course of the winter (1848–49) they completed their constitution for united Germany; there now remained only the difficult matter of finding a head for the new constitution—an emperor,

for which honour the choice naturally lay between the two greatest German princes, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia. The question of their respective merits was hotly debated, but the fact that Prussia was more of a German state than disjointed Austria, finally won a majority for Frederick William IV. When, however, a deputation from the Parliament waited upon the king to offer him the crown of Germany, he refused to accept it, first, because of its democratic origin, and secondly, because of the threat of Austria that she would make war rather than see Prussia assume the headship of Germany.

The crown refused (April, 1849).

The refusal naturally annihilated the Parliament. There were a few final convulsions of the revolutionary monster here and there, and then there was quiet. Fate seemed to have decided that there should be no united Germany. From this time the rivalry of Austria and Prussia becomes more than ever apparent. The small states looked to Prussia for protection, while Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg supported Austria. For a time, however, the court of Vienna was in the ascendant. Taking advantage of the feeling of resignation which seized upon the land, Austria now proposed to the governments to reinstate the old ludicrous *Bund*, *i.e.* the Federal Constitution of 1815, which the events of 1848 had swept out of existence. The *Bund*, with its Diet, in which the various government delegates met, talked, and decided nothing, seemed the best thing Germany was capable of.

The Bund again.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had built their revolution on the prospect of a united Germany, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they continued to fight manfully against the Danes for their freedom. In April 1849 Prussia renewed its war with Denmark, which was continued till 1850. Finally, Russia and England were moved to interfere. They called a conference of the powers at London (1850), which determined

Schleswig and Holstein crushed.

that the unruly duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were to be inseparably connected with the Danish crown. Outwardly the duchies now bowed to the inevitable, but an inner acceptance of the unjust decree no amount of pressure could wring out of them. It was evident that they would rise again at a more auspicious moment.

Another reign of reaction.

With the German Parliament dissolved, the Schleswig-Holsteiners delivered over to the Danes, the *Bund* reconstituted at Frankfurt, and the Convention of Olmütz signed by Austria and Prussia, it seemed, in the year 1851, that the Metternichian era had come again. The patriots were filled with despair. But as far as they were thoughtful men, they must have made this observation: the movement of 1848 had failed because it was a merely popular action, which took no account of the established authorities. The established authorities had, therefore, been its enemy, and had ruined it. If, in the future, the governments themselves would take up the national movement, and direct it into sensible channels, would there not then be more chance of success?

CHAPTER XXXIII

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III.—THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

LITERATURE.—Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, Phillips (as before).
Stillman, *Union of Italy* (1815-95).
Cesaresco, *Cavour.*
Mazade, *Cavour.*

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON, on being elected to the presidency of the French Republic (December, 1848), justified very quickly the suspicions entertained against him. One of his first acts was to put down, with French troops, the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi (June, 1849). Republics evidently were not his hobby. He then systematically undermined the constitution, and when everything was ready, he overthrew it on December 2, 1851, by a *coup d'état.* Shortly after he gave the country of his own gift a new and strongly monarchical constitution, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état*, on December 2, 1852, he assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III. The new constitution assured a share in the government to a senate and a legislative body, but the share was hardly more than nominal.

The Napoleonic propaganda.

The coup d'état of December 2, 1851.

A Napoleonic empire could only be maintained by military successes which flattered the vanity of the French people. So at least Napoleon argued, and directed in consequence all the efforts of his reign toward attempts at harvesting what is ordinarily called "glory." These attempts won him at first an enviable position; they

Napoleon's policy of adventure.

ended by plunging him and his country into defeat and misery.

The Crimean War, 1854.

The first opening for Napoleon's policy of adventure was offered in the east. The Czar Nicholas had lately made the somewhat obvious discovery that the sultan was "a sick man." Being convinced that he, Nicholas, was the sultan's natural heir, he held it to be a piece of unnecessary politeness to wait for the "sick man's" death before he took possession of the heritage, and suddenly demanded of the sultan to be recognized as the protector of all the Greek Christians resident in Turkey. When the sultan refused, Nicholas invaded Moldavia (June, 1853). Europe being filled with indignation at this high-handed measure, England and France joined hands and presented a solemn protest to the Czar. When Russia gave no heed to the joint remonstrance, the two western powers made an alliance with Turkey, and declared war (March, 1854).

The siege of Sebastopol.

The Russian campaign of 1854 was a complete failure. The Russian forces tried to take the Danubian fortresses, but on being repulsed by the Turks, withdrew in June from the invaded territory. When the French and English arrived upon the scene, they resolved to attack the great Russian stronghold in the Crimea, Sebastopol. But unfortunately for the western powers the capture proved no easy matter. Sebastopol, admirably defended by the Russians, was taken only after a siege which lasted a whole year, and is one of the most memorable events of the kind in history. But the final surrender of Sebastopol in September, 1855, thoroughly discouraged the Russians. As the warlike Nicholas had died in March of the same year, and been succeeded by his son, Alexander II. (1855-81), there was now no further obstacle to peace. At a Congress held at Paris, Russia, in exchange for Sebastopol, gave up her pretensions in Turkey, the Black Sea was declared neutral, and the sultan was received among the great powers and solemnly guaranteed against interference from without (March, 1856).

The Peace of Paris, 1856.

The Peace of Paris, dictated by Napoleon in his own capital, won for the empire the place of first power in Europe. But Napoleon was not satisfied. Attracted by the prospect of a military glory still greater than that won in the Crimea, he now began to turn his attention to Italy.

Napoleon turns to new enterprises.

A welcome excuse for interesting himself in the affairs of the transalpine peninsula was furnished Napoleon by the fact that Sardinia-Piedmont, the largest native state of Italy, had voluntarily sought his friendship and alliance. Since the War of 1848, king Victor Emmanuel was firmly held by all Italians to be the future unifier of Italy. The practical question before the recognized champion of Italy was: what measures would speed the liberation of his country? Luckily Victor Emmanuel found a gifted adviser in count Cavour, and under Cavour's guidance, Sardinia entered, about the middle of the century, upon a policy which led finally to the complete gratification of the national desires.

Policy of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour.

Cavour argued simply that the leading obstacle to Italian unity was Austria—Austria, which held Lombardy and Venice, and dictated her policy to all the little tyrannical princes of the peninsula. Alone Sardinia could not defeat the Danubian empire; the year 1848 had proved that. It was therefore necessary to find an ally for the inevitable future war. Cautiously Cavour sought the friendship of Napoleon, and in the year 1858 signed with him a close alliance, known as the Compact of Plombières. When Austria, guessing the purport of the alliance, ordered Sardinia to disarm, and on her prompt refusal occupied her territory, the war which Cavour so ardently desired broke out (April, 1859).

Alliance of Sardinia and France against Austria.

The real campaign did not begin till May 1859, and then was over in a few weeks. By the two great victories of Magenta and Solferino, the French and the Sardinians drove the Austrians back from the Lombard plain into their strongholds. Italy was ablaze with bonfires;

The Italian war of 1859.

Napoleon evoked, wherever he appeared, a boundless enthusiasm. But just as everybody was expecting that he would now finish the good work by driving the Austrians completely across the Alps, he suddenly turned round, and, without consulting the Sardinians, signed a truce at Villa Franca (July 11) with the enemy. To this step he was urged by a variety of considerations. First, the Italian situation, with the Italians themselves loudly clamouring for unification, was full of danger, and secondly, Prussia might at any time join Austria and attack France on the Rhine. Everything considered, Napoleon judged that he had better be satisfied with the glory gained and retire. Cavour retired and Victor Emmanuel was furious, but what could he do? In the peace that followed (November 1859), he got Lombardy as his share in the victory, but had to leave Venetia in the hands of the Austrians. Napoleon, in return for the French assistance, obtained from Sardinia the cession of Nice and Savoy (by a Treaty signed on March 24, 1860).

Sardinia acquires Lombardy.

France acquires Nice and Savoy.

But the first step in the unification of Italy had been taken, and the process once begun was not likely to be checked. In fact, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, who returned to office in January 1860, with the north in their hands, now considered themselves strong enough to do something on their own account, and secretly permitted General Garibaldi, the bold leader of volunteers, to fit out a small expedition for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In May, 1860, Garibaldi proceeded by sea, with an escort of only 1000 men, to Sicily, where in April an insurrection had broken out. The island was conquered at a rush; Garibaldi, the liberator, had only to appear, and the tyrannical government of the Bourbon king of Naples, whom everybody hated, fell to pieces. In September, he entered the city of Naples, and the Bourbon king, Francis II., having fled from his capital, was declared deposed and his country annexed to Sardinia. At the same time, the unrest in

Garibaldi conquers Sicily and Naples, 1860.

The States of the Church, except Rome, declare for Sardinia.

Naples had spread to Umbria and the marches and the situation became critical. To anticipate Garibaldi Cavour and the Piedmontese troops invaded the Papal States, which in three weeks were in the hands of Victor Emmanuel. On October 26 the king met Garibaldi at Teano.

Italy was now complete but for Venetia in the north-east, held by Austria, and Rome, in the centre, held by the pope with the assistance of the French. For Garibaldi to attack either of these two provinces meant a declaration of war against a great power, and Victor Emmanuel and Cavour wisely decided that they were not yet ready for such an undertaking. They therefore resolved to consolidate first what they had got, and bide their time. Accordingly, in February, 1861, there met at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, the first general Italian Parliament. It was a proud moment for Italy when the king in his opening speech recounted the auspicious events of the past years, and then, in obedience to the wishes of the Parliament, assumed the style of king of Italy.

Victor Emmanuel becomes king of Italy, 1861.

Of course the hot-blooded Garibaldi, backed by a considerable party of patriots, urged the government to take Rome and Venice by an immediate war. But the king and his minister Cavour would not hear of this advice, and even after the king's great councillor had died (June 1861) Victor Emmanuel clung to a waiting policy. And in the end it bore its fruits.

The king adopts a waiting policy.

In the year 1866 there broke out the long threatening war between the two German powers, Austria and Prussia. That was a legitimate opportunity for Italy, and Italy and Prussia straightway formed a close alliance, and together proceeded to attack Austria from the north and south. Although the Italian part of the joint campaign was very unfortunate, the Italian army being defeated at Custozza (June), and the Italian fleet even more signally off Lissa, in the Adriatic (July), the great Prussian victory of Sadowa made good these Italian calamities, and forced Austria to accept the terms submitted by the allies. Venetia. the last

The war of 1866.

Austrian foothold south of the Alps, accordingly became a part of Italy, and in November, 1866, Victor Emmanuel made his triumphal entry into the City of the Lagoons.

Italy acquires Venice.

Rome alone now remained to be won. And if the Romans had been left free to choose, there is no doubt what course they would have pursued. But Napoleon's troops held the city for the pope, and neither the Romans nor Victor Emmanuel dared encourage a revolution in the papal capital out of fear of provoking a French war. At length patience, here as in the case of Venice, brought the due reward. On the outbreak, in 1870, of the great Franco-German War, Napoleon saw himself reduced to the necessity of recalling his Roman troops in order to put them into the field against Germany. Immediately Victor Emmanuel, disembarrassed of the French, marched his army to the gates of Rome, and seized the city (September, 1870). The pope protested clamorously, but in spite of his uncompromising attitude was not disturbed by the victorious Italians in his quarter of the Vatican. There he has since resided, but the glorious City of the Seven Hills, definitely lost to him, became, as the great majority of the nation ardently desired, the capital of the reborn Italian state.

