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SHORT HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN TIMES

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: THE CHIEF FACTORS IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

1. Preliminary Survey. In an earlier volume we sketched briefly the affairs of men from the time when they first emerged from the obscurity of the past to the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West.¹ In the present work we propose to continue the narrative there begun and bring the story down to our Own day.

The fourteen centuries of history embraced in our survey are usually conceived as forming two periods,—the *Middle Ages*, or the period lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and the *Modern Age*, which extends from the latter event to the present time. The Middle Ages again naturally subdivide into two periods,—the *Dark Ages* and the *Age of Revival*; while the Modern Age, as we shall view it, also falls into two divisions,—the *Era of the Protestant Reformation* and the *Era of the Political Revolution*.

The *Dark Ages*, which extend from the fall of Rome to about the end of the tenth or the opening of the eleventh century, mark a period of decline in civilization² and a great lessening of the light of culture which for a thousand years and more had illumined

¹ Our *Short History of Ancient Times* practically ends with this great revolution of the fifth century of the Christian era, although in order to meet the requirements of some schools there is given in concluding chapters a brief resume of events down to the Restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne, A. D. 800.

² This was a continuation of the decline which had begun before the break-up of the Western Roman Empire. See *Short History of Ancient Times*, Rev. Ed., sect. 548.

the Mediterranean lands. The period was one of origins—of the beginnings of peoples, of languages, and of institutions.

The *Age of Revival* begins about the opening of the eleventh century and merges with a new epoch during the fifteenth—the century which marks the discovery of the New World. During all this time civilization was making slow but sure advances: social order was gradually triumphing over feudal anarchy, and governments were becoming more regular. The last part of the period especially was marked by a great intellectual revival,—a movement known as the *Renaissance*, or "New Birth,"—by improvements, inventions, and discoveries, which greatly stirred men's minds and awakened them as from a sleep. The epoch witnessed the great struggle between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, the two most historically important institutions of the mediæval time. The Crusades, or Holy Wars, were the most remarkable undertakings of the age.

The *Era of the Reformation* embraces the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. The period is characterized by the great religious movement known as the Reformation, and the tremendous struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Almost all the wars of the period were religious wars. The last great combat was the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which was closed by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. After this date the disputes and wars between parties and nations were dynastic or political rather than religious in character.

The *Era of the Political Revolution* extends from the Peace of Westphalia to the Treaty of Versailles, 1919. The age is especially characterized by a prolonged conflict between despotic and liberal principles of government. Outstanding events of the epoch were the English Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, and the World War of 1914.

Having now made a general survey of the region we are to traverse, having marked the successive stages of the progressive course of European civilization,—the intellectual, the religious, and the political revolution,—we must turn back to our starting point, the fall of Rome.

2. Relation to World History of the Fall of Rome. The calamity which in the fifth century befell the Roman Empire in the West is sometimes spoken of as an event marking the extinction of ancient civilization. The treasures of the Old World are represented as having been destroyed, and mankind as obliged to take a fresh start,—to lay the foundations of civilization anew. It was not so. All or almost all that was really valuable in the accumulations of antiquity escaped harm, and became sooner or later the possession of the succeeding ages.

The event was not an unrelieved calamity, because fortunately the floods that seemed to be sweeping so much away were not the mountain torrent, which covers fruitful fields with worthless drift, but the overflowing Nile with its rich deposits. Over all the regions covered by the barbarian inundation a new stratum of population was thrown down, a new soil formed that was capable of nourishing a better civilization than any the world had yet seen. Or, to use the figure of Draper, we may liken the precipitation of the northern barbarians upon the expiring Roman Empire to the heaping of fresh fuel upon a dying fire; for a time it burns lower and seems almost extinguished, but soon it bursts through the added fuel, and flames up with redoubled energy and ardor.

3. The Three Chief Elements of European Civilization. We must now notice what survived the catastrophe of the fifth century, what it was that Rome transmitted to the peoples of the new-forming world. This renders necessary an analysis of the elements of European civilization.

European civilization is largely the result of the blending of three historic elements,—the *Classical*, the *Hebrew*, and the *Teutonic*.

By the classical element in civilization is meant that whole body of arts, sciences, literatures, laws, manners, ideas, social arrangements, and models of imperial and municipal government—everything, in a word, save Christianity—that Greece and Rome gave to mediæval and modern Europe. Taken together, these things constituted a valuable gift to the new northern race

that was henceforth to represent civilization. It is true that the barbarian invaders of the Empire seemed at first utterly indifferent to these things; that the masterpieces of antique art were buried beneath the rubbish of sacked villas and cities; and that the precious manuscripts of the old sages and poets, because they were pagan productions and hence regarded as dangerous to Christian faith, were often suffered to lie neglected in the libraries of cathedrals and convents. Nevertheless, classical antiquity, as we shall learn, was the instructor of the Middle Ages.

By the Hebrew element in history is meant Christianity. This has been a most potent factor in modern civilization. It tamed the barbarian conquerors of Rome. It filled Europe with monasteries, cathedrals, and schools. It inspired the Crusades and aided powerfully in the creation of chivalry. In short, it has so colored the life and so molded the institutions of the European peoples that their history is very largely a story of this religion, which, first going forth from Judea, was given to the younger world by the missionaries of Rome. Among the doctrines taught by the new religion were the unity of God, the brotherhood of man, and immortality,—doctrines which have greatly helped to make the modern so different from the ancient world.

By the Teutonic element in history is meant the barbarian peoples of Indo-European speech—the Goths, Franks, Danes, Angles, Saxons, and kindred tribes¹ — who at the time of the break-up of the Roman Empire dwelt in central and northwestern Europe or had pushed into the Roman provinces and taken part in the overthrow of the Imperial Roman government. These folk, though of course they had the social institutions and customs of a primitive people, were poor in those things in which the Romans were rich. They had neither arts, nor sciences, nor philosophies. But they possessed, in general, a fine capacity for growth and culture and achievement; and because of this they were destined to play a great role in the history of later times.

* As to race, they belonged, in the main, to the "Nordic" race of present-day anthropologists.

4. Celts, Slavs, and Other Peoples. Having noticed the Romans and the Teutons, the two most important of the peoples that present themselves to us at the time of the fall of Rome, if we now name the Celts, the Slavs, the Arabians, and the Mongols and Turks, we shall have under view the chief actors in the drama of mediaeval and of a large part of modern history.

At the commencement of the mediaeval era the Celts were in front of the Teutons, clinging to the western edge of the European continent, and engaged in a bitter contest with these latter folk, which, in the antagonism of England and Ireland, was destined to extend itself to our own day.

The Slavs were in the rear of the Teutonic tribes, pressing them on, even as the Celts in front were struggling to resist their advance. These peoples, backward in civilization, will play only an obscure part in the transactions of the mediaeval era, but in the course of the modern period will assume a most commanding position among the European nations.

The Arabians were hidden in their deserts; but in the seventh century we shall see them, animated by a wonderful religious enthusiasm, issue from their peninsula and begin a contest with the Christian nations which, in its varying phases, was destined to fill a large part of the mediaeval period.

The Mongols and Turks were buried in central Asia. They will appear late in the eleventh century, proselytes, for the most part, of Mohammedanism; and, as the religious ardor of the Semitic Arabians grows cool, we shall see the Islam standard carried forward by these zealous converts of another race, and finally, in the fifteenth century, we shall see the Crescent, the adopted emblem of the new religion, placed by the Ottoman Turks above the dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

As the Middle Ages draw to a close, the remote nations of eastern Asia will gradually come within our circle of vision; and, as the Modern Age dawns, we shall catch a glimpse of new continents and strange races of men beyond the Atlantic.

DIVISION I. THE MIDDLE AGES

FIRST PERIOD. THE DARK AGES

(From the Fall of Rome to the Eleventh Century)

CHAPTER II

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

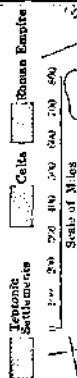
In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the Teutonic tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the dissolution of the Roman government in the West, of the principal kingdoms set up by the Teutonic chieftains in the different parts of the old Empire.

5. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493-554). Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors. His rule, which lasted only seventeen years, was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

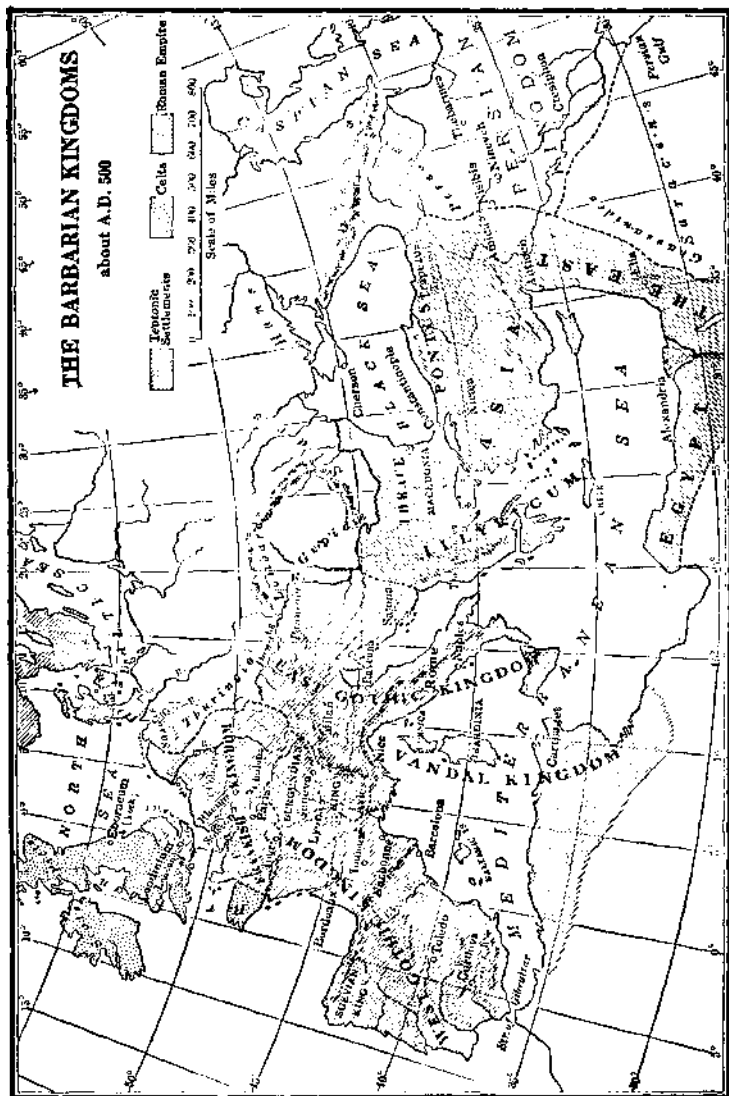
The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493-527)—years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that "the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period." His effort was to preserve Roman civilization, and to this end he repaired the old Roman roads, restored the monuments of the Empire that were falling into decay, and in so far as possible maintained Roman law and custom.

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

about A.D. 500



Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500



The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, emperor of the East, taking advantage of that event, sent his generals to deliver Italy from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was for a brief time reunited to the Empire.

6. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415-711). The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman imperial government in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. They were driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, but held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sect. 44). By this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of today is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

7. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429-533). We have already spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their king Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome. Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, the Byzantine emperor Justinian sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

8. The Franks under the Merovingians¹ (A.D. 486-752). Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen, were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Clovis. As the Roman power declined, Clovis gradually extended his authority over a great part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians had become so feeble and inefficient that they were pushed aside by an ambitious officer of the crown, known as Mayor of the Palace, and a new royal line—the Carolingian—was established.

9. Kingdom of the Lombards (A.D. 568-774). Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian, before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the Empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards.

The kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will today occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

10. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain. We have already seen how in the time of Rome's distress the barbarians secured a footing in Britain. The conquerors of Britain belonged to three Teutonic tribes,—the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes,—but among the Celts they all passed under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

¹ So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms,—frequently designated, though somewhat inaccurately, as the *Hep-tarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802-839), brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

11. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire. We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and which there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old Empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations—tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the western portion of the fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

References. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders* and *Theodoric the Goth* (Hodgkin is recognized as the best authority on the period of the migration). VILLARI, P., *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy*. GUMMERE, F. B., *Germanic Origins* (an authoritative and interesting work on the early culture of the Germans). GIBBON, E., chaps, xxxviii, xxxix. CHURCH, R. W., *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, chaps, i-v. EMERTON, E., *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps, vi, vii. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, chap, xv; vol. ii, chaps, iv-vii.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

12. Introductory. The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the Empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian. For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the imperial city their lives.¹ The more tolerable fate of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as compared with the hard fate of Britain, is owing, in part at least, to the fact that the tribes which overran those countries had become, in the main, converts to Christianity before they crossed the boundaries of the Empire, while the Saxons, when they entered Britain, were still untamed pagans.

13. Conversion of the Franks; Importance of this Event. The Franks when they entered the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf in battle led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith.

"The conversion of the Franks," says the historian Milman, "was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment

¹ See *Short History of Ancient Times*-, Rev. Ed., sects. 329 and 334.

for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other Teutonic invaders of the Empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

14. Augustine's Mission to England. In the year 596 of the Christian era Pope Gregory 1 sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them; and, being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.¹ One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reestablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century. As the historian Green says,—he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine,—"The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengist had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors, returned with the Christian faith."

15. The Conversion of Ireland; Iona. The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. With such success were his labors

¹ Read the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 13 (Bohn). Bede the Venerable (about A.D. 673-735) was a pious and learned Northumbrian monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ("The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation").

attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith. Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off



FIG. THE RUINS OF IONA. (After an old drawing)

That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.—**DR.**

JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western hies of Scotland*

the western coast of Scotland. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

16. The Conversion of Germany. The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

The Christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic folk of western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.¹

¹ The story of the conversion of the Scandinavian peoples, of the Eastern Slavs, and of the Hungarians belongs to a later period than that embraced by our present survey.

II. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

17. Monasticism Defined; Teachings that fostered its Growth.

It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This term, in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits or anchorites—persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

Christian asceticism was fostered by teachings drawn from various texts of the Bible. Thus the apostle St. Paul had said, "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord; . . . but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world." And Christ himself had declared, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple";² and, again, he had said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."³ These passages, and others like them, taken literally, tended greatly to confirm the belief of the ascetic that his life of isolation and poverty and abstinence was the most perfect life and the surest way to win salvation.

18. Monasticism in the West. During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33.

² Luke xiv. 26.

³ Matt. xix. 21.

Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

19. The Rule of St. Benedict. With a view to introducing some sort of regularity into the practices and austerities of the monks, rules were early prescribed for their observance. The three essential vows of the monk were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480-543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sect. 36) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that directed the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

20. Services Rendered by the Monks to Civilization. The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe.

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the centers for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also became copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. Almost all the remains of the Greek and Latin classics that we possess have come to us through the agency of the monks. They became also the chroniclers of the events of their own times, so that it is to them we are indebted for a great part of our knowledge of the early mediaeval centuries. Thus the scriptorium, or writing-room of the monastery, held the place in mediaeval society that the great publishing house holds in the modern world.



FIG. 2. A MONK COMING TO THE SCRIPTORIUM. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

The monks became, further, the almoners of the pious and the Wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediaeval ages.

III. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

21. The Empire within the Empire. Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which in its constitution and its administrative system was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of whom deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans (or archbishops), and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five

patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction, and this was already very widely recognized. Before the close of the eighth century there was firmly established over a great part of Christendom what we may call an ecclesiastical monarchy.

Besides the influence of great men—such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I—who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy. In the following sections we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks- in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

22. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow apostles. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the Church at Rome, and had suffered martyrdom there under the emperor Nero. These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of Peter and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

23. Advantages of their Position at the Political Center of the World. The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a **great** advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. *The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered

about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

24. Effect of the Removal of the Imperial Government to Constantinople. Nor was this advantage that was given the Roman bishops by their position at Rome lost when the old capital ceased to be an imperial city. The removal, by the acts of Diocletian and Constantine, of the chief seat of the government to the East, instead of diminishing the power and dignity of the Roman bishops, tended greatly to promote their claims and authority. It left the pontiff the foremost personage in Rome.

25. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. Again, when the barbarians came, there came another occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how, mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great, the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the imperial city; and how the same bishop, a few years later, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (*Short History of Ancient Times*, sects. 333 and 334).

Thus, when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman See.

26. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West **into the** hands of the emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in western Europe, and, being so **far** removed from the court at Constantinople, gradually assumed almost imperial powers. To them were referred for **decision the** disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. **Especially did the** bishops and archbishops throughout the West **in**

their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

27. The Missions of Rome. Again, the early missionary zeal of the Church of Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the Holy See and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the Continent, they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

28. Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens. In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans.¹ This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the Church of Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman Church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

29. The Popes become Temporal Sovereigns. A dispute about the use of images in worship, known in church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts,"² which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs. Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople A.D. 716, was a most zealous Iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the emperor resolved to clear also the Latin

¹ See Chapter VI.

² *Iconoclast* means "image breaker."

churches of the West of these "symbols of idolatry." To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome, Pope Gregory II, not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the emperor and all the Iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the Roman Catholic Church. Though images—paintings and mosaics only—were permanently restored in the Eastern churches in 842, still by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed. The final outcome was the permanent separation, in the last half of the eleventh century, of the Church of the East from that of the West.

In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes of the Carolingian house. Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the authority and enhanced the power and prestige of the Frankish rulers; these in turn defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and, dowering them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediaeval time.

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CHAPTER IV

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

30. Introductory. The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and hastened in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

31. The Romance Nations. In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, **the** barbarians were themselves absorbed, **yet** not without essentially changing the body into which they were incorporated. Thus, about the end of the fourth century everything **in** Italy, Spain, and France—dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers—reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken **place**. The barbarians have come in. For a time **we** see everywhere, jostling each other **in** the streets and markets, crowding **each other in the** theaters **and** courts, **kneeling** together in the

churches, the former Romanized subjects of the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance peoples, because at base they are Roman.

32. The Formation of the Romance Languages. During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now, in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans, did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had practically dropped their own tongue and were using that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages—all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

33. Ordeals. The agencies relied upon by the Teutons to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.

The ordeal by fire consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, he was held to be innocent. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flame of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands.

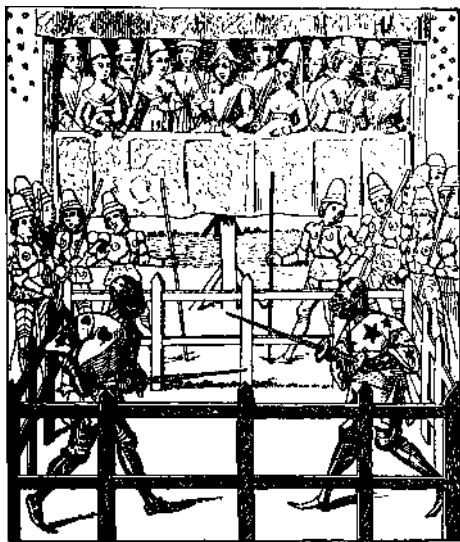


FIG. 3. TRIAL BY COMBAT. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century; after Lacroix)

a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even religious disputes were sometimes settled in this way.¹

¹ Ordeals are found among all primitive peoples. For proof by ordeal among the Hebrews, see Num. v. 11-31 and Josh. vii. 16-18. The combat between David and Goliath, being an appeal to the judgment of Heaven, possesses the essential element of the judicial duel. We also find an ordeal in the test proposed by Elijah to the prophets of Baal,— 1 Kings xviii. 17-40. It was the same among the Greeks. Thus, for instance, in Sophocles' *Antigone* the watchman is made to say, " Prepared we were to take up red-hot iron, to walk through fire."

The ordeal by water was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond; if he floated, he was held to be guilty; if he sank, innocent,

The wager of battle or trial by combat was

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, since women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

34. The Revival of the Roman Law. Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and in southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was eventually to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place longer, likewise finally give way almost everywhere, in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the Empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

References. EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, H. C., *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediaeval Civilization*, pp. 310-325. For the spread of the Latin speech and the formation of the Romance languages, see Abbott, F. R., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 3-31. For the contribution made by the Germans to civilization, see Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. v. For the influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe, see Hadley, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

35. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). During the fifty years immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the imperial city of the West. Had the New Rome—the destined refuge for a thousand years of Graeco-Roman learning and culture—also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian."

36. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and "The Law-giver of Civilization." One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the "Imperial Restoration," by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sect. 7), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of Exarch. Besides recovering Africa and Italy from the barbarians, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his generals was

the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world. In causing its publication Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

Justinian also earned renown as one of the worlds greatest builders. He rebuilt with increased splendor the Church of Santa



THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

Sophia, which, founded by Constantine the Great, had been burned during a riot in his reign. The structure still stands, though the cross which originally surmounted the dome was in 1453 replaced by the Moslem crescent. In its interior decorations this edifice is regarded as one of the most beautiful creations of Christian art.

37. The Empire becomes Greek. Less than a generation after the death of Justinian, the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the Empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed

upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

38. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East. The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

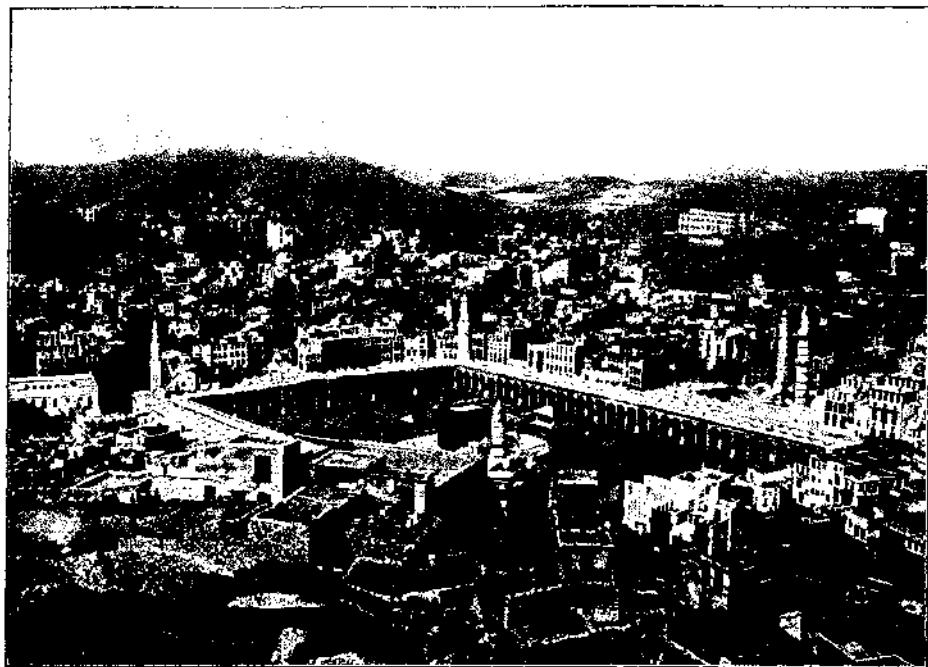
Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructor of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.¹

Third, it kept alive the imperial ideal, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sect. 50).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world today largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

References. GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chaps, xl-xliv (on the reign of Justinian; chap, xlv deals with Roman law). OMAN, C. W. C., *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps, iv-viii; and *The Dark Ages*, chaps, v, vi. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, "The Imperial Restoration." *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., Art. "Justinian I," by James Bryce. BURY, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols, (a work of superior scholarship). HARRISON, F., *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages* (a brilliant lecture). *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. ii, chaps, i, ii. SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, chap. iii.

¹ This instruction was imparted largely through the mediation of the Italian cities, and particularly of Venice, which throughout almost all the mediæval time were in close political or commercial relations with Constantinople.



Courtesy of the National Geographic Magazine

FIG. 4. THE CITY OF MECCA AND THE SACRED KAABA. (From a photograph)

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF ISLAM

We have seen the Teutonic barbarians of the North descend upon the Roman Empire and wrest from it all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the Empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.

39. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and revered shrine of the Kaaba, where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers. Through them the Arab teachers had become acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the teachings of Christianity. It was from the Jews and Christians, doubtless, that Mohammed learned many of the doctrines that he taught.

40. Mohammed. Mohammed, the great prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year 570 of the Christian era. In his early years he was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel

appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow men. The essence of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.

For a considerable time after having received this commission, Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he everywhere met, that at the end of three years' preaching his disciples numbered only forty persons.

41. **The Hegira** (A.D. 622). The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the guardians of the national idols of the Kaaba, and they began to persecute Mohammed and his followers. To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or "flight," as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

His cause being warmly espoused by the inhabitants of Medina, Mohammed now assumed along with the character of a lawgiver and moral teacher that of a warrior. He declared it to be the will of God that the new faith should be spread by the sword. Within ten years from the time of the assumption of the sword by Mohammed, Mecca had been conquered and the new creed established widely among the independent tribes of Arabia.

42. **The Koran and its Teachings.** The doctrines of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time Mohammed recited to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon potsherds and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Such was the origin of the sacred book of Islam.

The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the unity of God: "There is no God save Allah" echoes throughout the Koran. To this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the prophet of Allah."

The Koran inculcates the practice of four cardinal duties. The first is prayer; five times every day must the believer turn his face toward Mecca and engage in devotion. The second requirement is almsgiving, or payment of the so-called holy tax. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month, throughout which period no food must be eaten during the day. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

43. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the prophet¹ were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the ancient fire-worshippers. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals, were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

44. The Invasion of Europe; the Battle of Tours (A.D. 732). Thus, in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and

¹ ! Abu-Bekr (A. n. 632-634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. /Ie was followed by Omar (A. I>. 634-644), Othman (A. D. 644-655), and Ali (A. D. 655-661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins. Ali was the last of the so-called orthodox caliphs.

across Africa to Spain on the other. At each of these points Europe was threatened with invasion. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Strait of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

The first attempt at invasion of the continent was made in the East, where the Arabs vainly endeavored to gain control of the Bosphorus by wresting Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. Repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, they succeeded in gaining a foothold in Spain. Roderic, the last of the Visigothic kings, was hopelessly defeated in battle, and all the peninsula, save some mountainous regions in the northwest, quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

A few years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves in Gaul. This advance of the Moslems beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. In the year 732 of the Christian era, just one hundred years after the death of the prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the invaders upon the plains of Tours in central Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

45. Golden Age of the Arabian Caliphate. At first the caliphs ruled from the city of Medina; then for almost a hundred years (A.D. 661-750) they issued their commands from the city of Damascus; later they established their court on the Lower Tigris at Bagdad,—the representative of the ancient Babylon,—which **city for a period of more than five hundred years was a brilliant center of Arabian civilization.**

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covered the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Al-Mansur (A.D. 754-775) and the renowned Harun-al-Rashid (A.D. 786-809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

46. The Dismemberment of the Caliphate. "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time the extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals—from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir—were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

47. The Civilization of Arabian Islam. The Saracens were co-heirs of antiquity with the Teutonic peoples. They made especially their own the scientific accumulations of the ancient civilizations and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. From the Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, medicine, and other sciences. The scientific writings of Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, and Hindu treatises on astronomy and algebra were translated from the Greek and Sanskrit into Arabic, and formed the basis of the Arabian studies and investigations. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.¹ They devised

¹ What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is kept in remembrance by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediaeval world is indicated by the names which these places

what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation,¹ and gave to Europe this indispensable instrument of all scientific investigations dependent upon mathematical calculations.

In the lighter forms of literature—romance and poetry—the Arabs produced much that possesses a high degree of excellence. The inimitable tales of the *Arabian Nights*, besides being a valuable commentary on Arabian life and manners at the time of the culmination of oriental culture at the court of Bagdad, form also an addition to the imperishable portion of the literature of the world.

All this literary and scientific activity found expression in the establishment of schools and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture,—one of the most beautiful specimens of which is preserved to us in the palace of the Moorish kings at Granada,—a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

References. The Koran is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam, as a religion. The translation by Palmer is the best. Mum, \V., *The Life of Mohammed* and *The Rise and Decline of Islam* (these works are written in an unfriendly and unsympathetic spirit). SMITH, R. R., *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (has a short bibliography.) SPKNGKR, A., *The Life of Mohammed*. IRVINT,, \\\, *Mahomet and his Successors*. GIBHON, K., *The Decline and Fall*, chaps. 1-1ii. M.\K(oi.ioi'Tii, 1). S., *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*. FREEMAN, K. A., *History and Conquests of the Saracens* (a rapid sketch by a master). SYKD AMEER AM, *The Spirit of Islam and Short History of the Saracens*. Pooi.E, S, L., *Studies in a J/osi/ue*. F.ncyc. Brit., nth ed., Arts. "Mahomet," "Mahommedan Institutions," "Mahommedan Law," "Mahommedan Religion." *The Cambridge Medirral History*, vol. ii, chaps, x-xii.

have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

¹ The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system, they seem to have borrowed from India.

CHAPTER VII

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

48. Introductory. We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the Saracens on the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, their king, second of the Carolingian line (sect. 8), is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times,—indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

49. The Wars of Charlemagne. During his long reign of nearly half a century Charlemagne so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of western Europe. He made over fifty military campaigns, among which were those against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Saxons.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards in Italy, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the Pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown"¹ of the Lombards.

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his dominions, under the title of the Spanish March.²

¹ So called because there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

² As Charles was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, while hemmed in by the walls of the Pass of Roncevalles, was set upon by the

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and forced to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

50. Restoration of the Empire in the West (A.D. 800). An event of seemingly little moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Caesars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now, among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could contend in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of **St. Peter** at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

wild mountaineers (the Gascons) and cut to pieces before he could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved ; but long afterwards, associated with the fabulous deeds of the hero Roland, it formed a favorite theme of the talcs and songs of the Trouveurs of northern France (sect 156).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer.

We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Caesar Augustus.

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to shape large sections of mediaeval history.

51. Charles the Great as a Ruler. Charlemagne must not be regarded as warrior merely. His most noteworthy work was that which he effected as a legislator and administrator. He ruled his Empire with the constant solicitude of a father. The character of his government is revealed by his celebrated Capitularies. These were not laws proper, but collections of decrees, decisions, and instructions covering matters of every kind, civil and religious, public and domestic. They show what were Charlemagne's ideas of what his chiefs or his subjects needed in the way of advice, suggestion, or command.

Charlemagne, particularly after his coronation as Emperor, exercised as careful a superintendence over religious as over civil affairs. He called synods or councils of the clergy of his dominions, presided at these meetings, and addressed to abbots and bishops fatherly words of admonition, reproof, and exhortation.

Education was also a matter to which Charlemagne gave zealous attention. He was himself from first to last as diligent a student as his busy life permitted. He never ceased to be a learner. In his old age he tried to learn to write but found that it was too

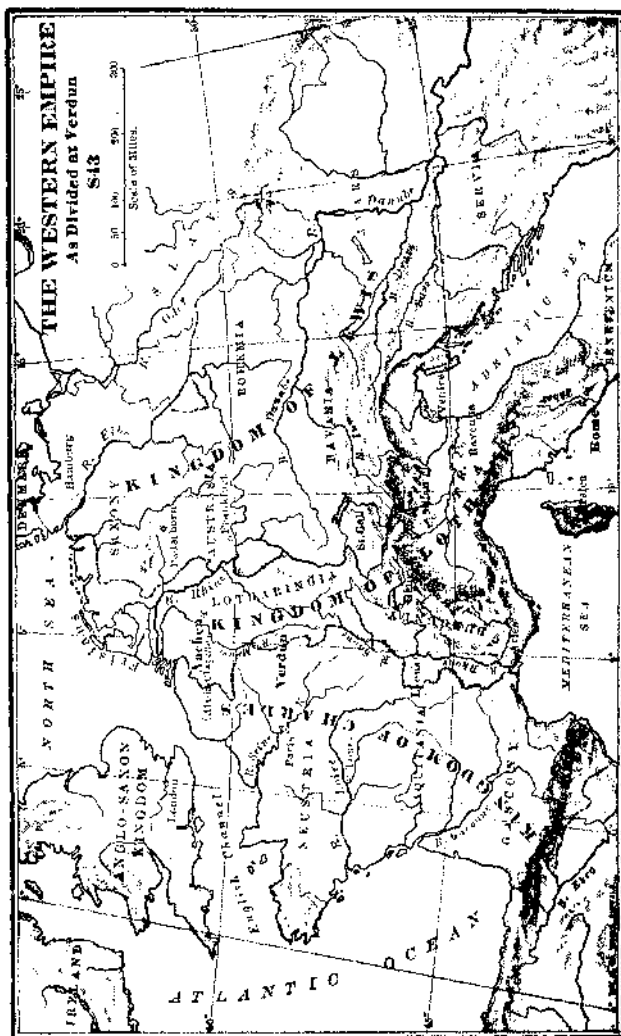
late. Distressed by the dense ignorance all about him, he labored to instruct his subjects, lay and clerical, by the establishment of schools and the multiplication and dissemination of books through the agency of the copyists of the monasteries. He invited from England the celebrated Alcuin, one of the finest scholars of the age, and with his help organized what became known as the Palace School, in which his children and courtiers and he himself were pupils.

52. **The Death of Charlemagne (814); Results of his Reign.** Charlemagne enjoyed the imperial dignity only fourteen years. He died in 814. By the almost universal verdict of students of the mediaeval period, he has been pronounced the most imposing personage that appears between the fall of Rome and the fifteenth century. His greatness has erected an enduring monument for itself in his name, the one by which he is best known,—Charlemagne.

Among the results of the reign of Charlemagne we should note at least the two following. First, he did for Germany what Caesar did for Gaul,—brought this barbarian land within the pale of civilization and made it a part of the new-forming Romano-German world.

Second, he kneaded into something like a homogeneous mass the various racial elements composing the mixed society of the wide regions over which he ruled. Throughout his long and vigorous reign that fusion of Roman and Teuton of which we spoke in an earlier chapter went on apace. He failed indeed to unite the various races of his extended dominions in a permanent political union, but he did much to create among them those religious, intellectual, and social bonds which were never afterwards severed. From his time on, as it has been concisely expressed, there was a Western Christendom.

53. **Division of the Empire; the Treaty of Verdun (843).** Charlemagne was followed by his son Lewis, surnamed the Pious (814-840). Upon the death of Lewis fierce contention broke out among his surviving sons, Lewis, Charles, and Lothair, and myriads of lives were sacrificed in the unnatural strife. Finally, by the famous Treaty of Verdun, the Empire was divided as follows: to



Lewis was given the part east of the Rhine, the nucleus of the later Germany; to Charles, the part west of the Rhone and the Meuse, one day to become France; and to Lothair, the narrow central strip between these, stretching across Europe from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and including the rich lands of the lower Rhine, the valley of the Rhone, and the larger part of Italy. To Lothair also was given the imperial title.

This treaty is celebrated, not only because it was the first great treaty among the European states, but also on account of its marking the divergence from one another, and in some sense the origin, of two of the great nations of modern Europe,—Teutonic Germany and Romanic France. As shown by the celebrated bilingual oath of Strassburg,¹ there had by this time grown up in Gaul, through the mixture of the provincial Latin and German elements, a new speech, which was to grow into the French tongue,—the firstborn of the Romance languages.

In the year 962 a strong king of Germany, Otto the Great, again revived the Empire (for a generation no one had borne the imperial title), which now came to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*. Respecting the great part that the idea of the Empire played in subsequent history we shall speak in a later chapter (Chapter XI).

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¹ This was an oath of friendship and mutual fidelity taken by Lewis and Charles just before the Treaty of Verdun (in 842). The text of the oath has been preserved both in the old German speech and in the new-forming Romance language. It is interesting as affording the oldest existing specimens of these languages.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NORTHMEN: THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS

54. **The Northern Folk.** Northmen, Norsemen, Scandinavians are different names applied in a general way to the early inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For the reason that those making settlements in England came for the most part

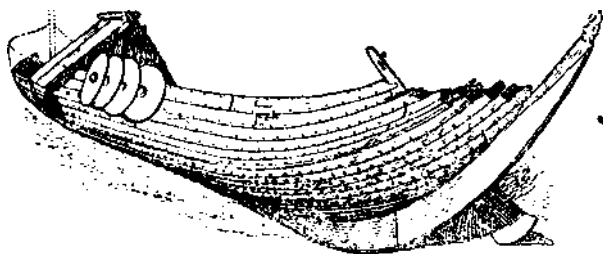


FIG. 5. A VIKING Smi'

It was the custom of the Northmen to bury their dead sea-king near the sea in his ship and over the spot to raise a great mound of earth. The boat shown in the cut was found in 1880 in a burial mound at Iokstad, South Norway. Its length is 78 feet. From the mode of sepulture it is inferred that the mound was raised between A. D. 700 and 1000

from Denmark, the term Danes is often used with the same wide application by the English writers. These people formed the northern branch of the Teutonic family.

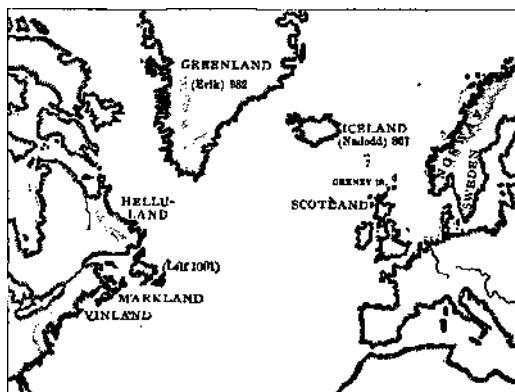
For the first eight centuries of our era the Norsemen are practically hidden from our view in their remote Northern home; but towards the end of the eighth century their black piratical crafts are to be seen creeping along the coasts of Britain, Ireland, and Gaul, and even venturing far up the inlets and creeks. Soon all the shores of the countries visited were dotted with their stations and settlements. With a foothold once secured, fresh bands came from the Northern peninsulas, and the stations in time grew into

permanent colonies. These marauding expeditions and colonizing enterprises did not cease till late in the eleventh century.

The most noteworthy characteristic of these Northmen is the readiness with which they laid aside their own manners, habits, ideas, and institutions, and adopted those of the country in which they established themselves. "In Russia they became Russians; in France, Frenchmen; in Italy, Italians; in England, Englishmen."

55. Colonization of Iceland and Greenland; the Discovery of America. Iceland was settled by the Northmen in the ninth century;¹ about

a century later Greenland was discovered and settled by them. As early as the opening of the eleventh century, America was reached by their ships; the "Vinland" of their traditions probably was some part of the New



DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHMEN

England coast. Whether these first visitors to the continent ever made any settlements in the new land is a disputed question.

56. The Norsemen in Russia. While the Norwegians were sailing boldly out into the Atlantic and taking possession of the isles and coasts of the western seas, the Swedes were pushing their crafts across the Baltic and troubling the Finns and Slavs on the

¹ Iceland became the literary center of the Scandinavian world. There grew up here a class of scalds, or bards, who, before the introduction of writing, preserved and transmitted orally the sagas, or legends, of the Northern races. About the middle of the thirteenth century these poems and legends were gathered into collections known as the *Elder* or *Poetic Edda* and the *Younger* or *Prose Edda*. These are among the most interesting and important of the literary memorials that we possess of the early Teutonic peoples. They reflect faithfully the beliefs and customs of the Norsemen, and the wild, adventurous spirit of their sea-kings.

eastern shore of that sea. Either by right of conquest or through the invitation of the contentious Slavonic clans, the renowned Scandinavian chieftain Ruric acquired, about the middle of the ninth century, kingly dignity, and became the founder of the first royal line of Russia.

57. The Danish Conquest of England. The Danes began to make descents upon the English coast toward the close of the eighth century. They were not content with plunder, but, being pagans, took special delight in burning the churches and monasteries of the now Christian Anglo-Saxons, or English, as we shall hereafter call them. In a short time fully one half of England was in their hands. Just when it began to look as though the hard-pushed English would be wholly enslaved or driven from the island by the heathen intruders, Alfred (871-901), later to be known as Alfred the Great,¹ came to the throne of Wessex. He finally gained some advantage over the Danes, but could not expel them from the island, and by the celebrated Treaty of Wedmore (878) gave up to them all the northeastern part of England.

For a full century following the death of Alfred his successors were engaged in a constant struggle to hold in restraint the Danes already settled in the land, or to protect their domains from fresh invasions. In the end the Danes got the mastery, and Canute, king of Denmark, became king of England (1016). For eighteen years he reigned in a wise and parental way. Altogether the Danes ruled in England about a quarter of a century, and then the old English line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (1042).

1 Alfred is the only sovereign of England on whom the title of Great has been conferred. Perhaps his best claims to this distinction spring from his work as a lawgiver and a patron of learning. The code that he made formed the basis of early English jurisprudence. Alfred also fostered learning by himself becoming a translator. Here we have the beginnings of the prose literature of England. "The mighty roll of the prose books that fill her libraries," writes Green, "begins with the translations of Alfred, and above all with the Chronicle of his reign." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle here alluded to was a minute and chronological record of events, probably begun in *systematic form* in Alfred's reign and continued down to the year 1154. It was kept by the monks of *different* monasteries, and forms one of our most valuable sources for early English history.

58. Settlement of the Northmen in Gaul. The Northmen began to make piratical descents upon the coasts of Gaul before the end of the reign of Charlemagne. The great king had been dead only thirty years when these sea rovers ascended the Seine and sacked Paris (845). At last the Carolingian king, Charles the Simple, did something very like what Alfred the Great had done across the Channel only a short time before. He granted to Rollo, the leader of the Northmen who had settled at Rouen, a large section of country in the north of Gaul, upon condition of homage and conversion (912). In a short time the newcomers had adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the French, and had caught much of their vivacity and impulsiveness, without, however, any loss of their own native virtues. This transformation in them we may conceive as being recorded in their transformed name,—Northmen becoming softened into Norman.

59. Normandy in French History. The establishment of a Scandinavian settlement in Gaul proved a momentous matter, not only for the history of the French people, but for the history of European civilization as well. This Norse factor was destined to be one of the most important of all those various racial elements which on the soil of the old Gaul blended to create the richly dowered French nation. For many of the most romantic passages of her history France is indebted to the adventurous spirit of the descendants of these wild rovers of the sea. The knights of Normandy lent an added splendor to French knighthood, and helped greatly to make France the hearth of chivalry and the center of the crusading movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nor was the influence of the incoming of the Scandinavian race felt upon French history alone. Normandy became the point of departure of enterprises that had deep and lasting consequences for Europe at large (see Chapter X).

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SECOND PERIOD . THE AGE OF REVIVAL

(From the Opening of the Eleventh Century to the Discovery of America by Columbus in 1492)

CHAPTER IX

FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY

I. FEUDALISM

60. Feudalism defined. Feudalism is the name given to a special form of society and government, based upon a peculiar tenure of land, which prevailed in Europe during the latter part of the Middle Ages, attaining, however, its most perfect development in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries,

A feudal estate, which might embrace a few acres or an entire country, was called a *fief*, or *feud*, whence the term *Feudalism*. The person granting a fief was called the *suzerain*, *liege*, or *lord*; the one receiving it, his *vassal*, *liegeman*, or *retainer*.

61. The Ideal System. The few definitions given above will render intelligible the following explanation of the theory of the feudal system. In theory all the kings of the earth were vassals of the Emperor, who according to good imperialists was God's vassal, and according to good churchmen, the Pope's. The kings received their dominions as fiefs to be held on conditions of loyalty to their suzerain and of fealty to right and justice. Should a king become disloyal, or rule unjustly or wickedly, through such misconduct he forfeited his fief, and it might be taken from him by his suzerain and given to another worthier liegeman.

In the same way as the king received his fief from the Emperor, so might he grant it out in parcels to his chief men, they, in return for it, promising, in general, to be faithful to him as their lord, and to serve and aid him. In like manner these immediate vassals

of the king or suzerain might parcel out their domains in smaller tracts to others, on conditions similar to those upon which they had themselves received theirs; and so on down through any number of stages.

We have thus far dealt only with the soil of a country. We must next notice what disposition was made of the people under this system. The king on receiving his fief was intrusted with sovereignty over all persons living upon it; he became their commander, their lawmaker, and their judge. Then, when he parceled out his fief among his great men, he invested them, within the limits of the fiefs granted, with all his own sovereign rights. Each vassal became a virtual sovereign in his own domain. And when these great vassals subdivided their fiefs and granted portions of them to others, they in turn invested their vassals with more or less of those powers of sovereignty with which they themselves had been clothed.¹

To illustrate the workings of the system, we will suppose the king or suzerain to be in need of an army. He calls upon his own immediate vassals for aid; these in turn call upon their vassals; and so the order runs down through the various ranks of retainers. The retainers in the lowest rank rally around their respective lords, who, with their bands, gather about their lords, and so on up through the rising tiers of the system, until the immediate vassals of the suzerain, or chief lord, present themselves before him with their graduated trains of followers. The array constitutes a feudal army,—a splendidly organized body in theory, but in fact an extremely poor instrument for warfare.

Such was the ideal feudal state. It is needless to say that the ideal was never perfectly realized. The system simply made more or less distant approaches to it in several European countries.

62. The Ceremony of Homage. A fief was conferred by a very solemn and peculiar ceremony called *homage*. The person about to become a vassal, kneeling with uncovered head, placed

¹ The holders of small fiefs were not allowed to exercise the more important functions of sovereignty. Thus, of the estimated number of 70,000 fief holders in France in the tenth century, only between 100 and 200 possessed the right "to coin money, levy taxes, make laws, and administer their own justice."

his hands in those of his future lord and solemnly vowed to be henceforth his man¹ and to serve him faithfully even with his life. This part of the procedure, sealed with a kiss, was what properly constituted the ceremony of homage. It was accompanied by an oath of fealty, and the whole was concluded by the act of investiture, whereby the lord put his vassal in actual possession of the land or, by placing in his hand a clod of earth or a twig, symbolized the delivery to him of the estate for which he had just now done homage and sworn fealty.

63. The Relations of Lord and Vassal. In general terms the duty of the vassal was service; that of the lord, protection. The most honorable service required of the vassal, and the one most willingly rendered in a martial age, was military aid. The liegeman must always be ready to follow his lord upon his military expeditions; but the time of service for one year was usually not more than forty days. He must defend his lord in battle; if he should be unhorsed, must give him his own animal; and if he should be made a prisoner, must offer himself as a hostage for his release. He must also give entertainment to his lord and his retinue on their journeys.

Among other incidents attaching to a fief were what were known as *reliefs*, *escheats*, and *aids*.

A *relief* was the name given to the sum of money which an heir upon coming into possession of a fief must pay to the lord of the domain. This was often a large amount, being usually the entire revenue of the estate for one year.

By *escheat* was meant the falling back of the fief into the hands of the lord through failure of heirs. If the fief lapsed through disloyalty or other misdemeanor on the part of the vassal, this was known as *forfeiture*.

Aids were sums of money which the lord had a right to demand to enable him to meet unusual expenditures, especially for defraying the expense of knighting his eldest son, for providing a marriage dowry for his eldest daughter, and for ransoming his own person in case he were made a prisoner of war. The chief return

¹ Latin *hamo*, whence "homage."

that the lord was bound to make to the vassal as a compensation for these various services was justice and protection,—by no means a small return in an age of turmoil and insecurity.

64. Serfs and Serfdom. The vassals, or fief holders of various grades, constituted only a small proportion, perhaps five per cent or less, of the population of the countries where feudalism came to prevail. The great bulk of the folk were agricultural serfs.¹ These were the men who actually tilled the soil. Just how this servile class arose is not positively known. In some countries at least they seem to have been the lineal descendants of the slaves of Roman times. Their status varied greatly from country to country and from period to period; that is to say, there came to be many grades of serfs filling the space between the actual slave and the full freeman. Consequently it is impossible to give any general account of the class which can be regarded as a true picture of their actual condition as a body at any given time. The following description must therefore be taken as reflecting their duties and disabilities only in the most general way.

The first and most characteristic feature of the condition of the serfs was that they were affixed to the soil. They could not of their own will leave the estate or manor to which they belonged; nor, on the other hand, could their lord deprive them of their holdings and set them adrift. When the land changed roasters they passed with it, just like a "rooted tree or stone earth-bound."

Each serf had allotted him by his lord a cottage and a number of acres of land,—thirty acres formed a normal holding,—consisting of numerous narrow strips scattered about the great open fields of the manor. For these he paid a rent, usually, during the earlier feudal times, in kind and in personal services. The personal services included a certain number of days' work, usually two or

¹ There were some free peasants and a large number of free artisans and traders, inhabitants of the towns. The number of actual slaves was small. They had almost all disappeared before the end of the tenth century, either having been emancipated or having been lifted into the lowest order of serfs, which was an advance toward freedom. At the time of the great Domesday survey (sect. 80) there were, according to this record, only about 25,000 slaves in England.

three days each week, on the demesne, that is, the land which the lord had kept in his own hands as a sort of home farm. He must furthermore grind his grain at his lord's mill, press his grapes at his wine press, bake his bread at his oven, often paying for these services an unreasonable toll.

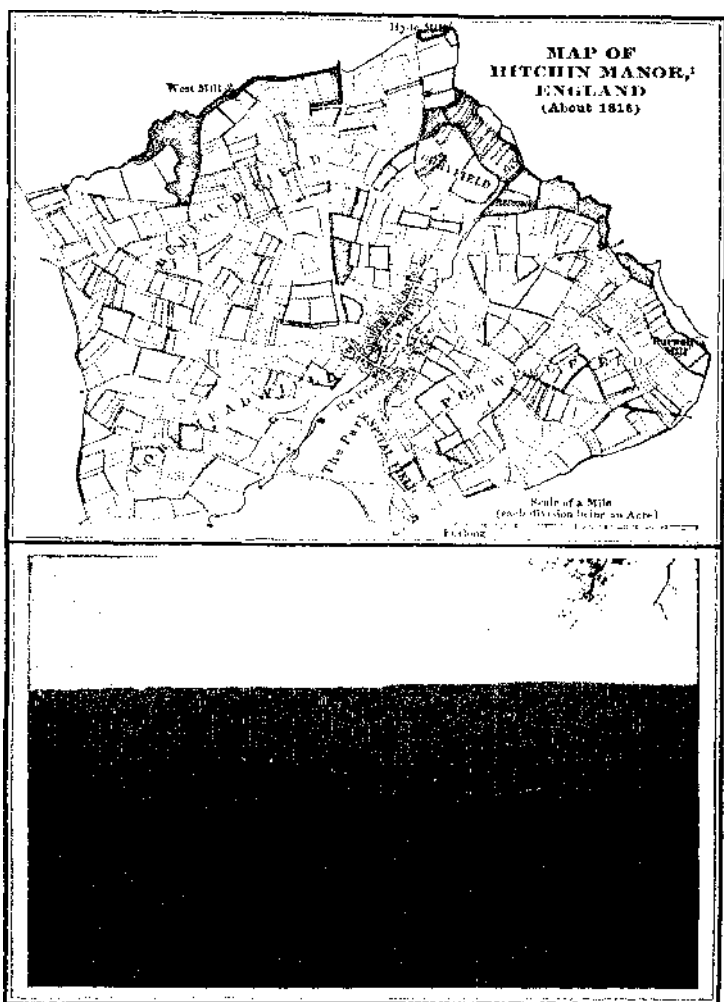
After the serf had rendered to the lord all the rent in kind he owed for his cottage and bit of ground, the remainder of the produce from his fields was, in accordance with custom if not always with law, his own. Generally the share was only just sufficient to keep the wolf of hunger from his door.

What we have now said will convey some idea of the nature of the relations that existed between the lord and his serf, and will indicate how servile and burdensome was the tenure by which the serf held his cottage and bit of ground. How the serf gradually freed himself from the heavy yoke of his servitude and became a freeman will appear as we advance in our narrative.

65, Development of the Feudal System. The development of feudalism as a military system was hastened by the disturbed state of society everywhere during the greater part of the ninth and the tenth century; for after the death of Charlemagne and the partition of his empire, it appeared as though the world were again falling back into chaos. The bonds of society seemed entirely broken.

To internal disorders were added the invasions of the outside barbarians; for, no longer held in restraint by the strong arm of the great Charles, they had now begun their raids anew. From the north came the Scandinavian pirates to harry the shores of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The terror which these pagan sea rovers inspired is commemorated by the supplication of the litany of those days: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." From the east came the terrible Hungarians, and by the way of the sea on the south came an equally dreaded foe, the Saracens, who had gained a foothold in Spain and Sicily.

It was this anarchical state of things which caused all classes to hasten to enter the feudal system in order to secure the protection which it alone could afford. Kings, princes, and wealthy persons



PHOTOGRAPH OF AN OPEN FIELD IN HITCHIN MANOR

Showing the grassy balks, or unplowed furrows, which take the place of hedges and divide the acre and half-acre strips of the great open field

¹ This map is based on charts in Seebohm's *The English Village Community*, and illustrates the open-field system of cultivation of the medieval manor. The thirty scattered strips colored red represent the normal holding of a villain (*villanus*); the strips colored blue, comprising about one third of the land of the manor, show the way in which the demesne of the lord was often made up of numerous tracts scattered about the open fields instead of forming a continuous tract around the manor house; the areas colored green represent the meadows and common pasture lands.

who had large landed possessions which they had never parceled out as fiefs were now led to do so, that their estates might be held by tenants bound to protect them by all the sacred obligations of homage and fealty. Thus sovereigns and princes became suzerains and feudal lords. Again, the smaller proprietors often voluntarily surrendered their little holdings into the hands of some neighboring lord, and then received them back again from him as fiefs, that they might claim protection as vassals. They deemed this better than being robbed of their property altogether.

Moreover, for like reasons and in like manner, churches, monasteries, and cities became members of the feudal system. They granted out their vast possessions as fiefs, and thus became suzerains and lords. Bishops and abbots became the heads of great bands of retainers, and often themselves led military expeditions like temporal chiefs. On the other hand, these same monasteries and towns frequently placed themselves under the protection of some powerful lord, and thus came in vassalage to him. Sometimes the bishops and the heads of religious houses, instead of paying military service, bound themselves to say a certain number of Masses for the lord or his family.

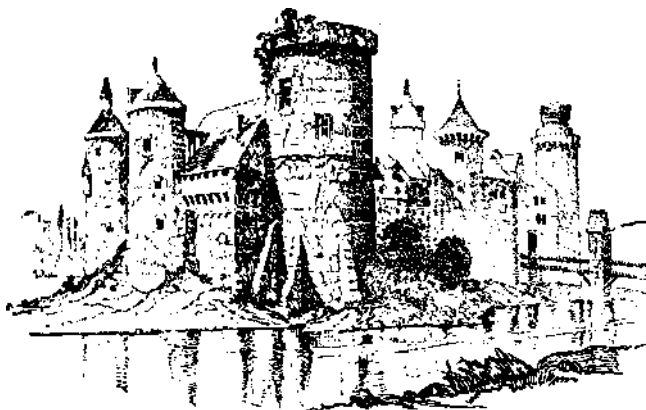
In this way were Church and State, all classes of society from the wealthiest suzerain to the humblest vassal, bound together by feudal ties. Everything was impressed with the stamp of feudalism.

66. Castles of the Nobles. The lawless and violent character of the times during which feudalism prevailed is well shown by the nature of the residences which the great nobles built for themselves. These were strong stone fortresses, often perched upon some rocky eminence and defended by moats and towers. France, Germany, Italy, northern Spain, England, and Scotland, in which countries the feudal system became most thoroughly developed, fairly bristled with these fortified residences of the nobility. Strong walls were the only protection against the universal violence of the age.

One of the most striking and picturesque features of the landscape of many regions in Europe today is the ivy-mantled **towers** and **walls of these feudal** castles, now falling **into ruins**.

67. Causes of the Decay of Feudalism. Chief among the various causes which undermined and at length overthrew feudalism were the hostility of the kings to the system, the Crusades, the growth of the cities, and the introduction of firearms in the art of war.

The kings opposed the system and sought to break it down, because it left them only the semblance of power. We shall see



Fui. 6. TV 1'icAL MKDI.KVAI. CASTLK

later how the kings came again into their own (Chapter XVII). **The** Crusades, or Holy Wars, that agitated all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did much to weaken the power of **the** nobles; for in order to raise money for their expeditions they frequently sold or mortgaged their estates, and in this way power and influence passed into the hands of the kings or the wealthy merchants of the cities. Many of the great nobles also perished **in** battle with the infidels, and their lands escheated to their suzerain, whose domains were thus augmented.

The growth of the towns also tended to the same end. As **they** increased in wealth and influence, they became able to resist **the** exactions and tyranny of the lord in whose fief they happened **to** be, and eventually were able to secede, as it were, from his **authority, and** to make of themselves little republics.

Again, improvements and changes in the mode of warfare, especially those resulting from the use of gunpowder, hastened the downfall of feudalism by rendering the yeoman foot soldier equal to the armor-clad knight. "It made all men of the same height," as Carlyle puts it.

But it is to be carefully noted that, though feudalism as a system of government disappeared, speaking broadly, with the Middle Ages, it still continued to exist as a social organization. The nobles lost their power and authority as petty sovereigns, but retained their titles, their privileges, their social distinction, and, in many cases, their vast landed estates.

68. A Chief Defect of the Feudal System. A great drawback from the advantages of feudalism was that it rendered impossible the formation of strong national governments. Every country was divided and subdivided into a vast number of practically independent principalities. Thus, in the tenth century France was partitioned among about a hundred and fifty overlords, all exercising equal and coordinate powers of sovereignty. The enormous estates of these great lords were again subdivided into about seventy thousand smaller fiefs.

In theory, as we have seen, the holders of these petty estates were bound to serve and obey their overlords, and these great nobles were in turn the sworn vassals of the French king. But many of these lords were richer and stronger than the king himself, and if they chose to cast off their allegiance to him, he found it impossible to reduce them to obedience. The king's time was chiefly occupied in ineffectual efforts to reduce his haughty and refractory nobles to proper submission, and in intervening feebly to compose their endless quarrels with one another. It is easy to conceive the anarchy produced by this state of things.

69. **The Good Results of Feudalism.** The most conspicuous service that feudalism rendered European civilization was the protection which it gave to society after the break-up of the empire of Charles the Great. "It was the mailed feudal horseman and the impregnable walls of the feudal castle that foiled the attacks of the Danes, the Saracens, and the Hungarians" (Oman).

Feudalism rendered another noteworthy service to society in fostering among its privileged members self-reliance and love of personal independence. Turbulent, violent, and refractory as was the feudal aristocracy of Europe, it performed the grand service of keeping alive during the later mediaeval period the spirit of liberty. The feudal lords would not allow themselves to be dealt with arrogantly by their king; they stood on their rights as free-men. Hence royalty was prevented from becoming as despotic as would otherwise have been the case. Thus, in England, for instance, the feudal lords held such tyrannical rulers as King John **in** check (sect. 134), until such time as the yeoman and the burgher were bold enough and strong enough alone to stand against and to baffle their despotically inclined sovereigns.

Another of the good effects of feudalism was the impulse **it** gave to certain forms of polite literature. Just as learning and philosophy were fostered by the seclusion of the cloister, so were poetry and romance fostered by the open and joyous hospitalities of the baronial hall. The castle door was always open to the wandering singer and story-teller, and it was amidst the scenes of festivity within that the ballads and romances of mediaeval minstrelsy and literature had their birth.

Still another service which feudalism rendered to civilization was the development within the baronial castle of those ideas and sentiments—among others a nice sense of honor and an exalted consideration for woman—which found their noblest expression in chivalry, of which institution and its good effects upon the social life of Europe we shall now proceed to speak.

/

II. CHIVALRY

70. Chivalry defined; Origin of the Institution. Chivalry has been aptly defined as the "Flower of Feudalism." It was a military institution or order, the members of which, called knights, **were** pledged to the protection of the Church and to the defense **of the** weak and the oppressed. It grew out of feudalism in the **following** way: **It** became the rule that all fief holders must

render military service on horseback. Fighting on horseback gradually became the normal mode and for centuries remained so. Gradually this feudal warrior caste underwent a transformation. It became in part independent of the feudal system, in so far as that had to do with the land, so that any person, if qualified by birth and properly initiated, might be a member of the order without being the holder of a fief. A great part of the later knights were portionless sons of the nobility.

71. Training of the Knight. When chivalry had once become established, all the sons of the nobility, save such as were to enter the holy orders of the Church, were set apart and disciplined for its service. The sons of the poorer nobles were usually placed in the family of some lord of renown, where they were trained in the duties and exercises of knighthood.

This education began at the early age of seven, the youth bearing the name of page or varlet until he attained the age of fourteen, when he acquired the title of squire, or esquire. The lord and his knights trained the boys in manly and martial duties, while the ladies of the castle instructed them in the duties of religion and in all knightly etiquette. The duties of the page were usually confined to the castle, though sometimes he accompanied his lord to the field. The esquire always attended in battle the knight to whom he was attached, carrying his arms and, if need be, engaging in the fight.

72. The Ceremony of Knighting. At the age of twenty-one the squire became a knight, being then introduced to the order of knighthood by a peculiar and impressive service. After a long fast and vigil the candidate listened to a lengthy sermon on his duties as a knight. Then kneeling, as in the feudal ceremony of homage, before the lord conducting the services, he vowed to defend religion and the ladies, to succor the distressed, and ever to be faithful to his companion knights. His arms were now given to him, and his sword was girded on, when the lord, striking him with the flat of his sword on the shoulders, said, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub thee knight; be brave, bold, and loyal."

73. The Tournament. , The tournament was the favorite amusement of the age of chivalry. It was a mimic battle between two companies of knights, armed usually with pointless swords or blunted lances. In the later period of chivalry it assumed the character of a gay and elegant festival. The prince or baron giving the tournament made wide proclamation of the event, brave and distinguished knights being invited even from distant lands

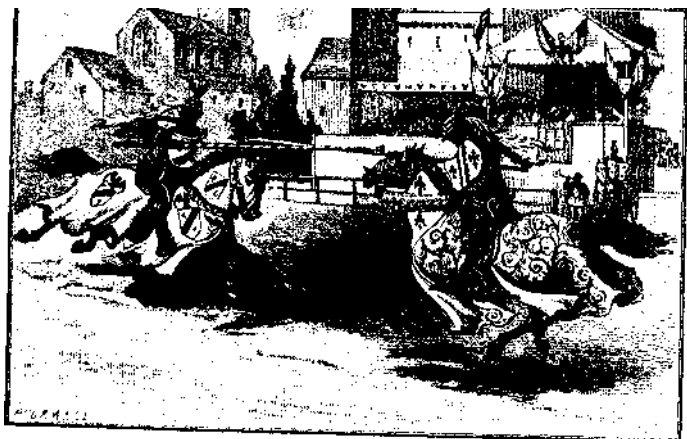


FIG. 7. A TILTING MATCH BETWEEN TWO KNIGHTS

to grace the occasion with their presence and an exhibition of their skill and prowess. The lists—a level space marked off by a rope or railing and surrounded with galleries for spectators—were made gay with banners and tapestries and heraldic emblems.

Victory was accorded to him who unhorsed his antagonist or broke in a proper manner the greatest number of lances. The reward of the victor was a wreath of flowers, armor, greyhounds, or steeds decked with knightly trappings, and, more esteemed than all else, the praises and favor of his lady-love.

74. Decline of Chivalry. The fifteenth century was the evening of chivalry. The decline of the system resulted from the operation of the same causes that effected the overthrow of

feudalism. The changes in the mode of warfare which helped to do away with the feudal baron and his mail-clad retainers likewise tended to destroy knight-errantry. And then, as civilization advanced, new feelings and sentiments began to claim the attention and to work upon the imagination of men. Governments, too, became more regular, and the increased order and security of society rendered less needful the services of the gallant knight in behalf of the weak and the oppressed.

75. The Good in Chivalry. Chivalry contributed powerfully to lift that sentiment of respect for the gentler sex which characterized all the northern nations, into that tender veneration of woman which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the present age, and makes it differ from all preceding phases of civilization.

Again, chivalry did much to create that ideal of character—an ideal distinguished by the virtues of courtesy, gentleness, humanity, loyalty, magnanimity, and fidelity to the plighted word—which we rightly think to surpass any ever formed under the influences of antiquity. Just as Christianity gave to the world an ideal of manhood which it was to strive to realize, so did chivalry hold up an ideal to which men were to conform their lives. Men, indeed, have never perfectly realized either the ideal of Christianity or that of chivalry; but the influence which these two ideals have had in shaping and giving character to the lives of men cannot be overestimated. Together, through the enthusiasm and effort awakened for their realization, they have produced a new type of manhood, which we indicate by the phrase "a knightly and Christian character."

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CHAPTER X

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND¹

76. Introductory. The history of the Normans—the name, it will be recalled, of the transformed Scandinavians who settled in northern Gaul (sect. 58)—is simply a continuation of the story of the Northmen; and nothing could better illustrate the difference between the period we have left behind and the one upon which we have entered, nothing could more strikingly exhibit the gradual transformation that has crept over the face and spirit of European society, than the transformation which time and favoring associations have wrought in these men. When first we met them in the ninth century they were pagans; now they are Christians. Then they were rough, wild, merciless corsairs; now they are become the most cultured, polished, and chivalrous people in Europe. But the restless, daring spirit that drove the Norse sea-kings forth upon the waves in quest of adventure and booty still stirs in the breasts of their descendants.

NOTE. The picture at the head of this page shows the landing in England of William of Normandy. It is from the celebrated *liaycux Tapestry*. This is a strip of linen canvas over two hundred feet long and nineteen inches wide, upon which are embroidered in colors seventy-two pictures, representing episodes in the Norman Conquest of England. The work was executed not long after the events it depicts, and is named from the cathedral in France where it is kept. Its importance consists in the information it conveys respecting the life and manners, and the costumes, arms, and armor of the times.

¹ Not long before the Normans conquered England, they succeeded in gaining a foothold in the south of Italy, where they established a feudal state, which ultimately included the island of Sicily. The fourth head of the commonwealth was the celebrated **Robert Guiscard** (d. 1085), who spread the renown of the Norman name throughout the Mediterranean lands. This Norman state, converted finally into a kingdom, lasted until **late in the twelfth century** (1194).

As has been said, they were simply changed from heathen Vikings, delighting in the wild life of sea rover and pirate, into Christian knights, eager for pilgrimages and crusades.

The most important of the enterprises of the Normans, and one followed by consequences of the greatest magnitude not only to the conquered people but indirectly to the world, was their conquest of England.

77. Events leading up to the Conquest. In the year 1066 Edward the Confessor, in whose person, it will be recalled, the old English line was restored after the Danish usurpation (sect. 57), died, and immediately the Witan,¹ in accordance with the dying wish of the king, chose Harold, Earl of Wessex, the best and strongest man in all England, to be his successor.

When the news of the action of the Witan and of Harold's acceptance of the English crown was carried across the Channel to William, Duke of Normandy, he was greatly vexed. He declared that Edward, who was his c/vsin, had during his lifetime promised the throne to him, and that Harold had assented to this, and by solemn oath engaged to sustain him. He now demanded of Harold that he surrender to him the usurped throne, threatening the immediate invasion of the island in case he refused. King Harold answered the demand by collecting an army for the defense of his dominions. Duke William now made ready for a descent upon the English coast.

78. The Battle of Hastings (1066). The Norman army of invasion landed in the south of England, at the port of Hastings, which place gave name to the battle that almost immediately followed,—the battle that was to determine the fate of England. The battle once joined, the conflict was long and terrific. The day finally went against the English. Harold fell, pierced through the eye by an arrow; and William was master of the field. He now marched upon London, and at Westminster, on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned king of England.

¹ The Witan, or Witenagemot, which means the "Meeting of the Wise Men," was the common council of the realm. The House of Lords is the survival of this early national assembly.

79. The Distribution of the Land and the Gemot of Salisbury. Almost the first act of William after he had established his power in England was to fulfill his promise to the nobles who had aided him in his enterprise, by distributing among them the forfeited estates of the English who had fought against him at Hastings. Profiting by the lesson taught by the wretched condition of France, which country was kept in a state of constant turmoil by a host of feudal lords, many of whom were almost or quite as powerful as the king himself, William took care that in the distribution no feudatory should receive an entire shire, save in two or three exceptional cases. To the great lord to whom he must needs give a large fief, he granted not a continuous tract of land but several estates or manors scattered in different parts of the country, in order that there might be no dangerous concentration of property or power in the hands of the vassal.

Another equally important limitation of the power of the vassal was effected by William through his requiring all fief holders, great and small, to take an oath of fealty directly to him as overlord. This was a great innovation upon feudal custom, for the rule was that the vassal should swear fealty to his own immediate lord only, and in war follow his banner even against his own king. The oath that William exacted from every fief holder made the allegiance which he owed to his king superior to that which he owed to his own immediate lord. At the great gemot, or military assembly, of Salisbury in the year 1086 "all the landholders of substance in England" swore to William this solemn oath of superior fealty and allegiance.

William also denied to his feudatories the right of coining money and making laws; and by other wise restrictions upon **their** power he saved England from those endless contentions and **petty** wars that were distracting almost every other country of Europe.

80. Domesday Book. One of the most celebrated acts of the Conqueror was the making of Domesday Book. This famous book contained a description and valuation of all the lands of England, excepting those of some counties, mostly in the north,

that were either unconquered or unsettled; an enumeration of the cattle and sheep; and statements of the income of every man. It was intended, in a word, to be a perfect survey and census of the entire kingdom.

81. The Curfew. Among the regulations said to have been introduced into England by the Conqueror was one known as the *Curfew*. This law required that, upon the ringing of the church bell at nightfall, every person should be at home, and that the fires should be buried¹ and the lights extinguished.

Two reasons have been assigned for this ordinance: the one supposes that its object was to prevent the people's assembling by night to plan or execute treasonable undertakings; the other represents it simply as a safeguard against fire. The law was certainly in force in Normandy before the Conquest; indeed, it was a universal custom of police throughout the whole of mediæval Europe.

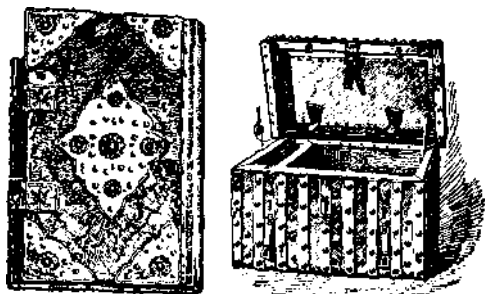


Fig. 8. DOMESDAY BOOK. (From a facsimile edition published by royal command in 1862)

There are two large volumes of the survey, one being 1 folio of 760 pages and the other a large octavo of 900 pages. The strong box shown in the cut is the chest in which the volumes were formerly kept

82. The Norman Successors of the Conqueror. For nearly three quarters of a century after the death of William the Conqueror, England was ruled by Norman kings. The latter part of this period was a troublous time. The succession to the crown coming into dispute, civil war broke out. The result of the contention was a decline in the royal power, and the ascendancy of the Norman barons, who for a time made England the scene of the same feudal anarchy that prevailed at this period

¹ Hence the term *Curfew*, from *couvrir*, "to cover," and *feu*, "fire."

upon the Continent. Finally, in 1154, the Norman dynasty gave place to that of the Plantagenets. Under Henry II, the first king of the new house, and an energetic and strong ruler, the barons were again brought into proper subjection to the crown, and many castles which had been built without royal permission during the preceding anarchical period, and some of which at least were little better than robbers' dens, were dismantled and demolished.

83. Results of the Norman Conquest. The most important and noteworthy outcome of the Conquest was the establishment in England of a strong centralized government, which resulted largely from the modification of feudal rules and practices effected by the Conqueror. England now became a real kingdom,—what it had hardly been in more than semblance before.

A second result of the Conquest was the founding of a new feudal aristocracy. The Saxon thane was displaced by the Norman baron. This not only introduced a new and more refined element into the social life of England, but it also changed the membership, the temper, and the name of the national assembly, the old English *Witan* now becoming the *Parliament* of later times.

A third result of the Conquest was the drawing of England into closer relations with the countries of Continental* Europe. The Norman conquest of the island was in this respect like the Roman. Through the many Continental relations—political, social, commercial, and ecclesiastical—now established or made more intimate, England's advance in trade, in architecture, in her religious and intellectual life, was greatly promoted. And in this connection must be borne in mind particularly the close political and feudal relations into which England was brought with France, for out of these grew the jealousies and rivalries which led to the long Hundred Years' War between the two countries.

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CHAPTER XI

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

84. The Two World Powers. "The two great ideas," says James Bryce, "which expiring antiquity bequeathed to the ages that followed were those of a world monarchy and a world religion." We have seen how out of one of these ideas, under the favoring circumstances of the earlier mediaeval centuries, was developed the Empire, and out of the other the Papacy. The history of these two powers, of their relations to the rulers and the peoples of Europe, and of their struggle with each other for supremacy, makes up a large part of the history of the mediaeval centuries. It is of these important matters that we must now try to get some sort of understanding.

What we have learned about the ideas and principles of feudalism will aid us greatly in our study, for, as we shall see, the whole long struggle between these two world powers was deeply marked by feudal conceptions and practices.

85. The Three Theories respecting the Relations of Pope and Emperor. After the revival of the Empire in the West and the rise of the Papacy, there gradually grew up three different theories in regard to the divinely established relation of the Pope and the Emperor. The first was that each was independently commissioned by God, the Pope to rule the spirits of men, the Emperor to rule their bodies. Each reigning thus by original divine right, neither is set above the other, but both are to cooperate and to help each other. The special duty of the temporal power is **to maintain order** in the world **and** to be the protector of the **Church**.

The second **theory**, the one held by the imperial party, **was that the Emperor was superior to the Pope in secular affairs. Arguments from Scripture and from the transactions of history were not wanting to support this view. Thus Christ's payment of tribute**

money was cited as proof that he regarded the temporal power as superior to the spiritual. And then, did he not say, "Render **unto** Csesar the things which are Caesar's"? Further, the gift of certain lands by Charlemagne and an earlier Frankish prince to the Roman See (sect. 29) made the popes, it was maintained, the vassals of the emperors.



Km. 9. **Tin-:** SIMHITTAL
AND THE TI-MI'OK AL
POWER. (From a ninth-
century mosaic in the Lat-
eran at Rome; after Jaeger,
Weltgeschichte)

St. Peter gives to Pope Leo III the stola and to Charlemagne the banner of Rome as symbols of the spiritual and temporal powers. The portrait of Charlemagne here shown is with little doubt the oldest in existence

the sun and receives its light from it, so is the Emperor inferior to the Pope and receives all power from him.

The first theory was the impractical dream of lofty souls who forgot that men are human. Christendom was virtually divided into two hostile camps the members of which were respectively supporters of the imperial and the papal theory.

¹ Corinthians ii. 15.

² Jeremiah i. 10.

86. Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) and his Reforms. One of the most eminent supporters of the papal claims was Pope Gregory VII, better known by his earlier name of Hildebrand, the most noteworthy character, after Charlemagne, that the Middle Ages produced. When Gregory came to the papal throne one grave danger threatening the Church was the marriage of the clergy. At this time a great part of the minor clergy were married. Gregory resolved to bring all the clergy to the strict observance of celibate vows. By thus separating the priests from the attachments of home, and lifting from them all family burdens and cares, he aimed to render their consecration to the duties of their offices more whole-souled and their dependence upon the Church more complete. Though obstinately opposed by a large section of the clergy, this reform was finally effected,—but not in Gregory's lifetime,—so that celibacy became as binding upon the priest as upon the monk.

Gregory's second reform, the correction of simony,¹ had for one of its objects the freeing of the lands and offices of the Church from the control of lay lords and princes, and the bringing of them more completely under the direction of the Roman pontiff. The evil of simony had grown up in the Church chiefly in the following way. As the feudal system took possession of European society, the Church, like individuals and cities, assumed feudal relations; abbots and bishops, as the heads of monasteries and churches, for the sake of protection, became the vassals of powerful barons or princes. When once a prelate had promised fealty for his estates or temporalities, as they were called, these became henceforth a permanent fief of the overlord and subject to all the incidents of the feudal tenure. When a vacancy occurred the lord assumed the right to fill it, just as in case of the escheat of a lay fief.² In this way the temporal rulers throughout Europe had come to exercise the right of nominating or confirming the election of almost all the great prelates of the Church.

¹ By simony is meant the purchase of an office in the Church, the name of the offense coming from Simon Magus, who offered Peter money for the power to confer the Holy Spirit. See Acts viii. 9-24.

² The clergy and monks still retained the nominal right of election, but too frequently an election by them was a mere matter of form. For a typical case see sect. 106.

Now these lay princes who had the patronage of these Church offices and lands handled them just as they did their lay fiefs. They required the person nominated to an abbacy or to a bishopric to pay for the appointment and investiture a sum proportioned to the income from the office. This was in strict accord with the feudal rule which allowed the lord to demand from the vassal,



FIG. 10. INVESTITURE OF A BISHOP BY A KING THROUGH THE GIVING OF THE CROZIER, OR PASTORAL STAFF. (From a manuscript of the tenth century)

upon his investiture with a fief, a sum of money called a relief (sect. 63). This rule, thus applied to Church lands and offices, was, it is easy to see, the cause of great evil and corruption. The ecclesiastical vacancies were virtually sold to the highest bidder, and at times the most unsuitable persons became bishops and abbots.

To remedy the evil, Gregory issued decrees forbidding anyone of the clergy to receive the investiture of a bishopric or abbey or church from the hands of a temporal prince or lord. Anyone who should dare to disobey these decrees was threatened with the penalties of the Church.

87. Excommunications and Interdicts. The chief instruments relied upon by Gregory for enforcing his decrees were the spiritual weapons of the Church,—excommunication and interdict. The first was directed against individuals. The person excommunicated was cut off practically from all relations with his fellow-men and became an outcast. If a king, his subjects were released from their oath of allegiance. Anyone providing the excommunicate with food or shelter incurred the censure of the **Church. Living, the** excommunicated person was to be shunned as though tainted with an infectious disease; and dead, he was to **be refused the** ordinary rites of burial.

The interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. Throughout the region under this ban the churches were closed; no bell could be rung, no marriage celebrated, no burial ceremony performed. The sacraments of baptism and extreme unction alone could be administered.

It is difficult for us in modern days to realize the effect of these bans during these early ages. They rarely failed in bringing the most contumacious offender to a speedy and abject confession, or in effecting his undoing. This will appear in the following paragraph.

88. The Investiture Contest; Emperor Henry IV's Humiliation at Canossa (1077). It was in Germany that Gregory experienced the most formidable opposition to his reform measures. The Emperor-elect, King Henry IV (1056-1106), who had been threatened by Gregory with excommunication and deposition, gathering in council such of the prelates of the Empire as would answer his call, even dared to bid him descend from the papal throne. Gregory in turn gathered a council at Rome and deposed and excommunicated the Emperor.

Henry's excommunication encouraged a revolt on the part of some of his discontented subjects. He was shunned as a man accursed by Heaven. His authority seemed to have slipped entirely out of his hands, and his kingdom was on the point of going to pieces.. In this wretched state of his affairs there was but one thing for him to do,— to go to Gregory and humbly sue for pardon and reinstatement in the favor of the Church.

