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An Illustrated Encyclopedia
of Ruling Monarchs
from Ancient Times
to the Present

Gene Gurney

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An Illustrated Encyclopedia
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KINGDOMS



EUROPE

An Illustrated Encyclopedia
of Ruling Monarchs
from Ancient Times
to the Present

Gene Gurney

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Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ix

1

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITALY

1

2

THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

49

3

ENGLAND, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

127

4

IMPERIAL GERMANY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND PRUSSIA

231

5

THE EMPIRES OF AUSTRIA

265

6

THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

282

7

THE YUGOSLAV KINGDOMS

299

8

THE KINGDOMS OF SPAIN

317

9	THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY	352
10	THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM	368
11	THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS	383
12	THE KINGDOM OF DENMARK	411
13	THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY	432
14	THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN	447
15	IMPERIAL RUSSIA	482
16	THE POLISH KINGDOMS	506
17	THE KINGDOMS OF ROMANIA	523
18	THE KINGDOM OF BULGARIA	537
19	THE ANCIENT AND MODERN KINGDOMS OF GREECE	552
20	THE BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES, AND THE SULTANATES OF TURKEY	572
	APPENDIX	
	A	
	THE KINGDOM OF ALBANIA	595

B
THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANDORRA
598

C
THE ROYAL DYNASTIES OF BOHEMIA
600

D
THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIECHTENSTEIN
602

E
THE GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG
605

F
THE PRINCIPALITY OF MONACO
607

CHRISTIAN NAMES OF THE EUROPEAN MONARCHS
610

INDEX
611



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The lists of the thousands of royal sovereigns covered in this book were compiled from various sources, mainly, *Kings, Rulers and Statesmen* by L. F. Egan, *Rulers and Governments of the World* by Bertold Spuler, and Burke's *Royal Families of the World*. Where my lists differ from these three are in the spellings, dates, and so forth, where the individual country's embassy or government's historical records showed better evidence of the information.

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Chapter 1

The Roman Empire and Italy. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-182, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, David P. Coffin, Herbert W. Doud, Sallie M. Hicks, William A. Mussen, Jr., and Robert Rinehart. *The Story of the Greatest Nations; Background Notes*.

Chapter 2

The Kingdom of France. *The Story of the Greatest Nations*.

Chapter 3

England, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom. *The Story of the Greatest Nations* and *Background Notes*.

Chapter 4

Imperial Germany, the Holy Roman Empire, and Prussia. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-173, American University coauthors Norman C. Walpole, Marianne Baer, Lelah Dushkin, Lyman H. Legters, Jr., Elsa Liles, Virgil Ney, Conrad C. Reining, Eugene K. Keefe, William Giloane, Anne K. Long, James M. Moore, Jr., Jean Coutts Shema, Neda A. Walpole, and Howard C. Weizmann. *The Story of the Greatest Nations*.

Chapter 5

The Empires of Austria. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-176, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, David P. Coffin, James M. Moore, Jr., Susan H. Scurlock, and Jean Coutts Shema.

Chapter 6

The Kingdom of Hungary. The Department of Army Pamphlet 550-165, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Lyle E. Brenneman, William Giloane, Anne K. Long,

James M. Moore, Jr., and Neda A. Walpole.

Chapter 7

The Yugoslav Kingdoms. The Department of Army Pamphlet 550-99, American University coauthors Gordon C. McDonald, Paul R. Amidei, Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, Wayne A. Culp, Susan R. MacKnight, and Neda A. Walpole.

Chapter 8

The Kingdoms of Spain. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-179, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, David P. Coffin, James M. Moore, Jr., Robert Rinehart, and Susan H. Scurlock.

Chapter 9

The Portuguese Monarchy. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-181, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, David P. Coffin, Sallie M. Hicks, William A. Mussen, Jr., Robert Rinehart, and William J. Simon.

Chapter 10

The Kingdom of Belgium. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-170, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, William Giloane, Anne K. Long, James M. Moore, Jr., Jean Coutts Shema, and Neda A. Walpole. *Background Notes.*

Chapter 11

The Kingdom of the Netherlands. *The Story of the Greatest Nations.*

Chapter 12

The Kingdom of Denmark. Material supplied by the Danish Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Chapter 13

The Kingdom of Norway. Material supplied by the Norwegian Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Chapter 14

The Kingdom of Sweden. Material supplied by the Swedish Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Chapter 15

Imperial Russia. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-95, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Arsene A. Boucher, Sarah J. Elpern, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Terence L. Ogden, Stephen Peters, John P. Prevas,

Nancy E. Walstrom, and Eston T. White.

Chapter 16

The Polish Kingdoms. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-162, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Jr., and Neda A. Walpole.

Chapter 17

The Kingdoms of Romania. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-160, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Donald W. Bernier, Lyle E. Brenneman, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Jr., and Neda A. Walpole.

Chapter 18

The Kingdom of Bulgaria. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-168, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Violeta D. Baluyut, William Giloane, Anne K. Long, James M. Moore, Jr., and Neda A. Walpole.

Chapter 19

The Ancient and Modern Kingdoms of Greece. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-87, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, David P. Coffin, William A. Mussen, Jr., and Robert Rinehart.

Chapter 20

The Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, and the Sultanates of Turkey. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-80, American University coauthors Richard F. Nyrop, Beryl Lief Benderly, William W. Cover, Melissa J. Cutter, Ahmet O. Evin, Newton B. Parker, and Suzanne Teleki.

Appendix

A. The Kingdom of Albania. The Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-98, American University coauthors Eugene K. Keefe, Sarah Jane Elpern, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Jr., Stephen Peters, and Eston T. White.

B. The Principality of Andorra. *Background Notes.*

C. The Royal Dynasties of Bohemia. The Czechoslovakian Embassy, Washington, D.C.

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E. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg

F. The Principality of Monaco, *Background Notes.*

GENE GURNEY



I

The Roman Empire and Italy

Italian civilization is ancient—a product of the Roman Empire and the source of the Renaissance—but Italy as a nation-state is relatively young, emerging only in 1861 as a political entity. The name Italy is one of great antiquity, used for nearly three thousand years to identify the boot-shaped peninsula that juts from the Alps and the Po Valley into the Mediterranean Sea. It was the Greeks who coined the term *Italy* to describe a spacious country good for grazing cattle. Poets and patriots, ancient and modern, have heard in it the name of their homeland. The Roman political reformer of the second century B.C., Tiberius Gracchus, understood this when at the end of the Punic Wars he protested, “The wild beasts of Italy have their dens and holes and hiding places, while they who fight and die in defense of Italy enjoy indeed the air and light, but nothing more.” Vergil wrote of the exiled Aeneas that he was “the first to sail from the land of Troy and reach Italy.” Dante, Petrarch, and Machiavelli all understood that Italy had cultural if not political boundaries that set it apart from the rest of Europe. Nineteenth-century European statesmen dismissed a politically disunited Italy as a mere geographical expression. Italy’s cultural, emotional, physical, and political boundaries have historically seldom coincided, but that an Italy and an Italian people have existed from antiquity has been recognized by Italians—although they may have called themselves Venetians and Florentines—and by foreigners alike.

Three wars with Austria and an open breach with the papacy were the price paid to complete the long process of Italian unification, known as the *Risorgimento* (Revival), and to establish a national monarchy under the House of Savoy in the late nineteenth century. As one of the victorious powers in World War I, Italy annexed additional territory. Parliamentary institutions broke down, however, in the atmosphere of depression, disillusionment, and fear that gripped the country in the aftermath of the war, and the country succumbed to Benito

Mussolini’s Fascist dictatorship. Mussolini led Italy to defeat as the ally of Nazi Germany in World War II. Elements of the Italian army and the anti-Fascist partisan movement participated, however, in the liberation of Italy after Mussolini’s ouster in 1943. The monarchy was abolished after a plebiscite in 1946 and a republic established.

EARLY INHABITANTS

The Latins and other Italic tribes, speakers of Indo-European languages who had settled in Italy by 2000 B.C., provided the basic genetic stock. There was a disparity in the levels of civilization achieved by early Italic cultures, which were usually intensely local in their expression. These tribal groups consolidated unsuccessfully in common defense against the intrusion of the Etruscans, who appeared in Italy about 1200 B.C. The origin of the Etruscans, whose influence and civilization in Italy were not surpassed until the emergence of Latin Rome as an independent power, is a mystery that has confounded scholars for centuries. Archaeological evidence of their civilization, though plentiful, is subject to contradictory interpretations. Their language, its alphabet derived from Greek, had no known affinities with other languages and is undecipherable. The explanation put forward by Herodotus that the Etruscans had migrated from Asia Minor has remained a popular speculation. Although their origin is obscure, much is known of their politics and art. It was the Etruscans who introduced the city-state as a form of political organization to Italy. Although politically disunited and often hostile, the city-states of Etruria were linked in a religious confederation and were capable of concerted action against common enemies. Rivals of the Greeks, they nonetheless assimilated Hellenic culture and transmitted it to the Italic peoples whom they had subdued.

In the second millennium B.C. lines of trade extended from the Aegean Islands into Italy, the depot for amber



The Roman Empire

and copper brought from beyond the Alps. The first Greek colonies were planted in southern Italy in the eighth century B.C. Politically and economically independent of their mother cities, the colonies in Magna Graecia (Greater Greece)—as Sicily, Catania, Apulia, and Lucania were called in antiquity—remained an integral part of the Hellenic world. Some of the city-states of Magna Graecia—for example, Syracuse on Sicily—were powerful and prosperous and played a part in the political life of Greece and the Aegean. In Italy the Greeks also manifested their suicidal tendency for warring among themselves. The Greeks were challenged by the Phoenician colony of Carthage, which in its drive for hegemony in the western Mediterranean settled enclaves in Sicily and Sardinia in the sixth century B.C. and made allies of the Etruscans. The Etruscans, in their turn, were pressed by waves of Celts who crossed the Alps and settled in the northern plains.

ROME

The origins of Rome are the stuff of myth, not history. It is probable that in the eighth century B.C. (756 B.C. is the traditional date) Latin villagers and refugees from a countryside harassed by hill tribes sought safety behind the wooden palisades constructed on the Palatine Hill overlooking a crossing on the Tiber River. Legend re-

lates that these outcasts took as their first king Romulus, descendant of Aeneas the Trojan, and that he gave his name to the city. The families, clans, and tribes to which all citizens claimed ties by blood or adoption were the basis of the city-states' social structure and military and political organization. A hereditary Etruscan monarchy was overthrown and a republic established in 510 B.C. The Etruscans, however, left their imprint on Roman institutions, particularly in the identification of religion and the state. The proverbial Roman habits of austerity are also thought to have been a reaction to the hedonism of their Etruscan overlords, but both tendencies remained as strains in Roman and later, Italian, thought. The political history of the Roman Republic, governed by a patrician oligarchy, was marked even in its early stages by the persistent and ultimately successful struggle of the plebeians—as a class—to gain an effective voice in government and to improve their social and economic status.

The building of the Roman Empire was begun with the slow subjugation of Italy and the gradual assimilation of its diverse peoples into the Roman state system. The poet Vergil eulogized the toil it took to make the Roman state, but Roman expansion in Italy was not deliberate or the result of a preconceived strategy. It developed haphazardly from commitments made to



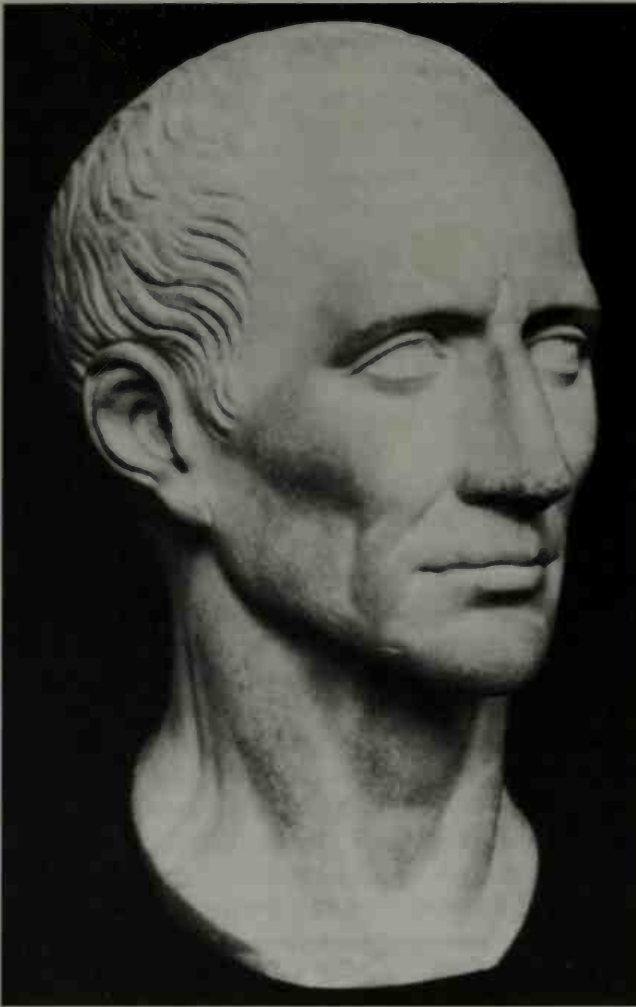
The story of the finding of the two lost children of Rome, Romulus and Remus, is to this day told by the mothers of Italy to their children. The twin brothers were put in a basket and set afloat in the Tiber River by a cruel uncle who was acting as the king of Alba Longa, a throne that rightfully belonged to Romulus and Remus. They were found by a shepherd, Faustulus, on the river's edge, being nursed by a she-wolf. This scene is a national emblem of Italy and appears on its coins and stamps. Here we see Romulus being handed to the shepherd's wife.

other Latin towns and from intervention into the political squabbles of the Greek cities that took Rome step by step from conquest to conquest. Victories in the Punic Wars against Carthage gave Rome mastery of the Mediterranean and put Italy at the center of an empire that would stretch from the British Isles to the Euphrates River at its height in the first century A.D.

During his dictatorship Julius Caesar pledged to return the Republic to the people but, while preserving the name *republic*, the state evolved toward a monarchical system. His statue was erected in the Capitol, and another bore the fulsome inscription, "Caesar the demigod." His image was to be carried in the procession of the gods, and a golden chair was provided for him in the Senate house. The month Quintilis had its name changed to Julius, which we still retain as July. While he was not king in name he was in substance, for no monarch could have been more absolute. He was made dictator for ten years, which was soon changed to perpetual dictator, and he was hailed as imperator for life. This title was one

Aeneas the Trojan on his travels goes to Carthage and meets Dido, its founder.





Julius Caesar, the greatest Roman general of all time

that was given under the Republic to a victorious general (for the word means "commander"), but it was always laid aside at the close of the military command. By clipping the word *imperator*, it will be seen that it readily becomes *emperor*.

He had obtained power by overriding the laws, but such is the necessity of all revolutions, and having secured that power, he was determined to use it for the good of the people. He laid the foundations broad and strong. He promoted distinguished and trustworthy foreigners to places of dignity in the city; Gauls and others were introduced into the Senate; whole classes of useful subjects, such as those of the medical profession, were admitted to the franchise, and colonies were planted at Carthage and Corinth. An elaborate geographical survey was made of the immense regions in his dominion, and a most important project undertaken was the condensation and arrangement into a compact code of the thousands of fragments of the old Roman laws. This work had been dreamed of by Cicero and others, who were forced to believe it an impossible task, but Caesar set about it with such practical sense and system that it assuredly would have been completed, had his life been



In his conquests to the north, Caesar defeats the Gauls. Here their king, Vercingetorix, is seen surrendering to Caesar.

spared to the usual limit. As it was, six centuries had to elapse before the glory of the work was earned by Justinian, the imperial legislator.

One notable achievement was the reform of the calendar. The Roman year had been calculated on the basis of 354 days, with the intercalation or insertion every second year of a month of twenty-two and twenty-three days respectively; but another day had been added to the 354, so as to secure an odd or fortunate number, to meet which an intricate process, that only the scholars understood, was brought into use. The jumble became intolerable. Caesar was a good astronomer, and with the aid of Sosigenes, the most eminent in the science, the Julian calendar was devised. This is still known by that name, and makes each year to consist of 365 days, with an additional day added to every fourth or leap year. Even this is not mathematically exact; and the slight error, in the course of centuries, grew into an importance which required the correction made by Pope Gregory XIII, and put into effect in Rome, October 5-15, 1582. By this Gregorian calendar leap year is omitted at the close of each century whose figures are not divisible by four hundred.

Spain, Portugal, and a part of Italy adopted the Gregorian calendar with Rome; France, in December 1582, and the Catholic states of Germany in 1583. In Scotland it was adopted on January 1, 1600; and in the Protestant states of Germany in 1700. England and Ireland and the English colonies, however, kept the Julian calendar until 1752, when the change was made. Russia alone had retained the Julian system, its dates being thirteen days behind the rest of the world for a considerable period of time.

Julius Caesar was undoubtedly one of the greatest geniuses that ever lived. No general ever surpassed him in ability; he was a statesman, an orator, a mathematician, a historian, an architect, a jurist, and was preeminent in each capacity. His personality was impressive. Tall and dignified of presence, with a fair complexion and keen, expressive black eyes, he never wore a beard, and, as he grew bald, he showed that care for his looks which was almost a passion with him from youth. He wore a laurel chaplet, which hid his baldness and was at the same time a badge of his military greatness.

CAESAR'S RULE AND DEATH

Many of the designs of this remarkable genius were never carried to completion, for the reason that his life was cut off in its prime and before he had time to do more than form the far-reaching plans. His scheme of changing the course of the Tiber, so as to enlarge the Campus Martius,

Caesar invades Britain at the head of his legions (a legion of soldiers usually numbered about 4,200).



Having heard of civil unrest in Rome, Caesar crosses the Italian frontier at the Rubicon River. Knowing full well that he is in rebellion of standing orders to do so, he hesitated for a number of hours on the northern side. Once on the other side, he told his soldiers, "The die is cast."

was never followed out, nor did he cut through the Isthmus of Corinth.

He shone as a leader among the intellectual men of his time. While he was modest and affable in his intercourse, none talked or wrote better than he. His "Commentaries," despite the great length of some of the sentences,

remains as a monument of his extraordinary skill as a historian and writer. He was abstemious among the free livers, and Cato has said of him that, of all the revolutionists of his day, he alone took up his task with perfect soberness at all times. In this respect he was a marked contrast to Alexander.

Moreover, it is impossible to study the character of the man without giving him credit for nobility of purpose. He judged rightly, when he felt that the only safety of Rome lay in its government by a wise, firm, and discreet ruler, and certainly there was none in that age who so fully met the requirements of the position as himself. The blot upon the character of Caesar is that he accepted the blind, sacrilegious idolatry of his people without protest, and that his private life was scandalous. He openly declared his unbelief in immortality, and lived defiantly with Cleopatra as his wife, though he never made her such.

He became haughty and capricious and, like Napoleon at St. Helena, dreamed of the glories of his past campaigns and longed to engage in more. Brooding over all this, he formed the plan of crushing the Parthians, conquering the barbarians of the North, and then attacking the Germans in the rear. In the closing months of the year 45 B.C., he ordered his legions to cross the Adriatic and meet at Illyricum, where he would speedily join them. He expected to be absent for a long time from Rome, and arranged for the succession of chief magis-

trates for the following two years. He entered on his fifth consulship on the first of January 44 B.C., Marcus Antonius being his colleague.

At that time, Gaius Octavius, the eighteen-year-old son of Caesar's sister, was in camp at Apollonia, receiving instructions in war from the ablest teachers. He showed great ability, but was of delicate health. Caesar let it be known that he intended to make Octavius his son by adoption, and to bequeath to him all those dignities which the Senate had declared hereditary in his family.

Human nature has been the same in all ages, and no man can rise to exalted position without incurring the deadly envy of those who have failed to keep pace with him. There were many such in Rome. They met in secret, whispered and plotted, and finally formed a conspiracy for taking the life of the emperor. The persons concerned in this hideous crime were sixty or eighty in number, and among them were many who had received marked favors at the hands of Caesar and professed the warmest devotion to him. The leader was Gaius Longinus Cassius, who had lately been appointed praetor. At the breaking out of the civil war, he had sided with Pompey, but was pardoned by Caesar, and besides being made praetor was promised the governorship of Syria in the following year. The more favors he received, the more malignant he seemed to become in his hatred of the benefactor. Associated with him were Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, Casca, Cimber, and more, all of whom were

Cleopatra, secreted in a rolled-up rug, is unveiled in the presence of Caesar.