Italy acquires Rome, 1870.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

LITERATURE. — **Fyffe, Müller, Seignobos, Andrews, Phillips, Debidour** (as before).
Von Sybel, *Founding of the German Empire under William I.*
Headlam, *Bismarck* (*Heroes of the Nations*).
Oncken, *Das Zeitalter des Kaisers Wilhelm.*
H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico.*
Lowe, *Prince Bismarck.*
Busch, *Our Chancellor.*

THE year 1848 had not passed over Germany without result. It was a real gain, for instance, that Prussia, by acquiring a constitution (1849), had confirmed the principle of constitutionalism in Germany, and it was a cause for congratulation that the national spirit had, at least for a moment, commanded all hearts. But it was also undeniable that the national aspirations would have to be realized by more practical measures than the paper resolutions of the popular Parliament at Frankfurt; they would have to be realized by an organized force. So at least argued William of Prussia, who in the year 1858 succeeded[1] his brother, Frederick William IV.

The lesson of the year 1848.

William was a practical, soldierly gentleman, quite the opposite of his romantic, ineffective brother, and had hardly arrived at power when he resolved to create a strong army. But in his attempt to fashion a strong army, the sovereign stumbled upon an obstacle. The liberal majority in the Prussian Diet

William builds his plans on a strong army.

[1] William was at first only regent for his brother; he became king in 1861.

objected to the army expenditures, refused to authorize them, and thus created a sharp conflict between the king and the legislature. But the king was a soldier without fear; the reform which he knew to be good he was determined to carry out in spite of his Diet, and, therefore, in the year 1862, he called to his support as prime-minister a resolute adherent of royalty, Otto von Bismarck. This naturally did not improve the relations of king and legislature, and things were going from bad to worse, when there occurred a number of events which drew the attention of the people away from internal affairs.

Trouble between king and legislature.

Bismarck.

In the year 1863 king Frederick VII. of Denmark died and was succeeded, with the acquiescence of all the European powers, by his relative, Christian IX. Christian IX. was at first recognized in Schleswig-Holstein also, but when he ventured to publish a constitution, by which he incorporated the northernmost duchy, Schleswig, directly with Denmark, he was straightway repudiated by the whole German population of the two provinces. Of course all Germany was greatly agitated in behalf of its Schleswig-Holstein brothers, and, as in 1848, threatened a national war against Denmark. Taking advantage of the situation Bismarck now persuaded Austria to associate herself with Prussia, in order that the Danish difficulty might be settled in an orderly way. Accordingly, in January, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies side by side. In a quick campaign Denmark was disarmed, and in October she saw herself reduced to the necessity of ceding Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

The second revolution of Schleswig-Holstein, 1863.

The Schleswig-Holstein war, 1864.

Now that Prussia and Austria possessed the duchies, the question was how to divide the spoils. Of course the division turned out, to Bismarck's great delight, a difficult matter. Austria not being willing to give up her position in Germany, the Prussian prime-minister had long been planning to make her give it up by force, and here was the Schleswig-Holstein

Bismarck quarrels with Austria over the division of Schleswig-Holstein.

booty, the very matter over which to pick a plausible quarrel. Finally, in the spring of 1866, Prussia signed a close alliance with Italy, while Austria, for her part, sought the support of the smaller German states.

These dispositions made—Prussia having secured the support of Italy, and Austria the alliance of Bavaria, Saxony, and most of the other German states—in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the field. The contest was the culmination of the rivalry, inaugurated over a hundred years ago, at the time of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa; the prize of the winner was to be the supremacy in Germany.

Meaning of the war of 1866.

Now it was seen that king William's plan of a strong and modern army had its merits. The Prussians were ready sooner than the Austrians, and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements of the great strategist, Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to converge upon the Austrians, and enclosing them at Sadowa (Königgrätz), in Bohemia, on July 3, as in a vice, crushed them utterly. The war had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little consequence that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians at Custozza or that the Prussians defeated the South Germans. Austria proper lay at the feet of Prussia, and had to make peace. A truce in July was followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

Sadowa, July 3.

By the Peace of Prague Austria accepted her exclusion from Germany, and agreed to any reconstruction of Germany which Prussia should carry out. Territorially she was not heavily punished: she had to cede Venetia to Italy and her share in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. These arrangements made, Bismarck proceeded to make peace with the German allies of Austria. Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and the South German states in general were let off with a money fine, but most of the hostile North German states, as for example, Hanover and Nassau, were incorporated with Prussia.

Prussia makes peace with Austria and the South German states.

Then Bismarck proceeded to replace the old *Bund* by an

effective central government, and formed among the states north of the river Main, the North German Confederation, with Prussia at its head. With wise moderation, he made no effort to force the South German states into the new union; they were, for the most part, Roman Catholic and opposed to Protestant Prussia; and they had just been defeated in a civil war. From 1866 to 1870, Germany, therefore, consisted of two distinct parts—a strong united north under the leadership of Prussia, and a feeble south of the four detached states, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, and Hesse. Then there happened something which spontaneously brought the two parts together, and completed the unification of Germany: France declared war and threatened Germany with invasion.

Bismarck forms the North German Confederation.

We left the emperor Napoleon last in the Italian campaign of 1859. That campaign marks the zenith of his life, for after 1859 he no longer prospered. His occupation of Rome lost him his popularity among the Italians. Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. He was led to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and finding that that republic made but a feeble resistance, he overturned it, and set up an empire under the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria (1863). But the Monroe Doctrine, cherished by all Americans, had been flagrantly set aside by the French invasion, and as soon as the Civil War, which was then embarrassing the United States, was over, secretary Seward gave Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw immediately. Napoleon hesitated, but in the end did not have the courage to refuse. The French sailed for Europe, and Maximilian, deserted by his allies, was captured and shot (1867). Thereupon the Mexicans re-established their republic.

The decline of Napoleon III.

The Mexican muddle.

The shame of this disgraceful ending was not the worst feature about the Mexican adventure. Owing to the absence of the best French troops in the New World, the emperor Napoleon could exercise no influence on the issue of the

Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Thus it happened that Prussia came out of the war with a greatly increased territory, but France won from the embarrassment of the German powers nothing whatever. The French emperor's demands of compensations had been refused by Bismarck, and thereupon Napoleon demanded the cession of Luxemburg. But the indignation of the German states at the idea of such a union was extreme, and eventually a conference of the Powers met in London in 1867 and Luxemburg was declared neutral territory. Now the French having for centuries entertained the hope of extending their territory to the Rhine, were angry with Napoleon for having missed the opportunity offered by the Austro-Prussian war to gain that end. More and more passionately public opinion began to clamour for some territorial increase to offset the growth of Prussia. Consequently the relations between France and Prussia became gradually worse. A little incident sufficed to precipitate war.

France grows jealous of Prussia.

The Spanish throne happening in the year 1870 to be vacant, the Cortes—that is, the Spanish Parliament—offered the throne to prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. As this prince was a relative of king William of Prussia, the candidature caused great excitement at Paris. Largely on this account, Leopold withdrew; but Napoleon, not satisfied with the withdrawal pure and simple, wanted a promise from king William that he would never permit Leopold to be a candidate in the future. This demand king William curtly rejected. Thereupon Napoleon, with the full consent of his legislature, declared war (July 19, 1870).

The Spanish incident of 1870.

In the struggle which now ensued, Napoleon hoped that the South German states would, out of hatred of Prussia, side with him. But these states, remembering in Germany's hour of need both their written and unwritten obligations, put their forces under the command of the Prussian king. Not Prussia merely, but for the first time in centuries a united Germany marched to meet the foes of Germany.

South Germany on the side of Prussia.

The German forces in the beginning of August invaded France. On August 6 the crown prince Frederick of Prussia came up with the army of Marshal MacMahon at Wörth, and defeated it so roundly that it had to abandon Alsace. The second French army, stationed in Lorraine, now fell back on the great fortress Metz. There the great German strategist, Moltke, determined on shutting it in, and after fighting the murderous battle of Gravelotte (August 18), succeeded in doing so. One half of the German forces were now detailed for the investment of Metz, while the other half pushed westward to find MacMahon, who, having recovered from his defeat at Wörth, was hurrying on to relieve Metz.

The German victories.

Wörth.

Gravelotte.

At Sedan, on September 1st, MacMahon's forces once more met the Germans, and on the next day, seeing that resistance was hopeless, the whole French force surrendered. Napoleon, who was present with his army, was sent as a prisoner across the Rhine, while the victorious Germans continued their march westward, and toward the end of September undertook the investment of Paris.

The surrender of Sedan, September 2, 1870.

Meanwhile, important things had happened in the capital of France. The calamity of Sedan was hardly known when the whole city of Paris rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government. The empress Eugénie was driven from her palace, and France once more declared a Republic (September 4). At the same time, a number of men, the most prominent of whom was Gambetta, set up, for the purpose of effectively prosecuting the war, the Government of the National Defence.

The Third Republic.

The siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. Gambetta made a most active and honourable resistance, but his raw levies were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined soldiers of Germany. On January 28, 1871, Paris, disheartened by the surrender of Metz (October), and reduced to the last extremes of misery and hunger, capitulated, and the war was over.

Capitulation of Paris, followed by peace.

France had to buy peace from her enemies by paying a war indemnity of five milliards of francs (£200,000,000), and by ceding to them the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The creation of the German Empire, 1871.

As for Germany the war effected as important a change of government as in France. The great victories, won by the united efforts of north and south, created the desire for a permanent union, and accordingly, on January 18, 1871, at Versailles, king William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor.

The constitution of the new empire.

About the same time there was completed a constitution for the new German Empire which was merely the constitution of the North German Confederation, so enlarged as to embrace the South German states. By virtue of this instrument Germany was organized as a federal government like the United States of America. The constitution recognizes twenty-five states of various size. The governments of these twenty-five send delegates to an upper house, called the Bundesrath, while the people elect, on the basis of direct and universal suffrage, the members of a second house, called the Reichstag. Bundesrath and Reichstag together make the laws; the king of Prussia, in his capacity of German emperor and head of the confederation, executes them. By this union Germany after long centuries again became a great power.

The riots of the Commune, 1871.

France, in the months immediately following the peace with Germany, went through a terrible crisis. The Republic being at that time not yet fairly on its feet, the lawless elements of Paris made an attempt to set up a government of their own, which they called the Commune. The Commune actually acquired possession of the capital, and by confiscations, murders, and other atrocities maintained its hold upon it for two months (March–May, 1871). But in May the patriot Thiers, who was appointed first executive of the new Republic, having collected a considerable force about him at Versailles, sent forth Marshal MacMahon to take the offensive against the Parisian revolutionists. After a long siege, and fearful street-fights, lasting a whole week, the

forces of the Commune were shattered to pieces. In their fanatical hatred of the established order of society, the Communists vowed that the victors should possess only a heap of ashes, and destroyed by fire the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, and tried to destroy the rest of Paris. There followed a period of arrests and executions, and then France settled down earnestly to the work of repairing the fearful ravages of the war. The present condition of the country is a witness of her success, and a testimony to the strength of the Third Republic.