Henry sought Gregory among the Apennines, at Canossa, a stronghold of the celebrated Countess Matilda of Tuscany. But Gregory refused to admit him to his presence. It was winter, and on three successive days the king, clothed in sackcloth, stood with bare feet in the snow of the courtyard of the castle, waiting for permission to kneel at the feet of the pontiff and to receive forgiveness. On the fourth day the king was admitted to the presence of Gregory and the sentence of excommunication was removed.

Henry afterwards avenged his humiliation. He raised an army, descended upon Rome, and drove Gregory into exile at **Salerno**,

where he died **with** these words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an Sxile."

But the quarrel did not end here. It was taken up by the successors of Gregory, and Henry was again excommunicated. After maintaining a long struggle with the power of the Church and **with** his own sons, who were incited to rebel against him, **he** finally died broken-hearted.

89. Concordat of Worms (1122). Henry's successors maintained the quarrel with the popes. The outcome of the matter, after many years of bitter contention, was the celebrated Concordat of Worms. It was agreed that all bishops and abbots of **the** Empire, after free election by those having this right, should receive the ring and staff, the symbols of their spiritual jurisdiction, from the Pope, but that the Emperor should exercise the right of investiture by the touch of a scepter, the emblem of temporal rights and authority. This was a recognition by both parties that all spiritual authority emanates from the Church and all temporal authority from the State. It was a compromise,—"**a rendering** unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

We must here drop the story of the contentions of Pope and Emperor in order to watch the peoples of Europe as at the time we have now reached they undertake with surprising unanimity and enthusiasm the most remarkable enterprises in which they were ever engaged,—the Crusades, or Holy W^Tars. It was the prestige which the Papacy had gained in its contest with the Empire which enabled the popes to exert such an influence in setting the Crusades in motion and in directing them; while at the same time it was these enterprises which, reacting upon the Papacy, greatly aided the popes in realizing Gregory's ideal of making the **papal** authority supreme throughout Western Christendom.

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all-pervading authority. French and English history, of the period covered by the pontificate of Innocent III, each affords a striking illustration of the subject relation which the sovereigns of Europe had come to sustain to the Papal See.

The French throne was at this time held by Philip Augustus (1180-1223). On some pretext Philip had put away his wife and entered into another marriage alliance. Pope Innocent III, as the censor of the morals of kings as well as of the morals of their subjects, commanded him to take back his discarded queen, and upon his refusal to do so, laid France under an interdict. Philip was finally constrained to yield obedience to the Pope and undo the wrong he had done.

This triumph of the Papal See over so strong and imperious a sovereign has been pronounced "the proudest trophy in the scutcheon of Rome."

106. Pope Innocent III and King John of England. The story of Innocent's triumph over King John (1199-1216) of England is familiar. The see of Canterbury falling vacant, John ordered the monks who had the right of election to give the place to a favorite of his. They obeyed; but the Pope immediately declared the election void, and caused the vacancy to be filled with one of his own friends, Stephen Langton. John declared that Langton should never enter England as primate, and proceeded to confiscate the estates of the see. Innocent now laid all England under an interdict, excommunicated John, and incited the French king, Philip Augustus, to undertake a crusade against the contumacious rebel.

The outcome of the matter was that John was compelled to yield to the power of the Church. He gave back the lands he had confiscated, acknowledged Langton to be the rightful primate of England, and even went so far as to give England and Ireland to the Pope, receiving them back as a perpetual fief (1213). In token of his vassalage he agreed to pay to the Papal See the annual sum of one thousand marks sterling. This tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, until the reign of Edward III (sect. no).

107. The Mendicant Orders, or Begging Friars.¹ The immediate successors of Innocent III found a strong support for their authority in two new monastic orders known as the Dominican and the Franciscan. They were so named after their respective founders, St. Dominic (i 1170-1221) and St. Francis (about 1182-1226). Speaking in general terms, until now the monk had sought cloistral solitude primarily in order to escape from the world and to work out his own salvation. In the new orders the members instead of withdrawing from the world were to remain in it and give themselves wholly to the work of securing the salvation of others.

Again, the orders were also as *orders* to renounce all earthly possessions, and, "espousing Poverty as a bride," to rely entirely for support upon the daily and voluntary alms of the pious.² Hitherto, while the individual members of a monastic order must espouse extreme poverty, the house or fraternity might possess any amount of communal wealth. But in the new orders "the brethren must be as poor as the brother."

There was at first a wide difference between the two fraternities. St. Francis and the disciples whom his boundless self-sacrificing charity drew about him devoted themselves, in imitation of Christ and the apostles, to preaching the gospel to the poor and outcast and to visiting those who were sick and in prison. St. Dominic made his appeal to the higher and cultured class. He conceived his mission to be the combating of heresy, with which the intellectual ferment of the times had begun to fill Christendom.

The new fraternities grew and spread with marvelous rapidity, and in less than a generation they had quite overshadowed all the old monastic orders of the Church. The popes conferred upon them many and special privileges. They in turn became **the** staunchest friends and supporters of the Roman See. They **were to** the Papacy of the thirteenth century what the Benedictines

¹ From *fratres*, *fr}res* brethren.

² The friars soon came to interpret their vow of poverty more liberally, and believed **that** they met its obligations when they put the title of the property they acquired in **the** hands of the Pope, -while they themselves simply enjoyed the use of it. The **new fraternities** grew in time to be among the richest of the monastic orders.

were to the early Papacy or what the later Order of the Jesuits was to the papal Church of the Reformation era (sect. 213).

108. The Revolt of the Nations. The fourteenth century marks the turning point in the history of the temporal power of the Papacy. In the course of that century France, Germany, and England successively revolted against the Roman See and formally denied the right of the Pope to interfere in their political or governmental affairs. But it should be carefully noted that the leaders of this revolt against the secular domination of the Papacy did not think of challenging the spiritual authority of the Pope as the supreme head of the Church. Their attitude was wholly like that of the Italians of our own day, who, while dispossessing the Pope of the last remnant of his temporal sovereignty, abate nothing of their veneration for him as the Vicar of God in all things moral and spiritual (sect. 506).

109. Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France. It was during the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) that the secular authority of the popes received a severe blow and began rapidly to decline. In the year 1296 Boniface issued a bull in which, under pain of excommunication, he forbade all ecclesiastical persons, without papal permission, to pay taxes in any form levied by lay rulers. All civil rulers of whatsoever name—baron, duke, prince, king, or emperor—who should presume to impose upon ecclesiastics taxes of any kind were also to incur the same sentence.

Philip of France regarded the papal claims as an encroachment upon the civil authority. The contention between him and the Pope speedily grew into a bitter and undignified quarrel. In one of his letters to Boniface, Philip addressed the pontiff in words of unseemly and studied rudeness. Philip was bold because he knew that his people were with him. The popular feeling was given expression in a famous States-General which the king summoned in 1302, and in another called together the next year. The three estates of the realm—the nobility, the clergy, and the commons—declared that the Pope had no authority in France in civil matters; that the French king had no superior save God.

110. Removal of the Papal Seat to Avignon; Revolt of Germany and England. Only a few years after this, through the concurrence of various influences, the papal seat was removed from Rome to Avignon, in Provence, adjoining the frontier of France. Here it remained for a space of nearly seventy years (1309-1376), an era known in Church history as the "Babylonian Captivity." While it was established here all the popes were Frenchmen and their policies were largely dictated by the French kings. Under these circumstances it was but natural that outside of France there should be stirred up a more and more angry protest against the interference of the popes in civil matters. The measures taken at this time by Germany and England, in both of which countries a national sentiment was springing up, show how completely the Papacy had lost prestige as an international power.

In 1338 the German princes, with whom rested the right of electing the German king, in opposing the papal claims declared that the German Emperor derived all his powers from God through them and not from the Pope. The German Diet indorsed this declaration, and the principle that the German Emperor, as to his election and the exercise of his functions, is independent of the Papal See became from that time forward a part of the German constitution.

A little later (in 1366), during the reign of Edward III, the English Parliament, acting in a like spirit and temper, put an end to English vassalage to Rome by formally refusing to pay the tribute pledged by King John¹ and by repudiating wholly the claims of the popes upon England as a fief of the Holy See.²

111. The Papacy remains a Spiritual Theocracy. After the events of the fourteenth century the Roman pontiffs were never able to exercise such authority over the kings of Europe, or exact

¹ See sect. 106. The payment of this tribute had fallen in arrears.

² Another disastrous result to the Papacy of the Babylonian exile was the discontent created among the Italians by the situation of the papal court, which led to an open rupture between them and the papal party. In 1378 the opposing factions each elected a Pope, and thus there were two heads of the Church, one at Avignon and another at Rome. Such was the beginning of the Great Schism (1378-1417). A generation passed before the Catholic world was again united under a single spiritual head.

from them such obedience in civil affairs, as had been possible for the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The splendid ideal of Hildebrand, though so nearly realized, had at last, as to one half of what he purposed, proved an utter failure.

We say that the Roman pontiffs failed as to one half of their purpose ; for while they failed to make good their supremacy in temporal affairs, they did succeed in establishing and perpetuating an absolute spiritual dominion, their plenary authority in all matters of faith being today acknowledged by not far from half of all those who bear the name of Christian.

And so the Papacy, though its temporal power has been entirely, taken from it, and its spiritual authority rejected in general by the Northern nations, still remains, as Macaulay says, "not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor." The Pope is today, in the view of a great section of Christendom, the infallible head of a Church that, in the famous words of the brilliant writer just quoted, "was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveler from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

References. BRYCK, J., *The Holy Roman Emperors*, chaps, xi and xiii. PASTOR, L., *The History of the Popes*, vol. i (Catholic). KMFRTON, F., *Medieval Europe*, sections of chaps, ix and x. PAKRY, V., *The Papal Monarchy*, chaps, xviii-xxv. JALANI, U., *The Popes and the Monarchy*. TOUT, T. F., *The Empire and the Papacy** chaps, xi, xiv, xvi, and xxi. SAISATIKR, P., *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (a book of genius and spiritual insight). *The Mirror of Perfection* (ed. by Paul Sabatier). This is the life of St. Francis written by a companion and disciple. It is a wonderful story simply and lovingly told. CRKJCHTON, M., *History of the Papacy*, vol. i, "The Great Schism; the Council of Constance." JESSOP, A., *The Coming of the Friars*.

CHAPTER XIV

TURANIAN CONQUESTS; MONGOLS AND TURKS

112. The Huns and the Hungarians. The Huns of Attila (defeated at Chalons A.D. 451) were the first Turanians¹ that during historic times pushed their way in among the peoples of Europe.

The next Turanian invaders of Europe that we need here notice were the Magyars, or Hungarians, another branch of the Hunnic race, who in the ninth century of our era succeeded in thrusting themselves far into the continent, and establishing there the important kingdom of Hungary. These intruders soon adopted the manners, customs, and religion (though not the language) of the peoples about them—became, in a word, Europeanized, and for a long time were the main defense of Christian Europe against the Turkish tribes of the same race that broke into the continent on the southeast in the fourteenth century.

113. The Mongols. Two centuries and more after the intrusion of the Hungarians into Europe, the Mongols, or Tatars, cruel and untamed nomads bred on the steppes of central and eastern Asia, that nursery of conquering races, began to set up a new dominion among the various tribes of Mongolia. Their first great chieftain was Jenghiz Khan (1206-1227), the most terrible scourge that ever afflicted the human race. At the head of innumerable hordes composed largely of Turkish tribes, callous and pitiless in their slaughterings as though their victims belonged to another species than themselves, Jenghiz traversed with sword and torch a great part of Asia. He conquered all the northern part of China, and then turning westward overran Turkestan and Persia. Cities disappeared as he advanced; populous plains were

¹ This term is used to designate the northern branch (Finns, Huns, Hungarians, Mongols or Tatars, Turks, etc.) of the Mongolian race. Some of these nations have been greatly modified through intermixture with Caucasians on the west or with Chinese on the southeast; but all show their kinship in their language.

transformed into silent deserts. Before death overtook him he had extended his authority to the Dnieper in Russia and to the valley of the Indus. Even in death he claimed his victims: at his tomb forty maidens were slain that their spirits might go to serve him in the other world.

One of the most noted of the later Mongol chieftains was Kublai Khan (1259-1294), who made Cambalu, the modern Peking, his

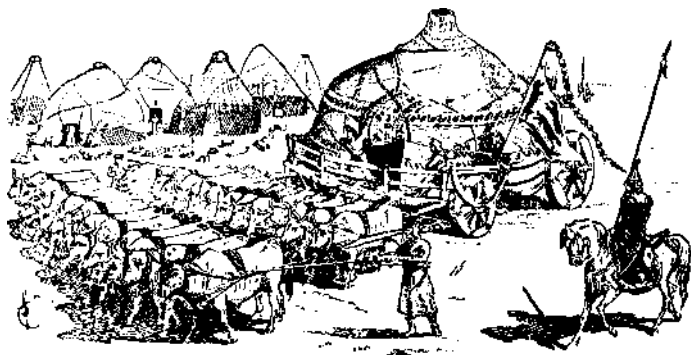


FIG. 12. HUT-WAGON OF THE MÆDÆVAL TATARS. (From Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*)

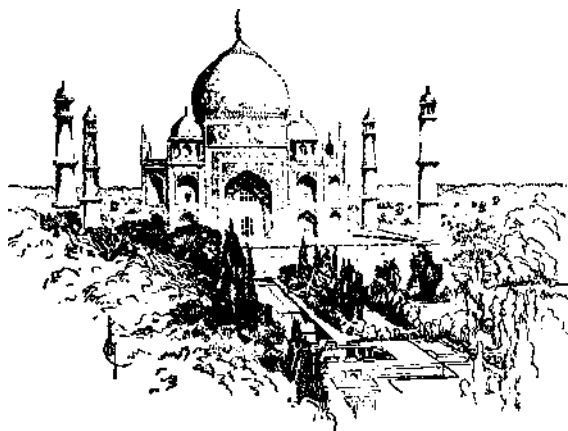
The wandering Scyths who dwell
In latticed huts high-poised on easy wheels.

/KSCHYIAJs, *Prom. Vinci.*, 709-710 ; quoted by Yule

royal seat, and there received ambassadors and visitors from all parts of the world. It was at the court of this prince that the celebrated Italian traveler Marco Polo resided many years and gained that valuable and quickening knowledge of the Far East which he communicated to Europe in his remarkable work of travels and observations.

Upon the death of Kublai Khan the immoderately extended and loosely knit empire fell into disorder and separated into many petty states. It was restored by Timur, or Tamerlane (1369-1405), a remote relative of Jenghiz Khan. His dominions came to embrace a great part of Asia.

Timur's immense empire crumbled to pieces after his death. His descendant Baber invaded India (1525) and established there what became known as the Kingdom of the Great Moguls. This Mongol state lasted over two hundred years,—until destroyed in the eighteenth century by the Persians and the English. The magnificence of the court of the Great Moguls at Delhi and Agra is one of the most splendid traditions of the East.



IG. 13. THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA. (From a photograph)

This magnificent monument was erected by the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan (1625-1655), for a favorite wife who died in 1631

Asia has never recovered from the terrible devastation wrought by the Mongol conquerors. Many districts swarming with life were swept clean of their population by these destroyers of the race and have remained to this day desolate as the tomb. But it is the relation of the Mongol eruption to the history of the West that chiefly concerns us at present. This revolution had significance for European history almost solely on account of the Mongols having laid the yoke of their power for a long time—for about three centuries—upon the Eastern Slavs. This was some such calamity for Russia as the later conquests of the Ottoman Turks were for the lands of southeastern Europe.

114. The Beginnings of the Ottoman¹ Empire. The latest, most permanent, and most important historically of all the Turanian sovereignties was that established by the Ottoman Turks. The nucleus of this great empire was a little state set up in Asia Minor about the middle of the thirteenth century by a band of Turkish warriors. Gradually the Ottoman princes subjected to their rule the surrounding tribes, and at the same time seized upon province after province of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine emperors. During the latter half of the fourteenth century a large part of the regions that came to be known as Turkey in Europe fell into their hands.

115. The Janizaries. The conquests of the Turks were greatly aided by a remarkably efficient body of soldiers known as the Janizaries, which was organized early in the fourteenth century. This select corps was composed at first of the fairest children of Christian captives, who were brought up in the Mohammedan faith. When war ceased to furnish recruits, the sultans levied a tribute of children on their Christian subjects. At one time this tribute amounted to two thousand boys yearly. This method of recruiting the corps was maintained for about three centuries.

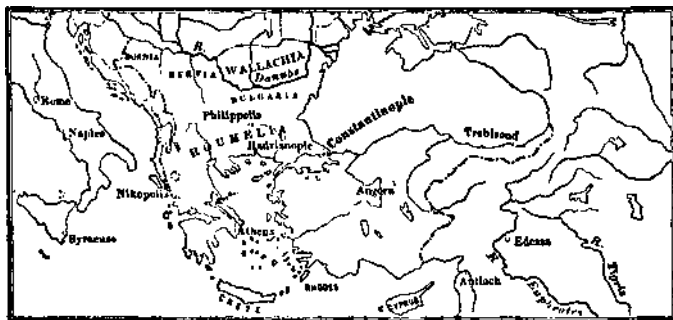
116. The Fall of Constantinople (1453). The fall of Constantinople was delayed for a time by the attacks of the Mongols upon the Ottomans in Asia. But finally, in the year 1453, Mohammed II the Great laid siege to the capital with a vast army and fleet. After a short investment the place was taken by storm. Of the hundred thousand inhabitants of the capital many thousands were slain and above fifty thousand made slaves. The Cross on the dome of St. Sophia was replaced by the Crescent.

Thus fell New Rome into the hands of the barbarians of the East almost an exact millennium after Old Rome had passed into the possession of the barbarians of the West. Its fall was one of the most harrowing and fate-laden events in history. As Mohammed, like Scipio at Carthage, gazed upon the ruined city and the empty palace of Constantine, he is said, impressed by the

¹ From Othman I (1288-1326), or Osman, whence not only "Ottoman," but "Osmanlis," the favorite name which the Turks apply to themselves.

mutability of fortune, to have repeated musingly the lines of the Persian poet Firdusi: "The spiders web is the curtain in Caesar's palace; the owl is the sentinel on the watchtower of Afrasiab."¹

The Turks have ever remained quite insensible to the influences of European civilization. They were always looked upon as intruders in Europe, and their presence there led to several of the



THE EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS ABOUT 1461

most sanguinary wars of modern times. Gradually they were pushed out from practically all their European possessions and driven back across the Bosphorus, just as the Moslem Moors were expelled from the southwestern corner of the continent by the Christian chivalry of Spain.

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¹ Afrasiab is the name of a personage who figures in the historical legends of Persia.

CHAPTER XV

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWNS

117. Rapid Development of the Cities in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. The old Roman towns, as points of attack and defense, suffered much during the period of the barbarian invasions. When the storm had passed, many of the once strong-walled towns lay "rings of ruins" on the wasted plains. But it was not alone the violence of the destroyers of the Empire that brought so many cities to ruin; what chiefly caused their depopulation and decay was the preference of the barbarians for the open country to the city. Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe was essentially a rural population like that of Russia today.

But just as soon as the invaders had settled down and civilization had begun to revive, the towns began gradually to assume somewhat of their former importance. During the tenth century western Europe, it will be recalled, was terribly troubled by the Northmen, the Hungarians, and the Saracens (sect. 65). There being no strong central government, the cities, thrown upon their own resources for defense, armed their militia, and above all else surrounded themselves with walls. Strong walls were the only sure protection in those evil times. Thus Europe became thick-set with strong-walled cities, the counterpart of the castles of the feudal lords, which were the defense of the countryside.

118. The Industrial Life of the Towns; the Gilds. The towns were the workshops of the later Middle Ages. The most noteworthy characteristics of their industrial life are connected with certain corporations or fraternities known as gilds. There were two chief classes of these, the merchant gild and the craft gilds. The members of the merchant gild, speaking generally, were the chief landowners and traders of the place. The craft gilds were unions of the shoemakers, the bakers, the weavers, the

spinners, the dyers, the millers, and so on to the end. In some cities there were upwards of fifty of these associations.

The internal history of the towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is very largely the story of the gilds in their manifold activities. This story, however, it is impossible to give even in outline in our short space. We must content ourselves

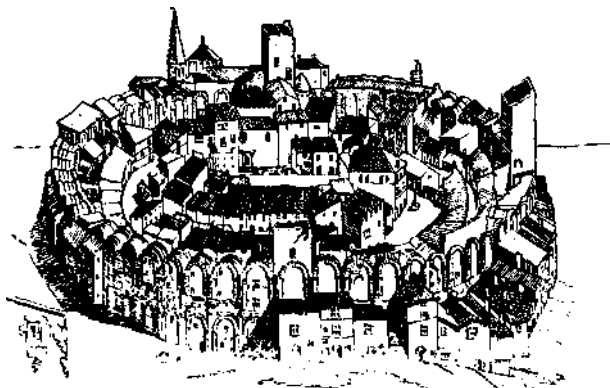


Fig. 14. THE AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES IN MEDIAEVAL TIMES

The amphitheater was made a fortress, packed with houses, in the eighth century, on account of Saracen incursions. — JUSTIN H. SMITH

with having merely indicated the place of these interesting and important fraternities in the life of the mediaeval towns.

119. The Hanseatic¹ League. When, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the towns of northern Europe began to extend their commercial connections, the greatest drawback to their trade was the insecurity and disorder that everywhere prevailed. The trader who intrusted his goods to the overland routes was in danger of losing them at the hands of the robber nobles, who watched all the lines of travel and either robbed the merchant outright or levied an iniquitous toll upon his goods. Nor was the way by sea beset with less peril. Piratical crafts scoured the waters and made booty of any luckless merchantman they might overpower or lure to wreck upon the dangerous shores.

* From the old German *hansa*, a confederation or union.

This state of things led some of the German cities, about the middle of the fourteenth century, to form, for the protection of their merchants, an alliance called the Hanseatic League. The confederation eventually embraced eighty or more of the principal towns of North Germany. In order to facilitate the trading operations of its members, the league established in different foreign



THE HANSA TOWNS AND THEIR CHIEF FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS

cities trading posts and warehouses. The most noted centers of the trade of the confederation were the cities of Bruges, London, Bergen, Wisby, and Novgorod. The league thus became a vast monopoly, which endeavored to control in the interests of its own members the entire commerce of northern Europe.

Numerous causes concurred to undermine the prosperity of the Hansa towns and to bring about the dissolution of the league. Among these were the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which transferred the centers of commercial activity as well from the Baltic as from the Mediterranean ports to the harbors on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Reformation and the accompanying religious wars in Germany, which brought many of the Hansa towns to utter ruin.

120. Causes of the Early Growth of the Italian Cities. But it was in Italy that the mediseval cities acquired the greatest power and influence. Several things conspired to promote their early and rapid development, but a main cause of their prosperity was their trade with the East, and the enormous impulse given to this commerce by the Crusades.

With wealth came power, and all the chief Italian cities became distinct, self-governing states, with just a nominal dependence upon Pope or Emperor. Toward the close of the thirteenth century northern and central Italy was divided among about two hundred contentious little city-republics. Italy had become another Greece.

121. The Rise of Despots. The constant wars of the Italian cities with each other and the incessant strife of parties within each city led to the same issue as that to which tended the endless contentions and divisions of the Greek cities in ancient times. Their democratic institutions were overthrown, and by the end of the thirteenth century a large part of the city-republics of northern and central Italy had fallen into the hands of domestic tyrants, many of whom by their crimes rendered themselves as odious as the worst of the tyrants who usurped supreme power in the cities of ancient Hellas.

122. Venice. Venice, the most famous of the Italian cities, had its beginnings in the fifth century in the rude huts of some refugees who fled out into the marshes of the Adriatic to escape the fury of the Huns of Attila. Century after century conquests and negotiations gradually extended the possessions of the island republic, until she finally came to control the coast and waters of the eastern Mediterranean in much the same way that Carthage had mastery of the western Mediterranean at the time of the First Punic War. Even before the Crusades her trade with the East was very extensive, and by those expeditions it was expanded to enormous dimensions.

Venice was at the height of her power during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Her supremacy on the sea was celebrated each year by the unique ceremony of "Wedding the

Adriatic" by the dropping of a ring into the sea. The origin of this custom was as follows: In the year 1177 Pope Alexander III, out of gratitude to the Venetians for services rendered him, gave a ring to the Doge with these words: "Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This ceremony was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the Middle Ages.

The decline of Venice dates from the fifteenth century. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks during this century deprived her of a great part of the territory she had east of the Adriatic, and finally the discovery of the New World by Columbus and of an unbroken water route to India by Vasco da Gama

gave a deathblow to her commerce. From this time on the trade with the East was to be conducted from the Atlantic ports instead of from those in the Mediterranean.

123. Services of the Mediaeval Towns to Civilization. Modern civilization inherited much from each of the three great centers of mediaeval life,—the monastery, the castle, and the town. We have noticed what came out of cloister and baronial hall, what the monk and what the baron contributed to civilization (sects. 20, 69). We must now see what came out of the town,—what contribution the burgher made to European life and culture.

In the first place, the towns were the centers of the industrial and commercial life of the Middle Ages, and laid the foundations

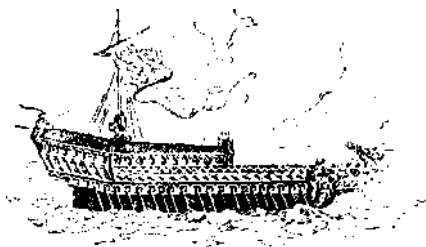


FIG. 15. STATE BARGE OF VENICE USED IN THE CEREMONY OF "WEDDING THE ADRIATIC"¹ (From a model preserved in the Venetian Arsenal; after *Lacroix*)

She was a maiden city bright and free ;
No guile seduced, no force could violate ;
And, when she took unto herself a mate,
She must espouse the everlasting sea.

WORDSWORTH

of that vast system of international exchange and traffic which forms a characteristic feature of modern European civilization.

In the second place, the mediaeval cities, along with the monasteries, were the foster home of architecture, sculpture, and painting. These things, as has been well said, are "the beautiful flowers of free city life/' The old picturesque high-gabled houses, the sculptured gildhalls, the artistic gateways, the superb palaces, and the imposing cathedrals found in so many of the cities of Europe today bear witness to the important place which the mediaeval towns hold in the history of architecture and art.¹

In the third place, the towns were the birthplace of modern political liberty. The inhabitants of the towns grew into a new order destined to a great political future, the so-called *Third Estate*, or *Commons*. During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the representatives of the towns came to sit along with the nobles and the clergy in the national diets or parliaments of the different countries.² What this meant for the development of modern parliamentary government we shall learn later.

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¹ The enthusiasm for church building was most marked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The style of architecture first employed was the Romanesque, characterized by the rounded arch and the dome; but toward the close of the twelfth century this was superseded by the Gothic, distinguished by the pointed arch, the slender spire, and rich ornamentation.

² In England the towns were first asked to send representatives to Parliament in 1265 (sect. 135); in France the delegates of the Third Estate sat with the lords and clergy for the first time in 1302 (sect. 1563); in Aragon and Castile the representatives of the cities were admitted to the Cortes in 11 m and 1162 respectively: in (Jermany the deputies of the free imperial cities acquired membership in the Diet during the reign of Henry V II (1308-1313).

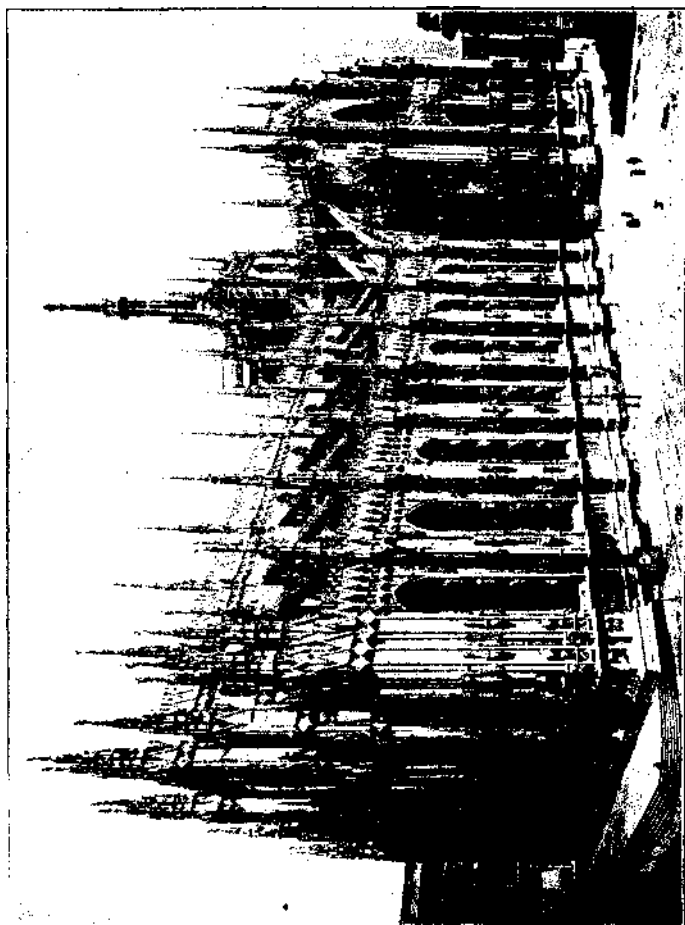


FIG. 16. MILAN CATHEDRAL. (From a photograph)

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SCHOOLMEN

124. The Rise and Early Growth of the Universities. A significant feature of the work of Charlemagne was the establishment of schools in connection with the cathedrals and monasteries of his realm. From the opening of the ninth till well on into the eleventh century the lamp of learning was fed in these Church schools, although throughout the tenth century the flame burned very low. But early in the twelfth century a new intellectual movement began to stir Western Christendom. This mental revival was caused by many agencies, particularly by the quickening influence of the Graeco-Arabian culture in Spain and the Orient, with which the Christian West was just now being brought into closer contact through the Crusades. As a consequence of this newly awakened intellectual life there arose a demand for a more secular system of education than that given in the cloister schools,—one that should prepare a person for entering upon a professional career as a physician, lawyer, or statesman.¹

It was in response to these new demands that the universities came into existence. Some of these were mere expansions of cathedral or monastery schools; others developed out of lay schools which had grown up in commercial towns. Three of the most ancient universities were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine ; the University of Bologna, frequented for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for the authority of its doctors in theology. The University of Paris

¹ The number of faculties in the mediaeval university was not fixed. A usual number was four,—the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). The course in arts embraced what is today covered by the courses in letters and science, and served as a preparation for entrance upon one of the three specialized professional courses, though most of the students never went beyond it.

gave constitution and rules to so many as to earn the designation of "the Mother of Universities and the Sinai of the Middle Ages."

125. Students and Student Life. The number of students in attendance at the mediaeval universities was large. Contemporaries tell of crowds of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty thousand



FIG. 17. UNIVERSITY AUDIENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
(From Geiger's *Renaissance und Humanismus*)

at the most popular institutions. These numbers are doubtless exaggerated, but that the attendance was numerous is certain, for in those times all who were eager to acquire knowledge must needs seek some seat of learning, since the scarcity and great cost of manuscript books put home study out of the question. Then, again, many of the pupils attending the non-professional courses were mere boys of twelve or thereabouts,—the high-school pupils of today; while, on the other hand, the student body embraced many mature men, among whom were to be counted canons, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries.

Student life in the earlier university period, before the dormitory and college system was introduced, was unregulated and shamefully disorderly. The age was rough and lawless, and the student class were no better than their age; indeed, in some respects they seem to have been worse. For the student body included many rich young profligates, who found the universities the most agreeable places for idling away their time, as well as many wild and reckless characters who were constantly engaging in tavern brawls, terrorizing the townsmen at night, even way-laying travelers on the public roads and committing "many other enormities hateful to God."

126. Branches of Study and Methods of Instruction. The advanced studies given greatest prominence in the universities were the three professional branches of theology, medicine, and law. The natural sciences can hardly be said to have existed, although in alchemy lay hidden the germ of chemistry and in astrology that of astronomy. The Ptolemaic theory, which made the earth the stationary center of the revolving celestial spheres, gave color and form to all conceptions of the structure of the universe.

The method of instruction, which was given in the Latin language, was the same in all the university departments. It was a servile study of texts, which were regarded with a veneration bordering on superstition. Not even in the physical sciences was there any serious appeal to experience, to observation, to experiment. In anatomy discussions took the place of dissections.¹ Books were considered better authority than nature herself. "Aristotle was regarded as the founders of religions are wont to be considered." One venturing to criticize this "Master of those who know" was looked upon as presumptuous and irreverent.

127. Scholasticism; the Province of the Schoolmen. Springing up within the early ecclesiastical schools and developed within the later universities, there came into existence a method of philosophizing which, from the place of its origin, was called

¹ At Bologna, where anatomical study was most advanced, each student witnessed only one dissection during the year.

Scholasticism, while its representatives were called Schoolmen, or Scholastics. The chief task of the Schoolmen was the reducing of Christian doctrines to scientific form, the harmonizing of revelation and reason, of faith and science. Viewed in this light, it was not altogether unlike that theological philosophy of the present day whose aim is to harmonize the Bible with the facts of modern science.

128. Peter Abelard. The most eminent of the early Schoolmen was Peter Abelard (1079-1142). Such a teacher the world had probably not produced since Socrates enchained the youth of Athens. At Paris over five thousand pupils are said to have thronged his lecture room. Driven by the shame of a public scandal to seek retirement, he hid himself first in a monastery and later in a solitude near the city of Troyes. But his admirers followed him into the wilds in such multitudes that a veritable university sprang up around him in his desert retreat.

Abelard's brilliant reputation as a philosopher was tarnished by grave faults of character. Intrusted with the education of a fascinating and mentally gifted maiden, Heloise by name, Abelard betrayed the confidence reposed in him. A secret marriage bound in a tragic fate the lives of teacher and pupil. The "tale of Abelard and Heloise" forms one of "the most romantic yet saddest traditions of the twelfth century.

129. Scholasticism in the Thirteenth Century. The thirteenth century was the great age of Scholasticism. Its most illustrious representatives during this period were Albertus Magnus, or "Albert the Great" (d. 1280), who was called "the second Aristotle," and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), known as "the Angelic Doctor." As philosophers these Schoolmen stand to each other in some such relation as did Plato and Aristotle, nor are their names unworthy of being linked with the names of those great thinkers of ancient Greece. The reputation of Aquinas as the greatest Scholastic and theologian of the Middle Ages rests largely upon his prodigious work entitled *Summa Theologiae* or "Sum of Theology." The work is regarded as the standard of orthodoxy in the Roman Catholic Church.

The most noteworthy representative of the scientific activity of the Scholastic age was the English Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon (d. about 1294), called "the Wonderful Doctor," on account of his marvelous knowledge of mechanics, optics, chemistry, and other sciences. He understood the composition of gunpowder, or a similar explosive, and seemingly the nature of steam; for in one of his works he says that "wagons and ships could be built which would propel themselves with the swiftness of an arrow, without horses and without sails." His contemporaries believed him to be in league with the devil. He certainly was in league with the Arabian scholars, whose works he studied. He suffered persecution and was imprisoned for fourteen years.

Roger Bacon's greatest bequest to posterity was a book called *Opus Majus*, in which are anticipated in a wonderful way those principles of modern inductive science laid down by Francis Bacon in the seventeenth century.

130. The Decline of Scholasticism; Services of the Schoolmen to Intellectual Progress. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the decline of Scholasticism. In this period Scholastic debate in the hands of unworthy successors of the earlier great philosophers fell away for the most part into barren disputations over idle and impossible questions. The Schoolmen sank in public estimation and gave place to the humanists (sect. 176).

But notwithstanding this degeneracy of Scholasticism, the Schoolmen as a whole rendered a great service to the intellectual progress of Europe. By their ceaseless debates they sharpened the wits of men and created activity of thought and deftness in argument. They made the universities of the time real mental gymnasias, in which the awakening mind of Europe was trained and strengthened for its later and, happily, more fruitful work.

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CHAPTER XVII

GROWTH OF THE NATIONS: FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND LITERATURES

131. Introductory* The most important political movement that marked the latter part of the Middle Ages was the fusion, in several of the countries of Europe, of the petty feudal principalities and half-independent cities and communes into great nations with strong centralized governments. This movement was accompanied by, or rather consisted in, the decline of feudalism as a governmental system, the loss by the cities of their freedom, and the growth of the power of the kings.

In some countries, however, conditions were opposed to this centralizing tendency, and in these the Modern Age was reached without nationality having been found. But in England, in France, and in Spain circumstances all seemed to tend toward unity, and by the close of the fifteenth century there were established in these countries strong despotic monarchies. Yet even among those peoples where national governments did not appear, some progress was made toward unity through the formation of national languages and literatures, and the development of common feelings and aspirations, so that these races or peoples were manifestly only awaiting the opportunities of a happier period for the maturing of their national life.

The rise of monarchy and the decline of feudalism, this substitution of strong centralized governments in place of the feeble, irregular, and conflicting rule of the feudal nobles or of other local authorities, was a very great gain to the cause of law and good order. In these changes the political liberties of all classes, of the cities as well as of the nobility, were, it is true, subverted. But though Liberty was lost, Nationality was found. And the people may be trusted to win back freedom, as we shall see.

I. ENGLAND

132. General Statement. In earlier chapters-we told of the origin of the English people and traced their growth under Saxon, Danish, and Norman rulers. In the present sections we shall tell very briefly the story of their fortunes under the Plantagenet house and its branches, thus carrying on our narrative to the accession of the Tudors in 1485, from which event dates the beginning of the modern history of England.

The chief events of the period which we shall notice were the loss of the English possessions in France, the wresting of *Magna Carta* from King John, the formation of the House of Commons, the wars with Scotland, the Hundred Years' War with France, and the Wars of the Roses.

133. Loss of the English Possessions in France (1202-1204). The issue of the battle of Hastings, in 1066, made William of Normandy king of England. But we must bear in mind that he still held his possessions in France as a fief from the French king, whose vassal he was. These Continental lands, save for some short intervals, remained under the rule of William's Norman successors in England. Then, when Henry, Count of Anjou, came to the English throne as the first of the Plantagenets (sect. 82), these territories were greatly increased by the French possessions of that prince. The larger part of Henry's dominions, indeed, was in France, the whole of the western half of the country being in his hands; but for all of this he of course paid homage to the French king.

As was inevitable, a feeling of intense jealousy sprang up between the two sovereigns. The French king was ever watching for some pretext upon which he might deprive his rival of his possessions in France. The opportunity came when John, in 1199, succeeded Richard the Lion-Hearted as king of England. Twice that odious tyrant was summoned by Philip Augustus of France to appear before his French peers and clear himself of certain charges, one of which was the murder of his nephew **Arthur**. John refused to obey the summons. **Philip** was finally able, so strong

was **the** feeling against John, to dispossess him of all his lands in France, save a part of Aquitaine in the south.

The loss of these lands was a great gain to England. The Angevin kings had been pursuing a policy which, had it been successful, would have made England a subordinate part of a great Continental state. That danger was now averted.

134. Magna Carta (1215). *Magna Carta*, the "Great Charter," held sacred as the safeguard of English liberties, was an instrument which the English barons and clergy wrested from King John, and in which the ancient rights and privileges of the people were clearly denned and guaranteed.

King John, as will easily be believed from the revelation of his character already made, surpassed the worst of his predecessors in tyranny and wickedness. His course led to an open revolt of the barons of the realm. The tyrant was forced to bow to the storm he had raised. He met his barons at Runnymede, a flat meadow on the Thames, near Windsor, and there affixed his seal to the instrument that had been prepared to receive it.

Among the important articles of the Great Charter were the following, which we give as showing at once the nature of the venerable document and the kind of grievances of which the people had occasion to complain.

ART. 12. No scutage¹ or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter, and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid ; . . .

ART. 39. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

'The Great Charter did not create new rights and privileges, **but** in its main points simply reasserted and confirmed old usages **and** laws. It was immediately violated by John and afterwards **was** disregarded by many of his successors; but the people always

¹ Scutage was a money payment made in commutation of personal military service.



THE PLANTAGENET POSSESSIONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

clung to it as the warrant and safeguard of their liberties, and again and again forced tyrannical kings to renew and confirm its provisions and swear solemnly to observe all its articles.

Considering the far-reaching consequences that resulted from the granting of *Magna Carta*,—the securing of constitutional liberty as an inheritance for the English-speaking race in all parts of the world,—it must always be considered the most important concession ever wrung from a tyrannical sovereign.

135. Beginnings of the House of Commons (1265). The reign of Henry III (1216-1272), John's son and successor, witnessed the second important step taken in English constitutional freedom. This was the formation of the House of Commons, the Great Council having up to this time been made up of nobles and bishops. It was again the royal misbehavior—so frequently is it, as Lieber says, that Liberty is indebted to bad kings, though to them she owes no thanks—that led to this great change in the form of the English national assembly.

Henry had violated his oath to observe the provisions of the Great Charter and had become even more tyrannical than his father. In the words of a contemporary, the English were oppressed "like as the people of Israel under Pharaoh." The final outcome was an uprising of the barons and the people similar to that in the reign of King John. It was open war between the king and his people.

In order to rally all classes to the support of the cause he represented, Earl Simon de Montfort, the leader of the revolt, now issued, in the name of the king, who had been taken prisoner, writs of summons to the barons (save the king's adherents), the bishops, and the abbots to meet in Parliament; and at the same time sent similar writs to the sheriffs of the different shires, directing them "to return two knights for the body of their county, with two citizens or burghers for every city and borough contained in it." This was the first time that plain untitled citizens, or burghers, had been called to take their place with the barons, bishops, and knights, in the great council of the nation, to join in deliberations on the affairs of the realm.

From this gathering, then, may be dated the birth of the House of Commons (1265). Formed as it was of knights and burghers, representatives of the common people, it was at first a weak and timorous body, quite overawed by the great lords, but was destined finally to grow into the controlling branch of the British Parliament.

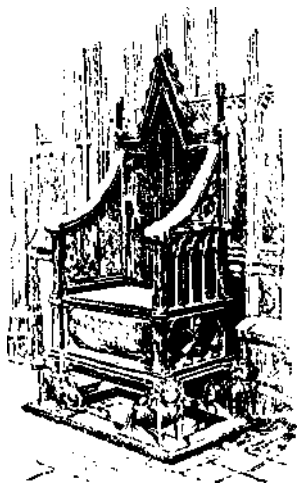


FIG. 18. CORONATION CHAIR
IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Beneath the scat is the celebrated Scottish Stone of Scone, which was carried away from Scotland by Edward I

136. Wars with Scotland (1296-132a). In the thirteenth century the English kings were claiming suzerain rights over Scotland. During the reign of Edward I of England the Scottish king (Balliol) broke the feudal ties which bound him to Edward and sought an alliance with the French king. In the war that followed the Scots were defeated and Scotland fell back as a forfeited fief into the hands of Edward (1296). As a sign that the Scottish kingdom had come to an end, Edward carried off to London the royal regalia, and with this a large stone, known as "the Stone of Scone," upon which the Scottish kings from time out of memory had been accustomed to be

crowned. The venerated "stone of destiny" was taken to Westminster Abbey and there made the seat of a stately throne chair, which to this day is used in the coronation ceremonies of the English sovereigns.

The two countries were not long united. The Scotch could not endure submission, and soon all the Lowlands were in determined revolt. In the great battle of Bannockburn (1314) the English **army** was almost annihilated. It was the most appalling disaster **that had** befallen the arms of the English people since the **memorable defeat** of Harold at Hastings.

The independence gained by the Scotch at Bannockburn (for though the war went on for some years longer Scotland was practically an independent nation thereafter) was maintained for nearly three centuries, until 1603, when the crowns of England and Scotland were peacefully united in the person of James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England, the founder of the Stuart dynasty of English kings. During the greater part of these three hundred years the two countries were very quarrelsome neighbors.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1338-1453)

137. Causes of the War. The long and wasteful war between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War was a most eventful one, and its effects upon both England and France were so important and lasting as to entitle it to a prominent place in the records of the closing events of the Middle Ages.

The wars with Scotland were one of the things that led up to this war. All through that struggle France, as the old and jealous rival of England, was ever giving aid and encouragement to the Scots. Then the English possessions in France, for which the English king owed homage to the French sovereign as overlord, were a source of constant dispute between the two countries.

138. The Battle of Crecy (1346). The first great combat of the long war was the famous battle of Crecy, in which the English bowmen inflicted upon the French a most terrible defeat. Twelve hundred knights, the flower of French chivalry, and thousands of foot soldiers lay dead upon the field.

The battle of Crecy is memorable for several reasons, but chiefly because feudalism and chivalry there received their deathblow. "The whole social and political fabric of the Middle Ages," writes Green, "rested on a military base, and its base was suddenly withdrawn. The churl had struck down the noble; the bowman proved more than a match, in sheer hard fighting, for the knight. From the day of Crecy feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave." The battles of the world were thereafter to be fought

and won, not by mail-clad knights with battle-ax and lance, but by common foot soldiers with bow and gun.¹

139. The Black Death (1347-1349). At just this time there fell upon Europe the awful pestilence known as the Black Death. The plague was introduced from the East by way of the trade routes of the Mediterranean, and from the Southern countries spread in the course of a few years over the entire continent, its

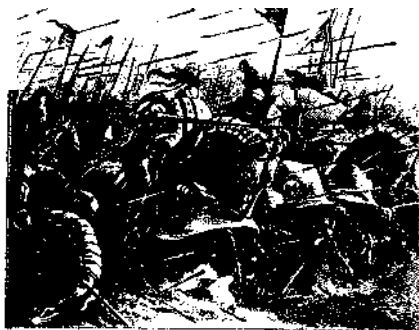


**FIG. 19. CHARGE OF FRENCH KNIGHTS AND
FLIGHT OF ENGLISH ARROWS**

virulence without doubt being greatly increased by the unsanitary condition of the crowded towns and the wretched mode of living of the poorer classes. In not a few regions almost all the people fell victims to the scourge. Many monasteries were almost emptied. In the Mediterranean and the Baltic, ships were seen drifting

about without a soul on board. Crops rotted unharvested in the fields ; herds and flocks wandered about unattended. It is estimated that from one third to one half of the population of Europe perished. Hecker, a historian of the pestilence, estimates the total number of victims at twenty-five millions. It was the most awful scourge that ever befell the human race.

140. Battle of Agincourt (1415). During the reign in England of Henry V, France was unfortunate in having an insane king, Charles VI ; and Henry, taking advantage of the disorder into which the French kingdom naturally fell under these circumstances, invaded the land with a well-equipped army, made up largely of archers. On the field of Agincourt the French suffered

¹ The next two important events of the war were the capture of Calais by the English (1347) and the battle of Poitiers (1356), which was for the French a second *Crcy*. The battle was followed (in 1360) by the treaty of Bretigny.

a most humiliating defeat, their terrible losses falling, as at Crecy, chiefly upon the knighthood. Five years later was concluded a treaty,¹ according to the terms of which the French crown, upon the death of Charles, was to go to the English king.

141. Joan of Arc; the Relief of Orleans (1429). But patriotism was not yet wholly extinct among the French people. There were many who regarded the concessions of the treaty as not only weak and shameful but as unjust to the dauphin Charles, who was thereby disinherited, and they accordingly refused to be bound by its provisions. Consequently, when the poor insane king died the terms of the treaty could not be carried out in full, and the war dragged on. The party that stood by their native prince, afterwards crowned as Charles VII, were at last reduced to most desperate straits. The greater part of the country was in the hands of the English, who were holding in close siege the important city of Orleans.

But the darkness was the deep gloom that precedes the dawn. A strange deliverer now appears,—the famous Joan of Arc. This young peasant girl, with soul sensitive to impressions from brooding over her country's wrongs and sufferings, saw visions and heard voices which bade her undertake the work of delivering France. She was obedient unto the heavenly voices.

Rejected by some, yet received by most of her countrymen as a messenger from Heaven, the maiden kindled throughout the land a flame of enthusiasm that nothing could resist. Inspiring the dispirited French soldiers with new courage, she forced the English to raise the siege of Orleans (from which exploit she became known as the "Maid of Orleans") and speedily brought



FIG. 20. JOAN OF ARC

We have no authentic likeness of Joan of Arc. The above must be regarded as an idealized portrait

1 The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

about the coronation of Prince Charles at Rheims (1429). Shortly **afterward** she fell into the hands of the English, was tried by ecclesiastical judges for witchcraft and heresy, and was condemned to be burned as a heretic and a witch. Her martyrdom took place at Rouen in the year 1431.

But the spirit of the Maid had already taken possession of the French nation. From this on, the war, though long continued, went steadily against the English. Little by little they were pushed **off** from the soil they had conquered, and driven out of their own Gascon lands of the South as well, until finally they held nothing in the land save Calais. Thus ended, in 1453, ^{the year of the} **fall** of Constantinople, the Hundred Years' War.

142. Effects upon England of the War. The most important effects of the war as concerns England were the enhancement of the power of the Lower House of Parliament and the awakening of a national spirit. The maintaining of the long and costly quarrel called for such heavy expenditures of men and money that the English kings were made more dependent than hitherto upon the representatives of the people, who were careful to make **their** grants of supplies conditional upon the correction of abuses or the confirming of their privileges. Thus the war served to make the Commons a power in the English government.

Again, as the war was participated in by all classes alike, the **great** victory at Crecy and the others which followed aroused a national pride, which led to a closer union between the different elements of society. Normans and English, enlisted in a common **enterprise, were fused by the** ardor of a common patriotic **enthusiasm into a single people.** The real national life of England dates from this time.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES (1455-1485)

143. The Two Roses; the Battle of Bosworth Field. The Wars of the Roses is the name given to a long contest between the adherents of the houses of York and Lancaster, rival branches of the royal family of England. The strife was so named because

the Yorkists adopted as their badge a white rose and the Lancastrians a red one. The battle of Bosworth Field (1485) marks the close of the war. In this fight King Richard III, the last of the House of York, was overthrown and slain by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was crowned on the field with the diadem which had fallen from the head of Richard, and saluted as King Henry VII. With him began the dynasty of the Tudors.

144. The Effects of the Wars. The first important result of the Wars of the Roses was the ruin of the baronage of England. One half of the nobility were slain. Those that survived were ruined, their estates having been wasted or confiscated during the progress of the struggle. Not a single great house retained its old-time wealth and influence. The war marks the final downfall of feudalism in England.

The second result of the struggle sprang from the first. This was the great peril into which English liberty was cast by the ruin of the nobility. It was primarily the barons who had forced the Great Charter from King John, and who had kept him and his successors from reigning like absolute monarchs. Upon the ruins of their order was now erected something like a royal despotism. Not until the revolution of the seventeenth century did the people, by overturning the throne of the Stuarts, curb the undue power of the crown and recover their lost liberties.

GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

145. The Language. From the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century there were in use in England three languages: Norman French was the speech of the conquerors and the medium of polite literature; Saxon, or Old English, was the tongue of the conquered people; while Latin was the language of the laws and records, of the Church services, and of the works of the learned.

Modern English is the old Saxon tongue worn and improved by use and enriched by a large infusion of Norman-French

words, with less important additions from the Latin and other languages. It took the place of the Norman French in the courts of law about the middle of the fourteenth century.

146. Effect of the Norman Conquest on English Literature.

The blow that struck down King Harold and his brave thanes on the field of Hastings silenced for the space of above a century the voice of English literature. The tongue of the conquerors became the speech of the court, the nobility, and the clergy; while the language of the despised English was, like themselves, crowded out of every place of honor. But when, after a few generations, the downtrodden race began to reassert itself, English literature emerged from its obscurity, and, with an utterance somewhat changed,—yet unmistakably it is the same voice,—resumed its interrupted lesson and its broken song.

147. Chaucer (i340?-i400). Holding a position high above all other writers of early English is Geoffrey Chaucer. He is the first in time, and, after Shakespeare, perhaps the first in genius, among the great poets of the English-speaking race. He is reverently called the "Father of English poetry."

Chaucer's greatest and most important work is his *Canterbury Tales*. The poet represents himself as one of a company of story-telling pilgrims who have set out on a journey to the tomb of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. The persons, thirty-two in number, making up the party, represent almost every calling in the middle class of English society. The prologue, containing characterizations of the different members of the company, is the most valuable part of the production. Here as in a gallery we find faithful portraits of our ancestors of the fourteenth century.

148. William Langland. The genial Chaucer shows us the pleasant, attractive side of English society and life; William Langland, another writer of the same period, in a poem called *the Vision of Piers the Plowman* (1362), lights up for us the world of **the** poor and the oppressed. This poem quivers with sympathy **for the** hungry, labor-worn peasant, doomed to a life of weary **routine and helplessness**, despised **by** **haughty** lords and robbed **by**

shameless ecclesiastics. The long wars with France had demoralized the nation; the Black Death had just reaped its awful harvest among the ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed poor. Occasional outbursts of wrath against the heartlessness of the privileged classes in Church and State are the mutterings of the storm soon to burst upon the social world in the fury of the Peasants' Revolt,¹ and later upon the religious world in the upheavals of the Reformation.



FIG. 21. PLOWING SCENE. (From a manuscript of the fourteenth century)

149. John Wycliffe (1324-1384). Foremost among the reformers and religious writers of the period under review was John Wycliffe, called the "Morning Star of the Reformation." This bold reformer attacked first many of the practices and then certain of the doctrines of the Church. He gave the English people the first translation of the entire Bible in the English language. By means of manuscript copies it was widely circulated and read. Its influence was very great, and from its appearance may be dated the beginnings of the Reformation in England.

II. FRANCE

150. Beginnings of the French Kingdom. The separate history of France may be regarded as beginning with the partition of Verdun in 843. At that time the Carolingians, of whom we have already learned (Chapter VII), exercised the royal power. Toward the close of the tenth century, in 987, the first of the Capetian dynasty came to the throne.

1 In 1381 the English peasants rose in revolt, demanding the abolition of serfdom. The uprising was pitilessly suppressed.

The first Capetian king differed from his vassal counts and dukes simply in having a more dignified title, his power being scarcely greater than that of many of the lords who paid him homage as their suzerain; but before the close of the Middle Ages France had come to be one of the most compact and powerful kingdoms in Europe. How various circumstances conspired to build up the power of the kings at the expense of that of the great feudal lords and of the Church will appear as we go on.

151. The Acquisition of the English Possessions in France. In our sketch of the growth of England we spoke of the extensive possessions of the first Angevin kings in France, and told how the larger part of these feudal lands were lost through King John's misconduct and resumed as forfeited fiefs by his suzerain Philip Augustus, king of France (sect. 133). The annexation of these large and flourishing provinces to the crown of France brought a vast accession of power and patronage to the king, who was now easily the superior of any of his great vassals.

152. The French and the Crusades. The age of the Capetians was the age of the Crusades. These expeditions, while stirring all Christendom, appealed especially to the ardent temperament of the Gallic race. It was the great predominance of French-speaking persons among the first crusaders which led the Eastern peoples to call them all Franks, the term still used throughout the East to designate Europeans, irrespective of their nationality.

But it is only the influence of the Crusades on the French monarchy that we need to notice here. They tended very materially to weaken the power and influence of the feudal nobility, and in a corresponding degree to strengthen the authority of the crown and add to its dignity. The way in which they brought about this transfer of power from the aristocracy to the king has been already explained in the chapter on the Crusades (sect. 102).

153. Admission of the Third Estate to the National Assembly (1302). The event of the greatest political significance in the Capetian age was the admission, in the reign of Philip the Fair, of the representatives of the towns to the National Assembly.

This transaction is in French history what the creation of the House of Commons is in English history (sect. 135).

A dispute having arisen between Philip and the Pope respecting the control of the offices and revenues of the Church in France (sect. 109), Philip, in order to rally to his support all classes throughout his kingdom, called a meeting of the National Assembly, to which he invited representatives of the burghers, or inhabitants of the towns. This council had hitherto been made up of two estates only,—the nobles and the clergy; now is added what comes to be known as the *Tiers Etat*, or Third Estate, while the assembly henceforth is called the States-General. Before the growing power of this Third Estate we shall see the Church, the nobility, and the monarchy all go down, just as in England we shall see clergy, nobles, and king yield to the rising power of the English Commons.

154. Effects upon France of the Hundred Years' War. Having already in connection with English affairs touched upon the causes and incidents of this war, we shall here speak only of the effects of the struggle on the French people and kingdom. Among these must be noticed the almost complete ruin of the French feudal aristocracy, the consequent growth of the power of the king, and the awakening of the national consciousness. Speaking broadly, we may say that by the close of the war feudalism in France was over, and that France had become, partly in spite of the war but more largely by reason of it, not only a great monarchy but a great nation.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH LITERATURE

155. The Troubadours. The contact of the old Latin speech in Gaul with that of the Teutonic invaders gave rise there to two very distinct dialects. These were the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal, the tongue of the south of France and of the adjoining regions of Spain and Italy; and the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, the language of the North.¹

¹ The terms *Langtie* (*POc* and *Langue cPO'il* arose from the use of different words for « yes," which in the tongue of the South was *oc*, and in that of the North *oil*.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, by which time the Provençal tongue had become settled and somewhat polished, literature in France first began to find a voice in the songs of the Troubadours, the poets of the South. The verses of the Troubadours were sung in every land, and to their stimulating influence the early poetry of almost every people of Europe is largely indebted.

156. The Trouveurs. These were the poets of northern France, who composed in the *Langue d'O'il*, or Old French tongue. They flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the poetical literature of the South found worthy patrons in the counts of Toulouse, so did that of the North find admiring encouragers in the dukes of Normandy. The compositions of the Trouveurs were chiefly epic or narrative poems, called *romances*. Many of them gather about three familiar names,—Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Alexander the Great,—thus forming what are designated as the cycle of Charlemagne, the Arthurian or Armorican cycle, and the Alexandrian.¹

The influence of these French romances upon the springing literatures of Europe was most inspiring and helpful. Nor has their influence yet ceased. Thus, in English literature not only did Chaucer and Spenser and all the early island poets draw inspiration from these fountains of Continental song, but the later Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, has illustrated the power over the imagination yet possessed by the Arthurian poems of the old Trouveurs.

157. Froissart's Chronicles. The first great prose writer in French literature was Froissart (b. 1337), whose picturesqueness of style and skill as a story-teller have won for him the title of the "French Herodotus." Born, as he was, only a little after the opening of the Hundred Years' War, and knowing personally many of the actors in that long struggle, it was fitting that he should have become, as he did, the annalist of those stirring times.

¹ These epics represent the three elements in the civilization of western Europe,—the German, the Celtic, and the Graeco-Roman. It was the Crusades that brought in a fresh relay of tales and legends from the lands of the East

III. SPAIN

158. The Beginnings of Spain. When, in the eighth century, the Saracens swept like a wave over Spain, the mountains of Asturias, Cantabria, and Navarre, in the north of the peninsula, afforded a refuge for the most resolute of the Christian chiefs who refused to submit their necks to the Moslem yoke. These brave and hardy warriors not only successfully defended the hilly districts that formed their asylum but gradually pushed back the invaders and regained control of a portion of the fields and cities that had been lost. By the opening of the eleventh century several little Christian states, among which we must notice especially the states of Castile and Aragon because of the prominent part they were to play in later history, had been established upon the ground thus recovered or always maintained. Castile was at first simply "a line of castles" against the Moors, whence its name.

159. Union of Castile and Aragon (1479). For several centuries the princes of the little states to which we have referred kept up an incessant warfare with their Mohammedan neighbors; but, owing to dissensions among themselves, they were unable to combine in any effective way for the complete reconquest of their ancient possessions. But the marriage, in 1469, of Ferdinand, prince of Aragon, to Isabella, princess of Castile, paved the way for the virtual union in 1479 of these two leading states into a single kingdom. By this happy union the quarrels of these two rival principalities were composed, and they were now free to employ their united strength in effecting what the Christian princes amidst all their contentions had never lost sight of,—the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula.

160. The Conquest of Granada (1492). At the time when the basis of the Spanish monarchy was laid by the union of Castile and Aragon, the Mohammedan possessions, reduced by the constant pressure of the Christian chiefs through eight centuries, embraced only a limited dominion in the south of Spain. Here the Moors had established a strong, well-compacted state, **known** as the Kingdom of Granada. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella

had settled the affairs of their dominions, they began to make preparation for the reduction of this last stronghold of the Moorish power in the peninsula.

The Moors made a desperate defense of their little state. The struggle lasted for ten years. City after city fell into the hands of the Christian knights; finally Granada, pressed by an army of seventy thousand, was forced to surrender, and Ferdinand's silver cross and Isabella's banner of St. James were set up on the towers of the Alhambra, the palace of the Moorish kings.

The fall of Granada holds an important place among the events that signalize the latter half of the fifteenth century. It marked the end, after an existence of almost eight hundred years, of



FIG. 22. RI-XTMUKXT EFFIGY OF QUEKX ISABELLA. (From the magnificent sarcophagus in the Royal Chapel at Granada)

Mohammedan rule in the Spanish peninsula, and thus formed an offset to the progress of the Moslem power in eastern Europe and the loss to the Christian world of Constantinople.

161. The Inquisition. A dark shadow is cast upon the reign of the illustrious sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella by the establishment in Spain of the Inquisition, or Holy Office. This was a tribunal the purpose of which was the detection and punishment of heresy. The Jews were in this earlier period the chief victims of the court. Accompanying the announcement of the sentences of the Holy Office there were solemn public ceremonies known as the *auto-da-fé* (act of faith). The assembly was held in some church or in the public square, and the following day those condemned to death were burned outside the city walls. It is particularly to this last act of the drama that the term *auto-da-fé* has come popularly to be applied.



THE ALHAMBRA: PALACE OF THE MOORISH KINGS AT GRANADA
(From a photograph)

The Inquisition secured for Spain unity of religious belief, but only through suppressing freedom of thought and thereby sapping the strength and virility of the Spanish people. Whatever was most promising and vigorous was withered and blasted, or was cast out. In the year 1492 the Jews were expelled from the country. It is estimated that between two and three hundred thousand of this race were forced to seek an asylum in other lands.

162. Death of Ferdinand and of Isabella. Queen Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand followed her in the year 1516, upon which latter event the crown of Spain descended to their grandson, Charles, of whom we shall hear much hereafter as Emperor Charles V. With his reign the modern history of Spain begins.

IV. GERMANY

163. Beginnings of the Kingdom of Germany. The history of Germany as a separate kingdom begins with the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne, about the middle of the ninth century (sect. 53). The part east of the Rhine, with which fragment alone we are now specially concerned, was called the Kingdom of the Eastern Franks, in distinction from that west of the river, which was known as the Kingdom of the Western Franks. This Eastern Frankish kingdom was made up of several groups of tribes, of which the East Franks were at this time chief. Closely allied in race, speech, manners, and social arrangements, all these peoples seemed ready to be welded into a close and firm nation. That such was not the outcome of the historical development during mediæval times was due largely to the adoption by the German emperors of an unfortunate policy respecting a world empire. This matter will be explained in the following paragraph.

164. Consequences to Germany of the Revival of the **Empire** by Otto the Great. We have in another place told how Otto I of Germany, in imitation of Charlemagne, restored the Empire (sect. 53). The pursuit of this phantom by the German kings resulted in the most woeful consequences to Germany. Trying to grasp too much, the German rulers seized nothing at all. Attempting

to be emperors of the world, they failed to become even kings of Germany. While they were engaged in outside enterprises their home affairs were neglected and the vassal princes of Germany succeeded in increasing their power and making themselves practically independent. Thus the unification of Germany was delayed for several hundred years.

BEGINNINGS OF GERMAN LITERATURE

165. The Nibelungenlied. The Nibelungenlied, or the "Lay of the Nibelungs," is the great German mediaeval epic. It was reduced to writing about 1200, being a recast of German legends and lays dating from the sixth and seventh centuries. The hero of the story is Siegfried, the Achilles of Teutonic legend and song.

166. The Minnesingers. It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the Minnesingers—the poets of love, as the word signifies—flourished. They were the "Troubadours of Germany."

Closely connected with the lyric poetry of the Minnesingers is a species of chivalric romances known as court epics. The finest of these pieces have for their groundwork the mythic Celtic-French legends of the Holy Grail and of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table. The best representative of these romances is the poem of *Parsifal*.¹ The moral and spiritual teaching of the poem is that only through humility, purity, and human sympathy can the soul attain perfection.

V. RUSSIA

167. The Beginnings of Russia; the Mongol Invasion. The state established by the Swedish adventurer Ruric (sect. 56) came to be known as Russia, from *Ros*, the name of the Scandinavian settlers. The descendants of Ruric gradually extended their authority over neighboring tribes, until nearly all the north-western Slavs were included in their growing dominions.

¹ By Wolfram of Eschenbach (d. about 1220).

In the thirteenth century an overwhelming calamity befell Russia. This was the overrunning and conquest of the country by the Mongol hordes (sect. 113). The barbarian conquerors inflicted the most horrible atrocities upon the unfortunate land, and for two hundred and fifty years held the Russian princes in a degrading bondage, forcing them to pay homage and tribute. This misfortune delayed for centuries the nationalization of the Slavic peoples.

168. Russia freed from the Mongols. It was not until the reign of Ivan the Great (1462-1505) that Russia,—now frequently called Muscovy from the fact that it had been reorganized with Moscow as a center,—after a terrible struggle, succeeded in freeing itself from the hateful Tatar domination and began to assume the character of a well-consolidated monarchy. By the end of the Middle Ages Russia had become a great power; but she was as yet too closely hemmed in by hostile states to be able to make her influence felt in the affairs of Europe.

VI. ITALY

169. No National Government. In marked contrast to all those countries of which we have thus far spoken, unless we except Germany, Italy came to the close of the Middle Ages without a national or regular government. And yet the mediaeval period did not pass without attempts on the part of patriot spirits to effect some sort of union among the different cities and states of the peninsula. The most noteworthy of these movements, and one which gave assurance that the spark of patriotism which was in time to flame into an inextinguishable passion for national unity was kindling in the Italian heart, was that headed by the patriot-hero Rienzi in the fourteenth century.

170. Rienzi, Tribune of Rome (1347). During the greater part of the fourteenth century the seat of the Papal See was at Avignon, beyond the Alps (sect. no.). Throughout this period of the "Babylonian Captivity," Rome, deprived of her natural guardians, was in a state of the greatest confusion. The nobles

terrorized the country about the capital and kept the streets of the city itself in constant turmoil with their bitter feuds.

In the midst of these disorders there appeared from among the lowest ranks of the people a deliverer in the person of one Nicola di Rienzi. Possessed of considerable talent and great eloquence, Rienzi easily incited the people to a revolt against the rule, or rather misrule, of the nobles, and succeeded in having himself, with the title of Tribune, placed at the head of a new government for Rome. He forced the nobles into submission, and in a short time effected a most wonderful transformation in the city and surrounding country. The best days of republican Rome seemed to have been restored. The enthusiasm of the Roman populace knew no limits. The remarkable revolution drew the attention of all Italy, and of the world beyond the peninsula as well.

Encouraged by the success that had thus far attended his schemes, Rienzi now began to concert measures for the union of all the principalities and cities of Italy into a great republic, with Rome as its capital. He sent ambassadors throughout Italy to plead at the courts of the princes and in the council chambers of the municipalities the cause of Italian unity and freedom.

The splendid dream of Rienzi was shared by other Italian patriots besides himself, among whom was the poet Petrarch, who was the friend and encourager of the plebeian tribune, and who "wished part in the glorious work and in the lofty fame."

But the moment for Italy's unification had not yet come. Rienzi proved to be an unworthy leader. His sudden elevation and surprising success completely turned his head, and he soon began to exhibit the most incredible vanity and weakness. The people withdrew from him their support; the Pope excommunicated him as a rebel and heretic; and the nobles rose against him. He was finally killed in a sudden uprising of the populace.

Thus vanished the dream of Rienzi and of Petrarch, of the hero and of the poet. Centuries of division, of shameful subjection to foreign princes,—French, Spanish, and Austrian,—of wars and suffering, were yet before the Italian people ere Rome should become the center of a free, orderly, and united Italy.



FIG. 23. VIEW OF FLORENCE, ITALY, ABOUT THE YEAR 1490. (From a contemporary woodcut: after Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus*)

173. Savonarola (1452-1498). A further word must here be added respecting the Florentine monk and reformer Girolamo



FIG. 24. SAVONAROLA. (Portrait by Fra Bartolommeo)

Savonarola, the last great mediaeval forerunner of the religious reformers of the sixteenth century. Savonarola was at once Roman censor and Hebrew prophet. His powerful preaching alarmed the conscience of the Florentines. At his suggestion the women brought their finery and ornaments, and others their beautiful works of art, and, piling them in great heaps in the streets of Florence, burned them as vanities. Savonarola even urged that the government of Florence be made a theocracy and that Christ be proclaimed king. But finally the activity

of his enemies brought about the reformer's downfall, and he was condemned to death, strangled, his body burned, and the ashes thrown into the Arno.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE ASCENDANCY OF SPAIN; HER RELATION TO THE CATHOLIC REACTION

I. REIGN. OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V (1519-1556)

218. Charles' Dominions. In the year 1500 there was born in the city of Ghent, in the Netherlands, a prince who was destined to play a great part in the history of the sixteenth century. This was Charles, son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain,—later to be known to fame as Emperor Charles V.

Charles was "the converging point and heir of four great royal lines, which had become united by a series of happy matrimonial alliances." These were the houses of Austria, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon. Before Charles had completed his nineteenth year there were heaped upon his head, through the removal by death of his ancestors, the crowns of the four dynasties.

But great as was the number of the hereditary crowns of the young prince, there was straightaway added to them (in 1519), by the vote of the Electors of Germany, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. After this election he was known as *Emperor Charles V*; hitherto he had borne the title of *Carlos* / of Spain.

219. The Balance of Power is disturbed by Spain. During a great part of the modern age a doctrine known as "the balance of power" has lain at the bottom of much European diplomacy. It has been the concern of statesmen to see to it that no one of the nations should acquire an overweight of power or influence, and thereby endanger the independence of the others. But in spite of this vigilance there has been a constant tendency to a disturbance of the equilibrium of the European system of states **through the overgrowth of this or that member of it.**

Now in the sixteenth century it was the overshadowing greatness of Spain that aroused the fears of her neighbors and very largely determined the policies and actions of these states. Here we have the key to much of the political history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V and that of his son and successor on the Spanish throne, Philip II.

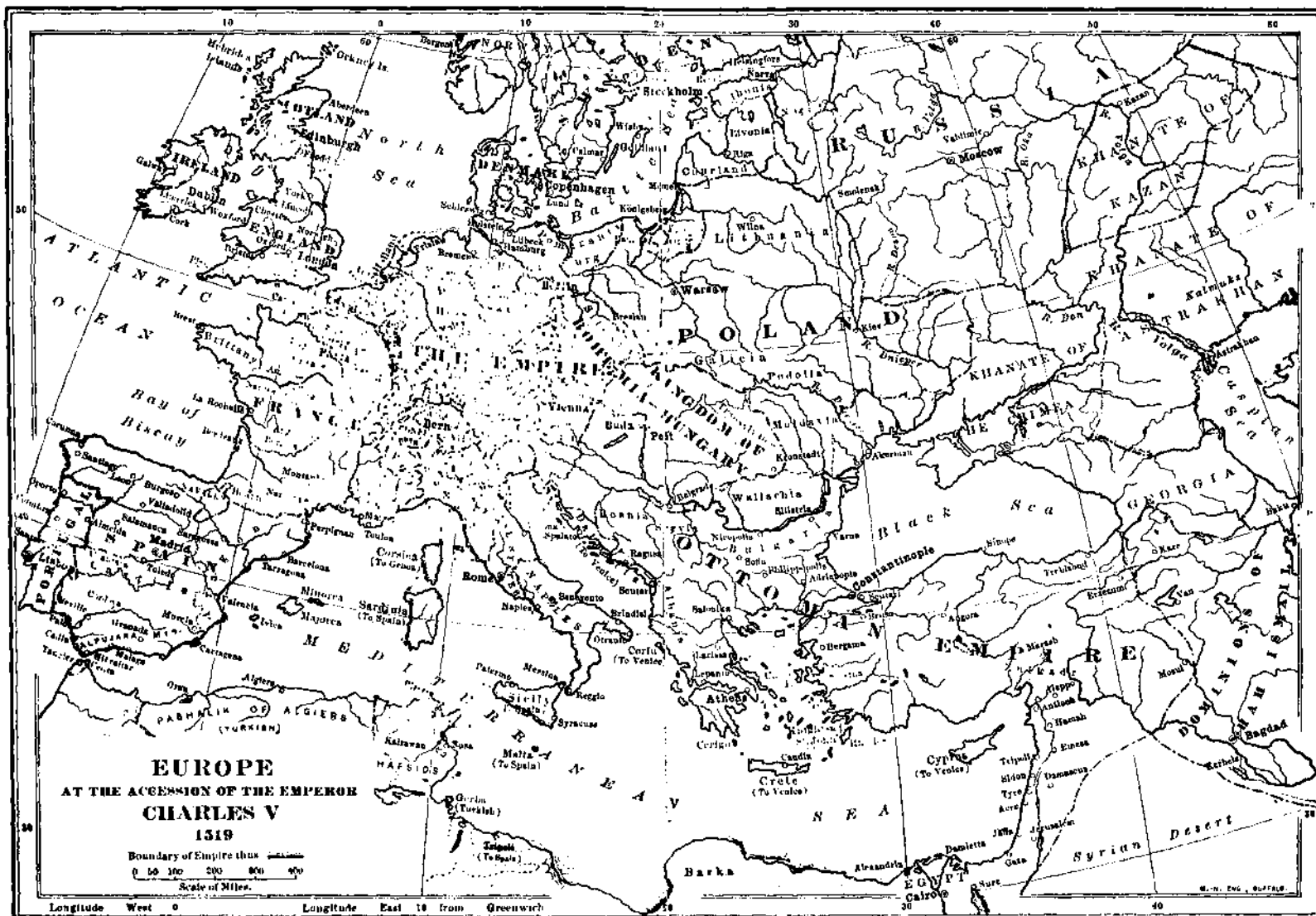
220. Charles and the Reformation. But important as is the political side of Charles' reign, it is his relation to the Lutheran movement which constitutes for us the significant feature of his life and work. Fortunately for the Catholic Church, the young Emperor placed himself at the head of the Catholic party, and not only during his own reign employed the strength and resources of his empire in extirpating the heresy of the reformers but also transmitted this policy to his successors upon the Spanish throne.



FIG. 33. EMPEROR CHARLES V
(After a painting by *Holbein*)

221. His two Chief Enemies. Had Charles been free from the outset to devote all his energies to the work of suppressing the Lutheran heresy, it is difficult to see

what could have saved the reform doctrines within his dominions from extirpation. But, fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Charles' attention, during much of his reign, was drawn **away from** the consideration of Church questions by the attacks **upon** his dominions of two of the most powerful monarchs of the **times**,—Francis I (1515-1547) of France, and Solymán the Magnificent (1520-1566), Sultan of Turkey. Time and again, when **Charles** was inclined to proceed to severe measures against the **Protestant** princes of Germany, the threatening movements of one **or both** of these enemies forced him to postpone his proposed **crusade against heretics for a campaign against foreign foes.**



enough on hand; for while the king and the Emperor had been fighting each other, the doctrines of the reformers had been spreading rapidly in all directions and among all classes.

The severest blow dealt the heretics of his kingdom by Francis fell upon the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the inhabitants of a number of hamlets in the Alpine regions of Piedmont and Provence. These people during the later mediæval time had fallen into what the Church regarded as heretical ways, and just now they were mingling with their own heresies those of the Protestant reformers. Thousands were put to death by the sword, and thousands more were burned at the stake. At a later time other persecutions fell upon them, until finally only a miserable remnant among the mountains were left to hand down their faith to modern times.

224. Charles' Wars with the Protestant German Princes.

Charles, on his part, turned his attention to the reformers in Germany. Inspired by religious motives and convictions, and apprehensive, further, of the effect upon his authority in Germany of the growth there of such an empire within an empire as the Protestant princes and free cities were becoming, he resolved to crush the reform movement by force.

Accordingly, in the very year that Luther died (1546), the Emperor, aided by the German Catholics, attacked the Protestant princes. He was at first successful, but in the end the war proved the most disastrous and humiliating to him of any in which he had engaged. Severe defeats of his armies finally constrained him to give up his undertaking to make all his German subjects think alike in matters of religion.

225. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). In the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, convened in 1555 to compose the distracted affairs of the German states, it was arranged and agreed **that** every prince should be allowed to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession,¹ and should have the **right** to make his religion the religion of his people. This, it will

¹ The Augsburg Confession was the formula of belief of the adherents of Luther. It was drawn up by the scholar Melancthon and laid before the Imperial Diet assembled at Augsburg by Charles V in 1530. It formed the basis of the Lutheran Church.

be noted, was simply toleration as concerns princes or governments. The subject must follow his prince, and think and believe as he thought and believed.

To this article, however, the Diet made one important exception. The Catholics insisted that *ecclesiastical* princes, that is, bishops and abbots, on becoming Protestants, should surrender to the Roman Catholic Church their offices and revenues; and this important clause, under the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was finally made a part of the treaty. It is important that this Treaty of Augsburg should be kept carefully in mind, for the reason that it was through violations of its articles by both parties that the way was paved for the terrible Thirty Years' War.

226. Charles' Abdication. While the Diet of Augsburg was arranging the religious peace the Emperor Charles was enacting the part of a second Diocletian. There had long been forming in his mind the purpose of spending his last days in monastic seclusion. The disappointing issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany, the weight of advancing years, together with menacing troubles which began "to thicken like dark clouds about the evening of his reign," now led the Emperor to carry this resolution into effect. Accordingly he gave his brother Ferdinand charge of the Empire, abdicated in favor of his son Philip the crown of the Netherlands (1555) and that of Spain and its colonies (1556), and then retired to the monastery of Yuste, situated in a secluded region in western Spain.

There is a tradition which tells how Charles, after vainly endeavoring to make some clocks that he had about him at Yuste run together, made the following reflection: "How foolish I have been to think I could make all men believe alike about religion, when here I cannot make even two clocks keep the same time."

This story is probably mythical. Charles seems never to have doubted either the practicability or the policy of securing uniformity of belief by force. While in retirement at Yuste he expressed the deepest regret that he did not burn Luther at Worms. He was constantly urging Philip to use greater severity in dealing with his heretic subjects.

y/1L SPAIN UNDER Hg LIP JIJ 1556-1598)

227. Philip's Character and his Principles of Government.

Philip, unlike his father, was a representative Spaniard. He embodied in himself the traits, ideals, and aspirations of the Spanish **race**, just as Luther typified and embodied those of the German race. Like the true Spaniard, Philip possessed a deeply religious nature. One of his instruments of government was the Inquisition. He employed it in the suppression of heresy, not simply because he was a sincere Catholic and believed that heresy was willful sin and should be sternly dealt with, but also because heresy, in his view, was rebellion against the state.