Caesar in Egypt visits the grave site of Alexander the Great and views a waxen figure of the great conqueror.





The Roman senators urge Pompey to bear arms and join them in a conspiracy to eliminate Caesar from control.

under deep obligations to Caesar for numerous favors.

These men knew they were taking frightful risks, for the crime they contemplated would shake Rome to its center and resound through the coming ages. They needed a strong name to help them through, and fixed upon Marcus Junius Brutus, who had also been a partisan of Pompey, but made his submission to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalia, and in the following year was appointed governor of Cisalpine Gaul. Brutus was a nephew of Cato, and claimed to trace his descent from a son of the famous Brutus who had founded the Republic, and whose other sons had perished by the axe of the executioner. His descendant was now made vain by the many favors shown him by Caesar, who one day remarked that, of all Romans, Brutus was the most worthy to succeed him. Brutus accepted this as earnest, and it was easy for the conspirators, by appealing to this, to procure his consent to become their leader in the dark counsels they often held together.

Caesar received hints of what was going on. He had dismissed the guard appointed for him, and was, therefore, continually exposed to treacherous attack. When his friends remonstrated because of the fearless way in which he walked through the streets, he replied that it was better to die and have done with it than to live in continual fear of dying. He scorned to take the least precautions, and since he had almost completed his preparations for leaving on his campaigns, his enemies determined to wait no longer. The Senate was convened for the Ides of March, the fifteenth day of the month, and it was agreed that on that day he should be struck down as he entered the Curia.

Caesar is said to have shown some hesitation, due to the many warnings he had received, but he naturally shrank from appearing timid. He determined to go. On the way along the Forum to the theater of Pompey, in

Mark Antony offers to crown Caesar king of the Roman Empire, but Caesar refuses, saying, "I am no king, but Caesar. The Romans have no king but Jupiter." He knew full well that the people hated the title king ever since they overthrew their last one in 510 B.C.—Tarquinius the Proud and the Haughty. But Caesar, in fact, served as emperor until his assassination on March 15, 44 B.C., a day which is marked in infamy forever as "beware the Ides of March."



the Campus, several persons pressed near to warn him of his peril. One man hastily shoved a paper into his hand and begged him to read it without an instant's delay. He paid no heed, but held the roll, when he reached the Senate house, remarking with a smile to the augur Spurinna, "The Ides of March have come." "Yes," replied the other, "but they are not yet passed."

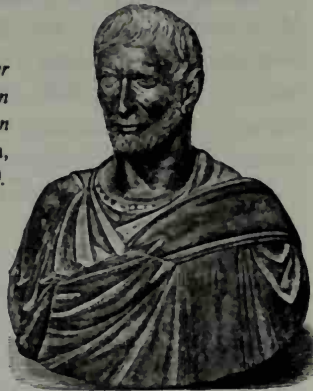
As he entered the hall, his enemies kept near him so as to hold his friends at a distance. Caesar advanced to his seat, when Cimber immediately approached with a petition for the pardon of his brother. The others, as agreed upon, joined in the prayer with much importunity, seizing his hands and even attempting to embrace him. Caesar gently repelled their attentions, but they persisted, and Cimber caught hold of his toga with both hands and snatched it over his arms. Then Casca, who was behind him, drew a dagger from under his cloak and reaching forward struck at Caesar, but in the flurry merely grazed his shoulder. Caesar saw the blow, and tried to seize the hilt of the dagger with one hand. Then Casca uttered the signal that had been agreed upon. This was the cry "Help!" Immediately the others swarmed forward, pushing and striving to get closer to their victim, and all striking vicious blows, even though a number were not within reach of him. Caesar defended himself as best he could, and wounded one of his assailants with his stylus; but when he recognized the gleaming face of Brutus among the panting countenances and saw the upraised steel in his hand, as he fought to get near enough to strike, he exclaimed, "What! Thou too, Brutus!" (*Et tu, Brute!*), and, drawing his robe over his face, made no further resistance. The assassins plunged their weapons into his body again and again, until at last, bleeding from twenty-three wounds, he sank down and breathed out his life at the feet of the statue of Pompey.

The awful crime was completed, and the assassins, flinging their gowns over their left arms, as shields, and brandishing aloft their dripping daggers in their right hands, marched out of the Curia to the Forum, calling aloud that they had killed a tyrant, and displaying a



The murderers strike twenty-three dagger blows into Caesar's body.

Marcus Junius Brutus, a former friend of Caesar, participated in the assassination. Caesar, upon identifying him, said, "Et tu, Brute!" (Thou, too, Brutus!).



liberty cap on the head of a spear. The multitude were dazed and stupefied for the moment, but the signs were so ominous that the conspirators hunted out a place of refuge in the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol.

In this place they were joined by others, and among them Cicero, who, though he had nothing to do with the conspiracy, did not condemn it, and advised that the Senate should be called together at once. Brutus was distrustful and determined to make another appeal to the populace. He entered the Forum the next day, and his speech was listened to coldly, even if with respect. When, however, others followed in the same strain, the hearers broke out with such violence that the Republicans were driven back to their quarters.

Meanwhile the consul Antonius had been active. He communicated secretly with Calpurnia, the widow of Caesar, who seems to have been a woman of little force of character, and secured possession of her husband's immense treasures and also his will. Assisted by his two brothers—one of whom was a tribune and the other a praetor—Antonius opened, as consul, the national coffers in the temple of Ops, and drawing a large sum, secured the promise of support from Lepidus, who had been leader of the army during Caesar's absence in Spain, and was his colleague in the consulship, 46 B.C. Lepidus was weak of character, lacking both military ability and statesmanship.

Antonius, as the minister and favorite of Caesar, was looked upon by many as his natural successor. Cicero alone opposed the conspirators' negotiations with him, for, though a brave man, Antonius was dissipated to the last degree. He was agreed upon as the proper man to act, and it was arranged that he should convene the Senate on March 17. He selected as a place for the meeting the temple of Tellus, near the Forum, and filled it with armed soldiers. Since the assassins were afraid to leave the Capitol, the discussion took place in their absence. The majority favored declaring Caesar a tyrant, but Antonius pointed out that this would invalidate all his acts and appointments. While the discussion was going on, Antonius went out and entered the Forum. He was received with acclamations, and Cicero showed that the only dignified course that could relieve them from their embarrassment was an amnesty which should confirm every acquired right and leave the deed of the conspirators to the judgment of posterity.

Cicero carried his point, and by his eloquence the next day he calmed the populace, who invited the conspirators to descend from the Capitol, Lepidus and Antonius sending their children as hostages, and one entertained Brutus and the other Cassius at supper. The following morning all parties met in the Curia, and Caesar's assignment of provinces was confirmed. To Trebonius went Asia, to Cimber Bithynia, and to Decimus the Cisalpine, while Macedonia was to go to Brutus, and Syria to Cassius, when their terms of office at home expired.

Caesar was dead but not buried. Inasmuch as his acts were valid, his will had to be accepted and his remains honored with a public funeral. Antony read to the people the last testament of their idol, by which it appeared that the youthful Octavius had been adopted as his son; that the Roman people had been endowed with his gardens on the bank of the Tiber, and he had bequeathed some twelve dollars to every citizen.

This liberality roused all to fury, which was kindled to the ungovernable point by the funeral oration of Mark

Mark Antony, a true friend of Caesar's, who was also marked for death but escaped, delivers the final public words over Caesar's body.



Antony. The body was laid out on a couch of gold and ivory, on a shrine gleaming with gold and erected before the rostra. At the head was hung the toga in which Caesar had been slain, showing the rents made by the daggers of the assassins. The mangled remains were concealed, but in their place was displayed a waxen figure, which faithfully showed every one of the three-and-twenty wounds.

When the people were swept by grief and indignation, Mark Antony stepped forward, as the chief magistrate of the Republic. He did this with marvelous dramatic power. Then pointing to the bleeding corpse, and striding toward the Capitol, he proclaimed in a thrilling voice: "I at least am prepared to keep my vow to avenge the victim I could not save!"

The people were now beyond restraint, as the orator intended they should be. They would not allow the body to be carried outside of the city, but insisted that it should be burned within the walls. Benches, tables, and chairs were torn up and heaped before the pontiff's dwelling in the Forum, and the body placed upon it. The torch was applied by two youths, girt with swords and javelin in hand, while the people flung on more fuel, wherever it could be gathered, the veterans adding their arms, the matrons their ornaments, and the children their trinkets. It was a touching fact that among the most grief-stricken of the mourners were Gauls, Iberians, Africans, and Orientals, all of whom had loved Caesar with no less fervency than did his own countrymen.

Caesar had been the friend and champion of the common people. Attacking him unawares, his enemies had struck the fragile, human life from his body. Yet so great had been the spirit of the man, so enormous his influence, that even that dead body was sufficient to defeat the conspirators. The sudden, unquenchable rebellion that sprang up around his corpse was Caesar's last and greatest triumph.

ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS— ROME BECOMES AN EMPIRE

No orator had ever attained more perfect success than did Mark Antony in that celebrated speech over Caesar's body. The frenzied people rushed like madmen through the streets, with blazing brands, determined to set fire to the houses of the conspirators and slay the inmates. The blind attacks were repulsed for the time, but Brutus and Cassius and their associates made haste to get out of the city. Had the incensed populace been able to lay hands upon them, they would have been torn limb from limb.

Ah, but Mark Antony was sly! He interfered and stopped the disorder, and then set himself to win the goodwill of the Senate, which was needed to carry out his plans. He secured the passage of a resolution abolishing the office of dictator, and it was never revived; and then,

with a stern hand, he put down the rioting which broke out in many quarters. He even visited Brutus and Cassius in their hiding, and offered to guarantee their safety, but they wisely declined to enter the city. Their praetorial office required them to reside in Rome, but he obtained for the two a charge for supplying provisions which would justify their absence. In return, Antony asked one small favor: since he, too, was in danger, he asked the Senate to grant him an armed bodyguard. The Senate promptly did so, and he as promptly raised it to six thousand men and thus made himself safe.

Antony was for the moment as much dictator as Caesar had ever been. He secured the sanction of the Senate, not only for all the imperator had done, but for all that he might have planned to do. Having won over the secretary of the deceased and secured all his papers, Antony carried out what schemes he liked, and when he lacked authority for them, he, with the help of the secretary forged Caesar's authority. It is unnecessary to say that with such boundless facilities at command, he did not neglect to "feather his own nest," and to secure enough funds to bribe senators, officers, and tributary provinces. He did not hesitate to break the engagements he had made with the conspirators, by taking from Brutus and Cassius the governments that had been promised them, and seizing Macedonia with the legions Caesar had ordered to assemble at Apollonia. Beholding all this, Cicero sadly murmured: "The tyrant is dead, but the tyranny still lives."

Now, you will remember that Octavius, the young nephew of Caesar, was at Apollonia preparing himself for the campaign in which he had expected to take part. When he learned the particulars of his uncle's assassination, and the letters from his mother made known that he was the heir to all that had been left, he was thrilled by the ambition that sprang to life within him, and determined to return to Rome in the face of every danger. His friends tried to dissuade him, but he had the fervent devotion of the soldiers, who burned to avenge the murder of their idolized chief. Nothing could restrain the young man's resolution and, when he landed on the coast of Apulia, copies of the will and decrees of the Senate were shown to him. He immediately assumed the title of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, and offered himself before the troops at Prundisium as the adopted son of the great imperator. He was received with the wildest demonstrations, and the veterans who crowded around drew their swords and clamored to be led against all who dared to oppose the will of him who, being dead, yet spoke in the same trumpet tones as of yore.

Octavius, in spite of his years, was prudent, even while impetuous. Instead of appealing to force he addressed the Senate in temperate language, claiming that, as a private citizen, he had the right to the inheritance left him by Caesar. On his way to Rome, he visited the despondent Cicero, who was staying near Cumae, and

succeeded in convincing the orator of his loyal and wise views.

Octavius entered Rome in April and, despite the remonstrance of his mother and stepfather, went before the praetor and declared himself the son and heir of the dictator. Mounting the tribune, he addressed the people, pledging to pay the sums bequeathed to them by his illustrious parent. He made many friends and won over a large number of enemies. Antony had no fear at first of this stripling, but the news that reached him led him to return to Rome about the middle of May. When he and Octavius met, the latter professed friendship for him, but at the same time upbraided the consul for his failure to punish the assassins. The Second Triumvirate, formed in 43 B.C., divided among its members the provinces around Italy. Antony was to have the two Gauls; Lepidus the Spains, with the Narbonensis; while Octavius secured Africa and the islands. Italy, the heart of empire, they were to retain in common, while the division of the eastern provinces was postponed until after Brutus and Cassius should be driven out of them. Octavius and Antony, with twenty legions each, were to take charge of the conduct of the war, while Lepidus remained to protect their interests in Rome.

Having formed their far-reaching scheme, the three agreed that the first necessary precaution was to leave no enemies in their rear. All from whom danger threatened must be crushed beyond the possibility of doing harm. Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus entered the city on three successive days, each at the head of a single legion. The troops occupied the temples and towers and their banners waved from the Forum. The farce of a plebiscitum was gone through, and on November 28 the Triumvirate was proclaimed. They decreed a formal proscription. Each man had his list of chief citizens before him and, sitting down, picked out the names of those whose deaths would give him special happiness.

Now, since everyone was certain to want the sacrifice of the relatives of the others, they made a ghastly agreement among themselves to the effect that each, by giving up a relative, would be entitled to proscribe a kinsman of his colleagues. As a result, among the first names on the fatal list were a brother of Lepidus, an uncle of Antony, and a cousin of Octavius. Three hundred senators, two thousand knights, and many thousands of citizens were put to death. Many escaped by fleeing to Macedonia and others to Africa, while more found refuge on the vessels of Sextus Pompeius that were cruising off Africa. Some bought their lives with bribes.

Antony demanded the death of Cicero, whose blistering philippics still rankled in his memory, and Octavius, to his eternal shame, consented. Cicero was staying at the time with his brother at his Tusculan villa. As soon as they heard of the proscription, they fled to Astura, another villa, on a small island off the coast of Antium, whither they intended to embark for Macedonia. In the

pursuit the brother was overtaken and killed, but Cicero gained the sea, set sail, and landed several times, distressed in body and mind and caring little what became of him. The last time he went ashore near Formiae, he was warned of the danger of delay. "Let me die here, in my fatherland," he said mournfully, but his slaves placed the man, who was suffering great bodily pain, upon a litter, and moved as rapidly as they could toward the seacoast.

Hardly had they left the house, when an officer, whose life Cicero had once saved, appeared and pounded on the door. A man pointed out the course taken by the fugitives, and he and his small force ran after them. Cicero saw them coming up and noted that they were in less number than his own party, who prepared to defend him.

But he would not permit it. He ordered the slaves to set down the litter and, fixing his eyes calmly on his enemies, he bared his throat to their swords. Many of the spectators covered their faces with their hands, and the leader hesitated and bungled, until at last he pulled himself together and then all was quickly over. The head of the orator was sent as a gracious present to Antony, whose wife, Fulvia, remembering how nearly she and her husband had been overthrown by that bitter tongue, thrust long pins through it, taunting the dead man and crying that she had given the final answer to his orations.

The Second Triumvirate had crushed its enemies at home; it had still to destroy the Republican forces. Brutus and Cassius, knowing they could not sustain themselves in Italy, had retired to the East. When Brutus appeared before Athens, the citizens erected his statue by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and many of the younger men enlisted in his ranks. Horace, the future poet, was made a tribune, and numerous veterans also joined the patriot forces. The kings and rulers of Macedonia were quick to declare themselves on the same side, one of the adherents being a brother of Antony.

Cassius had gone to his promised government of Syria, where he was held in high esteem because of the courage he had displayed in the conquest of the Parthians, after the fall of Crassus. He devastated the country and then prepared to pass over into Macedonia. The legend is that Brutus, watching in his tent at night, saw a fearful apparition, which being addressed replied: "I am thy evil spirit; thou shalt see me again at Philippi." When he and Cassius encamped on an eminence, twelve miles east of Philippi, their forces numbered probably one hundred thousand men. Those which Octavius and Antony brought against them were fewer, but in a better state of discipline. In the battle Brutus opposed Octavius; Cassius, Antony. Octavius was ill, and at the first shock his division yielded, but Antony was successful. Cassius fell back, and was left almost alone and unaware of the success of his colleague. Observing a body of horsemen approaching, he was panic-stricken, and, believing them



Brutus takes his life when his luck turns and he is about to be killed in battle.

the enemy, threw himself on the sword of a freedman and died. The messenger sent by Brutus with news of his triumph arrived just a moment too late. It was a drawn battle, and each side withdrew, glad of a respite.

Brutus found it difficult to hold his legions in hand and, yielding to his impatience, he renewed the battle twenty days later on the same field. The fight was well contested, but the Caesareans under Octavius broke the ranks of their enemies, and attacked them in their camp. Brutus held an anxious position throughout the night on a neighboring hill. When daylight came, his remaining men refused to renew the fight, and in despair he ended his life with his own sword. The remnant of the shattered Republican armies was carried off by the fleet that had attended their movements.

The decisive victory having been gained, the victors made a new partition of the spoils. Octavius took Spain and Numidia; Antony, Gaul beyond the Alps; and Lepidus the province of Africa. But the division was hardly made when the possessors began to quarrel over it. Lepidus was feeble, and of such insignificance that his share was soon taken from him, after which nothing was more certain than that Octavius and Antony would soon come to strife over their portions and each would intrigue against the other. Octavius was still suffering in health, and chose to seek repose by returning to the balmy climate of Italy, and undertaking the task of placing the veterans on the estates of the natives. The gross Antony stayed in the East, indulging in the lowest dissipation.

He ordered Cleopatra to meet him at Cilicia, on a charge of intrigue with his enemy Cassius. It is said that the wit and piquancy of this remarkable woman were more effective than her dazzling beauty, and none knew better how to use her gifts than she. Sailing for Tarsus, she glided up the Cydnus in a gilded vessel, with purple sails and silver oars, to the sound of flutes and pipes. Under an awning, spangled with gold, she reclined in the garb of Venus, surrounded by Cupids, Graces, and Nereids, while Antony appeared in the character of Bacchus. Impressed by her splendid equipage, he invited her

to land and sit at his banquet, but with the air of a queen she summoned him to attend her.

That meeting sealed his fate. He was utterly enthralled. Under the spell of the arch temptress, he forgot wife, Rome, and every duty, and only asked the bliss of becoming her slave and adorer; and, inasmuch as that was the object for which she played from the beginning, she made sure of retaining her sway over him.

In the middle of the summer of 36 B.C., Antony had gathered one hundred thousand men on the Euphrates with the intention of completing the conquest of the Parthians. His alliance with Cleopatra had delayed him so long that he advanced too rapidly and, on reaching Praaspa, three hundred miles beyond the Tigris, he found himself without any artillery with which to conduct a siege. He therefore settled for an attempt at the reduction of the city by blockade, but the Parthian horsemen cut off his supplies and a number of his Armenian allies deserted. This compelled him to retreat, and for twenty-seven days his men were subjected to incredible sufferings. Not until they had crossed the Araxes did the Parthians cease their attacks. Antony still hurried his wearied soldiers, intent only on rejoining Cleopatra at the earliest moment. She had come to Syria to meet him and, caring nothing for honor or duty, he returned with her to the dissipations of the Egyptian capital, not hesitating in his shamelessness to announce his recent campaign as a victory. It suited Octavius to maintain the appearance at least of friendship, and he did not dispute the claim.

Antony's second wife, the faithful Octavia, hoping to save her husband from the thralldom of Cleopatra, obtained the consent of her brother Octavius to rejoin Antony. He had returned to Syria, and was preparing for a new expedition when he learned that his wife had arrived in Athens. He sent her orders to come no farther. She could not mistake the meaning of the message, but asked leave to send forward the presents she brought with her,

The first meeting of Mark Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt. The queen soon became his fifth wife, replacing Octavia, Caesar's sister, and they also joined military forces against the Romans under Octavius.



which consisted of clothing for the soldiers, money, and equipments, including two thousand picked men as a bodyguard for the emperor. Then the "Serpent of the Nile" exerted all her devilish arts, and the fool Antony fled with her to Alexandria. Octavia, with the serene dignity of wounded womanhood, resigned her unworthy husband to the fate he richly deserved.