The up-building of France.

The rest of the European powers had been no more than onlookers during the Franco-German War. The emperor of Austria, mindful of 1866, was at first half inclined to take a hand, but for various reasons was persuaded to desist. Perhaps predominant among them was that his country had only just been internally reorganized. The year 1866 had, in fact, introduced an era of reform, for his terrible defeat at the hands of Prussia had not passed over the emperor Francis Joseph without results. He knew now that he must conciliate his various peoples, and establish a popular government; especially he must win back to allegiance the Hungarians. He, therefore, divided the Hapsburg dominions into an Austrian and a Hungarian half, and made them independent of each other, except for such matters as diplomacy and war. At Vienna, Francis Joseph would be emperor of Austria, at Budapest, king of Hungary, and in each half of his realm he was to reign under a separate constitution, legislature, and administration. This dual empire of Austro-Hungary was created in the year 1867, and has proved a greater success than could have been expected. A great danger to the dual empire, however, arises from the Slavs, who are constantly demanding for themselves the exceptional position already granted to the Hungarians; instead of a *dual* empire, they want a *federal* one.

The dual Empire of Austro-Hungary.

CHAPTER XXXV

GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

(*a*) GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

LITERATURE.—**Fyffe**, **Phillips**, **Seignobos**, **Debidour** (as before).
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Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*, and *Present Position of European Politics*.
Traill, *Lord Cromer*.
Goldwin Smith, *The Empire*.
Parkin, *Imperial Federation*.
Gresswell, *History of the Dominion of Canada*.
Rusden, *History of Australia*, and *History of New Zealand*.
Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Isles*.

No country had fought the French Revolution more bitterly or more persistently than Great Britain. Naturally therefore when the long war (1793–1815), which had inspired the subjects of king George III. with a fanatical aversion to revolutionary ideas, was once over, England, like the Continent, entered upon a period of reaction. The Tory party, led by Lord Castlereagh, the duke of Wellington, and other opponents of innovation, took control of the British state, and directed it for many years strictly in the aristocratic interest. But just as the Continent of Europe bore the reactionary yoke of Metternich and the Holy Alliance unwillingly, and quietly made ready to throw it off, so England gradually roused herself from her lethargy, and prepared to enter the

Tory government after 1815.

The beginning of reform.

road of reform. And that there were many things imperatively demanding reform, became clear as daylight the moment the idea had been once admitted.

Religious reform: the Test Act repealed (1828).

First of all, there was the anomalous religious situation. The Toleration Act of 1689 had practically given the Dissenters freedom of worship, but by the Test Act, which was still in vogue, they were debarred from holding office. Finally, in 1828, Parliament was persuaded to repeal the Test Act, and thereby first made the numerous bodies of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists full-fledged English citizens, as eligible to fill a position of public trust as any Anglican.

Relief of the Roman Catholics (1829).

It still remained to perform a similar act of justice toward the Roman Catholics, who were not relieved by the repeal of the Test Act, owing to a provision compelling every office-holder of England to abjure the pope. Perhaps the severely Protestant Parliament would not have taken up the matter of the liberation of the Catholics at all, if it had not been urged thereto by a dangerous agitation stirred up in Ireland by the patriotic orator, Daniel O'Connell, who inspired the Roman Catholic Irish to protest against the enactments which deprived them, as adherents of the ancient faith, of representation at Westminster. Wellington and his Tory friends were inclined at first to sneer at O'Connell's loud words and threats, but when the Iron Duke saw that Ireland to a man was backing her leader, and resolute in her demands to the point of revolution, he had the statesmanlike sagacity to give in. He passed, in 1829, a Catholic Relief Bill, by which Roman Catholics were admitted to all but the highest offices of the realm.

The spirit of reform victorious after 1830.

These two liberating acts of 1828 and 1829 were the first breaches made in the conservative defences. But other assaults were sure to follow, and when, in 1830, a Whig or Liberal ministry had displaced the Tories or Conservatives, the Parliament was bold enough to proceed straightway to the most necessary of all reforms—to the reform of its own membership.

The seats in Parliament were distributed, in the year 1830, in accordance with a plan which had suffered no material alteration for two hundred years. But the last two hundred years had wrought great changes in the society of England; towns which had once flourished had decayed, mere villages had become prosperous towns. Thus it happened that a number of boroughs which were practically extinct, by old custom still sent representatives to Parliament. Such boroughs were justly denominated "rotten," because the members who sat in Parliament in their behalf were the nominees of a mere handful of men, nay, frequently of a single person. Thus it was clear that the House of Commons, as constituted in 1830, had become a mockery, and that it was preposterous to claim that it represented the English people.

The Parliamentary abuse.

The question of Parliamentary reform, brought forward by the Liberals in 1830, involved them in a severe conflict with the Conservatives, but backed by the country, they carried their point. The Reform Bill (1832) became a law; the "rotten" boroughs were disfranchised, and at the same time the right to vote was extended to additional classes of citizens.

The Passage of the first Reform Bill, 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 may be said to have transferred the power in England to the middle class. But it did nothing for the industrial and farming classes, and sooner or later, such was the levelling tendency of the age, these would have to be admitted to a share in the government. As the practical need arose, Parliament, from time to time, extended the franchise; by two additional reform bills—the one of 1867, the other of 1884—it has rounded off the Act of 1832, and given the right to vote to such numbers, that England may almost be said to maintain at present the system of universal suffrage.

The second and third Reform Bills.

Hand in hand with these Parliamentary reforms have gone a great number of others affecting almost every branch of the public service. Perhaps the most important is the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws were intended to protect the

land-holding class, who were mainly the aristocracy, by means of a large duty upon grain.[1] Naturally, that duty, by raising the price of bread, fell heavily upon the English labourer. After a long educational campaign, headed by the economist, Richard Cobden, the Corn Laws were repealed (1846), and with them the whole system of protection was dropped. In lieu of it, England adopted the system of free trade, under which she has tremendously extended her commercial relations with the whole world.

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.

England adopts free trade.

Although the policy of sensible reform has removed most of the internal difficulties which have arisen in Great Britain during the nineteenth century, one problem remains as perplexing and hopeless at the end of the century as at the beginning. The name of that problem is Ireland. We have seen that the British Parliament had not remained blind to all the various forms of Irish misery, and that by the Relief Bill of 1829 the Roman Catholic Irish had at length been admitted to office. A benefit along the same line was conferred when, in the year 1868, the Protestant Episcopal organization, which the Irish had been obliged to call their national Church, was deprived of its privileges.

The Irish problem.

The Episcopal Church disestablished, 1868.

But these religious grievances of the Irish, it was comparatively easy for Parliament to settle in an age of increasing tolerance. For other grievances, it has also attempted to find a remedy. Owing to the confiscations of the seventeenth century, the Irish soil has been, to a large extent, in the hands of a few hundred English landlords, the Irish themselves being mere tenants and day-labourers. Since the Act of Union of 1801, however, Ireland has gradually been allowed some of the benefits of self-government.

The present grievances.

Under these circumstances, the efforts of the Irish party in the House of Commons have been directed toward two

[1] The word "corn," as used in England, embraces all kinds of grain. Corn Laws mean Grain Laws.

aims: First, to enable the Irish tenants to acquire from the English landlords the ownership of the land they till; and secondly, to secure for the Irish an Irish Parliament at Dublin, with power to manage local affairs very much like an American state-legislature. Although the great Liberal party, inspired by William E. Gladstone, attempted to help the Irish to achieve the above programme, and although several Land Acts have been passed giving very great advantages to the Irish tenants, the Irish are still far from being satisfied, and the thorny Irish problem is as far removed as ever from adjustment. Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme, after being debated in Parliament, was rejected in deference to the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the British people.

The efforts of the Irish party, backed by the English Liberals.

No sketch of the development of England in the nineteenth century can afford to leave out of account her marvellous colonial expansion and some of the attendant benefits. Above all, the colonies have created that vast trade through which has been amassed the fabulous wealth of contemporary Britain. But the benefits of expansion are not unmitigated. By the creation, all over the world, of interests which require to be defended when threatened, England has become involved in the nineteenth century in numerous wars. Indeed war may be said to have become a permanent feature of English politics.

England a world-empire.

But these are conflicts with minor powers. Of great powers England has, in the nineteenth century, fought only one—Russia, in the Crimean War (1854–56). She engaged in this war because she wished to keep Russia out of Constantinople, and ever since the rivalry of these two powers over Turkey has troubled their relations. And to this difficulty another has been added in Asia. The largest and richest province of England being India, that territory is guarded by England with exceeding jealousy. Now Russia has for a hundred years been steadily extending her possessions over central and western Asia, until the

Rivalry of Russia and England at Constantinople.

Rivalry of Russia and England in Asia.

English in India feel that they are threatened. Border disputes between England and Russia have not been unfrequent of late years, and may at some time involve the two countries in war. Altogether it may be asserted that the greatest danger to the English colonial empire threatens from Russia, and chiefly at the two points mentioned—in the eastern Mediterranean, where the object of rivalry is Constantinople, and in India.

Her "splendid isolation."

By her occupation of Egypt, in 1882, England indeed secured for herself the control of the Suez Canal and the other waterways to India, but at the same time she delivered a blow to the influence of France in the Mediterranean which will not be easily forgotten by that nation. However, up to the present day, this and other disputes have not led to war; Great Britain being a commercial power, is not anxious to engage in military enterprises, and the other European powers, torn by disputes of their own, have never been able to combine against her.

(*b*) Russia in the Nineteenth Century

LITERATURE.—Seignobos, Fyffe, Müller, and Andrews (as before). Holland, *The European Contest in the Eastern Question.*

The rise of Russia.

The study of the foregoing pages must, on more than one occasion, have impressed the reader with the increasing importance in the world of Russia. We saw Russia under Peter the Great (1689–1725) establish herself as an European power; under Catharine the Great (1762–95) we observed her accomplish the destruction of Poland; and under Alexander I. (1801–25) we noted her assumption of the leadership of the European nations in the overthrow of Napoleon. From the death of Alexander I. to the present day the principal objects of the policy of the czars have been the overthrow of Turkey and the extension of Russian rule in Asia.

To understand the character of the conflict between Russia

and Turkey it is necessary to grasp the condition of the Ottoman empire. This state was created chiefly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the military triumphs of fanatical Mohammedan hordes, called Turks, and embraced at its height the north coast of Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and south-eastern Europe. The head of the empire of Turkey is its absolute master, and is called sultan. Under him as heads of the provincial divisions of the empire are the pashas. The Turks have made no effort to assimilate the many peoples they have conquered, and have never appeared in any other guise than that of a privileged class of military despots encamped among conquered nations of slaves.