Philip possessed unusual administrative ability. He was an incessant worker and busied himself with the endless details of government. He did everything himself. His secretaries were mere clerks. He even regulated, or tried to regulate, the private affairs of his subjects,—told them how to dress, when they might use carriages, and how and where to educate their children. Under this system there was in the kingdom but one brain to plan and one will to direct. All local freedom and all individual enterprise were crushed out. This fatally centralized system of absolute government Philip bequeathed to his successors, and thus contributed greatly to determine the unhappy destiny of the Spanish people.

As the most important matters of Philip's reign—namely, his war against the revolted Netherlands and his attempt upon England with his "Invincible Armada"—belong properly to the respective histories of England and the Netherlands, and will be treated of in connection with the affairs of those countries, we shall give here very little space to the history of the period.

228. Defeat of the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto (1571). Philip rendered at least one great service to Christian civilization at large. This he did by helping to stay the progress of the Ottoman **Turks** in the Mediterranean. They had captured the **important** island of Cyprus and had assaulted the Hospitalers at **Malta**. All Christendom was becoming alarmed. An alliance **was**

formed, embracing the Pope, the Venetians, and Philip II. An immense fleet was equipped and put under the command of Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother.

The Christian fleet met the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the western coast of Greece. The battle was unequaled by anything the Mediterranean had seen since the naval encounters of the Romans and Carthaginians in the First Punic War. The Ottoman fleet was almost totally destroyed. Thousands of Christian captives, who were found chained to the oars of the Turkish galleys, were liberated. All Christendom rejoiced as when Jerusalem was captured by the first crusaders.

The battle of Lepanto holds an important place in history, because it marks the turning point of the long struggle between the Mohammedans and Christians, which had now been going on for nearly one thousand years. The Ottoman Turks, though they afterwards made progress in some quarters, never recovered the prestige they lost in that disaster, and their power thenceforward steadily declined.

229. The Death of Philip (1598). In the year 1598 Philip made his memorable attempt with the so-called "Invincible Armada" upon England, at this time the stronghold of Protestantism. As we shall see a little later, he failed utterly in the undertaking. Ten years after this, death ended his reign.

230. Later Events: the Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609-1610) ; Loss of the Netherlands. From the death of Philip II Spain declined in power, reputation, and influence. This was due very largely to the bigotry and tyranny of her rulers. Thus, under Philip III (1598-1621) a severe loss, one from which they never recovered, was inflicted upon the manufactures and other industries of the country by the expulsion of the Moriscos.¹ Philip really believed that this driving out of the misbelievers would be a service pleasing to God, even as was the driving out by the Hebrews of the Canaanites from Palestine. But he was actuated also by other motives in expelling the unhappy Moriscos. They

¹ The name given the Moslem Moors who, after the conquest of Granada (sect. 160) remained in the country and under persecution outwardly embraced Christianity.

were accused, and not without ground, so desperate had persecution rendered them, of plotting with their co-religionists for the invasion of Spain, and thus endangering the peace and unity of the land.

Accordingly during the years 1609 and 1610 all persons of Moorish descent—more than half a million of the most intelligent, skillful, and industrious inhabitants of the peninsula—were driven into exile, chiefly to North Africa. The empty dwellings and neglected fields of once populous and gardenlike provinces told how fatal a blow Spain had inflicted upon herself. She had secured religious unity,—but at a great price.

At the very moment that Spain was being so deeply wounded in the peninsula she received an incurable hurt in her outside possessions. In the Truce of 1609 (sect. 271) she was forced virtually to recognize the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, whose revolt against the tyranny of Philip II has been mentioned. In the secession of these provinces Spain lost her most valuable dependency, and now disappears as a power of the first rank from the stage of history.¹

Even the very brief review which we have made of her sixteenth-century history will not fail to have revealed at least two of the main causes of her failure and quick decadence; first, a false imperial policy in Europe which involved her in endless and fruitless wars; and, second, political despotism and religious intolerance.

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¹ Yet it was not till 1643 that the Spanish troops were beaten in a great battle. In the Italian wars of 1495-1507 the "Great Captain" Gonzalo de Córdoba had developed tactics suited to the special qualities of Spanish soldiers, and it took other nations more than a century to learn how to beat Spaniards in the open field. But Spain lost her ascendancy even while her military superiority remained.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TUDORS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

(1485-1603)

I. INTRODUCTORY

231. The Tudor Period. The Tudor period¹ was an eventful and stirring time for the English people. It witnessed among them great progress in art, science, and trade, and a literary outburst such as the world had not seen since the best days of Athens. But the great event of the period was the Reformation. It was under the sovereigns of this house that England was severed from papal Rome, and Protestantism became firmly established in the island. To tell how these things were effected will be our chief aim in the present chapter.

232. The English Reformation first a Revolt and then a Reform. The Reformation in England was, more distinctly than elsewhere, a double movement. First, England was separated violently from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, but without any essential change being made in doctrines and in the ritual (the set form of worship). This was accomplished under Henry VIII. Second, the English Church, thus rendered independent of Rome, gradually changed its teachings and its ritual. This was effected chiefly under Edward VI. So the movement was first a *revolt* and then a *reform*.

233. The Oxford Humanist Reformers. The soil in England was, in a considerable measure, prepared for the seed of the Reformation by the labors of the humanists (sect. 176). Among them three men, Colet, Erasmus, and More, stand preeminent as promoters of the New Learning.

¹ The Tudor sovereigns were Henry VII (1485-1509), Henry VIII (1509-1547), Edward VI (1547-1553), Mary (1553-1558), and Elizabeth (1558-1603).

John Colet (1466-1519) was leader and master of the little band. His generous enthusiasm was kindled in Italy. It was an important event in the history of the Reformation when Colet crossed the Alps to learn Greek at the feet of the Greek exiles; for on his return to England he brought back with him not only an increased love for the classical learning but a fervent zeal

for religious reform, inspired, perhaps, by the stirring eloquence of Savonarola.



FIG. 34. SIR THOMAS MORE
(After the painting by *Holbein*)

Desiderius Erasmus (1467?-1536) of Rotterdam went to England to learn Greek. There he came into close friendship with Colet, More, and other lovers of learning, with whom he declared he could have been happy in Scythia. He was the leader of the humanistic movement in the North, as Petrarch had been the father of the movement in the South. His celebrated satire entitled *Morice Encomium*, or "Praise of Folly" (1509), was directed against the

foibles of all classes of society, but particularly against the sins of "unholy men in holy orders." A little later (in 1516) Erasmus published his *Novum Instrumentum*, the Greek text of the New Testament with a Latin version. These publications must be given a prominent place among the agencies which prepared the minds and hearts of the Northern peoples for the Reformation.

Thomas More (1478-1535) was declared by Colet to be the sole genius in all England. He was a man with whom men were said to "fall in love." As the author of *Utopia* he is, perhaps, **after** Erasmus, the best known of all the humanists of the North. He was drawn, or rather forced, into political life, and of him and his writings we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, **in connection** with the reign of Henry VIII (sect. 247).

Than this early Oxford movement, nothing better illustrates the relation of the humanistic revival in the North to the religious reform. Here the humanist was the reformer. But the Oxford reformers, it should be carefully noted, were not Protestant reformers. They believed in the divine character of the papal supremacy. They wished indeed to reform the Papacy, but not to destroy it. They did not wish to see the mediaeval unity of Christendom broken. They had no quarrel with the creed of the Catholic Church. Erasmus denounced the doctrines of Luther, 2nd More died a martyr's death rather than deny the papal supremacy.

II. THE REIGN OF HENRY VII (1485-1509)

234. Benevolences. The besetting sins of Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, were avarice and a love of despotic rule. One device adopted by the king for wringing money from his wealthy subjects was what were euphemistically termed "Benevolences." Magna Carta forbade the king to impose taxes without the consent of the Common Council. But Henry did not like to convene Parliament, as he wished to rule like the kings of the Continent, guided simply by his own free will. So benevolences were made to take the place of regular taxes. These were nothing more nor less than gifts extorted from the well-to-do by moral pressure.

One of Henry's ministers, Cardinal Morton, was particularly successful in his appeals for gifts of this kind. To those who lived splendidly he would say that it was very evident they were quite able to make a generous donation to their sovereign; while to others who lived in a narrow and pinched way he would represent that their economical mode of life must have made them wealthy. This teasing dilemma received the name of "Morton's fork."

235. Maritime Discoveries. It was during this reign that great geographical discoveries enlarged the boundaries of the world. Soon after Columbus had announced to Europe the existence of land to the west, Henry commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian navigator doing business in England, and his sons to make explorations in the Western seas. In his westward voyage

Cabot ran against the American continent somewhere in the vicinity of Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign (1497). Upon this discovery and other alleged explorations of John Cabot and his son Sebastian the English based their claim to the whole of the American coast from Labrador down to Florida. This claim included the best part of North America,—what was destined to be the third and most spacious home of the Anglo-Saxon race.

III. ENGLAND SEVERED FROM THE PAPACY BY HENRY VIII (1509-1547)

236. Cardinal Wolsey. Henry VII died in 1509, leaving the throne to his son Henry, an energetic and headstrong youth of eighteen years. We must here at the opening of the young king's reign¹ introduce his greatest minister, Thomas Wolsey (1475?-1530). This man was one of the most remarkable characters of his generation. He was, as Holinshed characterizes him, "very eloquent and full of wit; but passingly ambitious." Henry made him Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of the realm; the Pope made him a cardinal, and afterwards papal legate in England. He was now virtually at the head of affairs in both State and Church.

237. Henry as "Defender of the Faith." It was in the eighth year of Henry VIII's reign that Martin Luther tacked upon the door of the Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses. England was stirred with the rest of Western Christendom. When, a little later, Luther attacked directly the papal power, Henry wrote a Latin treatise refuting the arguments of the audacious monk. The Pope, Leo X, rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith."

¹ In 1512, joining what was known as the Holy League, — a union against the French king, of which the Pope was the head,— Henry made his first campaign in France. While Henry was across the Channel, James IV of Scotland thought to give aid to the French king by invading England. The Scottish army was met by the English force at Flodden, beneath the Cheviot Hills, and completely overwhelmed (1513). King James was killed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility was left dead upon the field. It was the most terrible disaster that had ever befallen the Scottish nation. Scott's poem *Afarnion, a Tale of Flodden Field*, commemorates the battle.

This title was retained by Henry after the separation of England from the Papal See, and is borne by his latest successor today, although he is "defender" of quite a different faith from that in the defense of which Henry first earned the title.

238. Henry seeks a Divorce from Catherine. We have now to relate some circumstances which very soon changed Henry from



FIG. 35. HENRY VIII. (After a painting by *Holbein*)

a zealous supporter of the Papacy into a bitter enemy. Henry's marriage—he married Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur—had been prompted by policy and not by love. Of the five children born of the union, all had died save a sickly daughter named Mary. In these successive afflictions Henry saw or feigned to see a sign of Heaven's displeasure because he had taken to wife the widow of his brother.

And now a new circumstance arose, if it had **not** existed for some time previous to this. Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn,

a beautiful and vivacious maid of honor in the queen's household. This new affection so quickened the king's conscience that he soon became fully convinced that it was his duty to put Catherine aside. Accordingly Henry asked the Pope, Clement VII, to grant him a divorce. Clement gave no immediate decision, but after about two years' delay ordered Henry and Catherine both to appear before him at Rome.

239. The Fall of Wolsey; his Death (1530). Henry's patience was now completely exhausted. Becoming persuaded that Wolsey was not exerting himself as he might to secure the divorce, he banished him from court. The hatred of Anne Boleyn and of others pursued the fallen minister. Finally he was arrested on the preposterous charge of high treason. While on his way to London the unhappy minister, broken in spirit and in health, was prostrated by a fatal fever. As he lay dying in the arms of the kind monks of Leicester Abbey, he uttered these self-censuring words: "Had I served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Wolsey had indeed sunk his priestly office in that of the statesman, and as a statesman he had often stifled the scruples of conscience in obedience to the king's unholy wishes and commands.

240. Thomas Cromwell. After the disgrace of Wolsey an attendant of his named Thomas Cromwell rapidly assumed in Henry's regard the place from which the cardinal had fallen. For the space of ten years this strong but unscrupulous man shaped the policy of Henry's government. The period during which his power was supreme has been called the English Reign of Terror. The executioner's ax was often wet with the blood of those who stood in his way, or who in any manner incurred his or the king's displeasure.

It was to the bold suggestions of this man that Henry now listened. Cromwell's advice to the king was to waste no more time in negotiating with the Pope, but at once to renounce his jurisdiction, proclaim himself supreme head of the Church in England, **and** then get a decree of divorce from his own courts.

241. First Acts in the Breach with Rome (1533-1534). The advice of Cromwell was acted upon, and by a series of steps England was swiftly carried out from under the authority of the Roman See. Henry first virtually cut the Gordian knot by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding a papal decree threatening him with excommunication should he dare to do so. Thomas Cranmer, a friend whom Henry had made Archbishop of Canterbury, now formed a court, tried the case, and of course declared the king's marriage with Catherine null and void.

The following year Henry procured from Parliament the passage of the important Act of Annates, which forbade absolutely the payment to Rome of the first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and ordered that these should henceforth be paid to the English crown.

242. The Act of Supremacy (1534). At Rome the acts of Henry and his Parliament were denounced as acts of impious usurpation. The Pope issued a bull excommunicating Henry and relieving his subjects from their allegiance.

Henry now took the final and decisive step. He got from Parliament the celebrated Act of Supremacy. This statute made Henry "the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," vesting in him absolute control of its offices and affairs and turning into his hands the revenue which had hitherto flowed into Rome's treasury. A denial of the title given the king by the statute was made high treason.

Such a break with the past met of course with much disapproval, and many persons were put to death under the statute. The most illustrious victims of this tyranny were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who for several years was one of Henry's chief councilors. The execution of Thomas More particularly created widespread condemnation and dismay.

243. The Suppression of the Monasteries (1536-1539). The suppression of the monasteries was one of Henry's early acts as the supreme head of the Church of England. He resolved upon their destruction because, in the first place, he coveted their wealth, which at this time included probably one fifth of **the lands**

of the realm. Further, the monks were openly or secretly opposed to Henry's claims of supremacy in religious matters; and this naturally caused him to regard them with jealousy and disfavor.

In order to make the act of suppression appear as reasonable as possible, it was planned to make the charge of immorality its ostensible ground. Accordingly two royal commissioners were appointed to inspect the monasteries and make a report upon what they might see and learn. If we may believe the report, some of the smaller houses were conducted in a most shameful manner. The larger houses, however, were fairly free from faults. Many of them served as schools, hospitals, and inns, and all distributed alms to the poor who knocked at their gates.

But the undoubted usefulness and irreproachable character of these larger foundations did not avail to avert ruin from them also. During the years from 1537 to 1539 all were dissolved, their possessors generally surrendering the property voluntarily into the hands of the king lest a worse thing than the loss of their houses should come upon them. In all there were six hundred and forty-five monasteries broken up. The monastic buildings were generally dismantled, every scrap of iron or lead being torn from them, and their unprotected walls left to sink into picturesque ivy-clad ruins.

A portion of the vast wealth which came into Henry's hands through all these confiscations was used in founding schools and colleges and for other public purposes; but by far the greater portion of the landed property was sold at merely nominal prices or given outright to the favorites of the king. Many of the leading English families of today trace the titles of their estates from these confiscated lands of the religious houses. Thus a new aristocracy was raised up whose interests led them to oppose any return to Rome; for in such an event their estates were liable, of course, to be restored to the monasteries.

244. Effects upon Parliament of the Suppression of the Monasteries. The effects of the dissolution of the monasteries upon the Upper House of Parliament were, for the time being, most disastrous to the cause of English constitutional liberty. The House of Lords had hitherto often been a check upon the

royal power. By the destruction of the religious houses that branch of Parliament, already greatly reduced in strength by the decay of the temporal peerage, was still further weakened through the casting out of the abbots and priors who held seats in that chamber.¹ At the same time the spiritual lords who were left, that is, the two archbishops and the bishops, became mere dependents of the king, whom the Act of Supremacy had made head of the English Church without any superior on earth.

Thus did the House of Lords almost cease to be a body with a mind and will of its own. Since the House of Commons contained many servile nominees of the king, the English government now became something like an absolute monarchy. It was only after a tremendous struggle, as we shall see, that the English people were enabled to wrest from their kings the power which thus had come into their hands largely through the circumstances attending the separation from Rome, and to restore to the government its earlier character.

245. Act to secure Uniformity of Belief (1539). In the same year that Parliament gave into Henry's hands the last of the property of the monastic orders, it passed a bill called an Act for Abolishing Diversity of Opinions. By this statute the teachings of the old Church respecting the real presence in the Eucharist, the celibacy of the priesthood, confession to a priest, and other tenets were approved as agreeable to the laws of God, and it was made a crime for any person to hold, to teach, or to practice opinions opposed to any of these dogmas.

What the Church of England should be called under Henry it would be hard to say. It was not Protestant; and it was just as far from being truly Catholic. That it was distinctively neither the one nor the other is shown by the character of the persecutions that took place. Catholics and Protestants alike were harassed and put to death. Thus, on one occasion three Catholics who denied that the king was the rightful head of the Church and three Protestants who disputed the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist were dragged on the same sled to the place of execution.

1 Twenty-six abbots and two priors were expelled.

246. Henry's Death and Character; his Work. Henry died in 1547. Very diverse views of his character have been held. He was admittedly meddlesome, cruel, arbitrary, and selfish. Even if the English people are indebted to him for their national independent Church, still they owe him for this no gratitude; for what he did here proceeded primarily from the most ignoble impulses and motives.

In another sphere, however, Henry accomplished a work which entitles him to the grateful remembrance of a people who pride themselves on their mastery of the sea. He had the vision to discern that England's dominion must be sought not on the European Continent but on the ocean. Hence he took a deep interest in naval affairs. At a time when the Continental sovereigns were creating standing armies, he, as it has been put, created for England a "standing navy." He brought to perfection the sailing warship and gave it precedence over the oared vessel, which up to this time had held the chief place in the world's war navies. Thus, under Henry the English navy, in the words of an eminent naval authority, "was becoming an entirely new thing, a thing the world had never seen before." The change was somewhat like that effected when the steamship replaced the sailing vessel.

247. Literature under Henry VIII; More's *Utopia*. The most prominent literary figure of this period is Sir Thomas More. The work upon which his fame as a writer mainly rests is his *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," a romance like Plato's *Republic* or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. It pictures an imaginary kingdom away on an island in the New World, then just discovered, where the laws, manners, and customs of the people were represented as being ideally perfect. It was the wretchedness of the lower classes, the religious intolerance, the despotic government of the times which inspired the *Utopia*. "No such cry of pity for the poor," says **Green**, "had been heard since the days of Piers Plowman." **But** More's *Avas* not simply such a cry of despair as was that of Langland. He saw a better future; and with a view of reforming **them**, **pointed** out the existing evils in society. He did this by telling how things *yere* in "Nowhere,"—how the houses and

grounds were all inviting, the streets broad and clean; how everybody was taught to read and write, and no one was obliged to work more than six hours a day; how drinking houses, brawls, and wars were unknown; how in this happy republic every person had a part in the government, and was allowed to follow what religion he chose.

In this wise way More suggested improvements in social, political, and religious matters. He did not expect, however, that Henry would follow all his suggestions, for he closes his account of the Utopians with this admission: "I confess that many things in the commonwealth of Utopia I rather *wish* than *hope* to see adopted in our own."

IV. CHANGES IN DOCTRINE AND RITUAL UNDER EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

248. Changes in the Religion. In accordance with the provisions of a Succession Act passed in Henry's reign, his only son, Edward, succeeded him. The young king was carefully taught the doctrines of the reformers, and many changes were made in the teachings and service of the English Church, which carried it farther away from the Church of Rome. It is these changes in religion that constitute the matters most worthy of our attention.

Under the new regime all pictures and crosses were cleared from the churches; the use of tapers, holy water, and incense was discontinued; the veneration of the Virgin and the keeping of saints' days were prohibited; belief in purgatory was denounced, and prayers for the dead were interdicted; the real or bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament was denied; the prohibition against the marriage of the clergy was annulled; and the services of the Church, which hitherto—save as to some portion of them during the last three years of Henry's reign—had been conducted in Latin, were ordered to be said in the language of the people.

In order that the provision last mentioned might be effectually carried out, the English *Book of Common Prayer* was prepared

by Archbishop Cranmer. This book, which was in the main simply a translation of the old Latin *Missal* and *Breviary*, with the subsequent change of a word here and a passage there to keep it in accord with the growing new doctrines, is the same that is used in the Anglican Church at the present time.

In 1552 were published the famous Forty-two Articles of Religion, which formed a compendious creed of the reformed faith. These articles, reduced finally to thirty-nine, form the present standard of faith and doctrine in the Church of England.

249. Persecutions to secure Uniformity. These sweeping changes and innovations in the old creed and in the services of the Church would have worked little hardship or wrong had only everybody, as in More's happy republic, been left free to favor and follow what religion he would. But unfortunately it was only away in "Nowhere" that men were allowed perfect freedom of conscience and worship. The idea of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world, save in the happier moments of some such generous and wide-horized soul as his that conceived the *Utopia*.

By royal edict all preachers and teachers were forced to sign the Forty-two Articles; and severe laws, known as the Acts for the Uniformity of Service, punished with severe penalties any departure from the forms of the new prayer book. Many persons during the reign were imprisoned for refusing to conform to the new worship; while two at least were given to the flames as "heretics and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer."

V. REACTION UNDER MARY (1553-1558)

250. Accession of Mary; Reconciliation with Rome (1554). Upon the death of Edward his sister Mary, who was a conscientious adherent of the Roman Catholic faith, came to the throne. Soon after her accession she was married to Philip II of Spain. This marriage had been planned by Philip's father, the Emperor **Charles V**, in the hope that thereby England might become **actually or in effect a part of** the Spanish empire.

The majority of the English prelates had never in their hearts approved the recent ecclesiastical changes. Their zeal for the ancient Church, allied with Mary's, now quickly brought about the full reestablishment of the Catholic worship throughout the realm. Parliament voted that the nation should return to its obedience to the Papal See; and then the members of both Houses fell upon their knees to receive at the hands of the papal legate absolution from the sin of heresy and schism. The sincerity of their repentance was attested by their repeal of all the acts by which the new worship had been set up in the land. The joy at Rome was unbounded. The prodigal had returned to his father's house.

But not quite everything done by the reformers was undone. Parliament refused to restore the confiscated Church lands, which was very natural, as much of this property was now in the hands of the lords and commoners. Mary, however, in her zeal for the ancient faith, restored a great part of the property still in the possession of the crown, and refounded many of the ruined monasteries and abbeys.

251. The Martyrs: Latimer and Ridley (1555), **and** Cranmer (1556). With the reestablishment of the Catholic worship, the Protestants in their turn were subjected to persecution. Between two and three hundred persons suffered death during this reign on account of their religion. The three most eminent martyrs were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. Latimer and Ridley were burned at the same stake. As the torch was applied to the fagots, the aged Latimer---he was seventy years old---encouraged his companion with these memorable words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and 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."

Mary should not be judged harshly for the part she took in the persecutions that disfigured her reign. It was not her fault, but the fault of the age, that these things were done. Punishment of heresy was then regarded, by almost all Catholics and Protestants alike, as a duty which could be neglected by those in authority only at the peril of Heaven's displeasure.

VI. FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM UNDER ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

252. The Queen, Elizabeth, who was twenty-five years of age **when** the death of Mary called her to the throne, was the daughter



FIG. 36. QUEEN KLIZAHETH. (The *Ermine Portrait*, from the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield House)

of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She seems to have inherited the characteristics of both parents ; hence, perhaps, the inconsistencies of her disposition. She possessed a masculine intellect, a strong will, admirable judgment, and great political tact. It was these qualities which rendered her reign the strongest and most illustrious in the record of England's sovereigns, and raised the nation from a position of comparative insignificance to a foremost place among the states of Europe. But along with her good and queenly qualities Elizabeth had many un-amiable traits. She was

capricious, treacherous, and unscrupulous. Deception and falsehood were her usual weapons in diplomacy.

Elizabeth never married, notwithstanding Parliament was constantly urging her to do so, and suitors, among whom was Philip II

255. The Protestant Nonconformists; Puritans and Separatists. The Catholics were not the only persons among Elizabeth's subjects who were opposed to the Anglican worship. There were Protestant nonconformists—the Puritans and Separatists—who troubled her almost as much as the Catholics.

The Puritans were so named because they desired a *purer* form of worship than the Anglican. The term was applied to them in derision; but the sterling character of those thus designated at length turned the epithet of reproach into a badge of honorable distinction. They did not withdraw from the Established Church, but remaining within its pale labored to reform it and to shape its discipline to their notions. These Puritans were destined to play a prominent part in the later affairs of England.

The Separatists were still more zealous reformers than the Puritans. In their hatred of everything that bore any resemblance to the Catholic worship, they flung away the surplice and the prayer book, severed all connection with the Established Church, and refused to have anything to do with it. Under the Act of Uniformity they were persecuted with great severity, so that multitudes were led to seek an asylum upon the Continent. It was from among these exiles gathered in Holland that a little later came the passengers of the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*,—the Pilgrim Fathers, who laid the foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

256. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. A large part of the history of Elizabeth's reign is intertwined with the story of her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the "modern Helen," "the most beautiful, the weakest, the most attractive, and most attracted of women." She was the daughter of James V of Scotland, and to her *in right of birth*—according to all Catholics, who denied the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn—belonged the English crown next after Mary Tudor.

Upon the death, in 1560, of her husband, Francis II of France, **Mary** gave up life at the French court and returned to her native **land**. She was now in her nineteenth year. The subtle charm of **her** beauty seems to have bewitched all who came into her **presence**, save the more zealous of the reformers, who could never

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forget that their young sovereign was a Catholic. The stern old John Knox made her life miserable. He called her a "Moabite," and other opprobrious names, till she wept from sheer vexation.

Other things now conspired with Mary's hated religion to alienate entirely the love of her people. Her second husband, Lord Darnley, was murdered. The queen was suspected of having some guilty knowledge of the affair. She was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son James.

Escaping from prison, Mary fled into England. Here she threw herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, and entreated aid in recovering her throne. But the part which she was generally believed to have had in the murder of her husband, her disturbing claims to the English throne, and the fact that she was a Catholic all conspired to determine her fate. She was placed in confinement, and for nineteen years remained a prisoner. During all this time Mary was the center of innumerable plots on the part of the Catholics, which aimed at setting her upon the English throne. The Pope, Pius V, aided these conspirators by a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance. Finally a carefully laid conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne was unearthed. The Spanish king, Philip II, was implicated. He wrote, "The affair is so much in God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto."

Mary was tried for complicity in the plot, was declared guilty, and, after some hesitation, feigned or otherwise, on the part of



FIG. 37. MARY STUART AS QUEEN OF FRANCE. (After a contemporary and authentic portrait in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; from Cust's *A'oies on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots*)

Elizabeth, was ordered to the block (1587). Even after Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution she attempted to evade responsibility in the matter by causing a suggestion to be made to Mary's jailers that they should kill her secretly.

257. The "Invincible Armada"; "Britain's Salamis" (1588). The execution of Mary Stuart led immediately to the memorable attempt against England by the Spanish Armada. Before her death the Queen of Scots had by will disinherited her son and bequeathed to Philip II of Spain her claims to the English crown. To enforce these rights, to avenge the death of Mary, to punish Elizabeth for aiding his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, and to deal a fatal blow to the Reformation in Europe by crushing the Protestants of England, Philip resolved upon making a tremendous effort for the conquest of the heretical island. Vast preparations were made for carrying out the project. Great fleets were gathered in the harbors of Spain, and the veteran army which was carrying on the war in the Netherlands (sect. 271) was to cooperate with the naval armament.

Pope Sixtus V⁷ encouraged Philip in the enterprise, which was thus rendered a sort of crusade. At last the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and thirty ships, the largest naval armament that had ever appeared upon the Atlantic, and boastfully called the "Invincible Armada,"¹ set sail from Lisbon for the Channel. The approaching danger produced a perfect fever of excitement in England. Never did Roman citizens rise more splendidly to avert some terrible peril threatening the republic than the English people now arose as a single man to defend their island realm against the revengeful project of Spain. The imminent danger served to unite all classes, the gentry and the yeomanry, Protestants and Catholics. The latter might intrigue to set a Mary Stuart on the English throne, but they were not ready to betray their land into the hands of the hated Spaniards.

On July 19, 1588, the Armada was first descried by the watchmen on the English cliffs. It swept up the Channel in the form of a great crescent, seven miles in width from tip to tip of horn. **The** English ships, about eighty in number, whose light structure

and swift movements, together with the superior gunnery of their sailors, gave them a great advantage over the clumsy Spanish galleons, almost immediately began to impede their advance, and for seven days incessantly harassed the Armada. One night, as the damaged fleet lay off the harbor of Calais, the English (now reenforced to some hundred and forty ships, mostly small; fifteen or sixteen bore the main brunt) sent fire ships among the vessels, whereby a number were destroyed and a panic created among the others. A determined attack the next day by Howard, Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour inflicted a still severer loss upon the fleet.

The Spaniards, thinking now of nothing save escape, spread their sails in flight, proposing to get away by sailing northward around the British Isles. But the storms of the northern seas dashed many of the remaining ships to pieces on the Scottish and the Irish shores. Barely one third of the ships of the Armada ever reentered the harbors whence they sailed.

Well may the great fight in the Channel which shattered the Armada be called "Britain's Salamis"; for like Athens' Salamis it revealed the weakness and proclaimed the downfall of a vast despotic empire, while at the same time it disclosed the strength and announced the rise of a new free state destined to a great future. But the destruction of the Armada concerned other than purely English and Spanish interests. It marked the turning point in the great duel between Catholicism and Protestantism. It not only decided that England was to remain Protestant, but it foreshadowed the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, and assured, or greatly helped to assure, the future of Protestantism in Scandinavia and in North Germany.

258. Maritime and Colonial Enterprises. The crippling of the naval power of Spain left England mistress of the seas. The little island realm now entered upon the most splendid period of her history. These truly were "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The English people, stirred by recent events, seemed to burn with a feverish impatience for maritime adventure and glory. Many a story of the daring exploits of English sea rovers during the reign of Elizabeth seems like a repetition of some tale of the **old** Vikings.

Especially deserving of mention among the enterprises of these stirring and romantic times are the undertakings and adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552 ?-1618). Several expeditions were sent out by him for the purpose of making explorations and forming settlements in the New World. One of these, which explored the central coasts of North America, returned with such glowing accounts of the beauty and richness of the land visited, that, in honor of the virgin queen, it was named *Virginia*.

Raleigh attempted to establish colonies in the new land (1585—1590), but the settlements were unsuccessful. The settlers, however, when they returned home, brought with them tobacco and pipes, and Raleigh introduced smoking in Europe; tradition says they also brought potatoes, which he planted in Ireland. These, together with maize, or Indian corn, were the chief return the New World made to the Old for the great number of domesticated plants and grains which it received from thence.¹

259. The Queen's Death (1603). The closing days of Elizabeth's reign were to her personally dark and gloomy. She seemed to be burdened with a secret grief as well as by the growing infirmities of age. She died in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. With her ended the Tudor line of English sovereigns.

LITERATURE OF THE ELIZABETHAN ERA

260. Influences Favorable to Literature. The years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute one of the most momentous periods in history. It was the age when Europe was most deeply

¹ Potatoes and the tobacco plant, but not the habit of smoking, had already been brought to Spain. Potatoes were not then known in North America; the first colonists might have got potatoes on the ships that brought them home; they had not been in America through a summer to enjoy a crop of their own. Other American plants now largely cultivated in the Old World are tomatoes, beans (not only the Lima bean but the common American bean, called in England the French bean), squashes, pumpkins, sweet potatoes (the "potato" of Shakespeare's time), peanuts, cassava (tapioca), cacao (chocolate), vanilla, cinchona (quinine), grapevines whose roots the phylloxera does not destroy, the large cultivated strawberry (of Chilean origin), the prickly pear (grown as food for the cochineal insect, but also yielding a fruit, and running wild in hot dry countries), and, in the twentieth century, Para rubber, now the favorite rubber tree of all the world.

stirred by the Reformation. It was, too, a period of marvelous physical and intellectual expansion and growth. The discoveries of Columbus and others had created a New World. The Renaissance had re-created the Old World,—had revealed an unsuspected treasure in the civilizations of the past. Thus everything conspired to quicken men's intellect and stimulate their imagination.

An age of such activity and achievement almost of necessity gives birth to a strong and vigorous literature. And thus is explained, in part at least, how during this period the English people—for no people of Europe felt more deeply the stir and movement of the times, nor helped more to create this same stir and movement, than the English nation—should have developed a literature of such originality and richness and strength as to make it the prized inheritance of all the world. "The great writers who shine in the literary splendor of the Elizabethan Age," says an eminent critic, "were the natural product of the newly awakened, thoughtful English nation of that day."

To make special mention of all the great writers who adorned the Elizabethan era would carry us quite beyond the limits of our book. Having said something of the influence under which they wrote, we will simply add that this age was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon.¹

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¹ William Shakespeare (1564-1616); Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599); Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Shakespeare and Bacon, it will be noticed, outlived Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS; RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

(1572-1609)

261. The Country. The name *Netherlands* (lowlands) was formerly applied to all that district in the northwest of Europe, much of it sunk below the level of the sea, now occupied by the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium. A large part of this

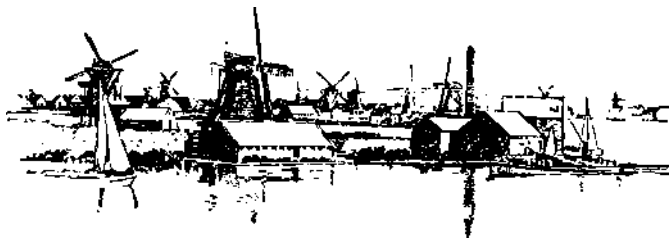


Fig. 38. TYPICAL DITCH SCENT: : ZAANDAM. (From a photograph)

region is simply the delta accumulations of the Rhine and other rivers emptying into the North Sea. Originally it was often overflowed by its streams and inundated by the ocean.

But this unpromising morass, protected at last by heavy dikes seaward against the invasions of the ocean, and by great embankments inland against the overflow of its streams, was destined to become the site of the most potent cities of Europe, and the seat of one of the foremost commonwealths of modern times. No country in Europe made greater progress in civilization during **the** mediaeval era than the Netherlands. At the opening of **the** sixteenth century they contained a crowded and busy population of three million souls. The ancient marshes had been **transformed into** carefully kept gardens and orchards. **The** walled

cities numbered between two and three hundred. Antwerp rivaled even the greatest of the Italian cities. "I was sad when I saw Antwerp," writes a Venetian ambassador, "for I saw Venice surpassed."

262. The Low Countries under Charles V (1515-1555). The Netherlands were part of those possessions over which the Emperor Charles V ruled by hereditary right. Toward the close of his reign he set up here the Inquisition with the object of suppressing the heresy of the reformers. Many persons perished at the stake and upon the scaffold, or were strangled, or buried alive. But when Charles retired to the monastery at Yuste the reformed doctrines were, notwithstanding all his efforts, far more widely spread and deeply rooted in the Netherlands than when he entered upon their extirpation by fire and sword.

263. Accession of Philip II. In 1555, in the presence of an august and princely assembly at Brussels, Charles V abdicated the crown whose weight he could no longer bear, and placed it upon the head of his son Philip. What sort of man this son was we have already learned (sect. 227).

Philip remained in the Netherlands four years, employing much of his time in devising means to root out the heresy of Protestantism. In 1559 he set sail for Spain, never to return. His arrival in the peninsula was celebrated by an *auto-da-jc* at Valladolid, festivities which ended in the burning of thirteen persons whom the Inquisition had condemned as heretics. It was not delight at the sight of suffering that led Philip on his home-coming to be a spectator at these awful solemnities. He doubtless wished through his presence to give sanction to the work of the Holy Office and to impress all with the fact that unity of religion in Spain, as the necessary basis of peace and unity in the state, would be maintained by him at any and every cost.

264. The Iconoclasts (1566). After Philip's departure from the Netherlands the persecution of the Protestants went on with increased severity. The pent-up indignation of the people at length burst forth in uncontrollable fury. They gathered in great mobs and proceeded to demolish every image they could find in

the churches throughout the country. The monasteries, too, were sacked, their libraries burned, and the inmates driven from their cloisters. The tempest destroyed innumerable art treasures, which have been as sincerely mourned by the lovers of the beautiful as the burned rolls of the Alexandrian library have been lamented by the lovers of learning.

265. The Duke of Alva and William of Orange. The year following this outbreak Philip sent to the Netherlands a veteran



FIG. 39. WILLIAM OF ORANGE (THE SILENT). (After a painting by *Mierevelt*, Amsterdam)

Spanish army, headed by the Duke of Alva, a man after Philip's own heart, deceitful, fanatical, and merciless. Alva was one of the ablest generals of the age, and the intelligence of his coming threw the provinces into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. The eyes of all Netherlander were now turned to Prince William of Orange, one of the leading noblemen of the lowlands, as their only deliverer. The Prince was a deeply religious man, and

believed himself called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny. Up to this time he had been a Catholic, having been brought up as a page in the household of the Emperor Charles V. He now embraced Protestantism; but both as a Catholic and as a Protestant he opposed persecution on account of religious belief. His attitude here is worthy of special notice, for it set him apart from the great majority of his contemporaries, and had a vast influence in shaping the policies and the destinies of the small yet great commonwealth of which he was to be the founder.

William of Orange was a statesman rather than a soldier; yet **even** as a leader in war he evinced talent of a high order. The

Spanish armies were commanded successively by the most distinguished generals of Europe; but the prince coped ably with them all, and in the masterly service which he rendered his country earned the title of "The Founder of Dutch Liberties."

266. "The Spanish Fury"; the Pacification of Ghent (1576). The year 1576 was marked by a revolt of the Spanish soldiers on account of their not receiving their pay, the costly war having drained Philip's treasury. The mutinous army marched through the land, pillaging city after city and paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp was ruined. The atrocities committed by the frenzied soldiers caused the outbreak to be called "The Spanish Fury." The terrible state of affairs led to an alliance between Holland and Zealand and the other fifteen provinces of the Netherlands, known in history as the Pacification of Ghent. The resistance to the Spanish crown had thus far been carried on without concerted action among the several states.

267. The Treaty of Utrecht (1579). With the Spanish forces under the lead of commanders of distinguished ability, the war now went on with increased vigor,—fortune, with many vacillations, inclining to the side of the Spaniards. Disaffection arose among the Netherlands, the outcome of which was the separation of the Northern and the Southern provinces. The seven Protestant states of the North, the chief of which were Holland and Zealand, by the Treaty of Utrecht, drew together in a permanent confederation, known as the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as stadtholder. In this league was laid the foundation of the renowned Dutch Republic, a new great sea-power, which for two hundred years was to be a potent force in European history.

The ten Catholic provinces of the South, although they continued their contest with Philip a little longer, ultimately submitted to Spanish tyranny. Portions of these provinces were eventually absorbed by France, while the remainder after varied fortunes finally became the present kingdom of Belgium. **With their history we shall have no further concern at present, but turn now to follow the fortunes of the rising republic of the North.**

268. The "Ban" and the "Apology" (i580-i58i). William of Orange was, of course, the animating spirit of the confederacy formed by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the eyes of Philip and his viceroys he appeared the sole obstacle in the way of the pacification of the provinces and their return to civil and ecclesiastical obedience. In vain had Philip sent against him the ablest and most distinguished commanders of the age; in vain had he endeavored to detach him from the cause of his country by magnificent bribes of titles, offices, and fortune.

Philip now resolved to employ public assassination¹ for the removal of the invincible general and the incorruptible patriot. He published a ban against the prince, declaring him an outlaw and "the chief disturber of all Christendom and especially of these Netherlands," and offering anyone who would deliver him into his hands "dead or alive" pardon for any crime he might have committed, a title of nobility, and twenty-five thousand crowns in gold or in lands.

The prince responded to the infamous edict by a remarkable paper entitled "The Apology of the Prince of Orange," the most terrible arraignment of tyranny that was ever penned. The "Apology" was scattered throughout Europe, and everywhere produced a profound impression.²

269. The Declaration of Independence (July 25, 1581). The United Provinces had not yet formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown. They now deposed Philip as their sovereign, broke in pieces his seal, and put forth to the world their memorable Declaration of Independence, a document as sacred to the Dutch as the Declaration of 1776 is to Americans.

¹ We use the expression "public assassination" in order to indicate a change in Philip's methods. He had all along tried to get rid of the prince by private or secret assassination. Now his edict of outlawry makes the proposed assassination avowedly a public or governmental affair. To comprehend this proceeding we must bear in mind that in the sixteenth century assassination was not looked upon with that utter abhorrence with which we rightly regard it. In the petty states of Italy it was a weapon resorted to almost universally, and seemingly without any compunction of conscience, and even in the North many of the rulers at one time and another had recourse to it.

^a "Apology" originally meant defense before a court. From Plato's "Apology of Socrates" the name is given to a defense of a life before the court of public opinion.

The preamble contains these words: "Whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects, to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them; [therefore] when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects . . . may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense."

This language was a wholly new dialect to the ears of Philip and of princes like him. They had never heard anything like it before uttered in such tones by a whole people. But it was a language destined to spread wonderfully and to become very common. We shall hear it often enough a little later in the era of the Political Revolution. It will become familiar speech in England, in America, in France,— almost everywhere.

270. Assassination of the Prince of Orange (1584). "The ban soon bore fruit." After several unsuccessful attempts had been made upon his life, the Prince of Orange was finally assassinated. Philip approved the murder as "an exploit of supreme value to Christendom." The murderer was put to death with hideous torture, but his heirs received the promised reward, being endowed with certain of the estates of the prince and honored by elevation to the rank of the Spanish nobility.

271. The Truce of 1609. Severe as was the blow sustained by the Dutch patriots in the death of the Prince of Orange, they did not lose heart but continued the struggle with admirable courage and steadfastness. Prince Maurice, a mere youth of seventeen years, the second son of William, was chosen stadtholder in his place. He proved himself a worthy son of the great chief and patriot.

The war now went on with unabated fury. France as well as England became involved, both fighting against Philip, who was now laying claims to the crowns of both these countries. **The**

destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked the turning point, yet not the end. But Europe finally grew weary of the seemingly interminable struggle, and the Spanish commanders becoming convinced that it was impossible to reduce the Dutch rebels to obedience by force of arms, negotiations were entered **into** which issued in the celebrated Truce of 1609. This truce was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, although the Spanish king was so unwilling to admit the fact of his inability to reduce the rebel states to submission that the treaty was termed simply "a truce for twelve years." Spain did not formally acknowledge their independence until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia, at the end of the Thirty Years' War.

272. Influence of the Establishment of the Dutch Republic upon both the Religious and the Political Revolution. The successful issue of the revolt in the Netherlands meant much for the cause of the reformers. The Protestant Lowlands formed a sort of strategic point in the great fight between Catholicism and Protestantism. The loss of this ground might have proved fatal **to** the Protestant cause.

The establishment of the Dutch Republic had also great significance for the Political Revolution. In the seventeenth century it was Holland that was the foremost champion of the cause of political freedom against Bourbon despotism. It was a worthy descendant of William the Silent¹ who, at one of the most critical moments of English history, when Englishmen were struggling doubtfully against Stuart tyranny, came to their help and rescued English liberties from the peril in which they lay (sect. 343).

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¹ The affable and eloquent prince was nicknamed "the Silent" because as a young man, accidentally learning a dangerous secret, he showed no sign of his concern.

CHAPTER XXIV
THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE
(1562-1629)

273. The Reformation in France. Before Luther posted his ninety-five theses at Wittenberg there had appeared in the University of Paris and elsewhere in France men who from the study of the Scriptures had come to entertain opinions very like those of the German reformer. The movement thus begun received a fresh impulse from the uprising in Germany under Luther. The new doctrines found adherents especially among the lesser nobility and the burgher class, and struck deep root in the south,—the region of the old Albigenian heresy.

274. King Francis II, Catherine de' Medici, and the Guises. An understanding of the religious wars in France requires that we first acquaint ourselves with the chief earlier actors in the drama. The drama opens with Francis II (1559-1560), a Valois king,¹ on the French throne. His wife was the young and fascinating Mary Stuart of Scotland. Francis was a weak-minded boy of sixteen years. The power behind the throne was the chiefs of the family of the Guises, who were zealous Catholics, and the king's mother, Catherine de' Medici.

Catherine was an Italian. She seems to have been almost or quite destitute of religious convictions of any kind. She was determined to rule, and this she did by holding the balance of power between the two religious parties. When it suited her purpose, she favored the Protestants; and when it suited her purpose better, she favored the Catholics. Through her counsels and policies she contributed largely to make France wretched through the reigns of her three sons and to bring her house to a miserable end.

¹ The Valois kings of the sixteenth century were Louis XII (1498-1515), Francis I (1515-1547), Henry II 1547—1559), Francis II (1559-1560), Charles IX (1560-1574), and Henry III (1574-1589).

275. The Huguenot¹ Leaders: the Bourbon Princes and Admiral Coligny. Opposed to the Guises were the Bourbon princes, Antony, king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Conde. Next after the brothers of Francis II, they were heirs to the French throne.

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, was "the military hero of the French Reformation." Early in life he had embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and remained to the last the trusted and consistent, though ill-starred, champion of the Protestants. His is the most heroic figure that emerges from the unutterable confusion of the times.

The foregoing notice of parties and their chiefs will suffice to render intelligible the events which we have now to narrate.

276. The Beginning of the War. After the short reign of Francis II his brother Charles came to the throne as Charles IX. He was only ten years of age, so the queen mother assumed the government in his name. Pursuing her favorite maxim to rule by setting one party as a counterpoise to the other, she gave the Bourbon princes a place in the government, and also by a royal edict gave the Huguenots a limited toleration and forbade their further persecution. It was the violation by the adherents of the Duke of Guise of this edict of toleration that finally caused the growing animosities of the two parties to break out in civil war. Philip II of Spain sent an army to aid the Catholics, while Elizabeth of England extended help to the Huguenots.

277. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572). Eight years after the outbreak of the war, Catherine de* Medici, as a means of cementing a treaty which had been arranged between the two parties, proposed that the Princess Margaret, the sister of Charles, should be given in marriage to **Henry** of Bourbon, the new young king of Navarre. The announcement of the proposed alliance caused great rejoicing among Catholics and Protestants alike, and the chiefs of both parties **crowded to** Paris to attend the wedding.

* The French Protestants were called Huguenots, a name given by their enemies. **The word** is of uncertain origin.

Before the festivities which followed the nuptial ceremonies were over, the world was shocked by one of the most awful crimes recorded in history,—the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. The circumstances which led to this fearful tragedy were these. Among the Protestant nobles who came up to Paris to attend the wedding was Admiral Coligny. Jealous of his influence over her son, Catherine resolved upon the death of the admiral. The attempt miscarried, Coligny receiving only a slight wound from the assassin's ball. The Huguenots rallied about their wounded chief with loud threats of revenge. Catherine, driven on by insane fear, now determined upon the death of all Huguenots in Paris as the only measure of safety. The young king at first refused to sign the decree for the massacre; but overcome at last by the representations of his mother, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed."

A little past the hour of midnight on St. Bartholomew's Day, at a preconcerted signal,— the tolling of a bell,— the massacre began. Coligny was one of the first victims. For three days and nights the massacre went on within the city. With the capital cleared of Huguenots, orders were issued to the principal cities of France to purge themselves in like manner of heretics. In many places the decree was disobeyed; but in others the orders were carried out, and frightful massacres took place. The number of victims throughout the country is unknown; estimates differ widely, running from two thousand to a hundred thousand.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew raised a cry of execration in almost every part of the civilized world, among Catholics and Protestants alike. Philip II, however, is said to have received the news with unfeigned joy; while Pope Gregory XIII caused a *Te Deum*, in commemoration of the event, to be sung in the church of St. Mark in Rome. Respecting this it should in justice be said that Catholic writers maintain that the Pope acted under a misconception of the facts, it having been represented to him that the massacre resulted from a plot of the Huguenots against the royal family of France and the Roman Catholic Church.

278. Accession of Henry IV (1589). Instead of exterminating heresy in France, the massacre only served to rouse the Huguenots to a more determined defense of their faith. So the country was kept in a state of turmoil and war. Finally, in 1589, the assassination of the reigning king (Henry III) brought to an end the House of Valois. Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, who for



FIG. 40. HENRY IV, KING OF FRANCE. (From a painting by *F. Goltzius*)

many years had been the most prominent leader of the Huguenots, now came to the throne as the first of the Bourbon kings. His accession lifted into prominence one of the most celebrated royal houses in European history. The political story of France, and indeed of Europe, from this time on to the French Revolution, and for some time after that, is in great part the story of the House of Bourbon.

Henry did not secure without a struggle the crown that was his by right. The nation, still mainly Catholic, was not ready to acquiesce in the accession to the French throne of a Protestant prince, and he the leader and champion of the hated Huguenots. The Catholics declared for Cardinal Bourbon, Henry's uncle, and France was thus kept in the swirl of civil war.

279. Henry IV turns Catholic (1593). After the war had gone on for about four years the quarrel was closed, for the time being, by Henry's becoming a Catholic. He was personally liked, even by the Catholic chiefs, and he was well aware that it was only his Huguenot faith that prevented their being his hearty supporters. Hence his resolution to remove, by changing his religion, the sole obstacle in the way of their ready loyalty, and thus to bring peace and quiet to distracted France.

280. The Edict of Nantes (1598). As soon as Henry had become the fully acknowledged king of France, he gave himself to the work of composing the affairs of his kingdom. The most noteworthy of the measures he adopted to this end was the publication of the celebrated Edict of Nantes. By this decree the Huguenots were secured perfect freedom of conscience and practical freedom of worship. All public offices and employments were opened to them the same as to Catholics. Moreover, they were allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns as pledges of good faith and as places of defense. Among these places was the important city of La Rochelle.

The granting of this edict is memorable for the reason that it was the first formal recognition by a great European state of the principle of religious toleration and equality. Here, for the first time since the triumph of Christianity over paganism in the Roman Empire, a great nation makes a serious effort to try to get along with two creeds in the state. It was almost a century before even England went as far in the way of granting freedom of conscience and of worship.

281. Character of Henry IV's Reign; his Plans and Death. With the temporary hushing of the long-continued quarrels of the Catholics and Protestants, France entered upon such a period of prosperity as she had not known for many years. Henry's paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects secured for him the title of Father of his People. In devising and carrying out his measures of reform, Henry was aided by one of the most prudent and sagacious advisers that ever strengthened the hands of a prince,—the illustrious Duke of Sully.

Toward the close of his reign Henry, feeling strong in his resources and secure in his power, began to revolve in his mind vast projects for the aggrandizement of France and the weakening of her old enemy, the House of Hapsburg, in both its branches.¹

¹ In connection with his designs against the House of Hapsburg, Henry is represented in Sully's *Afaires* as having had in mind a most magnificent scheme,—the organization of all the Christian states of Europe into a great confederation or commonwealth, and the abolition of war by the creation of an international peace tribunal. This scheme is known as the "Grand design."

He was making great preparations for war, when the dagger of a fanatic named Ravallac cut short his life and plans (1610).

282. Louis XIII (1610-1643); Cardinal Richelieu and his Policy. The reign of Henry's son and successor, Louis XIII, was rendered notable by the ability of his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), the Wolsey of France, one of the most



LIEU. (After the painting by
Philippe de Champagne)

remarkable characters of the seventeenth century. For the space of eighteen years this ecclesiastic was the actual sovereign of France, and swayed the destinies not only of that country but, it might almost be said, those of Europe as well.

Richelieu's policy was twofold : first, to render the authority of the French king absolute in France; second, to make the power of France supreme in Europe.

283. Siege and Capture of La Rochelle (1627-1628); Political Power of the Huguenots broken. To reach his first end Richelieu resolved to break down the political power of the Huguenot chiefs, who, " Protestants first and Frenchmen afterwards," were constantly challenging the royal authority and threatening the dismemberment of France. Accordingly he led in person an army to the siege of La Rochelle, which the Huguenots were planning to make the capital of an independent Protestant commonwealth. After a gallant resistance of more than a year the city was compelled to open its gates.

The Huguenots maintained the struggle a few months longer in the south of France, but were finally everywhere reduced to submission. The result of the war was the complete destruction of the political power of the French Protestants. A treaty of peace called the Edict of Grace (1629) left them, however, freedom of worship, according to the provisions of the Edict of Nantes.

This treaty properly marks the close of the religious wars which had now distressed France, intermittently, for two generations.

284. Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War. When Cardinal Richelieu came to the head of affairs in France there was going on in Germany the Thirty Years' War. Although Richelieu had just crushed French Protestantism, he now gave assistance to the Protestant German princes because their success meant the division of Germany and the humiliation of Austria. At first he extended aid in the form of subsidies to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had become the champion of the German Protestants ; but later he sent the armies of France to take direct part in the struggle.

Richelieu did not live to see the end either of the Thirty Years' War or of that which he had begun with Spain; but his policy, carried out by others, finally resulted, as we shall learn hereafter, in the humiliation of both branches of the House of Hapsburg and the lifting of France to the first place among the powers of Europe.

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powers of the North with the greatest alarm. Christian IV, king of Denmark, supported by England and the Dutch Netherlands, threw himself into the struggle—which was still being carried on in a desultory manner—as the champion of German Protestantism. On the side of the Catholics were two noted commanders,—Tilly, the leader of the forces of the Holy League, and Wallenstein, a wealthy Bohemian nobleman, who was the commander of the imperial army. What is known as the Danish period of the war now began.

The war proved disastrous, in the main, to the Protestant allies, and Christian IV was finally constrained to conclude a treaty of peace with the Emperor and retire from the struggle.

288. The Swedish Period (1630-1635). Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, with a veteran and enthusiastic army

of sixteen thousand Swedes, now appeared in North Germany as the champion of the dispirited and leaderless Protestants. Various motives had concurred in leading him thus to intervene in the struggle. He was urged to this course by his strong Protestant convictions and sympathies. Furthermore, the progress of the imperial arms in North Germany was imperiling Swedish interests

he Baltic and threatening to establish the supremacy of the
 strian Hapsburgs¹ over what was regarded by the sovereigns of
 xlen as a Swedish lake.

V shocking episode of the Swedish period of the war was the
 k of the city of Magdeburg by the imperial army under Tilly.
 •Jousands of the inhabitants perished miserably. Tilly wrote to



FIG. 42. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (From a painting by Vandyke)

¹ Emperor Ferdinand was the head of the House of Hapsburg.

Ferdinand that since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory had never been seen. "I am sincerely sorry," he adds, "that the ladies of your imperial family could not have been present as spectators."

The cruel fate of Magdeburg excited the alarm of the Protestant princes, and they now gave Gustavus, what they had hitherto jealously withheld, wholehearted support. Tilly was twice defeated", and in his last battle fatally wounded. In the death of Tilly, Ferdinand lost his most trustworthy general.

The imperial cause appeared desperate. There was but one man in Germany who could turn the tide of victory that was running so strongly in favor of the Swedish monarch. That man was Wallenstein, whom Ferdinand had recently dismissed from his service, but to whom he now turned. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army, provided his control of it should be absolute. Ferdinand was constrained to grant all that his old general demanded. Wallenstein now raised his standard, to which rallied the adventurers not only of Germany but of all Europe as well. The array was a motley host, bound together by no bonds of patriotism or convictions, but only by the spell and prestige of the name of Wallenstein.

With an army of forty thousand men obedient to his commands, Wallenstein risked a battle with the Swedes on the memorable field of Lutzen, in Saxony. The Swedes won the day, but lost their leader and sovereign (1632).

We may sum up the results of Gustavus Adolphus' intervention in the Thirty Years' War in these words of the historian Gindely: "He averted the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany."

Notwithstanding the death of their great king and commander, **the** Swedes did not withdraw from the war. Hence the struggle went on, the advantage being for the most part with the Protestant allies. Ferdinand, at just this time, was embarrassed by the suspicious movements of his general, Wallenstein. Becoming convinced that he was meditating the betrayal of the imperial cause, **the** Emperor caused him to be assassinated. This event marks very **nearly the end** of **the** Swedish period of the war.

289. The Swedish-French Period (1635-1648). Had it not been for the selfish and ambitious interference of France, the woeful war which had now desolated Germany for half a generation might here have come to an end, for both sides were weary of it. But Richelieu was not willing that the war should end until the House of Austria was completely humbled (sect. 284). Accordingly he encouraged the Swedes to carry on the war, promising them the aid of the French armies.

The war thus lost in large part its original character of a contention between the Catholic and the Protestant princes of Germany, and became a political struggle between the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, in which the former was fighting for existence, the latter for aggrandizement.

And so the miserable war went on year after year. It had become a heartless and conscienceless struggle for spoils. The Swedes fought to fasten their hold upon the mouths of the German rivers, the French to secure a grasp upon the Rhine lands. The earlier actors in the drama at length passed from the scene, but their parts were carried on by others.

290. The Peace of Westphalia (1648). The war was finally ended by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia. The chief articles of this important peace may be made to fall under two heads,—those relating to territorial boundaries and those respecting religion.

As to the first, these cut short in three directions the actual or nominal limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were severed from it; for though both of these countries had been for a long time practically independent of the Empire, this independence had never been acknowledged in any formal way. The claim of France to the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine, which places she had held for about a century, was confirmed, and all Alsace, save the free city of Strasburg, was given to her.

Sweden, already a great maritime power, was given territories in North Germany—Western Pomerania and other lands—which greatly enhanced her influence by giving her command of the

mouths of three important German rivers,—the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser. But these lands were not given to the Swedish king in full sovereignty; they still remained a part of the Germanic body, and the king of Sweden through his relation to them became a prince of the Empire and entitled to a seat in the German Diet.

The changes within the Empire were many, and some of them important. Brandenburg, the nucleus of a future great state, especially received considerable additions of territory. She got Eastern Pomerania and also valuable ecclesiastical lands.

The different states of the Empire—they numbered over four hundred, counting the free imperial cities—were left virtually independent of the imperial authority. This continued the Empire as merely a loose confederation, and postponed to a distant future the unification of the German peoples.

The articles respecting religion were even more important than those which established the metes and bounds of the different states. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were all put upon the same footing. Every prince, with some reservations, was to have the right to make his religion the religion of his people and to banish all who refused to adopt the established creed; but such nonconformists were to have five years in which to emigrate. This arrangement was known as the princes' "Right of Reformation" and the subjects' "Right of Emigration."¹

These were some of the most important provisions of the noted Peace of Westphalia. For more than two centuries they formed the fundamental law of Germany, and established a balance of power between the European states which, though it was disregarded and disturbed by Louis XIV of France, was in general maintained until the great upheaval of the French Revolution.

291. Effects of the War upon Germany. It is impossible to picture the wretched condition in which the Thirty Years' War left Germany. When the struggle began, the population of the country

¹ The history of the Palatinate illustrates the workings of this provision of the peace: in the space of sixty years the people of that principality were compelled by their successive rulers to change their religion four times. But this was an exceptional case.

was **thirty** millions; when it ended, twelve millions. Two **thirds** of the personal property had been destroyed. Many of the once large and flourishing cities were reduced to "mere shells." The Duchy of Wurtemberg, which had half a million inhabitants at the commencement of the war, at its close had barely fifty thousand. The once powerful Hanseatic League was virtually broken up. On every hand were the charred remains of the hovels of the peasants and the palaces of the nobility. Vast districts lay waste without an inhabitant. The very soil in many regions had reverted to its primitive wildness. The lines of commerce were broken, and some trades and industries swept quite out of existence.

The effects upon the fine arts, upon science, learning, and morals, were even more lamentable. Painting, sculpture, and architecture had perished. The cities which had been the home of all these arts lay in ruins. Poetry had ceased to be cultivated. Education was neglected. Moral law was forgotten. Vice, nourished by the licentious atmosphere of the camp, reigned supreme. Thus civilization in Germany, which had begun to develop with so much promise, received a check from which it did not begin to recover, so benumbed were the very senses of men, for a generation and more.

There was at least one offset to so much evil. The excesses and horrors of the war inspired the eminent Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), to write his great work, *The Laws of War and Peace*, a work that has been pronounced by high authority "the most beneficent of all volumes ever written not claiming divine inspiration." A chief aim of the work was to reform the laws of war, to lessen the atrocities of warfare, and to set limits to the "rights" claimed by the victor. The work has had such a profound influence upon the development of the law of nations that Grotius is regarded as the founder of international law.

292. Conclusion. The Peace of Westphalia is a prominent landmark in universal history. It marks the end of the Reformation period and the beginning of that of the Political Revolution. Henceforth, speaking broadly, men will fight for constitutions, not for creeds. We shall find them more **intent on questions**

of civil government and political rights than on questions of Church government and religious dogmas. We shall not often see one nation attacking another, or one party in a nation assaulting another party, on account of a difference in religious opinion.

But in setting the Peace of Westphalia to mark the end of the Era of Religious Wars, we do not mean to convey the idea that men had come to embrace the beneficent doctrine of religious toleration. As a matter of fact, no real toleration had yet been reached,—nothing save the semblance of toleration. The long conflict of a century and more, and the vicissitudes of fortune, which today gave one party the power of the persecutor and tomorrow made the same sect the victims of persecution, had simply forced all to the practical conclusion that they must tolerate one another,—that one sect must not attempt to put another down by force. But it has required the broadening and liberalizing lessons of the two centuries and more that have since passed to bring men to see, even in part, that the thing they *must* do is the very thing they *ought* to do.

With this single word of caution we now pass to the study of the Era of the Political Revolution, a period characterized in particular by the growth of divine-right kingship and by the great Struggle between despotic and liberal principles of government.

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FOURTH PERIOD. THE ERA OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

(From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Treaty of Versailles (1919))

/ . THE AGE OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

(1648-1789)

CHAPTER XXVI

INTRODUCTORY: THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS AND THE MAXIMS OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

293. The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was widely held a theory of government which during that period probably had as great an influence upon the historical development in Europe as the theory of the Empire and the Papacy exerted during the Middle Ages. This theory is known as the Divine Right of Kings.

According to this theory the nation is a great family with the king as its divinely appointed head. The duty of the king is to govern like a father; the duty of the people is to obey their king even as children obey their parents. If the king does wrong, is cruel, unjust, this is simply the misfortune of his people; under no circumstances is it right for them to rebel against his authority, any more than for children to rise against their father. The king is responsible to God alone, and to God the people, quietly submissive, must leave the avenging of all their wrongs.¹

"Kings are the ministers of God"—it is the eloquent Bossuet, the court chaplain of Louis XIV, who speaks—"and

¹ All that the people can do when the king misuses his authority is to petition him "to amend his fault"—and "to pray to God."

his vicegerents on the earth." "The throne of a king is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . . The person of kings is sacred, and it is sacrilege to harm them." "They are gods, and partake in some fashion of the divine independence."

Before the close of the period upon which we here enter, we shall see how this theory of the divine right of kings worked out in practice,—how dear it cost both kings and people, and how the people by the strong logic of revolution demonstrated that they have a divine and inalienable right to govern themselves.

294. History of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. This theory that kings rule by divine right has a history well worth tracing. Among primitive peoples, like the early Greeks, we find the king ruling by divine right,—by right of his descent from the gods. In Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as partaking of the divine nature. In ancient Judea the king was the Lord's anointed, and ruled as his vicegerent on earth. In the days of the Roman emperors their subjects, especially in the East, were prone to regard the head of the Empire as set apart from ordinary men. They built temples in honor of "the divine Caesar."

But to trace the origin of the doctrine as applied to kings of modern times, we need not go farther back than to the establishment of the mediæval Papacy. The popes, as we have learned, ruled by what may be termed divine right. All acknowledged their office and authority to be of divine origin and appointment. But when the emperors of German origin got into controversy with the popes in regard to the relation of the imperial to the papal power, then it was that the supporters of the emperors framed the counter theory of the divine origin of the imperial authority. Thus Dante in his *De Monarchia* maintains that the Emperor rules as much by divine right as does the Pope. Then later in the fourteenth century, after the Empire had been practically destroyed by the Papacy and the kings had taken up the fight against the Papal See, their supporters naturally began to preach the doctrine of the divine nature of the royal authority. This was the starting point of the theory in its modern form.

When finally the Reformation came and with **it** even still keener strife between the lay rulers of the revolted nations and the Roman See, then the theory of the divine nature of the royal power received perforce a great expansion. For when the Pope excommunicated a heretic king and exhorted his subjects to take up arms against him, then the royalist writers and preachers proclaimed more loudly than ever the doctrine of the divine right of princes and the wickedness of disobedience and rebellion. Fostered in this way, the doctrine of the sacred character of kingship and the virtue of passive obedience in the subject struck deep and firm root.

295. Character • of the **Absolute Sovereigns and their Relation to the Political Revolution.** What use did the kings make of their vast and unlimited authority? As a class, they made a betrayal of the great trust. Too many of them acted upon the maxim of Louis XIV of France,—“Self-aggrandizement is at once the noblest and the most agreeable occupation of kings.” They seemed to think that their subjects were made for their use and that their kingdoms were their personal property. War became a royal pastime. A great part of the bloody wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which centuries may be regarded as covering roughly the age of absolute monarchy, were wars that originated in frivolous personal jealousies, in wicked royal ambitions, or in disputes respecting dynastic succession. So generally did the wars of this period spring from questions of the latter nature, that by some historians the age is called the Era of Dynastic Wars.

Now all this misuse of royal power, all these unholy wars with their trains of attendant evils, did much to discredit divine-right kingship and to bring in government by the people. “Bad kings help us,” Emerson affirms, “if only they are bad enough.” Many of the kings of this period were bad enough to be supremely helpful. It was during this age of the kings that the forces set loose by the Renaissance and the Reformation engendered the tempest which overwhelmed forever divine-right kingship **and** its gilded appendage of privileged aristocracy.

296. The Enlightened Despots. But not all the kings of this age were imbecile or wicked. There were among them many wise and benevolent rulers. Especially during the latter part of the eighteenth century did there appear monarchs known as the Enlightened Despots, who, under the influence of the teachings of French philosophy, came to entertain reasonable views of their duties and of their obligations to their subjects.

These sovereigns did not give up the idea that unlimited monarchy is the best form of government and that the people should have no part in public affairs. They sincerely believed that the power of the king should be unlimited, but they emphasized the doctrine that this power should be exercised solely in the interest of the people. Thus the idea of the royal power being a trust, the royal office a stewardship, was made prominent. The king became the servant of his people.

Prominent among the sovereigns deemed worthy a place among the Enlightened Despots are Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Concerning them and their work we shall have something to say in later chapters. It will suffice here if we simply observe that the issue of this great experiment in government illustrated anew what had been demonstrated by the rule of the Tyrants in the cities of ancient Greece, and by that of the Caesars at Rome,—namely, that absolute power cannot safely be lodged in the hands of a single person. It is certain sooner or later to be misused.

As it has been well put, absolute power in a single person is a good thing when joined with perfect wisdom and perfect goodness. But unfortunately these qualifications of the ideal autocrat are seldom found united in the same individual, and still less seldom are they transmitted from father to son. It is at just this point that absolute hereditary monarchy, as a practical form of government, breaks down beyond hope and without remedy.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

(1643-1715)

297. Louis XIV as the Typical Divine-Right King. Louis XIV of France stands as the representative of divine-right monarchy. He shall himself expound to us his conception of government.¹ These are his words: "Kings are absolute lords; to them belongs naturally the full and free disposal of all the property of their subjects, whether they be churchmen or laymen." "For subjects to rise against their prince, however wicked and oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, has willed that they should be revered as his lieutenants, and has reserved to himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question."

The doctrine here set forth Louis is said to have expressed in this terser form: *L'état, c'est moi* (I am the State). He may never have uttered these exact words, but the famous epigram at least embodies perfectly his ideas of kingship. In his own view he was by divine commission the sole legislator, judge, and executive of the French nation.

This theory of government was indeed, as we have seen, no novel doctrine to the Europe of the seventeenth century; but Louis was such an ideal autocrat that somehow he made autocratic government attractive. Other rulers imitated him, and it became the prevailing theory that kings have a "divine right" to rule, and that the people should have no part at all in government.

i It should be noted that Louis' subjects, at least the great majority of them, also believed in government by one,—and not without reason. They had had sorry experience with government by many, under the regime of the nobles. Of government by all, by themselves, it was not possible for them to have any clear conception, if any conception at all. It needed a hundred years and more of autocratic misrule and oppression to call into existence that revolutionary idea.

298. The Administration of Mazarin (1643-1661). The religious war in Germany was still in progress when, in 1643, Louis XIII died, leaving the vast authority which his great minister Cardinal Richelieu had done so much to consolidate, as an inheritance to his little son Louis, a child of five years.



FIG. 43. LOUIS XIV. (After a painting by *Philippe de Champaigne*)

During the prince's minority the government was in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. She chose as her chief minister an Italian ecclesiastic, Cardinal Mazarin, who in his administration of affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, Richelieu, carrying out with great ability the policy of that minister (sect. 284). Before his death the House of Austria in both its branches had been humiliated and crippled, and the House of Bourbon was ready to assume the lead in European affairs.

299. Louis XIV becomes his Own Prime Minister. Mazarin died in 1661. Upon this event Louis, now twenty-three years of age, calling together the heads of the various departments of the government, said to them that in the future he should himself attend to affairs. He then charged the secretaries not to sign any paper, not even a passport, without his express commands.

From this time on for more than half a century Louis was his own prime minister. He gave personal attention to every matter, even the most trivial. Probably no wearer of a crown, Philip II of Spain possibly excepted, ever worked harder at "the trade of a king," as he himself designated his employment. He had able

men about him, but they planned and worked—and sometimes chafed—under his minute directions and tireless superintendence.

300. The Wars of Louis **XIV**. During the period of his personal administration of the government, Louis XIV was engaged in four great wars: (i) a war respecting the Spanish Netherlands; (2) a war with the Protestant Netherlands; (3) the War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg; and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession. All these wars were, on the part of the French monarch, wars of conquest and aggression, or wars provoked by his ambitious and encroaching policy. The most inveterate enemy of Louis during all this period was the Dutch Republic, the representative and champion of liberty.

301. The War concerning the Spanish Netherlands (1667-1668). Upon the death in 1665 of Philip IV of Spain, Louis laid claim, in the name of his wife, to portions of the Spanish Netherlands and led an army into the country. The Hollanders were naturally alarmed, fearing that Louis would also want to annex their country to his dominions. Accordingly they effected what was called the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden. Louis was now quickly checked in his career of conquest, and compelled to give up much of the territory he had seized.

302. The War with the Protestant Netherlands (1672-1678). The second war of the French king was against the United Netherlands. His attack upon this little state was prompted by a variety of motives. In the first place, the Hollanders' intervention in the preceding war had stirred his resentment. Then these Dutchmen represented everything to which he was opposed,—self-government, Protestantism, and free thought.

In this war Louis found himself confronted by the armies of half of Europe. For several years the struggle was waged on land and sea,—in the Netherlands, all along the Rhine, upon the English Channel, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of the New World. By the terms of the peace which eventually ended the war, Louis gave up his conquests in Holland, but kept a large number of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, besides the free county of Burgundy on his eastern frontier. Thus

Louis came out of this tremendous struggle with enhanced reputation and fresh acquisitions of territory. People now began to call him the "Grand Monarch."

303. Louis seizes the City of Strasburg (i68i). Ten years of comparative peace now followed for western Europe. Among the many indefensible acts of Louis during this period there were two which deserve special notice, since, while marking the culmination of Louis' power and illustrating his arrogant and unjust use of that power, they also mark the turning point in his fortunes. The first of these was the seizure of the free city of Strasburg and a score of other important places on the left bank of the Rhine, belonging to the Empire. Strasburg was of supreme military importance to Louis on account of her strong fortifications, which rendered her mistress of the Rhine.

304. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The second act to which we refer was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the gracious decree by which Henry IV guaranteed religious freedom to the French Protestants (sect. 280). By this cruel measure all the Protestant churches were closed, and every Huguenot who refused to embrace the Catholic faith was outlawed. The persecution which the Huguenots had been enduring, and which was now greatly increased in violence, is known as the *Dragonnades*, from the circumstance that *dragoons* were quartered upon the Protestant families, with full permission to annoy and persecute them in every way "short of violation and death," to the end that the victims of these outrages might be constrained to recant, which multitudes did.

Under the fierce persecutions of the *Dragonnades* probably as many as three hundred thousand of the most skillful and industrious of the subjects of Louis were driven out of the kingdom. The effects upon France of this exodus were most disastrous. Several of the most important and flourishing of the French industries were ruined, while the manufacturing interests of other countries, particularly those of the Protestant Netherlands, England, and Brandenburg, were correspondingly benefited by the energy, skill, and capital which the exiles carried to them. Many

of the fugitive Huguenots sought refuge in America; and no other class of emigrants, save the Puritans of England, cast

Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
That peopled the new world.¹

305. The War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697). The indirect results of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were quite as calamitous to France as were the direct results. The indignation that the measure awakened among the Protestant nations contributed to enable William III of the United Netherlands to organize a formidable confederacy against Louis, known as the League of Augsburg.

Louis resolved to attack the confederates. Seeking a pretext for beginning hostilities, he laid claim to properties in the Palatinate, and hurried a large army into the country, which was quickly overrun. But being unable to hold the conquests he had made, Louis ordered that the country be laid waste. Among the places reduced to ruins were the historic towns of Heidelberg, Spire, and Worms. Even fruit trees, vines, and crops were destroyed.

Another and more formidable coalition, known as the Grand Alliance, was now formed against Louis. It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, and several of the German princes. For ten years Europe was a great battlefield. It was very much such a struggle as that waged a century later by the allied monarchies of Europe against Napoleon, when they fought for the independence of the continent.

Both sides at length becoming weary of the contest and almost exhausted in resources, the struggle was closed by the Peace of Ryswick (1697). There was a mutual surrender of conquests made during the war, and Louis had also to give up many of the places he had seized before the beginning of the conflict.

306. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Barely three years had passed after the Peace of Ryswick before the great powers of Europe were involved in another war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

¹ See Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*.

The proximate circumstances out of which this war grew were these. In 1700 the king of Spain, Charles II, the last male descendant in Spain of the great Emperor Charles V, died, leaving his crown—Charles was childless—to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. The duke, a mere lad of seventeen years, assumed the crown with the title of Philip V, and thus became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," is the way in which Louis is reported to have expressed his exultation over this virtual union of France and Spain.

The common danger in such a union led to the forming of a second Grand Alliance¹ against France, a main object of which was to eject Philip from the Spanish throne and to seat thereon an Austrian prince. For thirteen years all Europe was shaken with war. The struggle was ended by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714). By the provisions of these treaties the Bourbon prince Philip was left upon the Spanish throne, but on the condition that there should never be a union of the French and Spanish crowns upon the same head. His dominions also were pared away on every side. Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were ceded to England; Milan, Naples, the island of Sardinia, and the Catholic Netherlands were given to Austria; and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. Spain was thus shorn of nearly half her territories in Europe.

France also suffered in her colonial possessions and claims, being forced to cede Nova Scotia (Acadia) to England and to admit her sovereignty over Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory.

307. Death of the King (1715). It was amidst troubles, perplexities, and afflictions that Louis XIV's long and eventful reign drew to a close. The heavy and constant taxes necessary to meet the expenses of his numerous wars and to maintain an extravagant court, and to furnish means for the erection of costly buildings, had bankrupted the country, and the cries of his wretched subjects, clamoring for bread, could not be shut out of the royal

¹ The alliance embraced at first England, the Protestant Netherlands, Austria, and other German states, and later was joined by Portugal and Savoy.

chamber. Death, too, had invaded the palace, striking down the Dauphin and also two grandsons of Louis, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of September 1, 1715, the Grand Monarch breathed his last, bequeathing to this boy of five years a kingdom burdened with debt and filled with misery and dangerous discontent. He seemed at the last moment to be sensible of the mistakes and faults of his reign, for his dying charge to the little prince who was to succeed him was as follows: "Do not follow the bad example which I have set you. I have undertaken war too lightly, and have continued it from vanity. Do not imitate me, but be a pacific prince, and let your chief occupation be to relieve your subjects."

The tidings of the king's death, instead of being received by his subjects with tears, was received with an outburst of rejoicing. A satirist of the time declared that "the people had shed too many tears during his life to have any left for his death."

308. The Court of Louis XIV. The court of the Grand Monarch was the most extravagantly magnificent that Europe has ever seen. Never since Nero spread his Golden House over the burnt district of Rome and ensconcing himself amid its luxurious appointments exclaimed, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be," had prince or king so ostentatiously lavished upon himself the wealth of an empire. Louis had half a dozen palaces, the most costly of which was that at Versailles. Here he created, in what was originally a desert, a beautiful miniature universe of which he was the center, the resplendent sun—he chose the sun as his emblem—around which all revolved and from which all received light and life. And here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxurious idleness at the expense of the people. One element of this enormous family was the great lords of the old feudal aristocracy. Dispossessed of their ancient power and wealth, they were content now to fill a place in the royal household,—to be the king's pensioners and the elegant embellishment of his court.

As can easily be imagined, the court life of this period was shamefully corrupt. Vice, however, was gilded. The most scandalous immoralities were made attractive by the glitter of superficial accomplishment and by exquisite suavity and polish of manner. But, notwithstanding its insincerity and immorality, the brilliancy of the Court of Louis dazzled all Europe. Other courts imitated its manners and emulated its extravagances. In all matters of taste and fashion France gave laws to the continent, and the French language became the court language of the civilized world.

309. Literature under Louis XIV. Although Louis himself was not a scholar, he gave liberal encouragement to men of letters, thereby making his reign the Augustan Age of French literature. In this patronage Louis was not unselfish. He befriended poets and writers of every class, because thus he extended the reputation of his court. These writers, pensioners of his bounty, filled all Europe with praises of the great king, and thus made the most ample and grateful return to Louis for his favor and liberality.

Almost every species of literature was cultivated by the French writers of this era, yet it was in the province of the drama that the most eminent names appeared. The three great names here are those of Corneille (1606-1684), Racine (1639-1699), and Moltere¹ (1622-1673).