Some modern courts have illustrated the depths of debauchery of which men and women are capable, but none have surpassed the court of Cleopatra, whose dominion over Mark Antony was so complete that he seemed unable to live except in her presence. It was as if Nature had displayed the utmost achievements of which she is capable in the creation of this woman. While her portraits do not show a superlative degree of beauty, she must have possessed it to a remarkable extent, and her magnetism of manner was resistless. She was a fascinating singer and musician, spoke several languages, and was past mistress in all the arts and artifices of her sex. None knew better how to capture and retain her dominion over such a coarse wretch as Antony. What strange stories have come down to us of that extraordinary couple! When he dropped a line into the water, trained divers by her orders slipped unperceived underneath and fastened live fish to the hook; she dissolved a pearl of princely value in a cup of vinegar, and drank it to his health.

The rumors of these orgies caused resentment in Rome, where the tact and wisdom of Octavius steadily added to his popularity. One of the chief supporters of Antony became so nauseated that he appeared in the Senate and openly declared his abhorrence of his late master. Then he went to Octavius and revealed the testament of Antony, which reeked with treason. It declared the child of Cleopatra and Caesar the heir of the dictator, and ratified Antony's drunken gifts of provinces to favorites, finally directing that his body should be entombed with Cleopatra's in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. All this hideous wickedness being known, everyone was ready to believe the story that Antony when drunk had given his pledge to Cleopatra to sacrifice the West to her ambition and to remove to Alexandria the government of the world.

Octavius, while refraining from declaring Antony a public enemy, proclaimed war against Egypt, and did not renew the terms of the Triumvirate, which had expired, but directed the Senate to annul the appointment of Antony as consul, assuming it himself at the opening of 31 B.C.

Antony still had friends, and they now begged him to wrench himself free from Cleopatra. He replied by divorcing his legitimate wife, thus breaking the last legal tie that bound him to his country. He could not wholly close his eyes to his peril, however, and showed some of his old-time vigor in preparing to resist Octavius, who was equally energetic in preparations against him.

The forces of Antony are given at one hundred thousand infantry and twelve thousand horses, while his fleet numbered five hundred large war galleys. Octavius had twenty thousand less, and only one hundred fifty smaller vessels, which on that account were more manageable. The desertion of many of his troops awakened distrust in the mind of Antony, who became suspicious of Cleopatra herself and compelled her to taste all viands before he partook of them. At last the two great armies gathered in front of each other on the shores of the Gulf of Ambracia, the narrow channel between being occupied by the fleet of Antony.

This field of war was ill-chosen, for it was confined and unhealthful, and Antony wished to remove his forces to the plains of Thessaly; but Cleopatra, fearing for her own way of retreat, dissuaded him. Distrusting the issue of the battle, he secretly prepared to lead his fleet into the open waters of the Leucadian bay, so as to break through the enemy's line, and escape to Egypt, leaving the army to do the best it could to retreat into Asia.

The wind was so high for several days that the rough waters would not permit the ships of either side to move; but it fell, and, on September 2, 31 B.C., at noon, while the galleys of Antony lay becalmed at the entrance to the strait, a gentle breeze sprang up, so that the immense armament moved out to sea.

It immediately became apparent that the ships were greatly handicapped by their bulkiness, which held them from moving with the nimbleness of their opponents. They hurled huge stones from their wooden towers and reached out enormous iron claws to grapple their assailants, who dodged and eluded them like a party of hounds in front of a wounded bear. How curiously the account of this naval battle reads when compared with one of our modern contests on the water! The Caesarean rowers shot forward and backed with great agility, or swept away the banks of the enemy's oars, under cover of showers of arrows, circling about the awkward masses and helping one another against boarding or grappling. It was a school of whales fighting sharks, but the result was indecisive, for although the whales were wounded, the sharks did not disable them.

Then suddenly took place a shameful thing. Cleopatra's galley, anchored in the rear, hoisted its sails and sped away, followed by the Egyptian squadron of sixty barks. Antony caught sight of the signal and, leaping into a boat, was rowed rapidly in their wake. Many of the crews, enraged at the desertion, tore down their turrets, flung them into the sea to lighten their craft, and hastened after him, but enough remained to put up a brave fight. Then the Caesareans, unable otherwise to destroy them, hurled blazing torches among the ships, which, catching fire, burned to the water's edge, and sank one after the other. Thus ended the great sea fight of Actium. Three hundred galleys fell into the victor's hands, but the army on shore was still unharmed. It was

not until its commander abandoned it and sought the camp of Octavius, that the legions surrendered.

Antony and Cleopatra had fled in the same vessel. Proceeding direct to Alexandria, she sailed into the harbor, her galley decked with laurels through fear of a revolt of the people. Antony had remained at Paratonium to demand the surrender of the small Roman garrison stationed there, but was repulsed, and learned of the fate of his army at Actium. In his despair, he was ready to kill himself, but his attendants prevented and took him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra preparing for defense. Defections broke out on every hand, and she proposed to fly into far-away Arabia. She commenced the transport of her galleys from the Nile to the Red Sea, but some were destroyed by the barbarians on the coast, and she abandoned the project. Then the distracted woman thought she could seek a refuge in Spain and raise a revolt against Octavius. This wild scheme was also given up, and Antony shut himself up in a tower on the seacoast; but Cleopatra was not ready to yield, and showed herself dressed as a man to the people that they might feel they were governed by him and not by a woman.

Still hopelessly captivated, Antony sneaked back to his royal mistress, and the two plunged into reckless orgies till the moment should come for both to die together. It is said that at this time the woman made many careful experiments of the different kinds of poison on slaves and criminals, and was finally convinced that the bite of an asp afforded the most painless method of taking one's departure from life.

Meanwhile, she and Antony applied to Octavius for clemency. He disdained to make any answer to Antony, but told Cleopatra that if she would kill or drive away her paramour, he would grant her reasonable terms. Octavius was playing with his victims like a cat with mice. He meant to have her kingdom, but was determined to carry the detested woman herself to Rome and exhibit her in his triumph. Cunning agents of his suggested to her that Octavius was still a young man, and she no doubt could exert the same power over him that had taken Antony captive. It was not strange that she should believe this, for her past experience warranted such belief. She encouraged Antony to prepare for the last struggle, and all the time was secretly contriving to disarm and betray him. The forces of Octavius drew nearer. Pelusium was captured, but Antony gained the advantage in a skirmish before the walls of Alexandria, and was on the point of seizing the moment for a flight to sea when he saw his own vessels, won away by Cleopatra, pass over to the enemy. Almost at the same moment, his cohorts, seduced by the same treachery, deserted him.

Cleopatra had shut herself up in a tower, built for her mausoleum, but fearing that the man whom she had ruined would do her violence, had word sent to him that

she had committed suicide. This was the final blow to Antony, who with the aid of his freedman Eros inflicted a mortal wound upon himself. Immediately after, he learned that he had been tricked, and that the queen was unharmed. He caused himself to be carried to the foot of the tower, where, with the assistance of two women, her only attendants, he was drawn up, and breathed his last in her arms.

By this time, Octavius had entered Alexandria and sent an officer to bring Cleopatra to him. She refused to admit the messenger, but he scaled the tower undiscovered and entered. She snatched up a poniard to strike herself, but the man caught her arm and assured her that his master would treat her kindly. She listened for some minutes, and then allowed herself to be led to the palace, where she resumed her state, and was recognized as a sovereign by her victor.

Then Octavius called upon her. Never in all her wonderful experience did she so exert herself to capture one of the sterner sex; but Octavius had nerved himself for the meeting, and for the first time the charmer found she had no power to charm. He talked with coolness and self-possession, demanded that she should give him a list of her treasures, and then, bidding her to be of good heart, left her.

Cleopatra was chagrined at her failure, but she did not despair, till she learned that Octavius was determined to take her as a captive to Rome. She then retired to the mausoleum where the body of Antony still lay, crowned the tomb with flowers, and was found the next morning dead on her couch, her two women attendants expiring at her side. Although the common account makes Cleopatra die of the bite of an asp, brought to her in a basket of figs, the truth concerning her end will never be known with certainty. As we have learned in Egypt's story, there were no wounds discovered on her body, and it may be that she perished from some self-administered subtle poison. At the triumph of Octavius, her image was carried on a bier, the arms encircled by two serpents, and

Octavius defeated Antony and Cleopatra's forces and with Antony already a suicide, Octavius proposed to return Cleopatra to parade her in the streets of Rome as a trophy. The queen tried her wiles on him in a private interview but failed. Suicide was the only remaining choice.



this aided the popular rumor as to the means of her death. The child which she had borne to Julius Caesar was put to death by Octavius, who could brook the existence of no such dangerous rival, but the children of Antony were spared, though deprived of the royal succession. The dynasty of the Ptolemies ended, and Egypt became a Roman province (30 B.C.).

The death of Antony closes the period of civil strife. The commonwealth was exhausted and Octavius was supreme. With masterly ability, he regulated his new province, and then made his tour through the eastern dominions, dispossessing his enemies and rewarding his allies and friends. When everything was settled, he went to Samos, where he spent the winter in pleasant retirement. He reached Rome in the middle of the summer of 29 B.C., and was received with acclamations of joy. With a wisdom worthy of his adopted father, he recognized the authority of the Senate and claimed to have wielded delegated powers only. He had laid aside the functions of the Triumvirate, and it was as a simple consul, commissioned by the state, that he had conquered at Actium and won the province of Egypt, while his achievements in Greece and Asia still awaited confirmation by the Senate. So modest and loyal did his conduct appear, that his popularity was like that of the great emperor whose name he inherited.

To him was awarded the glory of a triple triumph, at the conclusion of which, according to the laws of the free state, he as emperor must disband his army, but he overcame the necessity by allowing the subservient Senate to give him the permanent title of emperor, as it had been conferred upon Julius Caesar, and to prefix it to his name. He was thus made lifelong commander of the national forces. This accomplished the all-important result of securing to him the support of the army, which was the real strength of the country. He acknowledged the Senate as the representative of the public will, but caused himself to be vested with the powers of the censorship, which, you will remember, gave him authority to revise the list of senators. This right he exercised with discretion and wisdom. It will be recalled that Julius Caesar degraded the body by adding to it many men of low degree, including obnoxious foreigners. Octavius restored the old number of six hundred, and kept strictly to the requirement of property qualification. He placed himself at the head as *princeps*, which, while it implied no substantial power, was looked upon as the highest honorary office. This civic dignity was always held for life.

While he was thus gathering these powers to himself, he prudently waived all formal recognition of his sovereign status. He refrained from reviving the dictatorship, and permitted no one to hail him with the title of king. Still he craved a title, and consulted with his trusted friends. Some suggested the name of Quirinus or Romulus, but the one was a god and the other had perhaps

been slain as a tyrant. Finally the name Augustus was proposed, and it seemed to "fit" the requirements exactly. It had not been borne by a previous ruler, but as an adjective it possessed a noble meaning. The rites of the temples and their gods were "august," and the word itself came from *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed. And so the name of Octavius was dropped, and the lord of Rome stood forth as Augustus Caesar.

This man was thirty-six years old when he became master of the Roman world, though there was no open establishment of a monarchical government. He aimed to maintain, so far as possible, the old law, to defend his country from foreign aggressions, and to make it as truly great as was within the compass of human endeavor. The example of Julius Caesar was ever before him, and, since the first Caesar had been assassinated for grasping at the name of king, the second avoided his error. Remembering, too, that the great emperor lightly regarded religion, Augustus strove to revive the faith of Rome. The decaying temples were repaired, the priesthoods renewed, and the earlier usages of the Republic restored. Augustus did not allow his impulses to lead him astray. He saw with vivid clearness, and the grandest political work ever accomplished by a single man was his, in the establishment of the Roman Empire.

In reflecting upon the ease with which the Romans "passed under the yoke," as may be said, it must be remembered that they had been carried close to the verge of exhaustion by the century of civil strife. Many of the nobler families of Rome had been nearly or quite wiped out, and the survivors were weary of the seemingly endless warring of factions. So many mongrels had mixed their blood with that of the Romans that the pure strain was vitiated. In short, the people were in just the mood, and just the condition, just the epoch had arrived when they needed a single, stern ruler. And since that must be, it was surely fortunate that their sovereign should be Augustus.

He is described as a model in his personal traits and habits. He avoided the personal familiarity with which Julius Caesar was accustomed to address his legionaries. The elder loved to speak of his soldiers as "comrades," the younger referred to them as his "soldiers" only. While he encouraged the magnificence of his nobles, his own life was of striking simplicity. His home on the Palatine Hill was modest in size and in ornament. While his dress was that of a plain senator, he took no little pride in calling attention to the fact that it was woven by his wife and the maidens in her apartment. When he walked the streets, it was as a private citizen, with only the ordinary retinue of attendants. If he met an acquaintance, he saluted him courteously, taking him by the hand or leaning on his shoulder, in a way that was pleasing to everyone to whom he showed the delicate attention.

One striking fact regarding the reign of Augustus was

the friendship which he secured from the poets. It was Horace who taught others to accept the new order of things with contentment, while Vergil wreathed the empire of the Caesars in the halo of a legendary but glorious antiquity. The *Aeneid* proved that Octavius was a direct descendant of the goddess Venus and a worthy rival of Hercules. Thus spoke the giants among the poets, but there were minor singers as well, who called upon their countrymen to remember in their prayers he who had restored order and brought universal felicity. The citizens were urged in the temples and in their own homes to thank the gods for all their prosperity, and to join with the gods themselves the hallowed name of Aeneas, the patron of the Julian race. Then, too, when they rose from their evening meal, the last duty of the day was to call with a libation for a blessing on themselves and on Augustus, whom they called the father of his country.

No prouder title than this could be conferred upon any Roman. It had been associated in private with their hero, and finally the Senate, echoing the voice of the nation, conferred it on him publicly and with all solemnity. That he was deeply touched was shown in his tremulous response:

“Conscript fathers, my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the Immortals, but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approval you now bestow upon me.”

Caesar's nephew concentrated all power in his hands and, having been named *princeps* (first citizen) and given the title Augustus by the Senate, began the reign of the Roman emperors in 27 B.C.

THE EMPERORS' PERIOD OF POWER

The most impressive event of the reign of Augustus was the birth of Christ at the little village of Bethlehem, in Judea—an event that marked the most momentous crisis in the spiritual history of the world. This human appearance of Christ took place at the time when there was general peace throughout the earth, and was, therefore, in accordance with Scripture prophecy. The government of Augustus was tranquil, and there were no civil wars, though there may have been some unrest on the frontiers.

There was, indeed, only one serious war during the forty years of Augustus's supreme power. This was with the Germans, the wild tribes which Caesar had defeated. They had never been fully subdued, and in the year 9 B.C. they rose in sudden rebellion under their chief Hermann, or, as the Romans called him, Arminius. The three Roman legions along the Rhine were commanded by Varus, who proved both reckless and incompetent. He marched his entire force into the wild German forests where they were surrounded by the rebels and, after three days of savage fighting, exterminated. Great was



The Christ, INRI (Jesus of Nazareth—king of the Jews), was the founder of Christianity. From the most famous painting of Him—by Correggio in the Dresden (Germany) Art Gallery.

the consternation at Rome. Augustus beat his head against the wall, crying, “Varus, Varus, give me back my legions.” The people feared the Germans would imitate the ancient Gauls and make a terrible raid upon Rome. But the Germans were busy quarreling among themselves; fresh legions were hastily raised, and the danger passed away.

Augustus died in A.D. 14, and was succeeded by his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, known as Tiberius, who was born 42 B.C. Jesus Christ was crucified in the nineteenth year of this reign. It was at Antioch, in Syria, where Saul and Barnabas taught the faith, that the believers first received the name of Christians. Then began those wonderful missionary journeys of the Apostles, which carried the gospel through Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and Rome became the capital of Christendom. Silently but irresistibly the true faith spread, first among the Jews, then among the Greeks, or eastern, and the Latin, or western, Gentiles, until it became the one true and accepted religion throughout the civilized world.

When Tiberius ascended the throne, his manliness and moderation gave promise of a prosperous reign, but he was jealous from the first of his popular nephew Germanicus, who was entrusted with important commands in Dalmatia and Pannonia, and raised to the consulate before he was thirty years of age. Two years later he repressed a terrible revolt of the Germanic legions, who wished to salute him as emperor. In a campaign against the Germans, he ousted Hermann, their chief, in A.D. 16, recaptured the eagles lost by Varus, and earned for himself the surname of Germanicus. Tiberius summoned him home, and he returned as a victorious general. The Senate awarded him a magnificent triumph, in which Thusnelda, wife of Arminius, preceded his carriage with her children. Germanicus died in A.D. 19, from poison,



Early rulers of the Roman Empire. Top, left to right: Nero, the sixth Caesar of twelve, started the fire that burned Rome to divert suspicion of his prosecution of the Christians and then blamed them for it, ordered the assassination of his mother, ruled from A.D. 54 to 68—when he committed suicide. Claudius I, the fifth Caesar, who reigned from 41 to 54, was the stepfather of Nero. And Agrippina, Claudius's wife, poisoned him so that Nero, her son by a previous marriage, might become emperor. Center, left to right: Tiberius, the third Caesar, adopted son of Augustus, reigned from A.D. 14 to 37, put his nephew Germanicus to death. Augustus Caesar, the "father of his country," was the first Roman emperor, its second Caesar, and was the victor over Cleopatra and Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Bottom, left to right: Vespasian, the tenth Caesar, ruled from A.D. 69 to 79, was noted for the expansion into the Austro-Hungarian territory. Titus, the eleventh Caesar, ruled from A.D. 79 to 81, was the besieger of Jerusalem. And Caligula, the fourth Caesar of the empire, reigned from A.D. 37 to 41 and is remembered as the emperor who replaced the image of God in the temples of Jerusalem with his own.

as he had predicted. Tiberius then revealed himself as moody and irresolute, with scarcely a trace of affection or sympathy. He became a tyrant. The number and amount of taxes were increased, all power was taken from the people and Senate. Prosecutions for high treason were based on mere words or even looks that gave displeasure to the emperor, who found thus a convenient method of ridding himself of those who displeased him. As years advanced, he abandoned the real government of the empire to Aelius Sejanus, commander of the Prae-



Tiberius relaxing at his residence on the Isle of Capri

torian Guards, and wallowed in licentious excesses at his villa in Capri until, worn out by debauchery, he ended his infamous life in the year A.D. 37, his death being hastened either by poison or suffocation.

There were many Roman emperors whose history is not worth the telling. Some held the throne but a short time, and others played an insignificant part in the annals of the empire.

Gaius Caesar, or Caligula, as he is more generally known, was in his twenty-fifth year when he became emperor. He was suspected of helping the death of Tiberius, who had appointed him his heir. He was another of the diabolical miscreants produced by licentiousness and debauchery. It took him just one year to expend the \$3 million left by Tiberius, and he confiscated and murdered and banished until it is only charitable to believe he was afflicted with insanity. He enlivened his feasts by having those whom he disliked tortured in his presence, and once expressed the wish that all the Roman people had but one neck that he might decapitate Rome at a single blow. He stabled his favorite horse in the palace, fed him at a marble manger with gilded oats, and afterward raised him to the consulship. As a climax to his foolery, he declared himself a god and had temples erected and sacrifices offered to his family. The people stood all this and much more with incredible patience, but finally formed a conspiracy and removed him by assassination from the earth which he had cumbered too long.

Claudius I, fortunately for himself, was suspected of imbecility, or else Caligula would have "removed" him. As it was, he might have done well had he not, in A.D. 42, when terrified by hearing of a conspiracy against his life, abandoned himself wholly to the will of his ferocious wife Messalina, who robbed and slew with a mercilessness worthy of the former emperor. Abroad, however, the Roman armies were victorious. Mauritania became a Roman province, progress was made in Germany, and

the conquest of Britain was begun. The experience of Claudius in the matrimonial line was discouraging. Messalina was executed for her crimes, after which he married Agrippina, who poisoned him in 54, so as to make sure of the succession of her son Nero. After the death of Claudius, he was deified, though the sacrilege surely could not have benefited him much.

And now comes another of those infamous persons in history. This was Nero, whose full name was Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus. He began his reign well, and but for the baleful influence of his mother Agrippina, might have continued in the good way, under the tutelage of Seneca the philosopher. He soon yielded, however, to temptation or to his natural inclinations, and plunged headlong into tyranny, extravagance, and every species of debauchery that human ingenuity could devise. Falling out with his mother, he caused her to be assassinated to please one of his mistresses, the wife of Otho, afterward emperor. To marry this woman Nero had put to death his own wife; now his mother followed, and the servile Senate actually issued an address congratulating the matricide on her death.