The empire of Turkey.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the despotic character of the Turkish rule began to excite shame and horror among the Christian subjects of the sultan. The bulk of these were resident in south-eastern Europe, and were racially either Greeks or Slavs. The Greeks dwelt approximately within the confines of ancient Hellas and on the Ægean Islands, while the Slavs, among whom we must distinguish the families of the Serbs, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, and the Montenegrins, were scattered, often without any clearly marked geographical boundaries, over the Balkan peninsula. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks and the Slavs, growing more and more restless under Turkish rule, have risen repeatedly to gain their independence. In these risings they have almost invariably enjoyed the sympathy and aid of Russia, for, in the first place, the rise of the subject nationalities of the Balkans has fallen in with the Russian policy, which aims at the abasement of Turkey; and in the second place, the Russian people are linked with the Slav and Greek peoples by the common bond of the Greek Church.

The revolt of the Christian peoples of the Balkans.

The reader has already been made acquainted with some of the movements of the Balkan peninsula and with some of the conflicts between Russia and Turkey resulting therefrom In the year 1821 the Greeks rose against their masters,

and maintained themselves for years against them in a struggle as heroic as any in history. The interference of the western powers at Navarino (1827), followed by the still more emphatic interference of Russia in the war of 1828–29, inclined the scales in favour of the Greeks: they became independent under a constitutional monarchy. In the peace signed at Adrianople (1829) the Russians further secured for the principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, a fair degree of self-government.

The independence of Greece and the Turco-Russian War of 1828–29.

It was the Czar Nicholas I. (1825–55) who had waged the war of 1828–29, and during the following years he became more and more convinced that the Turkish empire was falling to pieces. He invented the famous phrase by which he designated the sultan as "the sick man," and, in 1853, occupied the sick man's territories. The result was the Crimean War, in which Turkey was allied with France and England, and in which, because of this alliance, she came out victorious. But in spite of the Russian defeat the Christians of the peninsula suffered no loss, and the Turks gained no advantage. The leading Danubian principalities, Servia, Wallachia,[1] and Moldavia, were confirmed in the rights (self-government under the suzerainty of the sultan) which had been granted them in the Peace of Adrianople.

The Crimean War. Turkey helped by England and France.

The situation in the Balkan peninsula did not enter another crisis till 1875, when a revolt broke out in Bosnia owing to the insufferable oppression of the Turkish tax-collectors. The brave Bosnian insurgents maintained themselves with success in their mountains, and for a time the situation of the Turks was critical. While fighting the Bosnians in front of them, they had to reckon with the possibility of a rising among the Bosnian sympathizers in their rear, for the consequence of the Bosnian struggle was a tremendous ferment among all the Christian races under Turkish

The revolt of Bosnia, 1875.

[1] Wallachia and Moldavia were in 1861 united under the name of Roumania.

rule, accompanied by the desire to effect a common rising against the Mohammedan master. Fearful of this movement the Turks resolved to forestall it by a characteristic method. They sent irregular troops among the Bulgarians, with orders to kill whomsoever they encountered, and these troops throwing themselves upon the defenceless Bulgarian villages, massacred in cold blood thousands and thousands of men, women, and children.

The Bulgarian massacres, 1876.

The Bulgarian atrocities filled Europe with horror. The sultan made glib excuses, and the diplomats arranged all kinds of compromises, but the difficulties between Europe and Turkey had already got beyond adjustment by paper conclusions. In Russia, where the people were related to the Bulgarians by ties of race and religion, the popular sentiment was soon excited beyond control, and in April, 1877, the Czar Alexander II. (1855–81), unable and unwilling to resist longer the public pressure, declared war.

Russia declares war, 1877.

In June the Russians crossed the Danube, and a month later occupied the principal passes of the Balkan Mountains. But at this juncture they met with their only serious check. In the rapid overthrow of the Turkish empire one man appeared, resolved to save at least the military honour of the nation. This was Osman Pasha. He gathered such forces as were available, fortified himself at Plevna, and for five months directed a defence against the Russians which stopped completely the forward movement upon Constantinople, and invited the admiration of the world. But in December, 1877, Plevna was taken, and Osman, "the lion of Plevna," with the worn-out remnant of his troops, had to surrender.

The Russian invasion. Plevna.

Immediately on the surrender of Plevna the Russians took up again their march to Constantinople. Turkey offered no further resistance, and in sight of the minarets of the Turkish capital, the Russians forced from the Turks the Peace of San Stefano (March, 1878) The Peace of San Stefano practically decreed the dissolution of the Turkish empire, but it was no sooner signed

The Peace of San Stefano. England protests.

than England made the demand that it be submitted to the European powers for revision. Russia at first protested, but as England, then governed by Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), threatened to go to war in order to get satisfaction, the Czar gave way. In consequence there assembled for the revision of the Peace of San Stefano the Congress of Berlin (June, 1878).

The Congress of Berlin, 1878.

The Congress of Berlin was largely dominated by suspicion of Russia, and adopted in consequence the policy of strengthening the small states of the Balkan peninsula, in the hope that they might prove an effective barrier, in the future, between Russia and her prey on the Bosphorus. It ratified the following measures: 1. Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were declared independent. 2. Bulgaria was constituted a self-governing principality, subject merely to the payment of an annual tribute to the sultan. Its boundaries were drawn on the north by the Danube, and on the south by the Balkan Mountains. 3. The southern part of ancient Bulgaria—the part south of the Balkans—was constituted as the province of East Roumelia, and though given an independent civil administration, was left under the military authority of the Turks. 4. Austria was commissioned to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. 5. Russia received Bessarabia and a number of territories in Asia Minor. As the reader will observe, Russia came out of the Congress of Berlin damaged in prestige and shorn of her triumphs, and has ever since looked upon the Berlin settlement with wrath and indignation.

Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria since the war.

Since the Congress of Berlin a number of changes have occurred, most of which point to the increasing vigour of the Balkan "buffer" states and to the success of the Berlin policy. In 1881 Roumania declared herself a kingdom under king Charles I. of the German House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Servia followed suit in 1882, her first king being Milan I. of the native Servian family of Obrenovitch. Bulgaria, however, has seen even greater changes. In 1885 East Roumelia, which had by

the Congress of Berlin been separated from Bulgaria against its will, revolted against Turkish rule, and united itself with its sister state. Soon after this event Alexander of Battenberg, who had been elected prince of Bulgaria in 1879, was deposed by a Russian conspiracy, but the affairs of the country were not greatly disturbed by this mischance, for Ferdinand of Coburg was elected prince in Alexander's stead, and the country has since enjoyed comparative quiet.

If by means of the three wars which Russia has waged against Turkey since the Congress of Vienna, she has made considerable acquisitions from that country, she has fared still better in another quarter. In central and eastern Asia, she has had no very important foe to face, and has in consequence, by a system of gradual encroachments, added to Siberia, which she already held, a great number of border provinces.

Russia in Asia.

Before we close the chapter on Russia, a number of internal matters deserve a passing mention. The Czar Alexander II. (1855–81) was rather more humane than his predecessor, and introduced at least one praiseworthy reform. In 1858 he granted freedom to the 20,000,000 serfs on the crown domains, and in 1861 he ordered also the liberation of the 20,000,000 serfs resident upon the lands of the nobles, making the peasants by these decrees free proprietors. This high-minded measure raised great expectations among the educated classes, who fancied that the Russian millennium was at hand, and demanded a constitutional government. When the Czar turned a deaf ear to their request, the more radical elements plotted secretly against the government, and drifted gradually into nihilism. The nihilists have kept up an active propaganda for many decades, and have done many deeds of horror, even assassinating, in 1881, the Czar. These excesses the government has met by wholesale execution and exile to Siberia, but the nihilist agitation still continues.

The emancipation of the serfs, 1861.

Nihilism.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE GENERAL SITUATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

LITERATURE.—Seignobos, Dyer, Phillips, Fyffe (as before).
Sergeaunt, *Greece in the Nineteenth Century.*
Curzon, *Problems in the Far East.*
Milner, *England in Egypt.*
Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia.*
Worcester, *The Philippine Islands.*
"Odysseus," *Turkey in Europe.*
Parker, *China.*
Keltie, *The Partition of Africa.*
Craik, *A Century of Scottish History.*
Caldicott, *English Colonization and Empire.*
Cotton and Paine, *Colonies and Dependencies.*
Bryce, *Impressions in South Africa.*
The Times History of the Wars in South Africa.
The Annual Register.
Fitzpatrick, *The Transvaal from Within.*
Holls, *The Peace Conference at the Hague.*
Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century.*

IN the last few decades of the nineteenth century it has become apparent to every observer that the efforts of European cabinets are no longer confined to the Continent of Europe, but are largely devoted to problems lying outside of Europe, beyond the seas: the policy of the powers of Europe has become a world-policy.

This important change is not so sudden as it looks, in fact, its origin may be traced back to the momentous voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama at the end of the fifteenth century. Through these and through others which followed in the wake of these, the leading European powers established commercial interests at various points of the globe, and many of them even planted

The expansion of Europe.

seedlings of the old stock in the new lands. The result has been that Europe has become in a real way interlaced and identified with Asia, Africa, Australia, and America, and the connection, slight and faint at first, has gradually acquired such huge proportions and such immense vigour that its severance would appear to mean for the home-country nothing less than the annihilation of the authority which that country enjoys in the council of the nations.

If all the European powers are involved in these world interests, they are not all involved to the same degree. Some entered earlier and some later upon this development, and since it requires time for commerce to grow and colonies to spread, the nations that early gave their attention to the problem of trans-oceanic expansion have acquired a lead, which the younger rivals have overcome either with difficulty or not at all.

Now the order in which the European nations took up a world-policy seems to have been largely determined by the following political law: they took to the sea approximately in the order in which they arrived at their national consolidation; that is to say, in the order in which their governments became strong enough to claim new territory and to hold it against all comers.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that Portugal and Spain were the first to direct their attention from Europe to the outer world. They acquired and settled a good deal of territory east and west. But, victims soon of grave internal disorder, they found themselves lacking in the requisite strength and health to persist in their forward movement. The nations which in the seventeenth century supplanted them were Holland, England, and France. But the colonial vitality of Holland hardly extended over more than one astonishing century, and was largely due to the exaltation of the struggle with Spain, and to the temporary eclipse of England and France under the burden of their civil wars. When in the second half of the seventeenth century England and France,

Portugal and Spain.

Holland, England, and France.

commanding resources that little Holland could not match, entered the field of competition, the Dutch had, in their turn, to desist from further gains and be satisfied with what they already possessed. That left only England and France in the colonial race, and in the course of the eighteenth century these two powers met in a memorable contest, winning in which England reduced France to a few trivial holdings, mere points of support for her merchant marine in various parts of the earth.

Leading colonial powers of today: England, Russia, France.

Thus the nineteenth century opened with England enormously in the lead as a world-power. But of course it was impossible to bar the other European nations from farther attempts at world-empire, and consequently they have made, in the order in which their internal consolidation permitted, new efforts to establish themselves along the great lines of travel. Russia, above all, and France, in measure as she recovered her national vitality, have attempted to raise their flags over unclaimed territory, and latterly Germany and Italy, having at length achieved their long-desired unity, have bestirred themselves to make up for their long impotence. But of course the lead gained by England has not been and could not be overtaken, and therefore in the enumeration of colonial interests and possessions the great island-kingdom deserves easily the first place.