¹ Among other world-renowned French writers, philosophers, prelates, and orators who adorned the age of Louis XIV were Descartes (1596-1650), the father of modern philosophy; Pascal (1623-1662), the prodigy in mathematics and the author of the famous *Provincial Letters*; La Bruyere (1645-1696), unrivaled depicter of character and manners; Madame de Sevigne (1626-1696), the brilliant letter writer, whose correspondence forms today a prized portion of French literature and constitutes a treasury of information for the court historian; Bossuet (1627-1704), the eloquent court preacher and champion of divine-right kingship; Fenelon (1651-1715), the distinguished prelate and author of *The Adventures of Telmachus*, a disguised satire on the reign of Louis XIV; La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), writer of memoirs and of keenly cynical maxims; La Fontaine (1621-1695), greatest of modern writers of fables; Perrault (1628-1703), the first to publish such nursery tales as "Cinderella" and "Bluebeard" (some believe that Perrault merely edited tales written down by a little boy to whom they were told); Iballand (1646-1715), the first to publish the *Aradian Nights* in a European language; Boileau (1636-1711), satirist and critic. Among the striking literary phenomena of the period are the excessively lengthy romances, of whose writers Mademoiselle de Scudery (1607-1701) is most noted, and the high development of parlor conversation, Mademoiselle de Scudry's parlor succeeding the still more famous parlor of the Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665).

310. Relation of the Reign of Louis XIV to the Revolution of 1789. "If it be asked," says the historian Von Hoist, "who did the most towards the destruction of the ancient regime, the correct answer is, beyond all question, Louis XIV, its greatest representative." Louis discredited absolute monarchy by his shameful misuse of his unlimited power. His many wars and his extravagant expenditures on an idle and profligate court weighed France down with crushing and intolerable burdens. It was the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his acting on the monstrous doctrine that "the many are made for the use of one," that did much to prepare the minds and hearts of the French people for the great Revolution.

311. Decline of the French Monarchy under Louis XV (1715-1774). The supremacy of the House of Bourbon passed away forever with Louis XIV. In passing from the reign of the Grand Monarch to that of his successor, we pass from the strongest and outwardly most brilliant reign in French history to the weakest and most humiliating. Louis XV was a despot without possessing any of the possible virtues of a despot. During his reign France made a swift descent toward the abyss of the Revolution of 1789. She took part, indeed, but usually with injury to her military reputation, in all the wars of the period. The most important of these for France was the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), known in America as the French and Indian War, which resulted in the loss to France of Canada in the New World and of her Indian empire in the Old.

References. For a comprehensive view of this period there is nothing superior to *The Age of Louis XIV* 2 vols., and *The Decline of the French Monarchy*, 2 vols., — translations by Mary L. Booth of the corresponding parts of Henri Martin's *JFistoire tfe France*. WAKKMAN, II. O., *Europe, 1398-/7/5*, chaps. vi, vii, and ix-xv. KITCHIN, G. W., *A History of Trance*, vol. iii. HASSALL, A., *The Trench People*, chaps. xii-xiv; and *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy*. PKRKINS, J. P., *France under Mazarin*, vol. ii; *Trance under the Regency*, and *Trance under Louis XV*, 2 vols. WILLIAMS, II. N., *Madame de Pompadour*. For the history of the French in America during the age of Louis XIV, the reader will have recourse to PARKMAN, F., *Frontenac and New France under Louis XLV*.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE STUARTS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1603-1689)

I. THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST (1603-1625)

312. James' Idea of Kingship. With the end of the Tudor line (sect. 259), James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, came to the English throne as James I of England. The accession of the House of Stuart brought England and Scotland under the same sovereign, though each country still retained its own legislature.

James, like the other Stuarts who followed him on the English throne, was a firm believer in the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He held that hereditary princes are the Lord's anointed, and that their authority can in no way be questioned or limited by people, priest, or Parliament. These are his own words: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that."

313. Contest between James and the Commons; "the Sovereign King and the Sovereign People." But the Commons of the English Parliament, and probably the majority of the English people, differed with their Stuart kings in their views concerning the nature of government, and particularly concerning the nature of the English government. In this difference of views lay hidden, as we shall learn, the germs of the Civil War and of all that grew out of it,—the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Revolution of 1688.

An incident lights up vividly the situation. A committee from the Commons was about to wait upon the king. "Place twelve armchairs/" said James to his attendants; "I am going to receive twelve kings." What the king said in bitter irony was the simple truth. James, when he met the committee from the Commons, met men who were as sure that they had a divine right to rule England as he was that he had a divine commission to that same end. As the historian Guizot tersely expresses it, "Both king and people thought as sovereigns." Here were the conditions of an irrepressible conflict.

The chief matters of dispute between the king and the Commons were the limits of the authority of the former in matters touching legislation and taxation, and the nature and extent of the privileges and jurisdiction of the latter.

As to the limits of the royal power, James talked and acted as though his prerogatives were practically unbounded. He issued proclamations which in their scope were really laws, and then enforced these royal edicts by fines and imprisonment as though they were regular statutes of Parliament. Moreover, taking advantage of some uncertainty in the law as regards the power of the king to collect customs at the ports of the realm, he laid new and unusual duties upon imports and exports. James' judges were servile enough to sustain him in this course, some of them going so far as to say in effect that "the seaports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases."

As to the privileges of the Commons, that body insisted, among other things, upon their right to determine all cases of contested election of their members, and to debate freely all questions concerning the common weal, without being liable to prosecution or imprisonment for words spoken in the House. James denied that these privileges were matters of right pertaining to the Commons, and repeatedly intimated to them that it was only through his own gracious permission and the favor of his ancestors that they were allowed to exercise these liberties at all, and that if their conduct was not more circumspect and reverential he should take away their privileges entirely.

On one occasion, the Commons having ventured in debate upon certain matters of state which the king had forbidden them to meddle with, he, in reproving them, made a more express denial than ever of their rights and privileges, which caused them, in a burst of noble indignation, to spread upon their journal a brave protest, known as "The Great Protestation," which declared that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and the Church of England . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament" (1621).

When intelligence of this action was carried to the king, he angrily adjourned Parliament, sent for the journal of the House, and with his own hand struck out the obnoxious resolution. Then he dissolved Parliament, and even went so far as to imprison several of the members of the Commons. In these high-handed measures we get a glimpse of the Stuart theory of government, and see the way paved for the final break between king and people in the following reign.

314. Colonies and Trade Settlements. The reign of James I is signalized by the commencement of that system of colonization which has resulted in the establishment of the English race in almost every quarter of the globe. In the year 1607 Jamestown, so named in honor of the king, was founded in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States. In 1620 some Separatists, or Pilgrims, who had found in Holland a temporary refuge from persecution, pushed across the Atlantic, and amidst heroic sufferings and unparalleled hardships established the first settlement in New England and laid **the** foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

Besides planting these settlements in the New World, the English during this same reign settled themselves in the ancient **land** of India. In 1613 the East India Company established their first "factory" (trading station) at Surat. This was the humble **beginning** of the great English empire in the East.

In this connection must also be noticed the Plantation of Ulster in Ireland. The northern part of that island having been desolated by a stubborn rebellion, and extensive tracts of land having been forfeited to the English crown, this land was now given by royal grant to English and Scotch settlers. Some of the Celtic clans were removed bodily and assigned lands in other parts of the island. This movement began in 1610. Its aim was to Protestantize and Anglicize the country. The end sought was in a good measure attained. In less than a century after the beginning of the colonization movement there were over a million Protestants of the Presbyterian sect settled in Ulster. But the injustice and harshness of the treatment of the Irish natives awakened among them a spirit of bitter hostility to the newcomers, which, intensified by fresh wrongs, has embittered all the relations of Ireland and England up to our own day.

315. Literature. One of the most noteworthy literary labors of the reign under review was a new translation of the Bible, known as *King James' Version*, published in 1611. This version is the one in general use in the Protestant Church at the present day.

The most noted writers of James⁷ reign were a bequest to it from the brilliant era of Elizabeth.¹ Sir Walter Raleigh, the petted courtier of Elizabeth, fell on evil days after her death. On the charge of taking part in a conspiracy against the crown, he was sent to the Tower, where he was kept a prisoner for thirteen years. From the tedium of his long confinement he found relief in the composition of a *History of the World*. He was at last beheaded (1618).

The close of the life of the great philosopher Francis Bacon was scarcely less sad than that of Sir Walter Raleigh. He held the office of Lord Chancellor and, yielding to the temptations of the corrupt times upon which he had fallen, accepted fees from the suitors who brought cases before him. He was impeached and brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where he confessed his

¹ Shakespeare died about the middle of the reign (in 1616). Several of his companion dramatists, who like himself began their career under Elizabeth, also outlived the queen, and did most of their work during the reign of her successor.

fault, but asserted that the money he took never influenced his judgment. He appealed pathetically to his judges "to be merciful to a broken reed." He was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to imprisonment in the Tower. But the king in pity released him from all the penalty and even conferred a pension upon him. He lived only five years after his fall and disgrace, dying in 1626.

Bacon must be given the first place among the philosophers of the English-speaking race. His system is known as the "Inductive Method of Philosophy." It insists upon experiment and a careful observation of facts as the only true means of arriving at a knowledge of the laws of nature.

REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST (1625-1649)

316. The Petition of Right (1628). Charles I came to the throne with all his father's lofty notions about the divine right of kings. He made his own these words of Scripture: "Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?"¹ Consequently the old contest between king and Parliament was straightway renewed. The first two Parliaments of his reign Charles dissolved abruptly, because instead of voting supplies they persisted in investigating public grievances.

After the dissolution of his second Parliament, Charles endeavored to raise by means of benevolences (sect. 234) and forced loans the money he needed to carry on the government. But all his expedients failed to meet his needs, and he was forced to fall back upon Parliament. The Houses met, and promised to grant him generous subsidies, provided he would approve a certain *Petition of Right* which they had drawn up. Next after Magna Carta, this document is the most important in the constitutional history of England. Four abuses were provided against: (1) the raising of money by loans, benevolences, taxes, etc., without the consent of Parliament; (2) imprisonment without cause shown; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses,—a very vexatious **thing**; and (4) trial by martial law, that is, without jury.

¹ Eccles. viii. 4; cited by Charles on his trial in 1649.

Charles was as reluctant to assent to the petition as King John had been to assent to Magna Carta, but he was at length forced to give sanction to it by the use of the usual formula, "Let it be law as desired" (1628).

317. Charles rules without Parliament (1629-1640). It soon became evident that Charles was utterly insincere when he gave his assent to the Petition of Right. He immediately violated its provisions in attempting to raise money by forbidden taxes and loans. For eleven years he ruled without Parliament, thus changing the government of England from a government by king, Lords, and Commons to what was in effect an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, like that of France or of Spain.

Prominent among Charles' most active agents were his ministers, Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom earned unenviable reputations through their industry and success in building up the absolute power of their master upon the ruins of the ancient institutions of English liberty.

The high-handed proceedings of Charles and his agents were upheld by three iniquitous courts of usurped jurisdiction. These were known as the "Council of the North," the "Star Chamber," and the "High Commission Court." All these courts sat without jury and, being composed of the creatures of the king, were of course his subservient instruments. Often their decisions were unjust and arbitrary, their punishments harsh and cruel.



FIG. 44. CHARLES I. (After a painting by Vandyke)

318. John Hampden and Ship Money (i637-i638). Among the illegal taxes levied during this period of tyranny was a species known as "ship money," so called from the fact that in early times the kings, when the realm was in danger, called upon the seaports and maritime counties to contribute ships and ship material for the public service. Charles and his agents, in looking this matter over, conceived the idea of extending this tax over the inland as well as the seaboard counties.

Among those who refused to pay the tax was a country gentleman named John Hampden. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, before all the twelve judges. All England watched the progress of the suit with the utmost solicitude. The question was argued by able counsel both on Hampden's side and on the side of the crown. Judgment was finally rendered in favor of the king, although five of the twelve judges stood for Hampden. The case was lost; but the people, who had been following the arguments, were fully persuaded that it went against Hampden simply for the reason that the judges stood in fear of the royal displeasure should they dare to decide the case adversely to the crown.

The arbitrary and despotic character which the government had now assumed in both civil and religious matters, and the hopelessness of relief or protection from the courts, caused thousands to seek in the New World that freedom and security which was denied them in their own land.

319. The Bishops' War (1639). England was ready to rise in open revolt against the unbearable tyranny. Events in Scotland hastened the crisis. The king was attempting to impose the English liturgy (slightly modified) upon the Scotch Presbyterians. To the Scotch this seemed little short of a restoration of the "Popery" they had renounced. All classes, nobles and peasants alike, bound themselves by a solemn National Covenant—whence the term *Covenanters*—to resist to the very last every attempt to make innovations in their religion (1638).

The king resolved to crush the movement by force. The Scotch accepted the challenge with all that ardor which religious **enthusiasm** never fails to inspire. Charles soon found that **war**

could not be carried on without money, and was constrained to summon Parliament in hopes of obtaining a vote of supplies. But instead of making the king a grant of money, the Commons first gave their attention to the matter of grievances, whereupon Charles dissolved the Parliament. The Scottish forces crossed the border, and the king, helpless, with an empty treasury and a seditious army, was forced again to summon the two Houses.

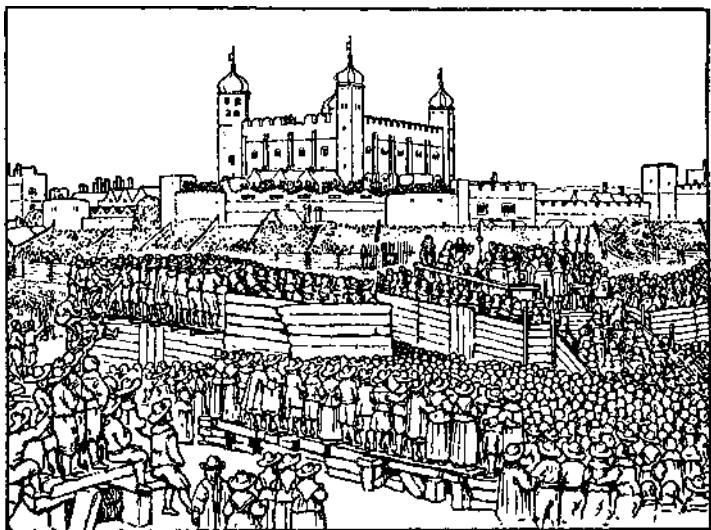


FIG. 45. EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD. (From a contemporary print)

320. The Long Parliament. Under this call met on November 3, 1640, the Parliament which, from the circumstance of its sitting for twelve years and legally existing for nearly twenty, became known as the "Long Parliament." A small majority of the members of the Commons of this Parliament were stern and determined men, men who fully realized the danger in which the constitutional rights and the traditional liberties of Englishmen were set, and who were resolved to put a check to the despotic course of the king.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment of Strafford, as the most prominent instrument of the king's tyranny and usurpation. He was finally condemned by a bill of attainder¹ and sent to the block.

To secure themselves against dissolution before their work was done, the Houses passed a bill which provided that they should not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent.

321. Charles' Attempt to seize the Five Members. An imprudent act on the part of Charles now precipitated the nation into the gulf of civil war, toward which events had been so rapidly drifting. With the design of overawing the Commons, the king made a charge of treason against five of the leading members, among whom were Hampden and John Pym, and sent officers to arrest them; but the accused were not to be found. The next day Charles himself, accompanied by armed attendants, went to the House for the purpose of seizing the five members; but, having been forewarned of the king's intention, they had withdrawn from the hall. The king was not long in realizing the state of affairs, and with the observation, "I see the birds have flown," withdrew from the chamber.

Charles had taken a fatal step. The nation could not forgive the insult offered to its representatives. All London rose in arms. The king, frightened by the storm which his rashness had raised, fled from the city to York. From the flight of Charles from London may be dated the beginning of the civil war (January 10, 1642).

THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1649)

322. The **Two** Parties. The country was now divided into two great parties. Those that enlisted under the king's standard—on whose side rallied, for the most part, the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy—were known as Royalists or Cavaliers; while those that gathered about the Parliamentary banner—the

¹ A bill of attainder is an act ordering the punishment of a certain person, passed like an ordinary statute of Parliament. Because of the misuse by the English Parliament of this power, the framers of the Constitution of the United States, in enumerating the powers of Congress, inserted this clause: "No bill of attainder . . . shall be passed."

townsmen and the yeomanry—were called Parliamentarians or Roundheads, the latter term being applied to them because many of their number cropped their hair close to the head, simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long and flowing locks. The Cavaliers favored the Established Episcopal Church, while the Roundheads were Puritans. During the progress of the struggle the Presbyterians and Independents (later known as Congregationalists) became the leading factions in the Puritan party.

323. Oliver Cromwell and his "Ironsides." The war had continued about three years when there came into prominence among the officers of the Parliamentary forces a man of destiny, one of the great characters of history,—Oliver Cromwell. During the early campaigns of the war, as colonel of a troop of cavalry, he had exhibited his rare genius as an organizer and disciplinarian. His regiment became famous under the name of "Cromwell's Ironsides." It was composed entirely of "men of religion." Swearing, drinking, and the usual vices of the camp were unknown among them. They advanced to the charge with the singing of psalms. During all the war the regiment was never once beaten.

324. The Battle of Naseby (1645). The decisive engagement of the war was what is known as the battle of Naseby. The Royalists were irretrievably beaten. Charles escaped from the field, and ultimately fled to the Scottish army, thinking that he might rely upon the loyalty of the Scots to the House of Stuart; but on his refusing to sign the Covenant and certain other articles, they gave him up to the English Parliament.

325. "Pride's Purge" (1648). Now there were many in the Parliament who were in favor of restoring the king to his throne on the basis of conditions which he himself had proposed, that is to say, without requiring from him any sufficient guaranties that he would in the future rule in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land. The Independents, which means Cromwell and the army, saw in this possibility the loss of all the fruits of victory. A high-handed measure was resolved upon,—the exclusion from the House of Commons of all those members **who** favored the restoration of Charles.

Accordingly an officer by the name of Pride was stationed at **the** door of the hall to exclude or to arrest the members obnoxious to the army. One hundred and forty-three members were thus kept from their seats, and the Commons became reduced to about fifty representatives. This performance was appropriately called "Pride's Purge." "The minority had now become the majority." **But** that is not an approved way of creating a majority.

326. Trial and Execution of the King (January 30, 1649). The Commons thus "purged" of the king's friends now passed a resolution for the immediate trial of Charles for treason. A High Court of Justice, comprising one hundred and thirty-five members, was organized, before which Charles was summoned. Appearing before the court, he denied its authority to try him, consistently maintaining that no earthly tribunal could rightly question his acts. But the trial went on, and before the close of a week he was condemned to be executed "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation."

In a few days the sentence was carried out. Charles bore himself in the presence of death with great composure and dignity. On the scaffold he spoke these words, the sincerity of which cannot be doubted: "For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government; . . . it is not in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

II. THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649-1660)

327. Establishment of the Commonwealth. A few weeks **after** the execution of Charles the Commons voted to abolish the office of king as "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people," and also to do **away** with the House of Lords as likewise "useless and dangerous to the people of England," and to establish a free state **under the** name of "**The** Commonwealth." A new Great Seal

was made with this legend and date: "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648."¹ The executive power was lodged in a Council of State, composed of forty-one persons. Of this body the eminent patriot Sir Henry Vane was the leading member.

328. Troubles of the Commonwealth. The republic thus born of mingled religious and political enthusiasm was beset with dangers from the very first. The execution of Charles had alarmed every sovereign in Europe. Russia, France, and the Dutch Republic all refused to have any communication with the ambassadors of the Commonwealth. The Scots, who too late repented of having surrendered their sovereign into the hands of his enemies, now hastened to wipe out the stain of their disloyalty by proclaiming his son their king, with the title of Charles the Second. The Royalists in Ireland declared for the prince; while the Dutch began active preparations to assist him in regaining the throne of his unfortunate father. In England itself the Royalists were active and threatening.

329. War with Ireland (1649-1652). The Commonwealth, like the ancient republic of Rome, seemed to gather strength and energy from the very multitude of surrounding dangers. Cromwell was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and sent into that country to crush the Royalist party there. With his "Iron-sides" he made quick and terrible work of the suppression of the Catholic Royalists. Having taken by storm the town of Drogheda, which had refused his summons to surrender, he massacred the entire garrison, consisting of three thousand men (1649). The capture of other towns was accompanied by massacres little less terrible. The following is his own account of the manner in which he dealt with the captured garrisons: "When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes" (practically sold into tropical slavery). Cromwell's savage cruelty in his dealings with the Irish is an indelible stain on his memory.

¹ According to the method of reckoning then in vogue, the year 1648 did not end until March 24.

The Catholic Royalists having been defeated, the best lands of the island were confiscated and granted to English and Scotch settlers. This method of securing Protestant ascendancy in the island is what English history designates as the "Cromwellian settlement," but which Irish resentment calls the "Curse of Cromwell." The religious ferocity of this Puritan settlement of Iieland fanned fiercely the flame of hatred which earlier wrongs had kindled in the hearts of the Irish people against their English conquerors,—a flame which has not yet burned itself out.¹

330. War with Scotland (1650-1651). Cromwell was called out of Ireland by the Council to lead an army into Scotland. At Dunbar he met the Scottish army. Before the terrible onset of the fanatic Roundheads the Scots were scattered like chaff before the wind. Ten thousand were made prisoners, and all the camp train and artillery were captured.

The following year, on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell gained another great victory over the Scottish army at Worcester, and all Scotland was soon after forced to submit to the authority of the Commonwealth.

331. Cromwell ejects the Long Parliament (1653). The war in Scotland was followed by one with the Dutch. While this war was in progress Parliament came to an open quarrel with the army. Cromwell demanded of Parliament their dissolution and the calling of a new body. This they refused; whereupon, taking with him a body of soldiers, Cromwell went to the House, and after listening impatiently for a while to the debate, suddenly sprang to his feet and with bitter reproaches exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating. Get you gone; give place to better men. You are no Parliament. The Lord has done with you." At a prearranged signal his soldiers rushed in. The hail was cleared and the door locked.

In such summary manner the Long Parliament, or the "Rump Parliament," as it was called in derision after "Pride's Purge,"

¹ Between the years 1641 and 1652 over half a million inhabitants of the island were destroyed or banished; Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 177) affirms that during these years and those immediately following five sixths of the population perished. "A man might travel," he says, "for twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature."

was dissolved, after having sat for twelve years. So completely had the body lost the confidence and respect of all parties that scarcely a murmur was heard against the illegal and arbitrary mode of its dissolution.

332. The "Little Parliament" and the Establishment of the Protectorate (1653). Cromwell now called together a new Parliament, or more properly a convention, summoning, so far as he might, only religious, God-fearing men. The "Little Parliament," as sometimes called, consisted of one hundred and fifty-six members, mainly religious zealots, who spent much of their time in Scripture exegesis, prayer, and exhortation. Among them was a London leather merchant, named Praise-God Barebone, who was especially given to these exercises. The name amused the people, and as the exhorter was a fair representative of a considerable section of the convention, they nicknamed it "Barebone's Parliament," by which designation it has passed into history.

The "Little Parliament" sat only five months, and then, resigning all its authority into the hands of Cromwell, dissolved itself. A sort of constitution, called the "Instrument of Government," was now drawn up by a council of army officers and approved by Cromwell. This instrument, the first of written constitutions, provided for a Parliament consisting of a single House, a Council of State, and an executive or president serving for life and bearing the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Under this instrument Cromwell became Lord Protector for life.

333. The Protectorate (1653-1659). Cromwell's power was now almost unlimited. He was virtually a dictator, for he had the power of the army behind him. The Protector summoned, winnowed, and dissolved Parliament at pleasure. He could get together no body of men who could or would work smoothly with him. "The Lord judge between me and you," were his words of dismissal to his last unmanageable and obstinate Parliament.

For five years Cromwell carried on the government practically **alone**. His **rule** was arbitrary but enlightened. He gave England **the** strongest government she had had since the days of Wolsey

and of Elizabeth. His aim was "to make England great and **to** make her worthy of greatness." This worthiness **he**, zealous Puritan as he was, conceived could be acquired by England only as her affairs were conducted by godly men and in accord with the plain precepts of Scripture.



FIG. 46. OLIVER CROMWELL. (After a portrait by *Samuel Cooper*)

You have that in your countenance which I would fain call master.—Earl of Kent to King Lear in Shakespeare's *King Lear*

Further, in Oliver's mind, the English nation could be God's own people and worthy of greatness only as England upheld the Protestant cause in Europe. It was this religious persuasion which led him to become the protector of Protestantism wherever imperiled. He interposed successfully in behalf of the Huguenots in France and secured for them a respite from harassment; he obliged the duke of Savoy to cease his cruel persecution of the Vaudois and caused the Pope **to** be informed that if the Protestants continued to be molested anywhere—Cromwell laid the blame of everything done against Protestant in-

terests **at** the door of the Papacy—the roar of English guns would speedily awaken the echoes of St. Angelo.

334. Cromwell's Death. Notwithstanding Cromwell was a **man of** immovable resolution and **iron** spirit, still he felt sorely **the** burdens of his government, and was deeply troubled by the anxieties of his position. In the midst of apparent success he was **painfully conscious of utter failure.** He had wished to establish a **constitutional** government. Instead, he **found** himself a military

usurper, whose title was simply the title of the sword. His government, we may believe, was as hateful to himself as to the great mass of the English people. With his constitution undermined by overwork and anxiety, fever attacked him, and with gloomy apprehensions as to the terrible dangers into which England might drift after his hand had fallen from the helm of affairs, he lay down to die, passing away on the day which he had always called his "fortunate day,"—the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester (September 3, 1658).

335. Richard Cromwell (1658-1659). With his dying breath Oliver Cromwell—so it was given out—had designated his son Richard as his successor in the office of the Protectorate. Richard was exactly the opposite of his father,—timid, irresolute, and irreligious. The control of affairs that had taxed to the utmost the genius and resources of the father was altogether too great an undertaking for the incapacity and inexperience of the son. No one was quicker to realize this than Richard himself, and after a rule of a few months, yielding to the pressure of the army, whose displeasure he had incurred, he resigned his office.

336. The Restoration (1660). For some months after the fall of the Protectorate the country trembled on the verge of anarchy. The gloomy outlook into the future and the unsatisfactory experiment of the Commonwealth caused the great mass of the English people earnestly to desire the restoration of the monarchy,—in truth, the majority of the nation had never desired its abolition. Charles Stuart, toward whom the tide of returning loyalty was running, was now in Holland. General Monk, the commander of the army in Scotland and the representative of Scottish sentiment, marched south to London and assumed virtual control of affairs.

The Long Parliament, including the members ejected by Pride (sect. 325), now reassembled, and by resolution declared that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the government is and ought to be by king, Lords, and Commons." An invitation was sent to Prince Charles to **return to his people and take his place upon the throne of his ancestors.**

Amid the wildest demonstrations of joy Charles stepped ashore **on** the island from which he had been for nine years an exile. As he observed the extensive preparations made for his reception, and received from all parties the warmest congratulations, he remarked with pleasant satire, "Surely it is my own fault that I have remained these years in exile from a country which is so glad to see me."

337. Why the Puritan Revolution failed. The Puritan Revolution had failed. To assign the deeper causes of this failure, whether in circumstances or in the personal character of Cromwell or of other leaders of the movement, would be a difficult thing to do; but without much hesitation we may say that one of the obvious causes of the failure was that the Puritans committed the fault—which has been declared to be almost always the fault of revolutionists—of going too fast and too far. At the outset the Revolution had for its aim simply the setting of reasonable restrictions upon the exercise of the royal authority. Very soon, however, the kingly office, the hereditary House of Lords, and the Episcopal Church had been abolished. Each of these extreme measures raised up many implacable enemies of the Revolution.

Then again, Puritanism, in many things, had got far away from English good sense. The Puritan regulations respecting harmless amusements, the observance of the Sabbath, and a hundred other matters were extreme and absurd and well calculated to provoke the scoff of the godless. So while in some directions the Puritans were merely in advance of the mass of the English people, in others they had gone far aside from the path that England was treading or was ever going to tread. Hence Puritanism was bound to fail.

But to leave the matter thus would be misleading. **In a deeper sense Puritanism did not fail.** "What of heroism, what of **eternal light**," says Carlyle, "there be in a man and his life . . . **remains forever a new** divine portion of the sum of things." And **so was it with Puritanism. What of heroism and of truth there was in it—and there was much of both—was added to the sum**

of English history. Much that is best and truest in the life of England today and of Greater England beyond the seas strikes its roots deep in the Puritanism of the seventeenth century.

338. Puritan Literature; it lights up the Religious Side of the English Revolution. No epoch in history receives a fresher illustration from the study of its literature than that of the Puritan Revolution. To neglect this, and yet hope to gain a true conception of that wonderful episode in the life of the English people by an examination of its outer events and incidents alone, would, as Green declares, be like trying to form an idea of the life and work of ancient Israel from *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without *Psalms* and the *Prophets*. The true character of the English Revolution, especially upon its religious side, must be sought in the magnificent epic of Milton and the unequalled allegory of Bunyan.

Both of these great works, it is true, were written after the Restoration, but they were both inspired by that spirit which had struck down despotism and set up the Commonwealth. The epic was the work of a lonely, disappointed republican; the allegory, of a captive Puritan.

Milton (1608-1674) stands as the grandest representative of Puritanism. After the death of Charles I he wrote a famous work in Latin entitled *The Defense of the English People*, in which he justified the execution of the king. The Restoration forced him into retirement, and the last fourteen years of his life were passed apart from the world. It was during these years that, in loneliness and blindness, he composed the immortal poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The former is the "Epic of Puritanism." All that was truest and grandest in the Puritan character found expression in the moral elevation and religious fervor of this the greatest of Christian epics.

John Bunyan (1628-1688) was a Puritan nonconformist. After the Restoration he was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, on account of nonconformity to the established worship. It was during this dreary confinement that he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most admirable allegory in English literature. The habit of the Puritan, from constant study of the Bible, to **employ**

in all forms of discourse its language and imagery, is best illustrated in the pages of this remarkable work. Here, as nowhere else, we learn what realities to the Puritan were the Bible representations of sin, repentance, and atonement, of heaven and hell.

III. THE RESTORED STUARTS

339. Punishment of the Regicides. The monarchy having been restored in the person of Charles II (1660-1685), Parliament extended a general pardon to all who had taken part in the late rebellion, except Sir Henry Vane and certain of the judges who had condemned Charles to the block. Thirteen of these were executed with revolting cruelty, their hearts and bowels being cut out of their living bodies. Others of the regicides were condemned to imprisonment for life. Vane was finally executed. Death had already removed the other great leaders of the rebellion,—Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw,—beyond the reach of Royalist hate; so vengeance was taken upon their bodies. These were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey, hauled to Tyburn, and there on the anniversary of Charles' execution were hanged, and afterwards beheaded.

340. Covenanters. Early in the reign the services of the Anglican Church were restored by Parliament, and harsh laws were enacted against all nonconformists. Thus the Conventicle Act made it a crime for five persons or more, "over and above those of the same household," to gather in any house or in any place for worship, unless the service was conducted according to the forms of the Church of England.

In Scotland the attempt to suppress conventicles and introduce Episcopacy was stoutly resisted by the Covenanters (sect. 319), who insisted on their right to worship God in their own way. **They** were therefore subjected to persecutions most cruel and **unrelenting**. They were hunted by English troopers over their **native** moors and among the wild recesses of their mountains, **whither** they secretly retired for prayer and worship. The tales **of the sufferings of the** Scotch Covenanters at the hands of the.

English Protestants form a harrowing chapter of the records of the ages of religious persecution.

341. The Plague and the Great Fire. Early in the summer of 1665 London was swept by a woeful plague, the most terrible visitation the city had known since the Black Death in the Middle Ages. In six months a hundred thousand of the population died.

The next year a great fire destroyed over thirteen thousand houses, eighty-nine churches, and a multitude of public buildings. The disaster was a blessing in disguise. The burned districts were rebuilt in a more substantial way, with broader streets and more airy residences. London became a more beautiful and healthful city than would have been possible without the fire.¹

342. Accession of James II (1685); his Despotic Course. Charles was followed by his brother James, whose rule was destined to be short and troubled. Like all the other Stuarts, James held exalted notions of the divine right of kings to rule as they please, and at once set about carrying out these ideas in a most reckless manner. Notwithstanding he had given solemn assurances that he would uphold the Anglican Church, he straightway set about the reestablishment of the Catholic worship. He arbitrarily prorogued and dissolved Parliament. Like his brother Charles, he intrigued with Louis XIV against his own subjects. This despotic course of the king raised up enemies on all sides. No party or sect, save the most zealous Catholics, stood by him. The Tory gentry were in favor of royalty, but not of tyranny.

343. The Revolution of 1688 and the Declaration of Rights. The crisis which it was easy to see was impending was hastened by the birth of a prince, as this cut off the hope of the nation that the crown upon James' death would descend to his Protestant daughter Mary, now wife of William III, Prince of Orange, stadtholder of Holland. The most active of the king's enemies therefore resolved to bring about at once what they had been inclined to wait to have accomplished by his death. They sent

¹ One of the churches destroyed was St. Paul's Cathedral, which was rebuilt with great magnificence. Its designer was the eminent architect, Sir Christopher Wren, near whose tomb within the building is this inscription : *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*, " If you seek his monument, look around."

an invitation to the Prince to come over and take possession of the government. William accepted the invitation and straightway began to gather his fleet and army for the enterprise.

The moment the ships of the Prince touched the shores of the island, the army and people went over to him in a body. The king was absolutely deserted. Flight alone was left him. The queen was secretly embarked for France, where the king soon after joined her. The last act of the king before leaving England was to disband the army and fling the Great Seal into the Thames.

Almost the first act of the Prince was to issue a call for a convention to provide for the permanent settlement of the crown. This convention did not repeat the error of the Parliament that restored Charles II and give the crown to the Prince and Princess without proper guaranties for the conduct of the government according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. They drew up the celebrated Declaration of Rights, which plainly rehearsed all the old rights and liberties of Englishmen. William and Mary were required to accept this declaration, and to agree to rule in accordance with its provisions, whereupon they were declared King and Queen of England. In such manner was effected what is known in history as "the Glorious Revolution of 1688."

344. The Social and Moral Life of the "Restoration." The reigns of the restored Stuarts mark the most corrupt period in the life of English society. The low standard of morals and the general profligacy in manners, especially among the higher classes, are in part attributable to the demoralizing example of a shockingly licentious court, but in a larger measure, perhaps, should be viewed as the natural reaction from the severe, repellent Puritanism of the preceding period. The Puritans erred in their indiscriminate censure of all forms of harmless amusement and innocent pleasure. They closed all the theaters, forbade the Maypole dances of the people, condemned as paganish the observance of Christmas, and frowned upon color or adornment in dress as **utterly** incompatible with a proper sense of the seriousness of life.

The revolt and reaction came, as come they **must**. Upon the "Restoration" society swung to the opposite extreme. Faith gave

place to infidelity; sobriety to drunkenness; Bible study, psalm singing, and exhorting, to theatergoing, profanity, and carousing.

The literature of the age is a perfect record of this revolt against the "sour severity" of Puritanism and a faithful reflection of the unblushing immorality of the times. So immoral and indecent are the works of the writers for the stage of this period that these authors have acquired the designation of "the corrupt dramatists." Holding a prominent place among them was the poet Dryden.

IV. REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1702)

345. The Bill of Rights (December 16, 1689). The Revolution of 1688 and the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary marks an epoch in the constitutional history of England. It settled forever the long dispute between king and Parliament,—and settled it in favor of the latter. The Bill of Rights, which was substantially the articles of the Declaration of Rights framed into a law, and which was one of the earliest acts of the first Parliament under William and Mary, in effect "transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons."

By shutting out James from the throne and bringing in William, and by the exclusion of Catholic heirs from the succession, it plainly announced that the kings of England derive their right and title to rule not from the accident of birth but from the will of the people, and that Parliament may depose any king and, excluding from the throne his heirs, settle the crown anew in another family. This uprooted quite thoroughly the doctrine that princes have a divine and inalienable right to the throne of their ancestors and, when once seated on that throne, rule simply as the vicegerents of God, above all human censure and control. We shall hear constantly less and less in England of this theory of government which for so long a time overshadowed and threatened the freedom of the English people.

The separate provisions of the bill, following closely the language of the Declaration, denied the dispensing power of the crown,—that is to say, the authority claimed by the Stuarts of annulling a

law by a royal edict; forbade the king to usurp the functions of the courts of justice, to levy taxes, or to keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament; asserted the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances and freely to choose their representatives; reaffirmed, as one of the ancient privileges of both Houses, perfect freedom of debate; and demanded that Parliament should be frequently assembled.

Mindful of Charles' attempt to reestablish the Catholic worship, the framers of this same Bill of Rights further declared that all persons holding communion with the Church of Rome or uniting in marriage with a Catholic should be " forever incapable to possess, inherit, or enjoy the crown and government of the realm." Since the Revolution of 1688 no Catholic has worn the English crown.

All these provisions now became inwrought into the English constitution and from this time forward were recognized as part of the fundamental law of the realm.

346. James attempts to recover the Throne: Battle of the Boyne (1690). The first years of William's reign were disturbed by the efforts of James to regain the throne which he had abandoned. In these attempts he was aided by Louis XIV, and by the Jacobites,¹ the name given to the adherents of the exile king. The Irish gave William the most trouble, but in the decisive battle of the Boyne he gained a great victory over them, and soon all Ireland acknowledged his authority.²

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¹ From *Jacobus*, Latin for "James."

² The war of the Palatinate (sect. 305), in which England took part, filled most of the years of William's reign. William died in 1702; Mary had died before him, and as they left no children, the crown descended to the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, the wife of **Prince George of Denmark**.

CHAPTER XXIX
THE RISE OF RUSSIA: PETER THE GREAT
(1682-1725)

347. General Remarks. We left Russia at the close of the Middle Ages a semi-savage, semi-Asiatic power, so hemmed in by barbarian bands and hostile races as to be almost entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world (sect. 168). In the present chapter we shall tell how her boundaries were pushed out to the Euxine and to the Baltic, and how she was initiated as a member of the European family of nations. The main interest of our story will gather about Peter the Great, whose almost superhuman strength and energy it was that first lifted the great barbarian nation to a prominent place among the Western states.

348. Accession of Peter the Great (1682). The royal line established in Russia by the old Norseman Ruric (sect. 56) ended in 1598.¹ Then followed a period of confusion and of foreign invasion, known as the Troublous Times, after which Michael Romanoff, the first of the celebrated family that bears his name, was chosen Tsar (1613). For more than half a century after the accession of the Romanoffs there is little either in the genius or in the deeds of any of the line calculated to draw our special attention. But toward the close of the seventeenth century there ascended the Russian throne "a man of miracles,"—a man whose genius and energy and achievements instantly drew the gaze of his contemporaries, and who has elicited the admiration and wonder of all succeeding generations. This was Peter I, known as Peter the Great, one of the remarkable characters of history. He was but seventeen years of age when he assumed the full responsibilities of government.

¹ The most noteworthy ruler of this line during the modern era was Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584). He drove out the Tatars (sect. 113) and extended and consolidated the Russian dominions.

349. The Conquest of Azof (1696). At this time Russia possessed only one seaport, Archangel, on the White Sea, the harbor of which for a large part of the year is sealed against vessels by the extreme cold of that high latitude. Russia, consequently, had no marine commerce; there was no word for *fleet* in the Russian language. Peter saw clearly that the most urgent need of his empire was outlets upon the sea. Hence his first aim was to wrest the Baltic shore from the grasp of Sweden, and the Euxine from the hands of the Turks.

In 1695 Peter sailed down the Don and made an attack upon Azof, the key to the Black Sea, but was unsuccessful. The next year, however, repeating the attempt, he succeeded, and thus gained his first harbor on the south.

350. Peter's First Visit to the West¹ (1697-1698). With a view to advancing his naval projects Peter about this time sent a large number of young Russian nobles to Italy, Holland, and England to acquire in those countries a knowledge of naval affairs, forbidding them to return before they had become good sailors.

Not satisfied with thus sending to foreign parts his young nobility, Peter formed the somewhat startling resolution of going abroad himself and learning the art of shipbuilding by personal experience in the dockyards of Holland. Accordingly, leaving the government in the hands of three nobles, he set out for the Netherlands.

Peter, with his uncouth barbarian suite, made a great sensation as he traveled westward. His passage with his court was like the passage of a horde of untamed Cossacks. Peter himself often acted like a savage and made his entertainers no end of trouble and anxiety. At Königsberg he asked to see a man broken on the wheel. The authorities explained to him that they were unable to gratify his wish, since there was no criminal at hand condemned to undergo that form of punishment. Peter was astonished that that should stand in the way of his seeing how the instrument worked. "What a fuss about killing a man!" he said.

The palaces in which Peter and his company were lodged were left in a condition that could hardly have been worse had they

¹ Peter made a second European tour in 1716-1717.

been subjected to a regular siege. Prudent hosts removed everything breakable from the apartments designed for the accommodation of the "barbarian court."

Reaching the Netherlands Peter went to the docks of the East India Company at Amsterdam, where for four months he worked as a common laborer, being known among his fellow-workmen as Baas or Master Peter. Later he visited as a learner other countries. Intelligence of troubles at home finally recalled him in haste to Moscow.

351. Peter's Many Reforms. Once more at home, Peter was straightway busy with reforms. The variety of these was so great, and Peter's manner of effecting them so harsh and strenuous, that, as one has aptly expressed it, he fairly "knouted the Russians into civilization."

As outgrowths of what he had seen or heard or had had suggested to him on his foreign tour, Peter issued a new coinage, introduced schools, built factories, constructed roads and canals, established a postal system, reformed the Russian calendar, and changed the government of the towns in such a way as to give the citizens some voice in the management of their local affairs, as he had observed was done in the Netherlands and in England.



FIG. 47. PETER THE GREAT. (After a painting by Karel de Moor)

Most important in its political as well as religious consequences was Peter's reform in the ecclesiastical system. At this time the Russian Church formed a sort of state within the state. The head of the Church, bearing the title of Patriarch, was a kind of Russian pope. Through his censorship of the temporal authority and his interference in matters secular, he hampered and embarrassed the government. Peter put an end to this state of things. He abolished the patriarchate, and in its place created an administrative body, appointed by himself and called the Holy Synod, to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the last restraint upon the authority of the Tsar was destroyed.

352. Charles XII of Sweden; the Swedish Monarchy at his Accession. Peter's history now becomes intertwined with that of a man quite as remarkable as himself,—Charles XII of Sweden. Charles was but fifteen years of age when, in 1697, the death of his father called him to the Swedish throne.¹

Sweden was at this time one of the great powers of Europe. The basis of her greatness had been laid during the period of the Reformation. The traditions of the hero Gustavus Adolphus cast a halo about the Swedish throne. The ideal of this great sovereign had been the creation of a state embracing all the lands bordering upon the Baltic. In a certain measure this magnificent ideal had been realized. The Baltic was virtually a Swedish lake,—the Mediterranean of an empire which aspired to be the mistress of the North.

But unfortunately Sweden could not maintain such a sea empire without hemming in and cramping in their normal development, territorial or commercial, various neighboring states,—in particular, Russia, Poland, and Denmark. In this situation lay hidden the germ of the long and obstinate so-named Swedish Wars, which were essentially a struggle for the control of the Baltic.

The accession to the throne of the young and inexperienced Charles offered to the jealous enemies and watchful rivals of

¹ The government of Sweden had now become an absolute autocracy. In 1693 the **Riksdag**, or Diet, had proclaimed the Swedish monarch to be an "all-commanding sovereign-king responsible for his actions to none on earth, but with authority as a Christian king to rule as it seemeth to him best"

Sweden seemingly too good an opportunity to be lost for pushing her back into the northern peninsula. Accordingly three sovereigns, Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia, leagued against him for the purpose of appropriating such portions of his dominions as they severally coveted.

353. The Battle of Narva (1700). But the conspirators had formed a wrong estimate of the young Swedish monarch. Notwithstanding the insane follies in which he was accustomed to indulge, he possessed talent; especially had he a remarkable aptitude for military affairs, though lacking many of the qualities of a great commander.

With a well-trained force—a veteran army that had not yet forgotten the discipline of the hero Gustavus Adolphus—Charles now threw himself first upon the Danes, and in two weeks forced the Danish king to sue for peace; then he turned his little army of eight thousand men upon the Russian forces of twenty thousand, which were besieging the city of Narva, on the Gulf of Finland, and inflicted upon them a most ignominious defeat.

354. The Founding of St. Petersburg (1703). After chastising the Tsar at Narva, the Swedish king turned south and marched into Poland to punish Augustus for the part he had taken in the conspiracy against him. While Charles was busied in this quarter, Peter, having made good by strenuous exertions his loss in men and arms at Narva, was gradually making himself master of the Swedish lands on the Baltic, and upon a marshy island at the mouth of the Neva was laying the foundations of the city of St. Petersburg (now Petrograd), which he proposed to make the western gateway of his empire.

The spot selected by Peter as the site of his new capital was low and subject to inundation,¹ so that the labor requisite to make it fit for building purposes was simply enormous. But difficulties never dismayed Peter. He gathered workmen from all parts of his dominions, cut down and dragged to the spot

¹ In selecting such a marshy site for his capital Peter may have been aiming to reproduce Amsterdam, in which city **he had spent** so much of his time when abroad.

whole forests for piles and buildings, and caused a city to rise as if by magic from the morasses. The splendid metropolis stands today one of the most impressive monuments of the indomitable and despotic energy of Peter.

355. Invasion of Russia by Charles XII; the Battle of Poltava (1709). Having defeated the armies of King Augustus and given his crown to another, Charles was now ready to turn his attention once more to the Tsar. With an army of barely forty thousand men he invaded Russia, and finally laid siege to the town of Poltava. Peter marched to its relief, and the two armies met in decisive combat in front of the place. The Swedish army was virtually annihilated. Escaping from the field with a few followers, Charles fled southward and found an asylum in Turkey.¹

356. Russia's Title to Baltic Lands confirmed; Peter's Death. In 1721 the Swedish Wars were brought to an end by the Peace of Nystad, which confirmed Russia's title to all the eastern Baltic lands that Peter had wrested from the Swedes. The undisputed possession of so large a strip of the Baltic seaboard vastly increased the importance and influence of Russia, which now assumed a place among the leading European powers.

Peter's eventful reign was now drawing to a close. Four years after the end of the Swedish Wars, being then in his fifty-fourth year, he died of a fever brought on by his excesses and careless exposures. Probably in the case of no other European nation has any single personality left so deep and abiding an impress upon the national life and history as Peter the Great left upon Russian society and Russian history. He planted throughout his vast empire the seeds of Western civilization, and by his giant strength lifted the great nation which destiny had placed in his hands out of Asiatic barbarism into the society of the European peoples.

357. Reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796); the Partition of Poland. From the death of Peter on to the close of the eighteenth century the Russian throne was held, the greater part

¹ After spending five years among the Turks, during which time he acted in a manner which abundantly justified his title of the "Madman of the North," Charles returned to Sweden. Soon after his return he was killed in battle.



of the time, by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II, the Great, who was one of the most distinguished representatives of the so-called Enlightened Despots (sect. 296). But while a woman of great genius, she had most serious faults of character, being incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

Carrying out ably the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine extended vastly the limits of Russian dominion and opened the country even more thoroughly than he had done to the entrance of Western influences. Aside from internal reforms, one of the most noteworthy matters of



Catherine's reign was FIG. 48. CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA. (After a her participation in her portrait by Rosselin) the dismemberment

of Poland, the partition of which state she planned in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria. On the first division, which was made in 1772, the royal robbers each took a portion of the spoils.¹

¹ The Polish constitution was a survival of the age of mediaeval feudal anarchy. In the struggle here between the royal power and the feudal nobility the aristocracy had triumphed and had reduced the kingly authority to the mere shadow of elective kingship. One particular source of the anarchical state of things was a provision of the constitution which gave to every single member of the Diet the right and power to defeat any measure by his vote cast in opposition (*liberion veto*). Every noble was virtually a king. But it must be added that this anarchical state of the kingdom cannot be pleaded by the dismemberers of Poland in extenuation of their crime, for they in every possible way hampered all schemes of reform and fostered the **anarchy** because it served their interests and furthered their plans to do so.

It is difficult to apportion the blame among the participators in this transaction. Maria Theresa seems to have been the only one connected with the iniquitous business who had any scruples of conscience respecting the act. She justly characterized the proposed partition as downright robbery, for a long time stood out against it, and yielded at last and took her portion only when she realized that she was powerless to prevent the others from carrying out the policy of dismemberment.

In 1793 a second partition was made, this time between Russia and Prussia; and then, in 1795, after the suppression of a determined revolt of the Poles under the lead of the patriot Kosciuszko, a third and final division among the three powers completed the dismemberment of the unhappy state and erased its name from the map of Europe.

The territory gained by Russia in the dismemberment of Poland brought her western frontier close alongside the civilization of central Europe. In Catherine's phrase Poland had become her "doormat," upon which she stepped when visiting the West.

By the close of Catherine's reign Russia was beyond question one of the foremost powers of Europe and was henceforward to have a voice in all matters of general European concern. She was destined to play an important part in the Napoleonic wars and in the great struggle between the people and their despotic rulers,—a struggle already inaugurated on the Continent by the Revolutionists in France.

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CHAPTER X X X

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA: FREDERICK THE GREAT

(1740-1786)

358. The Beginnings of Prussia. The nucleus of the Prussian kingdom was a little state in the north of Germany known as the Mark or Electorate of Brandenburg. Early in the fifteenth century it had come under the rule of the Hohenzollerns, a family destined to play a great part in later European history. Soon after the opening of the seventeenth century the importance of the state was greatly increased by the union with it of the Duchy of Prussia, a strong military state, under Polish suzerainty, on the Baltic shore.¹

359. The Great Elector Frederick William (1640-1688). Just before the close of the Thirty Years' War a strong man—Frederick William, better known as the "Great Elector"—came to the throne of the dual state. At the Peace of Westphalia he secured new territory, which greatly enhanced his power and prominence among the German princes.

The Great Elector ruled for nearly half a century and left to his successor a strongly centralized authority. He was one of the most ideal representatives of the principle of absolute monarchy then so dominant. Like all absolute rulers, he placed his faith in soldiers and laid the basis of the military power of Prussia by the creation of a standing army.

360. How the Elector of Brandenburg acquired the Title of King of Prussia. Elector Frederick III (1688-1713), son of the Great Elector, was ambitious for the title of King, a dignity that the weight and influence won for the Prussian state by his father fairly justified him in seeking. He saw about him other

¹ For the early history of this state see sect. 100. Since 1525 the duchy had been an hereditary possession of a branch of the House of Hohenzollern.

princes less powerful than himself enjoying this dignity, and he too "would be a king and wear a crown."

It was necessary of course for Frederick to secure the consent of the Emperor, a matter of some difficulty, for the Catholic advisers of the Austrian court were bitterly opposed to having a Protestant prince thus honored and advanced. But the War of the Spanish Succession was just about to open, and the Emperor was extremely anxious to secure Frederick's assistance in the coming struggle. Therefore, on condition of his furnishing him aid in the war, the Emperor consented to Frederick's assuming the new title and dignity *in the Duchy of Prussia*, which, unlike Brandenburg, was not included in the Empire. Accordingly, early in the year 1701, Frederick, amidst imposing ceremonies, was crowned and hailed as King at Königsberg. Hitherto he had been Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia; now he was Elector of Brandenburg and *King of Prussia*.

Thus was a new king born among the kings of Europe. Thus did the House of Hapsburg invest with royal dignity the rival House of Hohenzollern. The event is a landmark in German, and even in European, history. The cue of German history from this on to the World War is the growth of the power of the Prussian kings and their steady advance to imperial honors and to the control of the affairs of the German race.

361. Frederick William I (1713-1740). The son and successor of the first Prussian king, known as Frederick William I, was a most extraordinary character. He was a strong, violent, brutal man, full of the strangest freaks. He had a mania for big soldiers. With infinite expense and trouble he gathered a regiment of the tallest men he could find, who were known as the "Potsdam Giants." Not only were the Goliaths of his own dominions impressed into the service, but tall men in all parts of Europe were coaxed and hired to join the regiment. No present was so acceptable to Frederick William as a tall grenadier. The Princess Wilhelmina, referring to her father's ruling passion, says: "The regiment might justly be styled 'the channel of royal favor; **for to give or to procure tall men for the king** was sufficient to

obtain anything of him." On the other hand, nothing angered him more than any interference with his recruiting service. To the Dutch, who had hanged two of his recruiting sergeants and then later wanted from Prussia a famous scholar for one of their universities, he is said to have replied curtly, "No tall fellows, no professor."

Considering the trouble and expense Frederick William had in collecting his giants, the care which he took of them was quite natural. He looked after them as tenderly as though they were infants, and was very careful never to expose them to the dangers of a battle.

Rough, brutal tyrant though he was, Frederick William was an able ruler. He did much to consolidate the power of Prussia, and at his death left to his successor a considerably extended dominion and a splendidly drilled army of eighty thousand men. He was, as Carlyle calls him, the first great drillmaster of the Prussian nation.

362. Accession of Frederick the Great (1740) ; his Youth. Frederick William was followed by his son Frederick II, known in history as Frederick the Great. Around his name gather events of world-wide interest for forty-six years just preceding the French Revolution.

It was a rough nurture Frederick had received in the home of his brutal father. His sister Wilhelmina tells incredible tales of her own and her brother's treatment at the hands of their savage parent. He made the palace a veritable hell for them both. He threw plates from the table at their heads and kept them in constant fear for their lives. Frederick's fine tastes for music and art and reading exposed him in particular, to use the words of Wilhelmina, to his royal father's "customary endearments with his fist and cane."

Frederick had a genius for war, and his father had prepared to his hand one of the most efficient instruments of that art since the time of the Roman legions. The two great wars in which Frederick was engaged, and which raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe, were the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

363. War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). The very year that Frederick II ascended the Prussian throne the last of the direct male line of the Hapsburgs, the Emperor Charles VI, died. Now not long before his death Charles had bound **all** the leading powers of Europe to a sort of agreement called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which, in case he should leave no son, all his *hereditary* dominions should descend to his elder daughter, Maria Theresa. But no sooner was Charles dead than a number of princes each laid claim to all or to portions of the Hapsburg inheritance. Before any of these claimants, however, had begun hostilities, Frederick,—whose father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction,—without any declaration of war, marched his army into Silesia and took forcible possession of that country. Frederick's act was an act of pure brigandage. He himself frankly tells posterity that the motives under which he acted were a desire to augment his dominions, to render himself and Prussia respected in Europe, and to "acquire fame."

Almost all Europe was soon in arms. England, the Protestant Netherlands, and eventually Russia were drawn into the war as allies of Maria Theresa. The theater of the struggle came to embrace India and the French and English colonies in the New World. Macaulay's well-known words picture the world-wide range of the conflagration which Frederick's act had kindled: "In order that he might rob a neighbor," he says, "whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

The war went on until 1748, when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Carlyle's summing up of the provisions of the various treaties of this peace can be easily remembered, and **is** not misleading as to the essentials: "To Frederick, Silesia; **as** to the rest, wholly as they were."

364. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). During the eight years of peace which now followed, Maria Theresa was busy **forming** a league of the chief European powers against **the unscrupulous despoiler of her dominions**. Russia, Sweden, many of the

states of the Germanic body, and France all ultimately entered into an alliance with the queen. Frederick could at first find no ally save England,— toward the close of the war Russia came for a short time to his side,— so that he was left almost alone to fight the armies of half the Continent.¹

The long war is known in European history as the Seven Years' War. At the very outset it became mixed with what in American history is called the French and Indian War. For a time fortune was on Frederick's side. In the celebrated battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he defeated successively the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and startled all Europe into an acknowledgment of the fact that the armies of Prussia had at their head one of the greatest commanders of history.

But fortune finally deserted Frederick. In sustaining the unequal contest his dominions became drained of men, and ruin seemed to impend over his throne and kingdom. But just at this time a change in the government of Russia put a new face upon affairs. In 1762 Empress Elizabeth of that country died, and Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick, came to the throne, and immediately transferred the armies of Russia from the side of the allies to that of Prussia. The alliance lasted only a few months, Peter being deposed and murdered by his wife, who now came to the throne as Catherine II. She adopted a neutral policy and recalled her armies; but the temporary alliance had given Frederick a decisive advantage, and the year following Russia's withdrawal, England and France were glad to give over the struggle and sign the Peace of Paris (1763). Shortly after this another peace (the Treaty of Hubertsburg) was arranged between Austria and Prussia, and one of the most terrible wars that had ever distressed Europe was over. Silesia was left in the hands of Frederick.

The Seven Years' War was one of the decisive combats of history. Besides the Anglo-French question in India (sect. 373), it settled two other questions of vast reach and significance. First,

¹ The population of Prussia at this time was about 5,000,000; the aggregate population of the states leagued against her is estimated at 100,000,000.

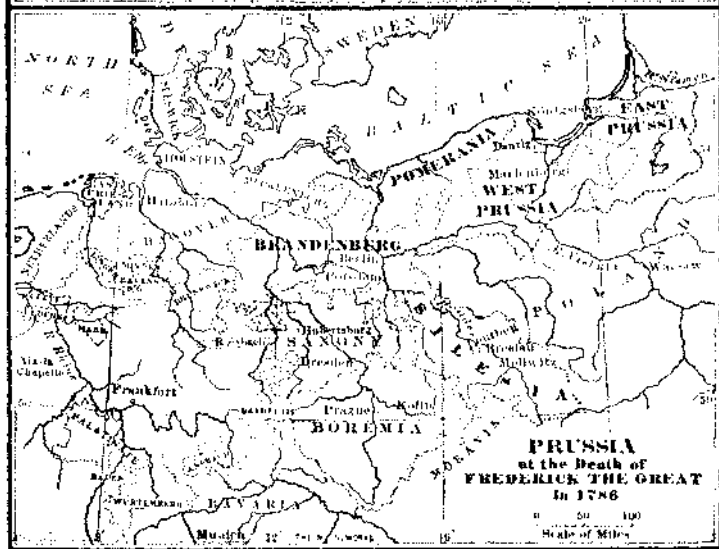
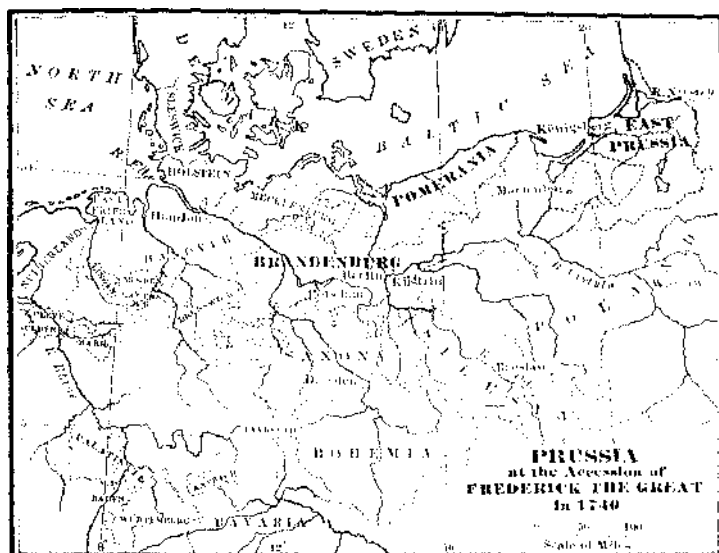
it settled, or at least put in the way of final settlement, the Austro-Prussian question,—the question as to whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in Germany. It made Prussia the equal of Austria and foreshadowed her ascendancy. Second, it settled the Anglo-French question in America, a question like the Austro-Prussian question in Europe. It decided that North America should belong to the Anglo-Saxon and not to the Latin race.

365. Frederick rounds out his Dominions at the Expense of Poland. It was about a decade after the close of the Seven Years' War that Frederick, as has already been related, joined with Catherine II of Russia and Maria Theresa of Austria in the First Partition of Poland (sect. 357).

Respecting the value to Prussia of the territory she received in this transaction, Frederick in his *History of my Own Times* comments as follows: "This was one of the most important acquisitions we could possibly make, because it joined Pomerania and Eastern Prussia (see accompanying map), and by rendering us masters of the Vistula, we gained the double advantage of being able to defend this kingdom and of levying very considerable tolls on the Vistula, the whole trade of Poland being carried on upon that river." But this aggrandizement of Prussia was secured only by just such a cynical disregard of international honesty by Frederick as marked his annexation of Silesia.

366. Frederick's Political Philosophy and Statecraft. As the foregoing sections have disclosed, in all matters concerning foreign states, expediency was Frederick's only guide; he did whatever he thought would aggrandize Prussia and glorify himself, without any regard to truth, honesty, and honor. The following are some of his avowed principles: "If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats." "The permanent principle for princes is to aggrandize **their** dominions as far as their power permits them to do so." "Is it better that a people should perish, or that a prince should **break** his treaty? Where would one find the imbecile who would hesitate in answering this question?"¹

¹ Note King Albert's answer to this question, sect. 579.



It was this immoral political philosophy and statecraft, so cynically acknowledged and acted upon by Frederick the Great, which, inherited and practiced by a later Hohenzollern (Emperor William II), was the fundamental cause of the great world tragedy of 1914.

367. Frederick as an Enlightened Despot. Frederick in all his relations to his own subjects had a wholly different moral standard from that which he adopted in his dealings with his brother sovereigns. So reasonable was his conception of his kingly office, and such the use he made of it, that he has been assigned a place among the Enlightened Despots of the eighteenth century.

During the intervals of peace between his great wars, and for the half of his reign which followed the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick labored to develop the resources of his dominions and to promote the material welfare of his people. He dug canals, constructed roads, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and improved in every possible way the administration of the government.

But Frederick's attention was not wholly engrossed with looking after the material well-being of his subjects. He was a philosopher and believed himself to be a poet, and usually spent several hours each day in philosophical and literary pursuits. It has been said of him that "he divided with Voltaire the intellectual monarchy of the eighteenth century." He gathered about him a company selected from among the most distinguished authors, scientists, and philosophers of the age, among whom was his "co-sovereign" Voltaire, whom Frederick coaxed to Berlin to add brilliancy to his court and to criticize and correct his verses. Frederick felt very proud—for a time—of this acquisition, and rejoiced that to his other titles he could now add that of "the Possessor of Voltaire." But it was an ill-assorted friendship; the two "sovereigns" soon quarreled, and Voltaire was dismissed **from court in** disgrace.

Frederick was a freethinker. His paganism made him indifferent toward all religions, and hence tolerant. He said in effect, as

Carlyle reports him, "In this country every man must get to heaven in his own way." The company which he gathered at Sans Souci, his favorite palace at Potsdam, near Berlin, was a most extraordinary collection of heretics, agnostics, misbelievers, and unbelievers. It was a company very representative of that learned literary and philosophical society of the eighteenth century whose ideas and teachings did so much to prepare the way for the French Revolution.

It was on the very eve of this great political and social upheaval that Frederick died,—in 1786. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings." He was of course not the last in name, but he was the last to receive the title of "Great." Only three years after he had been laid in the tomb the revolution broke out which closed the Age of the Kings and ushered in the Age of the People.

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CHAPTER XXXI

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

368. The Formula for Eighteenth-Century English History. "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia," says Professor Seeley, "is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century." This expansion movement was simply the continuation of a maritime trade-development which had begun in the Sixteenth century, and which had shaped large sections of the history of England by bringing her into sharp rivalry first with Spain and then with the Dutch Netherlands. Before the close of the seventeenth century England had practically triumphed over both these commercial rivals. Her great and dangerous rival in the eighteenth century was France. "The whole period," says Seeley, referring to the period between 1688 and 1815, "stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years' War."

To indicate from the viewpoint of English history the chief episodes in this great struggle between the two rivals for supremacy in the commercial and colonial world will be our chief aim in the present chapter. We shall, however, to render more complete our sketch of this century of English history, touch upon some other matters of special interest, though connected in no direct manner with the dominant movement of the period.

369. War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Respecting the causes and results of this war we have already spoken in connection with the reign of Louis XIV (sect. 306). Of what was there said we need here recall only the enumeration of the territorial gains which the war brought to England; namely, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca in the Old World, and Nova Scotia together with a clear title to Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory, in the New.

Of special interest in the present connection is that clause of the treaty between England and Spain whereby England took away from the French and secured for English merchants the contract known as the "Assiento," which gave English subjects the sole right for thirty years of shipping annually forty-eight hundred African slaves to the Spanish colonies in America. This slave trade was as lucrative a traffic as the old spice trade, and at this time was some such object of rivalry among the commercial states of Europe as that had formerly been.

Thus, as results of the first war of the eighteenth century England had got practical control of the Mediterranean, had secured a monopoly of the lucrative slave trade with the Spanish colonies, had made a beginning of wresting from France her possessions in the New World, and had gained mastery of the seas. "Before the war," says Mahan, "England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second."

370. Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland (1707). The most noteworthy matter in the domestic history of England in the early years of the eighteenth century was the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland.¹ At this time England, dealing with Scotland as though it were a foreign state, shut out the Scotch traders not only from the English colonies but also from the English home market. The feeling in Scotland against England became intense, and there were threats of breaking the dynastic ties which united the two countries. The English government, realizing the danger which lurked in the situation, at last met the Scots in a spirit of reasonable compromise. It was agreed that the Parliaments of the two countries should be united, that perfect free trade should be established between them, and that all the English colonies should be open to Scotch traders. On this basis was brought about the union of the two realms into a single kingdom under the name of Great Britain (1707). From this time forward the two countries were represented by one Parliament sitting at Westminster.

¹ It was only the *crowns* of the two kingdoms which were united upon the accession of the House of Stuart to the English throne in 1603.

371. The Sovereign's Loss of Political Influence; the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The first Hanoverian king,¹ George I (1714-1727), was utterly ignorant of the language and the affairs of the people over whom he had been called to rule. On this account he was obliged to intrust to his ministers the practical administration of the government. The same was true in the case of George II. George III, having been born and educated in England, regained some of the old influence of former kings. But he was the last English sovereign who had any large personal influence in shaping governmental policies.

The power and patronage lost by the crown passed into the hands of the chief minister, popularly called the Prime Minister, or Premier, whose tenure of office was dependent not upon the good will of the sovereign but upon the support of the House of Commons. This transfer of power was not made all at once, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it was practically completed, although this fact was not always gracefully and promptly recognized by the crown. In the English government of today the Prime Minister is the actual and fully acknowledged executive. The king remains the titular sovereign, indeed, but all the proper duties of the office are devolved upon the Premier, and all real power and patronage are in his hands.

It was during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, the first English Prime Minister in the modern sense, that what is known as the Cabinet assumed substantially the form which it has at the present time. This body is practically a committee composed of members of Parliament, headed by the Prime Minister, and dependent for its existence upon the will of the House of Commons. The Premier and his colleagues stand and fall together. When the Cabinet can no longer command a majority in the Commons, its members resign, and a new Prime Minister, appointed nominally by the sovereign, but really by the party in control of the House of Commons, forms a new Cabinet.

¹ The sovereigns of the House of Hanover are George I (1714-1727), George II (1727-1760), George III (1760-1820), George IV (1820-1830), William IV (1830-1837), Victoria (1837-1901), Edward VII (1901-1910), and George V (1910-).

372. The Religious Revival; the Rise of Methodism. It will be well for us here to turn aside from the political affairs of England and cast a glance upon the religious life of the time.

In its spiritual and moral life the England of the earlier Han-overians was the England of the restored Stuarts. Among the



FIG. 49. JOHN WESLEY. (After a painting by G. Romney)

higher classes there was widespread infidelity; religion was a matter of jest and open scoff. The lower classes were stolid, callous, and brutal. Drunkenness was almost universal among high and low. The nation was immersed in material pursuits and was without thought or care for things ideal and spiritual.

Such a state of things in society as this has never failed to awaken in select souls a vehement protest. And it was so now. At Oxford, about the year 1730, a number of earnest young men, among whom we find John and Charles Wesley

and George Whiteneld, formed a little society, the object of which was mutual helpfulness in true Christian living. From their strict and methodical manner of life they were derisively nicknamed *Methodists*.

This Oxford movement was the starting point of a remarkable religious revival. John Wesley was the organizer, Whiteneld the orator, and Charles Wesley the poet of the movement.¹ They and their helpers reached the neglected masses through open-air meet-

¹ Charles Wesley wrote over six thousand hymns, many of which are still favorites in the hymnals of today.

ings. They preached in the fields, at the street corners, beneath the trees, at the great mines. The effects of their fervid exhortations were often as startling as were those of the appeals of the preachers of the Crusades.

The leaders of the revival at first had no thought of establishing a church distinct from the Anglican, but simply aimed at forming within the Established Church a society of earnest, devout workers. Their enthusiasm and their often extravagant manners, however, offended the staid, cold conservatism of the regular clergy, and they were finally constrained by petty persecution to go out from the established organization and form a church of their own.

The revival, like the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century, left a deep impress upon the life of England. It is due largely to this movement that in true religious feeling, in social purity, in moral earnestness, in humanitarian endeavor the England of today is separated by such a gulf from the England of the first two Georges.

373. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Just after the middle of the century there broke out between the French and the English colonists in America the so-called French and Indian War. This struggle became blended with what in Europe is known as the Seven Years' War (sect. 364). At first the war went disastrously against the English. The gloom was at its deepest when the elder William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham), known as "the Great Commoner," came to the head of affairs in England. Pitt was one of the greatest men the English race has ever produced. Frederick the Great expressed his estimate of him in these words: "England has at last brought forth a man."

The war against France was now pushed not only in America and upon the sea but also in India and in Europe with renewed energy. The turning point of the struggle, so far as America was concerned, was the great victory gained by the English under the youthful Major General Wolfe over **the French** under Montcalm on the heights of Quebec (1759). The victory gave **England** Quebec, the key to the situation in the New World.

In India also fortune was declaring for the English in their struggle there with the French and their native allies. The memorable victory gained by Robert Clive, an officer of the British East India Company, on the field of Plassey¹ (1757) virtually laid, in the northeastern region of the peninsula, the basis of England's great Indian Empire.

The end came in 1763 with the Peace of Paris. France ceded to England Canada and all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans and a little adjoining land (which, along with the French territory west of the Mississippi, had already been given to Spain), and two little islands in the neighborhood of Newfoundland, which she was allowed to retain to dry fish on. She also withdrew from India as a political rival of England. England's supremacy in the colonial world and her mastery of the sea were now firmly established. This position, notwithstanding severe losses of which we shall speak immediately, she has maintained up to the present day.

374. The American Revolution (1775-1783). The French and Indian War was the prelude to the War of American Independence. The overthrow of the French power in America made the English colonists less dependent than hitherto upon the mother country, since this removed their only dangerous rival and enemy on the continent. Clear-sighted statesmen had predicted that when the colonists no longer needed England's help against the French they would sever the bonds uniting them to the homeland, if at any time these bonds chafed them.

And very soon the bonds did chafe. A majority in Parliament, thinking that the colonists should help pay the expenses of colonial defense, insisted upon taxing them. The colonists **maintained**

¹ The prelude to this battle was a terrible crime committed by Siraj-ud-Daula, viceroy of Bengal and other provinces. Moved by anger at the refusal of the English official to surrender certain fugitives, and urged on by French agents, the viceroy attacked the English fort and factory at Calcutta and, having secured one hundred and forty-six prisoners, thrust them into a contracted guardroom which was provided with only two small grated windows,—what in the story of India is known as "the Black Hole of Calcutta." During the course of a sultry night all but twenty-three of the unfortunate prisoners died of suffocation. It was in response to the cry which arose for vengeance that Robert Clive was sent by the English officials at Madras to chastise Bengal.

that they could be justly taxed only through their own legislative assemblies. The British government refusing to acknowledge this principle, the colonists took up arms in defense of those rights and liberties which their fathers had won with so hard a struggle from English kings on English soil.

France, moved largely by genuine sympathy with the cause of the colonists, gave them generous aid. Spain and Holland also were both drawn into the struggle, fighting against their old-time rival **and** foe.

The war was ended by the Peace of Paris (1783). England acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies,—and **a** Greater England began its separate career in the New World. At the same time England was constrained to restore or to cede various islands and territories to France and to Spain. The magnificent empire with which she had emerged from the Seven Years' War seemed shattered and ruined beyond recovery.

But there were yet left to England Canada and India; and only recently Australia had come into her possession. And then England was yet mistress of the seas. There were elements here which might become factors of a new empire greater than the **one** which had been lost. But no Englishman standing in the gloom of the year 1783 could look far enough into the future to foresee the greatness and splendor of England's second empire which was to rise out of the ruins of the first.

375. Legislative Independence of Ireland (1782). While the War of American Independence was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government, demanded legislative independence. Since the Norman period Ireland had had **a** Parliament of her own, but it was dependent **upon** the English crown, and at this time was subordinate to **the** English Parliament, which asserted and exercised the right **to bind Ireland** by its laws. This the Anglo-Irish patriots strenuously resisted and drew up a Declaration of Rights wherein they **demand** **the** legislative independence of Ireland. Fear of a **revolt led England to grant** the demands of the patriots **and acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament.**

376. The Abolition of the Slave Trade. Intimately connected with the great religious revival led by the Wesleys and Whitefield were certain philanthropic movements which hold a prominent place in the history of the moral and social life not only of England but of humanity. The most noteworthy of these was that resulting in the abolition of the African slave trade.

We have noticed how at the opening of the eighteenth century England secured from Spain the contract for providing her American colonies with negro slaves (sect. 369). There was then little or no moral disapproval of this iniquitous traffic. But one effect of the religious revival was the calling into existence of much genuine philanthropic feeling. This sentiment expressed itself in a movement for the abolition of the inhuman trade.

The leaders of the movement were Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) and William Wilberforce (1759-1833). The terrible disclosures which were made of the atrocious cruelty of the slave dealers stirred the public indignation and awakened the national conscience. Finally, in 1807, after twenty years of agitation a law was passed abolishing the trade.¹ This signaled as great a moral victory as ever was won in the English Parliament, for the aroused moral sentiment of the nation was the main force that carried the reform measure through the Houses.²

377. The Industrial Revolution. We turn now from the political, religious, and moral realms to the industrial domain. In this sphere of English life the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed a wonderful revolution. It was England's commercial supremacy which had prepared the way for the great industrial development. The outward movement had created a world-wide market for English goods. She had become "the workshop of the world." Naturally manufactures were encouraged,

¹ Denmark had abolished the traffic in 1802. In the United States the importation of slaves was illegal after 1808. Before 1820 most civilized states had placed the trade under the ban.

² Another important humanitarian movement of the century was that of prison reform. This was effected chiefly through the labors of a single person, the philanthropist John Howard (1726-1790), who devoted his life to effecting a reform in prison conditions and discipline.

and inventive genius and ingenuity stimulated to the utmost in devising improved processes in the industrial arts. The result was an industrial revolution such as the centuries known to history had never witnessed before.

In order that we may get the right point of view here and be able to appreciate the importance of the industrial revolution of which we speak, it is necessary that we should first note the remarkable fact that while civilization during historic times had made great advances on many lines and in many domains, in the industrial realm it had remained almost stationary from the dawn of history. At the middle of the eighteenth century all the industrial arts were being carried on in practically the same way that they were followed six or seven thousand years before in Egypt and Babylonia.

Suddenly all this was changed by a few inventions. About 1767 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. From the beginning of history, indeed from a period lost in the obscurity of prehistoric times, all the thread used in weaving had been made by twisting each thread separately. The spinning jenny, when perfected,¹ with a single attendant twisted hundreds of threads at once. Within twenty years from the time of this invention there were between four and five million spindles in use in England.

It was now possible to produce thread in unlimited quantities. The next thing needed was improved machinery for weaving it into cloth. This was soon provided by Cartwright's power loom (1785). The next requisite was motive power to run the new machinery. At just this time James Watt brought out his invention, or rather improvement, of the steam engine (1785). In its ruder form it had been used in the mines; now it was introduced into the factories.

The primary forces of the great industrial revolution—the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine—were now at work. The application, in the first half of the nineteenth century, of the steam engine to transportation purposes gave the world the steam railroad and the steamship.

1 It was perfected by Arkwright and Crompton by 1779.

These inventions and discoveries in the industrial realm mark an epoch in the history of civilization. We have to go back to prehistoric times to find in this domain any inventions or discoveries like them in their import for human progress. There is nothing between Menes in Egypt and George III in England with which to compare them. The discovery of fire, the invention of metal tools, and the domestication of animals and plants—these inventions and achievements of prehistoric man are alone worthy, in their effects upon human society, of being placed alongside them.

378. Import to England of the Industrial Revolution. The great industrial revolution exerted a determining influence upon the course and issue of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic Wars which grew out of it. It armed England, through the wealth it created, for the great fight, and thus enabled her to play the important and decisive part she did in that period of titanic struggle. "It is our improved steam engine," says Lord Jeffrey in his eulogy of Watt (written in 1810), "which has fought the battles of Europe and exalted and sustained through the late tremendous contest the political greatness of our land." It was the steam engine that created the wealth which enabled England to carry on the fight against Napoleon, and which did more perhaps than any other agency in giving direction to the course of events during the years of his domination.¹

379. Conclusion. With the French Revolution we reach a period in which English history must be regarded from the viewpoint of France. Indeed, for the space of half a generation after the rise of Napoleon to power, all European history becomes largely biographical and centers about that unique personality. Consequently we shall drop the story of English history at this point and let it blend with the story of the Revolution and that of the Napoleonic Empire.

¹ The Industrial Revolution was effected in England several decades in advance of its invasion of continental Europe, partly because of her commercial supremacy and the world-wide markets open to her manufacturers and partly because of the abundance of her coal and iron supplies.

All that we here need notice is that the Napoleonic Wars, in their Anglo-French phase, were essentially a continuation—and the end—of the second Hundred Years' War between England and France. Napoleon, having seized supreme power in France, endeavored to destroy England's commercial supremacy and to regain for France that position in the colonial world from which she had been thrust by England. But this momentous struggle, like all the others in which England had engaged with her ancient foe,— save the one in which she lost her American colonies,— only resulted, as we shall see later, in bringing into her hands additional colonial possessions, and in placing her naval power and commercial supremacy on a firmer basis than ever before.

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//. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

(1789-1815)

CHAPTER XXXII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1789-1799)

I. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION; THE STATES-GENERAL OF 1789

380. Introductory. The French Revolution was a revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles great crimes were indeed committed, but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims. The French people in 1789 contended for substantially the same principles that the English people defended in 1642 and 1688, and that the American colonists maintained in 1776. It is only as we view them in this light that we can feel a sympathetic interest in the men and the events of this tumultuous period of French history.

381. Causes of the Revolution. Chief among the causes of the French Revolution were the abuses and extravagances of the Bourbon murrchy, the unjust privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the higher clergy, the wretched condition of the poorer classes of the people, und the revolutionary character and spirit of French philosophy and literature. To these must be added, as a proximate cause, the influence of the American Revolution. In the following sections we will speak briefly of these several matters.

382. The Bourbon Monarchy. We simply repeat what we have already learned when we say that the authority of the French crown under the Bourbons had become unbearably despotic and oppressive. The life and property of every person in France were at the arbitrary disposal of the king. Persons were thrown into prison without even knowing the offense for which they were arrested. The taxes were imposed by the authority of the king alone. They struck the poor rather than the rich, the nobles and the clergy being practically exempt. In consequence of a miserable and corrupt system of collection,¹ not more than one half or two thirds of the money wrung from the taxpayers ever reached the royal treasury.