The rebellion which broke out in Britain under Queen Boadicea was suppressed in 61, but the war against the Parthians the next year was unsuccessful. In July 64 occurred the great conflagration in Rome, by which two-thirds of the city was reduced to ashes. It is recorded that while the conflagration was raging, Nero watched it from a turret in his palace, singing verses to the music of his lyre, and it is the general belief that it was his hand that kindled the flames. Sated with every known indulgence, he had set out to discover some new kind of enjoyment.

Could his guilt have been established, the populace would have wreaked quick vengeance upon him. The

cowardly miscreant was scared, and strove to turn aside the suspicion whose whispers had reached his ears. He traversed the stricken streets with hypocritical expressions of sympathy, and gave away all the money he could steal to help the sufferers; but seeing the necessity of directing distrust toward someone, he cunningly chose the new sect known as Christians, who had become numerous and active in Rome. Scores were arrested, and he condemned them to be burned. Many were wrapped in pitched cloth and set up in his own gardens, which were illuminated by the awful human "torches." It was not the emperor's pity, but that of the refuse of the city, which finally brought the horrible spectacles to an end. Among the victims of these tortures were Saint Paul, Saint Peter, and Seneca.

Nero was guilty of atrocities that cannot even be hinted at. Suspecting Seneca and the poet Lucian of conspiring against him, he took the lives of both. One day, because he felt out of sorts, he kicked his wife to death. Being refused by another lady, he had her slain by

Claudius acting the part of the idiot when the Praetorians sought him out to be emperor, for he believed the Caesars did not live long on the throne. But he was only half right—he reigned thirteen years, and it has been considered an unlucky number ever since.



Nero "fiddled" a harp while Rome burned.

Messalina, consort of Claudius





Nero watching the Christians being burned at the stake



The death of Nero

way of teaching her a lesson, and then secured another wife by killing an obstinate husband.

The blow which brought Nero low came from an unexpected quarter. In the year 68, the Gallic and Spanish legions revolted, and the Praetorian Guards followed, all animated by the purpose of making Galba, one of their commanders, emperor. Their approach to the city heartened the Senate and terrified Nero, whose frame shivered and whose teeth rattled with terror. He fled at night to the villa of one of his freedmen, having learned the Senate had proclaimed him a public enemy. Being warned that his death by torture had been ordered, and hearing the sound of the approaching hoof beats of the guards, he at last mustered enough courage to place a sword to his breast and order his slave to drive it home.

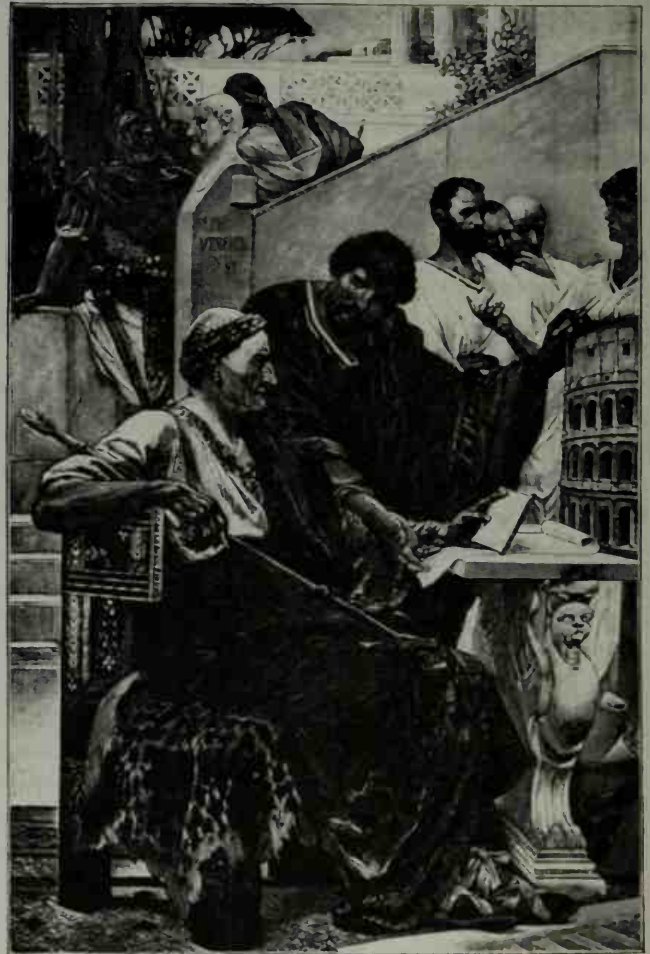
Galba entered Rome on January 1, 69, and was accepted as emperor with the right to assume the title of Caesar. He was a simple soldier and nothing more. Among those who accompanied him was Otho, whom Nero had robbed of his wife. He found the troops discontented with Galba's parsimony and strict discipline, and succeeded in working them up to the point of revolt, when Galba was slain and Otho succeeded him.



Galba, the seventh Caesar, reigned from A.D. 68 to 69.



Otho, the eighth Caesar, ruled in a tri-reign in the year A.D. 69 with Galba and Vitellius



Vespasian planning the Colosseum open air auditorium for Rome

His reign, however, was to be brief, for Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor by his troops almost on the same day that Galba reached Rome. This was in Gaul, and came about because, through his liberality, he had made himself extremely popular with the soldiers. He was drunk all the way to Rome, whither most of his military supporters had preceded him. When he arrived there, having routed the forces of Otho on the road, his first act was to deify Nero. After that sacrilege, there was

nothing too base for him, and he became such a vile debauchee that he was unable even to act the tyrant. The administration was mostly in the hands of the freedman Asiaticus, though P. Sabinus, brother of Vespasian, was high in authority. Their government was marked by moderation. The legions of Pannonia and Illyricum proclaimed Vespasian emperor, and advanced into Italy under Antonius Primus. Several battles were fought, and Rome was desolated by violence and bloodshed, till the troops of Primus entered the city. Vitellius was found wandering about his palace in a state of drunken terror, and when he appeared on the streets was pounded to death by the angry mob. His head was carried around Rome, and his body thrown into the Tiber.

Vespasian had left his son Titus to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem, and was joyfully received in Rome, where he set vigorously to work in restoring order. He was a fine soldier, held the troops under firm discipline, improved the finances, cooperated with the Senate and, best of all, set a good example by his own conduct to his subjects. He was simple in his habits, indifferent to flattery, good-humored, and easy of access. Although parsimonious in his private life, he was lavish in embellishing the city with public works, and was a liberal patron of the arts and sciences. He reigned ten years, and died in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Titus was the eldest son of Vespasian, and through his careful training had become an accomplished scholar and an adept in manly exercises. He was an admirable soldier, and the task that his father left him, of prosecuting the siege of Jerusalem, had been carried through with success. His victory caused the utmost joy in Rome, when the news reached the city. He laid the trophies of victory at his father's feet, and the two were given the honor (in 71) of a joint triumph. Becoming the colleague of his parent in the empire, Titus made an unfavorable impression by his immoral and cruel conduct. He caused persons whom he suspected of enmity to be put to death, and his liaison with Berenice, daughter of Herod Agrippa, gave great offense to the Romans.

When, however, Titus became emperor, he agreeably disappointed everyone. He immediately stopped all persecutions for treasonable words and looks; repaired the ancient and venerated structures of Rome; built new ones, among them the Colosseum and the baths which bear his name, and delighted the populace by games which lasted one hundred days. The splendid beneficence of his reign was sorely needed, for in 79 occurred the appalling eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii and many other towns and villages. Herculaneum stood in the Campagna, close to the Bay of Naples. It is not known when it was founded, but its inhabitants took an active part in the social and civil wars of Rome. It was completely buried under a shower of ashes, over which a stream of lava flowed and afterward hardened. The configuration of the coast was so

changed that the city was entirely lost for sixteen centuries, when an accident led to the discovery of its ruins in 1713. Twenty-five years later a systematic course of excavation was begun. The interesting relics of antiquity, so far as they were capable of removal, were taken to Naples, and are now deposited, along with other relics from Pompeii, in a large museum attached to the royal palace. They include not only frescoes, statues, and works of art, but articles of household furniture, such as tripods, lamps, chandeliers, basins, mirrors, musical or surgical instruments, and even cooking utensils. Excavations have been resumed in recent years with the most interesting results.

Pompeii was about twelve miles southeast from Naples, in the plain at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, and was one of the fashionable provincial cities of the Roman Empire. Though most of the citizens escaped during the incessant bombardment of lava stones, a large number must have perished, as is proved by the finding of the skeletons of soldiers on guard, and citizens apparently overtaken by death in the midst of their usual employments. As in the case of Herculaneum, the discovery of Pompeii in 1750 was accidental, but the excavations have brought to light a living picture of a Roman city more than eighteen hundred years ago, with all its departments of domestic and public life, the worship of the gods, the shows of the arena, architecture, painting, and sculpture, and in short all the appliances of comfort and luxury as they existed in a wealthy community of those remote days.

The year following the destruction of these cities, a three-day fire in Rome reduced to ashes the Capitol, Augustus's library, Pompey's theater, and numerous houses, while on the heels of the conflagration came a dreadful pestilence. Titus did everything in his power for the homeless sufferers, even to the despoiling of his palaces of their ornaments to obtain money, and he schemed

The death of Vitellius by the people in the year A.D. 69



Aulus Vitellius reigned from A.D. 69 to 79 and was the ninth Caesar. (From a coin of the time)





Domitian, the twelfth and the last of the reigning Caesars, who ruled (from A.D. 81 to 96) before the advent of the Antonine Dynasty beginning with Nerva in 96

and planned to find occupation for them. He became the idol of his subjects, the "love and delight of the human race," but at the beginning of the third year of his reign, September 13, 81, he suddenly fell ill and died, his younger brother Domitian being suspected by some of having poisoned him.

Be that as it may, Domitian came to the throne in 81, and ruled till 96. At first, he passed many good laws, governed the provinces carefully, and administered justice, but the failure of his campaigns against the Dacians and the Marcomanni (in 87) soured his whole nature. He became ferocious in his suspicions, jealousy, and hatred; and through murder and banishment, it is said, deprived Rome of nearly all of the citizens conspicuous for their learning, talent, or wealth. He held the army to him by greatly increasing its pay, and won the favor of the people by extravagant gifts and gladiatorial games and shows, in some of which he took part. His cruelties finally became so intolerable that his wife Domitia joined in a conspiracy against him, and he perished from the dagger on September 18, 96.

The Senate immediately elected M. Nerva as his successor, though he was past three-score years of age. He had twice held the honor of the consulship before his election, and displayed great wisdom and moderation. The taxes were lessened, and the administration of justice improved, but his advanced age rendered him unable to repress the insolence of the Praetorian Guards, and he adopted M. Ulpius Trajanus, known as Trajan, who succeeded him on his death, January 27, 98.

Trajan began his administration by the usual largess to the soldiers, extending the same to the Roman citizens and their families, and he made large provision out of the imperial treasury for the upbringing of the children of poor freemen in Rome and other Italian towns. It was in the year 101 that Rome beheld, for the first time, its

emperor leading forth its legions in person upon their career of conquest. Trajan then set out on his first campaign against the Dacians, who had compelled Rome since the time of Domitian to pay them tribute. The struggle was long and severe, but was completely successful (104-105), and Dacia became a royal province. This was the first conquest since the death of Augustus, and was celebrated on Trajan's return to Rome by a triumph and splendid games which lasted for four months.

Trajan's appetite for foreign conquest was whetted by his success, and in 106 he again set out for the East. Landing in Syria, he moved northward, receiving the submission of numerous princes on the way, and occupying Armenia, which he made a province of the empire. Though he was busy for the succeeding seven years, we have no clear record of what he did. Once more he went to Syria in 115, his objective point being the Parthian Empire. Its capital hardly offered the semblance of resistance, and he descended the Tigris, subduing the tribes on both banks and being the first and only Roman general to navigate the Persian Gulf. When he returned, he found it necessary to reconquer Mesopotamia, north Syria, and Arabia, and he did it more thoroughly than before. By this time he was in a sad bodily condition from dropsy and paralysis and, while on the return to Italy, died at Selinus, in Cilicia, in August 117.

Although so much of Trajan's reign was taken up with his military campaigns, his administration of civil affairs was admirable. Equal justice was secured for all; the imperial finances were greatly improved, and peculation on the part of public officers was severely punished. One of the fads of the Roman emperors was the improvement and beautifying of Rome, and none did more through work in that respect than Trajan. The empire was traversed in all directions by military routes; canals and bridges were built, new towns arose, the Via Appia was restored, the Pontine Marshes partially drained, the "Forum Trajani" erected, and the harbor of Civita Vecchia constructed. A striking proof of the sincerity of this emperor's labors to improve the condition of his subjects was shown in the wish, which it became the fashion formally to utter, on the accession of each of his

The Trajan Arch in Rome erected in honor of the emperor



successors: "May he be happier than Augustus, better than Trajan."

Trajan died childless, and his successor was P. Aelius Hadrianus, or Hadrian, the son of Trajan's cousin. He had not only displayed great ability in the various high offices he filled, but he was a favorite of the empress. Trajan had the right to name his heir, and when the empress announced that it was Hadrian, the citizens and Senate accepted him without murmur.

The empire at this time was in a critical condition. There were insurrections in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria; the barbarian hordes were swarming into Moesia in the East and Mauritania in the West, and the turbulent Parthians had once more asserted their independence and administered several defeats to the imperial forces.

Looking calmly at the situation which confronted him, Hadrian was convinced that a peaceful policy was the true one. He decided to limit the Roman boundaries in the East, and concluded a peace with the Parthians by which he surrendered all the country beyond the Euphrates to them. Returning to Rome in 118, he treated the people liberally, but suppressed with relentless severity a patrician conspiracy against his life. He then, by means of large gifts, induced the Roxolani, who are the modern Russians, to retire from Moesia, which they had invaded.

The year 119 saw the beginning of Hadrian's remarkable journey, most of which he is said to have performed on foot. He visited Gaul, Germany, Britain, Spain, Mauritania, Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor. In Britain, he built the wall which extends from the Solway to the Tyne, and did not return to Rome until seven years later, when he received the title of *Pater Patriae*. He was so fond of the city of Athens that he spent the years 132 and 133 there. Making another visit to Syria, he came back to Italy, and passed the remainder of his life around Rome, dying July 10, 138, at Baiae.

The vigor and thoroughness with which Hadrian reorganized and disciplined the army remove all thought that his peaceful policy was attributable to fear or weakness. He did more than any emperor to consolidate the monarchical system of Rome. He divided Italy into four parts, each under a consul, to whom was entrusted the administration of justice. Among the numerous splendid edifices he erected was the mausoleum called the *Moles Hadriani*, the Aelian bridge leading to it, and the splendid villa at Tibur. He also laid the foundation of several cities, the most important of which was Adrianopolis. He placed a high value on Greek literature, and was a lover and patron of the fine arts.

Hadrian adopted as his heir T. Aurelius Antoninus, of excellent abilities and in middle life. Him Hadrian required to select two heirs, M. Annius, his own sister's son, and Lucius Verus, the child of his late comrade. Antoninus Pius (the Senate having added the latter name) had served Hadrian as proconsul in Asia, where



Later Roman emperors. Top, left to right: Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, who reigned from 211 to 217, was credited with giving all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire citizenship; Domitian, emperor from 81 to 96, left no particular mark in history; Trajan, who reigned from 98 to 117, conquered Dacia (Romania); and Diocletian (284–305) organized the empire into 101 provinces, which was a creditable reorganization, and the remnants of it remain until this day. Center, left to right: Constantine the Great, who ruled from 307 to 337, came to terms with Licinius, the Augustus of the East, and defeated Augustus of the West at the gates of Rome in 312 in the Battle of Milvian Bridge. It was at the conclusion of the battle that the soldiers saw the Christian Cross in the sky, giving rise to the legend that this vision was the symbol of victory; he allowed the Christians freedom of worship and moved the capital of the empire to Byzantium, which was renamed Constantinople in his honor. Septimius Severus (193–211) was another emperor who left no historical mark. Bottom, left to right: Antonius Pius, who reigned from 138 to 161, was the actual founder of the Antonine Dynasty; Commodus (180–92), did little to advance the empire; Julian (the Apostate) was named emperor at Lutetia (Paris) at twenty-nine years of age and upon the death of Constantius II, his father, in 361, he was left the legitimate emperor, tried to bring back paganism to the world but died in a battle with the Persians in 363 before he could make much progress. His papers are still read and accepted today on Neoplatonist philosophy. And Hadrian, emperor from 117 to 138, is most famous today for his Hadrian Wall in Britain, a part of his efforts to keep the territory his predecessors had conquered.



Marcus Aurelius

the gentle wisdom of his rule gave him a higher reputation than any of his predecessors. He inherited great wealth and made one of the best emperors who ever ruled imperial Rome. He was simple, temperate, and kind, his highest object being that of benefiting his people, who looked up to him in the truest sense as the father of his country. His mild hand partly stayed the persecution of the Christians, which was continued during his reign. Fond of peace, the only important war in which he engaged was against Britain, where the Roman power was extended. He also built a wall between the Forth and the Clyde, as a check against the predatory tribes of the North. He was so widely known for his integrity and justice that he was often employed to arbitrate in the affairs of foreign states. To his wisdom, kindness, and unvarying courtesy was due the freedom of his vast empire from insurrections, violence, conspiracies, and bloodshed. It may be said, in brief, that he furnished a model for those who came after him, though, sad to say, few were able to measure up to his splendid standard. He died in 161, and was succeeded by Marcus Annius, called Aurelius, who, as we have learned, had been selected as heir at the command of Hadrian.

Aurelius had been made consul in 140, and, up to his accession to the throne, he discharged the duties with faithfulness and ability. He and the emperor had been the closest of friends. Aurelius, on becoming emperor, showed his chivalry of character by voluntarily sharing the government with young Lucius Verus, who from that time bore the title of Lucius Aurelius Verus. Such a ruler as Aurelius was sure to win the respect and love of his subjects, but Lucius, when sent to take part in the Parthian War, remained in Antioch, sunk in debasing pleasures, leaving his officers to prosecute the struggle, and at the close he returned home and enjoyed the triumph to which he had no claim. The troops brought a pestilence, which, together with appalling inundations and earthquakes, laid much of the city in ruins, and destroyed the granaries where the supplies of corn were

kept. A formidable insurrection had long been fomenting in the German provinces; the Britons were on the point of revolt, and the Catti (the Suevi of Julius Caesar, who lived in the country nearly corresponding to the present Hesse) were ready to devastate the Rhenish provinces.

The manifold calamities that had fallen and still threatened to fall so terrified the Romans that, to allay them, Marcus determined to go forth to war himself. For a time Marcus and Lucius were completely successful. The Marcomanni and the other rebellious tribes, living between Illyria and the sources of the Danube, were compelled to sue for peace in 168, the year preceding the death of Lucius. The contest was renewed in 170 and, with little intermission, lasted throughout the life of the emperor. Marcus carried on the campaign with amazing vigor and skill, and nearly annihilated the Marcomanni and the Jazyges.

Connected with this war was a victory so unprecedented that some historians accept it as a miracle. The Romans were perishing of thirst and heat, on a summer day in 174, when, without warning, the flaming sky was darkened by a black cloud from which the cooling rain descended in torrents. The feverish soldiers abandoned themselves to the lifegiving drafts, when the barbarians assailed them with furious energy, and assuredly would have annihilated them, had not a storm of hail and fire descended upon the assailants alone, and scattered them in headlong terror. So profound indeed was the dread inspired that the Germanic tribes hastened from all directions to beg for mercy.

This astounding occurrence could hardly be believed were it not established by every soldier of a large army, and by Aurelius himself, who was incapable of falsehood. It certainly was one of the strangest incidents in history.

At this juncture, a new outbreak occurred in the East, brought about by the shocking treachery of the emperor's own wife. This wicked woman urged rebellion by Governor Avidius Cassius, a descendant of the Cassius who had slain Caesar. The emperor, though in poor health, was obliged to leave Pannonia with the least possible delay. Cassius seized the whole of Asia Minor, but was slain by his own soldiers. Marcus Aurelius expressed his sorrow that the fates had thus deprived him of the happiness of pardoning the man who had conspired against his happiness. He exhibited the same magnanimity on his arrival in the East, where he refused to read the papers of Cassius, and ordered them to be burned, so that he might not be led to suspect anyone of being a traitor. He treated the provinces with such gentleness that he won their love and disarmed them of all enmity. While he was thus engaged, his disloyal wife died in an obscure village, and the husband paid her every honor.