The colonial holdings of England.

By virtue of her success in the Seven Years' War (1756–63) England became undisputed mistress of North America and India. The successful revolt of the Atlantic colonists, who formed the government of the United States of America, deprived her soon after of the better part of her American holdings, but the peace of 1783 which acknowledged the new nation did not disturb the English possession of Canada, and Canada remains to this day the most important English possession in the west. In India, the authority of England, uninterrupted since 1763, has become constantly more consolidated, and her material interests, carefully nursed, have swelled to gigantic proportions.

During the Napoleonic Wars England acquired from the Dutch, who had been obliged to side with the French emperor, the territory in South Africa known as the Cape, and in the first half of the nineteenth century she acquired by settlement the vast continent of Australia. Her latest large acquisition is Egypt, which the government in 1882 took in an occupation announced at the time to be temporary, but by force of circumstances, likely to become permanent. In addition to these substantial provinces on the great continents of America, Asia, Africa, and Australia, England holds an almost incalculable number of islands, scattered over all the seas, by which her continental possessions are conveniently bound together.

The holdings of Russia.

The greatest rival of England for world-empire is Russia. As early as the seventeenth century this power had begun to expand over the north of Asia, and all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the absorption by Russia of eastern and central Asia has continued, until her encroachments eastward have reached the Chinese Wall, and her progress southward has brought her to the Himalayas, the northern boundary of British India. Certain small central Asiatic states like Afghanistan and Persia still preserve their independence; but they are exposed to the danger of almost hourly extinction in the great conflict waged between English and Russian diplomacy for the control of their governments. In addition, Russia has steadily reached in the direction of the Black Sea, and in her progress has gathered up province after province which the moribund sultan has been obliged to release from his grasp.

The holdings of France.

France, which suffered such a grievous colonial setback in the eighteenth century, has in the nineteenth century once more bravely attempted to retrieve her losses. In the year 1830 she seized a favourable opportunity to conquer Algiers, and she has since extended her power over Tunis and the whole Sahara region. Besides this African territory she enjoys a considerable position in Asia by virtue of her occupation of southern China (Tonquin) and the eastern half of Farther India.

Germany and Italy were of course in no position to engage in colonial enterprises till within a very few years, when all the best parts of the earth were already occupied. Still the national pride urged them to fly their flag somewhere and over something, and so when in the eighties the general scramble of the European powers for Africa began, these two nations took a hand in the game with England and France, and acquired considerable territory, Germany on the west and east coast (Kameroons, German South-west Africa, German East Africa), and Italy in the neighbourhood of Abyssinia.

The holdings of Germany and Italy.

A close study of these vantage-points held by the European powers will greatly help in the understanding of their relations toward each other since 1870. But these relations will not be wholly understood thereby, for they have also been determined by the clash and adjustment of interests more nearly at home, that is, in the old historical field of Europe itself. And especially does this hold of the now famous grouping of the powers under a Triple and Dual Alliance. In fact, however much the maintenance of these alliances may be due to the protection which they extend to the colonial pretensions of their members, they owe their inception to circumstances strictly and narrowly European in their bearing. Let us follow this argument briefly.

The political affinities of the Europe of to-day expressed by the Triple and Dual Alliances.

The leading idea of Bismarck's policy after the creation of the German Empire in 1871 was to keep Germany sufficiently strong and France sufficiently isolated for the latter power to feel disinclined to risk a war of revenge for the purpose of wiping out the memory of her great defeat, and of reconquering the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Accordingly, Bismarck fostered the friendship of Germany with Austria and Russia, and established the alliance which became popularly known as the League of the Three Emperors. The good understanding of Austria and Russia, however, was badly impaired by the jealousy aroused in Austria by the Russian successes in the

The origin of the Triple Alliance.

Turkish war of 1877, and when, at the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russian diplomacy became convinced that Germany was not supporting Russia with sufficient heartiness, the League of the Three Emperors received its death-blow. Bismarck now felt obliged to protect German interests by some other arrangement, and in the year 1879 he signed a close defensive alliance with Austria. This Dual Alliance was in the year 1882 converted into a Triple Alliance by the addition of Italy, which power was impelled to this step by the fear of French aggression in the Mediterranean, aroused on the occasion of the French occupation of Tunis (1881). The Triple Alliance is at the opening of the new century still intact, and seems to have fulfilled honestly its purpose, announced on a hundred different occasions, of maintaining the peace of Europe.

The origin of the Dual Alliance.

The isolation which marked the position of France after 1870 was due to two causes. First, there was Bismarck's diplomatic success in drawing most of the European powers around himself in a league of peace, and secondly, there was the natural aversion felt by monarchical governments to a close union with a republic, presumably revolutionary in its tendencies. But the coolness arising between Russia and Germany at the Congress of Berlin inevitably played into the hands of France. She sought the friendship of the Czar Alexander III., and although the monarchical prejudices of this sovereign caused him to proceed very cautiously, she finally succeeded (1891) in establishing amicable relations, which under the Czar Nicolas II. (1894) seem to have assumed the character of a formal alliance. This Dual Alliance, like the Triple Alliance, claims to be pursuing only peaceful purposes, and has not yet given occasion to doubt its word. These two great European defensive alliances have been formed with reference to antagonisms in Europe, and are pledged, as far as is known, solely to the maintenance of the *status quo* on the continent. They do not seem to concern themselves with the extra-European ambitions of the powers, but have nevertheless had some influence in the

solutions of the various rivalries and conflicts of the last twenty-five years.

The present storm-centres: Africa, Turkey and Asia.

Now these European rivalries and conflicts have gathered around the following leading storm-centres: Africa, Turkey, and China. None of these territories is able to offer much resistance to attack, and hence their exposure to the aggression of the strong.

The African problem.

First, as to the African difficulties. These are now luckily approaching a solution, since the conflicting claims, inaugurated by the general scramble of the eighties, have been adjudicated by the adoption of the sensible policy of mutual concessions. There were, however, many black moments in the history of the African negotiations, for instance, the conflict between England and France in 1898 for the possession of the Niger and the Upper Nile, which was, settled by the withdrawal on the part of France of her pretensions. France still watches with undisguised aversion the English occupation of Egypt; while in the Transvaal (South African Republic), England's attempt to get citizen-rights for her emigrants called outlanders, and president Kruger's counter-proposition for complete and unlimited sovereignty, involved the two countries in long negotiations, and led, in October 1899 to war.

Egypt and the Transvaal.

The Turkish problem.

The Turkish muddle is older than the African one, and offers much tougher resistance to the solvents that have been applied to it. Turkey, or the Ottoman Empire, has long been in dissolution, and would have vanished, at least off the face of Europe, decades ago, if the European powers could only have agreed as to who should inherit from the sultan. At the important Congress of Berlin (1878) they agreed to the principle of fostering the Christian nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula, and although this principle can hardly be expected to meet with the hearty approval of Russia, it has been maintained ever since, with the result that Greece, Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria have acquired a constantly increasing vigour. In fact, the fierce rivalries of

these small states have become as great a threat to the European peace as the progressive decay of Turkey. Thus when in 1885 East Roumelia revolted from Turkey and begged to be incorporated with Bulgaria, Servia, jealous of this increase of her neighbour, engaged in a war in which she was defeated. The conflagration was only kept from spreading over the whole Peninsula by the interference of the powers.

Meanwhile the decay of Turkey has continued, and at two points in particular has led to the old game of revolt by the subjects, answered by massacres on the part of the Turks. These two points are Armenia and Crete or Candia.

Armenia

The territory of Armenia in eastern Asia Minor is partly Russian and partly Turkish. The Armenians are of Semitic stock, but have long been converted to Christianity. Beginning with 1890, the Armenians resident on Turkish soil began organizing a revolt for the purpose of acquiring their independence after the manner of the Balkan nationalities. In 1894, 1895, and 1896, grave outrages were committed by the Turks as an answer to the revolutionary propaganda, and although the powers in response to the clamorous sentiment of Europe interfered and put an end to the disturbances, they did not succeed, owing to the opposition of Russia, in carrying out the only permanent measure of reform —the separation of Armenia from Turkey.

Crete.

In Crete there arose even greater difficulties, but they were luckily brought in the end to a more satisfactory conclusion The Island of Crete is inhabited by Christians and Mussulmans, the Christians being of Hellenic race. As far back as 1868 the sultan had been obliged by the powers to promise reforms in Crete, but these were carried out with so much delay and equivocation that the island never obtained any real peace, and was perpetually disturbed by outbreaks between the Christians and Mussulmans. In 1894 the Christians, secretly aided by their brethren in the kingdom of Greece, began a systematic revolt which the sultan was not able to suppress. In 1896 the sultan, under pressure from the powers, again promised reforms and a Christian governor,

but the distrust of him was by this time firmly rooted, and neither the Cretans nor the Greeks were appeased. Finally, in February, 1897, the Greeks, carried away by the pan-Hellenistic passion, sent a flotilla of torpedo-boats to aid the Cretans, and thereby practically declared war against Turkey. During the next weeks there were feverish preparations on both sides, and in April Turkey actively took the field. In a short campaign she completely overwhelmed the Greeks, but was hindered by the interference of the powers from getting any great advantage from her victory. One important result of the war, however, was that Greece and Turkey alike agreed to the principle of autonomy for Crete, and promised to accept the Christian governor, who was to be named by the powers. After wearisome negotiations, prince George of Greece was at last (1898) appointed to this office. Crete is therefore at present only nominally under Turkey, and her self-government under a Greek prince would seem to indicate that the future will bring her into the fold of the Christian kingdom.

The Turco-Greek War of 1897.

The weakness of China is an old story. On several occasions (1842, 1860, 1868) she has been compelled by England or France or Russia to make commercial and even territorial concessions. But it was not till her war with Japan in 1895 that her whole weakness was revealed. In this war, Japan, commanding an army and a navy organized on modern principles, won an easy victory, and would have acquired a substantial piece of Chinese territory, if Russia, France, and Germany had not interfered and obliged her (Treaty of Shimonoseki) to be satisfied with the island of Formosa and a money indemnity. But besides the weakness of China, there were also brought to the attention of Europe on this occasion her immense undeveloped resources, which soon aroused the avidity of the powers to striking pitch. In 1897 emperor William II. of Germany seized the port of Kiao-Chow, and immediately after Russia got possession of Port Arthur, and England of Wei-hai-wei. Thus the scramble for China has

The Chinese Problem.

The war with Japan, 1895.

begun. France and Italy have not failed to demand special privileges for themselves, and in 1898 the problem became still further complicated by the advent in the East of a new power, the United States, through the acquisition from Spain, in a successful war, of the Philippine Islands. At present the powers seem all to be inclined toward a liberal commercial policy, are alike profuse with protestations of good intentions toward China and toward each other, but nevertheless are watching every new move with suspicion. The interesting question for every student of contemporary politics is whether China will maintain herself or will be partitioned among the powers.