The most oppressive of the various taxes was the salt tax (*gabelle*), which was a state monopoly. In some districts every family was forced to buy annually seven pounds of salt for each member of the household above seven years of age.

The public money thus harshly and wastefully collected was in large part squandered in maintaining a court the scandalous extravagances of which would shame a Turkish sultan.

383. The Nobility. *The French on nobility* the eve of the Revolution numbered probably between twenty and thirty thousand families, comprising about a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand persons. Although owning perhaps one fifth of the soil of France and exercising many vexatious feudal rights over much of the land belonging to peasant proprietors, still these nobles paid scarcely any taxes.

The higher nobility were chiefly the pensioners of the king, the ornaments of his court, living a great part of the year in riotous luxury at Paris and Versailles. Stripped of their ancient power they still retained all the old pride and arrogance of their order and clung tenaciously to the shreds of their feudal privileges and exemptions. The rents of their estates, with which they supplemented the bounty of the king, were wrung from their

¹ A Part of the taxes were farmed; that is, a body of capitalists were given the contract *façonnet*ing them. These farmers, as they were called, paid the government a sum *agriftd* *upqn*· *ajj* *over* *r* *am*ount which they collected formed their profits.

wretched tenants with pitiless severity. The lesser nobles were more generally found on their estates, many of them living in a humble and pinched way not very different from that of the peasants.

384. The Clergy. The upper clergy formed a decayed feudal hierarchy. A third of the lands of France was in their hands, and this immense property was almost wholly exempt from taxation. The bishops and abbots were usually drawn from the ranks of the nobility, being attracted to the service of the Church rather by its enormous revenues and the social distinction conferred by its offices than by the inducements of piety. They owed their position to royal appointment, and commonly spent their princely incomes, derived from the Church properties and the tithe exacted from the peasants, in luxurious life at court. As a class they had lost all credit and authority with the people whose shepherds they ostensibly were.

The lower clergy, made up in the main of humble parish priests, were drawn largely from the peasant class, and shared their poverty. Their salaries were mere pittance compared with the princely incomes enjoyed by the bishops and abbots. They were naturally in sympathy with the lower class to which by birth they belonged, and shared their feelings of dislike toward the great prelates.

385. The Commons, or Third Estate. Below the privileged orders stood the non-privileged commons, known as the *Tiers Etat*, or Third Estate. This class embraced all the nation aside from the nobility and the clergy—that is to say, the great bulk of the population. It numbered probably about twenty-five million souls. The order was divided into two chief classes, namely, the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, and the peasantry.

The middle class, which was comparatively small in numbers, was made up of the well-to-do and wealthy merchants, traders, lawyers, and other professional men. It constituted the most intelligent portion of the French nation. It was from this class came most of the leaders of the revolutionary movement during its earlier stages.

The peasants constituted the majority of the Third Estate. Though virtually all the French peasantry had long since been freed from the personal servitude of mediaeval serfdom, and many had become the owners of the land they tilled, still the majority owed to some feudal lord tolls on the roads and ferries and dues at the market-place. Furthermore, they must grind their grain at the lord's mill, press their grapes at his winepress, and bake their bread at his oven, paying for the use of mill, press, and oven a heavy toll. In early feudal times these things were intended for the advantage of the serf, but now they had become oppressive monopolies and instruments of extortion.

It is true that during the eighteenth century the condition of perhaps the majority of the French peasants had been much improved, and that on the eve of the Revolution their state was much more tolerable than that of the peasantry in the countries of central and eastern Europe. The number of peasant proprietors had become large and was steadily increasing, and in many districts at least was greater than at any earlier period. Yet never had a more rebellious spirit stirred in the French peasantry than at just this time. And the reason of this was because the system under which they lived, as has been tersely said, "[though] not more severe, was more odious" than ever before,—more odious because the peasant of 1789, being more intelligent, realized more keenly the wrongs he suffered and knew better his rights as a man than did the ignorant, stolid peasant of the previous century.

386. The Revolutionary Spirit of French Philosophy. French philosophy in the eighteenth century was skeptical and revolutionary. The names of the great writers Voltaire and Rousseau¹ suggest at once its tone and spirit. Voltaire (1694-1778) gave expression, forcible and striking, to what the people were vaguely thinking and feeling. He has been called "the magician of the art of writing." He had a most marvelous faculty of condensing

¹ Other names are Montesquieu (1689-1755), whose most important work is entitled *The Spirit of Laws*, and Diderot (1713-1784) and D'Alembert (1717-1783), who were the chief of the so-called Encyclopedists, the compilers of an immense work in twenty-eight volumes.

thought; putting whole philosophies in an epigram, he supplied the French people with proverbs for a century. His aim was to make justice and reason dominant in human affairs. He disbelieved in revealed religion;^x he would have men follow simply their inner sense of what is right and reasonable. His writings stirred all Europe as well as all France, and did so much to prepare the minds



Fig. 50. VOLTAIRE. (From a statue by Houdon)

and hearts of men for the Revolution that in one sense there was much truth in his declaration, "I have accomplished more in my day than either Luther or Calvin."

Rousseau (1712-1778), like Voltaire, had neither faith nor hope in existing institutions. Society and government seemed to him contrivances designed by the strong for the enslavement of the weak: "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains" is the burden of his complaint.

He would have men give up their artificial life in society and return to the simplicity of what he called "a state of nature." He declared that untutored tribes are happier than civilized men. He drew such an idyllic picture of the life of man in a state of nature that Voltaire, after reading his treatise thereon, wrote him that it filled him with a longing to go on all fours.

The tendency and effect of this skeptical philosophy was to create hatred and contempt for the institutions of both State and Church, and to foster discontent with the established order of things.

387. Influence of the American Revolution. Not one of the least potent of the proximate causes of the French Revolution was the successful establishment of the American republic. The

¹ By some of Voltaire's disciples his doctrines were developed into atheism; but Voltaire himself was a deist, combating alike atheism and Christianity.

republican simplicity of the newborn state, contrasting so strongly with the extravagance and artificiality of the court at Versailles, elicited the unbounded admiration of the French people. In this **young** republic of the Western world they saw realized the Arcadia of their philosophy. It was no longer a dream. They themselves had helped to make it real. Here the rights of man had been recovered and vindicated. And now this liberty which the French people had helped the American colonists to secure, they were impatient to see France herself enjoy.

388. End of the Reign of Louis XV ; "After us the Deluge." The long-gathering tempest is now ready to break over France. Louis XV died in 1774. In the early part of his reign his subjects had affectionately called him "the Well-Beloved/" but long before his death all their early love and admiration had been turned into hatred and contempt. Besides being despotically inclined, the king was indolent and scandalously profligate. During twenty years of his reign he was wholly under the influence of the notorious Madame de Pompadour.

The inevitable issue of this orgy of folly and extravagance seems to have been clearly enough perceived by the chief actors **in** it, as is shown by that reckless phrase attributed to the king and his favorite,—"After us the deluge." And after them the deluge indeed did come. The near thunders of the approaching tempest could already be heard when Louis XV lay down to die.

389. The Accession of Louis XVI (1774); Financial Troubles ; the Meeting of the Notables (1787). Louis XV left the tottering throne to his grandson, Louis XVI, then only twenty years of age. He had recently been married to the beautiful and light-hearted Archduchess Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the empress-queen Maria Theresa.

How to raise money was the urgent and anxious question with the government. France was on the verge of bankruptcy. The king called to his side successively Turgot, Necker, and other **eminent** statesmen as his ministers of finance; but their policies **and** remedies availed little or nothing. The traditions of **the court and the** heartless selfishness of the privileged classes

rendered reform in taxation and efficient retrenchment impossible. **The** national debt grew constantly larger.

In 1787 the king summoned the Notables, a body composed chiefly of great lords and prelates, who had not been called to advise with the king since the year 1626. But miserable counselors were they all. Refusing to give up any of their feudal privileges, or to tax the property of their own orders that the enormous public burdens which were crushing the commons might be lightened, their coming together resulted in nothing.

390. The Calling of the States-General; the Elections; the Cahiers. As a last resort it was resolved to summon the united wisdom of the nation, to call together the States-General, the almost-forgotten national assembly, composed of representatives of the three estates,—the nobility, the clergy, and the commons.

In December, 1788, the king by proclamation called upon the French people to elect deputies to this body, which had not met to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of one hundred and seventy-five years. Divine-right royalty had seen no necessity hitherto of seeking counsel of the people.

In connection with the elections there had been made by the king's advisers a momentous decision, one which practically involved the fate of the monarchy. The commons had insisted upon being allowed double representation, that is, as many deputies as both the other orders, and had been authorized to send up six hundred deputies, while the nobility and the clergy were each to have only three hundred representatives.

The electors had been instructed to draw up statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the information and guidance of the States-General. These documents, which are known as *cahiers*, form a valuable record of the France of 1789,—**of** the grievances of the people, and of their ideas of reform. One **demand** common to them all is that the nation through its **representatives** shall have **part in** the government. Those of the Third **Estate** call for the abolition of feudal rents and services **and for the equalization** among **the** orders of the burdens of taxation. **In a word, they were petitions for equality and justice.**

391. The States-General changed into the National Assembly. On the fifth of May, 1789, a memorable date, the deputies to the States-General met at Versailles. Thither the eyes of the nation were now turned in hope and expectancy. Surely if the redemption of France could be worked out by human wisdom, it would now be effected. At the very outset a dispute arose between the privileged orders and the commons respecting the manner of voting. It had been the ancient custom of the body for each order to deliberate in its own hall, and for the vote upon all questions to be by orders.¹ But the commons now demanded that this old custom should be ignored, and that the voting should be by individuals; for should the vote be taken by orders, then their double representation would be a mere mockery, and the clergy and nobility by combining could always outvote them. For five weeks the quarrel kept everything in a deadlock.

Finally the commons took a decisive, revolutionary step. They declared themselves the National Assembly, and then invited the other two orders to join them in their deliberations, plainly intimating that, if they did not choose to do so, the commons would proceed to the consideration of public affairs without them.

King, nobles, and prelates were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the commons. The king, in helpless alarm, suspended the sitting of the rebellious deputies and guarded the door of their hall. But the commons, gathering in the tennis court, a great barnlike building, bound themselves by oath not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France.

Soon the commons were joined by a few of the nobility and a larger number of the deputies of the clergy. It looked as though the three orders were going to coalesce. The court party labored to prevent this. A royal sitting, or joint meeting of the three estates, was held. The king read a speech in which, assuming the tone of an English Stuart, he admonished the commons not to attack the privileges of the other orders, and then commanded the

¹ That is to say, the majority of the representatives of each order decided the vote for that order, and then two of these majority votes registered the decision of the whole body of deputies.

deputies of the three orders to retire to their separate halls. The clergy and the nobility obeyed. The commons kept their seats.

At this juncture the master of ceremonies somewhat pertly said to them, "You heard the king's command?" Thereupon Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the commons, a man of "Jupiter-Jike" mien and tone, turned upon the messenger with these memorable words: "Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the command of the people, and here we shall stay until driven out at the point of the bayonet." The poor official was so frightened at the terrible Mirabeau that he straightway sought the door, withdrawing from the assembly, however, backwards, as he had been wont to do in retiring from the presence of the king. His instincts were right. He was indeed in the presence of the sovereign,— the newborn sovereign of France.

The triumph of the Third Estate was soon complete. Realizing that it was futile and dangerous longer to oppose the will of the commons, the king ordered those of the nobles and clergy who had not yet joined them to do so, and they obeyed. The States-General thus became in reality the National Assembly.

II. THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (JUNE 17, 1789-SEPTEMBER 30, 1791)

392. Prominent Men in the Assembly. Lamartine declares that the National Assembly was "the most imposing body of men that ever represented not only France but the human race." It was impressive not so much from the ability or genius of its individual members, though the picked men of France were here gathered, as through the tremendous interests it held in its hands. Yet there were in the Assembly a number of men whose names cannot be passed in silence.

Among the nobility was the patriotic Lafayette, who had won the admiration of his countrymen by splendid services rendered the struggling republic in the New World. His influence at this time was probably greater than that of any other man in France.

Belonging by birth to the same order, but sitting now as a deputy of the commons, was Mirabeau, a large-headed, dissolute, unscrupulous man, an impetuous orator, the mouthpiece of the Revolution. But though violent in speech he was moderate in counsel. He wanted to right the wrongs of the people, yet without undermining the throne. He wanted reform but not revolution. He aspired to be a leader, but no one at first had confidence in him, such had been his past life. Arthur Young said of him, "His character is a dead weight upon him." Yet, notwithstanding his lack of private virtues, Mirabeau's qualities of leadership at length gained for him recognition, and he was at one time president of the National Assembly. But his life of dissipation had undermined his constitution. He died in 1791, despairing of the future for France.



FIG. 51. MIRABEAU. (After a painting by L. Massard)

Still another eminent representative of the commons was Abbe Sieves, a person of wonderful facility in framing constitutions. France will have much need of such talent, as we shall see. Sieves had recently stirred all France by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* (*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*) He answers, "Everything!" "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing!" "What does it wish?" "To be something."

393. Storming of the Bastille (July 14, 1789). Hardly had the National Assembly come into being at Versailles before Paris became the scene of what may be regarded as the opening act of the Revolution. The news of the dismissal by the king of a minister in whom the people had great confidence, incited them to action. On the morning of July 14 a great mob assaulted the Bastille, the old state prison and, in the eyes of the people, **the** emblem of royal despotism. In a few hours the fortress

was in the hands of the people. The governor and others of the defenders of the place were murdered, their heads placed at the end of pikes, and thus borne through the streets. The walls of the hated old prison were razed, and the people danced on the spot. The key of the dungeon was sent by Lafayette to Washington "as a trophy of the spoils of despotism." In a letter accompanying the gift, Lafayette wrote: "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key goes to the right place."¹

The destruction of the Bastille by the Paris mob was the death knell not only of Bourbon despotism in France but of royal tyranny everywhere. The intelligence of the event was received with rejoicing in America and wherever the ideas and principles of self-government were entertained. When the news reached England the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Louis XVI regarded the matter with different feelings. When news of the affair was carried to him at Versailles he exclaimed, "What, *Rebellion!*" "No, sire," was the response; "it is *Revolution.*" The great French Revolution had indeed begun.

394. The Abolition of Privileges (August 4, 1789). As the news of the storming of the Bastille spread through France the peasantry in many districts, following the example set them by the capital, destroyed the local bastilles and sacked and burned the castles of the nobles. The main object of the peasants was to destroy the title deeds in the archives of the manor houses, since it was by virtue of these charters that the lords exercised so many rights over the lands of the peasants and exacted so many teasing and iniquitous tolls and dues. This terrorism caused the beginning of what is known as the emigration of the nobles, that is, their flight beyond the frontiers of France.

The storm without hastened matters within the National Assembly at Versailles. The privileged orders now realized that, to save themselves from the fury of the masses, they must give up those

1 The rusty relic may be seen today in a case at Mount Vernon.

vexatious feudal privileges which were a main cause of the sufferings and the anger of the people. Rising in the tribune, two young and liberal-minded members of the nobility represented that they were willing to renounce all their feudal rights and exemptions. A contagious enthusiasm was awakened by this act of patriotic generosity. The impulsiveness of the Gallic heart was never better illustrated. Everybody wanted to make sacrifices for the common good. The nobles and the clergy, crowding to the tribune, strove with one another in generous rivalry to see who should make the greatest sacrifices in the surrender of rents, tolls, fees, and feudal dues.¹ Thus in a single night much of the rubbish of the broken-down feudal system was cleared away.

395. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789). After the abolition of the feudal system the next work of the National Assembly was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. This was in imitation of what had been done by the American patriots.

The dominant notes of the Declaration were (1) the equality of men,—“Men are born and remain free and equal”; (2) “the sovereignty of the people,—“All sovereignty resides essentially in the nation”; and (3) the impartial nature of law,—“Law is the expression of the general will . . . and should be the same for all.”

396. Nationalization of Church Property; the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Shortly after the promulgation of the Declaration of Rights, a Parisian mob fetched the king from Versailles to the capital. Their purpose in this was to hold him as a sort of hostage for the good conduct of the nobles and the foreign sovereigns while the new constitution was being prepared by the Assembly.

For two years following this there was a comparative lull in the storm of the Revolution. Meanwhile the National Assembly was making sweeping reforms both in State and Church. One of the

¹ Tolls and dues were the lord's rights over roads, ferries, bridges, markets, as well as over grinding grain, pressing grapes, and baking bread (cf. sect. 64). These were **abolished without** compensation. In lieu of other annoying feudal dues, specified **payments by the peasants were substituted.**

most important of its measures and one far-reaching in its effects was the confiscation of the property of the Church. In all, property consisting largely of lands and worth it is estimated over a billion francs was by decree made the property of the nation.¹

The nationalization of the property of the Church rendered it necessary that the nation should make some provision for the support of the clergy. This was done a little later by a decree known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which provided for the support of all ministers of religion through reasonable salaries paid by the nation. All the clergy, bishops and parish priests alike, were to be chosen by election, and all were to be required to take oath to support the new constitution.

Naturally this conversion of the Church in France into a State Church created a schism in the nation. Out of a hundred and thirty-four bishops only four would take the prescribed oath. From this time on a large section of the French clergy became the bitter enemies of the Revolution.

397. Flight and Arrest of the King (1791). The attempt of the king to make his way out of France and join the emigrant nobles now gave an entirely new turn to the course of the Revolution. Under cover of night the royal family in disguise left the Tuileries, and by post fled towards the frontier. When just a few hours more would have placed the fugitives in safety among friends, the Bourbon features of the king betrayed him, and the entire party was arrested and carried back to Paris.

The attempted flight of the royal family was a fatal blow to the monarchy. It deepened the growing distrust of the king. The people began to talk of a republic. The word was only whispered as yet; but it was not long before those who did not shout vociferously, "*Vive la Republique!*" were hurried to the guillotine.

¹ It being found impossible to sell at once and at fair prices so large an amount of real estate, the Assembly, using the nationalized lands as security, issued against them currency notes, called *assignats*. As almost always happens in such cases, inflation of the currency resulted. Fresh issues of notes were made until they became quite worthless, as in the case of the Continental notes issued by the Continental Congress in the American War of Independence.

398. The Clubs: Jacobins and Cordeliers. In order to render intelligible the further course of the Revolution we must now speak of two clubs, or organizations, which came into prominence about this time, and which were destined to become more powerful than the Assembly itself, and to be the chief instruments in inaugurating the Reign of Terror. These were the societies of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers.¹ The objects of these clubs were to watch for conspiracies of the Royalists and by constant agitation to keep alive the flame of the Revolution.

399. The New Constitution. After a little more than two years' deliberation the special task of the National Assembly, namely, the framing of a constitution for France, was completed. This instrument, which made the government of France a constitutional monarchy, was solemnly ratified by the king. The National Assembly then adjourned.

III. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (OCTOBER 1, 1791- SEPTEMBER 19, 1792)

400. The Membership of the Assembly; the Constitutionalists and the Girondins. The new constitution provided for a national legislature to be called the Legislative Assembly. This body was made up of several groups or parties, of which we need here notice only the Constitutionalists and the Girondins. The Constitutionalists, as their name implies, supported the new constitution, being in favor of a limited monarchy. The Girondins, so called from the department (the Gironde) whence their most noted leaders came, wanted to establish in France a federal republic like that just set up in the New World.

401. The Temper of the Assembly. Some seemingly trivial matters will serve to illustrate the spirit of the new Assembly. At the very outset the members were much perplexed in regard to how they should address the king and "wound neither the national dignity nor the royal dignity." Some were for using the titles Sire and Majesty, against which others indignantly protested,

¹ The Jacobins were so called from an old convent in which their first meetings were held: the Cordeliers were named after a Franciscan convent where they assembled.

declaring that "the law and the people are the only *Majesty*" It was finally decided that Louis X VI should be called simply King of the French.

Another thing which troubled the republican members was the gilded throne in which the king was wont to sit when he visited the Assembly. It was resolved that this article should be removed and an ordinary chair substituted for it, this to be placed *in exact line* with that occupied by the president of the Assembly.

Again there were objections raised to the ceremony of the members rising and standing uncovered in the king's presence. So it was decreed that the members might sit before royalty with their hats on.

402. Beginning of War with Old Monarchies (1792). The kings of Europe were watching with the utmost concern the course of events in France. They regarded the cause of Louis X VI as their own. If the French people should be allowed to overturn the throne of their hereditary sovereign, who any longer would have respect for the divine right of kings?

The warlike preparations of Austria—which had entered into an alliance with Prussia—alarmed the Revolutionists and led the Legislative Assembly to declare war against that power. A little later the allied armies of the Austrians and Prussians crossed the frontiers of France. Thus was taken the first step in a series of wars which were destined to last nearly a quarter of a century, and in which France almost single-handed was to struggle against the leagued powers of Europe and to illustrate the miracles possible to enthusiasm and genius.

403. The Massacre of the Swiss Guards (August 10, 1792). The allies at first gained easy victories over the ill-disciplined forces of the Legislative Assembly, and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army, advanced rapidly upon Paris. An insolent proclamation which this general now issued, wherein he ordered the French nation to submit to their king, and threatened the Parisians with the destruction of their city should **any** harm be done the royal family, drove the French people **frantic** with indignation and rage.

The first outbreak of the popular fury occurred in Paris. The mob of the capital was swollen by the arrival of bands of picked men from other parts of France. From the south came the "six hundred Marseillais who knew how to die." They brought with them "a better contingent than ten thousand pikemen,"—the Marseillaise Hymn, the martial song of the Revolution.¹



Fig. 52. The: LION OF LUCERNE.- (From a photograph)

On the morning of the 10th of August the hordes of the city were mustered. The Palace of the Tuileries, defended by several hundred Swiss soldiers, the remnant of the royal guard, was assaulted. The royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly close by. A terrible struggle followed in the corridors and upon the grand stairways of the palace. The Swiss stood "steadfast as the granite of their Alps." But they were overwhelmed at last, and all were killed, either in the building itself or in the surrounding courts and streets.²

¹ This famous war song was composed in 1792 by Rouget de Lisle, a young French engineer.

² The number of Swiss guards slain was over seven hundred. Their fidelity and devotion are commemorated by one of the most impressive monuments in Europe, the

404. The Massacre of September ("Jail Delivery"). The army of the allies hurried on toward the capital to avenge the slaughter of the royal guards and to rescue the king. Paris was all excitement. "We must stop the enemy," cried Danton, "by striking terror into the Royalists." To this end the most atrocious measures were now adopted. It was resolved that the Royalists confined in the jails of the capital should be killed. A hundred or more men acted as executioners, and to them the prisoners were handed over after a hasty examination before self-appointed judges. The number of victims of this terrible "September Massacre," as it is called, is conservatively estimated at from eight hundred to fourteen hundred. Europe had never before known such a "jail delivery." It was the greatest crime of the French Revolution.-

405. Defeat of the Allies at Valmy (1792). Meanwhile, in the open field, the fortunes of war inclined to the side of the Revolutionists. The French army in the north was successful in checking the advance of the allies, and finally at Valmy succeeded in inflicting upon them a decisive defeat, which caused their hasty retreat beyond the frontiers of France. The day of this victory the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the same day the National Convention assembled.

IV. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (SEPTEMBER 20, 1792-OCTOBER 26, 1795)

406. Parties in the Convention. The Convention, consisting of seven hundred and forty-nine deputies, among whom was the celebrated freethinker Thomas Paine, embraced two active groups, the Girondins and the Mountainists, the latter being so named from the circumstance that they sat on the upper benches in the Assembly hall. There were no monarchists; all were republicans. No one now dared to speak of a monarchy.

so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland. In a large recess in a cliff a **dying lion**, pierced by a lance, protects with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The wonderfully **lifelike figure** is cut out of the natural **rock**. The designer of the memorial was the celebrated Danish sculptor Thorvaldsen.

It was the Mountainists who were to shape the measures of the Convention. Their leaders were Danton and Robespierre, deputies of Paris. The party was inferior in numbers to that of the Girondins, but was superior in energy and daring, and was, moreover, backed by the Parisian mob.

407. The Establishment of the Republic (September 21, 1792); Beginning of the Revolutionary Propaganda. Almost the first act of the Convention was to abolish the monarchy. The motion for the abolition of royalty was not even discussed. "What need is there for discussion," exclaimed a delegate, "where all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations."

The day following the establishment of the Republic was made the beginning of a new era, the first day of the YEAR I. That was to be regarded as the natal day of Liberty. A little later, incited by the success of the French armies, the Convention called upon all nations to rise against despotism, and pledged the aid of France to any people wishing to secure freedom.

This call to the peoples of Europe to rise against their kings and to set up republican governments converted the revolutionary movement in France into a propaganda, and naturally made more implacable than ever the hatred toward the Revolution felt by all lovers and beneficiaries of the old order of things. The declaration was a main cause of the fresh coalition formed against the new Republic and of the war of 1793.

408. Trial and Execution of the King. The next work of the convention was the trial and execution of the king. He was brought before the bar of that body, charged with having conspired with the enemies of France, with having opposed the will of the people, and with having caused the massacre of the tenth of August. The sentence of the Convention was immediate death. On January 21, 1793, the unfortunate monarch, after a last sad interview with his wife and children, was conducted to the scaffold.

409. Coalition against France; the **Counter-Revolution in La Vendee**. The regicide, together with the propaganda decree of the preceding year, awakened among all the old monarchies of

Europe the most bitter hostility against the French Revolutionists. The act was interpreted as a threat against all kings. A grand coalition, embracing England, Austria, Prussia, the Protestant Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Tuscany, Naples, and the Holy Roman Empire, was formed to crush the republican movement. Armies aggregating more than a quarter of a million men threatened France at once on every frontier.

While thus beset with foes without, the Republic was threatened with even more dangerous enemies within. The people of La Vendee, in western France, where the peasants were angered at the conscription decrees of the Convention, and where there was still a strong sentiment of loyalty to the Church and the monarchy, rose in revolt against the Revolutionists.

410. Creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety (1793). The defeat of the French armies in the north and the advance of the allies caused the greatest excitement among the Parisian populace, who now demanded that the Convention should overawe the domestic enemies of the Revolution by the establishment of a judicial dictatorship, a sort of tribunal which should take cognizance of all crimes against the Republic.

Danton, while acknowledging the injustice that the summary processes of such a court might do to many unjustly suspected, justified its establishment by arguing that in time of peace society lets the guilty escape rather than harm the innocent; but in times of public danger it should rather strike down the innocent than allow the guilty to escape. It was on this principle that France was to be governed for one terrible year.

A little later was organized what was called the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine persons, members of the Convention. It was invested with dictatorial authority. The vast powers wielded by the committee were delegated to it for a single month only, but were renewed from month to month.

We must bear in mind the character of these two bodies in **order** to follow intelligently the subsequent events of the Revolution and to understand how the atrocious tyranny of the Reign of **Terror** was exercised and maintained.

411. The Fall of the Girondins. Still gloomier tidings came from every quarter,—news of reverses of the armies of the Republic in front of the allies and of successes of the counter-revolutionists in La Vendee. The Mountainists in the Convention, supported by the rabble of Paris, urged the most extreme measures. The Girondins opposed these. The Parisian mob filled the city with cries of "Down with the Girondins! " " If the persons of the people's representatives be violated," warningly exclaimed one of the Girondin orators, " Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood."

The Girondins were finally overborne. An immense mob surrounded the hall of the Convention and demanded that their chiefs be given up as enemies of the Republic. Thirty-one of their leaders were surrendered and placed under arrest, a preliminary step to the speedy execution of many of them during the opening days of the Reign of Terror. Thus did the Parisian mob purge the National Convention of France, as the army purged Parliament in the English Revolution (sect. 325).

THE REIGN OF TERROR (SEPTEMBER, 1793-JuLY, 1794)

412. The Great Committee of Public Safety; its Principle of Government. The perilous situation created by domestic insurrection and foreign invasion demanded a strong executive. It was created. The Convention reorganized the Committee of Public Safety, which now became what is known as the Great Committee of Public Safety, suspended the constitution, and invested the new board with supreme executive authority. For almost a full year the twelve men—of whom Robespierre was the most conspicuous—composing this body exercised absolute power over the life and property of every person in France. The Committee's principle of government was simple. It governed by terror. Its rule is known as the "Reign of Terror." The people acquiesced in this system of government because persuaded that only **thus** could France be saved from anarchy and foreign subjection.

413. The Execution of Marie Antoinette, of the Girondins, and of Madame Roland. One of the earliest victims of the guillotine under the organized Terror was the queen. The attention of the Revolutionists had been turned anew to the remaining members of the royal family by reason of the recognition by the allies of the Dauphin as king of France,¹ and by the recent alarming successes of their armies. The queen, who had now

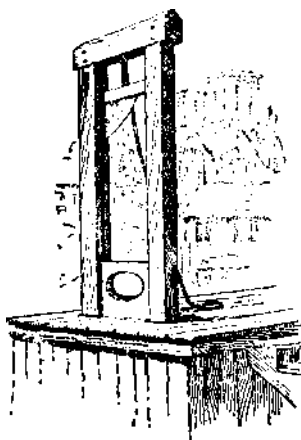


FIG. 53. THE GUILLOTINE

borne nine months' imprisonment, was brought before the terrible Revolutionary- Tribunal and condemned to the guillotine. A hideous mob of men and women howled with savage delight around the cart which bore the unhappy queen to the scaffold.

The guillotine was now fed daily with the best blood of France. Two weeks after the execution of the queen twenty of the chiefs of the Girondins, who had been kept in confinement since their arrest in the Convention, were pushed beneath the knife. Hundreds of others

followed. Most illustrious of all the victims after the queen was Madame Roland, who was accused of being the friend of the Girondins. An incident at the scaffold is related as a memorial of her. As she was about to lay her head beneath the knife, her eye, it is said, chanced to fall upon the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold. "O Liberty!" she exclaimed; "what crimes are committed in thy name! "

414. The New Calendar. While the Revolutionary Tribunal was clearing out of the way the enemies of the Republic by the quick processes of the guillotine, the Convention was busy

¹ The Dauphin, a mere child of eight years, was at this time a prisoner in the Temple (the old fortress of the Templars at Paris). He died in 1795, his death having been caused or at least hastened by the brutal ill usage he received at the hands of his jailers.

reforming the ancient institutions and customs of the land. They hated these as having been established by kings and aristocrats to enhance their own importance and to enslave the masses. They proposed to sweep these things all aside and give the world a fresh start.

A new uniform system of weights and measures, known as the metric,¹ had already been planned by the National Assembly; a new mode of reckoning time was now introduced. The months were given new names, names expressive of the character of each. Each month was divided into three periods of ten days each, called *decades*, and each day into ten parts. The tenth day of each decade took the place of the old Sabbath. The five odd days not provided for in the arrangement were made festival days.

415. Attempt to abolish Christianity. The old calendar having been abolished, the Revolutionists next proceeded to abolish Christianity. Some of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris declared that the Revolution should not rest until it had "dethroned the King of Heaven as well as the kings of earth." They persuaded the Bishop of Paris to abdicate his office, and his example was followed by many of the clergy throughout the country.

The churches of Paris and of other cities were now closed, and the treasures of their altars and shrines confiscated to the state. The images of the Virgin and of the Christ were torn down, and the busts of Marat and other patriots set up in their stead. And as the emancipation of the world was now to be wrought not by the Cross but by the guillotine, that instrument took the place of the crucifix, and was called the "Holy Guillotine." In many places all visible symbols of the ancient religion were destroyed; all emblems of hope in some cemeteries were obliterated, and over their gates were inscribed the words, "Death is eternal sleep."

416. Inauguration of the Worship of Reason. The madness of the people culminated in the worship of Reason. A celebrated beauty, personating the Goddess of Reason, was set upon the altar of Notre Dame in Paris as an object of homage and worship.

¹ This reform was a most admirable one and must be regarded as one of the good outcomes of the Revolution.

The example of Paris was followed generally throughout France. Churches were converted into temples of the new worship. The Sabbath having been abolished, the services of the temple were held only upon every tenth day. On that day the mayor or some popular leader mounted the altar and harangued the people, dwelling upon the news of the moment, the triumphs of the armies



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Fig. 54. ROBESPIERRE HIS adherents working with Robespierre (From a French print) to bring about their ruin. Danton and his party were the next to follow. The last words of Danton to the executioner were, "Show my head to the people; they do not see the like every day." The grim request was granted.

Robespierre was now supreme. His ambition was attained. "He stood alone on the awful eminence of the Holy Mountain." But his turn was soon to come.

418. Worship of the Supreme Being. One of the first acts of Robespierre after he had freed himself from his most virulent enemies was to give France a new religion in place of the recently established worship of Reason. Robespierre wished to sweep away Christianity as a superstition, but he would stop at deism. He did not believe that a state could be founded on atheism. "If God did not exist," he declared, "it would behoove man to invent Him."

of the Republic, the glorious achievements of the Revolution, and the privilege of living in an era when one was oppressed neither by kings on earth nor by a King in Heaven.

417. Fall of Hebert and Danton (1794). During the progress of events the Jacobins had become divided into three factions, headed respectively by Danton, Robespierre, and Hebert. To make his own power supreme, Robespierre resolved to crush the other two leaders. Hebert and his party were the first to fall, Danton and

his adherents working with Robespierre to bring about their ruin. Danton and his party were the next to follow.

In a remarkable address delivered before the Convention, Robespierre eloquently defended the doctrines of God and immortality, and then closed his speech by offering for adoption this decree: "(1) The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; (2) they recognize that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man; and (3) they put in the first rank of these duties to detest bad faith and tyranny, to punish tyrants and traitors, to rescue the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to do to others all the good one can, and to be unjust toward none." The Convention adopted the resolution with the "utmost enthusiasm." The churches which had been converted into temples of the Goddess of Reason were now consecrated to the new worship of the Supreme Being.

419. The Culmination of the Terror at Paris. At the same time that Robespierre was instituting the new worship, the Great Committee of Public Safety, of which he was generally regarded as the controlling spirit, was ruling France by a terrorism unparalleled since the most frightful days at Rome. The prisons of Paris and of the departments were filled with suspected persons, until two hundred thousand prisoners were crowded into these republican bastilles. At Paris the dungeons were emptied of their victims and room made for fresh ones by the swift processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in mockery of justice caused the prisoners to be brought before its bar in companies of ten or fifty or more. Rank or talent was an inextinguishable crime. "Were you not a noble?" asked the president of the tribunal of one of the accused. "Yes," was the reply. "Enough; another!" was the judge's verdict. And so on through the long list each day brought before the court.

The scenes about the guillotine seem mirrored from the *Inferno* of Dante. Benches were arranged around the scaffold and rented to spectators, like seats in a theater. The market women of Paris, who were known as "the Furies of the Guillotine," busied themselves with their knitting while watching the changing scenes of the bloody spectacle. In the space of seven weeks

(June 10-July 27, 1794) the number of persons guillotined in Paris was thirteen hundred and seventy-six,—an average of over twenty-eight a day.

420. The Fall of Robespierre; Punishment of the Terrorists.

The Reign of Terror had lasted about nine months when a reaction came. The successes of the armies of the Republic and the establishment of the authority of the Convention* throughout the departments caused the people to look upon the wholesale executions that were daily taking place as unnecessary and cruel. They began to turn with horror and pity from the scenes of the guillotine. Robespierre was the first to be swept away by the reaction. The Convention denounced him and his adherents as enemies of the Republic. He was arrested, rescued by the rabble of Paris, rearrested and straightway sent to the guillotine, and along with him several of his friends and the greater part of the members of the Commune of Paris.

The reaction which had swept away Robespierre and his associates continued after their fall. There was a general demand for the punishment of the Terrorists. The clubs of the Jacobins were closed, and that infamous society which had rallied and directed the hideous rabbles of the great cities was broken up. The Christian worship was reestablished.

421. Effects of the Reign of Terror. The effect of the Terror upon France was just what the Terrorists had aimed to produce. It effectually cowed all opposition to the Revolution at home, thereby preserving the unity of France and enabling her to push the foreign foe from her soil.

Outside of France the effects of the rule by terror were most unfavorable to the true cause of the Revolutionists. It destroyed the illusions of generous souls, like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in England, and caused among the earlier sympathizers with the Revolutionists a great revulsion of feeling. From being **Liberals men** became Conservatives and determined foes of **all innovation** and reform. The Revolution, at first so greatly acclaimed, was discredited in the eyes of its best friends. It became **identified in** men's minds with atheism and terrorism, and **to**

the present hour in the minds of many the French Revolution suggests nothing save foul blasphemies and guillotine horrors.

422. Bonaparte defends the Convention (October 5, 1795). Experience had shown the defects of the revolutionary government, particularly in that it united both legislative and executive power in the same hands. The Convention now set about framing a new constitution, which vested the executive power in a body called the Directory, consisting of five persons. It also provided for two legislative bodies, known as the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients.

Certain features of the new constitution displeased the Parisian mob. The sections of the turbulent capital again gathered their hordes. A mob of forty thousand men advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. As the mob came on they were met by a "whiff of grapeshot," which sent them flying back in wild disorder. The man who trained the guns was a young artillery officer, a native of the island of Corsica,—Napoleon Bonaparte. The Revolution had at last brought forth a man of genius capable of controlling and directing its tremendous energies.

V. THE DIRECTORY (OCTOBER 27, 1795-NOVEMBER 9, 1799)

423. The Republic becomes Aggressive. Under the Directory the Republic, which up to this time had been acting mainly on the defensive, very soon entered upon an aggressive policy. The Revolution having accomplished its work in France, having there put an end to despotism and abolished class privilege, now set itself about fulfilling its early promise of giving liberty to all peoples (sect. 407).

Had not the minds and hearts of the people in all the neighboring countries been prepared to welcome the new order of things, the Revolution could never have spread itself as widely as it did. But everywhere irrepressible longings for equality and freedom, born of long oppression, were stirring the souls of men. The French armies were everywhere welcomed by **the people**

as deliverers. Thus was France enabled to surround herself with a girdle of commonwealths. She conquered Europe not by her armies but by her ideas. "An invasion of armies," says Victor Hugo, "can be resisted: an invasion of ideas cannot be resisted."

The republics established were, it is true, short-lived; for the times were not yet ripe for the complete triumph of democratic ideas. But a great gain for freedom was made. The reestablished monarchies, as we shall see later, never dared to make themselves as despotic as those which the Revolution had overturned.

424. The Plans of the Directory. Austria and England were the only formidable powers that still persisted in their hostility to the Republic. The Directors resolved to strike a decisive blow at the first of these implacable foes. To carry out their design two large armies, numbering about seventy thousand each, were mustered upon the Middle Rhine and intrusted to the command of the two young and energetic generals, Moreau and Jourdan, who were to make a direct invasion of Germany. A third army, numbering about forty-two thousand men, was assembled in the neighborhood of Nice, in southeastern France, and placed in the hands of Bonaparte, to whom was assigned the work of driving the Austrians out of Italy.

425. Bonaparte's Italian Campaign (1796-1797). Straightway upon receiving his command, Bonaparte, now in his twenty-seventh year, animated by visions of military glory to be gathered on the fields of Italy, hastened to join his army at Nice. He at once aroused all the latent enthusiasm of the soldiers by one of those short, stirring addresses for which he afterwards became so famous. "Soldiers," said he, "you are badly fed and almost naked. . . . I have come to lead you into the most fertile fields of the world ; there you will find large cities, rich provinces, honor, **glory**, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?"

If this address be placed alongside the decree of the Convention offering the aid of France to all peoples desiring freedom (**sect.** 407), it will be realized with how alien a spirit Bonaparte **here** inspires the armies of republican France. He represents **Italy to the** imagination of the soldiers of **the French Republic**

merely as a country of rich cities to be despoiled, as a land whence France may draw unlimited tribute. The address marks the beginning of that transformation which in a few years changed the liberating armies of France into the scourge of Europe.

Before the mountain roads were yet free from snow Bonaparte set in motion his army, which he had assembled on the coast near Genoa, and suddenly forced the passage of the mountains at the juncture of the Apennines and the Maritime Alps. Now followed a most astonishing series of French victories over the Austrians and their allies. As a result of the campaign a considerable part of northern Italy was formed into a commonwealth under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. Genoa was also transformed into the Ligurian Republic.

426. Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). While Bonaparte had been gaining his surprising victories in Italy, Moreau and Jourdan had been meeting with severe reverses in Germany. Bonaparte, having effected the work assigned to the army of Italy, now climbed the Eastern Alps and marched toward Vienna. The near approach of the French to his capital induced the Emperor Francis II to listen to proposals of peace. An armistice was agreed upon, and later the important Treaty of Campo Formio was arranged, by the terms of which Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to the French Republic, receiving as an offset the Venetian dominions, save the Ionian Islands, which were annexed to the French Republic. Bonaparte was already dazzled by the vision of a French empire in the Orient. The Grecian isles were to constitute a link in the chain which should bind France to her prospective Eastern dependencies.

With the treaty arranged, Bonaparte soon set out for Paris, where was accorded him a triumph and ovation such as Europe had not seen since the days of the old Roman conquerors.

427. Bonaparte's Campaign in Egypt (1798-1799). The Directors had received Bonaparte with apparent enthusiasm; but at this very moment they were disquieted by fears lest their general's ambition might lead him to play the part of a second Caesar. They resolved to engage him in an enterprise which would take

him out of France. This undertaking was an attack upon England, which they were then meditating. Bonaparte opposed the **plan** of a descent upon the island as impracticable, but proposed **the** conquest of Egypt. This would enable France to control the trade of the East and cut England off from her East India possessions. The Directors assented to the plan, and with feelings of relief saw Bonaparte embark from the port of Toulon to carry **out** the enterprise.

Evading the vigilance of the British fleet that was patrolling the Mediterranean, Bonaparte landed in Egypt. Within sight of the Pyramids the French army was checked in its march by a determined stand of the renowned Mameluke cavalry. The battle that followed is known in history as the "battle of the Pyramids." Bonaparte gained a victory that opened the way for his advance to Cairo. He had barely entered that city before the startling intelligence was borne to him that his fleet had been destroyed at the mouth of the Nile by the English admiral Nelson.

In the spring of 1799 the Ottoman Porte having sent a force to retake Egypt, Bonaparte led his army into Syria to fight the Turks there. He finally invested Acre. The Turks were assisted in the defense of this place by the distinguished English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. All Bonaparte's efforts to carry the place by storm were in vain. "I missed my destiny at Acre," said Bonaparte afterwards. With the ports of Syria secured he might have imitated Alexander and led his soldiers to the foot of **the** Himalayas. Bitterly disappointed, Bonaparte abandoned the siege of Acre and led his army back into Egypt.

428. Establishment of the Tiberine, the Helvetic, and the Parthenopean Republics (1798-1799). We must turn now to **view** affairs in Europe. The year 1798 was a favorable one for **the** republican cause represented by the Revolution. During that **year and the** opening month of the following one the French **set up three new** republics. First, they incited an insurrection **at Rome, made** a prisoner of the Pope, and proclaimed the Roman or Tiberine Republic. **Then, intervening in a revolution in Switzerland, they invaded the Swiss cantons and united them into a**

commonwealth under the name of the Helvetic Republic. A little later the French troops drove the king of Naples out of Italy to Sicily and transformed his peninsular domains into the Parthenopean Republic. Thus were three new republics added to the commonwealths which the Revolution had previously created.

429. The Reaction; Bonaparte overthrows the Directory (18th and 19th Brumaire, 1799). Much of this work was quickly undone. Encouraged by the victory of Nelson over the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, and alarmed at the aggressions of the government of the Directory, the leading powers of Europe, now including the Tsar of Russia, who was incensed against the French especially for their intrusion into the Orient, which the Russian rulers had ever regarded as their own particular sphere of influence, had formed a new coalition against France.

The war began early in 1799 and was waged at one and the same time in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland. In the south the campaign was extremely disastrous to the French. They were driven out of Italy and were barely able to keep the allies off the soil of France. The Cisalpine, Tiberine, and Parthenopean republics were abolished.

These reverses suffered by the French armies in Italy, though in other quarters they had been successful, caused the Directory to fall into great disfavor. They were charged with having through jealousy exiled Bonaparte, the only man who could save the Republic. Confusion and division prevailed everywhere.

News of the desperate state of affairs at home reached Bonaparte in Egypt, just after his return from Syria. He instantly formed a bold resolve. Confiding the command of the army in Egypt to Kleber, he set sail for France, disclosing his designs in the significant words, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

Bonaparte was welcomed in France with the wildest enthusiasm. A great majority of the people felt instinctively that the emergency demanded a dictator. Some of the Directors joined with Napoleon in a plot to overthrow the government. Meeting with opposition in the Council of Five Hundred, Napoleon **with a body of grenadiers** drove the deputies from their chamber.

The French Revolution had at last brought forth its Cromwell. Napoleon was master of France. The first French Republic was at an end, and what is distinctively called the French Revolution was over. Now commences the history of the Consulate and the First Empire,—the story of that surprising career the sun of which rose so brightly at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE CONSULATE AND THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

(1799-1815)

I. THE CONSULATE (1799-1804)

430. The Veiled Military Dictatorship. After the overthrow of the government of the Directory, a new constitution—the fourth since the year 1789—was prepared and, having been submitted to the approval of the people, was accepted by a vote of over three millions to less than two thousand. This new instrument vested the executive power in three Consuls, nominated for a term of ten years, the first of whom really exercised all the authority of the board, the remaining two members being simply his counselors. Bonaparte, of course, became the First Consul.

The other functions of the government were carried on by a Council of State, a Tribunate, a Legislature, and a Senate. But the members of all these bodies were appointed either directly or indirectly by the Consuls, so that the entire government was actually in their hands, or rather in the hands of the First Consul. France was still called a republic, but it was such a republic as Rome was under Augustus. The republican names and forms merely veiled a government as absolute and personal as that of Louis XIV,—in a word, a military dictatorship.

431. Wars of the First Consul. Bonaparte inherited from the Directory war with Austria and England. Offers of peace to both having been rejected, Bonaparte mustered his armies. Decisive defeats of the Austrians upon the renowned field of Marengo, in Italy, and at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria, constrained Emperor Francis II to sign a treaty of peace at Luneville (1801). The most important part of the treaty was that which provided for the reconstruction of *the* Germanic body. But as this reorganization

of Central Europe was not completed until after the battle of Austerlitz, we shall defer explanation of it until we reach that important event (sect. 439). The year following the peace between France and Austria, England signed the Peace of Amiens.

432. Bonaparte as an Enlightened Despot. Peace with Austria and England left Bonaparte free to devote his amazing energies to the reform and improvement of the internal affairs of France. It was his work here which constitutes his true title to fame. We shall best understand Bonaparte in his role as a reformer, and best determine his place in history, if we regard him as the successor of the Benevolent Despots of the eighteenth century. His mission was to carry on and perfect their work and to consummate the reforms and to make secure the social results of the Revolution.



FIG. 55. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. (After the medallion by *Isabey*)

TO close the wounds inflicted upon France by the Revolution was one of the first aims of Bonaparte. The deepest wound had been given by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (sect. 396). This had divided the nation into two bitterly opposed parties. Moreover, since 1794 the government had ceased to pay the salaries of the priests, with the result that many communes were wholly without regular religious services. To remedy this state of things Bonaparte entered into an agreement, known as the Concordat, with the Holy See (1801). The First Consul was to **nominate** archbishops and bishops impartially from both parties, **that is, the** party which had acquiesced in the revolutionary

programme and the party which had opposed it, and the state was again to assume as a public charge the salaries of the clergy.¹ The Pope was to be recognized as the head of the French Church and was to confirm in their ecclesiastical offices the persons nominated by the government. The Concordat closed the great breach which the Revolution had opened in the French Church, and attached the Catholics to the government of the First Consul, who was acclaimed as "the new Constantine."

Not less successful was Bonaparte in his efforts to restore the material interests of the country, which had suffered neglect during the Revolution. He repaired and constructed roads and bridges, dug canals, and improved the seaports of the country. The great military roads which he caused to be constructed over the Alps are marvels of engineering skill, and served as a chief means of communication between Italy and the north of Europe until the mountains were pierced with tunnels.

The public buildings and monuments of France had fallen into decay. Bonaparte restored the old and built new ones. He embellished Paris and the other chief cities of France with public edifices and memorial monuments of every description. Many of these works are the pride of France today.

But the most noteworthy of the works of Napoleon Bonaparte, either as First Consul or as Emperor, was the compilation of what is known as the "Civil Code," or "Code Napoleon," which has caused his name to be joined with that of Justinian as one of the great lawgivers of history. Almost immediately after coming to power he appointed a commission of five eminent jurists to take up this work, which had been begun by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention. These experts were busied with the labor for about four years.

The Code was made up of the ancient customs of France, of Roman law maxims, and particularly of the principles and legislation of the Revolution. This great mass of material was condensed

¹ The salaries of all the French clergy, including Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, were paid out of the public treasury. This arrangement held good down to the year 1905, when the Concordat was annulled with a **complete separation of Church and State** (sect. 469).

and revised in some such way as the jurists of the Emperor Justinian handled the accumulated mass of law material—old and new, pagan and Christian—of their time, in the creation of the celebrated *Corpus Juris Civilis* (sect. 36).

The influence of the Civil Code upon the development of liberalism in western Europe was most salutary. It secured the work of the Revolution. It swept away the old oppressive customs and laws that were an inheritance from the feudal ages. It recognized the equality of noble and peasant in the eye of the law. Either its principles or its direct provisions were soon introduced into half of the countries of Europe.

\ 433. Bonaparte becomes Consul for Life (1802). Through the Senate and the Council of State it was now proposed to the French people that Bonaparte should be made Consul for life, in order that his magnificent projects of restoration and reform might be pursued without interruption. With almost a single voice the people approved the proposal. Thus did the First Consul move a step nearer the imperial throne.

II. THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE; THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1804-1815)

434. Napoleon proclaimed Emperor (1804). A conspiracy against the life of the First Consul and the increased activity of his enemies resulted in a movement to increase his power and to insure his safety and the stability of his government by placing him upon a throne. Napoleon, while seeming to resign himself to the popular movement, really incited and directed it. A decree of the Senate conferring upon him the title of Emperor of the French, having been submitted to the people for approval, was ratified by an almost unanimous vote. The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, Pope Pius VII having been induced to come from Rome to take part in the ceremonies.¹

¹ From this time on Bonaparte, imitating a royal custom, used only his first name **Napoleon**, and it is by this name, which was destined to fill such a great place in history that we shall hereafter know him.

435. The Republics created by the Revolution are changed into Kingdoms. Within two years from the time that the French government assumed an imperial form, three of the surrounding republics raised up by the revolutionary ideas and armies of France had been transformed into states with monarchical governments dependent upon the French empire or had been incorporated with France. In a word, all these states now became practically the fiefs of Napoleon's empire, the provinces and dependencies of a new Rome.

I Thus the Cisalpine or Italian Republic was changed into a kingdom, and Napoleon, crowning himself at Milan with the "Iron Crown" of the Lombards,¹ assumed the government of the state, with the title of King of Italy. A little later in the same year the Emperor incorporated the Ligurian Republic with the French empire. Then he remodeled the Batavian Republic into the kingdom of Holland and conferred the crown upon his favorite brother Louis.

Thus was the political work of the Revolution undone. Political liberty was taken away. "I set it aside," said Napoleon, "when it obstructed my road." Civil equality was left.

436. The Empire and the Old Monarchies.) It will not be supposed that the states of Europe were looking quietly on while all this was being done. The colossal power which the soldier of fortune was building up was a menace to all Europe. The Empire was more dreaded than the Republic, because it was a military despotism, and as such was an instrument of irresistible power in the hands of a man of such genius and resources as Napoleon. Coalition after coalition, of which England was "the paymaster," was formed by the sovereigns of Europe against the "usurper," with the object at first of pushing France back within her original boundaries, and then later of deposing Napoleon as the disturber of the peace of Europe and the oppressor of the nations. From the coronation of Napoleon in 1804 until his final downfall in 1815 the tremendous struggle went on almost without intermission.

¹ Napoleon here imitated Charlemagne. He said, "I am Charlemagne, for like Charlemagne I unite the crowns of France and Lombardy." Compare sect 49.

It was the war of the giants. Europe was shaken from end to **end** with such armies as the world had not seen since the days of Xerxes. Napoleon performed the miracles of genius. His brilliant achievements still dazzle, while they amaze, the world.

To relate in detail Napoleon's campaigns from Austerlitz to Waterloo would require the space of volumes. We shall simply indicate in a few brief paragraphs the successive steps by which he mounted to the highest pitch of power and fame, and then trace hurriedly the decline and fall of his astonishing fortunes.

437. Napoleon's Preparations for invading England; the Sale of Louisiana to the United States; the Camp at Boulogne (1803-1805). Even before Napoleon's coronation, war had been renewed between France and England. One of Napoleon's first acts of preparation for this struggle was the sale (in 1803) ¹⁰ the United States, for fifteen million dollars, of the territory of Louisiana, which he had recently acquired from Spain. He was impelled to do this because his inferiority at sea made it impossible for him to defend such remote possessions.

The sale and transfer of this immense region of boundless resources was one of the most important transactions in history. Napoleon seems to have realized its significance for the development of the great American republic. "I have given England a rival," he said, "which sooner or later will humble her pride."

As early as 1803 Napoleon had begun to mass a great army at Boulogne, on the English Channel, and to build an immense number of flat-bottomed boats preparatory to an invasion of England. "Carthage must be destroyed," was the menacing and persistent cry of the French press. "Masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon, "and we are masters of the world." **To** arouse patriotic enthusiasm by historic memories, he caused the **Bayeux** Tapestry, the famous memorial of the Norman conquest of England, to be brought to Paris.

Napoleon's menacing preparations produced throughout England an alarm unequalled by anything the English people had experienced since **the** days of **the** Spanish Armada. The younger Pitt, **at this time head of the English government, was untiring in**

fostering a new coalition of the powers against France. Early in the year 1805 England and Russia formed an alliance which was intended to constitute the nucleus of a general European league. Austria and other states soon joined the coalition.

438. Campaign against Austria: Austerlitz (1805). Intelligence reaching Napoleon that both the Austrian and the Russian armies were on the move, he suddenly broke up the camp at Boulogne, flung his Grand Army, as it was called, across the Rhine, outmaneuvered and captured a great Austrian army at Ulm, and then marched in triumph through Vienna to the field of Austerlitz beyond, where he gained one of his most memorable victories over the combined armies of Austria and Russia, numbering more than eighty thousand men. Austria was now shorn of large tracts of her dominions, including Venetia, which Napoleon added to the kingdom of Italy.

439. The Reorganization of Germany; **End of the Holy Roman Empire** (isoe). That reconstruction of the Germanic body which Napoleon had begun after the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (sect. 431) was now in its large outlines completed. Napoleon ultimately reduced the three hundred and more states comprising the Germanic system to about forty. It was the ecclesiastical states, the free imperial cities, and the petty states of the minor princes which suffered extinction, their lands being bestowed upon the princes of the states selected for survival. Among the rulers especially favored at this time were the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Württemberg, both of whom were made kings and given enough territory to enable them to maintain becomingly this new dignity. Marriage alliances bound them to the family of Napoleon.

These favored states, together with others,—sixteen in all,—now declared themselves independent of the old Holy Roman Empire, and were formed into a league called the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as Protector. Emperor Francis II, recognizing that his office was virtually abolished, now laid down the imperial crown, and henceforth used as his highest title *Francis I, Emperor of Austria*

Thus did the Holy Roman Empire come to an end, after having maintained an existence, since its revival under Charlemagne, of almost exactly one thousand years. Reckoning from its establishment by Caesar Augustus, it had lasted over eighteen hundred years, thus being one of the longest-lived of human institutions,—if mere existence may be reckoned as life.

440. Trafalgar (1805). Napoleon's brilliant victories in Germany were clouded by an irretrievable disaster to his fleet, which occurred on the day following the surrender of the Austrians at Ulm. Lord Nelson having met, near Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, the combined French and Spanish fleets,—Spain was at this time Napoleon's ally,—almost completely destroyed the combined armaments. The gallant English admiral fell at the moment of victory.

This decisive battle gave England the control of the sea and relieved her from all danger of a French invasion. Even the "wet ditch," as Napoleon was wont contemptuously to call the English Channel, was henceforth an impassable gulf to his ambition. He might rule the Continent, but the sovereignty of the ocean and its islands was denied him.

441. Campaign against Prussia: Jena **and** Auerstadt (isoe). Prussia was the next state after Austria to feel the weight of Napoleon's hand. King Frederick William III, goaded by insufferable insult, imprudently threw down the gauntlet to the victor of Austerlitz. Moving with his usual swiftness, Napoleon overwhelmed the Prussian armies in the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, which were both fought on the same day. The greater part of Prussia was now quickly overrun by the French. The capital, Berlin, was entered by them in triumph. The sword of the great Frederick, the famous car of victory over the Brandenburg Gate, together with many treasures stolen from the museums and art galleries of the city, were carried as trophies to Paris.

442. Campaigns against the Russians: Eylau and Friedland (1807). The Russian army, which the Tsar Alexander had sent **to** the aid of Frederick William, was still in the field against **Napoleon in the Prussian territories east of the Vistula.**

Early in the year 1807 Napoleon attacked, on a stormy winter day, the Russian forces at Eylau. The battle was sanguinary and indecisive, each army, it is estimated, leaving over thirty thousand dead and wounded on the snow. During the summer campaign of the same year Napoleon again engaged the Russians in the terrible battle of Friedland and completely overwhelmed them. The Tsar was constrained to sue for peace.

443. The Treaty of Tilsit (1807); the Partition **of** the **World**. Napoleon arranged a series of interviews with the Tsar Alexander at the Prussian town of Tilsit. The first of the meetings took place on a raft moored midway in the Niemen, the frontier river of Russia.

These interviews between Napoleon and Alexander mark one of the most dramatic situations in European history. The old order of things had been destroyed and a new order of things was being projected. The subject of converse of the two emperors was nothing less than the partition of the world between them. "Napoleon spread before the eyes of the Emperor of Russia his favorite conception of the reestablishment of the old empires of the East and the West. They were to be faithful allies. France was to be the supreme power over the Latin races and in the center of Europe; Russia was to represent the Greek Empire and to expand into Asia. . . . The one enemy to be feared and crushed, according to Napoleon, was England."¹

Thus the modern world was to be made over on the old Romano-Byzantine model. But there were difficulties in remaking the map of central Europe. Particularly in regard to the treatment and disposition of the old Polish territories and Prussia did the interests of the two emperors clash. It would have been to the advantage of Napoleon to restore the dismembered Polish nation, but he could not do this without alienating the Tsar Alexander; so he merely organized the greater part of Prussian Poland into what he named the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and bestowed it **upon** the vassal king of Saxony.²

¹ Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815*, p. 249.

² Napoleon had made the Elector of Saxony a king just after **the** battle **of** Jena.

Thus were the hopes of the Polish patriots sacrificed upon the altar of Napoleon's imperial ambitions. Here was a nation of fifteen million souls which had been partitioned by brigand kings like a herd of cattle. The patriot Poles, who with pathetic devotion had followed Napoleon to every battlefield of the Consulate and the Empire, looked to him to unite and restore their nation. He had allowed them to hope that he would do so. Never were hopes more cruelly disappointed. Had Napoleon here acted the part of a real liberator, he would have undone one of the greatest wrongs of which history knows, and in the gratitude of a redeemed and valiant nation would have raised for himself an enduring monument as one of the greatest benefactors of humanity.

As to Prussia, Napoleon was minded to erase it from the map of Europe. The intercession of the Tsar Alexander, however, saved the state from total extinction.¹ But neither the Tsar's mediation in behalf of his ally, Frederick William III, nor the personal entreaties of the beautiful and patriotic Queen Louisa, who humiliated herself by appearing as a suppliant before Napoleon at Tilsit, availed to save the monarchy from dismemberment and the deepest abasement. Besides stripping Prussia of her Polish provinces Napoleon took away from her all her territories west of the Elbe, out of which, in connection with some other lands, he made the new kingdom of Westphalia and gave it to his brother Jerome. This kingdom, into the making of which went twenty-four principalities and free cities, Napoleon now added to the Confederation of the Rhine. Prussia thus lost fully one half of her territory. What was left became virtually a province of Napoleon's empire.

444. The Continental Blockade; the Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806-1807). After the Peace of Tilsit, England was Napoleon's sole remaining enemy. The means which he employed to compass the ruin of this formidable and obstinate foe, the paymaster of the coalitions which he was having constantly to face,

¹ Alexander wished to maintain Prussia as a barrier state between Russia and Napoleon's empire. He viewed with apprehension the advance of Napoleon's frontier toward the western boundary of his own domains.

affords the key to the history of the great years from 1807 to his final downfall at Waterloo in 1815. This means was what is known as the Continental Blockade or Continental System. We have seen how the destruction of Napoleon's fleet at Trafalgar dashed all his hopes of ever making a descent upon the British shores (sect. 440). Unable to reach his enemy directly with his arms, he resolved to strike her through her commerce. By two celebrated edicts, called from the cities whence they were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, he closed all the ports of the Continent against English ships and forbade any of the European nations from holding any intercourse with Great Britain. The policy thus adopted by Napoleon to bring England to terms by ruining her trade was a suicidal one and resulted finally in the ruin of his own empire.

445. Beginning of the Peninsular Wars (1807). One of the first consequences of Napoleon's Continental Blockade was to bring him into conflict with Portugal. The prince regent of that country refusing to comply with all his demands respecting English trade and property, Napoleon sent one of his marshals to take possession of the kingdom. The entire royal family, accompanied by many of the nobility, fled to Brazil. Portugal was left in the hands of Napoleon,

446. Napoleon places his Brother Joseph upon the Spanish Throne (1808); the Spanish Uprising. Spain was next appropriated. Arrogantly interfering in the affairs of that country,—the government it must be said was desperately incompetent and corrupt,—Napoleon induced the weak-minded Bourbon king, Charles IV, to resign to him as "his dearly beloved friend and ally" his crown, which Napoleon at once bestowed upon his own brother Joseph. The throne of Naples, which Joseph had been occupying,¹ was transferred to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Thus did this audacious man make and unmake kings, and give away thrones and kingdoms.

But the high-spirited Spaniards were not the people to submit tamely to such an indignity. The entire nation from the Pyrenees

¹ Napoleon had dethroned the Bourbons in Naples in 1806.

to the Strait of Gibraltar flew to arms. Portugal also rose, and England sent to her aid a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington and the hero of Waterloo. The French armies were soon driven out of Portugal, and pushed beyond the Ebro in Spain. Joseph fled in dismay from his throne, and Napoleon found it necessary to take the field himself, in order to restore the prestige of the French arms. He entered the peninsula at the head of a great army, and resealed his brother upon the Spanish throne. Threatening tidings from another quarter of Europe now caused Napoleon to hasten back to Paris.

447. Napoleon's Third Campaign against Austria (1809). Taking advantage of Napoleon's troubles in the Iberian peninsula, Emperor Francis I of Austria had put his army on a war footing, and made ready to throw down the gage of battle. The war opened in the spring of 1809. At the end of a short campaign, the most noted engagements of which were the hard-fought battles of Aspern (Essling) and Wagram, Austria was again at Napoleon's feet. She was now still further dismembered. Among other lands taken from her was a long strip of shore land on the Adriatic, which, under the name of the Illyrian Provinces, Napoleon added to the French empire.

448. Union of the Papal States with Napoleon's Empire (1809). Napoleon's Continental System now brought him into trouble with the Papacy. Pope Pius VII refused to enforce the blockade against England and further presumed to disregard other commands of Napoleon. Thereupon Napoleon declared that the Pope "was no longer a secular prince," and took possession of his domains. Pope Pius straightway excommunicated the Emperor, who thereupon arrested him, and for three years held him a state prisoner.

449. Napoleon's Second Marriage (1810). Soon after his triumph over the Emperor Francis, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine in order to form a new alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria. Josephine bowed meekly to the will of her lord and went into sorrowful exile from his palace. Napoleon's **object in** this matter was to cover the reproach of his plebeian

birth by an alliance with one of the ancient royal families of Europe, and to secure the perpetuity of his government by leaving an heir to be the inheritor of his throne and fortunes.

The ambition of Napoleon to found a dynasty seemed realized when, the year following his marriage with the archduchess, a son was born to them, who was given the title of King of Rome. His enemies could now no longer, as he reproached them with doing, make appointments at his grave. He had now something more than "a life interest" in France. The succession was assured.

450. Holland and North German Coast Lands annexed to Napoleon's Empire (1810). During this year of his second marriage Napoleon made two fresh territorial additions to his empire.

Louis Bonaparte,—king of Holland, it will be recalled,—disapproving of his brother's Continental System, which was ruining the trade of the Dutch, abdicated the crown. Thereupon Napoleon incorporated Holland with the French empire. A little later he also annexed to his empire all the German coast land from Holland to Llibeck in order to be able to close the important ports here against English trade.

451. Napoleon's Empire at its Greatest Extent (1811). In these additions the Napoleonic empire received its last enlargement. Napoleon was now, in outward seeming, at the height of his marvelous fortunes. Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram were the successive steps by which he had mounted to the most dizzy heights of military power and glory.

The empire which this soldier of fortune had built up stretched from Lubeck to beyond Rome, embracing France proper, the Netherlands, part of western and northwestern Germany, all western Italy as far south as the kingdom of Naples, together with the Illyrian Provinces and the Ionian Islands.

On all sides were allied, vassal, or dependent states. Several of the ancient thrones of Europe were occupied by Napoleon's relatives or his favorite marshals.* He himself was head of the kingdom of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of Switzerland. Austria and Prussia were completely subject to his will. Russia and Denmark were his allies.

Such **were the** relations of **the** once great powers and independent states of Europe to "the Corsican adventurer." Not since the time of the Caesars had one man's will swayed so much of the civilized world.

452. Elements of Weakness in the Empire. But, splendid and imposing as at this moment appeared the external affairs of Napoleon, the sun of his fortunes, which had risen so brightly at Austerlitz, had already passed its meridian. There were many things just now contributing to the weakness of Napoleon's empire and foreboding its speedy dissolution. Founded and upheld by the genius of this single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes.

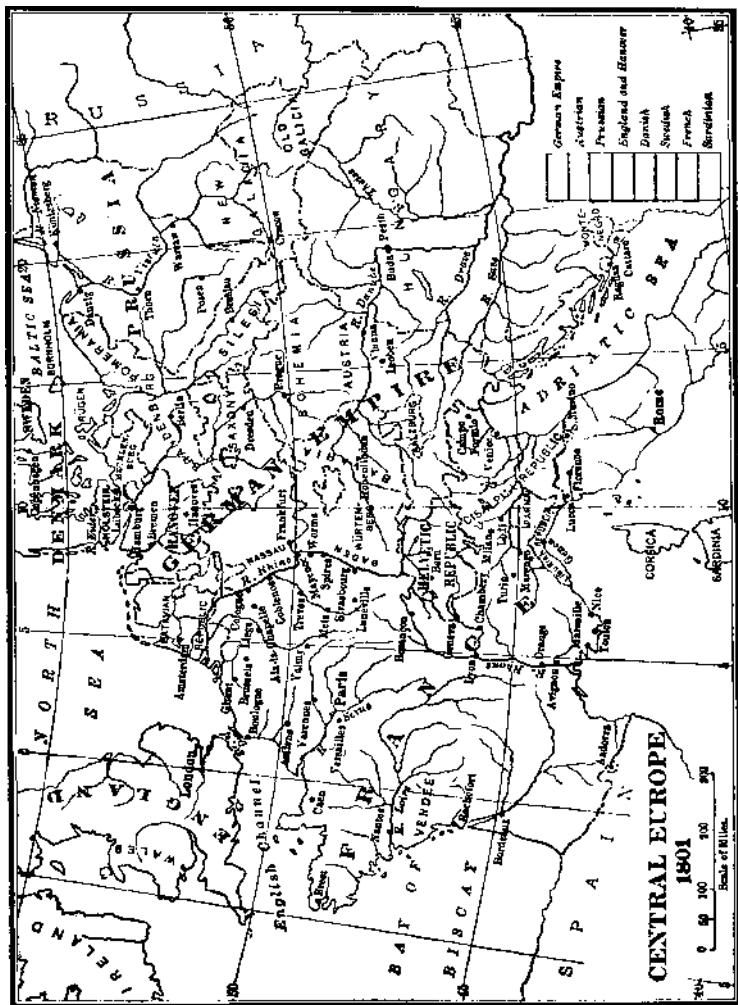
Again, Napoleon's Continental System, through the suffering and loss it inflicted particularly upon the maritime countries of Europe, had caused murmurs of discontent all around the circumference of the continent.

Still again, the conscriptions of the Emperor had drained France of men, and her armies were now recruited by mere boys, who were utterly unfit to bear the burden and fatigue of Napoleon's rapid campaigns. The heavy taxes, also, which were necessary to meet the expenses of Napoleon's wars, and to carry on the splendid public works upon which he was constantly engaged, produced great suffering and discontent throughout the empire.

Furthermore, Napoleon's harsh and unjust treatment of Pope Pius VII had alienated the Catholic clergy and created a resentful feeling among pious Catholics everywhere.

At the same time the crowd of deposed princes and dispossessed aristocrats in those states which Napoleon had reconstructed, and in **which** he had set up the new code of equal rights, were naturally resentful, and were ever watching an opportunity to regain **their** lost power and privileges.

Even the large class who at first welcomed Napoleon as the **representative** of **the** French ideas of equality and liberty, and **applauded** while he overturned ancient thrones and stripped of **their** **privileges** ancient aristocracies,—even many of these early adherents had been turned into bitter enemies by his adoption of



imperial manners and the formation of a court, and especially by his setting aside his first wife, Josephine, and forming a marriage alliance with one of the old hated royal houses of Europe.

453. The New Force destined to destroy Napoleon's Empire: the Nations. But the active force which was to overwhelm Napoleon's empire and to free Europe from his tyranny was the sentiment of national patriotism which was being aroused in the dismembered and vassal states, and in those whose independence was imperiled. The Empire threatened to become the tomb of the nations. In the face of this danger national patriotism was being everywhere awakened. We have witnessed the popular uprising in Spain; we shall now witness a similar movement in Germany and in Russia.

454. The Regeneration of Prussia. It was in Prussia that this patriotic movement found most passionate expression. After the crushing defeat at Jena, Prussia had been subjected by Napoleon to every indignity and forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation. This had for a result the calling into life among the Germans of the dormant sentiment of national patriotism. The growth of the new feeling was stimulated and directed by various agencies. Among these were the stirring patriotic songs of the poets Korner, Arndt, and others, which kindled in thousands of German hearts an unwonted fervor of enthusiasm for the Fatherland.

Education became another of the means of national quickening and regeneration. In the year 1808 the philosopher Fichte delivered before Berlin audiences a remarkable course of lectures entitled "Addresses to the German Nation." No such appeal had been made to the German mind and heart since Luther published his "Address to the German Nobility" (sect. 202). Fichte's idea was that public education was the only hopeful agency for the moral and political regeneration of the German nation. The German youth must be taught the duty of unselfish devotion to the public welfare and must be made to realize the joy of making sacrifices for the Fatherland. Thus was a wholly new spirit breathed **into** German education and **German**

philosophy.¹ Thousands of German youths were stirred by a sentiment they had never felt before,—ardent love for the German name and the German land.

At the same time that the poets, philosophers, and teachers were creating by their appeals and methods a new spirit in Prussian society, the masses of the people were being awakened by the social and economic reforms carried out by the eminent patriot statesmen Baron vom Stein and Prince von Hardenberg.

Two thirds of the population of Prussia were at this time serfs. Now, Stein's controlling idea was that the strength of a state depends upon the patriotism of the people; but his insight revealed to him the truth that "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." Hence his policy of enfranchisement.

By a celebrated Edict of Emancipation serfdom was abolished. This decree, by reason of its far-reaching consequences, deserves a place along with the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and the Edict of the Emperor Alexander II which liberated the Russian serfs.

- Along with serfdom, class privileges and distinctions, which had divided the population of Prussia into classes separated by almost impassable lines, were now swept away. The towns were given a measure of local self-government, which was to prepare the way for the representatives of the people to participate in the national government.

While Stein and Hardenberg were effecting these reforms in the civil realm, Scharnhorst, the Minister of War, was reorganizing the army on the model of that of France. The old army, which had gone to pieces so disgracefully on the field of Jena, was made up of conscripted peasants, officered by incompetent and

1 Hitherto the greatest thinkers and writers of Germany had insisted that the individual seek culture simply for his own sake. The State was the thing of last concern with the great poet Goethe. National patriotism he regarded as a narrow sentiment unworthy of a great mind. The poet Lessing declared patriotism to be "a heroic weakness," and love of fatherland a sentiment which he had never felt. Equally free from **this** "heroic weakness," as related to a *Gentian* fatherland, was the philosopher Hegel. The idea with all these great poets and philosophers was that Cosmopolitanism is a **nobler** thing than Nationalism—that men should regard themselves not as citizens of a **paltry state** but as citizens of the world.

insolent nobles. Flogging was the punishment for even the most trivial offenses. The new army was an army of self-respecting citizens, a truly national army.

The effect of these reforms upon the spirit of the people was magical. They effected the political and moral regeneration of Prussia. Prussia regenerated became the leader of the German nation in the memorable War of Liberation, which we are now approaching.

455. Napoleon's Invasion of Russia (1812-1813). The signal for the general uprising of Germany and the rest of Europe was the terrible misfortune which befell Napoleon in his invasion of Russia. Various circumstances had concurred to weaken the friendship and break the alliance between the Russian Emperor and Napoleon ; but the main cause of mutual distrust and alienation was the Continental Blockade. This had inflicted great loss upon Russian trade, and the Tsar had finally refused to carry out Napoleon's decrees, and had entered a coalition against France.

Napoleon resolved to force Russia, as he had the rest of Continental Europe, to bow to his will. Gathering contingents from all his vassal states, he crossed the Russian frontier at the head of what was proudly called the Grand Army, numbering upwards of four hundred thousand men. After making a single stand at Smolensk, the Russian army avoided battle, and as it retreated into the interior devastated the country in front of the advancing enemy. Finally, at Borodino, seventy miles from Moscow, the Russians halted and offered battle to cover the city, but in a terribly bloody struggle their resistance was broken and the invaders entered the ancient capital in triumph.

To his astonishment Napoleon found the city practically deserted by its inhabitants; and two days after he had established himself in the empty palace of the Tsar (the Kremlin), fires, started in some unknown way, broke out simultaneously in different quarters of the city. The conflagration raged for five days, until the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes.

Napoleon's situation was now critical. He had confidently expected, from his knowledge of the Emperor Alexander, that

as soon as the French army was in Moscow he would sue for peace. But to Napoleon's messages Alexander returned for reply that he would not enter into negotiations with him so long as a single French soldier stood upon Russian soil.

In the hope that the Tsar would abandon his heroic resolve, Napoleon lingered about the ruined city until the middle of October, and then finally gave orders for the return march. This delay was a fatal mistake, and resulted in one of the greatest tragedies in history. Before the retreating French columns had

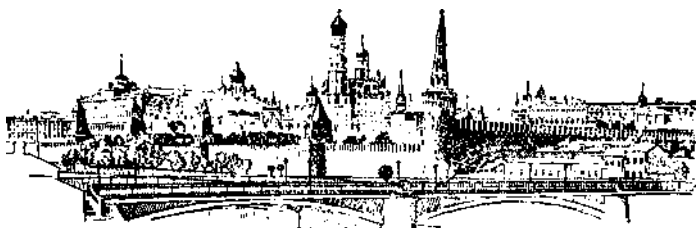


FIG. 56. THE KREMLIN OF MOSCOW. (From a photograph)

covered half the distance to the frontier, the terrible Russian winter was upon them. The sufferings of the ill-clad soldiers were intense. Thousands were frozen to death. The spot of each bivouac was marked by the circle of dead around the watch fires. Sometimes in a single night as many as two or three hundred perished. Thousands more were slain by the peasants and the wild Cossacks, who hovered about the retreating columns and harassed them day and night.

The passage of the river Beresina was attended with appalling losses. Soon after the passage of this stream Napoleon, conscious that the fate of his empire depended upon his presence in Paris, left the remnant of the army in charge of his marshals and hurried by post to his capital.

The loss by death of the French and their allies in this disastrous campaign is reckoned at upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians is estimated to have **been almost as large.**

456. The War of Liberation; the Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations" (1813). Napoleon's fortunes were buried with his Grand Army in the snows of Russia. His woeful losses here, taken in connection with his great losses in Spain, encouraged the European powers to think that now they could crush him. A sixth coalition was formed, embracing Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and later Austria.

Napoleon made gigantic efforts to prepare for the final struggle. By the spring of 1813 he was at the head of a new army, numbering eventually over three hundred thousand men,—boys we should say, so extremely young were a large number of the fresh recruits. Falling upon the allied armies of the Russians and Prussians, first at Lutzen and then at Bautzen, Napoleon gained a decisive victory upon both fields. Austria now appeared in the lists, and at Leipzig, in Saxony, Napoleon was attacked by the leagued armies of Europe. So many were the powers represented upon this renowned field that it is known in history as the "Battle of the Nations." The combat lasted three days. Napoleon was defeated and forced to retreat into France.

The armies of the allies now poured over all the French frontiers. Napoleon's efforts to roll back the tide of invasion were all in vain. Paris surrendered to the allies (1814). As the struggle became plainly hopeless, the Emperor's most trusted officers deserted and betrayed him. The French Senate issued a decree deposing him and restoring the throne to the Bourbons. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was banished to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, being permitted to retain his title of Emperor and to keep about him a few of his old guardsmen. But Elba was a very diminutive empire for one to whom the half of Europe had seemed too small, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Napoleon was not content with it.

457. "The Hundred Days" (March 20-June 29, 1815). By invitation of the French Senate the brother of Louis XVI now assumed the crown with the title of Louis XVIII. With this new Bourbon king the allies arranged a treaty,¹ the shifty Talleyrand,

1 First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.

who had earlier served Napoleon, acting as Louis' representative. This treaty gave France the frontiers she had in 1792.

In accordance with a promise he had made, Louis gave France a constitution. Notwithstanding, he acted very much as though his power were unlimited. He styled himself "King of France and Navarre *by the grace of God.*" He always alluded to the year in which he began to rule as the nineteenth year of his reign, thus affecting to ignore wholly the government of the Republic and the Empire. This excited alarm, because it seemed to question the validity of all that had been done since the execution of Louis XVI. There was widespread dissatisfaction. Some, fearing lest the work of the Revolution would be undone, began to desire the return of Napoleon, and the wish was perhaps what gave rise to the report which was spread abroad that he would come back with the spring violets.

In the month of March, 1815, as the commissioners of the various powers were sitting at Vienna rearranging the landmarks and boundaries obliterated by the French inundation, news was brought to them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was in France. At first the members of the Congress were incredulous, regarding the thing as a jest, and were with difficulty convinced of the truth of the report.

Taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbons, Napoleon had resolved upon a bold push for the recovery of his crown. Landing with about eight hundred guardsmen at one of the southern ports of France, he aroused all the country with one of his stirring addresses, and then immediately pushed on toward Paris. His journey to the capital was one continuous ovation. One regiment after another, forgetting their recent oath of loyalty to the Bourbons, hastened to join his train. Marshal Ney, sent to arrest the Emperor, **whom he** had promised to bring to Paris in a cage, at the first sight **of** his old commander threw himself into his arms and pledged **him** his sword and his life. Louis XVIII, deserted by his army, was left helpless, and, as Napoleon approached the gates **of Paris, fled from his throne.**

Napoleon desired peace with the sovereigns of Europe; but they did not think the peace of the continent could be maintained so long as he sat upon the French throne. For the seventh and last time the allies leagued their armies against "the disturber of the peace of Europe."

Hoping to overwhelm the armies of the allies by striking them one after another before they had time to unite, Napoleon moved swiftly into Belgium with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand in order to crush there the English under the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians under Blucher. He first fell in with and defeated the Prussian army, and then faced the English at Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

The story of Waterloo need not be told,—how all day the French broke their columns in vain on the English squares; how, at the critical moment toward the close of the day when Wellington was wishing for Blucher or for night, Blucher with a fresh force of thirty thousand Prussians turned the tide of battle; and how the famous Old Guard, which knew how to die but not how to surrender,¹ made its last charge and left its hitherto invincible squares upon the lost field.

A second time Napoleon was forced to abdicate,² and a second time Louis XVIII ascended his unstable throne.³ Napoleon made his way to the coast, purposing to take ship for the United States; but the way was barred by British watchfulness, and he was constrained to surrender to the commander of the English warship *Bellerophon*. "I come, like Themistocles," he said, "to throw myself upon the hospitality of the English people."

But no one believed that Napoleon could safely be left at large, or that his presence anywhere in Europe, even though he were in close confinement, would be consistent with the future security

¹ General Cambronne, the commander of the Guard, when summoned to surrender, is said to have returned this reply: "The Guard dies, but never surrenders." There is doubt concerning the origin of the famous phrase.

² His abdication was in favor of his little son, whom he proclaimed "Napoleon II, Emperor of the French."

³ The allies now signed with Louis what is known as the Second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815). France had now to accept the frontiers which were hers in 1789.

and repose of the continent. Some even urged that he be given up to Louis XVIII to be shot as a rebel and an outlaw. The final decision was that he should be banished to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic. Thither he was carried by the English, and closely guarded by them until his death in 1821.

The story of these last years of Napoleon Bonaparte, as gathered from the companions of his exile, is one of the most pathetic in all history. At the time of his death he was in his fifty-second year. As a military genius and commander he left a deeper impress upon the imagination of the world and fills a larger place in history, probably, than any other man who ever lived. "He was as great as a man can be without virtue" (Tocqueville).

References. HOURNK, II. E., *The Revolutionary Period in France*, chaps. xvii-xxvii. Among the numerous biographies of Napoleon the following possess special merit and authority: FOURNIER, A., *Napoleon the First*; JOHNSTON, K. M., *Napoleon*; ROSE, J. II., *The Life of Napoleon J*, 2 vols.; SLOANE, W. M., *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols.; LANFREY, P., *The Usiioy of A^tapoleon the First*, 4 vols, (left incomplete by the death of the author); SEELEY, J. K., *Napoleon the Pint*; and ROTES, J. C., *The First Napoleon*. (Lanfrey makes the Emperor the subject of bitter reproach.)

Works dealing with special phases of the history of the period: MAHAN, A. T., *The Influence of Sea Poiver upon the French Revolution and Empire*, 2 vols.; SEELEY, J. R., *Life and Times of Stein*, 2 vols.

NOTE. The following arc some of the effects on New World history of Napoleon's career and the Bourbon Restoration. It will be recalled that when Napoleon invaded Portugal, in 1807, the royal family fled to Brazil (sect. 445). After the fall of Napoleon the king, John VI, returned to the mother country. Seven years later the colony declared its independence of Portugal and became an empire. In 1889 a revolution transformed the empire into a republic—the United States of Bra2il. For the *Spanish American* colonies the consequences of the Bourbon Restoration were far-reaching. Bringing back the Bourbons in Spain, it brought back there and in the Spanish overseas dependencies the old despotic rgime. The result was insurrection in Spain and renewed revolt in the colonies. The sovereigns of the Holy Alliance (sect. 461), using France as their agent, put down the insurrection in the Peninsula, and then moved to aid Spain in crushing the revolt in her colonies. It was a critical moment for liberalism in the New World. The President of the United States, James Monroe, issued a famous message in which he declared that we should say frankly to the Holy Allies that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This is the essence of the celebrated Monroe Doctrine. The protest was effective. There was no intervention, and the year 1824 saw all the American continental colonies of Spain free and independent republics. The most popular hero of the war of Spanish independence was Simon Bolivar, who earned the title of the Liberator.

III. FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

(1815-1919)

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND METTERNICH

458. Ideas bequeathed by the French Revolution. The social and political history of Europe since the overthrow of Napoleon is, in the main, a continuation of the history of the great social and political upheaval which we have been witnessing. The dominant forces at work throughout this period have been the ideas or principles inherited from the French Revolution.

There were three of these principles with which, as revolutionary forces in history, we have already become familiar in tracing the story of the Revolution and the Empire. The first was the idea or principle of equality ; the second, that of the sovereignty of the people; the third, that of nationality. These principles or ideas, as we have said, were the precious political heritage which the nineteenth century received from the Revolution.¹ They were full of vitality and energy. Their outworking, their embodiment in social institutions, in law, in government, makes up a large part of universal history since the downfall of Napoleon.

Throughout the period that generous sentiment of '89, that all men are born and remain free and equal in rights, has been at work emancipating and elevating the hitherto unfree and down-trodden orders of society, and removing civil and religious and race disabilities from disqualified classes in the state. The period

¹ Of course these ideas were not novel doctrines promulgated now for the first time. All that is meant by calling them the ideas of the French Revolution is that by the Revolution they were invested with new authority and were given new course in the world.

is especially rich in emancipation edicts and statutes. Slavery and serfdom and every form of mediaeval feudal inequality, under the influence of the new spirit of equality, have disappeared or are fast disappearing from the civilized world.

The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people has likewise been a potent force in shaping the events of the period. A chief feature of the history of the time has been the substitution of representative government for autocratic monarchy. It is this cause of democracy, of self-government, that has enlisted the efforts and inspired the self-sacrifice of the noblest spirits of the age. The people of every country where any considerable degree of enlightenment has come to prevail have passionately espoused this principle and have fought for its establishment as the best hope for a better future for themselves and for their children.

Equally powerful as a revolutionary force has been the sentiment of nationality. This has been at once a creative and a disruptive force. It has called into existence many nation states ; under the strain of a world war it has dismembered, wholly or in part, great historic empires and has remolded or is remolding their elements as near as may be in accord with racial affinities and national aspirations.

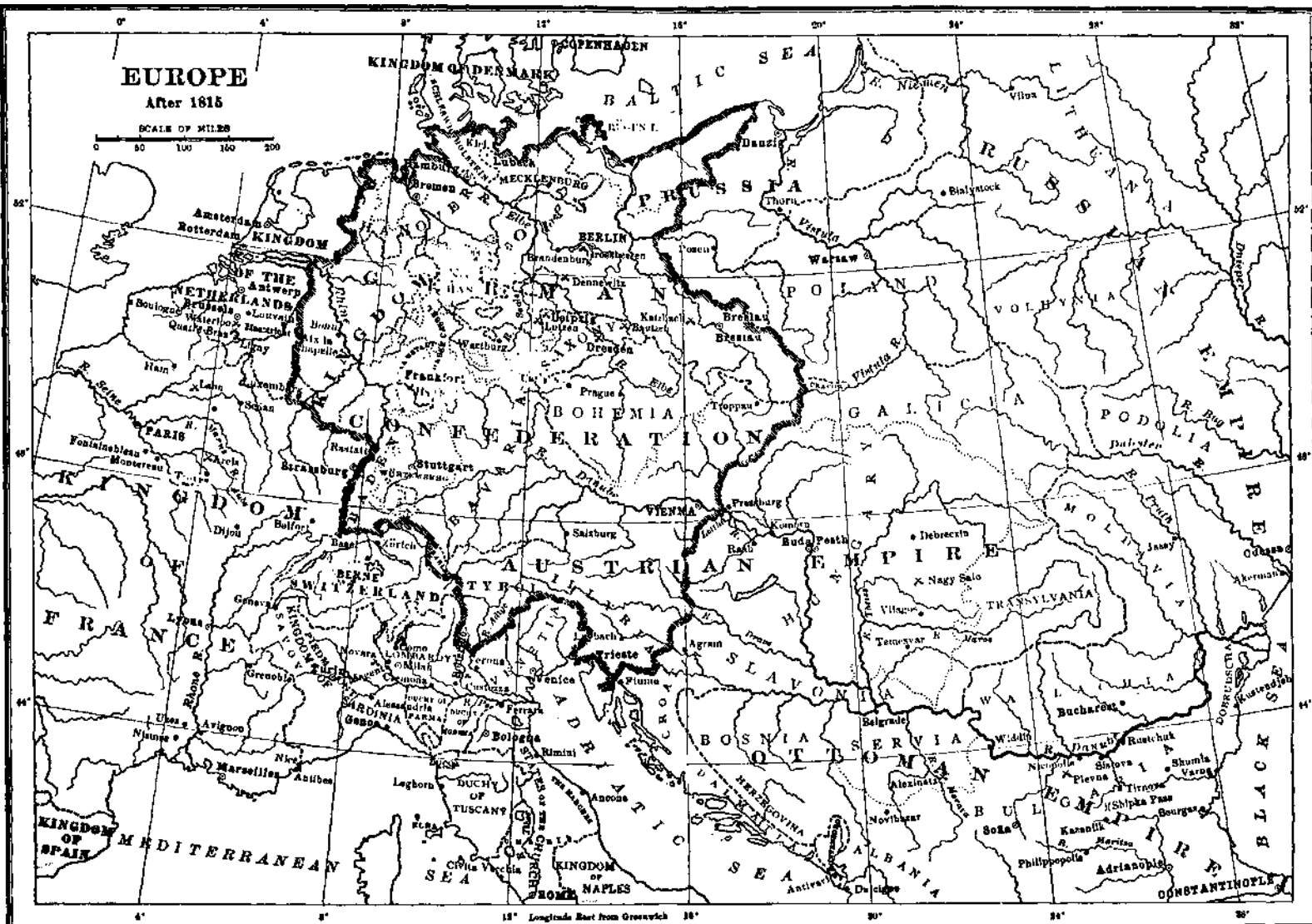
But these ideas, as we have intimated, have not had free course. Their embodiment in social institutions and in political forms has been, in most countries, a process violent and revolutionary in character. This has resulted from these liberal principles coming into conflict with certain opposing conservative doctrines with which they have had to struggle for supremacy. And this brings us to the starting point of the history of the last century,—the celebrated Congress of Vienna.

459. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814-June, 1815).

After the first abdication of Napoleon, as we have seen, the European sovereigns, either in person or by their representatives, **met at** Vienna to readjust the affairs of the continent. As we shall hereafter, in connection with the history of the separate European countries since the Vienna settlement, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we

After 1815

SCALE OF MILES



shall here say only a word regarding the spirit and temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim,—to restore everything as nearly as possible to its condition before the Revolution. They had no care for the people; the princes were their only concern. The principle of nationality was wholly ignored, while that of the sovereignty of the people was, by most of the plenipotentiaries, looked upon as a principle of disorder to be repressed in every possible way. The Congress was concisely and truthfully characterized by a liberal statesman of the time as "an auction of nations and an orgy of kings."

The first principle adopted by the Congress was that of legitimacy. According to this principle a throne is to be regarded like any ordinary piece of property. Long possession gives a good and indefeasible title. Under this rule all the new usurping families set up by Napoleon were ejected without ceremony, and the old exiled dynasties were restored. The most important of these restitutions, either effected by the direct action of the Congress or already consummated by events and confirmed by it, were those which brought back the banished Bourbon dynasties in France, Spain, and Naples.

The principle was applied only in the case of hereditary lay rulers. It was not applied to governments of city-states like Venice or the free cities of Germany, nor to ecclesiastical states. The crowd of ecclesiastical German princes whom Napoleon had dispossessed of their territories were not reinstated. The Pope, however, was made an exception to this exception. Pius VII was given back the Papal States. These formed now the only ecclesiastical state left in Europe.

Another exception in the application of the principle was in the case of the hundreds of petty German rulers whose territories Napoleon in his reorganization of Germany had given to the larger states. These princelets were not restored.

This question of legitimacy having been settled, the next question was how the territories recovered from Napoleon should be distributed among the dynasties recognized as legitimate. For

most of the sovereigns this was the subject of chief interest. In making the distribution no thought whatever was taken of the rights and claims of race or nationality. The inhabitants of the countries available for division were apportioned among the different sovereigns exactly as a herd of cattle might be divided up and apportioned among different owners. The following territorial settlements were among the most important.

The Belgian and Dutch provinces were united into a single state, which, under the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, was given to a prince of the House of Orange. The purpose of this was to create on this side of France a strong barrier against possible French aggression in the future. The fact that the Dutch and the Belgians, by reason of differences in race, in religion, and in industrial development, formed really two distinct nations was wholly ignored.

A great part of what had been Poland was made into a subject kingdom of the Russian Empire. The Poles were informed that they must give up all thought and hope of the restoration of their national independence.¹

Prussia was given about half of the kingdom of Saxony, extensive territories on both sides of the Rhine, and other lands, which gave her a more preponderant position in Germany than she had before the Revolution.

Lombardy and Venetia in Upper Italy, along with other lands, were given to Austria. This extension of Austrian rule over Italian lands was one of the grossest violations of the principle of nationality of which the Congress was guilty, and was to be signally avenged when the hour for Italian unity and independence arrived.

In Germany the Congress built upon the basis laid by Napoleon. Thirty-nine of the forty-two sovereign states, including Prussia and Austria, to which he had reduced the hundreds of

¹ Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Norway, which Denmark lost as a consequence of her alliance with Napoleon. The two countries were to form a dual monarchy, each having its own Parliament, or Diet, but united under a single crown. This arrangement subsisted until 1814, when Norway declared the union dissolved, and, choosing Prince Charles of Denmark as king, became an independent kingdom.

states constituting the old Germanic system, were organized into a confederation modeled upon the Confederation of the Rhine.¹

In Italy, on the other hand, Napoleon's work was undone and the old order of things was reestablished. With the exception of the provinces in the north, which, as we have seen, were given to Austria, the peninsula was divided into independent states, such as had existed before the Revolution.²

A third matter which occupied the attention particularly of the committee on German affairs was the granting of constitutions to their subjects by the different sovereigns. In spirit and in temper the restored rulers were for the most part the old pre-revolutionary despots come into their own again, but thoroughly frightened by what had happened. Their desire was to rule in the old autocratic way; but there were those among them who recognized that a change had come over the world, and that the old absolutism could not with safety be reestablished.

Consequently constitutions were talked about. Louis XVIII had been required by the terms of the treaties of Paris to give France a constitution, the allies understanding perfectly that if the restored Bourbons should attempt to rule as absolute sovereigns there would be trouble again which would unsettle everything in Europe. And now the Congress recommended to the German princes that representative bodies ("Assemblies of Estates," they were called; the use of the word *constitution* was carefully avoided) be established in each state. The only states, besides France, which at this time actually received constitutions were the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and Norway.³

And even where constitutions already existed or were now granted, these charters gave the people very little share in the government. They were constitutions of the strict aristocratic type; that is, they placed the government, where its form was

¹ For further details concerning the reorganization of Germany, see sect. 507.

² The little island of Helgoland, which commands the mouth of the Elbe, was at **this** time ceded to Great Britain by Denmark. In 1890 Great Britain ceded the islet to **the** new German Empire.

³ Hungary, like England, had a constitution which had taken form during mediaeval times. Sweden also had a constitution dating from the revolutionary period.

monarchical, in the hands of the sovereign and a small body of voters. Practically the old regime of absolutism was almost everywhere reestablished. The world was made safe for autocracy.

460. Prince Metternich. The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815, the spirit which controlled the Congress of Vienna, was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Prince Metternich. He hated the Revolution, which to him was the spirit of



FIG. 57. PRINCE METTERNICH
(From a painting by *Sir Thomas Lawrence*)

evil let loose in the world. The democratic spirit he declared to be the spirit of disorder which could not fail "to change daylight into darkest night." The demand of the people for a share in government he regarded as presumptuous, and he was wholly convinced that any concession to their demands could result in nothing save horrible confusion and bloodshed. He believed that the only hope of the world was the old divine-right absolutism.

Metternich's system, therefore, was a system of repression. His maxim was "Let nothing be

changed." A diplomatist of wonderful astuteness, of wide experience, and possessed of an intimate knowledge of the public affairs of all Europe, Metternich exerted a vast influence upon the history of the years from 1815 to 1848. This period might appropriately be called the Age of Metternich. It was due largely to the prince that during this period the old autocratic form of government prevailed so generally in Europe.

461. Metternich and the Holy Alliance. The activity of Metternich during the earlier portion of the period of his ascendancy was so closely connected with a celebrated league known as the Holy Alliance that we must here say a word respecting the origin of this association.

The Holy Alliance was a league formed just after the fall of Napoleon by the Tsar Alexander and having as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The ostensible object of the league was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe and the reduction to practice in politics of the teachings of Christ. The several sovereigns entering into the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects.

All this had a very millennial look. But the Holy Alliance very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every aspiration for political liberty among their subjects.

462. Other Principles, Movements, and Interests. Lest the foregoing sections should create in the mind of the reader a wrong impression of post-revolutionary history, we must here remind him of what we have said repeatedly; namely, that no single formula will suffice to sum up the history of any age. History is ever, very complex, for many ideas and many forces are always simultaneously at work shaping and coloring events.

The history of the period since the Congress of Vienna presents a special complexity. While the great ideas transmitted to the age as a bequest from the Revolution were forces that have given the age its chief features, still throughout the era various other ideas, principles, and interests have contributed greatly to fill particularly the later years of the period with a vast complexity of movements,—intellectual, religious, industrial, and colonial.

The spirit of the Renaissance has been in the society of the period a pervasive and powerful influence. Intelligence has become ever more diffused, and modern science, a special product of the revival, has constantly revealed fresh wonders of the universe and armed man with new instruments of research and of mastery over nature.

The true spirit of the Reformation, too, has been at work. As the years have passed, creeds have grown more liberal, and the

beneficent sentiment of toleration in religion, which has been declared to be "the best fruit of the last four centuries," has made rapid progress in the world.

Furthermore, the era has witnessed an unparalleled industrial development resulting from fortunate discoveries, ingenious mechanical inventions, and a great variety of other causes. To a brief review of this world-transforming movement we shall give a special chapter.

The period has also been marked by a wonderful expansion movement of the European peoples, a movement which has given the world very largely into the possession, or brought it under the control, of the bearers of the new and higher civilization created by the revolutions of the last three centuries in the homeland of Europe. To this significant movement we shall also devote a separate chapter under the heading "The Expansion of Europe."

The period was closed by the greatest war of all times, a war whose ultimate results must inevitably be so profound and far-reaching that it may well mark the opening of a new epoch in universal history. A review of the deeper causes of this stupendous conflict, a summary of its outstanding events, and a brief survey of the changed world which emerged from the overwhelming catastrophe will be all our prescribed space will permit.

References. Among the great number of works covering the century between the Congress of Vienna and the World War the following present in brief survey the whole or some part or phase of the history of the period: FYEEE, C. A., *A History of Modern Europe, 1792-1878* (Popular Edition); PHILLIPS, W. A., *Modern Europe. 1815-1899*, ANDREWS, C. M., *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols.; SEIGNOBOS, C., *A Political History of Europe since 1814*; HAZEN, C.D., *Modern European History*, chaps. xii-xxviii; HAYES, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii; LOWELL, A. I., *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols.; and ROSK, J. II., *The Development of the European Nations*, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XXXV
FRANCE FROM THE SECOND RESTORATION TO THE
WORLD WAR
(1815-1914)

463. The Reign of Louis XVIII-(1815 [14]-1824). "Your king, whose fathers reigned over your fathers for more than eight centuries, now returns to devote the rest of his days to defend and to comfort you." Such were the words used by Louis upon his second return to his people after Waterloo. The events of the Hundred Days had instructed and humbled him. Profiting by his experience, Louis ruled throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign with reasonable heed to the changes effected by the Revolution. But as he grew old and infirm he yielded more and more to the extreme Royalist party, which was again raising its head, and the government entered upon a course looking to the restoration of the old order of things.

464. The Reign of Charles X (1824-1830); the Revolution of 1830. Upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X, this reactionary policy soon became more pronounced. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the past. It was particularly his blind, stubborn course that gave point to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing."

It is not necessary that we rehearse in detail what Charles did or what he failed to do. His aim was to undo the work of the Revolution, just as it was the aim of James II in England to undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. He disregarded the constitution, restored the clergy to power, and changed the laws by royal proclamation. He seemed bent on restoring divine-right monarchy in France. He declared that he would rather saw wood for a living than rule after the fashion of the English kings.

The outcome might have been foreseen. Paris rose in revolt. Charles was escorted to the seacoast, whence he took ship for England. France did not at this time think of a republic. She was inclined to try further the experiment of a constitutional monarchy. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented the younger branch of the Bourbon family, was placed on the throne and the constitution was revised. In the charter which Louis **XVII** had granted he had styled himself "King of France *by the grace of God*."¹ The new constitution declared Louis Philippe to be "King of the French by the grace of God *and by the will of the nation*." The first principle of the Revolution—the sovereignty of the people—was thus embodied in the fundamental law of France.

465. Effect upon Europe of the "July Revolution" of 1830; Origin of the Kingdom of Belgium. The convulsion in Paris shook all the restored thrones, and for a moment threatened to topple into ruins the whole fabric of absolutism that had been so carefully upreared by the Congress of Vienna. In the Netherlands the artificial order established by that body (sect. 450) was undone. The Belgians rose, declared themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king (1831). Thus came into existence the separate kingdom of Belgium. The independence and neutrality of the little state were guaranteed by all the great powers.

466. The Revolution of 1848 and the Establishment of the Second Republic. The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the democratic party was constantly gaining in strength. Finally there came a demand for the extension of the suffrage. At this time there were only about two hundred thousand voters in France, the possession of a certain amount of property being required as a qualification for the franchise. The government steadily refused all electoral reforms. **Guizot**, the king's chief minister, declared that "this world is no place for universal suffrage."

There came an uprising like that of 1830. The center of this disturbance, of course, was Paris. Louis Philippe fled to England. After his departure the Paris mob dragged the throne out of the Tuileries and made a bonfire of it.

The Second Republic was now set up. A new constitution established universal suffrage. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new Republic (1848).

The Paris "February Revolution," as it is called, lighted the beacon fires of liberty throughout Europe. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere."

467. The Second Empire (1852-1870). The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

A contest having arisen between the President and the National Assembly, the President planned a *coup d'etat*,—a second Eighteenth Brumaire (sect. 429). He caused the arrest at night of the most prominent of the deputies opposed to him in the Assembly and dissolved that body. His appeal to the people to indorse what he had done met with a most extraordinary response. By a majority of almost seven million votes the nation approved the President's *coup d'etat* and rewarded him for it by extending his term of office to ten years. This was in effect the revival of the Consulate of 1799. The next year Louis Napoleon was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III.

The secret of Louis Napoleon's success in his *coup d'etat* was in part the fear that prevailed of the renewal of the Terror of '93, and in part the magic power of the name he bore. At just this time the name Napoleon was in France a name to conjure with. There had been growing up a Napoleonic legend. Time had idealized the founder of the First Empire.

As the Second and the Third Republic were simply revivals and continuations of the First Republic, so was the Second

Empire merely the revival and continuation of the First Empire. It was virtually the same in origin, in spirit, and in policy.

Louis Napoleon had declared that the Empire meant peace. But it meant anything except that. The pages of its history are filled with the records of wars. There were three important ones in which the armies of the Empire took part,—the Crimean War (1853-1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-



FIG. 38. NAPOLEON III. (After a portrait by F. Winterhalter)

Prussian War (1870-1871). The first two of these wars need not detain us at this time, since we shall speak of them later in connection with Russian and Italian affairs. The only thing that requires to be said here is that in each of them Louis Napoleon greatly enhanced his prestige throughout Europe.

Respecting the causes of the third war,—the one between Prussia and France,—something will be said in connection with the rise of Germany as an imperial power (sect. 518); therefore only the outstanding events of the war itself will be given a place here.

Upon the opening of the war three immense German armies swept into France. One large French army was defeated in the memorable battle of Gravelotte and shut up in Metz. Then followed the surrender at Sedan, where eighty-three thousand men, including the Emperor himself, gave themselves up as prisoners of war.¹

The German columns now advanced to Paris and began the investment of the city. All reasonable hope of a successful defense of the capital was soon destroyed by the surrender to the Germans of Marshal Bazaine at Metz. One hundred and seventy-nine thousand soldiers and officers became prisoners of war,—the largest army that up to that time had ever been taken captive. But Paris

¹ After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England. He died January 9, 1873.

held out stubbornly, with great suffering from cold and hunger, three months longer; and then, all outside measures for raising the siege having failed, capitulated.

468. Treaty of **Frankfort** (1871). By the terms of the treaty which followed the surrender of Paris, France was required to pay an indemnity of five billion franc¹ (\$1,000,000,000), and cede to Germany the Rhenish province of Alsace and part of Lorraine.² The tearing away from France of these provinces was a gross violation of the principle of nationality, since the inhabitants of the ceded territories, though not wholly French in blood, were passionately French in sympathy and attachment. Against the "odious abuse of force" of which they were the unhappy victims, their delegates in the National Assembly at Bordeaux, on their withdrawal from the convention chamber, made the following solemn and prophetic protest: "Europe cannot permit or ratify the abandonment of Alsace and Lorraine. The civilized nations, as guardians of justice and national rights, cannot remain indifferent to the fate of their neighbors under pain of becoming in their turn victims of the outrages they have tolerated. Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a herd of cattle; she cannot continue deaf to the repeated protests of threatened nationalities. . . . We declare once for all null and void an agreement which disposes of us without our consent. . . . In the moment we quit this hall, the supreme thought we find in the bottom of our hearts is a thought of unutterable attachment to the land from which in violence we are torn. Our brothers of Alsace and of Lorraine, separated at this moment from the common family, will preserve to France, absent from their hearthstones, an affection faithful to the day when she shall return to take her place again."³

¹ The last installment was paid in 1873, and the last unit of the German army of occupation was then withdrawn.

² The Red Republicans, or Communists, of Paris, indignant at the terms of the treaty, organized a Committee of Public Safety in imitation of that of 1793, and called the population of the capital to arms. The government finally succeeded in suppressing the insurgents, though only after the destruction by fire of many public buildings and frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city.

³ Jordan, *Alsace-Lorraine*, pp. 20-22.

469. The Third Republic (w o -). The form of government which replaced the Empire was republican.¹ The current of political events under the Republic up to the outbreak of the War of 1914 ran somewhat turbulently. There were many changes of presidents and of ministries, and much party rancor was displayed; yet in spite of all untoward circumstances the cause of the Republic steadily advanced, while that of the Monarchy and of the Empire as steadily went backward. Bourbons and Bonapartes, like Stuarts, went into an exile from which there was no return.

Many of the difficulties and problems which confronted the Republic were legacies to it from the Monarchy and the Empire. The most fate-laden legacy of the war that destroyed the Empire was the Alsace-Lorraine matter. The deep resentment felt toward Germany for this dismemberment of France, together with the fear of further German aggression, caused the French government, in 1891, to enter into an alliance with Russia,—an alliance which, as we shall see, was freighted with momentous consequences.—

A second legacy to the Republic was influential parties of Monarchists and Imperialists, who endeavored in every way to discredit the republican regime, and who watched for an opportunity to set up again either the Monarchy or the Empire. The dangerous intrigues of these parties led in 1886 to the expulsion from France of all the Bourbon and Bonaparte claimants of the throne and their direct heirs.

A third bequest from the ancient regime was the educational problem,—for education of the people is the corollary of government by the people. Before the Revolution, education in France was mainly in the hands of the religious orders. The Revolution swept away these bodies and secularized the educational system. The restoration of the Monarchy brought about also the

¹ The Constitution of the Republic is not, like our own, a single document, but consists of a series of laws passed at different times. It provides for a legislature of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, a President elected for seven years by the chambers in a joint meeting, and a Cabinet responsible to the legislature. The suffrage is universal. The first president of the Republic was M. Thiers, the historian; M. Millerand was inaugurated as the eleventh president in 1920.

² This dual alliance became in 1907, through the adhesion of England, the great Triple Entente. See sect. 57a.

restoration of the religious orders. The system of education was now mixed, being in part lay and in part clerical. Among the Liberals many demanded the suppression of the clerical schools and the complete secularization of education. The final outcome of this fight against clerical influence in education and civil matters was a complete separation of Church and State in 1905. This meant the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church (and of the Protestant and Jewish churches as well), and the annulment of the Concordat entered into between Napoleon and the Pope in 1802 ¹ (sect. 432).

As to the part taken by France in the wonderful industrial development of the period under review, and in recent colonial enterprises, particularly in the opening up to civilization of the continent of Africa, we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection.² With the opening of the World War in 1914, the history of France merges for a time with that of Europe and the world at large.³

References. In most of the works cited for the preceding chapter will be found chapters and sections dealing with French affairs during the period under review. To these authorities add the following: DICKINSON, G. L., *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*; and LEBON, A., and PELET, P., *France as it Is*.

For the Second Empire: FORBES, A., *The Life of Napoleon the Third*. For brief summaries of the events of the period: LEBON, A., *Modern France*, chaps. viii-xvi; ADAMS, G. B., *The Growth of the French Nation*, chap. xviii; and HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. xviii-xxi and xxiii.

¹ With the severance of all connection between Church and State, the payment of the salaries of the clergy by the government ceased. The use of the churches is left free to the Catholics, but the palaces of the bishops and other ecclesiastical buildings are now devoted to educational and non-religious purposes.

A new disturbing factor in French public life of the period under review was Anti-Semitism, a systematic effort to stir public feeling against the Jews, which swept over Europe from about 1880 onward. A Jewish officer in the French army, Captain Dreyfus, was held guilty of treasonable dealings with foreign powers. At first almost everybody believed the charge; ultimately it proved that the real criminals had tried to screen themselves by accusing him. The Dreyfus case dominated French politics for years, discrediting group after group of politicians, and for a time much discrediting the government, which at length cleared itself by providing for a rehearing and a just judgment, and by making handsome amends to those who had suffered injustice.

² See Chapter

XLI.

³

See Chapter XLIII.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND FROM THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO TO THE WORLD WAR

(1815-1914)

470. The Four Chief Matters. English history during the hundred years between the battle of Waterloo and the outbreak of the World War embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the entire period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces the great mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus shows how they are connected with a few broad movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that many of its leading events may be summed up under the four following heads: (1) progress toward democracy; (2) extension of the principle of religious equality; (3) England's relations with Ireland; and (4) the growth of the British colonial empire.

We shall attempt nothing more in the present chapter than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along the first three lines of inquiry, reserving for later sections the consideration of England's colonial affairs.

I. PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY

471. Introductory. The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of upwards of five million Englishmen less than two hundred thousand were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the period under review consists in the widening of the

electorate,—in giving substantially to every adult person, without distinction of sex, the right of suffrage and of participation in the conduct of public affairs.

472. Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England; Reform versus Revolution. The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course of the French Republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. It will be recalled how the statesman Fox rejoiced at the fall of the Bastille, and what auguries of hope he saw in that event. The young writers Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey were all infected with democratic sentiments and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality. But the wild excesses of the French levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary.

But in a few years after the downfall of Napoleon the terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now, it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the Continent. In the Continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repressions. We have seen the result of this policy in France, and later shall see the outcome of it in other Continental countries. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through revolution.

In England the government did not resist the popular demands **to** the point of revolution. It made timely concessions to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions, we have a series of reform measures which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last rendered the English nation, not alone **in** name but in reality, a self-governing **people**.

473. The Reform Bill of 1832. The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act a glance backward becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population and new towns sprang up; yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore, the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. It was inevitable that elections in these small places ("pocket boroughs," they were called) should almost always be determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or of the great landowners. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the nominees of the king, or with persons who had bought their seats, often with little effort at concealment. At the same time, such large, recently grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The contest between Whigs and Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter, the Conservatives opposing all reform and denying that there was any necessity for it. At last public feeling became so strong and menacing **that the** Lords, who were blocking the measure in the Upper House, were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became **a law**. By this act the English electoral system was radically **changed**. Eighty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised, and the hundred and forty-two seats **in the** Lower House taken from them were given to different **counties and** to large towns hitherto unrepresented. The bill also

somewhat increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons in the towns owning or leasing property of a certain value, and by lowering the property qualification of voters in the counties.

The importance of this reform bill can hardly be exaggerated. It is the Magna Carta of English political democracy.¹

474. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835. The government of the English towns of this period needed reform as urgently as had the British Parliament. This municipal system was a system inherited from the Middle Ages. Most of the towns were ruled by corrupt oligarchies. Long agitation for their overthrow resulted in the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. This act accomplished for the government of the cities what the Reform Bill of 1832 had effected for the general government of the kingdom.

475. Chartism : the Revolutionary Year of 1848. Although the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, still it went only a little way in the application of that principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government. They now began an agitation characterized by much bitterness, and known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. Among these were universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

The agitation went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost

¹ The reform of the House of Commons gave an impulse to legislation of an humanitarian or popular character. In 1833 an act was passed in the British Commons for the abolition of slavery. Nearly 800,000 slaves, chiefly in the British West Indies, were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. This same year (1833) the first effective Factory Act was passed. This was the beginning of a long series of laws which gradually corrected the almost incredible abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, that had crept into the English factory system. A similar series of laws regulated labor in the mines. Also this same year Parliament voted an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of schoolhouses. This was the first step taken by the English government in the promotion of public education. In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn laws," abandoned the commercial policy of protection, which favored the great landowners, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright. The enactment of the law was hastened by the blight of the potato crop in Ireland and consequent famine in the island.

every throne on the European continent, the Chartists indulged in riotous demonstrations, which frightened the law-abiding citizens and brought discredit upon themselves. Their organization now soon fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of these reforms have since been adopted and

made a part of the English constitution.



FIG . 59. QUEEN VICTORIA AS A Young WOMAN. (After a painting by

476. The Reform Bill of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870. The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by the English government in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation both without and within the walls of Parliament. The main effect of the bill was the extension of the right of voting,—the enfranchisement of the great "fourth estate."

As after the Reform Bill of 1832, so now the attention of Parliament was directed to the matter of public instruction; for all recognized that universal education must go along with universal suffrage. Three years after the passage of this second reform bill Parliament passed an education act (1870) which aimed to provide an elementary education for every child in the British Isles by investing the local authorities with power to establish and maintain schools and compel the attendance of the children.

477. The Reform Bill of 1884. One of the conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, "No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark." Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill the English people were ready to take another

leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a share in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes.¹

478. The Reform of Rural Local Government. Parliament and the government of the municipalities were now fairly democratized. The rural districts were the last to feel the influence of the liberal movement that was so profoundly reconstructing in the interest of the masses the governmental institutions of the United Kingdom. But the movement finally reached these, and the work of democratic reconstruction has been rounded out and completed by different acts of Parliament, which have put more directly into the hands of the people of each of the smaller subdivisions of the realm the management of their local affairs.

479. The "Veto" of the House of Lords Abolished (1911). The most radical change in the English constitution since the Reform Bill of 1832 was effected in 1911 by an act whereby the legislative power of the House of Lords was limited, and thus its power permanently to defeat measures approved by the lower chamber taken away.² The veto power, as it may be termed,

¹ The democratization of the electorate was virtually completed, under the stress of the World War, by the Representation of the People Act, in 1918. This was an electoral law which went further than any earlier similar measure. It established substantially manhood suffrage, the property basis for men being virtually abandoned, and gave the vote to every woman thirty years of age or over "who occupies a home, without regard to value, or any landed property of the annual value of £5, of which she or her husband is the tenant." These measures doubled the electorate, adding 8,000,000, of whom 6,000,000 were women, to the body of voters.

² The act, which, like the Reform Bill of 1832, received the sanction of the Upper House only through a threatened creation of peers, provides that bills (other than certain bills specified) if passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions,—a certain order of procedure being observed,—shall become law without the concurrence of the Lords. By this same act the maximum duration of Parliament was limited to five years instead of seven.

of the Lords was annulled because it had been used by them to obstruct or defeat reform legislation initiated by the Liberals of the House of Commons. The particular action of the Lords which created the crisis was their rejection of a budget introduced by David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Increased revenue being needed to meet the cost of a newly inaugurated old-age pension policy and a larger navy, the budget provided for new taxes on land, inheritances, and large incomes. Passed by the Commons, the budget was rejected by the House of Lords. This action of the Lords was denounced by the Liberals as a violation of the Constitution, it being held that money bills and taxation were matters pertaining exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Commons. After a bitter debate and an appeal by the government to the people in a new election, the Lords finally yielded and passed the budget. But their action in venturing to obstruct the bill had so alarmed and angered the Liberals of the Commons that they now resolved to curb effectually the power of the Lords over legislation, which end was reached by the act mentioned above.

This reform makes the will of the English people as expressed through their representatives in the House of Commons supreme and independent, since the veto power of the Crown fell into disuse more than a century ago, and the royal assent is now never withheld from a bill that has the sanction of Parliament.

II. EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

480. Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding sections ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one **might** be a Roman Catholic or a Protestant dissenter without fear **of persecution**. Dissent **from the Established Church** was **not**

unlawful; but one's being a Roman Catholic or a Protestant non-conformist disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is favored or sustained by the government, there of course is no religious *equality*, although there may be religious *freedom*.

Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the growth of a really tolerant spirit, which shall lead to the removal of all civil disabilities from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law.

481. Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828). One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II, which required every municipal officer, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths and partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced; nevertheless, the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where everyone has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church. The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters.

482. Disabilities removed from **Roman Catholics** (1829). The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of belief and the oaths required of officeholders,—declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make. They now demanded that the same concessions be

made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters. A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried through Parliament the progress of what was known as the "Catholic Emancipation Act." This law opened Parliament and all offices below the Crown,—save that of Regent, of Lord High Chancellor of England and Ireland, of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and a few others,—to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

483. Disabilities removed from the Jews (1858). Persons professing the Jewish religion were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics. In 1858 an act (Jewish Relief Act) was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required of a person taking office—the oath contained the words, "upon the true faith of a Christian"—as to open all public positions, except a few special offices, to persons of the Jewish faith.

The year of the passage of the act, the distinguished Jew Baron Rothschild, taking the oath of office upon the Old Testament, was admitted to a seat in the House of Commons.

484. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869). Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are today, and ever have been, Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile all their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions.

The rank injustice in thus forcing the Irish Catholics to support not merely a Church in which they did not believe but a Church which they regarded with special aversion and hatred as **the** symbol of their subjection and persecution, was perceived **and** declaimed against by not a few even among the English

Protestants themselves. The proposal to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then Prime Minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the Irish Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free Episcopal Church. An ancient wrong was thus undone.¹

485. Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England and Scotland.

The principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many Liberals, the disestablishment likewise of the State Church in England and Scotland.² They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect is to give the

state a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong.

¹ In 1914, just before the outbreak of the World War, the British Parliament passed a bill disestablishing the Church in Wales, but the tarrying into effect of the bill was postponed until after the end of the war.

² The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.



FIG. 60. LORD BEACONSEIELD (DISRAELI), "THE COURTIER PREMIER" (From the monument in Westminster Abbey)

III. ENGLAND'S RELATIONS WITH IRELAND

486. Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1800).

The history of Ireland in the nineteenth century, like her history in all preceding centuries, is in the main a story of Irish grievances against England. These grievances have for the most part arisen out of three distinct yet closely related subject-matters,—religion, Home Rule, and the land. Concerning the religious grievances of the Irish and their redress we have already spoken in connection with the general religious emancipation movement in England. For any kind of understanding of the subject of Irish Home Rule a glance backward at Irish parliamentary history is necessary.

Ireland, it will be recalled, secured legislative independence of England in 1782 (sect. 375). When, a little later, Napoleon came to the head of affairs in France, there was apprehension on the part of English statesmen lest he should utilize Irish discontent to secure a foothold in the islands. As a measure of precaution the English government resolved to get rid of the Irish Parliament. By wholesale bribery its members were induced to pass a sort of self-denying ordinance whereby the Parliament was abolished, or rather merged with that of Great Britain, Ireland being given representation at Westminster. The two islands were henceforth to bear the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

487. Agitation for the Repeal of the Union. The great body of Irish patriots did not at the time of these transactions admit, nor have they at any time since admitted, the validity of the Act of Union whereby their Parliament was taken from them. In the early forties the agitation for the repeal of the Union and the reestablishment of their native legislature assumed, under the incitement of the eloquence of the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell, almost the character of a rebellion. Some years later, in the sixties, the agitation was carried to the point of actual insurrection, but **the** movement was suppressed and its leaders were **punished.**

488. Gladstone and Home Rule for Ireland. It was not long before the Irish question was again to the front. In 1886 William Ewart Gladstone became for the third time Prime Minister. Almost his first **act** was the introduction in the Commons of a

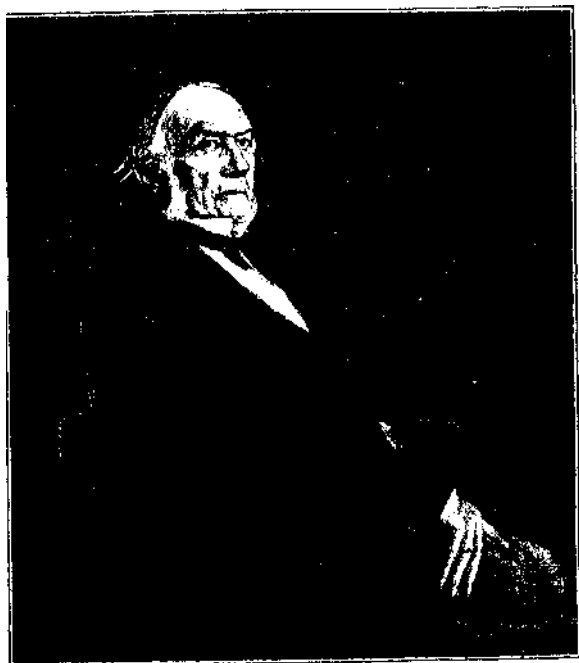


FIG. 61. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. (After a painting by *Lenbach*)

Home Rule bill for Ireland. The main feature of this measure was an Irish legislature sitting at Dublin, to which was to be intrusted the management of all exclusively Irish affairs.

The chief arguments urged by the opponents of the bill were that an Irish legislature would deal unfairly with English landlords **in Ireland, would** oppress the Irish Protestants, and, above all, in time of national distress would sever Ireland from the British Empire. After a long debate the bill was rejected by the **Commons**.

In 1893 Gladstone, being then Premier for the fourth time, brought in a new Home Rule bill, which in its essential features was like his first. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. The following year, owing to the infirmities of advanced age, Gladstone laid down the burdens of the premiership and retired from public life. He died in 1898 at the age of eighty-eight, and, amidst unusual demonstrations of national grief, was buried in Westminster Abbey. His name has a sure place among the great names in English history.

489. Agrarian Troubles and Agrarian Legislation. Before the relief legislation, of which we shall speak directly, very much of Irish misery and discontent arose from absentee landlordism. A great part of the soil of Ireland was owned by a few hundred English proprietors, who represented in the main, either as heirs or as purchasers, those English and Scotch settlers to whom the lands taken away from the natives were given at the time of the Cromwellian and other Protestant "settlements" of the island. It was often the case that the agents of these absentee landlords dealt harshly with their tenants and exacted as rent every penny that could be wrung from their poverty. If a tenant made improvements upon the land he tilled, and by ditching and subduing it increased its productive power, straightway his rent was raised. If he failed to pay the higher rent, he was evicted. The records of "eviction" form a sad chapter in the history of the Irish peasantry.

A long series of Irish land laws marks the efforts of the British Parliament to alleviate the distress of the Irish tenant farmers. In 1903 an Irish land-purchase bill, more sweeping and liberal than any preceding measure, was enacted into a law. This law differed from earlier ones in the provision that peasants desiring to buy their holdings should be aided, not merely by a government **loan** on long time and at low interest, but further by the government's paying a part of the purchase price. This liberal **measure**, gradually carried into effect during the earlier years of **the twentieth** century, has converted the great body of Irish **tenants into** proprietors, and thus has revolutionized the relation **of the Irish peasantry to the Irish soil.**

490. The Third Irish Home Rule Bill (1914). But land reforms, together with other measures of relief, proved ineffectual to quiet the agitation for a separate Irish Parliament. In the early years of the twentieth century the subject was again before the Commons, and a third Home Rule bill was framed and introduced (1912). The "veto" power of the Lords, the rock on which Gladstone's last Home Rule bill had been wrecked, had been abolished (sect. 479), but an even greater obstacle to the success of the measure now was the stubborn opposition of the Protestants of Ulster, in northeast Ireland. They even threatened to revolt if any attempt were made to put them under the rule of an Irish Parliament. On the other hand, the majority of the people of Ireland objected strenuously to any sort of Home Rule which did not apply alike to all Ireland.

Finally, after bitter debate, the bill, having been passed in three successive sessions of the Commons (being each time rejected by the Lords), received the signature of the king; but before the law became operative, the great European conflict had begun, and the establishment of the new regime was postponed until after the war.¹

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¹ This delay caused great bitterness in Ireland, and the end of the war found the Irish problem more acute than ever, with a strong party, known as Sinn Féin, demanding absolute independence from Great Britain. In 1921 a new Home Rule bill which provided for two Irish Parliaments, one for Protestant Ulster and another for the rest of Ireland, having received the royal assent, came into operation.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

491. Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. The Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former republics were not allowed to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or to the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution. Austria, as has already been stated (sect. 459), appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula. The Italians were thus made "a Helot nation." Italy, in the words of Metternich, was merely "a geographical expression."

Hut the Revolution had sown the seeds of liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, Ligurian, Parthenopean, and Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, though equally delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

492. Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the reinstating of the old tyrannies. The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. The liberal constitutions of the revolutionary period were set aside, and all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to liberalism were swept away. In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I, the "royal Rip Van Winkle," instituted a most extreme reactionary policy.

Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch.

493. The Uprisings of 1820-1821. The natural result of the arbitrary rule of the restored princes was deep and widespread discontent. In the revolutionary years 1820-1821 there were insurrections in Naples and Sardinia. But these movements were quickly suppressed through the actual or threatened intervention of Austrian armies, and the autocratic princes confirmed in their absolute authority.

The suppression of the Liberal uprisings seemed to Metternich the sure pledge of divine favor. He writes exultantly : "I see the dawn of a better day. . . . Heaven seems to will that the world should not be lost."

494. The Revolution of 1830-1831. For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary years of 1830-1831 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820-1821. The center of the revolution was the Papal States. But the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

495. The Three Parties. Twice now had Austrian armies defeated the efforts of the Italians for national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny grew ever more intense, and "Death to the Germans!" as the Austrians were called, became the watchword that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But, while united in their fierce hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for national organization. One party wanted a confederation of the various states; a second party wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy with the king of Sardinia at its head ; while still a **third**, known as "Young Italy," wanted a republic.

496. Joseph Mazzini, the Patriot and Prophet. The leader of the third or republican party was the patriot Joseph Mazzini. Mazzini was not a narrow nationalist. He recognized the universal character of the democratic revolution. The people were oppressed not only in Italy but in Spain, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey,—almost everywhere, in truth. Their cause was a common cause. In opposition to the Holy Alliance of the princes formed with aim to oppress, there must be a Holy Alliance of the peoples formed with aim to emancipate. The French Revolution, he said, had proclaimed the liberty, equality, and fraternity of individual men; the new revolution should proclaim the liberty, equality, and fraternity of nations.

In this great work of the emancipation and unification of the world, Italy was to be head and guide of the nations. To her this post of leadership was assigned by virtue of her leadership in the past. Once pagan Rome organized and ruled the world. Then papal Rome organized and ruled it for a thousand years. Now a third world union was to be formed, and of this union of the free and federated nations Italy, Italy as a republic, was to be center and head. The first Rome was the Rome of the Caesars; the second was the Rome of the Popes ; the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People.

Such was Mazzini's interpretation of the drama of world history. Such was his splendid ideal. Through kindling the enthusiasm of the Italian youth, awakening the sentiment of patriotism, and keeping alive the spirit of insurrection, Mazzini rendered a great service to the cause of Italian liberation and union.

497. The Revolution of 1848-1849. After the suppression of the uprising of 1830 until the approach of the memorable year 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout Europe which characterized that year of revolutions encouraged the Italian patriots in another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their reactionary and despotic rulers and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms.

But through the intervention of the Austrians and the French the third Italian revolution was brought to naught. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was prompted by their jealousy of Austria and the desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good will of the Catholic clergy in France.

Much, however, had been gained. The patriots had been taught the necessity of united action. Henceforward all were more inclined to look upon the kingdom of Sardinia as the only possible basis and nucleus of a free and united Italy.

498. Victor Emmanuel I I , Count Cavour, and Garibaldi.

Sardinia was a state which had gradually grown into power in the northwest corner of the peninsula. The throne was at this time held by Victor Emmanuel II (1849-1878), the only constitutional ruler in Italy. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or per-

haps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour and the reckless daring of the national hero Garibaldi.

Count Cavour was the Bismarck of Italy,—one of those great men who during this formative period in the life of the European peoples have earned the title of Nation Makers. He was lacking in oratorical and poetic gifts. "I cannot make a sonnet," he said, "but I can make Italy,"—an utterance suggested doubtless by that of the Athenian statesman (Themistocles) who boasted that though "he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how of a mean city to make a great one." Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy.



FIG. 62. COUNT CAVOUR
(From an engraving)

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism he had already been twice exiled from Italy.

499. Sardinia in the Crimean War. In 1855, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, Cavour sent a Sardinian contingent of fifteen thousand men to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War (sect. 525), with the two chief aims of giving Sardinia a standing among the powers of Europe, and of earning the gratitude of England and France, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone.

A little incident in the trenches of the allies before Sevastopol shows in what spirit the Sardinians had gone to the war. A soldier, covered with mud and wearied with the everlasting digging, complained to his superior officer. "Never mind," was the consoling reply; "it is with this mud that Italy is to be made."

500. Cavour prepares for **War with Austria**. Soon after the close of the Crimean War, Cavour received from the French Emperor Napoleon III a promise that a French army, when the favorable moment arrived, would aid the Sardinians in driving the Austrians out of Italy. In this proffer of help the French Emperor was actuated less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the war against Russia than by a desire to lessen the power of Austria in Italy and to replace it by French influence, and to secure Savoy and Nice, which were to be France's reward for her intervention in Sardinia's behalf.

501. The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-1860). Sardinia now **began** to arm. Austria, alarmed at these demonstrations, called upon Sardinia to disarm immediately, upon threat of war. Cavour **eagerly** accepted **the** challenge. The French armies were joined **to those of** Sardinia. The two great victories of Magenta and **Solferino** drove the Austrians out of Lombardy. Just at this **juncture** **the** menacing attitude of Prussia and other German states,



which were alarmed at the prospective aggrandizement of France, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy, which foreshadowed the union of all the states of the peninsula in a single kingdom,—something which Louis Napoleon did not wish to see consummated,¹—this new situation of things, in connection with other considerations, caused the French Emperor to draw back and to enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice, but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were bitterly disappointed that they did not get Venetia, since at the outset the French Emperor had declared that he would free Italy from the "Alps to the Adriatic."

But Sardinia found-compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of seven millions. A long step had been taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom.

502. Sicily and Naples, with Umbria and the Marches, added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860). The adventurous daring of the hero Garibaldi now added Sicily and Naples, and indirectly Umbria and the Marches, to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.



(J.\Kir.Ai,i)i. (From an engraving)

¹ Napoleon III did not wish for a united Italy any more than he wished for a united Germany. His aim was to create a kingdom in northern Italy which would exclude Austria from the peninsula and then to bring about a confederation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. Italy thus reconstructed would, he conceived, be fain to look to the French Emperor as her champion and patron.

All this took place under the following circumstances. In 1860 the subjects of the Bourbon Francis **II**, king of the Two Sicilies, rose in revolt. Garibaldi, favored by the connivance of the Sardinian government, having gathered a band of a thousand volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their deliverer.

Count Cavour saw that the time had come for the Sardinian government openly to assume guidance of the revolutionary movement. The papal territories and Naples were accordingly occupied by a regular Sardinian army. Meanwhile a plebiscite, or popular vote, having been ordered, the papal lands of Umbria and the Marches, together with Naples, and Sicily, voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom.

Thus was another long step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There were now wanting to complete the union only Venetia and Rome, together with some Italian lands on the north and at the head of the Adriatic.

503. Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866). The Seven Weeks' War (sect. 516), which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866, afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should **be** made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The issue of the war added this territory to the Italian kingdom.

504. Rome becomes the Capital (1870). The Italians now looked forward impatiently to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France. But events soon gave the coveted

capital to the Italian government. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were summoned home. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of almost a hundred to one resolved to cast in its lot with that of the Italian nation. July 2, 1871, Victor Emmanuel himself entered Rome and took up his official residence there. Since then the Eternal City has been the seat of the national government.¹

505. End of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.

The occupation of Rome by the Italian government marked the end of the temporal power of the Pope, and the end of an ecclesiastical state, the last in Europe, which from before Charles the Great had held a place among the temporal powers of Europe, and during all that period had been a potent factor in the political

affairs of Italy. The papal troops, with the exception of a few guardsmen, were disbanded. The Vatican palace and some other buildings with their grounds were reserved to the Pope as a place of residence, together with a yearly allowance of 3,000,000 lire (about \$600,000).



FIG. 64. POPE BENEDICT XV
(From a Photograph by Ruschin)

¹ Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and his son came to the throne with the title of Humbert I. He was assassinated in 1900, and was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III.

These arrangements have subsisted down to the present time. Under them the Pope is not to be regarded as a subject of the Italian government but rather as a sovereign residing at Rome. His person is inviolable. No Italian officer may enter the Vatican or its grounds, which the Italian government respects the same as though they were foreign territory.¹

The popes have steadily refused to recognize the legitimacy of the act whereby they were deprived of the temporal government of Rome and the Papal States, and have protested against it by refraining from setting foot outside the reserved Vatican domain, by refusing to accept the annuity provided for them, and in various other ways.²

506. Reform and Progress. The antagonism between the Holy See and the Italian government, in connection with other hindrances, has tended to retard Italy's progress under the new regime. Yet very much has been accomplished since the winning of independence and nationality. Brigandage, an element of the bad heritage from the time of servitude, oppression, and disunion, has been in a great degree suppressed; railways have been built; the Alps have been tunneled; the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts has been increased by extensive systems of drainage, and regions long given over to desolation have been made habitable and productive; the dense ignorance and the deep moral degradation of the masses, particularly in the southern parts of the peninsula, have been in a measure overcome and relieved by a public system of education; and Rome has been rebuilt, and from the position of a mean provincial town has been raised to a place among the great capitals of modern Europe.

i Just a few months before the Pope's loss of temporal sovereignty a council of the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council of 1869-1870) had by a solemn vote proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which declares the decisions of the Pope, "when he speaks *ex cathedra* — that is, when, in his character as Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he lays down that a certain doctrine concerning faith or morals is binding upon the universal Church," to be infallible.

² Pius IX died in 1878 and was followed in the pontificate by Leo XIII, who died July 20, 1903, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three, after having won a place among the greatest and the best of the popes. He was succeeded by Pius X, who died in 1914 and was followed by Benedict XV. Upon Benedict's death in 1922 Pius XI succeeded.

As to the progress made since the French Revolution in the development of the sentiment of nationality, a comparatively recent disaster furnishes a milestone by which to measure advance. In 1902 the great historic campanile which dominated St. Mark's in Venice fell in a pathetic heap of ruins. Every city of the peninsula, says a chronicler of the event, mourned just as if the tower had been its own,—"and then they opened a subscription." Had the catastrophe happened a few generations earlier Venice would have had to restore her own bell tower ; but Italy is today a Nation, and the misfortune which befalls any Italian city afflicts all alike.¹

In 1915 Italy was drawn into the maelstrom of the World War then raging, so that here her story properly becomes a part of the story of that tremendous struggle.

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¹ In 1908 the most destructive earthquake that has visited Europe since the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 occurred in Calabria and Sicily, resulting in the estimated loss of over 70,000 lives. The Sicilian city of Messina was wholly destroyed, a great part of its inhabitants being buried in its ruins.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE MAKING OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

507. Formation of the German Confederation (1815). The creation of the new German Empire was the most important matter in the nineteenth-century history of Europe, although it was not until illumined by later events that the fateful significance of the rise of this new state among the European states was discerned even by the most far-seeing statesmen. The story of the making of this new nation and imperial power, so far as it will be narrated in the present chapter, begins with the Congress of Vienna (sect. 459). That body reorganized Germany as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire and the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, besides various principalities and free cities—in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of delegates from the several states, and sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was to settle all questions of dispute arising between members of the Confederation, and to determine matters of general concern.

The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that all sects of Christians should enjoy equal toleration, and that every state should establish a representative form of government.

508. Defects and Weaknesses of the Confederation. The ties uniting the various states of this Confederation could hardly **have** been more lax. In this respect the league resembled that first **formed** by the American states under the Articles of Confederation. One chief defect of the constitution of the league lurked in **the** provisions concerning the Federal Diet. The unwillingness of **the several states to surrender any part of their sovereignty had led to the insertion of the rule that no measure of first importance**

should be adopted by the Diet save by a unanimous vote. The inevitable result of this provision was that no measure of first importance was ever passed by the assembly, which became throughout Europe a byword for hopeless inefficiency.

Another defect in the federal government was that, as in the case of the American Federation, there existed no effective machinery for carrying out the acts of the Federal Diet. These amounted practically to nothing more than recommendations to the rulers of the several states, who paid no heed whatsoever to them unless they chanced to be in line with their own policies or inclinations.

But what contributed more than all else to render the federal scheme wholly unworkable was the presence in the league of two powerful and mutually jealous states, Austria and Prussia, neither of which was willing that the other should have predominance in the affairs of the Confederation. Of these two rival states Prussia, though at first she yielded nominal precedence to Austria, which had a great past and enjoyed a vast prestige at the European courts, was in reality the stronger state. Her strength lay particularly in the homogeneous, essentially German, character of her population. Austria was inherently weak because of the mixed non-German character of most of the territories that had been gradually united under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The greater part of their lands lay outside of the German Confederation and contained nearly twenty-five million Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other non-German subjects.

This difference in the character of the populations of Prussia and the Austrian Empire foreshadowed their divergent destinies,—foreshadowed that Austria should lose and that Prussia should gain the leadership in German affairs.

509. The Dual Movement toward Freedom and Union.

For a half century after the Congress of Vienna the history of Germany is the history of a dual movement, or perhaps it would be better to say two movements, one democratic and the other national in character. The aim of the first movement was the establishment of representative government in the different states

of the Confederation; the aim of the second was German unity. These movements were essentially the same as those which we have seen creating in the Italian peninsula a free and united Italy. By what methods they were carried on here in Germany and in what measure their aims were attained will appear in the following pages.

510. The Revolutions of 1830: Some Gains for Constitutional Government. There were a few liberal-minded princes among the German rulers; but in general the faces of these princes were turned toward the past. They opposed all changes that would give the people any part in the government, and clung to the old order of things. We have seen what were the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France and of the despots in Italy. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. When the news of the July Revolution in Paris (sect. 464) spread beyond the Rhine, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in places the Liberal party made threatening demonstrations against their reactionary rulers. In several of the minor states constitutions were granted. Thus a little was gained for free political institutions, though after the flutter of the revolutionary years the princes again took up their reactionary policy, and under the influence of Metternich did all in their power to check the popular movement and to keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled or their articles were disregarded.

511. Formation of the Customs Union; First Step toward German Unity (1828-1836). It was just at this revolutionary epoch that the first step was taken in the formation of a real German nation through the creation of what is known as the Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it—by the year 1836 almost **all** the states of the Confederation save Austria had become members of the league—to adopt among themselves the policy **of free trade; that is, there were** to be no duties levied on goods **passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.**

The greatest good resulting from the Union was that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was the promoter of the trade confederation, it accustomed the smaller states to look to her as their head and chief.

512. The Uprisings of 1848; Fateful Consequences of the Failure of the Liberal Movement. In 1848 news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe. The intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The Liberals everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government. Especially in Austria did affairs assume a most threatening aspect.¹ Metternich was obliged to flee the country, so intense was the feeling against him. The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph, who granted the people a constitution.

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious fighting in the streets between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king, Frederick William IV, assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. In fulfillment of this promise the king granted a constitution, which provided for a parliament of two chambers, and took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions (1850).

Thus the Revolution of 1848-1849 seemed on the whole to have secured distinct gains for popular government in Germany. These gains, however, proved to be either impermanent or illusive. After the excitement of the revolutionary movement had passed away, many of the lesser princes annulled wholly or in part the constitutions they had granted. The Austrian constitution was withdrawn in 1851. The Prussian constitution was so framed as to leave Prussia, though now in form a constitutional state, still in reality an absolute instead of a limited monarchy.² In 1856 the

¹ The most serious trouble was in Hungary. Led by the distinguished statesman and orator Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians rose in revolt and declared their independence of the Austrian crown (April 14, 1840). They made a noble fight for freedom, but were overpowered by the united Austrian and Russian armies.

² The grant of universal suffrage was rendered futile by an astutely devised electoral system based on property, known as the three-class system of voting, which gave the small wealthy class, always zealous supporters of the pretensions of the **Crown**, more than half of the seats in the lower house of the national assembly (the *Landtag*).

Hohenzollern Frederick William, who had granted the constitution, was a plaintiff in a Missouri court (U.S.). In the statement of his case he makes the following declaration of his status as king of Prussia: "The plaintiff states that he is absolute monarch of the kingdom of Prussia, and as king thereof is the sole government of that country; that he is unrestrained by any constitution or law, and that his will, expressed in due form, is the only law of that country, and is the only legal power there known to exist as law."¹

The failure of the democratic movement of the revolutionary years 1848-1849 and the virtual triumph of autocracy in Prussia and Austria had momentous consequences for Europe.² It created a fatal schism and left the continent — half democratic, half autocratic — a house divided against itself. This cleavage foreshadowed the great tragedy which overwhelmed Europe in 1914.

513. Bismarck, the Unifier of Germany. In the year 1861 Frederick William IV of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty-three yet destined to be for almost a generation the central figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side Otto von Bismarck as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bismarck was a man of great genius, but he was autocratic in his ideas and methods, and—as revealed especially in his *Reminiscences*, dictated by himself after his dismissal from office by Emperor William II — thoroughly unscrupulous. His appearance at the head of the Prussian government marks an epoch in history.

Bismarck held that it was Prussia's mission to effect the unification of the German Fatherland. This work he was convinced

¹ King of Prussia v. Kuepper's Admr., 22 Missouri Reports (1856), p. 550; quoted by Scott, *A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany* (1917), p. xlii.

² The failure of the liberal constitutional movement in the separate German states was rendered more complete by the failure at this same time of the movement to bind the various states in a closer national union with a genuinely liberal constitution. To this end there had met in Frankfort, May 18, 1848, an assembly, like the Constituent Assembly of 1789 in France, charged with the duty of framing a national constitution for Germany. Unfortunately nothing was accomplished by the meeting. This made hopeless the outlook for liberalism in Germany. Many of the leaders of the popular movement found in America an asylum from the tyranny at home.

could be accomplished only through the Prussian royal house. He believed that to allow the royal power in Prussia to be reduced to the condition of the royal power in England would be to destroy the sole instrument by means of which German unity could be wrought out. This conviction determined Bismarck's attitude toward the Prussian Parliament when it came in conflict with the royal power. He flouted it and trampled it under foot. He was known as the "Parliament tamer." Naturally he was distrusted and hated by the Liberals.

As to the vexed question between Austria and Prussia, Bismarck had a fixed idea as to how that should be settled,— "by blood and iron." Austria's power and influence must be destroyed and she herself forcibly expelled from Germany before the German states could be remolded into a real national union.

514. The Reform of the Prussian Army; Bismarck's Conflict with the Prussian Parliament. It had been King William's policy to reform and strengthen the Prussian army. He had selected Bismarck as his prime minister because he knew he would carry out this policy in the face of the opposition of the Prussian House of Representatives. That body would not vote the necessary taxes. Bismarck held that it was their duty to make the necessary appropriations for the army, and when they persisted in withholding grants of money he, backed by his sovereign and the House of Peers, raised without parliamentary sanction what money he needed for his army reforms.

It was a bold and dangerous procedure, and has been likened to that followed by Charles I and Strafford in England. Fortunately for King William and his imperious minister the policy proved highly successful, issuing in Prussia's military predominance in Germany and in German unity,—and the "Parliament tamer" and his master escaped the fate of the English king and his minister.

But there were remote evil results **of** Bismarck's action which **no** one at that time could have foreseen. It fixed definitely the autocratic character of German Imperialism, which was to become **the** scourge of **Europe; for when a little later the German**

Empire was established, it was this Prussian system of government that was the pattern after which the Imperial Government was molded.

515. The Danish War (1864). The weapon which Bismarck had forged was used in three wars. The first of these, the Schleswig-Holstein, or Danish, War, grew out of rival Danish and German claims to two duchies attached to the kingdom of Denmark. The dispute, adroitly handled by Bismarck, soon led to a declaration of war by Prussia and Austria against the little Danish kingdom. Denmark was, of course, quickly overpowered and forced to resign her claim to the duchies.

Straightway the duchies became a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia. Bismarck was bent on annexing them to Prussia, since they would be a most valuable possession for her as a prospective sea power, giving her as they would the harbor of Kiel and control of a proposed canal uniting the Baltic and the North Sea. Austria was determined that her rival should not get them unless she received compensation in some form,— a bit of Silesia, and the promise of Prussia's help in case she had difficulty with her troublesome non-German provinces.

There was endless controversy over the matter. Bismarck realized that Prussia could secure the coveted prize only through war with Austria, and to this extreme he was ready to go since a war would settle not only the question respecting the ownership of the duchies but also the larger question as to Austrian or Prussian predominance in Germany. The hopelessly entangled Gordian knot was to be cut by the sword.

516. The Austro-Prussian, or Seven Weeks', War (1866). Both Austria and Prussia began to arm. Bismarck secured the neutrality of France by permitting the Emperor Napoleon to believe that if Prussia secured additional territory by the war, France would be allowed to appropriate Belgium or some Rhenish lands as a compensation.

He also made a ready ally of Italy by engaging that in the **event of** a successful issue of the war the new Italian kingdom **should in return for** its alliance receive Venetia (sect. 503). Bids

in the form of various proposals and promises were also made by Bismarck for the alliance of the smaller German states; but almost all ranged themselves on the side of Austria, so that in spite of the Italian alliance it seemed like an unequal contest into which Prussia was venturing, since her population was not more than a third of that of the states which were likely to be arrayed against her.

The war began in the early summer of 1866. On the 3d of July of that year was fought the great battle of Sadowa, or Koniggratz, in Bohemia. It was Austria's Waterloo. The Prussians pushing on toward Vienna, the Emperor Francis Joseph was constrained to sue for peace, and on the 23d of August the Treaty of Prague was signed.¹

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty Austria consented to the dissolution of the old German Confederation and agreed to allow Prussia to reorganize the German states as she might wish. At the same time she surrendered Venetia to the Italian kingdom. The hindrances she had so long placed in the way both of German and of Italian unity were now finally removed.

517. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867). Now quickly followed the reorganization, under the presidency of Prussia, of the German states north of the Main into what was called the North German Confederation. There were twenty-one states in all, reckoning the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck. The domains of Prussia were enlarged by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city Frankfort, and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These annexations gave the Prussian king nearly five million new subjects and united into a fairly compact dominion his heretofore severed and scattered territories.

A constitution was adopted which provided that all matters of common concern should be committed to a Federal Parliament,

¹ The fear of French intervention hastened the negotiations on the part of the Prussian court. Since the Emperor Napoleon as the price of his consent to Italian unity had received Savoy and Nice (sect. 500), so now he thought to wring from Germany some Rhine lands as the price of his consent to German unity.

or Diet, the members of the lower house of which were to be chosen by universal suffrage. The Prussian king was to be the hereditary executive of the Confederation, and the commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the several states composing the league.

Thus was a long step taken toward German unity. But there still remained much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main—Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt—were yet wanting to bring to completion the unification of the Fatherland.

518. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and the **Proclamation of the New German Empire**. There were two obstacles in the way of the completion of the union. First, the South German states were averse to entering a confederation dominated by Prussia. Second, there was the opposition of the imperial and military French party, who viewed with ill-concealed jealousy the rise of this new Prussian power that threatened to push France from her historic position as arbiter of continental Europe. All France's traditional jealousy of the House of Hapsburg was now transferred to the rising House of Hohenzollern.

The means which Bismarck used to remove the reluctance of the southern states to join the Confederation, and to overcome French opposition to the consummation of German unity under Prussian headship, were a deliberately provoked war with France. The situation of which he took advantage to bring about the war was this: In 1869 the Spanish throne became vacant. It was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family. To the French Emperor Napoleon **III** this appeared to be a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests **of** Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united, with such disastrous consequences to the peace of Europe, under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered crown, the Emperor Napoleon demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever with his **consent become** a candidate for the Spanish throne.

This demand was made of King William by the French ambassador Benedetti at the little watering place of Ems. The king courteously refused the demand and then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of what had occurred, at the same time giving him permission to make such use of the message as he saw fit. 'Bismarck edited the telegram in such a way as to make it appear to the French that their ambassador had been insulted and rudely dismissed by King William, and to the Germans that the French government had in an arrogant manner insisted upon an impossible demand. Then he gave out the falsified telegram for publication. War was now inevitable.¹

The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil (sect. 467) created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment. While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North German union. Thus in rapid succession Baden, Hesse, Wiirtemberg, and Bavaria were received into the Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria,—who had been coached by Bismarck,—King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871, within the Palace of Versailles, amidst great enthusiasm the imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a federated Empire.²

¹ Bismarck had further inflamed German feeling against the French government by making public Napoleon's request for Hesse and Rhenish Bavaria at the time of the Austro-Prussian War. These revelations had created a tremendous sentiment against France not only in the South German states but throughout all Germany.

² For the essential provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort (1871) which ended the war, see sect. 468.

519. Character of the Imperial Constitution. The Empire¹ received a constitution. Though seemingly liberal, its articles were so adroitly drawn as to conceal the real absolutism of the government created. It provided for a parliament or legislature comprising two bodies, a Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) and an Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). The Federal Council, which formed the upper chamber of the legislature, was composed of sixty-one members, who were appointed by the princes of the federated states. Of the whole number of delegates the Emperor, as king of Prussia, appointed seventeen. The members of the Council voted as instructed by the governments or rulers whom they represented.

The Imperial Diet, which formed the lower chamber of the legislature, comprised about four hundred members elected by practically universal manhood suffrage. The original apportionment was one member for every twenty thousand of the population of the federated states.

We have here the forms of a constitutional parliamentary government. These forms, however, as we have said, merely masked the practically absolute powers of the Emperor. As the one who appointed and controlled the vote of the seventeen Prussian members of the Federal Council (in addition to these he also controlled the vote of the three delegates representing the imperial province of Alsace-Lorraine), he dominated that body. On all really vital matters it merely registered his will.

As to the apparent powers of the Diet, there were provisions of the constitution which rendered these wholly illusory and left to this body nothing more than the semblance of authority. It **had**, it is true, the right to originate bills, though as a matter of **fact** most bills, and particularly the important ones, were framed by **the** Federal Council; but this right signified very little, since **the** Federal Council might veto any measure, and this veto could be overcome in no possible constitutional way.

¹ The Empire consisted of twenty-six states, counting the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. An outstanding fact of the Union was the preponderance of Prussia. The census of 1910 gave the population of Prussia as 40,165,219; that of all the other states as 24,760,770.

Then, again, the Diet could be dissolved at any time by the Federal Council, which meant virtually by the Emperor. Whenever it refused to act in accord with the imperial will, its members were sent home and a new election ordered, and by this means a new and usually more tractable body was secured.

Furthermore, the Diet had no part in shaping the policies of the government nor any control over the administration of affairs. The Imperial Chancellor, who corresponded in his position in the government to the British Premier, was responsible not to the Diet but to the Emperor, who appointed and dismissed him at will. He could disregard with impunity and treat with contempt a vote of lack of confidence by that body, so long as his master, the Emperor, supported him.

Finally, the Diet had practically no control over matters of war and peace. The Emperor could declare a *defensive* war without the advice or consent of that body, and since the Imperial Government did not scruple to falsify the truth and proclaim a purely offensive war as a defensive one, the Diet was without power or authority in this important domain.¹

These various provisions of the constitution left to the Diet merely the shadow of power and authority, and made it, what it has been called, little more than an official debating club. Thus the constitution given the Empire by Bismarck, instead of creating a truly representative parliamentary government, created (or rather perpetuated) "an autocratic system of government adorned with a democratic facade."

520. Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor; the Triple Alliance.

For nearly twenty years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the affairs of the new Empire were directed by Bismarck as the first Imperial Chancellor. In his foreign policy, which alone we can notice here, Bismarck's greatest achievement was the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance (*Dreibund*)

¹ Thus the war of 1914, though it was a war of criminal aggression **on the part of** Germany, was proclaimed by the Emperor as a war in defense of the Fatherland, and was started by him and his military advisers, the Reichstag not being officially informed of the beginning of hostilities till four days later.

between the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.¹ This compact, in its inception and as designed by Bismarck, was a defensive alliance against Russia and France. The creation of this alliance was one of the most significant matters in the history of the closing years of the nineteenth century. For a decade and more the alliance was a force making for the peace of Europe, but later, with growing Prussian predominance and arrogance, it became a menace to the freedom and independence of neighboring states, and thus a decisive factor in bringing on the great World War.

521. Germany under Emperor William II up to the World War. In 1888 Emperor William I died at the venerable age of ninety-one. He was followed by his son Frederick, who at the time of his accession was suffering from a fatal malady. He died after a short reign of three months, and his son came to the throne as Emperor William II (1888).

It was generally thought that the young sovereign—he was twenty-nine years of age—would be completely under the influence of Bismarck. But soon the Emperor disclosed a very imperious will of his own. His relations with Bismarck became strained and the aged Chancellor was brusquely dismissed.² Many felt that the youthful Emperor had treated the creator of the Empire and the maker of the imperial fortunes of the House of Hohenzollern with gross ingratitude. After his dismissal of Bismarck, the Emperor's rule was a very personal one.

The wonderful commercial and industrial development of Germany, and the remarkable growth, in spite of the bitter opposition of the government, of the party known as the Social Democrats,³ who advocated an extreme programme of social and industrial

¹ The beginning of the alliance was a pact between Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1879; it was completed by the adhesion of Italy in 1882.

² March 18, 1890. In his retirement at Friedrichsruh, an estate which was a gift to him from the grateful Emperor William I, Bismarck played the part of a "German Prometheus." He hurled defiance at all his enemies, and did not scruple to subject the policies of the Emperor and his ministers to the most caustic criticism. The ex-Chancellor died in 1898, being in his eighty-fourth year.

³ In 1871 this party cast a vote of about 124,000; in 1901 the vote was over 2,911,000; and in 1912 it rose to 4,250,399.

reform and more democratic methods in government, are two of the most noteworthy facts in the domestic history of the Empire before the opening of the tremendous conflict of 1914.

An outstanding feature of the foreign policy of William II was his cultivation of the friendship of the Sultan of Turkey. His purpose here was to secure from the Ottoman government privileges for German traders and settlers in Asiatic Turkey, and especially concessions for a German-built railway running from Constantinople to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. But these matters are related to the ambitious scheme of the Emperor and the Prussian ruling caste for world domination, and of this as the fundamental cause of the World War we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection.

522. Austria-Hungary after 1866. The disaster of Sadowa did in a measure for Austria what the disaster of Jena did for Prussia (sect. 454),—brought about its political reorganization.

The first step and the most important one in the process of reorganization was the recognition by the Austrian court of the claims of the Magyars to the right of equality in the monarchy with the hitherto dominant German race. By an agreement known as the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, the relations of Austria and Hungary in the reconstituted state were defined and regulated. It provided for the division of the old empire into two parts, designated as the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom.¹ Each state was to have its own parliament, the one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapest, and each was to have complete control of its own internal affairs. Neither was to have the least precedence over the other.

The common interests of the two states—those embracing foreign affairs, the army, and finances—were to be regulated by a third peculiar body, the so-called "Delegations," composed of sixty delegates from each of the other two parliaments. The hereditary head of the Austrian state was to be also the constitutional

¹ The official designation of the dual state was the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*.

king of Hungary. This celebrated compact was duly ratified by the parliaments of Hungary and Austria, and the long struggle between the Magyars and the House of Hapsburg was virtually at an end. At the same time that the Compromise was arranged, the Austrian division of the monarchy was given a liberal constitution and the Hungarian constitution, suspended in 1848, was restored. From this time forward until its break-up in 1918, Austria-Hungary was in form and theory a constitutional, parliamentary state; but the government remained in temper and spirit, and largely in practice, an autocratic despotism.