On his way back to Rome, he visited Lower Egypt and Greece, and by his noble efforts in behalf of his subjects

won their profound gratitude. In Athens he founded chairs of philosophy for each of the four chief sects—Platonic, Stoic, Peripatetic, and Epicurean. Reaching Italy, he celebrated his bloodless triumph on December 23, 176. Fresh disturbances having broken out in Germany, he went thither in the following autumn and was again successful. But his weak constitution by this time was shattered by the hardships, sufferings, and anxiety he had borne so long. He died in Vienna on March 17, 180.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY

With all that has been said of that extraordinary man and emperor, Marcus Aurelius, justice requires mention of a feature of his character that the reader probably has not suspected—his hostility to Christianity. He was a persecutor of the new religion, and must have known of the cruelties perpetrated upon the believers. There have been many explanations of his course, the generally accepted one being that he was led astray by evil counselors, but the more probable cause is that he was actuated by his earnestness in the heathen faith of his ancestors, and the belief that the new doctrine threatened to undermine the empire itself. He did not comprehend the religion of gentleness and love, and thought it his duty to extirpate the dangerous sect.

The most important facts connected with the history of the Roman Empire is the spread of Christianity within its confines. The variety of peoples had a variety of religions, but all, with the exception of the Jews, were pagans and polytheists, or believers in many gods. Such was the spiritual state of the myriads of human beings, when Christ was born in an obscure corner of the dominion of Augustus, and when the seed was sown whose harvest no man could foresee or dream of in his wildest imaginings.

The propagation of the new faith was marked by ferocious persecutions. We have learned of the first one, which was that by the fiendish Nero, who aimed to turn suspicion against the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, in order to hide his own guilt. Tacitus, the great Roman historian, who was born under Nero, says of this diabolical infamy: "Some were nailed on crosses, others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again smeared over with combustible materials were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse-race, and honored with the presence of the Emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer."

Now it may be asked why the Romans, who permitted innumerable religions to flourish within their empire, concentrated their furious persecutions upon the Christians. The main cause was the proselyting ardor of the Christians themselves. The believer in that faith was taught as one of his basic duties that he must not selfishly

absorb it unto himself, but do all he could to persuade his brethren to share it with him. Its very nature, therefore, made it aggressive, while the numerous pagan faiths were passive. Christianity did what no other faith did. It boldly taught that all the gods of the Romans were false, and that it was a sin to bow down to them. Not only that, but it did its utmost to lead all others to think the same. The early Christians held their meetings secretly and at night, and this was looked upon with disfavor by the authorities, who saw the germs of danger in the practice. But, as has been said, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, and as we progress in the history of the Roman Empire, this truth will manifest itself again and again.

The reader has gone sufficiently far through these pages to note another fact: the real power of empire lay in the soldiery who stood behind the throne. We have learned of the insolence of the Praetorian Guards, who dared to insult an emperor to his face, and who did not hesitate to make and unmake sovereigns at will, with the Senate always ready to record and accept the decree of the soldiers. Inasmuch as each new ruler signaled his accession to the throne by distributing largesses, it followed that the more emperors there were, the greater would be the gifts distributed. So the troops became addicted to deposing emperors and selecting new ones. The man fixed upon for the purple was usually a favorite general, and as there were plenty of them, it followed that Rome sometimes had several emperors at the same time. No man dared aspire to the crown without the backing of the soldiers.

The only accession of territory by Rome during the first century of the Christian Era was Britain. In the words of Edward Gibbon, the outstanding English historian of the eighteenth century: "After a war of about forty years, undertaken by the most stupid (Claudius), maintained by the most dissolute (Nero), and terminated by the most timid (Domitian) of all the emperors, the greater part of the island of Britain submitted to the Roman yoke." We remember the addition of the province of Dacia by Trajan in the early part of the second century.

One cruel amusement of the Romans was their gladiatorial fights, which date from their earliest history. The popularity of these increased, till the time came when magistrates, public officers, and candidates for the popular suffrage gave shows to the people, which consisted mainly of the bloody and generally fatal encounters; but no earlier leaders equaled the emperors in providing the people with the fearful exhibitions. In one given by Julius Caesar, 320 couples engaged in combat. In the terrific display offered by Trajan, lasting 123 days, ten thousand gladiators were exhibited at once, and two thousand fought with and killed one another, or contended with wild beasts for the amusement of the seventy thousand

spectators in the Colosseum, who included every grade of society from the highest to the lowest.

Sinewy, athletic slaves were brought from all parts of the dominions and trained for the combats, as horses have been trained in later times for races. There were so many gladiators during the conspiracy of Catiline that they were deemed dangerous to the public safety, and the proposal was made to distribute them among the different garrisons. The exhibitions became so numerous that efforts were made to limit the number of gladiators. Cicero advocated a law forbidding anyone giving a show for one or two years before becoming a candidate for public office, and Augustus prohibited more than two shows a year, or the giving of one by a person worth less than twenty thousand dollars; but the passion was so strong that it was impossible to keep the terrible exhibitions within moderate limits.

A gladiatorial show was announced by pictures and show bills, after the fashion of modern theatrical plays. All the trained contestants were sworn to fight to the death, and the display of cowardice was followed by fatal tortures. The fighting at first was with wooden swords, which soon gave way to steel weapons. When one of the combatants had disarmed his opponent, he placed his foot on his body, and looked at the emperor, if present, or to the people, for the signal of life or death. If they raised their thumbs, he was spared; if they turned them down, he was slain. The gladiator who conquered was rewarded with a palm and in some cases with his freedom. At first the gladiators were slaves, but afterward freemen and even knights entered the arena. In the time of Nero senators and knights fought, and under Domitian women appeared as combatants. The gladiatorial contests were prohibited by Constantine in 325, but it was not till nearly two centuries later, under Theodoric, that they were finally abolished.

The decline of the mighty empire was thus begun through the sapping of Roman manliness; the process continued to the final crash. Commodus (180-92) was the legitimate son and heir of Marcus Aurelius, and



*The death of Emperor
Commodus*

under him the worst days of Caligula and Nero were revived. He brought the Macedonian War, inherited from his father, to an end by a dishonorable peace, and abandoned himself to the most degrading debauchery. Seven hundred and fifty times he posed as a gladiator in the arena. He had arranged to enter a specially splendid festival as a gladiator on the first of January 193, but was murdered the night preceding, and the Senate by resolution declared his memory dishonored. The honorable and vigorous Senator P. Helvidius Pertinax spent three months in bringing order out of chaos. His ability made him feared by the Praetorians, and they murdered him. They then openly offered the empire to the highest bidder, and set a pretender on the throne. At the same time three other claimants were advanced by three other bodies of troops.

L. Septimius Severus (193-211), commander on the Danube, was the first to enter Rome, where by his energy and address he won over the Senate. It required four years of vigorous fighting to dispose of his competitors, and he then became supreme. The Parthians having supported one of his opponents, he waged successful war against them and succeeded even in gaining a new province in Mesopotamia. He was finally compelled to take the field against the turbulent tribes of Britain, and died at the present city of York in February 211.

M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla (211-17), son of Severus, was another miscreant, who, impatient to obtain the throne, made an attempt on his father's life. He lost no time in killing his brother and fellow emperor Geta, with all who supported him, twenty thousand in number. He found means for his extravagance and excesses, in robbing his subjects. A monument of his lavishness as a builder is the immense ruins of the famous Baths of Caracalla, in Rome. An important political act of his reign was the bestowment of Roman citizenship on all municipalities of the empire—a step necessary in order to obtain new taxes for filling his treasury. He showed feebleness in his wars on the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube, and against the Parthians. He showed his savage cruelty at Alexandria in Egypt. He had entered that city in triumphal procession; but in the midst of all the pomp the "Emperor of the World" fell back in his chariot and slumbered in drunken stupor. The young men of the city laughed and made a jest of this, whereon Caracalla sent his troops out through the streets for six successive days on a general massacre.

While engaged in a last campaign against Parthia, he was murdered by order of Macrinus, his prefect of the guard, who wore the purple for a brief while, until the Syrian troops raised to the throne Heliogabalus (Elagabalus), who was a distant relative of the house of Severus, and only fourteen years old. The soldiers endured this degenerate youth for nearly four years, and then murdered him and his mother.

Alexander Severus (222-35), a cousin of the wretch

who had been murdered, was too young to carry on the government alone, and it remained for the time in the hands of his grandmother Maesa. The young emperor meant well, but was too weak by nature to impress himself upon those troublous times. His wars brought no credit to the Roman Empire, and he vainly combated the assaults on the Roman possessions in Asia made by the new Persian Empire. Equally fruitless were his campaigns against the Germans, which he next undertook. His attempts at discipline angered the legions, and when Maximinus, a popular general, presented himself as a rival emperor, the soldiers slew Alexander and went over to Maximinus in a body.

Thus passed away the last of the descendants of Severus, and the decline of the empire grew more rapid. Rome became the scene of anarchy, violence, and bloodshed, for the struggle was fierce and continuous among those bitten with the madness of ruthless ambition. Our list contains the names of all these imperators, some of whom held their power for only a few weeks or months. Gordianus III (238-44) prosecuted a successful campaign against the Persians, and compelled them to give back Mesopotamia, but he was slain before the close of the war by his prefect of the guards, Philippus (244-49), who fell in battle with a rival, Decius.

Valerian (253-60) braced all his energies against the tide that was sweeping everything to destruction, but was unable to stay it, and was carried with the resistless current. The territory between the Limes and Rhine was lost; the Saxons plundered the coasts; the Goths were edging into Greece; the Franks and Alemanni tramped through Gaul, and Valerian himself was taken prisoner by the Persians and died in captivity. Claudius II (268-70) started well, but had only fairly done so when he died.

Aurelian (270-75), a famous general, roused the hope of his countrymen by his skill and patriotism. He repelled the Alemanni and Goths, and restored for a brief while the unity of the empire. He conquered a Gallic usurper and destroyed Zenobia's kingdom of Palmyra. Zenobia was a beautiful Arab queen. Her husband founded an empire in the Asian deserts, and defeated both the Persians and the Romans. After his death Zenobia maintained and even increased the power of her empire. Great men rallied round her, and for a moment it seemed that Rome had found a rival. Aurelian, however, besieged and mastered her capital after a struggle heroic on both sides; and the proud and beautiful queen was led as his captive in a Roman triumph. Aurelian's home government was firm and wise, and the circumvallation of Rome, still largely preserved, is a monument to his public spirit and enterprise. While fighting against the Persians, he was murdered near Byzantium in 275.

Probus (276-82) was, like Aurelian, of Illyrian descent, and was commander of the Syrian troops. He displayed brilliant ability in driving back the Germans,

and restored the old frontier of the Limes. He was wise in inducing thousands of Germans to settle on Roman soil, where they were encouraged in vine growing and the tillage of the land. He also took many of them into the army, and treated the Senate with consideration, but he was doomed to share the fate of so many of his predecessors, for the soldiers, angered by his goodness and strictness, put him to death. From the swirl of strife and bloodshed finally emerged Diocletian (284-305), who introduced a new era in the history of the monarchy.

The first years of his administration were so disturbed by the aggressions of the barbarians that he took a colleague, Maximian, who, under the title of Augustus, became joint emperor in 286. Diocletian retained for himself the government of the eastern empire and gave the western to Maximian, but the attacks became more threatening and Diocletian divided the kingdom again. In 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius were proclaimed as caesars, and the fourfold partition was appropriated as follows: Diocletian the East, with Nicomedia as his seat of government; Maximian, Italy and Africa, with Milan as his residence; Constantius, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, with Treves as his capital; Galerius, Illyricum and the valley of the Danube, with Sirmium as his headquarters. Diocletian seldom took the field, so that most of the fighting fell to his colleagues. Among the reconquests was that of Britain, which in 296 was restored to the empire. In addition, the Persians were defeated and compelled to submit in 298, and the northern barbarians were driven beyond the frontiers. Diocletian's tempestuous rule lasted for twenty-one years, when he abdicated his throne, forcing his colleague Maximian, much against his will, to do the same at Milan. Two years before his abdication, he was instigated by his colleague Galerius, his son-in-law, to that bloody persecution of the Christians which has made his rule memorable in history.

The emperor issued an edict commanding all Christian churches to be demolished, all copies of the sacred

Diocletian tried to destroy Christianity but gave up and resigned. He built the greatest palace ever erected by a sovereign. It was an entire town and parts of it still stand today in Spalato on the Dalmatia coast.





When Diocletian gave up his throne in 305, Constantine the Great, a very religious person, took over the empire soon afterward. He is seen here in an allegorical painting showing the Christian Cross in a vision over his soldiers, and himself.

Scriptures to be burned, and every Christian to be degraded from honor and rank. Hardly had this proclamation been posted up, when a Christian noble stepped forward and tore it down. He made no attempt to conceal his act, and being arrested was roasted to death. A fire broke out in the palace, but, since it was quickly extinguished, there is cause for belief that it was kindled to furnish a pretext for persecuting the Christians. They suffered every conceivable torture, and the flames of persecution raged everywhere in the empire except in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where Constantius ruled. Diocletian and Maximian abdicating as we have shown, Galerius gave unrestrained indulgence to his infernal hatred of the Christians. "With little rest, for eight years," says a writer, "the whip and the rack, the tigers, the hooks of steel, and the red-hot beds continued to do their deadly work. And then in 311, when life was fading from his dying eye, Galerius published an edict permitting Christians to worship God in their own way."

Christianity from its divine nature is deathless, and no persecution or human enmity can stay its advances. Galerius, its fiendish foe, was dead, and now came the

wonderful occurrence of a Roman emperor professing Christianity. While Constantius Chlorus was fighting in Britain, he died, and the soldiers proclaimed his son Constantine emperor. This was easy enough, and in accordance with the usual fashion, but the first step the new emperor had to take by way of self-preservation was to overcome five rivals.

In the prosecution of this stupendous task, he was on his way in 312 to attack his rival Maxentius near Rome, when, so he declared, he saw with his own eyes the form of a flaming cross in the heavens, standing out above the sun and inscribed with the words: "*In hoc vince*" (By this conquer). In the battle which shortly followed, Maxentius was overthrown, and, like Saul of Tarsus, who saw the great light on the way to Damascus, Constantine resolved to accept the new faith and become a Christian.

It is said by the early church historians that on the night following this vision, the Savior appeared to Constantine in a dream, and commanded him to frame a similar standard, and to march under it with the assurance of victory. Thus originated the famous *labarum*, or standard of the cross, displayed by the Christian emperors in their campaigns. The *X* in the top of the *labarum* represents the cross, and is the initial of the Greek word for Christ.

While the personal conduct of Constantine in many instances was shockingly contrary to the spirit of Christianity, for he was cruel and licentious, it cannot be denied that he dealt prodigious blows in favor of the new faith. His first act was the issuance of the Edict of Milan, which brought peace to the sorely harried Christian church. In 324, he defeated the last of his rivals, and made Christianity the religion of the state. He sent out circular letters to his subjects, whom he exhorted to embrace the divine truth of Christianity. His example could not fail to have tremendous influence, and thousands did as he asked them. It is estimated that during his reign a twentieth part of the population were professing Christians. Instead of persecuting paganism in its turn, Constantine assailed it with ridicule and neglect. With the public money he repaired the old churches and built new ones, so that it came about that in all the leading cities the strange sight was presented of the pagan temples being surpassed in splendor by the new places of worship. The Christian clergy were no longer required to pay taxes, and Sunday was proclaimed a day of rest. Finally, Constantine removed the seat of government to Byzantium, which henceforth became known as Constantinople, in his honor, and was essentially a Christian city.

Now, while Constantine professed Christianity, it is impossible to believe that his heart was touched by its gentle teachings, for his private conduct was ferocious. He must have been controlled largely by political and selfish motives. He and Licinius, through the famous edicts of Milan and Nicomedia, simply declared the

equality of Christianity with the old state religion. The path of Constantine was crimsoned with blood, for he shrank from no crime against even his nearest relatives, in order that he might accomplish his aims. His father-in-law Maximinus, his brother-in-law Licinius, and the latter's son, fell before him in the struggle for the monarchy, and finally his own son by his first marriage, the worthy Caesar Crispus, because of his popularity, aroused the fatal jealousy of Constantine. This emperor died, May 22, 337, while making his preparations for a Persian war in Nicomedia.

THE BARBARIANS DESTROY THE EMPIRE

Constantine had shifted his capital to Constantinople. In the vigor of his career, he had appointed his three sons by his second marriage to be caesars, and at his death the empire was apportioned among them. Constantine II received the West; Constantius, Asia with Egypt; and Constans, Italy and Africa. Almost from the first a furious quarreling raged among them. Constantine was defeated by Constans and killed at Aquileia in 340. This gave the latter dominance in the empire, and he gained some creditable successes over the Germans, but he made himself so odious by his arbitrary conduct that his troops slew him and proclaimed as emperor one of his generals, Magnentius, a Frank by birth (350). Magnentius suffered defeat at the hands of Constantius, and in despair slew himself. Thus Constantius became sole monarch in 353, and reigned until 360. Before leaving the East, he had appointed his cousin Gallus as caesar, but, suspecting his infidelity, caused him to be murdered in 354. There was urgent need of the presence of the emperor in the East, and the inroads of the Germans into Gaul demanded a strong commander in the West. Constantius, therefore, sent his cousin Julianus, brother of the murdered Gallus, into Gaul as caesar.

This was the man of whom we have already learned something, and who figures in history as Julian the Apostate. He was successful against the Alemanni and Franks, and checked the tide of German invasion for several years. Constantius did not do so well in the territory of the Danube and, becoming jealous of Julianus, ordered him to send him a part of his troops to help in an impending Persian war. These soldiers refused to leave Julianus, and proclaimed him emperor in Paris. Before Constantius could march to the attack, he died at Cilicia, and Julianus became sole emperor (361-63).

He gained the name of the Apostate through his efforts to supplant Christianity with paganism. He had been brought up in the former belief, but he abandoned it; and it is not unlikely that the bloody quarrels of Constantine and other professing Christian leaders had much to do with his contempt for the faith they claimed to follow. How far Julianus would have succeeded in his purpose

it is impossible to say, had his life been spared, but all his plans came to naught through his death in June 363.

Jovian was the nominee of the army, and, having made a disgraceful peace with the Germans, he retreated and then died in February 364, whereupon Valentinian I was elected emperor and, at the request of the army, took his brother Flavius Valens to share the throne with him. Valentinian had charge of the West, and reigned from 364 to 375, while Valens, beginning in the same year, held power till 378.

Valentinian fought with success against the Alemanni and Sarmatians, and his distinguished general, Theodosius, father of the later emperor of that name, held Britain and Africa. Valentinian, dying in the year named, was followed by his two sons Gratian and Valentinian II, the latter still a minor. The former was persuaded by Ambrose, the famous Bishop of Milan, to deprive the pagan worship of the support hitherto received from the state.

The reader has not failed to note the great change through which the Roman Empire had been passing for a long time. The "pangs of transformation" were protracted through centuries, but they were complete. The empire consisted of Italy and the provinces, and for a time their respective governments were on a different footing. The inhabitants of Italy were Roman citizens, with the provincials under the rule of Roman officials. But there began the formation of a nation of Romans in the provinces through the expedient of introducing colonies and of admitting the most deserving of the provin-

Valentinian I, the last emperor of the Roman Empire, divided his domain with his brother Valens, who became the emperor of the East in 364. The two empires remained separate until 476.

The death of Julian the Apostate





Theodosius I (the Great), considered a great general, had some early conflict with the Church and is seen here being refused admission to the church by Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. Theodosius soon accepted Christianity in its fullest terms. Upon his death, in 395, he was the emperor of both the East and the West empires and they were split up between his sons, Arcadius taking the East and Honorius the West.



A gold medal issued by Theodosius

cials to the freedom of Rome. Under Caracalla (211–17), the distinction between Romans and provincials was wiped out, and Roman citizenship was given to all the free inhabitants of the empire. By this time, the inhabitants of Gaul, Spain, North Africa, and Illyria had become thorough Romans, a proof of which is that several of the later emperors were provincials, as they would have been called at an earlier date.

It inevitably followed that when all distinction ceased between Italy and the rest of the Roman Empire, Rome lost its importance as the center of imperial dominion. You recall the division of the empire under Diocletian, and the removal of the capital to Byzantium (Constantinople) by Constantine. The pulsations of the great heart at Rome had sent all the blood through the arteries into the provinces, where it remained.