The question of the dismemberment of China.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I.—EMPERORS AND POPES

NOTE 1.—The table of Emperors is complete from Karl the Great on; the table of Popes contains only the more important names.

NOTE 2.—The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title. Those marked with an * were never actually crowned at Rome. Charles V. was crowned by the Pope, but at Bologna, not at Rome.

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
314	Sylvester I. (d. 336).		
		Constantine (the Great), alone.	323
		Julian the Apostate.	361
		Theodosius I.	379
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West).	395
		Theodosius II. (E.).	408
		Valentinian III. (W.).	424
440	Leo I. (the Great), (d. 461).		
		Romulus Augustulus (W.). (Western line ends with Romulus Augustulus, 476.)	475
		[*Till* 800 *there are Emperors only at Constantinople.*]	
		Anastasius I.	491
		Justin I.	518
		Justinian.	527
		Justin II.	565
590	Gregory I. (the Great), (d. 604).		
715	Gregory II.		

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
		Leo III. (the Isaurian).	718
731	Gregory III.		
741	Zacharias.		
752	Stephen II.		
752	Stephen III.		
772	Hadrian I.		
		Constantine VI.	780
		(Deposition of Constantine VI. by Irene, 797.)	
		[The table gives henceforth only the Emperors of the new Western line.]	
795	**Leo III.**		
		Karl the Great.	800
		Ludwig I.	814
816	Stephen IV. (d. 817).		
		Lothar I.	840
		Ludwig II. (in Italy).	855
872	John VIII. (d. 882).		
		Charles II. (the Bald).	875
		Charles III. (the Fat).	881
885	Stephen V.		
891	Formosus.	Guido in Italy).	891
		Lambert (in Italy).	894
896	Boniface VI.		
896	Stephen VI. (d. 897).	Arnulf.	896
		Ludwig the Child.	899
		Louis III. of Provence (in Italy).	901
		Conrad I.	911
		Berengar (in Italy).	915
		Henry I. (the Fowler).	918
955	**John XII.**		
		Otto I., King, 936; Emperor, 962.	962
963	**Leo VIII. (d. 965).**		
		Otto II.	973
		Otto III.	983
		Henry II. (the Holy).	1002
		Conrad II. (the Salic).	1024
		Henry III. (the Black).	1039
		Henry IV.	1056
1057	Stephen IX.		
1058	Benedict X.		
1059	Nicholas II.		
1061	**Alexander II.**		

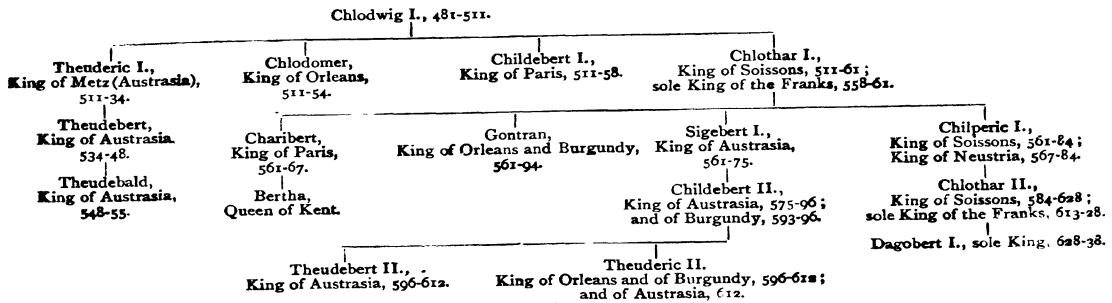
Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).		
		(Rudolph of Suabia, rival.)	1077
1080	(Clement, Anti-pope.)		
		(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival.)	1081
1086	Victor III.		
1087	Urban II.		
		(Conrad of Franconia, rival.)	1093
1099	Paschal II.		
		Henry V.	1106
1118	Gelasius II.		
1119	Calixtus II. (d. 1124).		
1124	Honorius II.		
		Lothar II.	1125
		*Conrad III.	1138
		Frederick I. (Barbarossa).	1152
1154	Hadrian IV.		
1159	Alexander III. (d. 1181).		
1159	(Victor, Anti-pope).		
		Henry VI.	1190
		*Philip of Suabia, Otto IV. (rivals).	1197
1198	Innocent III.		
		Otto IV., alone.	1208
		Frederick II.	1212
1216	Honorius III.		
1227	Gregory IX.		
1241	Celestine IV.		
1243	Innocent IV. (d. 1254).		
		(Henry Raspe, rival.)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival.)	1246
		*Conrad IV.	1250
		Interregnum.	1254
		*Richard of Cornwall and *Alfonso of Castile, rivals.	1257
1271	Gregory X. (d. 1276).		
		*Rudolf I. of Hapsburg.	1273
1277	Nicholas III. (d. 1281).		
		*Adolf of Nassau.	1292
1294	Boniface VIII.		
		*Albrecht I. of Hapsburg.	1298
1303	Benedict XI.		
1305	Clement V. (who removes Papacy to Avignon).		

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
		Henry VII. of Luxemburg.	1308
		Louis IV. of Bavaria.	1314
		(Frederick of Austria, rival.)	
1316	John XXII. (d. 1334).		
		Charles IV. of Luxemburg.	1347
		(Günther of Schwarzburg, rival.)	
1352	Innocent VI.		
1362	Urban V.		
1370	Gregory XI. (who brings Papacy back to Rome).		
1378	Urban VI.	*Wenzel of Luxemburg.	1378
	(Clement VI. Antipope.) [*Here begins the Great Schism.*]		
		*Rupert of the Palatinate.	1400
		Sigismund of Luxemburg.	1410
1417	Martin V. [*Great Schism healed.*]		
1431	Eugenius IV.		
		*Albrecht II. of Hapsburg.	1438
		Frederick III. of Hapsburg.	1440
1447	Nicholas V		
1455	Calixtus IV.		
1458	Pius II. (Æneas Piccolomini).		
1464	Paul II.		
1471	Sixtus IV.		
1484	Innocent VIII.		
1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia), d. 1503.		
		*Maximilian I. of Hapsburg.	1493
		Charles V. of Hapsburg.	1519

This table has been compiled from Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, with the kind permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

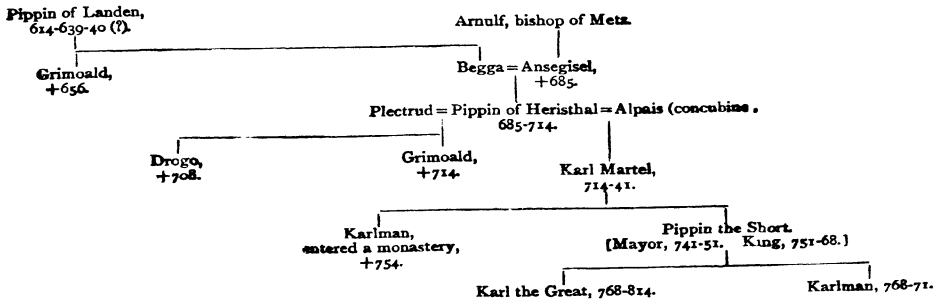
II.—THE FRANKS.

1.—THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS TO DAGOBERT I.



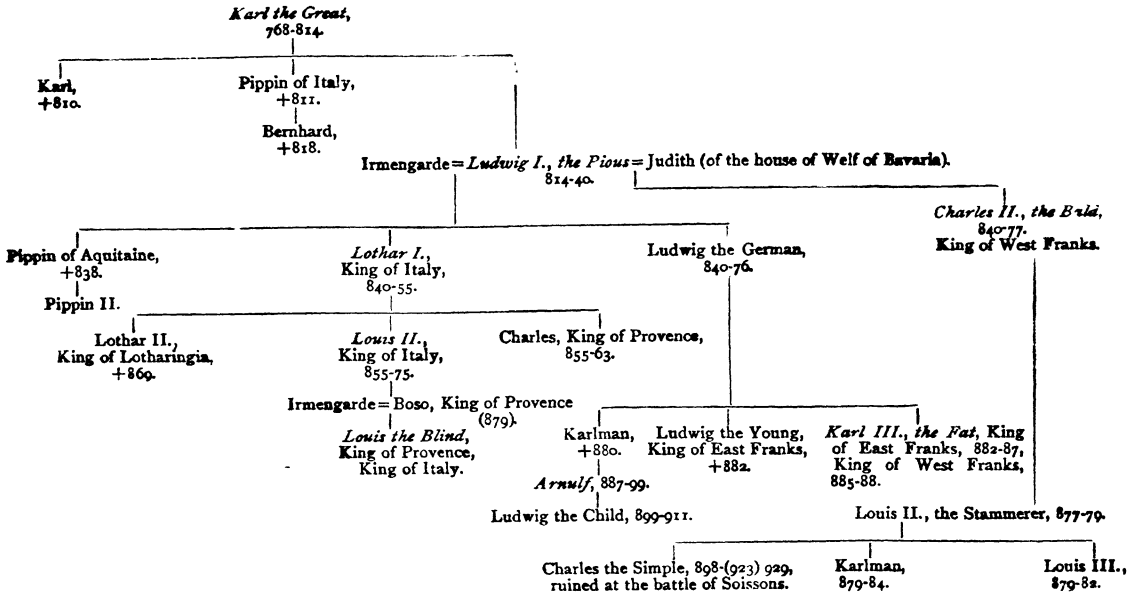
NOTE.—After Dagobert come the Donothing Kings (*rois fainéants*).

2.—THE DUKES OF AUSTRASIA (ANCESTORS OF KARL THE GREAT).



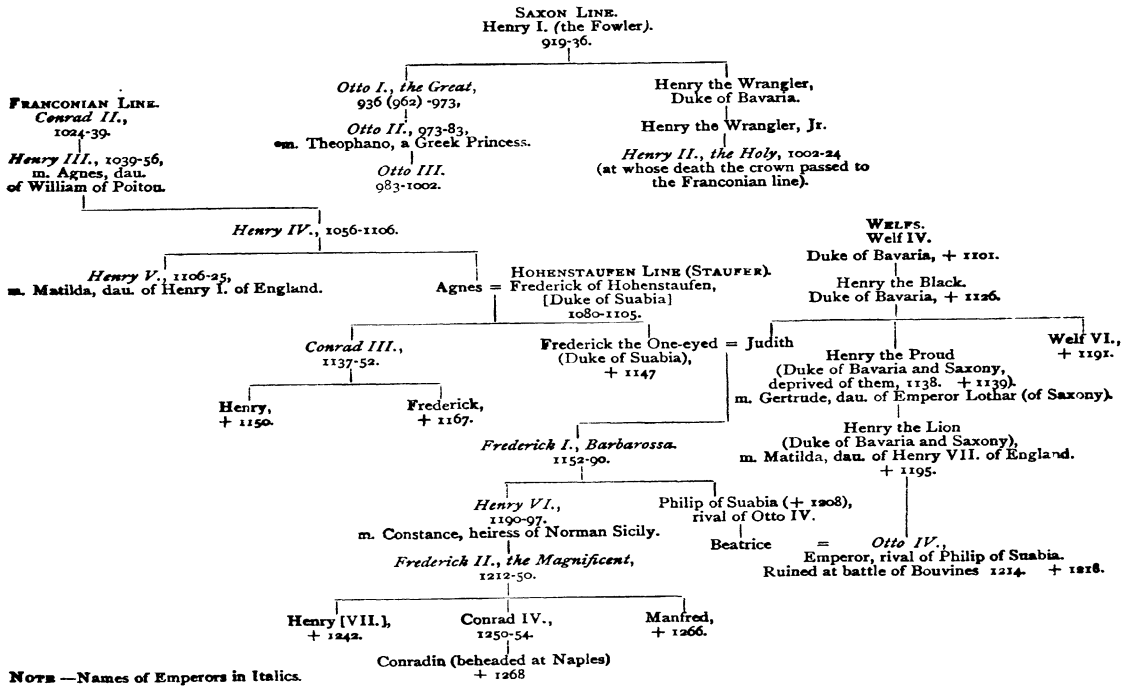
III.—THE EMPIRE.