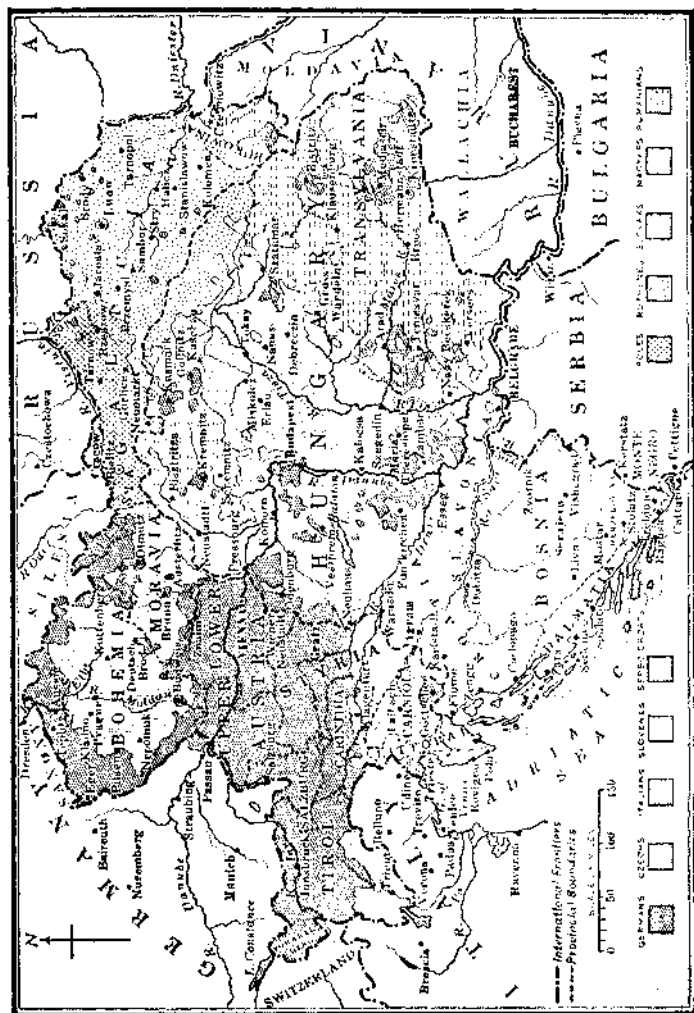
The Compromise, it will be noted, made no recognition whatsoever of the historic rights and liberties of the other races or nationalities of the monarchy, of which there were many. Thus, in the eastern half of the monarchy the Magyars, who formed less than one half of the population of the Hungarian kingdom,¹ were holding all the non-Magyar races of the kingdom—with the exception of the Slavs of Croatia, who had secured some measure of self-government—in just such political serfdom as they themselves were subjected to before their emancipation by the events of 1866-1867.

It was the same in the other half of the monarchy. There a German minority—was holding the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in a state of subjection similar to that in which **the** Magyars were holding the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

Now these dependent nationalities claimed that they had as good a right to self-government as had either the Germans or the Magyars. It was easy to forecast that, if these contentions did not end in the recognition by the two dominant races of the justice of the claims of these dependent peoples, and the conversion of the dual monarchy into a federal union in which the various racial groups should enjoy equality of rights and privileges, then the **only** possible outcome of the situation would be the disruption of **the** monarchy—probably in some time of stress and strain.

¹ The census of 1910 gave the total number of inhabitants of Hungary as 20,886,487, of whom only 10,050,575 were returned as being of Hungarian speech.

² The total population of Austria according to the census of 1910 was 28,571,934; **the** number of Germans (on basis of language), 9,950,266.



ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The affairs of Austria-Hungary were almost as much a matter of **European concern** as were those of the Ottoman Empire. This was so for the reason that most of the dependent ethnic groups within the monarchy were merely detached areas of larger bodies of kindred peoples in adjoining lands, and because there was a tendency in these small groups to gravitate toward the larger masses of their kin in these neighboring countries. Thus the Italians in Trieste and the Tyrol were drawn toward the Italian kingdom; the Rumanians of Transylvania toward the principality of Rumania; the Slavs of the south toward the Slav state of Serbia. In a later chapter we shall learn how these racial problems became a contributory cause of the World War and a determining factor in its issues in so far as these involved the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

RUSSIA FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO THE WORLD WAR

(1815-1914)

523. Preliminary Statement. The story of Russia since the fall of Napoleon is crowded with matters of great moment and interest. We can, however, in the present chapter, speak very briefly of only three things,—her part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the emancipation of her serfs, and the liberal movement. In later chapters we shall find place to say something of Russia in Asia and of her part in the World War.

I. RUSSIA'S WARS AGAINST TURKEY AND HER ALLIES

524. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. In the course of the nineteenth century Russia waged three wars against the Ottoman Porte, which resulted in the expulsion of the Turks from a large part of their conquests in Europe. But the jealousy of the other great powers of Europe prevented Russia from appropriating the fruits of her victories, so that the outcome of her efforts was the establishment of a number of independent, or practically independent, Christian principalities on the land recovered.

The first of these wars began in 1828. In that year, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,¹ Tsar Nicholas- declared war against the

¹ This was the struggle known as the War of (wreck Independence ('1821-1820). This war was a phase of the liberal and national movement which in the revolutionary year of 1821 agitated the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Lord Byron devoted his life and fortune to the cause of (wreck freedom. He died of fever at the siege of Missolonghi (1824). England, France, and Russia finally intervened. The Turko-Kgyptian fleet was destroyed by the fleets of the allies in the bay of Navarino (1827). The year after this event began the Russian campaign in the Danubian provinces, as narrated in the text.

² Tsars of the nineteenth century and after: Alexander I, 1801-1825; Nicholas I, 1825-1855; Alexander II, 1855-1881; Alexander III, 1881-1894; Nicholas II (deposed and murdered), 1894-1917)

Ottoman Porte. The Russian troops crossed the Balkans without serious opposition, and were marching upon Constantinople when the Sultan sued for peace. The Treaty of Adrianople brought the war to a close (1829).

The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Rumania) were rendered virtually independent of the Sultan. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was liberated, and along with most of the islands of the Ægean was formed into an independent kingdom under the joint guardianship of England, France, and Russia. Prince Otto of Bavaria accepted the crown, and became the first king of the little Hellenic state¹ (1832).

525. The Crimean War (1853-1856). A celebrated parable employed by the Tsar Nicholas in conversation with the English minister at St. Petersburg throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Tsar, "a sick man—a very sick man; it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made." Nicholas thereupon proposed that England and Russia should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Tsar.

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the sick man was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek

¹ In 1864 the little kingdom was enlarged through the cession to it of the Ionian Islands by England, in whose hands they had been since the Congress of Vienna. In 1881 it received Thessaly and a part of Epirus by cession from Turkey, but in 1897, as the result of an unfortunate war with the Sultan, was forced to accede to a treaty which gave back to the Ottoman Porte a strip of northern Thessaly. As a result of the Balkan Wars (sect. 578), it received additional territory on the mainland together with a number of Ægean islands. Under the regime of freedom, substantial progress was made prior to the war of 1914. The population of the little kingdom rose from 612,000 in 1832 to about 4,800,000 (estimated for old and new territory) in 1913. Industry, trade, and commerce revived. The Isthmus of Corinth was pierced by a canal. Railroads were built. Athens took on the appearance of a modern capital. Its two universities in 1912 had an attendance of over 3000 students.

Christians in the Ottoman dominions. The demand was rejected, and Nicholas prepared for war. The Sultan appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs (sect. 499).

The main interest of the struggle centered about Sevastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military station in the Black Sea. The siege of this place, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great reputation through his masterly defense of the works. The French troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne. The English "Light Brigade" won immortality in its memorable charge at Balaklava. And along with the story of the Light Brigade will live in English annals, "through the long hereafter of her speech and song," the story of Florence Nightingale, whose labors in alleviating the sufferings of the sick and wounded in the trenches and the base hospitals form the most inspiring chapter in the history of humanitarian endeavor.¹

The Russians were at length forced to evacuate their stronghold. The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris. The keynote of this treaty was the maintenance in its integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a barrier against Muscovite encroachments. Russia was given back Sevastopol, but was required to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of **the** Porte, and to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service.²

526. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Anxiously as **the** Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement **of** the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed **before** it was again up before Europe. The Sultan could not or **would** not give his Christian subjects that protection which he

¹ Read Longfellow's poem *Santa Fllomena*.

² Russia repudiated this article of the treaty during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. **She then** restored the fortresses of Sevastopol and before the opening of the war of 1914 **was maintaining a strong fleet** of warships on the Black Sea.

had solemnly promised should be given. In 1876 there occurred in Bulgaria what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities,"—massacres of Christian men, women, and children more revolting perhaps than any others of which history up to that time had made record.

Fierce indignation was kindled throughout Europe. The Russian armies were soon in motion. Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey, the latter after a memorable siege, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Tsar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England intervened, sent her fleet through the Dardanelles, and arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

527. The Treaty of Berlin (1878). The Treaty of Berlin,¹ the articles of which were arranged by the great powers, adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte and bolstered up as well as was possible the "sick man." But he lost a considerable part of his estate, for even his friends had no longer any hope either of his recovery or of his reformation. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states.² Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria-Hungary to administer, but were not actually severed from the Ottoman Empire.

The island of Cyprus, by a secret arrangement between the Ottoman Porte and the English government, was ceded to England "to be occupied and administered." In return England guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions in Asia.

¹ In this treaty the great powers revised the Treaty of San Stefano which Russia had concluded with Turkey. That treaty practically expelled the Ottoman Porte from Europe and created an enlarged Bulgaria, a Slavic state, at the expense of the Serbian and Greek races.

² The absolute independence of Rumania (the ancient provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia), Serbia, and Montenegro was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, greatly reduced from the extension given it by the Treaty of San Stefano, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay tribute to the Porte; Eastern Rumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan. (In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria.) Bessarabia, whose population was almost wholly Rumanian in race, was taken from Rumania and given to Russia.

Turkey thus lost much of her former territory. There were, however, still left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan five million or more subjects of whom at least half were Christian in religion and non-Turkish in race. The interests of these peoples were thus sacrificed to the rival ambitions and mutual jealousies of the great powers. Time brought retribution for the great crime. It was the evil rule of the Turk in these regions — the great powers weakly allowing him to ignore all his promises of reform—which was one of the direct causes of the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, the prelude to the tragedy of 1914.

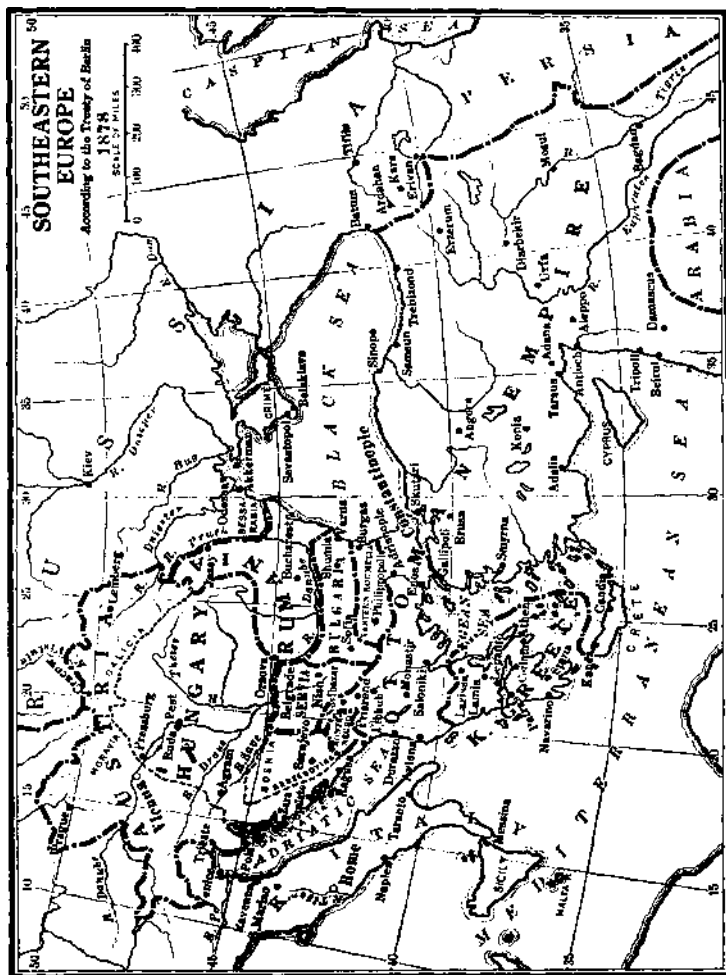
II. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS, AND THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

528. Emancipation of the Russian Serfs (1861). The name of Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881) will live in history as the Emancipator of the forty-six millions of Russian serfs. In order to render intelligible what emancipation meant for the serfs, a word is needed respecting the former land system in Russia and the personal status of the serf.

As to the first, the estate of the lord was divided into two parts, the smaller of which was reserved by the proprietor for his own use, the larger being allotted to his serfs, who formed a village community known as the *Mir*.¹

Besides working the village lands, the fruits of which were enjoyed by the serfs, the villagers were obliged to till the lands of the lord, three days in a week being the usual service required. The serfs were personally subject to the lord to the extent that he might flog them in case of disobedience, but he could not sell them individually as slaves are sold; yet when he sold his estate the whole community of serfs passed with it to the new proprietor.

¹ This social and economic group affords the key to much of the history of the Russian people. It is the Russian counterpart of the village of serfs on the mediaeval manor of western Europe. It is a cluster of a dozen or perhaps a hundred families, — a clan settled down to agricultural life. At the time of Peter the Great ninety-nine out of every hundred Russians were members of *Afirs*. At the end of the nineteenth century about nine tenths of the people were living in these little villages.



The Emancipation Code, "the Magna Carta of the Russian peasant," which was promulgated in 1861, required the masters of the peasant serfs to give them the lands they had farmed for themselves, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent.¹ The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village. All other serfs, such as house servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

As in the case of the emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States, the emancipation of the Russian serfs did not meet all the hopeful expectations of the friends of the reform. One cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of the measure was that the villagers did not get enough land, save in those districts where the earth is very rich, to enable them to support themselves by its tillage. Hence many of them left their allotments and went to the cities, and others fell into debt and became the victims of heartless usurers.

529. The Liberal Movement in Russia; Nihilism and Terrorism. From 1815 onward there was a growing protest in Russia against the despotic government of the Tsar. This movement was nothing else than the outworking in Russia of the ideas of the French Revolution. If some definite beginning of the movement be sought, this may be found in the events of 1813-1815. In those years, as it has been put, the whole Russian army, like the great Tsar Peter, went on a pilgrimage to the West, and, like Peter, they got some new ideas. This was simply a repetition of what had occurred in the case of those Frenchmen who in 1776 went to America to take part in the War of American Independence (sect. 387).

Those carrying on this propaganda of liberalism were known after 1862 as Nihilists. They were found especially in the faculties

¹ The serfs on the crown and state lands, about 23,000,000 in number, had already been freed by special edicts (the first issued in July, 1858). They were given at once, without any return being exacted, the lands they had so long tilled as nominal bondmen. We say *nominal* bondmen, since this class labored under only a few restrictions and were subject to the payment merely of a light rent

and among the students of the universities. Their fundamental demands were for constitutional representative government, the reform of the judicial system, and the removal of the restriction upon free discussion of public matters. In a word, they demanded that the Russian people should have all those rights and immunities which the peoples of western Europe were enjoying.

At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-1879 the liberal movement assumed a violent phase,—just as the Revolution in France did in 1793,—being then transformed into what is known as Terrorism. Nihilism took this form under the persecutions and repressions of the government. The principle of the extreme Nihilists, or Terrorists, that assassination is a righteous means of political reform was now acted upon. The Tsar, Alexander II, was assassinated (1881). After that event the government became even more cruelly despotic and repressive than before.

Finland particularly was the victim of this ruthless and irresponsible despotism. This country was ceded to Russia by Sweden in 1809. It formed a grand duchy of the Russian Empire. It had a liberal constitution which the Tsars had sworn to maintain and which secured the Finns a full measure of local self-government. Under their constitution the Finns, who number about two million souls, were a loyal, contented, and prosperous people. During the years 1899-1902 the Tsar Nicholas II by a series of imperial decrees practically annulled the ancient Finnish constitution and reduced the country to the condition of an administrative district of the empire. In a word, Finland was made a second Poland.

530. The Calling of the Duma (1905). There could of course be but one outcome to this contest between the "Autocrat of all the Russias"¹ and his subjects. The Tsar of Russia was simply righting the hopeless battle that has been fought and lost by so

¹ It was only theoretically that the Tsar was the autocratic ruler of Russia. The power behind the throne, the actual ruler, was the hierarchy of officials, who constituted what is known as a bureaucracy. This body of narrow-minded, selfish, and corrupt officials has been well likened to the monster in Mrs. Shelley's romance *Frankenstein*. Like that monster it got beyond the control of its creator and committed wanton and revolting crimes.

many despotic sovereigns, a battle which has ever the same issue,—the triumph of liberal principles and the admission of the people to participation in the government.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, by utterly discrediting the corrupt, unscrupulous, and incapable government of the autocracy, brought matters to a crisis. The people, forced to make unheard-of sacrifices of life and treasure to carry on a disastrous war in which they had neither voice nor interest, arose in virtual insurrection. The Tsar, finally constrained to promise the people a share in the government, convened in 1905 a body called the Duma, or National Assembly, composed of representatives elected by the people.

Although the Duma was at first really nothing more than a consultative body, it soon gained legislative powers and gradually acquired such a position in the government that, in the midst of the stress of the great European war, it became for a time the rallying-point of the movement which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic (1917). The story of this momentous revolution forms a part of the history of the World War, being one of the outcomes of that titanic struggle.

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CHAPTER XL

THE NEW INDUSTRIALISM

531, The Physical Basis of the New Industrialism. We have already noted the beginnings in England of the new industrialism created by the great inventions which marked the latter part of the eighteenth century (sect. 377). In the decade between 1830 and 1840 the industrial development thus initiated received a great impulse through the bringing to practical perfection of several of the earlier inventions and by new discoveries and fresh inventions. Prominent among these were the steam railway, the electric telegraph, and the ocean steamship. In the year 1830 George Stephenson exhibited the first really successful locomotive. In 1836 Morse perfected the telegraph. In 1838 ocean steamship navigation was first practically solved. In their relation to the new industrial epoch, these inventions may be compared to the three great inventions or discoveries (printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass) which ushered in the Modern Age (sect. 184).

Somewhat later, to these parent inventions were added new processes for making iron and steel, which equipped the new industry; the electric engine, which brought in the trolley car; the gasoline motor, which gave the world the automobile and the airplane; and innumerable other inventions and mechanical appliances of science. These form the physical basis of the new industrialism.

532. Characteristics of the New Industrialism. First, the new industrialism substituted machine production for hand **production**. This meant for one thing an enormous increase in the quantity of articles manufactured for human use.

Second, the new industrialism transferred the chief industries **from the home to the factory**. This, as we shall see, has **had a profound and far-reaching influence upon the family group, especially upon the women members of it.**

Third, the new industrialism, hastening a development already in progress, brought in the capitalistic system of industry. Under this system those engaged in the industrial life of society are divided into two chief classes: namely, capitalistic employers, a comparatively small class who furnish the large amount of capital needed to carry on manufacturing and other enterprises in the large way required by the new industrialism; and workmen, comprising the larger part of the industrial population, who sell their labor to the capitalistic employers for a certain wage.

533. Gradual Spread of the New System. Besides bearing in mind these important features of the new industry, we should also note the fact that it was only gradually that the new method of manufacturing was introduced into the different countries. As we have learned, the revolution began in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century and before the outbreak of the French Revolution had transformed the chief national manufactures, particularly the production of hardware and of cotton and woolen goods. Two or three decades later the industries of the leading countries of western continental Europe were transformed. In Russia the revolution was only fairly under way at the opening of the war of 1914. China was only just beginning to feel the effects of the new mode of production. In the course of time the revolution must inevitably penetrate all the countries of the world, for the old hand processes of manufacture cannot compete with the new power-machine methods of production.

In the following sections we shall note how the new industrialism has reacted upon the political, the social, and the economic life of the peoples that have come under its transforming influence.

534. Political Results of the New Industrialism. The new industrialism has furthered greatly the Political Revolution, that democratic movement of the last two centuries which we have been following. It has done this largely by developing city life. The factory system of manufacturing requires the concentration of the working population at the great industrial centers. Hence the population of the countries that have come under the influence of the new industry, from being predominantly rural and

agricultural, has become predominantly urban and industrial. Now, city life fosters democracy. Through daily contact with one another, through exchange of ideas, through increased opportunities for collective action, the dwellers of the city become less conservative than country people and more ready to engage in political activities and projects of reform.¹ Hence the new industry, through the concentration of the population of the industrial nations in large cities, has given a great impulse to the development of government by the people.

Another important political result of the new industrialism has been the intensifying of international rivalries. The increased production of the great factories, mills, and workshops of the new industry has impelled the manufacturers to seek foreign and distant markets for their surplus goods. This has intensified the competition among the great industrial nations for the control of the world's markets, and has led governments to establish protectorates, acquire dependencies, and even to seek to get complete political control of the lands of backward, semi-civilized, and decadent peoples, in order thereby to gain new outlets for the surplus manufactures of the national industries, or to secure the native products of these overseas countries for use as raw material in the home industries and arts. This sharp international competition thus induced has been one of the most important factors in the history of the last two or three decades. It was one of the contributory causes of the World War, which will be the subject of a later chapter.

535. Relation of the New Industrialism to the Woman's Movement. The new industrialism, as we have seen, has transferred various of the industries and arts formerly carried on in the home, and largely by the women members of the family, from the home to the factory. The women have followed the work, and thus have entered into industrial competition with the men. **Naturally**, this new place and role in the industrial life of society **has led them** to seek emancipation from the various disabilities

¹ It will be recalled how the mediaeval towns were the birthplace of political freedom (cf. sect. 123).

under which they have labored from time immemorial, and to demand the right of suffrage, and equal participation with men in the making of laws and in the conduct of the government under which they live. This woman's movement is undoubtedly one of the most significant which the new industrialism has created, or to which it has given fresh force and urgency.

536. The Labor Problem. The new industrialism has created many problems of an economic nature. Beyond question the one most deeply charged with grave import for society is the so-called Labor Problem. This problem, viewed in its most important aspect, may be stated thus: How are the products of the world's industry to be equitably distributed?

The condition of things is this: Through the employment of the forces of nature and the use of improved machinery, economic goods, that is, things which meet the wants of men, can be produced in almost unlimited quantities. But this increase in society's efficiency in industrial production has not entirely solved our economic problems, for there are still many who are very poor despite the enormous total wealth of the world. Under the present mode of distribution, in which the total product of the combined effort of capital and labor is apportioned as rent, interest, wages, and profit, the few secure a disproportionate share of the output of the new industry. Great monopolies or trusts have been created and fabulous fortunes have been amassed by a few individuals, while the great majority of the unskilled laborers for wages have had their toil lightened and their remuneration increased by far less rapid stages.

This slowness with which we have progressed toward the equitable distribution of wealth, of material well-being, and of the benefits and enjoyments of modern civilization has created dangerous discontent in the ranks of the manual workers, especially of those who are least educated and so least familiar with the slow steps by which substantial and enduring progress has usually been made. This discontent finds expression in strikes and agitation for the more rapid improvement of their economic condition.

537. Socialism and Industrial Democracy. Among many proposed solutions of the labor problem, such as profit-sharing, and boards of conciliation to adjust disputes between employers and employed about wages, hours of employment, and general conditions of labor, the one that has provoked most discussion and assumed greatest historical significance is that offered by the socialists.¹

The core or essence of true socialism is common ownership and management of all industrial instruments and enterprises. Just as our government—local, state, or national—now owns schoolhouses and controls education, owns and conducts the post office, municipal waterworks, and other public utilities, so would the socialists have all governments, by the more or less gradual extension of their functions, assume possession and control of the railways, the telegraph and telephone systems, the mines, the mills, the factories, the land—in a word, all industrial instruments and undertakings. They would thus do away with the present wage system and private *capital*, but not with private or individual *property*.

The programme of the socialists has, however, made slow progress in Great Britain and America. In both lands it is usually viewed as involving too fundamental a change in the present system of industry to be adopted as a whole in the near future. Indeed, recent experiences in government control of industry during the emergency of war have led many progressive thinkers among both employers and employed to fear greater evils under a system of socialism than those that we now endure. They point, on the one hand, to the frightful conditions to which communism—an extreme form of socialism—has led in Russia and elsewhere and, on the other, to the slow but certain progress that the present system is making toward a fairer division of the returns from all industry.

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¹ The father of German socialism, which is the most influential body of socialistic doctrine in the world, was Karl Marx (1818-1883).

CHAPTER XLI

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

[. CAUSES AND GENERAL PHASES OF THE EXPANSION MOVEMENT

538. Significance of the Expansion of Europe into Greater Europe. In speaking of the establishment of the European colonies and settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we likened this expansion of Europe into Greater Europe to the expansion in antiquity of Greece into Greater Greece and Rome into Greater Rome. We have now to say something of the later phases of this wonderful outward movement of the European peoples.

In the first place we should note that it is this expansion movement which gives such significance to that intellectual, moral, and political development of the European peoples which we have been studying. This evolution might well be likened to the religious evolution in ancient Judea. That development of a new religion was a matter of transcendent importance because the new faith was destined not for a little corner of the earth **but for** all the world. Likewise the creation by Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution of a new, rich, and progressive civilization in Europe is a matter of vast importance to universal history because that civilization has manifestly been wrought **out** not **for** a single continent or for a single race but for all the continents and for all mankind.

We are **now to** see how the bearers **of** this **new culture have carried or are carrying it to all lands and are communicating it to all peoples, thereby opening up a new era not alone in the history of Europe but in the history of the world.**

539. The Fate of the Earlier Colonial Empires; Decline and Revival of Interest in Colonies. The history we have narrated has indicated the fate of all the colonial empires founded by the various European nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The magnificent Portuguese Empire soon became the spoil of the Dutch and the English; France lost her colonial possessions to England; a great part of the colonies of the Dutch also finally fell into English hands; before the end of the eighteenth century England lost through revolution her thirteen colonies in North America; and in the early part of the nineteenth century Spain in like manner lost all her dependencies on the mainland of the New World.

After these discouraging experiences with their colonies the governments of Europe lost interest for a while in possessions beyond the seas. Statesmen came to hold the doctrine that colonies are "like fruit, which as soon as ripe falls from the tree." The English minister Disraeli, in referring to England's colonial possessions, once used these words: "Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck."

Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, fostered by different causes, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of interest in colonies and dependencies, and the leading European states began to compete eagerly for over-the-sea possessions. During the last fifteen or twenty years of the nineteenth century almost all the old colonizing peoples of Europe were exerting themselves to the utmost to build up new empires to take the place of those they had lost, while other nations that had never possessed colonies now also entered into competition with those earlier in the field.

540. Stanley's Discoveries open up the "Dark Continent." By this time, however, almost all lands outside of Europe suited to permanent European settlement were closed against true colonization by having been appropriated by England, or through **their** being in the control of independent states that had **grown** out of colonies planted by immigrants of European speech and blood.

Africa, however, was still left. For a century, intrepid explorers had been endeavoring to uncover the mysteries of that continent. Among these was the missionary-explorer David Livingstone. He died in 1873. His mantle fell upon Henry M. Stanley, who a short time after the death of Livingstone set out on an adventurous expedition across Africa¹ (1874-1877), in which journey he discovered the course of the Congo and learned the nature of its great basin. Not since the age of Columbus had there been any discoveries in the domain of geography comparable in importance to these of Stanley. Stanley gave the world an account of his journey in a book bearing the title *Through the Dark Continent*. The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the history of Africa. It inspired innumerable enterprises, political, commercial, and philanthropic, whose aim was to develop the natural resources of the continent and to open it up to civilization.



FIG. 65. HENRY M. STANLEY
(From a photograph)

541. The Partition of Africa. The discoveries of Stanley and the founding of the Congo Free State² were the signal for a scramble among the powers of Europe for African territory. England, France, and Germany were the strongest competitors and they got the largest shares. In less than a generation Africa became a dependency of Europe. The only native states retaining their independence at the beginning of the war of 1914 were Abyssinia and the negro republic of Liberia. The government of the latter was in the hands of American freedmen or their descendants.

¹ Stanley had made an earlier expedition (1871-1872) in search of Livingstone.

² From 1882, the year of the actual founding of the state, until 1908 the country was merely an appanage of the Belgian crown. In 1908 Leopold II, king of the Belgians, ceded the state (now the Belgian Congo) to Belgium. Important products of the country are rubber, palm-nuts, and cocoa. Cotton and tobacco are successfully cultivated. Recent estimates of the population of the colony vary from 9,000,000 to 15,000,000.

This transference of the control of the affairs of Africa from the hands of its native inhabitants or those of Asiatic Mohammedan intruders to the hands of Europeans is without question the most momentous transaction in the history of that continent, and one which must shape its future destiny. In the following sections of this chapter, in which we propose briefly to rehearse the part which each of the leading European states has taken in the general expansion movement, we shall speak of the part which each played in the partition of Africa and tell what each secured.

II. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

542. England in America; the Dominion of Canada. The separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1776 seemed to give a fatal blow to English hopes of establishing a great colonial empire in America. But half of North America still remained in English hands. Gradually the attractions of British North America as a dwelling place for settlers of European stock became known. Immigration, mostly from the British Isles, increased in volume, so that the population rose from about a quarter of a million at the opening of the nineteenth century to over seven millions (estimated) in 1914. One of the most important matters in the political history of Canada since the country passed under English rule is the granting of responsible government to the provinces in 1841.¹ This concession of complete self-government was followed, in 1867, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in a federal state under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Later the confederation was joined by British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and other provinces. Newfoundland has steadily refused to join the union.

The political union of the provinces made possible the successful accomplishment of one of the great engineering undertakings of our age. This was the construction of a transcontinental railroad

¹ The treaty-making power and matters of peace and war are still in the hands of the English government; but since 1921 Canada has her own minister at Washington.

(the Canadian Pacific Railway) from Montreal to Vancouver. This road has done for the confirming of the federal union and for the industrial development of the Dominion what the building of similar transcontinental lines has done for the United States.¹

In the World War of 1914-1918 the Dominion was stanchly loyal to the motherland, sending more than four hundred thousand soldiers to fight by the side of the soldiers of Great Britain and of her other overseas dominions.

By reason of its vast geographical extent,—its area is more than thirty-five times as great as that of the British Isles,—its inexhaustible mineral deposits, its unrivaled fisheries, its limitless forests, grazing lands, and wheat fields, its bracing climate, and, above all, its free institutions, the Dominion of Canada seems marked out to be one of the great future homes of the Anglo-Saxon race.

543. England in Australasia²; the Proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901). About the time that England lost her American colonies the celebrated navigator Captain Cook reached and explored the shores of New Zealand and Australia (1769-1771). Disregarding the claims of earlier visitors to these lands, he took possession of the islands for the British crown.

The best use to which England could at first think to put the new lands was to make them a place of exile for criminals. The first shipload of convicts was landed at Botany Bay in Australia in 1788. But the agricultural riches of large districts of the new lands,—the interior of Australia is a hopeless desert,—their adaptability to stock raising, and the healthfulness of the climate soon drew to them a stream of English immigrants. In 1851

¹ In 1914 a second still longer transcontinental line (the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway), running from a point in New Brunswick to Prince Rupert, British Columbia, was completed.

² Australasia, meaning "south land of Asia," is the name under which Australia and New Zealand are comprehended. Here, as in South Africa, in Canada, and in India, England appeared late on the ground. The Spaniards and the Dutch had both preceded her. The presence of the Dutch is witnessed by the names New Holland (the earlier name of Australia), Van Diemen's Land (the original name of Tasmania), and New Zealand, attaching to the greater islands.

came the announcement of the discovery in Australia of fabulously rich deposits of gold, and then set in a tide of immigration such as the world has seldom seen.

Before the close of the nineteenth century five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia), with an aggregate population, including that of the neighboring island of Tasmania, of almost four millions (by 1914 this number had increased to about five millions), had grown up along the fertile well-watered rim of the Australian continent and had developed free institutions similar to those of the mother country.

The chief political event in the history of these colonies before the beginning of the World War was their consolidation, just at the opening of the twentieth century (1901), into the Commonwealth of Australia, a federal union similar to our own.¹

Like Canada, Australia, together with New Zealand, made great sacrifices in blood and treasure to uphold the cause of the motherland and her allies in the tremendous contest that began in Europe in 1914.

The vast possibilities of the future of this new Anglo-Saxon commonwealth in the South Pacific—the area of Australia is only a little less than that of the United States—have impressed in an unwonted way the imagination of the world. It is possible that in the coming times this new Britain will hold some such place of dominance in the Pacific as the motherland now holds in the Atlantic.

544. England in Asia. We have noted the founding of the British Indian Empire (sect. 373). Throughout the nineteenth century England steadily advanced the frontiers of her dominions here and consolidated her power until by the opening of the twentieth century she had brought either under her direct rule or under her suzerainty over three hundred millions of Asiatics.²

¹ New Zealand was not included in the federation. It, together with some neighboring islands, constitutes a self-governing Dominion. It has a population, exclusive of natives, of slightly over a million (census of 1911).

² By the census of 1901 the population of the British Indian Empire (this includes the feudatory states) was 294,461,056; by the census of 1911 it was 315,156,396.

We must here note how England's occupation of India and her large interests in the trade of southern and eastern Asia involved her during the nineteenth century in several wars and shaped in great measure her foreign policies. One of the earliest of these wars was that known as the Afghan War of 1838-1842, into which she was drawn through her policy of maintaining Afghanistan as a buffer state between India and Russia.

At the same time England became involved in the so-called Opium War with China¹ (1839-1842). As a result of this war England obtained by cession from China the island and port of Hongkong, which she has made one of the most important commercial and naval stations of her Empire.

Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia,—the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history. Before the echoes of this war had died away England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sevastopol. In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company (sect. 314) what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to England, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. As a consequence of the mutiny the government of India was by act of Parliament taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown.

There are without question offsets to the indisputably good results of English rule in India; nevertheless it is one of the most important facts of modern history, and one of special import as bearing on our present study, that over three hundred millions of the population of Asia should thus have passed under the rule and wardship of a European nation.

¹ The opium traffic between India and China had grown into gigantic proportions and had become a source of wealth to the British merchants and of revenue to the Indian Government. The Chinese Government, however, awake to the evils of the growing use of the narcotic, resisted the importation of the drug. This was the cause of the war. The Chinese Government was compelled to acquiesce in the continuance of the nefarious traffic

545. England in South Africa; Boer and Briton, England has played a great part in the partition of Africa. Her first appearance upon the continent, both in Egypt and at the Cape, was brought about through her solicitude for her East India possessions and the security of her routes thither. Later she joined in the scramble of European powers for African territories for their own sake.

The Dutch had preceded the English in South Africa. They began their settlement at the Cape about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the great days of Holland. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 the colony was ceded to England by the Netherlands.¹

The Dutch settlers (known as Boers, Dutch for "farmers") refused to become reconciled to the English rule. In 1836 a large number of these aggrieved colonists took the heroic resolve of abandoning their old homes and going out into the African wilderness in search of new ones. This migration is known as "The Great Trek."² The emigrants journeyed from the Cape toward the north-east, driving their herds before them and carrying their women and children and all their earthly goods in great clumsy oxcars. Beyond the Orange River some unyoked their oxen and set up homes, laying there the basis of the Orange Free State; the more intrepid "trekked" still farther to the north, across the Vaal River, and established the republic of the Transvaal.

Two generations passed, a period filled for the little republics, surrounded by hostile African tribes, with anxieties and fighting. Then there came a turning point in their history. In the year 1885 gold deposits of extraordinary richness were discovered in the Transvaal. Straightway there began a tremendous inrush of miners and adventurers from all parts of the globe.

A great portion of these newcomers were English-speaking people. As aliens—*Uitlanders*, "outlanders," they were called

¹ After the loss of the Cape Settlement, the island of Java was the most important colonial possession remaining to the Dutch. Gradually they got possession of the greater part of the large island of Sumatra. These two islands form the heart of the Dutch East Indies of today, which embrace a native population of about 36,000,000

² *Trek* is Dutch for "migration" or "journey."

— they were excluded from any share in the government, although they made up two thirds of the population of the state and paid the greater part of the taxes. They demanded the franchise. The Boers, under the lead of the sturdy President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, refused to accede to their demands, urging that this would mean practically the surrender of the independence of the Republic and its annexation to the British Empire.

The controversy grew more and more bitter and soon ripened into war between England and the Transvaal (1899). The Orange Free State joined its little army to that of its sister state.¹ After the maintenance of the struggle for over two years the last of the Boer bands surrendered (1902). As the outcome of the war both of the republics were annexed to the British Empire under the names of the Transvaal Colony and the Orange River Colony.

Only a few years had passed after the close of the war when the British government very wisely granted the two colonies self-government. Straightway these states and Cape Colony with Natal joined in the creation of a federal commonwealth under the name of the Union of South Africa² (1910). Thus was consummated the favorite project of the South African statesman Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), the "empire builder," one of the most masterful men of his generation.

The act of the British government in intrusting the Boers with a responsible government won in such measure their loyalty to the Empire that at the outbreak of the World War in 1914 they rallied—though not quite unanimously—to the support of England, and in the name of the Empire conquered German Southwest and German East Africa.

One of the most important enterprises of the English in Africa is the building of a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. This, like the political scheme of a federation, was a favorite project of Cecil Rhodes.

¹ The total European or white population of the two little republics that thus **threw down the** gage of battle to the most powerful empire of modern times was only a little over 300,000.

² The population of the Union according to the census of 1911 is about 7,000,000, **of which about** 1,250,000 **are** of European stock **and the** rest native **or colored**. **Gold and diamond mining is the leading industry.**

Already his dream has been in great part realized. This railway when completed, as without doubt it will be at no remote date, will be a potent factor in the opening up of the Dark Continent to civilization.

546. England in Egypt. In 1876 England and France established a joint control over Egypt in order to secure against loss their subjects who were holders of Egyptian bonds.¹ Later this became a sole British control.²

No part of the world has benefited more by European control than Egypt. When England assumed the administration of its affairs it was in every respect one of the most wretched of the lands under the rule, actual or nominal, of the Turkish Sultan. The country is now more prosperous than at any previous period of its history. This high degree of prosperity has been secured mainly through England's having given Egypt the two things declared necessary to its prosperity,—"justice and water."

The construction of the great irrigation or storage dam across the Nile at the First Cataract (at Assuan) is one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times. This enterprise has vastly increased the agricultural capabilities of Egypt.

III. THE EXPANSION OF FRANCE

547. France in Africa. At the opening of the nineteenth century France possessed only fragments of a once promising colonial empire. When finally she began to look about her for over-the-seas territories to make good her losses in America and Asia, it was the North African shore that, on account of proximity, climate, and products, naturally attracted her attention. This region possesses great agricultural resources. In ancient times it was one of the richest grain-tribute-paying provinces of the Roman Empire. Its climate is favorable for Latin-European settlement.

¹ Egypt was then nominally an hereditary principality under Turkish suzerainty.

² The World War brought to an end the nominal suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte over Egypt. Turkey having entered the war on the side of Germany and her allies, Great Britain declared an actual protectorate over the country (1914). After the war (in 1922) Britain granted to Egypt independence, and a native prince, the first since about the middle of the fourth century B.C., was seated as king on the ancient throne of the Pharaohs.

France began the conquest of Algeria as early as 1830. The subjugation of the country was not effected without much hard fighting with the native tribes and a great expenditure in men and money. In the year 1881, assigning as a reason for the step the necessity of defending her Algerian frontier against the raids of the mountain tribes of Tunis on the east, France sent troops into that country and established a protectorate over it. This act of hers deeply offended the Italians, who had had their eye upon this district, regarding it as belonging to them by virtue of its geographical position as well as its historical traditions.¹

In 1911 France established a protectorate over Morocco. The international dispute, stirred up by Germany, which arose over this matter was one of the antecedents of the World War. In a later chapter, where we shall speak of the underlying causes of this momentous conflict, we shall give a more detailed account of this controversy.

* These North African territories form the most promising portion of France's new colonial empire. The more sanguine of her statesmen entertain hopes of ultimately creating here a new home for the French people,—a sort of New France. In any event it seems certain that all these shore lands, which in the seventh century were severed from Europe by the Arabian conquests, are now again permanently reunited to that continent and are henceforth virtually to constitute a part of the European world.

Besides these lands in North Africa, France possesses a vast domain in the region of the Senegal and lays claim to all the Sahara lying between her colony of Senegal and Algeria. She also holds extensive territories just north of the Congo Free State, embracing part of central Sudan, besides less important patches

¹ Disappointed in not getting Tunis, the Italians sought to secure a foothold on the Red Sea coast. They seized a district here and organized it under the name of the Colony of Eritrea. To the southeast they also took possession of a long strip of coast land (Somaliland). But they had hard luck almost from the first. The coast is hot and unhealthful, and inland is the kingdom of Abyssinia. Over this the Italians attempted to establish a protectorate; but unfortunately for them Abyssinia does not regard herself as one of the uncivilized or moribund states over which it is necessary for Europeans to extend their protection. King Menelik of that country inflicted upon the Italian army a most disastrous defeat (1896).

of territory in other parts of the continent.¹ The great island of Madagascar also forms a part of the French-African empire.

548. France in Asia. In the year 1862 France secured a foothold near the mouth of the Cambodia River in Indo-China, and then steadily enlarged her possessions until by the close of the nineteenth century she held in those quarters territories which exceeded in extent the homeland. A chief aim of the French in this region is to secure the trade of southern China.

With these ample African and Asiatic territories France feels in a measure consoled for her losses in the past, and dreams of a brilliant career as one of the great colonizing powers of Europe.

IV. THE EXPANSION OF GERMANY

549. German Emigrants lost to Germany. No country of Europe during the expansion movement which we are following supplied a greater number of emigrants for the settlement of transoceanic lands than Germany. But Germany did not until late in the nineteenth century possess under her own flag any overseas territories, and consequently, although Germany during the earlier expansion period sent out swarms of emigrants, no true Greater Germany grew up outside of Europe. But stimulated by **the** war of 1870-1871 against France, and the consolidation of the German Empire, German statesmen began to dream of making Germany a world power. To this end it was deemed necessary to secure for Germany colonies where the German emigrants might live under the German flag and, instead of contributing to the growth and prosperity of other states, should remain Germans and constitute a part of the German nation.

¹ The French were anxious to extend their authority eastward to the Nile, and in order to secure a claim to that region an expedition under Major Marchand made an adventurous march through central Africa to the Nile and raised the French flag at Fashoda. But French ambition here crossed English interests. France established on the Upper Nile would be in a position to menace the security of Egypt, while a French **land** route across equatorial Africa, such as the French had in mind, would be an obstruction to England's projected Cape-to-Cairo road. After some sharp diplomatic exchanges **between** the French and English governments the French gave up all claim to any part of **the** Nile valley, and the "Fashoda incident," as it was called, was closed.

550. Germany in Africa and Asia. Consequently when in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the competition began for African territory, Germany entered into the struggle with great zeal and got a considerable share of the spoils. In 1884 she declared a protectorate over a large region of the southwest coast of the continent just north of the Orange River, and thus lying partly in the temperate zone.¹ This colony was known as German Southwest Africa. At about the same time Germany established two smaller protectorates on the west coast, near the equator. On the eastern coast of the continent she took possession of a great territory, twice as large as Germany itself, embracing a part of the celebrated Lake District, a region well adapted to European settlement. This territory was named German East Africa.

In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of protecting German missionaries in China, seized the port of Kiau-chau and forced its practical cession from the Chinese government. This is a spot of great importance commercially and politically. The German government aimed to make this colony a true German settlement and the outgoing point of German power and influence in the Far East.²

Such was the position of Germany in the colonial world at the opening of the World War. How that conflict affected her colonial aspirations and expansion projects will appear in a later chapter.

V. THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

551. Russian Expansion in Asia. Russia has large and numerous inland lakes and seas and vast rivers, but she lacks seaboard. Her efforts to reach the sea in different directions are, as we have learned, the key to much of her history. It is this which

¹ In 1904 the German government was forced to face a serious revolt of some of the native tribes of the protectorate, which was suppressed only after three years of cruel warfare. The natives were virtually exterminated. The number of German colonists in the territory at the beginning of the war of 1914 was about 10,000.

² Besides the colonial possessions we have named, Germany, before the war of 1914, held a number of islands and groups of islands in the Pacific. She had also secured **such** predominant industrial and political influence in Asian Turkey as to make the Ottoman Empire almost **a** German dependency, a **matter** which will **best be considered when we** come to **examine the causes and antecedents of the World War.**

has given a special character to Russian expansion,—which has made it a movement by land, instead of by sea as in the case of all the other European states that have had a part in the great expansion movement.

Russia made no material territorial gains in Europe, aside from the acquisition of Finland and part of Prussian Poland, during the nineteenth century, although, as we have seen, she fought in three great wars for this end and shattered into fragments the Turkish Empire, which lay between her and the goal of her ambition,—Constantinople. But in Asia the additions which, during this period, she made to her empire were immense in extent. By the middle of the century she had absorbed a great part of the Caucasus region, encroaching here upon both Persia and Turkey in Asia. During the latter half of the century she steadily pushed forward her boundaries in central Asia. She conquered or conciliated the tribes of Turkestan and advanced her frontier in this quarter far toward the south,—close up against Afghanistan. In the extreme eastern part of Asia she obtained from China, under circumstances which will be explained a little farther on, the lease of Port Arthur, one of the most important Asiatic harbors on the Pacific, and occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria.

Thus, by the opening of the twentieth century Russia in her expansion had not only subjugated the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of central Asia but had also won territories from the three chief semi-civilized or backward states of the continent,—Turkey, Persia, and China,—and was crowding heavily upon all those countries.

552. The Trans-Siberian Railway. Russia's most noteworthy undertaking during the nineteenth century in connection with her Asiatic empire was the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which unites Petrograd with the Pacific ports of Vladivostok and Port Arthur (the last since 1905 in possession of Japan). The construction of this road has made easily accessible to Russian settlers the vast fertile regions of southern Siberia, and, **before** the great European war paralyzed Russian life, was fast

making that country a part of the civilized world; for though it may be true as to the past that "civilization has come riding on a gun carriage," now it comes riding on a locomotive.

VI. THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

553. The Growth of the United States a Part of the Great European Expansion Movement. At first view it might seem that the growth of our own country should not be given a place in the present chapter. But the expansion of the United States is as truly a part of European expansion as is the increase of the English race in Canada, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. The circumstance that the development here has taken place since the severance of all political ties binding this country to the motherland is wholly immaterial. The Canadian, Australian, and African developments have also, as a matter of fact, been expansion movements from practically secondary and independent centers of European settlement.

Hence to complete our survey of the movement which has put in possession or in control of the European peoples so much of the earth, we must note—we can simply note—the expansion during the past century of the great American Commonwealth.

554. How the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States and its Growth in Population have contributed to assure the Predominance of the Anglo-Saxon Race in Greater Europe. Seven times during the nineteenth and the early twentieth century the United States made material acquisitions of territory.¹ These gains were in the main at the expense of a Latin race,— the Spanish. They have not therefore resulted in an actual increase in the possessions of the European peoples, but have simply contributed to the ascendancy, in this new-forming European world, of a people predominantly Anglo-Saxon in race.

Of even greater significance than the territorial expansion of the United States during the last century is the amazing growth

¹ The last minor acquisition was in 1917, when the United States secured by purchase the Danish West Indian islands — St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John.

of the Republic during this period in population and in material and intellectual resources. At the opening of the nineteenth century the white population of the United States was a little over four millions; by 1920 it had risen to nearly ninety-five millions. This is the largest aggregate of human force and intelligence that the world has yet seen. Even more impressive than its actual are its potential capabilities. With practically unlimited room for development, it is impossible adequately to realize into what, during the coming centuries, the American people will grow.

This remarkable growth of an English-speaking nation on the soil of the New World has contributed more than anything else, save the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain, to lend impressiveness and import to the movement indicated by the expression, "European expansion."

VII. CHECK TO EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND AGGRESSION IN EASTERN ASIA

555. Shall China be partitioned? Before the close of the nineteenth century the outward movement of the European peoples, which we have now traced in broad outlines, had created a great crisis in the life of the peoples of the Far East. It had imperiled the independence of one of the great races of mankind, the Yellow, or Mongolian, Race, comprising perhaps one third of the population of the earth. It had raised the question, Shall China be partitioned? Shall the Mongolian peoples of the Far East be dominated and their destinies shaped by the European powers? An unexpected answer to these questions was given by **Japan**.

556. The Awakening of Japan. For two and a half centuries prior to 1854 Japan had been a hermit nation. She jealously excluded foreigners and refused to enter into diplomatic relations with the Western powers. But in the year named Commodore Perry of the United States secured from the Japanese government concessions which opened the country to Western influences, under which Japan soon awoke to a new life.



In the course of the half century following this change in Japanese policy, the progress made by Japan on all lines, political, material, and intellectual, was something without a parallel in history. She transformed her ancient feudal divine-right government into a constitutional system modeled upon the political institutions of the West. She adopted almost entire the material side of the civilization of the Western nations and eagerly absorbed their sciences. But what took place, it should be carefully noted, was not a Europeanization of Japan. The new Japan was an evolution of the old. The Japanese today in their innermost life, in their deepest instincts, and in their modes of thought are still an oriental people.

557. The Chino-Japanese War of 1894. In 1894 came the war between Japan and China. A chief cause of this war was China's claim to suzerainty over Korea and her efforts to secure control of the affairs of that country. Under the conditions of modern warfare, and particularly in view of the Russian advance in eastern Asia, the maintenance of Korea as an independent state seemed to Japan absolutely necessary to the security of her island empire. The situation is vividly pictured in these words of a Japanese statesman. "Any hostile power," he says, "in occupation of the peninsula might easily throw an army into Japan, for Korea lies like a dagger ever pointed toward the very heart of Japan."

Still again, realizing that greed of territory would lead the European powers sooner or later to seek the partition of China and the political control of the Mongolian lands of the Far East, Japan wished to stir China from her lethargy, make herself China's adviser and leader, and thus get in a position to control the affairs of eastern Asia. In a word, she was resolved to set up a sort of Monroe Doctrine in her part of the world, which should close Mongolian lands against European encroachments and preserve for Asiatics what was still left of Asia.

The war was short and decisive. It was a fight between David and Goliath. China with her great inert mass was absolutely helpless in the hands of her tiny antagonist. With the Japanese army in full march upon Peking, the Chinese government was forced to

sue for peace. China now recognized the independence of Korea, and ceded to Japan Formosa and the extreme southern part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur. But at this juncture of affairs Russia, supported by France and Germany, jealously intervened. These powers forced Japan to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territory on the continent. She was permitted, however, to take possession of the island of Formosa.

558. China in Process of Dismemberment; the Boxer Uprising (1900). The march of the little Japanese army into the heart of the huge Chinese Empire was in its consequences something like the famous march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the great Persian Empire. It revealed the surprising weakness of China,—a fact known before to all the world, but never so perfectly realized as after the Japanese exploit,—and marked her out for partition. The process of dismemberment began without unnecessary delay. Germany, Russia, England, and France each demanded and received from China the cession or lease of a port. The press in Europe and America began openly to discuss the impending partition of the Chinese Empire and to speculate as to how the spoils would be divided.

Suddenly the whole Western world was startled by the intelligence that the European legations at Peking were besieged by a Chinese mob aided by imperial troops. Then quickly followed a report of the massacre of all the Europeans in the city.

Strenuous efforts were at once made by the different Western nations, as well as by Japan, to send an international force to the rescue of their representatives and the missionaries and other Europeans with them, should it chance that any were still alive. Not since the Crusades had so many European nations joined in a common undertaking. There were in the relief army Russian, French, English, American, and German troops, besides a strong Japanese contingent. The relief column fought its way through to Peking and forced the gates of the capital. The worst had not happened, and soon the tension of the Western world, which had lasted for six weeks, was relieved by the glad news of the rescue of the beleaguered little company of Europeans.

All which it concerns us now to notice is the place which this remarkable passage in Chinese history holds in the story of European expansion which we have been rehearsing. The point of view to which our study has brought us discloses this at once: The insurrection had at bottom for its cause the determination of the Chinese to set a limit to the encroachments of the Western races, to exclude all foreign influences, to prevent the dismemberment of their country, to preserve China for the Chinese. All the various causes that have been assigned for the uprising are included in this general underlying cause.

559. The Russo-Japanese War

(1904-1905). Early in the year 1904 war opened between Japan and Russia. Respecting the fundamental cause of this conflict, little need be added to what has already been said in the preceding pages. Soon after Russia had forced Japan to give up Port Arthur and the territory in Manchuria ceded to her by the terms of the treaty with China after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894 (sect. 557),

she herself secured from China a lease of the most "strategic portion" of this same territory, and straightway proceeded to transform Port Arthur **into a** great naval and military fortress, which was to be the Gibraltar of the East. Moreover, **she** occupied the **whole of** the great **Chinese** province of Manchuria. Notwithstanding she had given solemn pledges that the occupation of this territory should be only temporary, she not only violated **these** pledges **but** made it evident by **her** acts **that she intended,**



Fig. 66.

MARSHAL

OVA MA. (From stereograph, copyright, 1904, by the H. C. White Company, New York)

besides making Manchuria a part of the Russian Empire, also to seize Korea. But Russian control of this stretch of seaboard and command of the Eastern seas meant that Japan would be hemmed in by a perpetual blockade and her existence as an independent nation imperiled. It would place her destiny in the hands of Russia. Japan could not accept this fate, and drew the sword.

The sanguinary war was signalized by an unbroken series of astonishing victories for the Japanese on land and on sea. They assumed practical control of Korea, and under Field Marshal Oyama wrested from the Russian armies under Kuropatkin the southernmost portion of Manchuria. Port Arthur, after one of the longest and most memorable sieges of modern times, was forced to capitulate.¹

The strong Russian fleet in the Eastern waters at the beginning of hostilities was virtually destroyed. A second great fleet sent out from the Baltic Sea was met in the Korean Straits by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo, and the greater part of the ships were sunk or captured.²

Through the mediation of President Roosevelt peace envoys of Russia and Japan were now brought together at Portsmouth, in the United States, and the war was ended by what is known as the peace of Portsmouth.³

560. Some Results of the War; Establishment of the Chinese Republic. The war had momentous results. It lifted Japan to the position of a great power. It set limits to European encroachments in eastern Asia, and established the doctrine of

¹ January 11, 1905. The siege was conducted by General Nogi and Admiral Togo; the defense of the place was made by General Stoessel. A little later this same year was fought the great battle of Mukden, in which the Japanese were victors.

² In the sea fight of Tsushima, May 27-29, 1905. The Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Rojestvensky.

³ The treaty was signed September 5, 1905. Among the important articles of this treaty were the following: (1) Permission to Japan to make Korea her ward (the country was annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910); (2) the evacuation of Manchuria by both the Russians and the Japanese; (3) the transfer to Japan by Russia of all her rights at Port Arthur and Dalny; (4) the division of the Manchurian railway between Japan and Russia; (5) the cession by Russia to Japan of the southern part of the island of Sakhalin.

"Asia for the Asiatics." It gave assurance that the yellow race should not, like the red and the black race, become subordinate to the white race, but should, in self-determined and self-directed activity, play an independent part in the history of future times.

Especially important were the consequences of the war for the Chinese Empire. The effect upon China of Japan's triumph over the giant Russian Empire was electric. A national consciousness was awakened, and important educational, moral, and governmental reforms were set on foot. The old system of education was done away with, and the sciences of the West were substituted for the ancient classics. Thousands of the Chinese youth sought the new knowledge in the schools of Japan, the United States, and Europe. In 1912 the Manchu dynasty, now weak, corrupt, and discredited by the circumstances of the Boxer trouble, was overthrown, the ancient monarchy abolished, and a Republic, molded on that of the United States, proclaimed.¹

Even more fateful was the war in its reaction upon Europe. In a way that has already been explained (sect. 530), it gave a great impulse to the Liberal movement in Russia. "Above all it [the Russian defeat] increased the self-confidence of Germany, and inspired her rulers with the dangerous conviction that the opposing forces with which they would have to deal in the expected contest for the mastery of Europe could be more easily overcome than they had anticipated. To the Russian defeat must be attributed the blustering insolence of German policy during the next ten years, and the boldness of the final challenge in 1914."²

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¹ The first president was Yuan Shih-K'ai (1912-1916). In 1915-1916 there was a conspiracy to restore the monarchy, but the movement was defeated by a revolt in several of the provinces.

² Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 239.

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CHAPTER XLII

EVOLUTION TOWARD WORLD FEDERATION

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be ;

Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world. — TKNNYSON

561. Introductory. "It is a favorite maxim of mine," writes Professor Seeley in his *Expansion of England*, "that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral. Some large conclusion ought to arise out of it; it ought to exhibit the general tendency of English affairs in such a way as to set us thinking about the future and divining the destiny which is reserved for us." The inspiring destiny for England which Professor Seeley reads in her past and present history is Imperial Federation,—that is, a great federal union embracing the motherland, her colonies and dependencies.

Professor Seeley's maxim must needs be applied to universal history if its study is to issue in anything really worthy and practical. We must try to discover the tendency of the historic evolution, to discern the set of the current of world events, and to divine the destiny reserved for the human race. Only thus shall we be able to form practical ideals for humanity and to strive intelligently and hopefully for their realization.

562. The Movement toward World Unity. Now, there is no tendency in universal history, broadly viewed, more manifest than the tendency toward world union. From the first appearance of man on the earth, the trend of human evolution has been

toward a united world, a world organized for common effort and common achievement. In the beginning, the largest independent group was the clan. Then came the tribe, a group of clans; and then, in those regions where civilization made its first gains, appeared the city-state, as we find it in the Mesopotamian lands, in Syria and Palestine, in Greece and Italy, at the dawn of the historic age. For upwards of a thousand years the city-state was the ultimate political unit in the Mediterranean lands, which before the rise of the Macedonian power and the great extension of the Roman authority were the seat of hundreds of these little independent political communities. Then came the great nation-states of modern times, which since the break-up of the Roman Empire have been slowly created through the unification of tribes, cities, and petty principalities.

During recent times a state of an essentially new type has arisen among these nation-states,—the federal state, of which our Union, consisting of forty-eight states, and the Swiss Confederation are typical. Especially noteworthy is it that during the past century the British Empire, through the federalization of Canada, Australia, and British South Africa, and the new relation that England has assumed toward the various elements of her widely extended dominions, has lost the characteristics of an "Empire" and has become, or is becoming, what may rightly be called a Federal Commonwealth. The significant thing about this federal movement is that the logical issue of national federalism is international federalism. The United States of America foreshadows the United Nations of the World.

563. Preparations in Different Domains for a Universal League of Nations. In truth, during the century preceding the World War, in different realms the required conditions for a federation of all the nations of the earth had been largely created by humanity's advance and achievements. In the political realm all that the age-spirit had accomplished would seem to have had for its ultimate aim the preparing of the way for international federation. More than a century ago Immanuel Kant, in his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, affirmed that a prerequisite for the federation

of the world was the establishment by all the nations of a republican form of government. If we recall what the union of the autocratic governments of Europe in the Holy Alliance meant (sect. 461), we shall understand Kant. A world union of despotic governments would be the tomb of liberty, individual and national,—a world-wide autocratic despotism.

When Kant wrote his plea for peace, autocratic government prevailed almost everywhere in Europe. We have seen how during the century following the Congress of Vienna the democratization of governments not only on that continent but almost everywhere went on apace, bringing the management of public affairs more or less completely into the hands of the people. Thus, before the outbreak of the World War the first required condition of a universal league, had been largely met in the case of a great part of the nations and communities of the civilized world.

A second significant preparation, during the period under review, for world organization was the federation movement, of which we spoke in the last section, for federalism supplies the principle which may be applied to international organization without endangering the principle of home rule and legitimate national sovereignty, since it deprives the uniting states, as exemplified in our Union, of nothing save that lawless freedom which they have used to do one another hurt and harm.

While the basis of a universal federation was thus being laid in the political domain through the incoming of democracy and federalism there was going on in the moral world an even more important preparation for world union. There was growing up what has been called the international mind; men were beginning to think in world terms. There was, further, a deepening and strengthening, not universally, as we shall learn, but generally and in the world at large, of the sentiment of human kinship, of international justice and solidarity. There was developing, too, a new international conscience, a conscience which affirms that the principles of morality are the same for nations as for individuals. In this moral movement there was the promise and guarantee of a new world order.

At the same time that these movements, so significant for world unity, were going on in the political and moral realms, in the physical domain wonderful discoveries and inventions,—the steam railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, the airship, and a hundred others,—through the practical annihilation of time and space, were drawing the once isolated nations close together, and thus were making not only possible but increasingly necessary and inevitable international organization.

564. The First Hague Conference (1899). Even prior to the World War much had been accomplished in the way of the creation of the machinery for a world league of states. Just as the nineteenth century was closing Tsar Nicholas II surprised the world by proposing to all the governments having representatives at the Russian court the meeting of a conference "to consider means of insuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations."

All the governments addressed, twenty-six in number, accepted the proposal and on the 18th of May, 1899, the Convention met in the famous "House in the Woods" at The Hague, in the Netherlands. Owing to the opposition of Germany any action looking toward the general limitation of armaments was prevented. But the Convention did succeed in the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all nations might have recourse for the settlement of interstate disputes.¹

565. The Second Hague Conference (1907). A second international conference met at The Hague in 1907. Forty-four of the fifty and more sovereign and independent nations of the world were represented. One of the important achievements of the conference was the adoption of a proposal made by the delegates of **the** United States for the establishment of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, as a genuine court of law with permanent

¹ Andrew Carnegie, recognizing the importance of the work of the Convention, made a gift of 51,500,000 for the erection at The Hague of a permanent home for the Court. The imposing structure is known as the "Temple of Peace." Prior to 1914 a number of international disputes which might have led to war were adjusted by the Court.

judges, to stand by the side of the Court of Arbitration treated by the First Hague Conference. The jurisdiction and rules of procedure of the court were agreed upon, but unfortunately no agreement as to the number and mode of selection of the judges could be reached. However, a long step had been taken in the judicial organization of the world. Had the court been fully constituted and the submission to it of international disputes been made obligatory,—again it was the stubborn opposition of Germany that thwarted every effort to this end,—it is possible that the great tragedy which overwhelmed Europe in 1914 would have been averted.

The action of the conference respecting the periodic meeting of representatives of the nations was as follows: "The conference recommends to the powers the reunion of a third peace conference, which shall take place within a period analogous to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference, at a date fixed by common agreement among the powers." A true world legislature was in process of formation.

Seven years after the close of the sessions of the Second Hague Convention the evolutionary movement toward world organization was, in a way that could hardly have been foreseen,—through the agency of the most titanic and devastating war in human annals,—given a great impulse, and thereby the goal of a federated world brought measurably nearer. This amazing and dramatic passage in universal history we shall briefly summarize in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XLIII

THE WORLD WAR

(1914-1918)

I. CAUSES OF THE WAR AND TRAIN OF PRECEDING EVENTS

566. The War's Place in History. In the midsummer of 1914—henceforth one of the memorable dates of history—there broke out in Europe a war which at once involved five of the great powers of that continent and ultimately almost the whole of the civilized world. It will help us to realize the significance of this stupendous conflict and to assign it its true place in universal history if we first note carefully its relation to the tendencies and world-wide movements which we have traced in the foregoing pages.

The episodes of this great war will appear in their right perspective and its place in history will be revealed only when it is viewed as a chief act in the long drama of what we have called the Political Revolution, of which the outstanding fact before this upheaval of 1914 was the French Revolution of 1789.

As we have seen, two of the fundamental principles proclaimed by the Revolution were the principle of popular sovereignty, or government by the people, and the principle of nationality, or the right of every nation to be master of its own destiny (sect. 458). Now, these basic principles of the Revolution were the essential principles for which the nations fighting against Germany and **her** allies in the World War contended. This determines the place in history of the great conflict. It was the culmination of that **dual** democratic and nationalistic movement which has given chief significance to the later periods of history. This place in the historical evolution which we assign the war will be seen to be its

real place if we look more closely, as we shall now proceed to do, at the main causes and vital issues of the great struggle.

567. Divine-Right Kingship again and the Democratic Movement. During the nineteenth century the revolutionary idea of government by the people made conquest, as we have learned, of a great part of the world. Unhappily there were in central Europe two states, Prussia and Austria, which repudiated the liberal principles of the Revolution and, under the mask of parliamentary forms, remained the upholders of the old discredited regime of autocratic government. Of these two states Prussia alone, as the dominant power, need be noticed by us here.

In an earlier chapter we saw how the royal Prussian House of Hohenzollern was raised by Prince Bismarck, through a policy of "blood and iron/" first to the headship of Germany and then to the imperial dignity. We also noticed the accession of the young Emperor William II, the third of the Hohenzollerns to wear the imperial crown. The following utterances reveal the spirit and temper of his government: "I alone am master here; who opposes me I shall crush" (a sentiment expressed by the young Emperor at the time he "dropped his pilot," Prince Bismarck). "We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone, and to God alone we are responsible in the fulfillment of duty."¹ "The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans. I am the instrument of the Almighty, his sword, his agent. Woe and death to all those who oppose my will."²

Now, this is exactly the language of the divine-right Stuarts of England and the pre-revolutionary Bourbons of France,³ whose arrogant assumptions and unbearable tyranny did so much to provoke the English and the French Revolution. The ideal of government, the mode of thinking, shown by these declarations

¹ This was not merely Emperor William's personal interpretation of the German Constitution. The eminent German historian Eduard Meyer had said, "The power of Germany's monarchs must be unlimited, and they cannot therefore be responsible to man but to God alone."

² Proclamation by the Emperor to the army of the East at the beginning of the World War. ³ Cf. sects. 297, 312, 316-

was one of the deeper causes of the World War—for civilization cannot exist half autocratic and half democratic—and was what made it possible for President Wilson, when, in the third year of the unprecedented conflict, the United States entered the war, to define it as fundamentally a struggle between democracy and autocracy and to declare our aim and purpose in entering the war to be "to make the world safe for democracy."¹

568. German Imperialism and the Nationalist Movement. It was not only the spirit of democracy but also the spirit of nationalism that was at work in the world at large during the hundred years and more preceding the World War. This period witnessed the rise and establishment of many nation-states, large and small,—Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Italy, and Germany. But while the world, broadly viewed, was being reconstructed in accordance with this great principle of nationalism and was advancing toward true democratic internationalism, toward a world-wide federation of free and equal nations, the new Germany, under Prussian influence and dominance, was relapsing into archaic imperialism and scheming for world dominion. "I hope it will be granted to our German Fatherland," these are the words of Emperor William II, "to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as was once the Roman world-empire."

This dream of world domination, military, political, and industrial, was not the dream of the Hohenzollern Emperor alone; it was the dream of an influential party in Germany made up of militarists, Junkers, professors, publicists, and industrial magnates, known as Pan-Germanists.² There were in this group those who openly urged that Germany should gain this position of dominance through a deliberately provoked European war, specific aims of

¹ That this was the real character of the war was at first obscured by the fact that autocratic Russia was an ally of the liberal governments of western Europe; but when, in 1917, the Romanoff dynasty was overthrown and Russia proclaimed a republic, though the democratic republic was short-lived, the real issues involved became clear.

² A prominent representative of this circle was the militarist, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, whose work entitled *Germany and the Next War*, published in 1911, had a great influence in arousing an aggressive war spirit in Germany.

which should be the destruction of France as a great power, the break-up of the British Empire, and the acquisition by Germany of coveted districts and colonies of the subjected nations.

That the war was a supreme struggle between militaristic imperialism and nationalism was not at first clearly perceived by those remote from its arena. But as the war progressed, the real issues involved were more and more clearly revealed, so that when, finally, the United States entered the war on the side of the Allies, President Wilson could declare a chief object of the war to be "to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry out the plan without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor."¹

In a word, the war was a tremendous conflict in which the free peoples of the world fought to prevent the setting up of a revived Roman Empire that threatened to become, like Napoleon's empire, the tomb of the nations. So here again, in its relation to nationalism, is disclosed the relation of the World War to the Political Revolution.

569. Some German Pre-War Doctrines. But the war was something more than a conflict between autocracy and democracy, something more than a conflict between imperialism and nationalism. It was, further, a conflict of ideals, of irreconcilable philosophies of life and history, in which were imperiled the moral gains of centuries of human progress. This statement calls for an examination of some German pre-war ideas and teachings.

We have seen how profound an influence philosophic ideas exerted upon the inception and the course of the French Revolution (sect. 386). Even more determinative in precipitating and giving character to the World War were certain ideas and doctrines inculcated by pre-war German militarists, publicists, and leaders in German thought. Among these ideas was the conception

that the German people are a superior race ordained to world dominion. During the decades following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 this notion became a fixed element in the stock of ideas of an influential section of the German people. Here are some utterances of Emperor William II: "We are the chosen people"; "God created us that we might civilize the world"; "We are the salt of the earth." And thus speaks Rudolf Eucken, distinguished professor of philosophy at Jena: "We have the right to say that we form the soul of humanity, and that the destruction of the German nature would rob the world of its deepest meaning." With like assurance Ludwig Woltmann, a distinguished German scientist, declares, "The Teutons are the aristocracy of humanity; . . . the Teutonic race is called to circle the earth with its rule."

These utterances are significant because they were common-places, that is, merely typical expressions of ideas and sentiments that formed a characteristic element of a considerable body of German thought two or three decades preceding the outbreak of the World War.

What made this notion of German superiority in race and culture a menace to the peace of the world was that many of those entertaining this idea conceived it to be the mission of the German people to spread the superior German civilization over the earth by force of arms if necessary, and thus to make Germany the "mother country of the future civilization of the world."

Another dangerous German teaching was that war is a necessary and divinely ordained factor in human history, and a legitimate means of national aggrandizement. "War," said the militarist, Friedrich von Bernhardi, "is not only a biological law but a moral obligation, and as such an indispensable factor in civilization." "War," said Marshal von Moltke, "is an element of the order of the world established by God. . . . Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism." It was this philosophy of war which, blinding the German people to the insanity and criminality of aggressive war, had much to do in letting loose upon Europe the immeasurable calamity of the World War.

Still another evil-breeding doctrine taught by many German pre-war philosophers was that the state in its relation to other states is not bound by the ordinary rules of morality, and that war may be waged without regard to treaties or international law, without sentiment, pity, or mercy. Translated into practice in the World War by the German militarists, this monstrous doctrine that war may be waged without regard to the restraints of law, humanity, or conscience produced that German policy of "frightfulness" which more than any other one thing aroused and arrayed against the Imperial German Government the greater part of the civilized world and made the war on the part of the allied and associated powers a fight not only for democracy and nationalism but also for the preservation of the precious moral heritage of civilization.

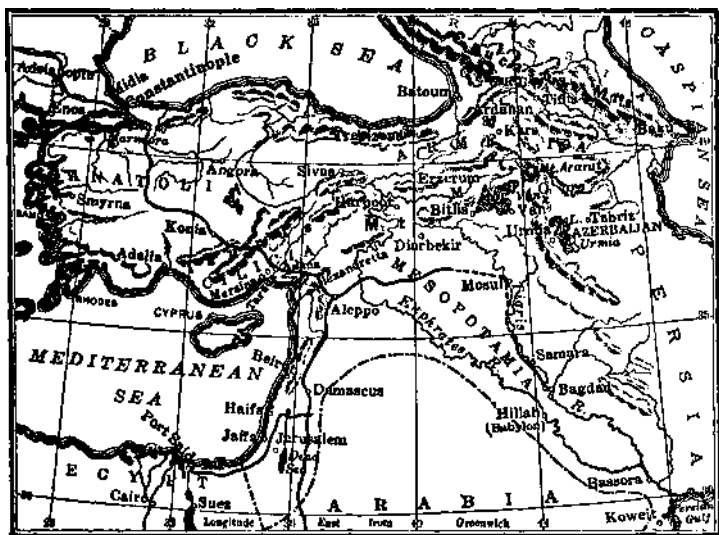
Having now indicated the place in universal history of the World War, pointed out its deeper causes, and noticed some German ideas and teachings which lay at the bottom of the lawless and inhuman methods of the German military authorities in the conduct of the war, we will next trace the course of events that, during the early years of the twentieth century, marked the drift of Europe towards the abyss of the great catastrophe.

570. "*Mittel-Europa*" and the Berlin-Bagdad Railway. We have spoken of the Pan-Germanists' dream of world domination. For the realization of this dream leading Pan-Germanists, long before 1914, had formed a definite and far-seeing plan. The main feature of the scheme was a projected union or federation of states ("*Mittel-Europa*") embracing Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans,—a great wedge of lands dividing Europe into two parts and, with the Turkish Empire as an Asian extension, stretching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf.¹

An important part of this stupendous project was the construction of a railway from Constantinople across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to Bagdad, and thence to some point on the Persian Gulf. Concessions for the building of this road were secured by Germany from the Ottoman government just at the opening of

1 See map, p. 442.

the twentieth century. The road was far advanced toward completion by 1914. The line was known as the Bagdad Railway. In connection with lines in Europe the road was to give rail communication between Berlin and Bagdad, and hence the entire project was known as the Berlin-Bagdad Railway.



ASIAN TURKEY AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

The location of the Asian stretch of this Berlin-Bagdad Railway should be carefully noted. It follows closely the ancient military and trade route between the East and the West. Control of this highway gives control of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Controlled by Germany, it menaced not only British authority in Egypt and India but also Russian interests in Persia and Asia Minor. It was this which made the German project a matter of such international concern and rendered it such an influential factor in bringing on the World War and in extending the operations of the war into Mesopotamia and Palestine.

571. Germany becomes a Sea Power. Even before the close of the nineteenth century Germany, already the greatest military power in Europe, turned her attention toward the sea.¹ The Kaiser declared: "Our future lies on the water. . . . The trident must pass into our hands." A great German merchant marine was created, and a vast overseas trade developed. To protect her extended commerce in the event of war and to further her ambitious world policy, Germany began the creation of a navy. At the opening of the twentieth century her war fleet was second only to that of Great Britain. The British government became alarmed. The insular security of Great Britain was menaced, for, with only a small army, she must hold command of the seas to be safe. A keen competition between the two nations in naval construction began. In this rivalry there was a distinct menace to world peace, since Germany repelled every proposal made by Great Britain for mutual limitation of naval armaments.

572. The "*Triple Entente*" or Good Understanding, between Great Britain, France, and Russia. Germany's constant increase of her navy, and her ambition for world domination as disclosed by the utterances of the German militarists and ruling classes, deepened the fears of Great Britain and caused her to abandon her policy of keeping aloof, in "splendid isolation," from Continental alliances, and to enter into what was in effect, though not in name, a defensive alliance with France and Russia. In 1904 she settled all her long-standing troubles with France and reached a cordial understanding with her.

Three years later Great Britain effected with Russia a like adjustment of all their conflicting interests in Persia, central Asia, and elsewhere. Great Britain now gave up all opposition to Russia's ambition to secure control of the waterways of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It was Germany now, with her ambitious projects in Asian Turkey and her Bagdad Railway, that seemed to menace British interests in Egypt and India. Hence Great Britain's earlier opposition to Russian purposes was now directed against German plans of expansion eastward.

¹ The Kiel Canal was opened in 1895.

These settlements and arrangements completed what is known as the *Triple Entente*, or good understanding, between Great Britain, France, and Russia.¹ This accord between these ancient rivals was a matter of world-wide importance, for though it was purely a measure of defense against the German menace, Germany saw in it only evidence of unfriendly intentions and a plot for her "encirclement" and destruction.

The six great powers² were now aligned in two groups, the members of each group so bound together by alliances or understandings that a conflict arising between any two states of the opposing groups was almost certain to bring on a general European war. This is what helped to make so extended and so colossal the disaster that overwhelmed Europe in 1914.

573. First Moroccan Crisis (1905). Simultaneously with the formation of the *Triple Entente*, Morocco, a "decadent" state, became the subject of a serious international controversy. The collision of interests here was between Germany on the one hand and France and Great Britain on the other. France had set her heart on the possession of this country in order to round out her African empire. When, in 1904, Great Britain and France entered into a mutual good understanding, this was one of the things settled. An agreement was reached whereby France gave Great Britain a free hand in Egypt in return for a free hand for herself in Morocco.

The next year the German Emperor landed in his yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, at the Moroccan port of Tangier and made addresses to the German traders there which were meant for other ears besides theirs. His utterances were notice to Great Britain and France that in all arrangements and conventions respecting **the** remaining free states of the world Germany must be consulted. This was merely a reaffirmation of a previous declaration that nothing of importance in the world at large should be arranged without the consent of Germany and the German Emperor.

¹ France and Russia had drawn together and formed in 1891 a defensive alliance known as the Dual Alliance.

² The Triple Alliance, it will be recalled, embraced Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (see sect. 520).

France,—though she felt that Germany's intervention was unjustifiable,—being uncertain of the armed support of Great Britain and knowing that her other ally, Russia, because of the defeat she had just suffered at the hands of Japan (sect. 559) was powerless to help her, made humiliating concessions to Germany and agreed to the calling of an international convention to review the whole matter. The outcome of this meeting¹ was favorable for France. The representatives of the nations recognized her special and superior interest in Morocco and commissioned her to maintain order in that country.

This Moroccan affair is a landmark in history, one of the outstanding facts of the decade preceding the outbreak of the World War. The crisis created by Germany's manner of intervention had, it is true, been passed safely, but important consequences resulted from her action. The good understanding between Great Britain, France, and Russia was cemented. It now became something like a real alliance. On the other hand, Germany's prestige had received a severe blow, and this caused her hatred of Great Britain, which had taken the side of France in the international convention, to become more intense and bitter.

574. Some Factors of the Balkan Problem. Our attention is now directed to southeastern Europe, where was laid the train which started the frightful conflagration of the World War. The situation here at the opening of the twentieth century was bewildering in the variety of the motives and interests of the peoples and governments concerned, but it will become in a measure intelligible if we bear in mind the following dominant facts: First, the situation was one which concerned the relations of the several small Balkan states to Turkey. The Turkish provinces adjoining these little states contained more than two million Christian Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians who longed for liberation from Ottoman oppression and for union with their emancipated brethren.

¹ The Convention of Algeciras, 1906. It was suggested by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Second, the situation was one which concerned more or less closely several of the great powers. Russia's old ambition to control the waterways leading from the Black Sea to the *JEgem* was not only still active but was now more urgent than ever before, because her defeat by Japan had denied her a warm-water port on the Pacific. Great Britain no longer barred her way, but Germany was now interested in keeping these waterways out of her hands, since the Muscovite seated on the Bosphorus would imperil German interests in Asia Minor and obstruct the great German project of a Berlin-Bagdad Railway.

Then the ambition of the Slav state of Serbia to unite all the people of Serbian race in a Greater Serbia, with outlets on the Adriatic and the iEgean, was a menace to the integrity of Austria-Hungary, for the neighboring provinces of the dual monarchy were largely Serbian in race and in sympathies and would inevitably gravitate toward an enlarged and prosperous Serbia. In a word, Serbia was just such a present danger to Austria in the Balkans as Sardinia had been to her possessions in northern Italy in the nineteenth century. Just as Sardinia drew to herself the Italian subjects of Austria, so now Serbia threatened to draw to herself all the Serbian subjects of Austria-Hungary. Thus a Greater Serbia threatened the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Moreover, the establishment of a powerful Serbian state meant that Austria's coveted way to the ^Egean would be barred.

Besides the several interests of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary in the Balkan problem, still another of the great powers, Italy, was deeply concerned. Italy desired possession of *Italia irredenta*, "unredeemed Italy," which embraced lands on her northern Alpine frontier and about the head of the Adriatic, of which the population was largely Italian, but which were held by Austria just as once she held Lombardy and Venetia. Furthermore, Italy was watchful to see that, with the Turks driven out of Europe, Austria should not appropriate Albania as her part of the booty and thus get possession of the eastern shore of the Adriatic and make of that sea an Austrian lake.