Theodosius I (379–95) was the last emperor who ruled over the whole Roman Empire. He was a great man and a zealous friend of the Christian religion. You have been told of the meekness with which he submitted to the repulse by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, because of the massacre in Thessalonica. His reign, however, was very brief, for he died in January 395 at Milan. He left the empire to his two sons, Honorius ruling in the West, which was the Latin Empire, while Arcadius held sway over the East, which was the Greek, or Byzantine, Empire. This division was in reality only the continuance or, rather, completion of what had been done by preceding emperors.

There could be no mistaking the signs which foretold the fall of Rome. It has been shown that the Romans had ceased to be a *nation*, because the nation was absorbed by the *empire*. There had been a steady mixture of foreign bloods, until only a mongrel race remained in the ancient city. The sturdy ancient Roman—the perfection of manly vigor and strength—was gone, and in his place remained a debauched, effeminate, luxury-loving people, wholly abandoned to self-indulgence. If a few exceptions rose here and there, like towering oaks in a decaying forest, the majority were rotten to the core. The emperors and wealthy classes lived for animal pleasure alone.

The lusty Teutonic or German tribes had lived for centuries among the forests of the North, and gave more than one Roman emperor all he could do to shove them back over the boundaries they persisted in crossing. In time the question arose whether it was not a wise step to permit these barbarians to come into the country and mix with the Romans, who could not fail to be improved by the infusion of so superb a strain. Moreover, these massive neighbors had heard of the new faith—Christianity—and in a crude way accepted its truths. Finally, in the latter half of the fourth century, under the Roman emperor Valens, a large body of Teutons were permitted to make their homes within the limits of the empire. Their dwelling place north of the Danube is now called Moldavia and Wallachia, and had been the province of Dacia in the time of Trajan, but it was abandoned by the Romans under Aurelian. These Goths accepted Christianity in the Arian form (Arius held Christ to be inferior to God the Father in dignity and nature), from Bishop Ulfilas, whose translation of the Scriptures into the Gothic tongue is the oldest Teutonic writing of which we have knowledge.

Valens, the first emperor of the East



In the latter part of the fourth century, the Goths became restless under the pressure of the shaggy Huns—Tartars, or Kalmucks—who, yielding to that strange impulse known as the “wanderings of nations,” were come out of eastern Asia, and were pushing their way into Europe. Helpless to hold their own against them, the Goths appealed to the emperor Valens, then ruling over the East, to allow them to cross to the south side of the Danube, and thus place that river as a barrier between them and their ferocious enemies. The emperor was suspicious of the fealty of the Goths, and consented only on condition that they should surrender their children and weapons. This hard proposal was accepted, and the Romans furnished the boats, which for days and nights were rowed back and forth, carrying their loads of innocent ones. Then having given them up, the Goths bribed the Roman officers to allow them to keep their arms. Thus, in 376, a million men, women, and slaves crossed one of the natural frontiers of the empire and settled within its borders.

But the Romans counted unwisely upon the forbearance of the Goths, when they treated them with great brutality and left them with no means against starvation. In their desperation, the Goths marshaled their fierce warriors and marched against Constantinople. The angered Roman army met them near Adrianople, and were disastrously defeated, the emperor losing his life in the battle, which was fought in 378. Then the horde overran the fertile region westward to the borders of Italy and the Adriatic Sea.

Theodosius, who well deserved the name of the Great, compelled the Goths to submit and settle down quietly, many of them taking service in the Roman armies. But this did not last long. The sons of Theodosius were weaklings, and, when they divided the Roman Empire between them, the Visigoths, or Western Goths, rebelled, and elevated their chief Alaric upon their shields, which was their national mode of electing a king. Alaric spread desolation through Greece, conquered the Roman armies there, and sacked their cities. Then he and his Goths hurled themselves upon Italy. They captured and sacked Rome in 410. It was what Pyrrhus and Hannibal, the Greek and the Carthaginian, had failed to do. Until Alaric entered, Rome had not seen a foreign master within her gates since the time of Brennus, eight hundred years before.

After six days of pillage Alaric withdrew from Rome and ravaged southern Italy. His adoring followers looked on him almost as a god. When he died they turned aside the waters of the river Busentinus and buried him on horseback within its depths. Then the waters were allowed to flow back over the grave, and all the slaves who knew where it lay were slain, so that he might rest forever undisturbed.

The Western Empire was fast crumbling to pieces. Britain was abandoned by the Romans and was soon

inundated by the German tribes known as Angles and Saxons. The different Teutonic clans invaded Gaul and from Gaul passed into Spain, which was conquered by Vandals, Sueves, and other German races; while Gaul was overrun by Franks, Burgundians, and Goths, all members of the Teutonic family. Then a host of Vandals under Geiseric crossed from Spain into Africa. Carthage was captured in 439. Thus the most vigorous limbs were lopped off from the decaying trunk.

Meanwhile, a hideous creature, squat of form, with huge head, broad shoulders, gleaming deep-set eyes, emerged from his log hut on the plains of Hungary, and set out on his career of conquest and desolation. He was Attila, the Hun, who had murdered his brother rather than permit him to share in his sovereignty over the prodigious hordes of savages scattered through the north of Asia and Europe. Christendom called him the Scourge of God, and his superstitious followers believed he carried a supernatural sword. Under his bloody banner fought the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Gepidae, and many of the Franks. In a short time, he forced his dominion over the people of Germany and Scythia. He ruled from the frontiers of Gaul to those of China. His campaign in 447

Alaric, king of the Visigoths, in his second attempt at the gates of Rome in 408, conquered and occupied the city.



in Persia and Armenia was unsuccessful, but afterward he swept through Illyria and destroyed the countries between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. At his approach cities were left desolate; the unhappy people fled to crouch in caverns among the woods and cliffs. Starvation was less cruel than the Hun. He gave to all only the choice of annihilation or of following in his train. Theodosius fought three terrific battles with him and was beaten in all. Constantinople escaped because the shaggy demons did not know how to besiege the strong fortifications; but Attila wrought his ferocious will in Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, where seventy cities were desolated. Theodosius, after treacherously trying to murder his conqueror, was compelled to cede to him a portion of his territory south of the Danube and to pay him an immense tribute.

In 451, the Scourge wheeled his horse westward to invade Gaul, but was confronted by Aëtius, leader of the Romans, and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths. There Tartar despotism and Aryan civilization met in the life-and-death struggle, and the latter triumphed. The Huns were routed on every side, Attila himself narrowly escaping capture or death. If we can trust the older historians, this was the bloodiest battle ever fought in Europe. It took place near the site of the present city of Châlons-sur-Marne, and it is said that the dead left on the field numbered from 250,000 to 300,000.

Attila was in despair and, having retired to his camp, collected all the wooden shields, saddles, and other baggage into an immense funeral pile, determined to die in the flames rather than surrender; but through the advice of Aëtius, the Roman commander, the Huns were allowed to retreat in safety, lest they should gain from despair the strength to conquer.

The Scourge recovered his strength in the following year, and again invaded Italy, devastating Aquileia, Milan, Padua, and other cities, and driving the panic-stricken people into the Alps, the Apennines, and the lagoons of the Adriatic, where they founded the city of Venice. Rome was utterly helpless, but was saved through Pope Leo I, who boldly visited the terrible barbarian and by his majestic mien and apostolic mission terrified him into sparing the city. Attila returned to Hungary, but two years later regained his ruthless courage, and was making preparations for another invasion of Italy when he burst a blood vessel and died. What a grim comment on the folly of puny man in arraying himself against the cause of truth and justice! Attila boasted that the grass never grew on the spot trodden by the hoof of his horse, but the prick of a pin or the most trifling occurrence has been sufficient many a time to bring the proudest wretch to the dust. The immense empire of the Scourge of God immediately crumbled to fragments.

Attila had hardly shrunk away from Rome before the imprecations of the Pope, when Geiseric, the Vandal

chief of Africa, sailed with his fleet from Carthage and anchored at the mouth of the Tiber. This time Leo could not turn aside the fury of the barbarians. Rome was captured (455), and for two weeks the Vandals and Moors plundered and pillaged and looted, without a gleam of mercy. Scores of ships were laden with captives and treasures, and sailed across the sea to Carthage.

The emperors of the West still came and went like a procession of phantoms. Scan the list and you will find their names, but they were no more than so many figments of sleep, so far as their power went to stay the rush of the empire to destruction. Finally, the Roman Senate declared that one emperor was enough, and that he should be the Eastern emperor Zeno, but the government of Italy was to be trusted to Odoacer, who took the title of Patrician of Italy. This Odoacer had been a bandit among the Noric Alps and, entering the Roman service, rapidly rose to eminence. He aided Orestes, in 475, in driving the emperor Julius Nepos from the throne, and conferred on his son Romulus the title of Augustus, which the people in ridicule changed to Augustulus. This feeble youth, who, by a strange sarcasm of destiny, bore the names of the founder of Rome and of the empire, was pensioned off, and, when Odoacer became king, the Senate sent back to Constantinople the tiara and purple, for the Western Empire had passed away forever.

The western or Latin provinces of the Roman Empire having dissolved before the onrush of the barbarians, let us now glance at the history of the Eastern Empire, which survived the general wreck for a thousand years, though steadily decaying and going to ruin. The Greek or Byzantine Empire reached its zenith in the sixth century, under Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565.

The last of the emperors of the West, Romulus Augustulus (475-76)



Odoacer, a leading Italian chieftain, defeats Augustulus and becomes the first king of Italy. This action ended the empire of the West. He reigned from 476 to 493. The period of reign by kings of Italy was subject to the Eastern Empire and lasted until the Lombard king Alboin took control in 568.





A gold medallion issued by Justinian

Justinian the Great, emperor of the East from 527 to 565. Under his rule Roman law was revised, and he published the Code, Pandects, and Institutes of Justinian. He also made new laws called Novellae, which are a foundation for such laws today.

Although of little military capacity, he had the wisdom to select the ablest generals of the last days of Roman ascendancy, and under their direction, especially that of the distinguished Narses and Belisarius, the empire was restored, at least so far as outward appearance went, to its ancient limits, and the East and West were reunited under a single rule. His first war, that with Persia, had scarcely been brought to a half-successful conclusion when a revolt took place against him. A rival emperor was elected, and Justinian was so frightened that he would have fled but for the vigor and resolution of his wife, Theodora. Narses repressed the rising with merciless severity, and it is said that thirty thousand of the insurgents were slain in one day.

Belisarius by the force of arms reannexed the Vandal kingdom of Africa to the empire; and he and Narses restored the imperial authority in Rome, in northern Italy, and in a large portion of Spain. One of the remarkable works of Justinian was the renewing and strengthening of the immense line of fortifications along the eastern and southeastern frontier of the empire. These works of defense and many public buildings in Rome and other cities involved enormous expenditures, but they were ably and honestly carried out. The most famous of his buildings is the great church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople.

But the chief renown of Justinian rests upon his work as a legislator. Directly on his accession, he set to work to collect the vast mass of previous legislative enactments which were still in force; and, to make this thorough, he first compiled a code comprising all the constitutions of his predecessors (527-29). His most important legal undertaking was the composition of a systematic treatise on the law for the guidance of students and lawyers, which was published shortly before the Digest, under the title of *Institutiones* (Institutes). They were originally written in Latin, while the later treatises which Justinian caused

to be prepared were in Greek, and bore the name *Novellae* (New Works). This complete system, known as the *Civil Law* (*Corpus juris civilis*), formed the groundwork of the law of nearly all of the nations of Europe, England being the most notable exception.

After the fall of Rome and the collapse of the Western Empire, Odoacer, the Visigothic chief, continued governing, claiming to do so by authority of the emperor of the East, but he paid little attention to the Byzantine court at Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, had established a kingdom between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, under the rule of their own hero, Theodoric. The emperor Zeno commissioned Theodoric to invade Italy and bring that country back into the empire. With Theodoric went all his people, including women and children and aged men, so that it was another migration of a nation. The campaign against Odoacer lasted for three years, but in 493 he was compelled to come to terms, and soon after was assassinated by his rival. Theodoric distributed one-third of the conquered territory among his soldiers in military tenures, and ordered his men to be kind to the people and to obey the laws. The wise rule of Theodoric brought peace and prosperity to Italy, which continued till his death in 526.

Then came turmoil, confusion, bloodshed, and lasting anarchy. It was at this time that Justinian, emperor of the East, interfered, and the imperial forces under Belisarius captured Rome. Narses, his successor, overthrew the Ostrogothic power in Italy in 553, in a great battle on the slopes of Mount Vesuvius. The last king of

Theodoric the Great, the second king of Italy (493-526). He is shown here in an ivory carving with his son Athalaric on his right and his daughter Amalasantha to his left. Athalaric replaced him as king in 526.

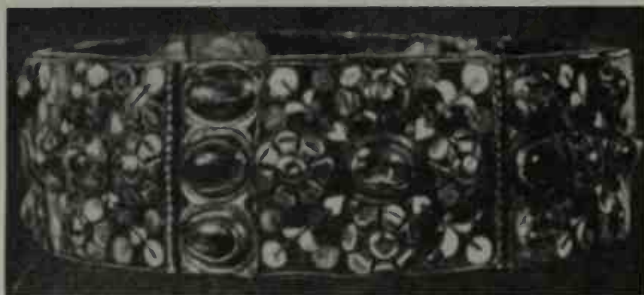




King Alboin



Alboin conquered northern Italy and became the first Lombard king of Italy. He is seen here entering Pavia. His reign was from 568 to 573.



This iron crown of Lombardy was made for the fourth Lombard king, Agilulf, who used it in his coronation in 591, and it was used by all future kings of Lombard and Holy Roman emperors, who were also kings of Lombardy. This crown is unique among crowns because the interior of it was hammered from a nail of the cross of crucifixion of Christ. The jeweled exterior was added in 1100.

the Goths, Teias, was slain; and his warriors asked permission of the Romans to depart in peace, bearing with them the body of their leader. Narses gladly consented, and the whole nation of Goths marched in a body out of Italy forever. It became a Byzantine province, governed by rulers appointed from Constantinople, with the title of Exarchs of Ravenna.

Justinian had been dead only three years, when Italy, still governed by an exarch living at Ravenna, was overrun by the third and last of the Teutonic invasions. The Lombards or Longobardi, thus named perhaps from their long beards, came from central Europe, swarmed through the Alps and, sweeping into the valley of the Po, occupied the extensive district still known as Lombardy, with Pavia as its capital.

Through their early history Romans displayed a natural conservatism that opposed acceptance of alien ideas. Not without a struggle from the puritans in their midst, they became deeply affected, however, by the Hellenistic

culture of postclassical Greece, which in time permeated every aspect of Roman thought, religion, and art. Skilled at integrating conquered peoples, imperial Rome was a melting pot of cultures. In turn, Roman law, institutions, and ideals and the use of the Latin language radiated like its roads out from the city and across the empire, survived its decline, and provided the basis for a new European civilization.

From a military perspective the empire went on the defensive in the first century A.D. By the third century it was in full retreat, although Italy remained secure from invasion for another century. There was no one reason for Rome's decline. Its security system was tested beyond its capacity to defend the empire's frontiers, and its natural leaders withdrew gradually from state service. In simple terms the Roman state suffered ultimately from a loss of will to survive. By the end of the third century the empire had been divided for administrative purposes, and the city of Rome had lost its status as a capital. Although remaining the symbol of Roman unity, the city was an unproductive consumer of wealth too distant from the military frontiers to provide leadership.

Sacked by the Visigoths in 410, Rome was prey thereafter to attacks by marauding Germans. The imperial government encouraged the settlement of some Germanic tribes as allies on Italian land, however, and Germans increasingly made careers in the army and in the administration of the empire. In 476 a palace coup forced the abdication of the last Western emperor, a puppet of his German advisers. In 488 Theodoric, king of the Goths but also a Roman patrician, set about to restore Italy and rebuild Rome. Defending Italy with his Gothic



King Cleph

The last of the Lombard kings, King Desiderius, in his battle "coat of mail"



army, he ruled it as a Roman official. In 526 Justinian, the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) emperor, turned on the Goths and revived direct imperial control over Italy. Justinian introduced into Italy the *Corpus juris civilis*, the compilation of Roman law, which was passed five hundred years later from Italy to the rest of western Europe. In removing his Gothic allies, however, Justinian left Italy open to invasion by the Germanic Lombards who, although few in number, established kingdoms throughout the peninsula. Other portions of Italy including Rome remained in Byzantine hands, but with the creation of the Lombard kingdoms an end was put to the political unity of Italy for the next fourteen hundred years.

PAPACY AND EMPIRE

Christianity was brought to the Greek-speaking Jewish communities of the cities and towns in Italy in the first century. As one of a number of Oriental mystery religions that gained in popularity among native Italians as traditional ethics and morality lost their relevance, Christianity survived persecution and was granted recognition by Constantine, the first Christian emperor, in 315. Christianity had been accepted throughout Italy by the time that it was adopted as the official religion of the Roman Empire late in the fourth century. Heir to the empire's institutions, the church adapted Roman law for ecclesiastical uses.

By the fourth century the Christian bishops of Rome, who claimed succession from Saint Peter, had assumed a position of primacy in the Western, or Latin, church and bore the title Pope. With the transfer of the imperial capital to Constantinople, temporal jurisdiction over the city of Rome was passed to the pope, and estates were conferred on the holder of the office to provide him revenue as an imperial agent. The papacy grew more independent of the distant imperial authority, and theories grounded on tradition were introduced to define the sometimes ambiguous relationship between secular and spiritual jurisdictions, between empire and church, whose interests overlapped in many areas. Papal theorists explained that, whereas civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were distinct, only the papacy possessed a *plentitudo protestatis* (fullness of power) and that the authority exercised by civil authorities was merely a reflection of the power of the church. The argument continued that Constantine had made a free gift of Rome to the pope, to whom he and his successors owed their imperial titles. Whatever the theoretical underpinning for his position, the pope was called on in the absence of other authorities to assume a wide range of civil, diplomatic, and even military responsibilities in Italy albeit in the emperor's name, as Byzantine power contracted under pressure from the Lombards.

Because imperial Italy had been left to its own devices,



On Christmas Day, 800, Charlemagne was crowned in St. Peter's Church in Rome by Pope Leo III, as the Holy Roman emperor. He had defeated King Desiderius of Lombard in 774, which ended the rule of the Lombard kings over Italy. This mosaic shows Leo III and Charlemagne at the feet of Saint Peter.



This coin is considered by experts to have the best likeness of Charlemagne in existence. It was issued in the last year of his reign, 814.

Rome came to resent imperial interference in Italian affairs, a situation exacerbated by religious differences that had developed between the Latin and Greek churches. In 754 the pope called on Pepin, king of the Franks and strongest of the Germanic warlords, to expel the troublesome Lombards from Roman territory, which Pepin restored to the pope rather than to the Byzantine emperor, thus establishing the basis of what became the Papal States.

In 800 Pope Leo II re-created the Western Roman Empire by conferring an imperial crown on the Frankish king, Charlemagne. The practical effect on Italy of the reestablishment of the Western Empire—including areas that were never part of the old empire—under a Germanic king was to link Italy's political future to the emerging states of northern Europe rather than to the Byzantine Empire. The Holy Roman Empire stood for one thousand years as the visible sign of the unfulfilled ideal of European unity and of the cooperation between the civil and ecclesiastical order. The authority of the Western emperors in northern and central Italy was nominal, but periodic intervention on their part was required to restore order in Rome, where in the tenth century the papacy had become the pawn of rival Roman aristocratic factions.

By tradition emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were elected by German princes and traveled to Rome for their coronations. Some emperors, such as Otto III, found residence in Italy more congenial than in Germany, but the concentration of imperial power in either one of the two parts of the empire always implied neglect of the other and a decline of imperial influence there.

The eleventh-century reform movement within the church aimed at disciplining the ecclesiastical hierarchy by curbing lay investiture of bishops, that is, the control of ecclesiastical appointments by secular rulers. Bishops

were seen to owe not only their temporalities but also their spiritual offices to the emperor. There was a complementary effort to forge a chain of command that tied bishops directly to the pope through a centralized ecclesiastical administrative system. Concurrently the selection of the pope was removed from the Roman nobility to an electoral college of eminent churchmen—the cardinals.