1.—THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE (THE KARLINGS).



NOTE.—Names of Emperors in Italics.

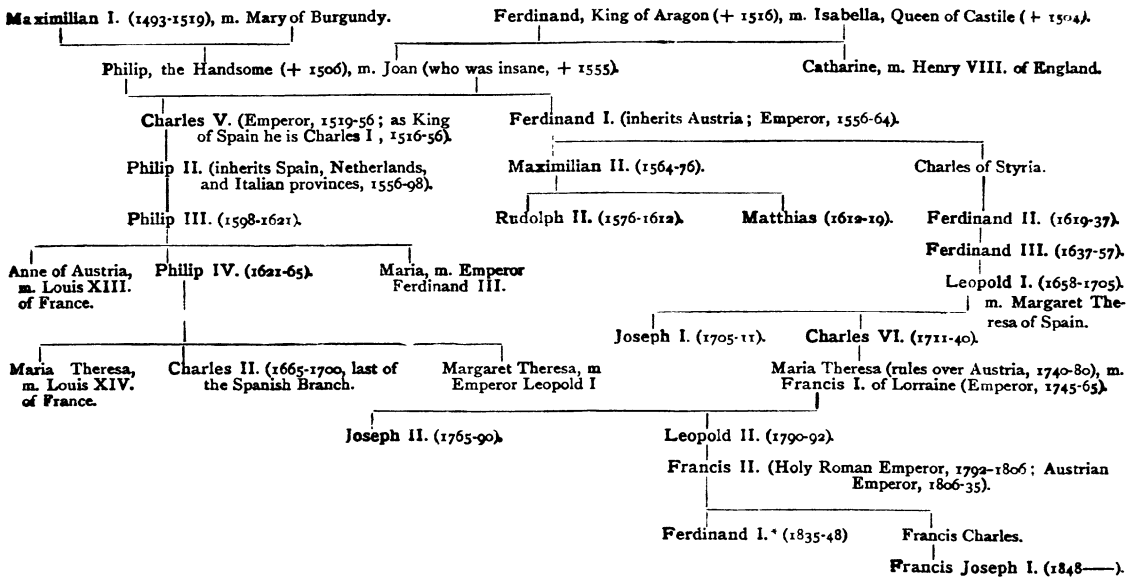
2.—THE SAXON, FRANCONIAN, AND HOHENSTAUFEN HOUSES; THE WELFS.



Note.—Names of Emperors in Italics.

3.—THE HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND HAPSBURG-LORRAINE (AUSTRIA AND SPAIN).

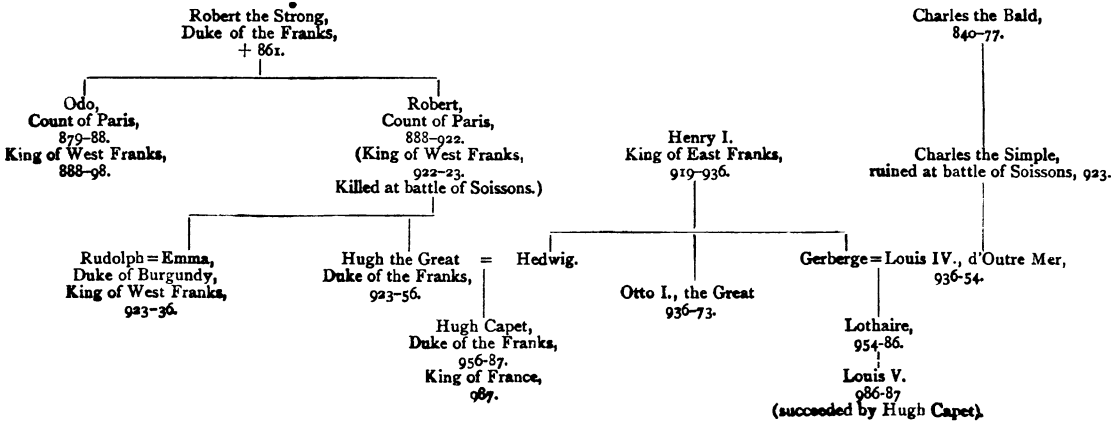
(The names of actual rulers, Holy Roman Emperors, Austrian Emperors, and Spanish Kings are given in heavy type.)



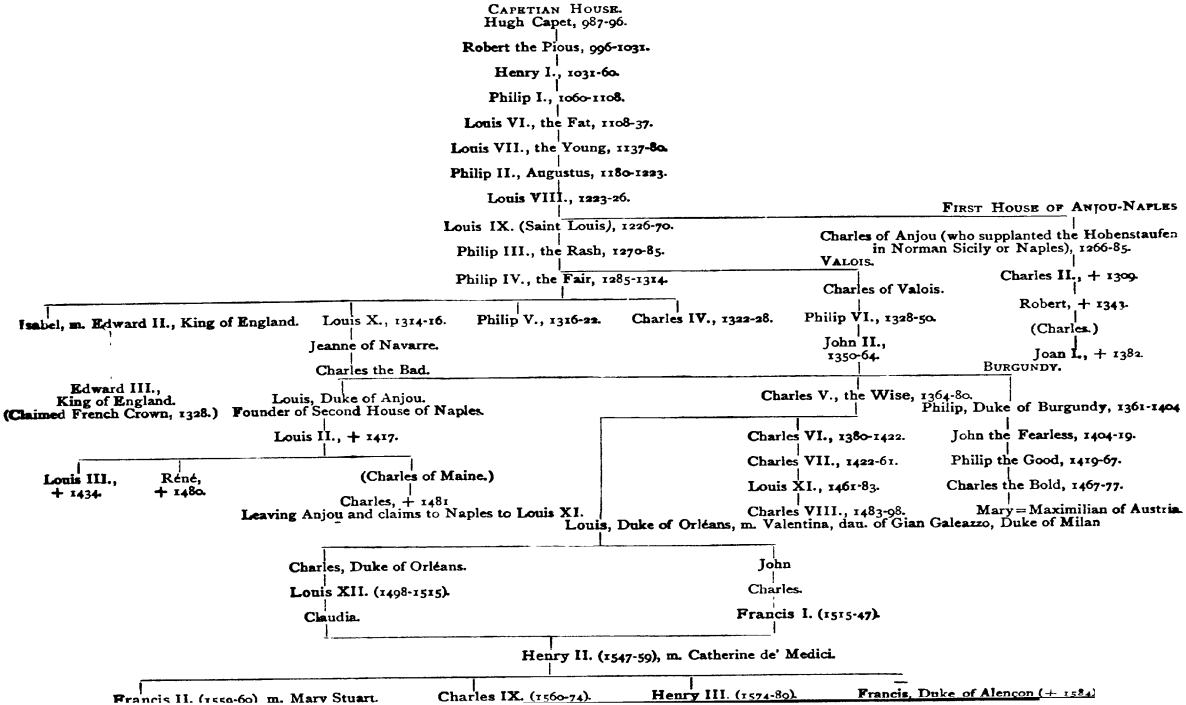
He is the first of that name among the new Austrian Emperors.

IV.—FRANCE.

1.—LATER CAROLINGIANS AND FIRST CAPETIANS (ROBERTINES), SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION AND RIVALRY.



2.—THE CAPETIANS AND COLLATERAL BRANCHES.



3.—THE HOUSES OF BOURBON AND BOURBON-ORLEANS.*

Anthony, Duke of Bourbon, m. Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.

Henry IV. (1589-1610), m. { 1. Margaret of Valois. 2. Marie de' Medici.

Louis XIII. (1610-43), m. Anne of Austria.

Louis XIV. (1643-1715).

Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1711).

Louis, Duke of Burgundy (+ 1712).

Louis XV. (1715-74).

Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1765).

Louis XVI. (1774-92; executed 1793).

Louis (called Louis XVII. + 1795).

Philip, Duke of Anjou, who as Philip V. becomes founder of the Spanish Bourbons.

Louis XVIII. (1814-24).

Charles X (1824-30).

Charles, Duke of Berri

Henry, Count of Chambord (+ 1883; line extinct).

Philip, Duke of Orléans.

Philip, the Regent (1715-23)

Louis (+ 1752).

Louis Philip (+ 1785).

Louis Philip (known as Égalité; executed 1793).

Louis Philip, King of the French (1830-48).

Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans (+ 1842).

Louis Philip, Count of Paris (+ 1895).

Louis Philip, Duke of Orléans, the present Bourbon Pretender.

* The House of Bourbon is descended from a younger son of Louis IX. (St Louis).

4.—THE HOUSE OF BONAPARTE.

Charles Bonaparte (+ 1785), m. Letitia Ramolino (+1836).

Joseph, King of Naples, 1806. King of Spain, 1808 (+ 1844).

Napoleon I. (1804-14. + 1821). m. { 1. Josephine Beauharnais. 2. Marie Louise of Austria.

Napoleon II., King of Rome; later, Duke of Reichstadt (+ 1832).

Lucien (+ 1840).

Elise.

Louis, King of Holland (+ 1846), m. Hortense Beauharnais, Napoleon's step-daughter.

Louis Napoleon, known as Napoleon III (1852. + 1873).

Napoleon (killed in Zululand, 1879).

Pauline.

Caroline.

Jerome, King of Westphalia (+ 1860)

Napoleon (+ 1891).

Napoleon Victor, Louis, who are the present representatives of the House.

V.—SPAIN, THE SPANISH BOURBONS.

Philip V. (1700-46), grandson of Louis XIV. of France.

Ferdinand VI. (1746-59).

Charles III. (1759-88).

Charles IV. (1788-1808).

THE CARLIST PRETENDERS.

Ferdinand VII. (1814-33).

Don Carlos (+ 1855).

Isabella (1833-68),* m. Francis of Assis.

Don Carlos (+ 1861).

Don Juan.

Alfonso XII. (1875-85).

Don Carlos (b. 1848).

Alfonso XIII. (1886——).

* From 1868 to 1875 a rapid succession of revolutionary governments.

VI.—PRUSSIA. THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg (1608-19). Acquires (1) Rhenish lands of Cleves and Mark (1609); (2) the Duchy of Prussia (1618).