These mutual jealousies, rival ambitions, and conflicting interests of the great powers created the Balkan problem in so far as it was an international question concerning Europe at large.

575. The Young Turks; the Turkish Revolution (IQOS). The situation in the Balkans being such as is portrayed in the preceding section, a remarkable movement in the Turkish Empire became the prelude to events of world import. In 1908 a revolution inaugurated by a party calling themselves Young Turks broke out in European Turkey. Gaining control of the Balkan army, the leaders of the party demanded and secured from the Sultan Abdul Hamid a constitution which created a parliament and gave to all the subjects of the Sultan equal civic rights and complete religious liberty. The news of the granting of a constitution was received by the subjects of the Sultan first with utter incredulity, and then, when the news was confirmed, with unparalleled demonstrations of joy. The world looked on with amazed and sympathetic interest.

Unfortunately there was a lack of capable leaders in the party of reform. The promise of equal rights to all was not kept. The Young Turks could not give up their position as the dominant and privileged race of the empire. They set about the forcible "Turkification" of all the non-Turkish peoples—the Greeks, the Armenians, the Albanians, the Bulgarians, and the Arabs—of the Ottoman dominions. Meanwhile the treacherous Abdul Hamid broke faith with the revolutionists and worked secretly to get rid of the constitution and to regain his despotic power.¹

576. The Bosnian Crisis (1908). But an even more serious obstacle in the way of the success of the reform movement than these internal weaknesses and dissensions was the sordid greed of several of the great powers, who saw in a regenerated Turkey the ruin of all their hopes of ultimately inheriting coveted portions of the "sick man's" estate. His recovery was the very last thing they desired. Austria, fearing that if the Young Turks succeeded

¹ Abdul Hamid, after having instituted atrocious massacres of the Christians at Adana and other places in Asian Turkey, was deposed, and his brother was placed on the throne (1909).

in establishing a reformed and strong government she would lose control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which Turkish provinces she had been made administrator by the Treaty of Berlin, annexed the provinces to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1908). This was a gross violation of the terms of the Berlin treaty and the direct beginning of the great tragedy of 1914.

Serbia, who had hoped that the provinces, their population being largely Serbian in race and language, would fall to her on the passing of the "sick man," felt grievously injured by Austria's act, and made vigorous protest, but unavailingly; for when Russia and Great Britain also protested, Emperor William took his stand, in "shining armor,"¹ by the side of Austria and upheld her in her wrongful procedure. Neither Russia nor any other of the great powers being ready to risk precipitating a general European war through intervention by force of arms, the provinces remained in Austria's hands.

Another great crisis had been passed, but not without Europe being drawn nearer to the abyss. By a gesture of the "mailed fist" Emperor William had settled to his own and his ally's advantage a matter of European concern. But there was danger in settling matters of that kind in such a manner.

577. The Second Moroccan Crisis (1911). We have seen how at the time of the first Moroccan crisis France was commissioned by the powers to preserve order in the country. Unfortunately the native government was inefficient and corrupt, hence the inevitable happened. The country fell into anarchy. A French army was soon at the capital, Fez, and one of the rival contestants for the crown placed himself under French protection. This meant, of course, that Morocco's existence as an independent state was ended.²

At once a German warship appeared at one of the country's ports,³ and the German Emperor asked France what compensation she would allow Germany in return for a free hand in Morocco. After long and heated "conversations"—Great Britain with her

¹ A phrase used by the Kaiser in a later speech.

² The country became a French protectorate in 1912.

³

Agadir, 1911.

navy ready for action supporting France, since she could not permit Germany to secure a foothold on the shore opposite Gibraltar—the Emperor consented to the establishment of a protectorate over Morocco by France in return for the cession to Germany of portions of the French possessions in equatorial Africa.

Thus, by threat of war Germany had enlarged her African possessions, but her relations with France had been greatly embittered, for the French denounced her action as blackmail, holding that German interests in Morocco were not of a nature to justify the intervention of Germany in the matter.

578. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913). The example set by Austria in 1908 in the seizure of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina was shortly followed by Italy.¹ A regenerated Turkey threatened to make an end of the long-cherished hope of the Italians that Tripoli and Cyrenaica in North Africa would fall to them as ripened fruit on the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. So the Italian government resolved to seize at once the coveted prize, justifying this action on the ground that the Young Turks were treating unfairly Italian settlers and traders in the country. An expedition was launched, and the provinces were seized and annexed to Italy (1911).

The Austrian and Italian attacks upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire naturally excited the small Balkan states and helped to bring them to an epoch-making decision. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece formed an alliance (the Balkan League), the aim of which was to make an end of the Turkish power in Europe. The adventure turned out beyond all expectation. To the amazement of the world the armies of the little states in a few weeks drove the Turks from almost all their possessions on the European continent.

Unfortunately the Balkan allies, interfered with by Austria and others of the great powers in the division of the regained lands,

¹ Other states had earlier followed her example. Two days after Austria had announced her decision to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria proclaimed her complete independence from the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. Straightway the island of Crete, still under nominal Turkish suzerainty, declared for union with Greece (1908). Crete's union with Greece was sanctioned by the Treaty of London, 1913.

fell to fighting among themselves in what is known as the Second Balkan War. The only outcome of this lamentable struggle that we need note here is the territorial aggrandizement of Slavic Serbia. This meant, of course, the enhancement of Russian influence in the Balkans, since racial sentiment would naturally cause Serbia to draw toward the great mother Slav state.

On the other hand, a Greater Serbia was a menace to Austria, for a powerful Serbia would not only block her way to the iEgean but would naturally draw away or make more restless Austria's subjects of Serbian race, thereby tending to bring about the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Furthermore, an enlarged Serbia under Russian influence and protection was something that the German Emperor could not brook, since it lay across the Berlin-Bagdad Railway and was a menace to that project and thus to the whole Pan-German scheme for the commercial and political domination of western Asia.

579. Assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria; "the Fateful Twelve Days." It was inevitable that, in the circumstances which we have described, Austro-Serbian relations should become strained to a dangerous tension. Events moved rapidly. While visiting the recently annexed province of Bosnia, the Austrian crown prince — the Archduke Francis Ferdinand — and his wife were assassinated.¹ Austria, charging that Serbian officials were accomplices of the assassins, addressed to Serbia an ultimatum,² some of the demands of which were incompatible with the rights of Serbia as a sovereign and independent state. An answer was demanded in forty-eight hours. Serbia returned a conciliatory reply, acceding to most of the demands and offering to submit either to the International Tribunal at The Hague or to the judgment of certain of the great powers the points to which she could not give unqualified assent. The reply was pronounced unacceptable, and Austria, supported in her course by Germany, declared war against Serbia.³

The action of Austria created alarm in every European capital. Strenuous efforts were made by Great Britain, France, and Russia

¹ At Sarajevo, June 28, 1914.

² July 23, 1914.

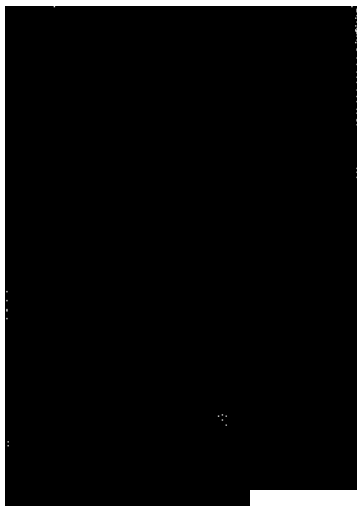
³ July 28, 1914.

to stay Austria's hand and to have the whole question brought before a conference of the great powers not directly interested or carried to the Hague Tribunal; for nothing was more certain than that an attack by Austria upon Serbia would precipitate a general European war, because Russia would not and could not stand aloof and see the little Serbian nation crushed, since this would mean German supremacy in the Balkans. But Germany, rejecting all proposals, insisted that the matter concerned Austria and Serbia alone and that there should be no intervention by any of the other powers.

Austria having actually attacked Serbia, Russia ordered a general mobilization of her armies. Germany thereupon sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding that she demobilize within twelve hours. Russia giving no response, Germany declared war against her.¹

At the same time Germany asked the French Premier, Viviani, whether in the event of a Russo-German war France

would remain neutral. His reply was that "France would take such action as her interests might require." Almost immediately the German troops crossed the French frontier.² On August 2 Germany presented an ultimatum to Belgium, declaring it to be her purpose to march across Belgian territory to attack France and promising, if the passage of the German troops were not opposed, to guarantee, upon the conclusion of peace, the independence and integrity of the Belgian kingdom, but at the same time warning the Belgian



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FIG. 67. ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS. (From a photograph)

¹ August 1, 1914.

² Germany declared war on France August 3, 1914.

government that if the advance of the German forces was impeded in any way, the German government would deal with Belgium as an enemy. King Albert, supported in his heroic decision by his ministers, first reminding Germany that she herself had solemnly promised to respect Belgian neutrality, refused to consent to the passage of the German army, saying that the Belgian government "by accepting the proposal would sacrifice the honor of the Belgian nation while at the same time betraying its duties toward Europe." The German troops at once swept into Belgium.

The violation of Belgium brought Great Britain into the war.¹ On August 4 the British ambassador at Berlin received instructions to inform the Imperial German Government that if assurance was not given by twelve o'clock that night that the German advance into Belgium would be stopped, the British government would "take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves." The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, greatly agitated, expressed pain and surprise that the British government should take such a resolve "just for a word, 'neutrality'—just for a scrap of paper."

The Imperial German Government's reply to the British ultimatum being that it was absolutely necessary that the German armies should advance into France "by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible," Great Britain at once drew the sword.

Thus, by the close of August 4, only twelve days after Austria's ultimatum to Serbia had become known to the English, French, and Russian governments, five of the great powers were at war. The curtain had lifted on "the most tragic drama of human history."

¹ Though the invasion of Belgium by the Germans actually brought Great Britain into the war, it is certain that she would, as the ally of France, have taken part in it even if the neutrality of Belgium had not been violated. She could not have stood aside while Germany was striking down France, robbing her of her colonies, and making of her a vassal state.

II. OUTSTANDING EVENTS OF THE WAR

580. The Violation of Belgium. The German plan of campaign was simple. With a swift blow France was to be struck down before her allies could come to her aid; then Russia, which Austria was to hold in check while the German armies were overrunning France, was to be put out of the war. But the French frontier toward Germany, from Switzerland to Luxemburg, was strongly fortified, and the reduction of these defenses would delay for at least several weeks the advance of the German troops into France; hence the proposal made by Germany to the Belgian government for an unobstructed passage of the German armies through Belgium. We have seen how, upon the indignant rejection of this dishonorable proposal, the German troops were flung across the frontier in utter disregard of treaty obligations and of international law. The crime was confessed in self-indicting words by the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. In announcing to the Reichstag the invasion of Belgium, he said: "Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law. . . . The wrong — I speak openly — that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached."¹



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FIG. 68. CARDINAL MKRCIER OF BELGIUM. (From a photograph)

¹ This speech was made August 4, 1914.

The first obstacle to the advance of the German forces was the strongly fortified city of Liege. In a few days the defenses of the place, which had been thought impregnable, were pounded into dust by the monstrous siege guns of the enemy.

The resistance of the Belgians roused a fury of rage in the Germans, who now began a campaign of "frightfulness" (*Schrecklichkeit*), the purpose of



Illustration by permission of the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, London P/W/M

FIG. 69. THE KAISER. SO you see —
you've lost everything.

ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.
Not my soul.

which was to terrorize the people and make them submissive to the German will. Villages and cities, individual citizens of which it was alleged had fired upon the German soldiers, were sacked and burned, and hundreds of noncombatants—men, women and children—were indiscriminately slain. Hostages were shot for the alleged acts of persons over whom they had no control. Priests were killed. The famous university and library of Louvain were wantonly destroyed, and a large part of the city itself laid in ashes. The world stood aghast at these crimes, for it had been be-

lieved that the time was past when the armies of any civilized government would commit such atrocities, to which there is no parallel in history since the Thirty Years' War.

The brave resistance of the Belgians to the passage of the German armies had momentous consequences. The delay, short though it was, that it caused the Germans not only gave the French time to concentrate their forces and throw them to the

north between the invaders and Paris but it also gave England time to come to the aid of her ally with a small but efficient force. It thus made possible the great victory of the Marne.

581. "The Miracle of the Marne" (September 5-9, 1914). Along the Franco-Belgian frontier the German invaders were met by the French and British armies. Their stubborn resistance to the German advance, however, was broken, and the victorious Germans pushed on toward Paris. The French government fled to Bordeaux. It seemed as though the story of 1870 were to be repeated. But with the enemy almost within sight of the capital, the French general, Joffre, halted the retreat of his forces along the southern banks of the river Marne, and there, near the region where, more than fourteen hundred years before, the savage hordes of Attila were turned back by the Romans, the Franks, and their confederates,¹ inflicted a memorable and disastrous defeat upon the invaders. The Germans retreated to the river Aisne, nearly halfway to the Belgian frontier, and there intrenched themselves.

The battle of the Marne is rightly given a place—perhaps it should be the first place—among the decisive battles of the world. It saved not only France but all Continental Europe from German domination, for nothing is more certain than that, if France had lost at the Marne, Russia would have been quickly overrun by the German armies and German military and political control of the Continent would have been firmly established.

582. The Struggle for the Channel Ports. The Germans had failed in their plans to reach Paris and put France out of the war. They now made a supreme effort to reach the sea and get control of the Channel ports on the shore opposite England. With these ports in the hands of the enemy the safety of England would, of course, have been imperiled. Strenuous efforts were made to prevent such a calamity. British, French, and Belgian forces were quickly thrown between the Germans and the coveted prize. These land forces were aided by the British fleet, which patrolled the coast. In the Flanders region the sluices were opened and wide

1 See *Short History of Ancient Times*, Rev. Ed., sect. 332.

tracts of the land flooded—an old device for defense in these low-lying lands. The struggle was long and bitter. Some of the bloodiest battles of the war were fought here.¹ The British army, "a contemptible little army," as it was characterized by the German Kaiser, was virtually annihilated after deeds of valor which made of the epithet of scorn a badge of immortal honor.² Though the Germans reached the sea at Ostend and gained control of a strip of Belgian coast they were thwarted in reaching their main objective—the ports of Calais and Boulogne, at the narrowest part of the Channel.

583. The Western Battle Front. After the battle of the Marne and at the end of the struggle for the Channel ports, the Germans, still standing in the main on French and Belgian soil, intrenched themselves along a line nearly five hundred miles in length, running from Switzerland to the North Sea. Facing the German trenches were drawn the trenches of the Allies. Never before in history was there such a far-flung battle line. Between the opposing lines of ditches, dugouts, and wire entanglements ran a strip of ground varying in width from a few hundred yards in some places to several miles in others, known as "No Man's Land"—a name which suggests much of the tragedy of the World War.

For about a year and a half the French, aided by a small number of British and Belgian troops, held back the German masses along this extended line, while a new British army, numbering several millions, was being raised, trained, and equipped; and then for another like period the Anglo-French-Belgian forces manned the trenches until the United States, which early in 1917 had entered the war, was mustering, drilling, and transporting to France a great army of over two million men.

During these three years the fighting along this western front was in the nature of siege operations. Many offensives, or drives, were launched by both the Germans and the Allies in efforts to

¹ The most important were the battle of the Yser and the first battle of Ypres.

² The survivors of this expeditionary army proudly accept the title of "The Contemptibles."

push back or break through the opposing line, but at the end of the three years the lines, though in some places they had been bent and pushed toward Germany, in general ran substantially as at the beginning of the period.

The story of this trench warfare on the western front belongs to the military records of the war and cannot be dwelt upon here. We shall merely, a little later, preserving the chronological order of our narrative, speak briefly of one of the offensives undertaken by the Germans and mention another launched by the British, which were such supreme efforts as to make them of epochal importance.¹

584. The Eastern Front; Russian Victories and Reverses (1914-1915). We must now turn our attention to the eastern front. Just at the moment when the Germans were threatening Paris, the Russians came to the aid of their French ally by sending two armies into East Prussia and menacing Berlin. One of the invading armies was met and almost annihilated by the German general, Hindenburg.² The other army then drew back to the frontier.

This defeat of the Russians in East Prussia was offset by their victories over Austria in Galicia.³ Three great Austrian armies were routed and three hundred thousand prisoners taken. The military power of Austria seemed on the point of absolute collapse. But with the coming of Germany to the rescue of her ally, the tide was quickly turned. A great victory for the Central Powers⁴ saved Austria and crippled seriously the military power of Russia. A wide strip of western Russia, including Poland, fell into the hands of the Germans. As earlier in the west so now here in the east there resulted finally a deadlock, and the contending armies settled down to trench warfare.

¹ See sect. 588 and p. 441, n. 4.

² At the battle of Tannenberg, August 3, 1914. Early the next year in the battle of the Mazurian Lakes, East Prussia, General Hindenburg inflicted upon the Russians a second decisive defeat with immense losses in killed and prisoners.

³ Lemberg (now Lwów) was taken by the Russians about September 1, 1914; Przemyśl fell into their hands in early March, 1915, with 125,000 prisoners.

⁴ The battle of the Dunajec, early May, 1915, as decisive a victory for Germany as the battle of the Marne was for France.

Thus Germany at the end of campaigns covering about a year and a half had failed as to her main purpose both in the west and in the east. Neither France nor Russia, though each had received a terrible blow and lost much territory, had been put out of the war.

585. The Sinking of the *Lusitania* (May 7, 1915). On February 4, 1915, the German government announced that every merchant vessel of the Allies entering a designated zone around the British Isles would be destroyed, "without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers." This meant that such vessels would be sunk without warning.

Now, to do the thing the German government announced it was going to do would be not only to violate the principles of humanity but to disregard the law of nations, which forbids the destruction of passenger or merchant ships under any circumstances before the crews and passengers have been put in a place of safety.

Notwithstanding a solemn warning from President Wilson that the United States government would hold the German government to a "strict accountability" if such action as it purposed to take should result in the death of any American citizens, the German submarines straightway proceeded to sink merchant vessels without warning, and in several instances destroyed the lives of American citizens. Then on May 1, 1915, there appeared in American newspapers an advertisement issued by the German Embassy in Washington, in which all persons were warned against taking passage on the British steamship *Lusitania*, which was about to sail from New York for an English port, it being intimated that every effort would be made by German submarines to sink the liner. No attention was paid to the warning, as no one believed that any civilized government would do the thing that the Imperial German Government threatened to do.

On the evening of May 7, 1915, as the *Lusitania*, with crew and passengers numbering about two thousand, neared the Irish coast, she was torpedoed without warning, and more than a thousand persons, among them many women and little children, were **drowned**. This awful crime created horror and indignation

throughout the civilized world. The United States demanded of the German government a disavowal of the act and assurance that the operations of its submarines would in the future conform to the requirements of international law. But it was only after a long delay and the exchange of numerous notes that the German government finally gave the following pledge: "Liners will not be Sunk by our submarines without warning and without providing for the safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."¹

It was the withdrawal of this solemn pledge by the Imperial German Government that, as we shall learn, was the immediate cause of the United States entering the war early in 1917 on the side of the Allies.

586. Italy enters the War (May 23, 1915). Although a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy did not join Germany and Austria in the war, because she was convinced that the war against Serbia was an act of aggression on the part of Austria, and since the alliance of which she was a member was merely a defensive, and not an offensive, alliance, she was not bound to come to the aid of her allies.

In truth Italy's alliance with Austria was an altogether unnatural one, for Austria was the hereditary enemy of the Italian people. Instead of fighting for the extension of Austrian rule and the enhancement of Austria's influence and power in the Balkans, the Italians were rather minded to take advantage of her embarrassment and fight for the liberation of the still unredeemed Italian lands² (*Italia irredenta*). Negotiations were begun by the Italian government with Austria for her withdrawal from these districts. But no agreement could be reached, and Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies. A new battle front was thus created. For the next two years and more this front

¹ This pledge was given September 1, 1915.

² Italy's decision was influenced in part by other motives than the desire to complete the work of Italian unity. Recognizing the real character of the great struggle she wished part in the defense of liberalism and civilization. Furthermore, there was among the Italians an imperialistic party who through Italy's participation in the war hoped to secure Italian dominance in the Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean.

was the scene of much hard mountain fighting, in which the Italian armies wrested from Austrian control much of the coveted lands. Then came a great disaster, of which we shall speak later, and the loss of all that had been gained, and much besides.

587. The War in the Southeast in 1915 ; Serbia and Turkey.

We have noted how the close of the year 1915 saw Germany's main war aims both in the west and in the east unattained (sect. 584). In the southeast, however, by the end of the year Germany had completely realized her plans. What she wanted here was to secure Austro-German supremacy in the Balkans and to keep unobstructed her railway route to the Persian Gulf. All this she achieved in a terrible drive against Serbia and through aiding Turkey in the defense of the Dardanelles.

The Serbian situation at the beginning of this offensive was as follows: At the opening of the war in 1914 Austria had invaded Serbia and taken the capital, Belgrade. After severe fighting the Serbians had retaken their capital and driven the Austrians from Serbian soil. Germany then came to the aid of her ally, and a strong Austro-German army in cooperation with a large Bulgarian force — Bulgaria having joined the Central Powers—quickly overcame all Serbian resistance.¹ The Serbian army, in one of the most distressful retreats in history, fled southward over the Albanian mountains, amidst the snows of a bitter winter, and the remnant who escaped capture or death from exposure found a refuge in the island of Corfu. Serbia was made a second Belgium. Montenegro, which fought with Serbia, was involved in Serbia's ruin.

There were still other misfortunes to deepen the gloom that darkened for the Allies the close of the year 1915. An attempt made early in the year by an Anglo-French fleet to reach Constantinople by forcing the Dardanelles² had ended in disaster. This

1 An Anglo-French army which had been gathered at the Greek port of Saloniki was outmatched and, hampered by the fear of Greek treachery in its rear, was unable to render the Serbians any effective aid.

² Turkey had entered the war in November, 1914, on the side of the Central Powers. Her action was motivated, in part, by fear of her hereditary enemy, Russia, in the event of the triumph of the Allies. The year following her entrance into the war witnessed

failure of the fleet was followed by an equally ill-fated land attack,¹ in which Australian and New Zealand troops won special distinction. After having suffered great privation and tragic losses, the allied forces were withdrawn.²

588. Verdun—"They shall not pass." The event of greatest military importance in 1916, the third year of the war, was the German offensive—really a trench battle that lasted nearly a year—against Verdun, on the west front.³ Russia having been defeated and the German situation in the Balkans made secure, Germany now turned to strike another blow at France in the hope of breaking either the French line or the French spirit and thus putting France out of the war before Great Britain's new army was drilled, equipped, and in the field.

The blow was aimed at Verdun, an ancient French fortress. The attack began early in the year. The stout watchword of the French was, "They shall not pass." The Germans, after the first rush, made for several months only slow foot-by-foot advances; and then the French, taking the offensive, quickly drove them from practically all the ground which they had occupied. The losses of the Germans in killed, wounded, and prisoners are estimated to have exceeded a quarter of a million. This French victory was second only to that of the Marne.⁴

the massacre by the agents of the Turkish government and fanatical Moslem mobs of nearly a million Christian Armenians, men, women, and children, in the Asian districts of the empire.

¹ On the peninsula of Gallipoli.

² In January, 1916.

³ The matter of supreme naval importance was the battle of Jutland, in the North Sea (May 31), a fight between the British and German battle fleets, "the greatest conflict in naval history" (Simonds). The issue confirmed England's mastery of the sea.

⁴ At the same time that the Germans launched their great offensive at Verdun the Austrians made a menacing attack through the Trentino. To relieve the pressure on their allies, Russia and Great Britain started offensives. Russia, having recovered more quickly than was thought possible from her defeat in 1915, attacked Austria and took 400,000 prisoners. This forced the Austrians hastily to withdraw their troops from Italy for the defense of their eastern frontier. In Asia Minor the Grand Duke Nicholas set on foot a campaign against the Turks, overran Armenia, and captured the important cities of Erzerum and Trebizond.

The British, or rather Franco-British, drive is known as the first battle of the Somme. This was one of the great battles of the war—a trench battle, which lasted from July 1 to November 30, 1916. The enemy's lines were so shaken that the Germans were forced to

.589. Rumania enters the War and is ruined. Midsummer of the year 1916 saw the fortunes of the Central Powers at their lowest ebb. it seemed as though the ultimate defeat of the two empires was certain. At this important juncture Rumania entered the war/ making the tenth nation arrayed against the Central Powers. Her aim in throwing herself into the struggle was to



MITTEL-EUROPA AND TURKISH ANNEX

Territories occupied or virtually controlled by Germany at the beginning of 1917. The Pan-German project of a Mittel-Europa (sect. 570) is here actually realized

realize national unity for the Rumanian race by the liberation from the Austro-Hungarian yoke of the several million Rumanians of Transylvania and other territories.

Rumania's action simply added another to the many tragedies of the great war. Betrayed, or at least not supported as she should have been, by Russia, the little state was quickly crushed by the German armies and a great part of her territory occupied.² The

retreat to what is known as the Hindenburg Line. This movement, however, was not made until the spring of 1917. The territory given up was wantonly and ruthlessly devastated by the retreating Germans.

1 August 27, 1916.

- The campaign was not completed until 1917.

tragic collapse of Rumania gave an entirely different aspect to the German situation and prospects. Germany's mastery of the continent now seemed assured.

590. The German Government announces its Purpose to resume Unrestricted Submarine Operations (January 31, 1917). We have noted the submarine controversy between the United States and Germany (sect. 585). The pledge given the United States by the German government not to torpedo liners without first caring for the safety of crew and passengers was only partially kept for about a year and a half. Then Germany gave notice to the United States government that it would immediately do away with the restrictions which up to that time it had impressed upon its use of its submarines. This meant that all ships entering designated areas in the Mediterranean or a zone drawn around the British Isles would be sunk on sight and without regard to the safety of the persons they carried.¹

The answer of the United States government to this amazing announcement was to hand the German ambassador, Bernstorff, his passports.² This meant the severance of all diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government. In an address of great dignity and earnestness President Wilson informed the Congress of the step he had taken. The address was in effect a warning to the Imperial German Government not to do the thing it had threatened to do.

591. Germany seeks Alliance with Mexico against the **United States.** The feeling of intense indignation aroused in the people of the United States against the Imperial German Government by its criminal submarine policy was just at this time greatly intensified by the publication of a letter of instructions from the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zimmermann, to the German minister in Mexico, dated January 19, 1917, and running as follows: "On the first of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to

¹ Permission was given to the United States to send one passenger liner a week to Great Britain, provided that it was marked in a certain way with stripes, departed on a specified day, and made the port of Falmouth in England its destination.

² February 3, 1917.

endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, communicate with Japan suggesting adhesion at once to this plan. . . . Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months."

The publication of this astounding letter, taken in connection with the German announcement of the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, made inevitable the entrance of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies.

592. The Russian Revolution (March 15, 1917). While the United States, on the verge of war, was awaiting events, the attention of the world was arrested by one of the most remarkable revolutions in history. On March 15, 1917, Tsar Nicholas II, the reigning representative of the House of Romanoff, which had ruled despotically in Russia for over three hundred years, was forced to abdicate, and a provisional government was set up.¹ Amnesty was granted for political and religious offenses. Tens of thousands of exiles in Siberia and of prisoners in the fortresses of Russia were set free. Liberty of speech and of the press was proclaimed. All restrictions of a religious and racial character were abolished. Universal suffrage was decreed. A constituent assembly was to be called to draft a constitution. The news of the revolution was received by liberals everywhere with unbounded enthusiasm. The

¹ The immediate cause of the revolution, aside from the widespread suffering of the people and general war-weariness, was the incompetence shown by the government in the conduct of the war, and the popular belief, which was well founded, that the defeats which the Russian armies had suffered were the result of treachery on the part of Russian officials of pro-German sympathies.

United States straightway recognized the new government and welcomed- Russia as a member of the family of free nations.

Unfortunately the draught of liberty was too strong. The Russian people, suddenly freed from autocratic tyranny, were intoxicated. They were in a state of bewilderment. The provisional government made heroic but unavailing efforts to hold back the country from anarchy. The army fell into disorder and confusion. Of this collapse of Russia and her practical elimination as a military factor from the war we shall have to speak later.

593. The United States enters the War (April 6, 1917).

On the second day of April, 1917, President Wilson addressed both Houses of Congress, called in extraordinary session, on the results of the unrestricted operations of the German submarines resumed two months before. "The new policy/" he said, "has swept every restriction aside—vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board. . . . Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and sorely stricken



FIG. 70. TUP: LAST OF THE ROMANOFFS
(From a photograph)

After his abdication the ex-Tsar Nicholas II became a prisoner of the Russian revolutionary government. He was finally taken to Siberia, where he and his wife and children were murdered by the Bolsheviks, who had seized supreme power. His seat here is the stump of a tree which he has just felled

people of Belgium . . . have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle. . . . The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind."

The President then advised the Congress that it "declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States [and] that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it."

"We are glad," he continued, "now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its people, the German people included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy."

The Congress and the country were profoundly moved. Four days later, on the sixth of April, the House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote accepted a joint resolution, which had already been passed by the Senate, and which declared that a state of war existed between the Imperial German Government and the government and the people of the United States. Thus was the momentous decision made, and the great American republic, without enthusiasm but with grave determination and with a good conscience, entered the World War.

To the allied countries the action of the United States was a heartening affirmation of the righteousness of their cause and a sure guarantee of ultimate victory. On receipt of the news in England the Stars and Stripes were flung out alongside the Union Jack of Great Britain from the high tower of the Parliament Building at Westminster—"the first time," it is said, "that a foreign flag was ever displayed from that eminence."

A few weeks later the first troops of an expeditionary force from the United States, under General Pershing, landed in France.¹ They were received by the war-worn French people with frantic demonstrations of joy and gratitude.

¹ June 26, 1917.

A fitting memorial of this historic hour are the simple words uttered by General Pershing at the tomb of Lafayette. Saluting, he said, *Lafayette, nous voila!* ("Lafayette, we are here! "), thus compressing into a happy epigram "the story of an historic obligation and its proud discharge."

594, Other Events of the Year 1917. After the decision of the United States government, in early April, to accept the status of a belligerent forced upon it by the acts of the Imperial German Government, the remaining months of the year 1917 were spent by it in preparations for actual participation in the war. The best part of its navy was sent to European waters. Ten million men between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age were registered, from whom by selective draft a great army in successive installments of half a million or more was to be created, equipped, and drilled. Sixteen cantonments, each a veritable city capable of accommodating about forty thousand soldiers, were constructed and made ready for the new recruits by early autumn. To meet the cost of these preparations and the expense of building a great mercantile fleet of hundreds of vessels to replace those destroyed by the German submarines, and of constructing thousands of airships, as well as to provide for loans to our allies, Congress voted sums of money reckoned by billions. These vast amounts were raised by increased taxation and by the sale of bonds.

In Europe the summer and fall months of the year witnessed military operations on all the battle fronts. In the west there was

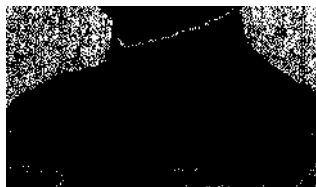


FIG. 71. GENERAL PERSHING
(From a painting by J. F. Bouchor,
Official Painter to the French
Armies)

practically continuous trench warfare, with hard-fought and costly offensives by both the French and the British armies, but the enemy lines were not broken through, and the year ended without any military decision on this front having been reached.

In the east the Russian collapse became complete by midsummer. The army simply fell to pieces. Liberty had been proclaimed, and to the simple peasant soldiers that meant that every one was free to do as he liked. Thousands left the trenches and returned to their homes. The empire disintegrated like the army. Finland, the Ukraine, and other districts or nationalities severed all relations with Petrograd and set up as independent republics. The provisional government established at Petrograd was overthrown, and the reins of power passed into the hands of radical communists (Bolsheviki), who instituted a regime similar in some respects to that of the extremists of the French Revolution. The leaders of this radical revolution, Lenin and Trotzky, now opened peace negotiations with the Central Powers.¹ The year ended with these negotiations still in progress.

The Russian collapse had serious results for the Italians. It allowed the Central Powers to transfer considerable forces from the eastern to the Italian front. A great offensive against the Italians resulted in the breaking of the Italian lines, which necessitated a retreat to the Piave River and the abandonment of all the ground that the Italian armies had gained in two years of arduous mountain campaigning. A part of Venetia also was lost to the invaders.²

In Asian Turkey the British forces made important advances during the year. In the early spring they captured the city of Bagdad, on the Tigris River,³ and thus gained control of lower Mesopotamia. Toward the end of the year they wrested from **the** Turks the city of Jerusalem. The Holy City was thus restored to the Christian world after having been in the hands of the

¹ In December, at Brest-Litovsk.

² October and November, 1917.

³ March 11, 1917. An earlier attempt to take the city had ended in failure and the capture of **the** entire British army of 10,000 men, under General Townshend, at Kut-el-Amara, **below** Bagdad on the Tigris River (April 29, 1916).

Moslems since its capture by the Saracens in the year 637, excepting the short period in the twelfth century when it was held by the crusaders.

On the sea the German ruthless warfare against the merchant ships of the world was the matter of chief importance. Hundreds of ships of the Allies and of neutrals alike were sunk and thousands of lives of non-combatants destroyed. But this inhuman and lawless method of warfare resulted in much greater injury to Germany than to her foes. Shocking as it did the universal conscience, it turned virtually the whole civilized world against Germany.

595. Events of the Year 1918 ; the Armistice, November 11.

The peace negotiations which the close of the year 1917 saw in progress between Germany and the revolutionary leaders in Russia left the once mighty Russian Empire, now fallen to pieces, entirely helpless in the hands of her conquerors.¹ With the pressure on the eastern front thus removed, General Ludendorff, now in supreme command of the German armies, transferred large bodies of troops from Russia to the western front, in hopes of gaining a military decision there before the United States could come with effective forces to the aid of her allies.

With their armies in France thus strengthened, the Germans, late in March, launched their carefully prepared drive against the French and British. At the same time they began the bombardment of Paris with a monstrous long-range cannon, which was located seventy-five miles from the capital. A few days later a bomb from the huge gun fell upon a Paris church, where a large congregation was gathered at a Good Friday service, killing seventy-five persons and wounding ninety others.

Under the terrific onset of the German armies the Franco-British lines were bent back with heavy losses, but were not broken. The situation was most critical. All the American soldiers in France, under General Pershing, were offered to General

¹ The Brest-Litovsk Treaty, dictated by Germany, was signed by the representatives of the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotzky on March 2, 1918. The Allies refused to recognize the treaty, regarding it as a settlement of violence and injustice, and one which laid all Asia open to German conquest and domination.

Foch—who was invested with the supreme command of the armies of the Allies—to be used as he should deem best. At the same time urgent appeal was made to the United States government to hurry to France all the reinforcements possible. In response to this call the shipping of troops across the sea was hastened. A steady flow of about a quarter of a million men each month was maintained until the close of the war, when the

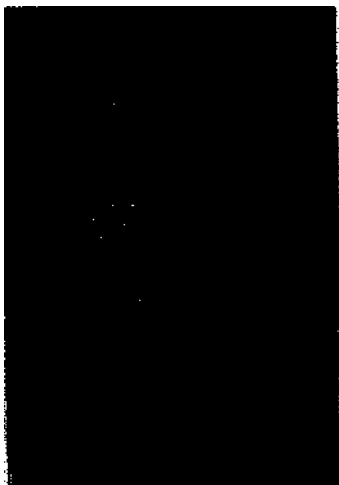


FIG. 72. MARSHAL FOCH. (From
a photograph)

^ Harris & Ewing

United States had in France a great army of over two millions. The transportation overseas of such a vast army was an unprecedented achievement, an achievement made possible only by the aid of British transports and the vigilant patrol of the seas against submarines by the British royal navy, now reenforced by the United States war fleet.

Throughout the spring and early summer months the Germans renewed their offensive at intervals and made further gains. But by the middle of July the drive had spent its force. The American army had by this time been so greatly augmented that

the superiority in numbers was now on the side of the Allies. The tide of battle turned. A great counter-offensive was launched. The Germans were hurled back across the Marne. The so-called Hindenburg Line, a fortified zone several miles wide, consisting of trenches, caves, wire hedges, and machine-gun nests,—“like to nothing that ever was before in history,”—was broken through, and the German armies were forced to begin a general retreat from France toward the Belgian frontier.

With the tide of battle on the western front thus running against the Germans, disaster was befalling their allies on other

fronts. In Palestine the British forces under General Allenby, near the historic field of Armageddon, almost annihilated the Ottoman armies. The important cities of Damascus and Beirut fell into the hands of the British (October 1-8). At about the same time, on the Macedonian front, the Franco-Serbian forces inflicted upon the Bulgarian armies a defeat which, before the end of September, forced Bulgaria to sue for peace. This was granted on terms which meant a complete military surrender.

The withdrawal of Bulgaria from the war, along with the reverses in Syria and the critical situation on the western front, caused Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey simultaneously to ask through President Wilson for a general armistice "on land and water and in the air" (October 5). The armistice was to be the forerunner of peace negotiations based on fourteen propositions (central among which was that of the self-determination of peoples) which President Wilson had formulated in various addresses.

After an exchange of notes between President Wilson and the Central Powers, the matter was given over into the hands of the Supreme War Council of the Allies in France. Events now moved rapidly. Before the end of the month Turkey, hopelessly defeated, signed an armistice which amounted to unconditional surrender (October 30), and four days later Austria-Hungary, with her armies in Italy routed and the monarchy rapidly dissolving into its various racial elements, sought and obtained an armistice on like conditions. At the same time the terms on which Germany might be granted a cessation of hostilities were formulated by the War Council of the Allies at Versailles, and handed the representatives of the German government for acceptance or rejection by eleven o'clock, November 11. A few hours before the expiration of the time limit the Armistice was signed by the German envoys. Among its conditions were these: (1) immediate evacuation by the German armies, without harm to persons or destruction of property, of all invaded countries, and withdrawal across the Rhine to a line about six miles from the right, or east, bank of that river; (2) the surrender of all submarines and certain other ships

of the German navy;¹ and (3) the immediate repatriation of allied prisoners and deported civilians, the restitution of property wrongfully taken from invaded countries, and reparation for damage done in occupied territories.

These conditions were in effect equal to full and unconditional surrender, and were such as to make it impossible for Germany, at the expiration of the truce period, to renew hostilities.

Shortly before the signing of the Armistice, Emperor William, his mad dream of world dominion shattered, sought an asylum in Holland. He left Germany the scene of turmoil, revolution, and threatened anarchy.² His flight was marked by a veritable "cascade of thrones." In a few days there was not a king, duke, grand duke, or prince left reigning in Germany.

596. The United States in the War in 1918. While awaiting the meeting at Paris of the representatives of the victorious allied and associated nations for the formulation of treaties of peace with Germany and her allies, we will here interrupt our general narrative of events that we may speak more in detail of the war efforts of the United States and Canada and of the part played by the British navy and the German submarines in the war.

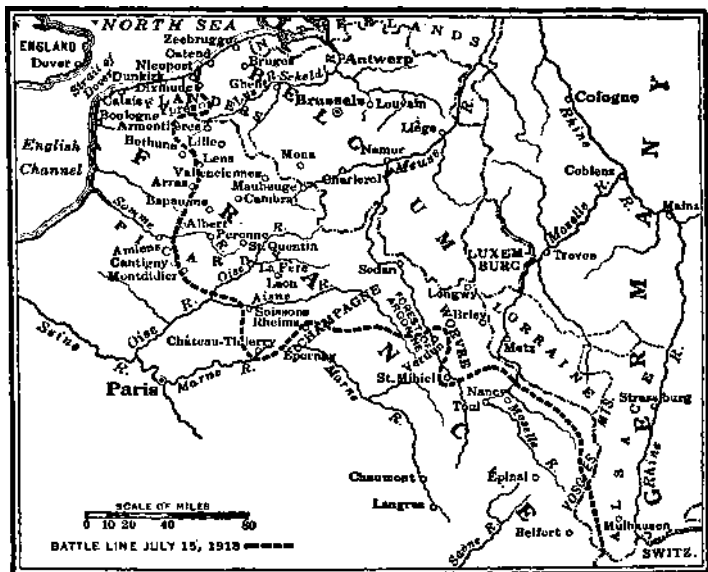
We have seen how, as the German offensive in the early spring of 1918 assumed a menacing aspect, all the United States troops in France were put by General Pershing at the disposal of Commander-in-chief Foch. On May 27 the Germans launched their third drive and made a gain of ten miles, capturing Chateau-Thierry, on the north bank of the river Marne. They were now within about forty miles of Paris. A further advance of a few miles would put the city within reach of their guns. The situation was desperate. The American troops were hurried to the battle

¹ There was a total of seventy-one ships, including nine battleships. They were kept under guard in Scapa Flow, Orkney Islands, Scotland, where, in violation of the obligations of the Armistice, they were scuttled by their German crews, June 21, 1919.

² The German Revolution began at Kiel a few days before the signing of the Armistice. For a moment it looked as though affairs would fall into the hands of the communists, or "Reds," as had happened in Russia. These extremists, however, were soon suppressed, and a constitution formed by a National Constituent Assembly, — which transformed, nominally at least, the German Empire into a "German Republic," — was adopted July 31, 1919.

front. The yielding French lines were stiffened, and the German drive was checked. This marked the turn of the tide. The menace to Paris was removed.

A few days later (June 6) a comparatively small body of Americans, marines and soldiers, made an attack upon a forest tract, known as Belleau Wood, near Chateau-Thierry, which the Germans



THE WESTERN FRONT, JULY 15, 1918

had made into a veritable machine-gun nest. Only after three weeks' bitter fighting did they succeed in clearing the forest of the enemy. This was almost wholly an American achievement, and in recognition of the feat the French government renamed the forest Marine Brigade Wood.¹

While the American soldiers on the battle front were thus helping to stop the German drive, back of the lines great preparations,

¹ This was not the first American offensive. A little before this operation (on May 28, 1918) a division made up of units of the Regular American Army had made a successful attack upon a strong enemy position at Cantigny, near Montdidier.

under the direction of American engineers and experts of every kind, were being made for the reception, training, and equipment of the greater armies yet to come from overseas. At selected base ports immense docks, warehouses, and storage plants were being hurriedly constructed; at points farther inland great supply depots and acres of barracks were being erected; artillery, aviation, and tank schools were being established; training camps of every kind were being laid out, and immense hospitals with thousands of beds constructed and equipped; hundreds of miles of spur railways connecting the base ports and the multitude of camps, supply stations, and repair shops with the French system of railroads and with the long battle front were being laid out and pushed hurriedly to completion; in the French forests timber was being cut by American woodmen; and everywhere motor roads were being repaired and thousands of miles of telegraph and telephone wires were being strung.

At the same time that all this was going on in France, the United States government, in response to the urgent appeals from the Allies for help, was, as we have seen, straining every resource to hasten the movement overseas of troops from the training camps. To refill the depleted home camps, a new registration of all men between eighteen and forty-five years of age was ordered (September 12). There were over twelve million registrants. The plan was to put in France by the early summer of 1919 an army of four million men, with a reserve of over a million in the home camps; for at this time there was no expectation on the part of the Allies of bringing the war to a successful end in 1918. The best that they dared hope for was that they would be able to hold their lines through the summer and fall.

The gathering and training of the man power of the nation—"the making of soldiers"—was but a small part of America's work of preparation for the stern task ahead; for although only a small proportion of the men of military age were actually participating in the fighting, a large part of the population was engaged in one way or another with activities that were closely associated with the war. This was so because modern warfare, besides

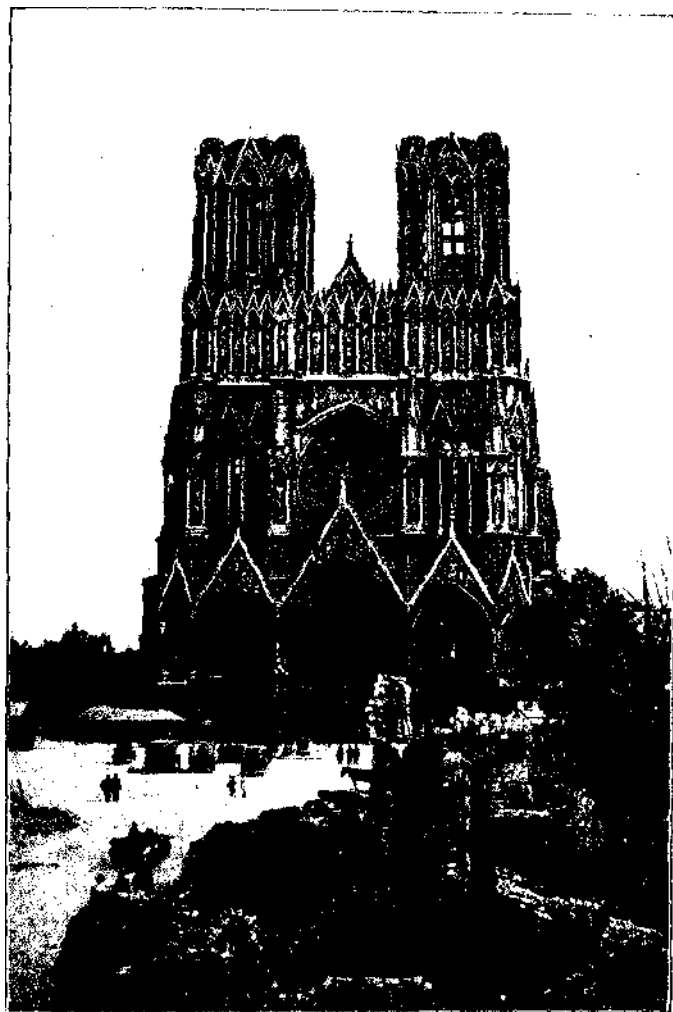


FIG. 73. THE RHEIMS CATHEDRAL OF TODAY. (From a photograph
"The most majestic and revered memorial of the Great War")

requiring incredible quantities of military munitions such as powder and shells, calls for artillery, machine-guns, tanks, aircraft, engines, automobiles, motor trucks, and supplies and equipment of every kind without limit. Accordingly the greater part of the industrial factories and manufacturing plants of the United States were now turned to the making of these things for the use of the vast armies that were being gathered and trained.

It was a knowledge of the colossal scale of these preparations in America for the prosecution of the war to a successful issue, and the rapid transport, in spite of the submarine menace, of American soldiers by the hundreds of thousands to France, that doubtless, next to the successes of the armies of the Allies on the battle fronts, had most to do in breaking the German morale and thus causing the collapse of the German war-machine.

On July 15 the Germans renewed their offensive—making their fifth and last drive—at the point on the Marne where they had been checked by the French and Americans in early June. They succeeded in crossing the Marne at some points and gaining a foothold on the south bank of the river. But the Americans were now on or near this battle front, between Paris and the enemy, three hundred thousand strong. The German drive was stopped, and then, on July 18, the Franco-American troops started a counter-offensive. The Germans were driven back across the Marne, and Chateau-Thierry, on its northern bank, was wrested from them. By August 5 the enemy had been pushed back all the way from the Marne to the Vesle, and the menacing Marne salient had been completely wiped out.¹

The flattening of the Marne salient was followed by the wiping out of the famous St. Mihiel salient, on the border of Lorraine, near the great fortress of Metz. This was the last menacing German wedge on the western front. The Germans had held this salient ever since their first advance in 1914. They had fortified it in every possible way, so that it was deemed impregnable. The capture of this salient was the first great military undertaking of

¹ These operations (July 15-August 5) constitute what is known as the second battle of the Marne.

the third battle of Ypres, of Vimy Ridge, a commanding height on the Belgian front. The capture of this position has been pronounced "one of the finest achievements of the whole war." Later in the year, on the same Belgian sector, the Canadians wrested from the enemy the strategically important high ground of Passchendaele Ridge.

Throughout the last year of the war the Canadian Corps bore a full share in all the operations of the Allies in defense and attack. They aided in checking and holding down the great German drives during the early critical months of the year, and then, when through the arrival of United States troops in force the initiative had passed from the enemy, they participated in the general attack and advance of the Allies which resulted in the breaking of the Hindenburg Line, the final retreat of the German armies, and the liberation of the French and Belgian territories which the Germans had so long occupied and devastated.

Nothing, however, so impressively summarizes the greatness of Canada's effort and of her contribution to the winning of the war, or speaks so eloquently of the fortitude and gallantry of the Canadian Corps, as the figures of Canadian casualties during the four years of the conflict. Out of the more than four hundred and eighteen thousand men that Canada sent overseas nearly a hundred and fifty-six thousand were wounded and fifty-seven thousand lost their lives. And these were the flower of Canada's young manhood.

598. The British Navy in the War. The part played by the British navy in the World War affords an impressive illustration of the importance of sea power in history, for British command of the sea was undoubtedly the most vital factor in the great struggle. Without that command the war could not have been won by the Allies.

At the outbreak of the war the British grand fleet was hurried to its chief observation station in northern Scotland. The German **fleet** was thus barred from the Atlantic and, by what might be **called** a long-distance blockade, was virtually shut up in its home **ports**. The few German cruisers at large were in a few months

run down or driven to shelter.¹ In this work the British navy was aided by the French and Japanese fleets.

At the same time that the seas were freed from German raiders they were cleared of German merchant ships. Immediately upon the opening of hostilities these hurriedly sought refuge in home ports or in the harbors of neutral countries, where they remained idle during the war. This closing of the seas to German ships and the keeping of them open to the ships of the Allies and of neutrals gave the powers righting Germany a decisive advantage in the great struggle. "It made the world the arsenal and granary of the Allies."

With the seas once cleared of enemy ships, the services of the British navy, rendered throughout the dragging years of the war with traditional British heroism and tenacity, consisted in the patrol of the North Sea, in an unremitting watch upon the German grand fleet, in the maintenance of the blockade of the German ports, in clearing the seas of the mines laid by enemy submarines, and in the transport of millions of soldiers from all parts of the world to the battle areas in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In rendering these and other like services the British navy during the first two years of the war—that is, before the British armies had become a real factor on the battle lines—made to the cause of the Allies a contribution without which the war would inevitably have been won by Germany.²

599. German Submarine Warfare and its Results. There is a striking parallel between the policy of ruthless submarine warfare adopted by the Germans in the World War and Napoleon's arrogant Continental Blockade, which it will be worth our while to note here, particularly because of its relation to the subject of sea power.

¹ Two German cruisers, the *Goeben* and the *Breslan*, in the Mediterranean, unfortunately escaped into the Dardanelles and became an important factor in drawing Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers. At the Falkland Islands, in the South Atlantic, the only German squadron on the seas was destroyed by the British, December 7, 1914.

² The single great battle fought during the war between considerable portions of the British and German grand fleets was the encounter off Jutland, May 31, 1916, which has already been noted (p. 441, n. 3).

It will be recalled how Napoleon, unable to reach his chief **enemy**, England, intrenched behind her navy-guarded island home, adopted the policy of a blockade of the Continent against British commerce, and how this policy, leading him on from one aggression to another and finally to the fatal campaigns against Spain and Russia, resulted at last in his undoing (sect. 444). Now, in like manner, Germany, unable to reach directly her formidable enemy England, adopted her illegal submarine policy, which, rousing against her the whole world and ultimately drawing the United States into the war on the side of the Allies, brought about her downfall and ruin.¹

It was in the third year of the war, it will be recalled, that Germany, now equipped with a large number of submarines, casting aside all moral considerations, entered upon unrestricted submarine operations. During February and March (1917) the German "U-boats" sank over eight hundred vessels, both allied and neutral. A continuance of this rate of sinkings would have forced Great Britain to give up the struggle by September, leaving German power dominant in the world.²

The terrible menace was met and overcome in various ways. Among the means employed were the convoy system—that is, the sailing of merchant vessels in groups guarded by warships, a system impossible of effective adoption before the United States entered the war because of the lack of anti-submarine craft; the use of depth bombs—bombs so constructed as to explode only after reaching a certain depth in the water; and the employment of observation airplanes, those "eyes of the army," which, now used as eyes for the navy, revealed the lurking submarines even when lying far beneath the surface of the ocean. By November of 1917 the crisis was past. The sinkings fell from nearly a million tons in April of that year to less than half that number in September.

¹ See Simonds, *History of the World War*, vol. ii, pp. 37-40.

² The sinkings for each year of the war were as follows:

1914	314,694 tons	1917	6,187,700 tons
1915	1,298,748 tons	1918	2,675,520 tons
1916	2,291,437 tons		

The peril from the submarine activities was finally so reduced as to become almost negligible by the laying of a mine barrage from Scotland to Norway, which effectually closed the North Sea and prevented the enemy submarines from passing out into the Atlantic.¹ The laying of this obstruction was one of the greatest engineering feats of the war. It was largely an achievement of the American navy, aided by the British fleet. The barrage consisted of several lines of mines stretching from coast to coast, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles. It required the laying of over seventy thousand mines, of which about four fifths were laid by United States ships. The obstruction became effective in the early summer of 1918, there being evidence that more than a score of the German U-boats were destroyed in attempting to pass the barrier. The construction of this barrage, destroying as it did the last hope of the Germans of winning the war with their submarines, helped materially in bringing the terrible struggle to an end.



FIGt 74# PREMIER CLEMENCEAU
OF FRANCE. (From a photograph)

600, The Peace Convention at Paris and the Treaty of Versailles. Immediately upon the conclusion of the Armistice (sect. 59s) the German government began the withdrawal of its armies from the ground on which they still stood in France and Belgium.² At the same time arrangements were being made for

¹ Net barriers closed the English Channel at its narrowest point, at Dover.

² The demobilization of the armies of the Allies was now begun. By September 30, 1919, the great United States army in Europe as well as the forces in the home camps (in all about 4,000,000 men) had been returned to civil life, leaving overseas only a few thousand troops.

the meeting of the delegates of the allied and associated powers¹ for framing a general treaty of peace. The convention opened at Paris, January 18, 1919. Twenty-seven nations were represented. President Wilson was the head of the American delegation. Premier Clemenceau of France was president of the Convention.



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FIG. 75. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON. (From a photograph)

The work of the congress embraced a bewildering variety of matters, among which were included (1) the drawing of the articles of definitive peace treaties; (2) the settlement of the boundaries of Germany and of the new states created by the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Russian and Turkish empires; and (3) the framing of a covenant for a League of Nations. The work was divided among a great number of committees or commissions, who were aided in their task by more than a thousand historical, ethnological, geographical, and diplomatic experts.

The work of framing the Covenant of the League of Nations was first completed. The tentative draft of the epoch-making document was published February 14, 1919, and immediately became the subject of a world-wide discussion. The articles of the Covenant were interwoven with and made a part of the treaty with Germany, and likewise embodied in each of the separate treaties made with her allies.

On June 28, 1919, in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the Trianon Palace at Versailles—the very hall in which King William I was

¹ The United States was not "allied" but "associated" with the allied powers.

proclaimed German Emperor in 1871—the treaty with Germany was signed by the representatives of the allied and associated powers on the one side and the delegates of Germany on the other.

The important territorial readjustments that directly concerned Germany were as follows: Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871. The Saar basin, a rich German coal and iron region, was temporarily internationalized and the mines of the district were ceded in full ownership to France as compensation for the wanton destruction of French mines in the territories occupied by the German armies.

To undo the wrong done to Denmark by Prussia in 1864, such parts of Schleswig were to be reunited to Denmark as the inhabitants of these parts by free and secret vote should determine.

On the East, Germany ceded Posen, West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula, and parts of Silesia to the new Poland. These cessions were mainly restitutions of lands acquired by Prussia through the greatest international crime in the records of modern Europe prior to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium by the Germans in 1914.¹ Danzig, the Baltic port of old Poland, was made a free city and placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

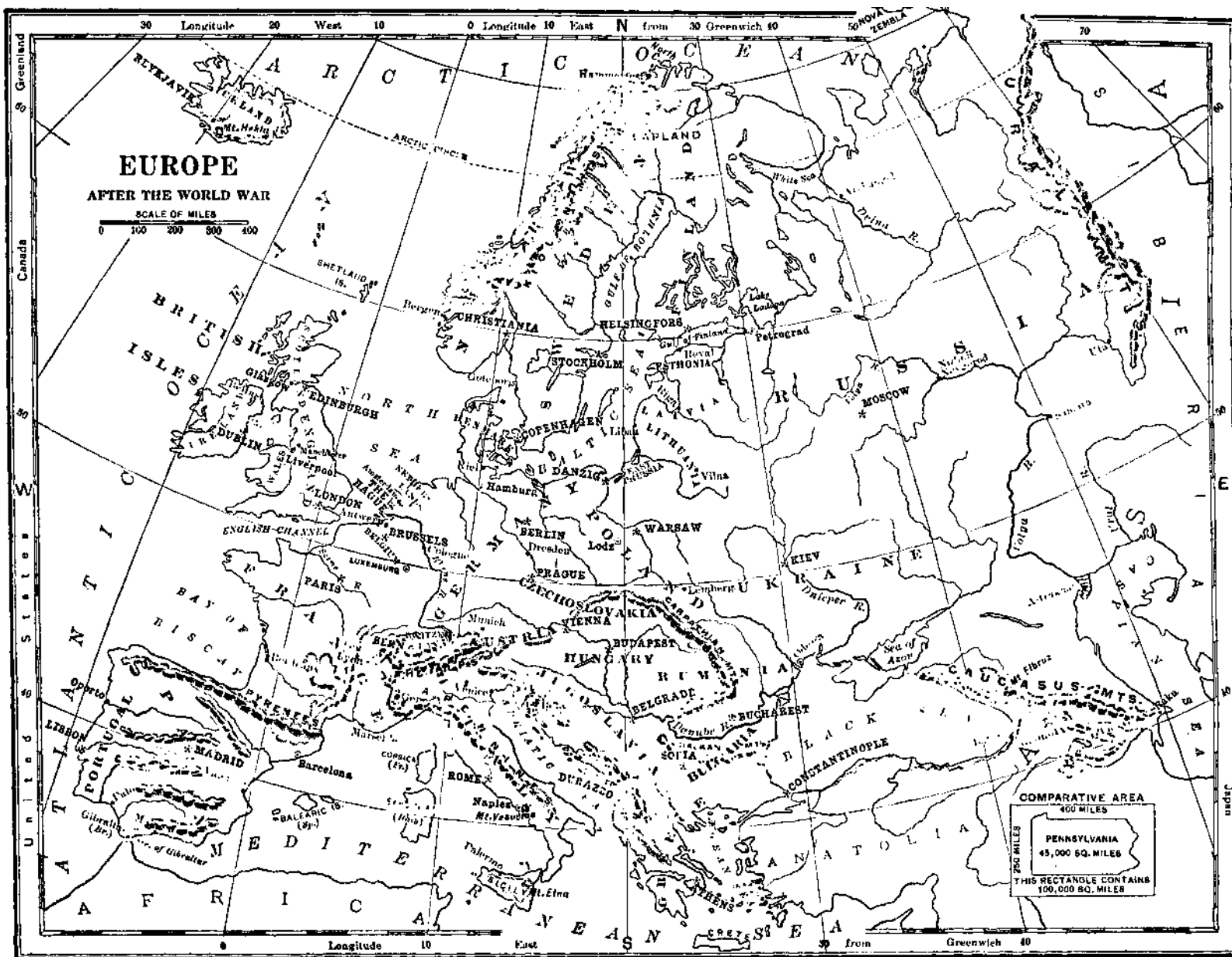
Germany was further required by the terms of the treaty to recognize the full sovereignty of restored Belgium and the complete independence of German Austria (within the frontiers to be fixed later) and of the new states of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and to renounce all rights and privileges in her African



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FIG. 76. PREMIER DAVID LLOYD
GEORGE OF GREAT BRITAIN.
(From a photograph)

¹ Sec sects. 357, 365.



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FIG. 76. PREMIER DAVID LLOYD GEORGE OF GREAT BRITAIN.
(From a photograph)

¹ See sects. 357, 365.

colonies **and** other possessions outside of Europe in favor of the collective or individual allied and associated powers,¹

The provisions of the treaty in regard to the German army, navy, and armament factories were of such a nature as to render Germany incapable of launching another war of aggression. They required that the army be reduced to one hundred thousand men; that all factories for the manufacture of war munitions (save a few specifically excepted) should be closed; that the manufacture of poisonous gases should cease; that all military schools should be abolished; that no armed forces be maintained in a prescribed zone east of the Rhine; that all fortifications and military establishments on the island of Helgoland, the "German Gibraltar," be destroyed "under the supervision of the Allies by German labor and at Germany's expense."

In respect to responsibility for the war a special article of the treaty arraigned the Kaiser in these words: "The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." His surrender was to be requested of the Netherlands for trial before an international tribunal. All other persons who had violated the laws of war were to be given up by Germany for trial and punishment.²

By additional articles of the treaty Germany accepted the responsibility of herself and her allies for the war and bound herself to restore the cars, industrial machinery, works of art, and other articles she had carried away from the countries she had overrun, and to pay such sum in reparation for damages inflicted as a commission might decide to be just and within her power.

Concluding sections of the treaty provided that it should come into force as soon as ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal allied and associated powers on the other.

¹ Germany renounced in favor of Japan all rights, titles, and privileges that she had acquired in the province of Shantung (sect. 550) by treaty or through "other arrangements" with China. Japan has since renounced most of them in favor of China.

² By note dated January 15, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference demanded of the Netherlands government the extradition of the former Emperor William. **The demand was refused.**

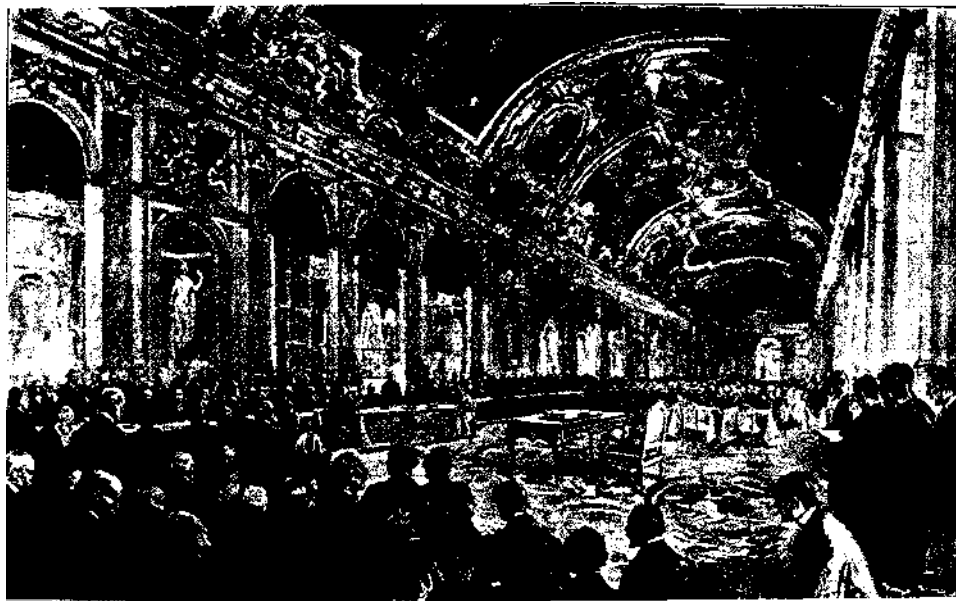
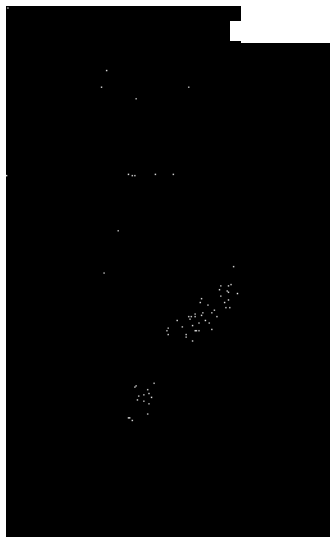


FIG. 77. THE PEACE CONGRESS IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES, JUNE 28, 1919
(Drawing by George Scott: from *L'Illustration*)

The peril from the submarine activities was finally so reduced as to become almost negligible by the laying of a mine barrage from Scotland to Norway, which effectually closed the North Sea and prevented the enemy submarines from passing out into the Atlantic.¹ The laying of this obstruction was one of the greatest engineering feats of the war.

It was largely an achievement of the American navy, aided by the British fleet. The barrage consisted of several lines of mines stretching from coast to coast, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles. It required the laying of over seventy thousand mines, of which about four fifths were laid by United States ships. The obstruction became effective in the early summer of 1918, there being evidence that more than a score of the German U-boats were destroyed in attempting to pass the barrier. The construction of this barrage, destroying as it did the last hope of the Germans of winning the war with their submarines, helped materially in bringing the terrible struggle to an end.

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FIG. 74. PREMIER CLEMENCEAU OF FRANCE. (From a photograph)

¹ Net barriers closed the English Channel at its narrowest point, at Dover.

² The demobilization of the armies of the Allies was now begun. By September 30, 1919, the great United States army in Europe as well as the forces in the home camps (in all about 4,000,000 men) had been returned to civil life, leaving overseas only a few thousand troops.

real and active being. Later in the year (November 15) the first meeting of the *Assembly* of the League was held in Geneva, with the representatives of forty-two nations in attendance.

601. Some Assured Results of the World War. Not until sufficient time has elapsed to prove the stability of the work of the Paris Peace Conference will it be possible to make anything like a complete appraisal of the results of the World War. However, there are already certain assured outcomes of the fateful struggle of which we should here make note because of their relation to the democratic, nationalistic, and world-federative movements,—those great trends in universal history which it has been a chief purpose of ours to portray in the foregoing pages.

First, the war has imparted a fresh impulse to the democratic movement. This it has done by discrediting irretrievably autocratic, militaristic government and demonstrating the strength and superiority of government based on individual freedom and popular sovereignty. It has brought definitely to an end government by divine-right kings. It has called into existence half a score new republics. It has "made the world safe for democracy."

Second, the war has greatly promoted the nationalistic movement. Precipitated by a great imperial power whose aim was world dominion, this challenge to the spirit of nationality has resulted in the disruption, partial or complete, of four great oppressive empires—Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, Romanoff, and Ottoman—and has brought about the regrouping of their liberated peoples in accordance with the aspirations of race and the spirit of nationalism. If there had been no other result than the creation of these nation-states,—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Armenia, the Arab kingdom of the Hejaz, and the rest,—that alone would go far to compensate humanity for the tragic sacrifices of the titanic war.¹

1 At the same time that these new national states came into being, the unification of the Italian and of the Rumanian people was substantially completed and that of the Greek race greatly advanced. Furthermore, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, with **the** peoples or fragments of peoples they had been holding in political servitude **liberated**, became *national* republics. All this marks a great triumph for the principle of nationality.

Third, the war has given a great impulse to the historic trend toward the definite organization of the world. This is doubtless historically the most significant outcome of the great struggle, for the formation of the League of Nations, although the federation as yet embraces only a part of the sovereign and independent nations of the world, carries the pledge and promise of the final consummation, in the fullness of time, of that age-long movement toward world union which, in the grouping of warring clans and tribes into city-states and petty kingdoms, began in the obscurity of prehistoric times.

References. On the background and causes of the war: *The Kaiser vs. Bismarck* (the third volume of Bismarck's *Reminiscences*). BERNHARDT, FRIEDRICH VON, *Germany and the 1914 War*. SMITH, T. F. A., *The Soul of Germany*. USHER, R. (I.), *Pan-Germanism*. CHERADAME, A., *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked*. GERARD, J. W., *My Four Years in Germany*. WOODS, I. C., *The Cradle of the War*. JASTROW, M., *The War and the Bagdad Railway*. SEYMOUR, C., *The Diplomatic Background of the War*. STOWELE, K. C., *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914*. SCHURMAN, J. G., *The Balkan Wars*. GIBBONS, H. A., *The New Map of Europe*. DAVIS, S. I. (with collaborators), *The Roots of the War*. BECK, J. M., *The Evidence in the Case*. LIDLONSKY, PRINCE KARL, *The Guilt of Germany*. GRKLLIX, R., *I Accuse I* (published anonymously during the war). The text of the official documents (the "British White Paper," the "German White Book," the "French Yellow Book," etc.) of the belligerent governments bearing on the outbreak of the war will be found in convenient form in the pamphlets issued by The American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th St., New York City.

On the years of the war and the Peace Conference: WHITLOCK, B., *Belgium under German Occupation*, 2 vols. MOROENTHAU, I., *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. BASSETT, J. S., *Our War with Germany*. MCMASTER, J. B., *The United States in the World War*. USHER, R. G., *The Story of the Great War*. SIMONDS, F. H., *History of the World War*, 5 vols. *The New York Times Current History: The European War*, 20 vols. HAYES, C. J. H., *A Brief History of the Great War*. TURNER, E. R., *Europe, 1789-1920*, part ii, chaps. xi-xiii. HASKINS, C. II., and LORD, R. II., *Some Problems of the Peace Conference*. LANSING, R., *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative*. TARDIEU, A., *The Truth about the Treaty*. HOUSE, E. M., and SEYMOUR, C. (editors), *What Really Happened at Paris: the Story of the Peace Conference, 1918-1919, by American Delegates*. TEMPERLEY, H. W. V. (editor), *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, 6 vols, (three volumes published up to the date of printing this). ROSS, E. A., *The Russian Bolshevik Revolution*.

APPENDIX

A. SOURCE BOOKS

ROITLSON, J. H., *Readings in European History*, 2 vols. OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*. LEE, G. C., *Source-Book of English History*. HENDERSON, E. F., *Select Historical Documents*. KENDALL, E. K., *Source-Book of English History*. WHITCOMB, M., *A Literary Source-Book of the Italian Renaissance*.

13. TOPICS FOR CLASS REPORTS¹

Chapters I and II. i. Life and work of Cassiodorus; his state papers: HODGKIN, T., *Theodoric*, chap, ix, pp. 160-173. 2. The German conquest of Gaul: ADAMS, G. B., *The Growth of the French Nation* ^ chap. ii.

Chapter III. 1. The religion of the Germans and their conversion: SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Mediaeval and Modern Civilization*, chap. ii. 2. The scriptorium and the labors of the monks as copyists, chroniclers, and authors: PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i, pp. 3-81. 3. The monasteries as industrial colonies: CUNNINGHAM, W., *Western Civilization {Mediaeval and Modern Times}*, pp. 35-40.

Chapter IV. 1. The spread of the Latin speech and the formation of the Romance languages: ABBOTT, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 3-31. 2. The contribution made by the Germans to civilization: ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. v. 3. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe: HADLEY, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, lect. ii.

Chapter V. 1. Justinian as a builder; St. Sophia: OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, chap, viii, pp. 106-111; GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chap, xl (consult table of contents). 2. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry: GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chap, xl (consult table of contents). 3. The Hippodrome and the "Blues" and the "Greens": OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, chap, ii, pp. 22-25 J chap, vi, pp. 75-80; MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 87-113.

Chapter VI. 1. Mohammed: CARLYLE, T., *Heroes and Hero-worship*, lect. ii, "The Hero as Prophet." 2. Some teachings of Islam: GILMAN, A., *The Saracens*, chap, xv; SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, chap. iv.

¹ Mildred C. Bishop and Edward K. Robinson's *Practical Map Exercises in Medieval and Modern European History* will be found serviceable in map studies.

Chapter VII. 1. Charlemagne and his court: DAVIS, H. W. C., *Charlemagne*, chap. x. 2. A letter of Charlemagne summoning an abbot with his **men** to a general assembly: OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, pp. 141-144. 3. Alcuin and the Palace School: WEST, A. F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, chap. iii. 4. The import of the restoration of the Empire: BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire* (8th ed.), chaps. iv, v, xxi (a subject for the advanced student). 5. The things needed to be done, which Charlemagne did: ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 154-169.

Chapter VIII. 1. Voyages of the Northmen to America: FISKE, J., *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, chap. ii. 2. The siege of Paris by the Northmen: OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 168-171. 3. Rollo (Rolf): JEWETT, S. O., *Story of the Northmen*, chap. ii. 4. Alfred's interest in learning: OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 185-195; COLBY, C. W., *Selections*, pp. 19-22.

Chapter IX. 1. Life on a mediaeval English manor, or vill: CHEYNEY, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. ii. 2. The open-field system of cultivation: SEKBOHM, F., *The English Village Community*, chap. i. 3. The spirit of knight-errantry: CUTTS, E. L., *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, pp. 353-368.

Chapter X. 1. Effects on England of the Norman Conquest: FREEMAN, E. A., *The Norman Conquest*, chap. xiv. 2. Life in the manor house: TRAILL, H. D. (ed.), *Social England*, vol. i, pp. 375-382. 3. Why the battle of Hastings is regarded as one of the decisive battles of history: CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. vii.

Chapter XI. 1. The monastery of Cluny: MUNRO, I. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 137-152. 2. The strife over investitures: SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, pp. 105-109. 3. Emperor (elect) Henry IV at Canossa: STEPHENS, W. R. W., *Hildebrand and his Times*, pp. 126-132.

Chapter XII. 1. The speech of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont: OGG, F. A., *A Source Book of Medieval History*, pp. 284-288. 2. Saint Bernard and his preaching of the Second Crusade: MORISON, J. C., *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, pp. 415-428. 3. Stories from the Crusades which formed material for literature: MUNRO, I. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 269-276.

Chapter XIII. 1. St. Francis of Assisi and the world into which he came: JRSSOPP, A., *The Coming of the Friars*, pp. 2-23. 2. St. Dominic and the Friars in England: JRSSOPP, A., *The Coming of the Friars*, pp. 23-52. 3. The quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France: EMERTON, E., *The Beginnings of Modern Europe*, pp. 116-123.

Chapter XIV. 1. Marco Polo at the Mongol court: BROOKS, N., *The Story of Marco Polo*, pp. 111-162. 2. The Janizaries: OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire*, pp. 324, 325; CREASY, E. S., *History of the Ottoman Turks*, vol. i, pp. 21-24, 161. 3. The Conquest of Constantinople: OMAN, C. W. C., *The Byzantine Empire* pp. 343-350; GIBBON, E., *Decline and Fall*, chap. lxviii.

Chapter XV. 1. The gilds in English towns: CHEYNEY, E. P., *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 59-73. 2. City life in Germany: MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 358-365. 3. The Hanseatic League: HENDERSON, E. F., *A Short History of Germany* (ed. 1902), vol. i, pp. 189-202.

Chapter XVI. 1. The "Nations" at the universities: COMPAYRE, G., *Abelard*, pp. 96-107. 2. Student life: MUNRO, I. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 348-357; COMPAYRE, G., *Abelard*, pp. 263-279. 3. The teachers; COMPAYRE, G., *Abelard*, pp. 279-286.

Chapter XVII. 1. The Black Death: IECKER, J. F. C., *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, chaps. i-vi; GREEN, J. R., *History of the English People*, vol. i, pp. 428-433 (for effects of the plague in England). 2. The fall of Granada: PRESCOTT, W. H., *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Part I, chap. xv; or IRVING, W., *The Conquest of Granada*. 3. Savonarola, the burning of the "vanities": CLARK, W., *Savonarola*, chap. xv. 4. Introduction of trial by torture in the later mediaeval period: SEIGNOHOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, pp. 215-220.

Chapter XVIII. 1. The mediaeval feeling for nature: MCLAUGHLIN, E. T., *Studies in Medieval Life and Literature*, pp. 1-33. 2. Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux: ROBINSON, J. I., and ROLFE, H., *Petrarch*, pp. 307-320. 3. Dante and his Divine Comedy: LOWELL, J. R., *Among my Boobs* (Second Series), pp. 1-26. 4. The new feeling for the ruins of Rome: BURCKHARDT, J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 177-186; SYMONDS, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, pp. 142-157. 5. Aldus Manutius and the Aldine Press: PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers*, vol. i, pp. 417-440.

Chapter XIX. 1. Prince Henry the Navigator: BOURNE, E. G., *Essays in Historical Criticism*, Essay No. 6. 2. The civilization of the Aztecs: FISKE, J., *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, chap. viii, pp. 215-239. 3. The civilization of the Peruvians: FISKE, J., *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, chap. ix; WINSOR, J., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. i, chap. iv.

Chapter XX. 1. Luther at the Diet of Worms: VEDDER, H. G., *The Reformation in Germany*, pp. 137-164; FREYTAG, G., *Martin Luther*, pp. 50-59. 2. Erasmus at Oxford: SEEBOM, F., *The Oxford Reformers*, pp. 94-116; EMERTON, E., *Desiderius Erasmus*, chap. iii. 3. The Counter-Reformation: SEIGNOHOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, chap. xxi. 4. Luther and the German Bible: SMITH, P., *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, chap. xxiii.

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Chapter XXIV. 1. Henry IV's renunciation of the Huguenot faith: WILBERT, r. F., *Henry of Navarre*, pp. 256-265. 2. The "Grand Design": MEAD, E. D., *The Great Design of Henry IV.* 3. Settlements of Huguenots in Brazil and Florida: PARKMAN, F., *Pioneers of France in the Aieu Worlds* pp. 9-179.

Chapter XXV. 1. Condition of Germany at the end of the war: GARDINER, S. R., *The Thirty Years' War*, pp. 217-221. 2. Hugo Grotius: WHITE, A. J., *Seven Great Statesmen*, pp. 55-110. 3. Some results of the Reformation: SEEBOHM, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 218-233.

Chapter XXVI. 1. Emperor Joseph II as a benevolent despot: BRIGHT, J. Y., *Joseph II*, chaps. iv-ix; SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 76-80. 2. Ideas of King James I on the royal power: LEE, G. C., *Source-Book of English History*, pp. 337, 338.

Chapter XXVII. 1. The "Assiento": MOSES, B., *Establishment of the Spanish Rule in America*, chap. xi. 2. France in America during the reign of Louis XIV: FISKE, J., *New England and New France*, chap. iv. 3. Life at court: SEIGNOBOS, C., *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, pp. 351-356; TAINE, II. A., *The Ancient Regime* (trans. by J. Durand), pp. 86-122.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus : a, like *a* in *gray*; a, like *a*, only less prolonged; a, like *a* in *have*; a, like *a* in *far*; a, like *a* in *all*; e, like *ee* in *meet*; e, like *e*, only less prolonged; e, like *e* in *end*; e, like *e* in *there*, c, like *e* in *err*; T, like / in *pine*; T, like / in *pin*; 6, like *o* in *note*; 6, like *o*, only less prolonged; o, like *o* in *ndt*; 6, like *o* in *orb*; od, like *oo* in *moon*'; ob, like *w* in ; u, like // in //SY; ii, like the French *u*; a- and œ have the same sound as *e* would have in the same position; c and ch, like *k*; 9, like *s*; g, like ^inJvY; g, like /; \$, like 5; ch, as in (Ierman *ach*; K (small capital), \ikce/i in German *ich*; n, like /// in *minion*; n denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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