The moving spirit in this medieval reformation was Pope Gregory VII, himself a Roman nobleman, who waged a running battle with Henry IV in Italy and Germany. When moral sanctions failed to bring the emperor to heel, the pope stirred rebellion against him among the Italian towns that were anxious to diminish imperial power over them. Henry IV's abject submission at Canossa in 1077 was a fleeting triumph for the pope. Gregory ultimately failed in his struggle with the emperor, who drove him from Rome and set up an antipope in his stead. But Gregory's long-range goals, separating the spiritual credentials of bishops from their temporal positions as imperial agents, were vindicated by his successors, adding to the strength and prestige of the papacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and freeing it to play a vigorously independent role in the political development of Italy. Nevertheless, conflict between the spiritual and the temporal remained the recurrent theme of medieval history, and nowhere was it more apparent than in Italy.

Although there were acute shifts in papal foreign policy, a single principle dominated the papacy's relations with foreign rulers and its dealings in Italian affairs. Experience had proved that, in order for the church to fulfill its spiritual mission unimpeded by secular authorities, the pope had to have temporal sovereignty in his own right in the Papal States and, as a corollary to the principle, southern Italy had to be kept independent of imperial control and its ruler tied to the papacy.

Sicily and the South remained in Byzantine hands after reestablishment of the Western Empire, although the Byzantine hold on them was weak. Early in the eleventh century landless Norman knights, employed by the Greeks as mercenaries, seized the southern provinces and staked out their individual claims. In 1053 Robert Guiscard united the Norman territories in southern Italy. He and his dynasty created a centralized feudal kingdom in which all land tenure was granted by the king to whom all his subjects owed their primary allegiance. In Italy as elsewhere the Normans combined ambition and a genius for organization and administration. At first resisted by the papacy, Robert Guiscard's claim to a portion of the Byzantine Empire was legitimated by the pope, who accepted the Normans as his vassals, using them many times as a weapon to hold the Western emperor at bay in Italy and to defend the Papal States. In 1130 the Normans added Sicily, conquered in the ninth century by the Saracens, to their domains.



Twelfth-century Italy

MEDIEVAL COMMUNES

Towns, although diminished in size and activity, had survived from antiquity in northern and central Italy. Although nominally subjects of the emperor, the city-republics or communes won greater autonomy in the eleventh century during the investiture controversy at the expense of their bishops, who had governed them as imperial vicars. The maritime republics—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—had a longer tradition of independence.

Greater political freedom in the communes coincided with improved security in the countryside and on the land and sea trade routes. Italian nobles and townsmen, the first in Europe to understand the use of money and to master business procedure, invested a slowly accumulated surplus of wealth in increasing agricultural output. Surplus food production made it possible to support an urban population of craftsmen and workers and to create the marketplaces around which industry and commerce grew. Northern Italy was medieval Europe's first industrial center, and in its countinghouses, warehouses, and workshops capitalism originated.

The life of the communes engendered the fierce local patriotism and competitiveness that fueled incessant warfare among them. Strong class feeling and intense family rivalries also bedeviled the communes with political and social turmoil. Having secured recognition of their autonomy within their walls, the communes forced the submission of the landed nobility and annexed the surrounding countryside. Many of the old nobility re-

tained their influence but only by joining the guilds and entering the full life of the communes on the same basis as the merchants and manufacturers. Attempts by the guilds—on which representation in communal governments was based—to regulate economic life varied in effectiveness, but a tension existed between corporations and individuals that was the basis of much of the social discontent within the communes that spilled over into their political life.

Although political institutions developed differently in each commune, patterns common to each are discernible. Oligarchies composed of merchant families dominated political life through the more important guilds. The members of the unrepresented lesser guilds struggled to win recognition and a voice in communal affairs. The internal politics of the communes was so turbulent that foreigners—anyone from outside the commune—were employed to serve as chief executives (podestas) to arbitrate among the factions.

Urged on by Italian nobles to curb the radicalism of the communes, the emperor, Frederick of Hohenstaufen (called Barbarossa in Italy), insisted on their membership in a federation under imperial supervision. Putting aside their rivalries, the communes of Lombardy united for their collective security under the pope, and at Legnano in 1176 the Lombard League defeated the emperor's forces and won Barbarossa's grudging confirmation of their liberties. But the question of their independence was not settled. Emperor Frederick II, Bar-

barossa's grandson, inherited the crowns of Naples and Sicily through his Norman mother, allowing the Hohenstaufens to outflank the Papal States. Called *Stupor Mundi* (Wonder of the World), Frederick II considered himself an Italian prince and kept a brilliant, polyglot court at Palermo, from which he ruled a kingdom that was prosperous and possessed the strongest government known in the Middle Ages. His attempts to subdue the communes of Lombardy and Tuscany came to nothing, however, and in the effort he exhausted the resources of the southern kingdom, which his heirs were unable to hold. Naples and Sicily passed under papal patronage to the French House of Anjou, a move intended to counter imperial influence in Italy. Angevin claims in the South were in time contested by the kings of Aragon, and the seed was planted for the centuries-long competition between France and Spain for control of Italy.

Italians were by no means unanimous in their opposition to the Hohenstaufen scheme for an imperial federation, and the struggle between the emperor and the communes for control of the city-states intensified party strife under the titles of the pro- and anti-imperial parties in Germany. The Ghibellines favored federalism and an imperial presence in Italy. The Guelfs, who stood for particularism (the independence of the communes and the primacy of local interests), looked to the pope as their nominal leader, not as an alternative to the emperor but as the steadiest representative of resistance to imperial claims to overlordship in Italy.

There existed a distinction, not always easy to maintain, between the pope as temporal ruler of the Papal States and as head of the church. In the context of Italian politics, he was but one of several princes, and on that level, rather than as a spiritual leader, relations with him were conducted by other states. However, the powerful thirteenth-century papacy increasingly employed moral sanctions—part of its spiritual arsenal—as political weapons, ultimately to the detriment of both the church and Italy. The pope's responsibility to intervene in questions affecting morality was universally understood, but Dante Alighieri in the *Divina Commedia* (Divine Comedy) and other works berated the papacy for having usurped the function of empire, weakened secular authority, and thus sown the seeds of human discord.

The fourteenth century—a time of war, famine, plague, and doubt, contrasting sharply with the relative stability of the previous century—witnessed the transformation of many city-republics into lordships (seigniories). The intense, disruptive activity of the political factions encouraged a demand for the arrogation of constitutional authority in the communes to a single ruler, above party, who could restore order. Having popular support, the despots needed not tolerate any check on their authority. The courts of the dynasties that ruled the Italian city-states—the Visconti of Milan, the Gonzagas of Mantua, the d'Este of Ferrara, the Scaligeri of Verona

Pope Innocent III, a scion of the noble Italian house of Conti, became pope before his fortieth birthday and held his office from 1198 to 1215. He had nearly absolute control over the monarchs of Europe. The strongest politically set pope to date, he compelled Philip Augustus of France to restore his wife to her position by putting France under an interdict; he excommunicated and dethroned Otho, emperor of Germany, and gave the throne to Frederick of Sicily. Also, he put John of England under interdict and ordered him to be deposed, and told Philip Augustus to carry it out. John submitted and signed a treaty by which England and Ireland became fiefs of Rome.





Cosimo de' Medici

—ranked in their time as the equal in magnificence of those of the royal houses of Europe. Often men of intelligence and usually of refined taste, the signiors attracted to their courts the genius of Italy—scholars, poets, artists—and created the atmosphere in which a great epoch in civilization, the Renaissance, flourished.

The political history of Renaissance Italy is that of the interaction of five Italian states—Naples, the Papal States, Venice, Milan, and Florence—which had drawn many of the smaller states within the orbit of their influence. These states, all fully sovereign by the end of the fourteenth century, took on the characteristics of nation-states and devised systems of alliances within which they acted out in Italy the balance-of-power diplomacy that the great kingdoms of Europe adopted in their practice of statecraft.

The Italian League, a formal alliance agreed to in 1455 at the pope's prompting, was designed to keep the peace among the Italian states and to prevent foreign intervention in Italian affairs. A succession of particularly able statesmen-popes, who possessed the political and diplomatic skills demanded by the times, constructively contributed to the success of the league, which endured for forty years and coincided with the period of the finest cultural and intellectual achievements of the Renaissance.

It was Florence, a city of wool and banks, that was the linchpin in the alliance system. Its politics were dominated by the remarkable Medici family, whose banking house operated branches in Europe's most important commercial centers. Cosimo de' Medici was in every sense a signior, although he took no title and seldom held public office. He controlled the commune through

the manipulation of elections and, not the least, because of public confidence in his ability to provide for the welfare of Florence. Under his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, the Medici signiory assumed princely proportions but always within the limits of the commune's republican institutions. His taste, good judgment, and generous patronage confirmed the artistic and intellectual preeminence of Florence in Italy and in Europe.

CENTURIES OF FOREIGN DOMINATION

The Italian allies fell out after the collapse of the Medici signiory, and in 1494 France took advantage of the breach to put forward long-standing claims to Milan and Naples. When Spain intervened on Naples' behalf, divided Italian states chose sides between the two foreign powers, and Italy was made a battleground for the protracted rivalry between France and the Habsburgs. Charles V, Holy Roman emperor and king of Spain, subsequently forged a defensive arc—sweeping from Spain through Italy to Germany and the Low Countries—to contain France, ensuring Spanish Habsburg dominance in Italy for nearly two hundred years. Milan and Naples became part of the Spanish crown and other Italian states its satellites.

It was in this environment that the Florentine, Niccolò Machiavelli, a politician possessed of extraordinary insight into the dynamics of politics, wrote *Il Principe* (The Prince). Infuriated by Italy's weakness, which had invited its domination by foreigners, Machiavelli searched—as Dante had—for a liberator, suggesting in his treatise the qualities needed in a strong man by describing the tactics of the most successful princes. Reviewing the so-called dwarfing of Italy with remarkable detachment, Machiavelli's contemporary, Francesco Guicciardini, acknowledged that states like men were mortal but nevertheless deplored "the infelicity of being born at such a time when his country has to fulfill its doom."

After the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), Austria replaced Spain as the dominant foreign power in northern Italy. A Bourbon king was put on the Neapolitan throne, but Lombardy (Milan) was retained in the Habsburg dominions. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as Naples-Sicily was styled, entered into a family compact with France and Spain, and, to keep the influence of the Bourbon and Habsburg rivals in balance in Italy, Sardinia was awarded to Piedmont, carrying with it a royal title for its reigning House of Savoy. Italy was the outcast of Europe in the eighteenth century, but the despots imposed by foreign rulers, especially in the smaller states of central Italy, were often benevolent and reform minded, providing enlightened and frequently progressive government. Tuscany in particular, ruled by



Italy under Napoleon, 1812

the Habsburg-related House of Lorraine, gained a reputation as one of the most liberal states in Europe.

News of the French Revolution was given a sympathetic reception in Italy only among small groups of middle-class liberals. The old regimes busied themselves rounding up local subversives but—except for Austrian Lombardy—took few precautions against the possibility of France's exporting its revolution by force. Napoleon Bonaparte's spectacular Italian campaigns in 1797 and 1799 shattered Austrian hegemony, drove the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies from the mainland, and ended the twelve-hundred-year history of the Venetian Republic. By 1806 Napoleon—now emperor—had annexed large portions of Italy, including Rome, Piedmont, and Venetian possessions in Dalmatia, to France; deeded Naples to his brother-in-law, Marshal Joachim Murat; and created the kingdom of Italy in northern and central Italy, naming himself its king. The Napoleonic period was crucial for the development of modern Italy, and the changes wrought by the French occupation had a lasting impact on the laws and institutions of the country. The most effective opposition came on a regional basis from small groups of patriots organized in underground secret societies. They had no regard for the old regimes but were inspired by a deep desire to rid Italy of all foreigners and to establish independent, constitutional governments in their respective regions.

RISORGIMENTO

The Risorgimento was the movement for political unity in Italy in the nineteenth century. It was not a mass

movement, and until its last years it did not engage the imagination and support of a broad range of Italians. It was, from the first, promoted chiefly by an elite of middle-class liberals and the intelligentsia and entailed a running civil war between the old and the emerging Italian ruling classes. Violent revolution and gradual reform, republicanism and national monarchy, federalism and the unitary state were all proposed as solutions for Italian disunity and subservience. The Nationalist movement was organized during the French occupation around a core of secret societies. Later in the century three figures—Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and Camillo di Cavour—emerged, often in competition, as leaders of the Risorgimento.

In the reactionary atmosphere that attended Napoleon's defeat, nationalism seemed a dangerous corollary of the French Revolution. Governments represented at the Congress of Vienna (1815) were intent on reviving the prerevolutionary equilibrium of a Europe torn by a generation of war. Old boundaries and old rulers were restored and their security guaranteed by the great powers. Lombardy-Venetia was returned to Austria, which also counted the satellite states—Tuscany, Modena, and Parma—within its sphere of influence. The Bourbons were restored to Naples and the pope to Rome. Only

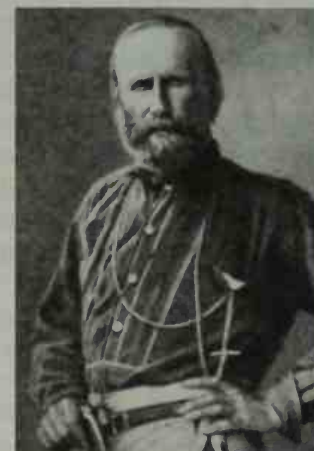
Giuseppe Mazzini

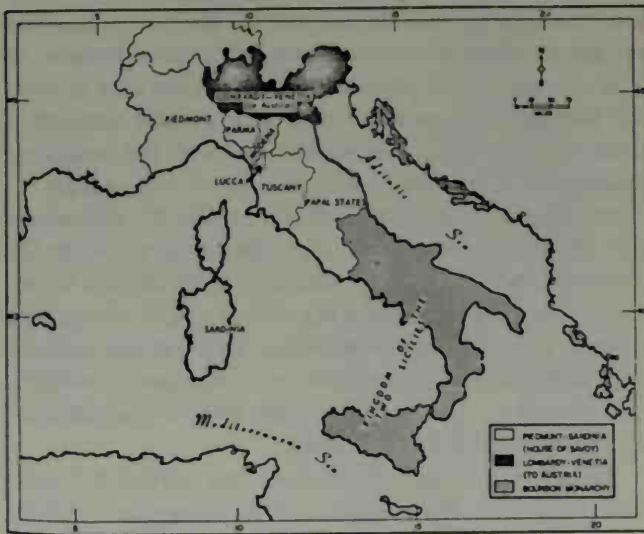


Count di Cavour



Giuseppe Garibaldi





Italy after the Congress of Vienna, 1815

Piedmont stood outside the circle of foreign control or influence; yet there, as elsewhere in Italy, efficient, well-organized repression quashed the petty rebellions stirred by the secret societies.

After 1830 direction of the Risorgimento was pre-empted by Mazzini's Young Italy movement. Mazzini, an ascetic who brought a quasireligious element to the struggle for independence, demanded that his followers make themselves morally worthy to lead Italy to the destiny that history had appointed for it. Mazzini contended that only by violent revolution could Italy be freed and unified and that the struggle itself would have a purifying effect on Italians. Mazzini's goal was a unitary state—eliminating the regionalism that had divided Italians throughout their history—under a republican government with its capital in Rome. From exile he and his followers organized expeditions and conspiracies that touched every part of Italy.

The shock wave of the Paris revolution in 1848 was quickly felt in Italy, sparking rebellions in Lombardy and driving Pope Pius IX from Rome, where Mazzini set up a short-lived republic. Piedmont, joined by other Italian states, took advantage of political unrest in Austria to invade Lombardy, but the campaign—referred to as the First War of Independence—ended in their decisive defeat. Mazzini's revolutionary government in Rome fled before the French troops dispatched by Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III), newly elected president of the Second Republic in France. A permanent garrison was left behind to guard the pope. In its long-range effects, however, the most significant event in Italy in 1848 was the promulgation of a liberal constitution in Piedmont, which transformed the state into a limited monarchy with a strong parliamentary government.

Piedmont was a relatively old state that had been kept outside the mainstream of Italian political development. Traditionally oriented toward France and the only Ital-

ian state with a military establishment of any size, Piedmont was set apart by its independence from foreign control or entanglements with foreign dynasties. Despite its setback in the brief war against Austria, Piedmont was recognized after 1848 as the only Italian state capable of giving concerted leadership to the Risorgimento.

Cavour, prime minister of Piedmont, set himself the task of building an efficiently functioning parliamentary government. His territorial aims were limited to creating an enlarged kingdom in northern Italy under the House of Savoy. Conspiring with Napoleon III, Cavour's government entered into a secret agreement guaranteeing French assistance in taking Lombardy-Venetia. Piedmont's rejection of an Austrian ultimatum provided the pretext for an invasion of Lombardy in 1859. Austrian forces were defeated, but the cost of the fighting was greater than Napoleon III had bargained for, and the Piedmontese were forced to accept a peace less advantageous than Cavour had been promised. Under the provisions of the treaty of Villafranca, negotiated by the French and Austrians, Lombardy was surrendered to France, which re-ceded it to Piedmont in return for Savoy and Nice; Venetia remained in Austrian hands; and, more humiliating, a federation of northern Italian states, with Habsburg interests intact, was proposed in place of the unified kingdom envisioned by Cavour.

The war with Austria had, however, stirred successful rebellions in the satellite states and in Romagna (in the Papal States), from which appeals came for union with Piedmont. Commissioners were dispatched to hold these areas for King Vittorio Emanuele II, and, disregarding the peace treaty, Cavour called for plebiscites to approve the annexation of each region into a unitary state. At that point he braked the momentum of the Risorgimento, and Mazzini condemned Cavour as a traitor for not moving to annex Rome and Naples. It was Garibaldi, a follower of Mazzini, who forced Cavour's hand and brought the south into the kingdom of Italy.

Garibaldi welcoming Vittorio Emanuele II as the king of Italy





The young King Vittorio Emanuele II

King Vittorio Emanuele II as he appeared in later years



Garibaldi launched his red-shirted "Thousand" on a triumphal procession through Sicily and Naples, deposed the Bourbon monarchy, and proclaimed a dictatorship in the name of Vittorio Emanuele II. His conquest was as rapid as it was complete, and Garibaldi turned his attention to Rome. Cavour feared the international repercussions of an assault on Rome, defended by its French garrison; and a Piedmontese army, the king at its head, was sent to block Garibaldi's advance. The two forces confronted one another south of Rome, and in a dramatic gesture, typical of the man, Garibaldi turned over Naples and Sicily to Vittorio Emanuele II. Venetia was acquired in 1866 after a third war with Austria. Only Rome remained outside a united Italy.

Cavour called a national Parliament in 1861 to proclaim Vittorio Emanuele II king of Italy. The Piedmontese constitution, providing for representative institutions, became the basic law of the new kingdom. The euphoria of unification soon wore thin and was replaced by misgivings, especially pronounced in the South, about

Piedmontese influence in the national government—a highly centralized administration distant from the people—and its lack of sympathy for local institutions. Each region had its own history, unique culture, and social and economic structures, and there was no tradition of practical cooperation among them. Only Piedmont was experienced in parliamentary government. Mazzini's followers complained that political unification had not been accompanied by social revolution, something Cavour had not intended it should. Catholics protested the seizure of the Papal States and the confiscation of church property by the new anticlerical government. Italy was united, but the Italians were not, and Cavour died in 1862 leaving his successors with the problem of making a nation out of the new kingdom.

KINGDOM OF ITALY

The Roman Question, that is, the settlement of relations between the Italian state and the Catholic church after the seizure of Rome in 1870, remained the most vexatious and seemingly insoluble problem confronting Italian governments for almost sixty years. Pope Pius IX refused to consider Cavour's proposal in 1860 for "a free church in a free state," which was intended to guarantee the ecclesiastical freedom of the Italian church, uninhibited by government intervention, in return for the renunciation of the pope's temporal claims to Rome. Pius IX noted that Cavour's words contrasted markedly with his record of anticlerical legislation in Piedmont, but, more important, he adamantly stood by the position that papal sovereignty in Rome was essential for carrying out the spiritual mission of the church.

Agitation mounted—especially from Mazzini's republicans looking to discredit the Savoy monarchy—for armed intervention in Rome. When the French garrison was withdrawn in 1870, Italian troops occupied the city. A plebiscite confirmed its annexation, and the next year the Italian capital was transferred to Rome. Still hoping for an equitable accommodation with the papacy, Parliament enacted the Law of Guarantees in 1871, which would establish the Vatican as an independent papal territory within the city of Rome and accord the pope the dignity of a sovereign. Pius IX rejected the offer out of hand, to the disappointment of many Catholics, and proclaimed himself the "prisoner of the Vatican." As far as the Italian government was concerned, the law stood in force awaiting the pope's agreement. For his part, Pius IX refused to recognize the legality of the Italian state, excommunicated King Vittorio Emanuele II, and condemned the occupation of Rome as an aggressive act, appealing to foreign powers to restore the city to the papacy. In retaliation the Italian government sharply restricted the civil rights of the clergy.