George William (1619-40).

Frederick William (1640-88) the Great Elector.

Frederick [as Elector, Frederick III. (1688-1701); as King in Prussia he is Frederick I. (1701-13)].

Frederick William I. (1713-40).

Frederick II., called the Great (1740-86).

August William (+ 1758).

Henry (+ 1802).

Ferdinand (+ 1813).

Frederick William II. (1786-97).

Frederick William III. (1797-1840), m. Louise of Mecklenburg.

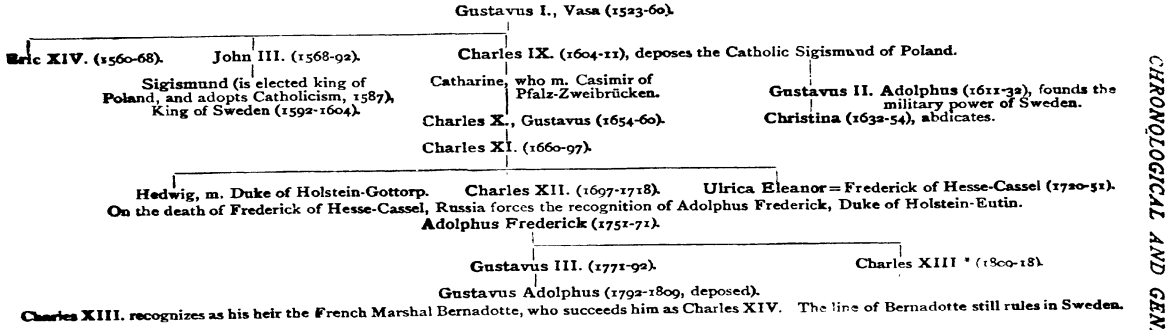
Frederick William IV. (1840-61).

William I. (1861-88), becomes German Emperor, 1871.

Frederick III. (March to June, 1888), m. Victoria of England.

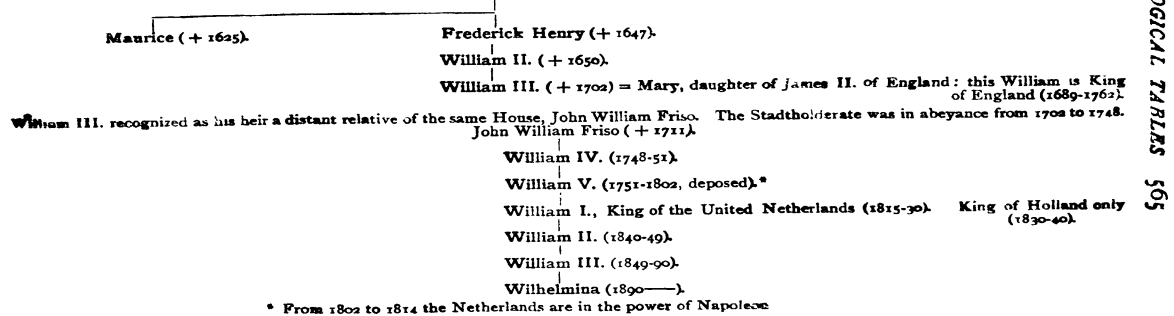
William II. (1888——).

VII.—SWEDEN. THE HOUSES OF VASA AND VASA-PFALZ-ZWEIBRÜCKEN.



Charles XIII. recognizes as his heir the French Marshal Bernadotte, who succeeds him as Charles XIV. The line of Bernadotte still rules in Sweden.

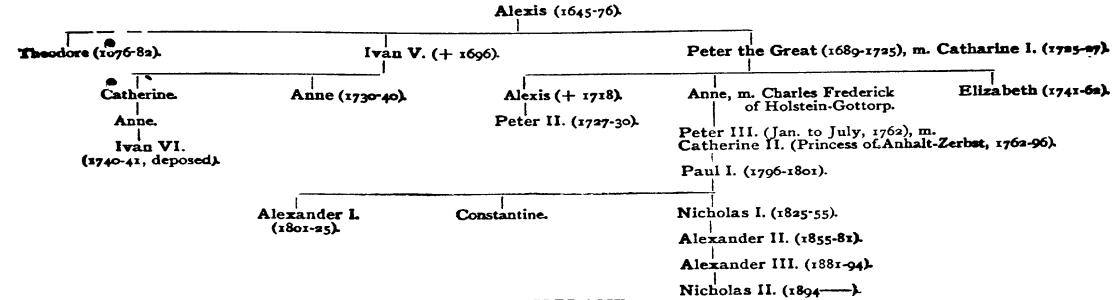
VIII—THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS. THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.



William III. recognized as his heir a distant relative of the same House, John William Friso. The Stadtholderate was in abeyance from 1702 to 1748.

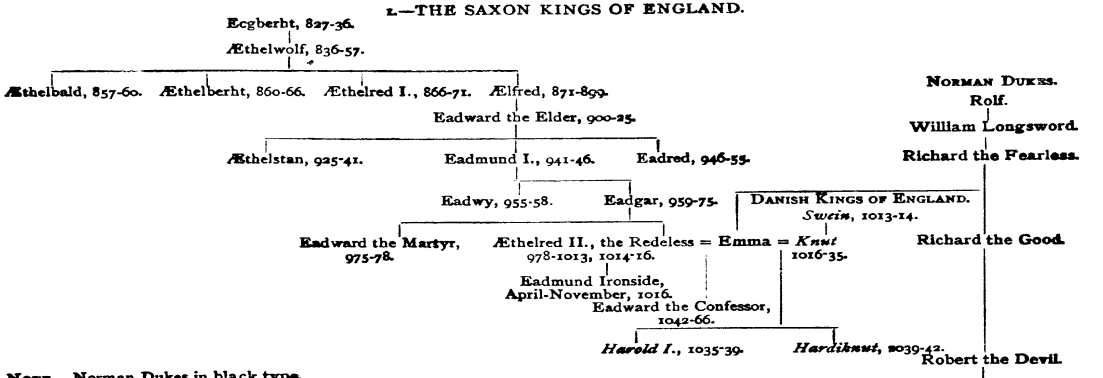
* From 1802 to 1814 the Netherlands are in the power of Napoleon

IX.—RUSSIA. THE HOUSES OF ROMANOFF AND ROMANOFF-HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP



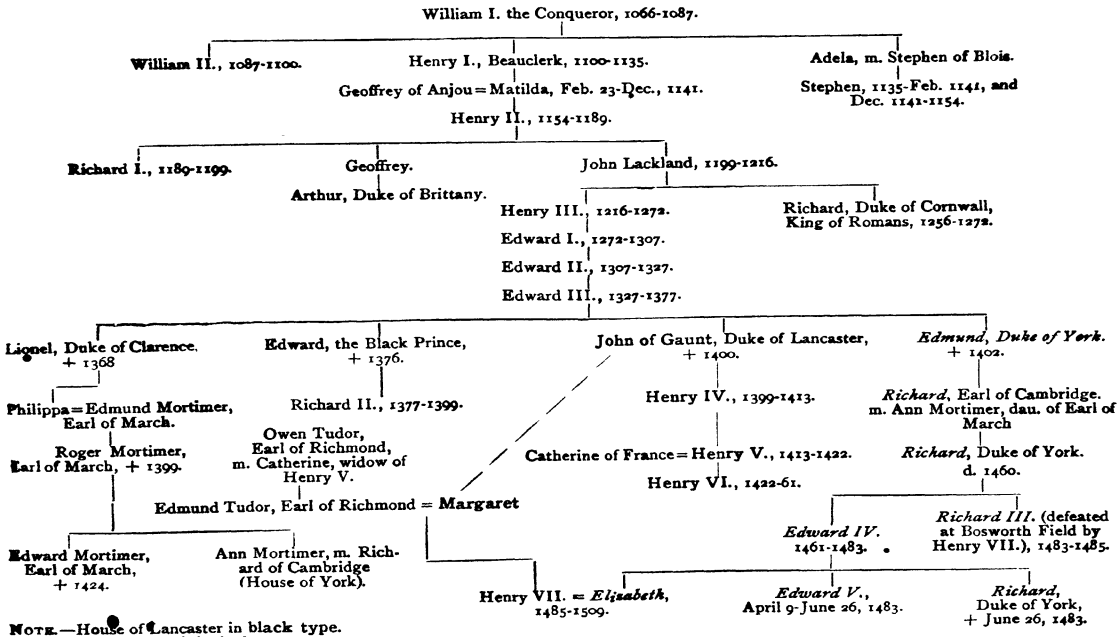
X.—ENGLAND.

I.—THE SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND.



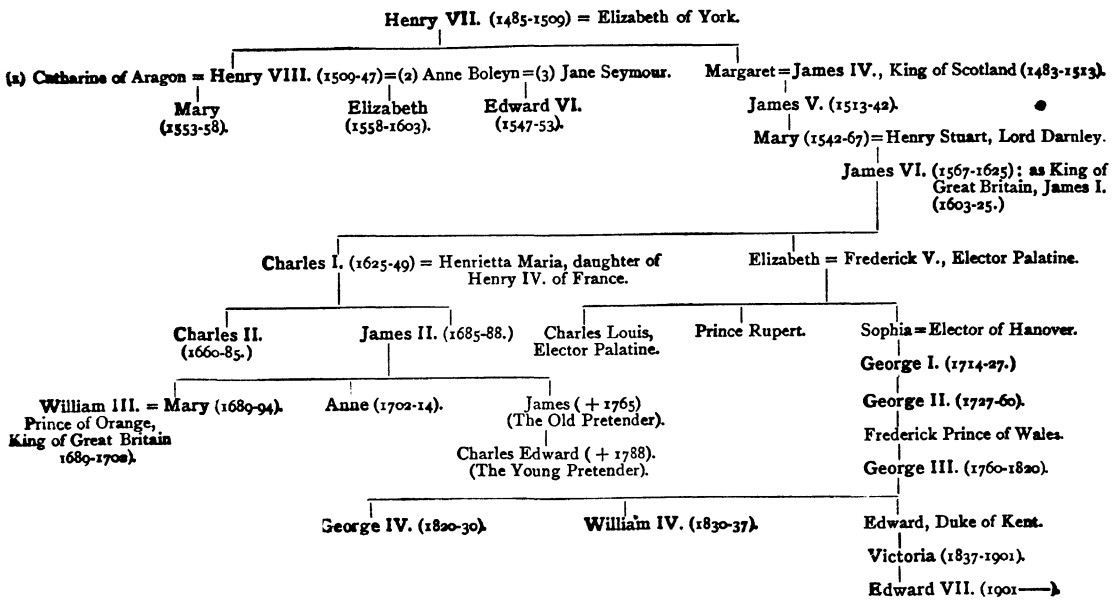
Note.—Norman Dukes in black type.

2.—FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO HENRY VII.



NOTE.—House of Lancaster in black type.
House of York in *italics*.
The broken line indicates that Margaret is a descendant of John of Gaunt, and that Henry VII. is therefore by his mother a Lancastrian.

F TUDOR, STUART, AND HANOVER, SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION.



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