The impasse between the pope and the state created a crisis of conscience for Italian Catholics who wanted to



The monument to King Vittorio Emanuele II in central Rome

Crown Prince Umberto I, the son of Vittorio Emanuele II



The assassination scene of King Umberto's death by an anarchist from the United States on July 29, 1900, at Monza, Italy



Umberto I's consort, Queen Margaret of Savoy, the first queen of Italy



King Umberto I, from an official photograph taken in 1900 just before his assassination



reconcile their intense devotion to the church with their natural love for their country, their dilemma made even more difficult by the pope's prohibition of Catholics voting in national elections or participating in national politics as being *non expedit* (inexpedient). Rather than challenge the anticlericalism of the liberals on their own ground—in Parliament—the church chose instead to organize the Catholic masses socially and economically outside the political system through church-sponsored unions and cooperatives. The government was thereby virtually left to the anticlericals; potential Catholic leadership was cut off from the political life of the nation.

The Italian Parliament was composed of the appointed Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, elected by a restricted electorate (about three hundred thousand voters in 1870 or one in every seventy Italians). Early governments were dominated by Piedmontese politicians. The party structure was loose and undisciplined. The right, based on Cavour's liberal coalition, stood for national stability and drawing the parts of the country closer together through a highly centralized state administration. The left, composed of ex-republicans and Mazzini's followers, advocated social reform and a more democratic electorate. With the passing of Cavour's political generation in the 1870s, the quality of leadership in Parliament appeared to diminish. After 1876 the left continually maintained a parliamentary majority, but so many factions within it—usually brought together by a single personality—vied for recognition that clearly defined party government, necessary for rigorous parliamentary life, was impossible.

What the Italians substituted for party government was *trasformismo*, defined as “making it worthwhile for a sufficient number of members [of Parliament] to vote with the government” by using various forms of bribery and political brokering. Seats in the cabinet were allocated to factional or regional leaders, and as a result governments were formed whose members were so divided in outlook that coherent programs could seldom be formulated and, with all good intentions on the part of the government, reform measures were regularly stymied. Only the Italian Socialist party (Partito Socialista Italiano—PSI), organized in 1892, offered a clear-cut program of social and political reform, and by 1900 it controlled 25 percent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The potential strength of the PSI, however, was sapped by ideological divisions within the party. The mounting violence in public life—capped by the assassination of King Umberto I by an anarchist in 1900 and the spectacular growth of socialism—prompted a rapprochement between the ruling Liberals under the reformist prime minister Giovanni Giolitti and the Catholics, who were gradually integrated into political life after the relaxation of the *non expedit* by Pope Pius X in 1904. Giolitti’s government introduced universal male suffrage in 1912, raising the number of eligible voters from 3.3 million to 8.6 million.

Italy, an economically underdeveloped country, was late in entering Europe’s scramble for overseas possessions, but Prime Minister Francesco Crispi pursued a determined expansionist policy in the 1880s and 1890s to ensure Italy’s place among the European colonial powers. Crispi was not contented with the two strips of desert—in Eritrea and Somalia—on the Horn of Africa, acquired in 1889; but an attempt to penetrate Ethiopia in 1896 was ended by the military disaster at Adowa. Imperialism remained an aspect of Italy’s foreign policy, and Italy’s colonial holdings increased with the occupation of Libya and the Dodecanese during the war with Turkey (1911–12). The Italians also established spheres of interest in the Balkans and Asia Minor through the construction of port facilities and railroads and the exploitation of resources. Throughout the early colonial experience Italy’s interests were concerned primarily with economic rather than political expansion.

Italy adhered to the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria in 1882, but after 1900 Italian foreign policy tended toward closer ties with France and Great Britain. At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 Italy declared its neutrality, explaining that under the Triple Alliance its commitments were solely defensive in nature. Whereas the Giolitti government opposed entry into the war, public opinion, urged on by the popular press, democratic sentiment, and irredentists who saw the war as an opportunity to complete the Risorgimento, prevailed. Under the terms of the secret London Pact, Italy was promised the Italian-speaking areas still held by



The unification of Italy, 1920

Austria as well as colonial concessions. Accordingly, in May 1915 Italy declared war on Austria. Psychologically Italy was conditioned for war, but the Italian armed forces were woefully unprepared.

By the end of the war Italy had mobilized more than 5 million men, and more than six hundred thousand had been killed. But Italy’s case was poorly presented at the Versailles Conference and its bargaining position compromised by unstable conditions at home. Under the terms of the Treaty of Saint Germain in 1919, Austria surrendered Istria, Zara in Dalmatia, Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol), and—of strategic importance—control of the Brenner Pass. However, the extravagant offers made in the London Pact were held to be contrary to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, and the United States refused to support further Italian territorial claims.

MUSSOLINI

For many Italians it seemed that the gains won on the battlefield at such great cost had been thrown away at the peace table, and a sense of frustration and disillusionment—and of betrayal—permeated the country in the years immediately after the war. Italy was saddled with an enormous war debt. Inflation and shortages of basic goods triggered strikes that paralyzed large segments of



Benito Mussolini

the economy. Demobilized troops swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Profiteering, often involving public officials, took its toll on public confidence in the government. Socialist gains in local elections inspired fears of expropriation—especially among small landholders—and outbreaks of violence and counterviolence. The government admitted its inability to maintain public order, and amnesties granted to striking workers confirmed the middle class in its belief that the parliamentary government was not only corrupt but weak.

This was the atmosphere that spawned Benito Mussolini's Fascist movement, which for nearly one-quarter of a century demeaned and demoralized Italy's national life. Mussolini had always been a political maverick. Imprisoned and exiled for his political activities, the schoolteacher-turned-journalist from Romagna had begun his activist career as a pacifist and anarchist, later joining the militant wing of the PSI—at one time being the editor of the party's official newspaper. Mussolini broke with the party on the issue of entry into World War I and abandoned Marxism for nationalism.

Mussolini was a manipulative orator; his showmanship was not mere buffoonery but struck a responsive chord in his listeners. He had attracted a personal following as early as 1917. In 1919 he assembled the paramilitary Combat Groups (*Fasci di Combattimento*), called the Blackshirts, from among army veterans and youths, modeled after the *arditi* (commandos), the shock troops of the Italian army. Organized in more than two thousand squads, the Blackshirts were used as strike-breakers (subsidized by industrialists for the purpose); attacked Socialists and Communists, whom they claimed the government was too timid to deal with; terrorized left-wing town governments; and set up local dictatorships while the police and the army looked on—often in sympathy. Mussolini profited from the anxieties of the middle class—their businesses threatened and their savings wiped out by inflation—and from the smallholders' fears of expropriation by the Socialists.

In 1921 Mussolini, seeking a broader following than



Vittorio Emanuele III taking the oath of office as king in 1900. He was the only child of King Umberto I and Queen Margaret.

among the Fascist squads, formed a parliamentary party, the National Fascist party (Partito Nazionale Fascista), which captured thirty-five seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The party, running on a bloc list with Giolitti's Liberals, was admitted to the coalition government. The party program called in vague terms for social reform, financial stability, assertion of Italy's prestige abroad, and order at home. The Fascists considered themselves a revolutionary party in opposition to nineteenth-century liberalism, middle-class humanistic values, and capitalism, but Mussolini advanced no guiding ideology. Fascism, Mussolini insisted, represented a mood in the country, not ideas, and he wrote, "Fascism . . . was a form of a need for action, and in itself was action."

Despite their relatively minor representation in Parliament, no government could survive without the support of the National Fascist party, and in October 1922 Mussolini was summoned by Vittorio Emanuele III to form a government as prime minister. The much-heralded March on Rome by three hundred thousand armed Fascists, usually credited with bringing Mussolini to power

King Vittorio Emanuele III



King Vittorio Emanuele III's consort, Queen Elena of Montenegro





The royal family was very popular among the populace in Italy. In this World War I photograph of a Red Cross benefit, the king is seen, left; and center, at the table, is Crown Prince Umberto.

When King Vittorio Emanuele III thought that Mussolini's "Black-shirt" movement was threatening the throne, he asked him to form a new government. They are seen here on their way to a government meeting where Mussolini swore allegiance to the crown. But, this did not keep him from declaring himself dictator of Italy on January 3, 1925.



by a coup, was in fact the result rather than the cause of his appointment to office, a brilliant bluff intended to impress the nation—and Europe—with the strength and determination of his following. Mussolini governed constitutionally, heading a national government comprising the Fascists, some Social Democrats, Liberals, and members of the Italian Popular party (Partito Popolare Italiano, known as Popolari).

The Popolari were a center-left reformist group founded in 1919 by a Sicilian priest, Don Luigi Sturzo. Formation of the party marked the entry of an organized, mass-based Catholic party into parliamentary politics, although without the approval of the Italian hierarchy or the Vatican. In 1919 Sturzo's party won 101 seats in Parliament, second in strength only to the PSI. Mussolini considered the Popolari, parent party to the postwar Christian Democratic party (Partito Democrazia Cristiana—DC), the toughest obstacle in his rise to power. The Popolari withdrew their support from the Mussolini government in 1923.

The Fascists, under a revised electoral law, polled two-thirds of the votes cast in the 1924 elections. Seemingly secure in his parliamentary majority, Mussolini's

confidence was shaken—and his regime endangered—by the public reaction to the murder of a Socialist politician, Giacomo Matteotti, by Fascist toughs. The opposition withdrew from the Chamber of Deputies in protest. Without resistance Mussolini assumed dictatorial powers in January 1925, ruling thereafter by decree, and replacing elected local government officials with Fascist operatives. Although a rump Chamber of Deputies continued to sit, advisory functions passed to a party organ, the Fascist Grand Council, which Mussolini integrated into the state apparatus.

Controlling all the organs of government, Mussolini set about constructing a totalitarian state in Italy that would dominate every aspect of national life. *Il Duce*, as Mussolini was styled, proclaimed the doctrine of “everything within the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state,” including professional and labor associations, youth groups, and sports organizations. Political parties—other than the Fascists—were suppressed. The press and court system were cowed. Strikes were made illegal and, although the free trade unions were not abolished, they were gradually throttled. Mussolini was less successful in imposing economic control, and the corporate state, which remained part of the myth of the Fascist regime, was never more than its facade. In some respects the Italian character, especially its spirit of individualism, mitigated the worst effects of Mussolini’s totalitarianism, which was, as a critic noted, “a tyranny tempered by the complete disobedience of all laws.” In addition, totalitarianism in the strictest sense was not possible where an independent church, claiming the spiritual allegiance of a large part of the population, existed. Mussolini’s political background was anticlerical, but he understood the importance of the church to Italian life and realized that he could not expect to consolidate political support behind the regime until an accommodation was made with the Vatican—which had not recognized the legality of the Italian state.

The Lateran Pacts of 1929 consisted of a treaty between Italy and the Holy See and concordat regulating relations between the Italian state and the Catholic church. The treaty created the independent state of Vatican City and recognized the sovereignty of the pope there. In the concordat the church was assured of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, and canon law was recognized as superseding the civil code in such areas as marriage. The church was restored to its role in education and allowed unencumbered operation of its press and communication facilities. The clergy were prohibited from membership in political organizations. The solution of the Roman Question, which had vexed Italian politicians since 1860, marked the peak of Mussolini’s political leadership and has been considered by some observers the singular positive achievement of an otherwise execrable regime. The provisions of the Lateran Pacts were included in the 1948 constitution.

Imperialism was always a facet of fascism but was not explicit until 1935. The need to provide space for Italian emigration was emphasized by the occupation of Ethiopia in the 1935–36 period. The action might well have been passed over except for Ethiopia’s protest in the League of Nations, but to the league’s condemnation Italy responded that it had done no more in Africa than other powers had done earlier. France and Great Britain were unwilling to risk war for the sake of Ethiopia, but league members agreed to impose economic sanctions on Italy. The sanctions were halfheartedly enforced and subsequently withdrawn. They provoked bitterness in Italy, especially against Great Britain, and rallied theretofore lukewarm Italians to Mussolini. The sanctions also spurred the drive for economic self-sufficiency, an uneconomic project better suited to propaganda than to feeding the Italian people. Cut off from other sources, Italy relied on Germany as a supplier of raw materials and was drawn within its political orbit.

Mussolini was frankly impressed by German efficiency, overlooking outstanding conflicts of interests in Austria and the Balkans that might otherwise have kept the two dictators at odds. In 1936 Mussolini agreed to the Rome-Berlin Axis, pledging cooperation in central Europe. The next year Italy joined with Germany and Japan in the Anticomintern Pact, directed against the Soviet Union. By the time that Italy had formalized its military ties with Germany in the so-called Pact of Steel in 1939, Mussolini had so identified his country’s interests with those of Hitler that Italy had become a virtual German satellite.

Italy aided Franco’s forces during the 1936–39 Spanish civil war, contributing supplies, naval and air support, and more than fifty thousand men. Mussolini participated at Munich in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938, but his foreign minister, Galeazzo Ciano, had tried to dissuade Germany from attacking Poland. Cut off from advanced notice of its ally’s plans, Mussolini’s government was acutely embarrassed by the Soviet Pact in 1939 that opened the door for invasion of Poland. Mussolini had pompously bragged about the “8 million bayonets” at his disposal but, as was the case so often during his regime, propaganda had taken the place of actual preparation, and Italy was no more ready for a major war than it had been in 1915. Confident of German strength, Mussolini believed that the war would be short and remarked that it would be humiliating “to sit with our hands folded while others write history,” Italy attacked France after the issue of the Battle of France was already decided; nevertheless the French rallied to halt the Italian invasion. Later in 1940 Italy launched an unprovoked invasion of Greece—a fiasco, requiring German intervention to rescue an Italian army fought to a standstill by the Greeks. After a disastrous campaign in Africa, during which entire units surrendered to the Allies en masse, Mussolini

squandered another army in the Soviet Union.

The Allies were greeted as liberators when they landed in Sicily in July 1943. In what amounted to a palace coup in Rome, the Fascist Grand Council, including Ciano, forced the resignation of the ailing and beaten Mussolini and returned the power of state to Vittorio Emanuele III. He had the former dictator arrested and called on Marshal Pietro Badoglio to become prime minister. Badoglio formed an interim government that dissolved the National Fascist party and granted amnesty to political prisoners. Although pledging to continue the war, Ba-

King Umberto II, the last of the Italian monarchs



King Vittorio Emanuele III with the crown prince Umberto II in 1939. In 1946 the crown prince became the king of Italy. Umberto II had married the daughter of the king of Belgium, Princess Maria José, in 1930 and she served as his queen.

doglio entered into negotiations with the Allies for an armistice, concluded in September to coincide with Allied landings on the mainland. Hopes for a quick occupation of Rome were disappointed, however, and the king and Badoglio moved the government to Brindisi, out of German reach. The royal government declared war on Germany in October, but the disintegrating Italian army had been left without a commander, and the Germans

were in control of most of the country away from the Allied beachheads. A veteran politician, Ivanoe Bonomi, was called on to form a government of national unity that included both Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist party (Partito Comunista Italiano—PCI) and the DC leader, Alcide De Gasperi. The new democratic government derived its authority from the all-party Committee of National Liberation, which reorganized local government in liberated areas and directed Italian resistance in occupied regions.

Rescued by German commandos, Mussolini set up a rival government—the Italian Social Republic—under Hitler's patronage in the German-occupied region with headquarters at Salò. Mussolini still commanded some support and, at a National Fascist party congress in Verona in November 1943, called for a return to the revolutionary "fascism of the first hour." The more fanatical Fascist elements were in control at Salò, eager to emulate Nazis in every way. Ciano and others who were held responsible for Mussolini's ouster were executed.

The German army put up stiff resistance to the Allied advance in Italy. Having relatively few troops to spare, the Germans took advantage of the terrain and Allied indecisiveness, stabilizing the battlefield along the Gustav Line during the 1943–44 winter. Rome was liberated in June 1944 after the breakthrough at Cassino in May. A second German defense line to the north, the Gothic Line, held until the last weeks of the war.

Mussolini, protesting at the end his betrayal by the Nazis and berating the Italians as a "race of sheep," made a dash for Switzerland in the last days of the war but was captured by partisans and executed.

ITALIAN REPUBLIC

Although the royal government ended World War II as a cobelligerent with the Allies, Italy was treated as a defeated power when the peace settlements were concluded. Italy was deprived of its colonial possessions; it lost Istria, Zara, and islands in the Adriatic to Yugoslavia and was obliged to recognize Trieste's status as a free territory under Allied supervision.

In June 1946 as the result of a plebiscite, the monarchy form of government was abolished and Italy became a republic.

King Umberto II reigned for one month in 1946.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITALY

ROMAN EMPIRE

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
753-716 B.C.	Mythical King	Romulus (Quirinus)	
715-673	Mythical King	Numa Pompilius	
672-639	Mythical King	Tullus Hostilius	
639-616	Mythical King	Ancus Marcius	
615-578	Mythical King	Tarquinius Priscus	
578-534	Mythical King	Servius Tullius	
534-510	Mythical King	Tarquinius Superbus	
510-49—The Roman Empire was a republic.			
-44	Ruler	Gaius Julius Caesar	
27 B.C.—A.D. 14	Emperor	Augustus (Octavius)	
A.D. 14-37	Emperor	Tiberius	Stepson of Augustus
37-41	Emperor	Caligula (Gaius Caesar)	Grandnephew of Tiberius
41-54	Emperor	Claudius I	Nephew of Tiberius
54-68	Emperor	Nero	Stepson of Claudius
68-69	Emperor	Galba	
69	Emperor	Otho	
69	Emperor	Vitellius	
69-79	Emperor	Vespasian	
79-81	Emperor	Titus	Son of Vespasian
81-96	Emperor	Domitian	Son of Vespasian
96-98	Emperor	Nerva	
98-117	Emperor	Trajan	
117-138	Emperor	Hadrian	Nephew of Trajan
138-161	Emperor	Antoninus Pius	
161-180	Emperor	Marcus Aurelius	Son-in-law of Antoninus Pius
161-169	Co-regent	Lucius Aurelius Verus	Adopted brother of Marcus Aurelius
180-192	Co-regent	Commodus	Son of Marcus Aurelius
193	Co-regent	Helvidius Pertinax	
193-211	Co-regent	Septimius Severus	
193	Emperor (rival)	Didius Julianus	
193-196	Emperor (rival)	Pescennius Niger	
193-197	Emperor (rival)	Albinus	
211-217	Emperor (rival)	Caracalla	Son of Septimius Severus
211-212	Co-regent	Geta	Son of Septimius Severus
217-218	Emperor	Macrinus	
218-222	Emperor	Heliogabalus (Elagabalus)	
222-235	Emperor	Alexander Severus	Cousin of Heliogabalus
235-238	Emperor	Maximinus Thrax	
238	Emperor (rival)	Gordianus I (Africanus)	
238	Co-regent	Gordianus II	Son of Gordianus I
238	Emperor	Pupienus Maximus	
238	Co-regent	Balbinus	
238-244	Emperor	Gordianus III	Grandson of Gordianus I
244-249	Emperor	Philippus (Philip the Arabian)	
249-251	Emperor	Decius	
251-253	Emperor	Gallus	
253	Emperor	Aemilianus	
253-260	Emperor	Valerian	
260-268	Emperor	Gallienus	Son of Valerian
268-270	Emperor	Claudius II (Gothicus)	
270-275	Emperor	Aurelian	
275-276	Emperor	Tacitus	
276	Emperor	Florian	Brother of Tacitus
276-282	Emperor	Probus	
282-283	Emperor	Carus	
283-285	Emperor	Carinus	Son of Carus
284-305	Emperor	Diocletian	
285-305	Emperor	Maximian	
305-306	Emperor	Constantius I (Chlorus)	
306-311	Emperor	Galerius	Son-in-law of Diocletian
306-307	Emperor	Severus	
307-313	Emperor	Maximinus	Nephew of Galerius
307-337	Emperor	Constantine I (the Great)	Son of Constantius I
306-312	Emperor	Maxentius	Son of Maximian
311-324	Emperor	Licinius	Adopted son of Galerius
337-340	Emperor	Constantine II	Son of Constantine I

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
337-350	Emperor	Constans I			Son of Constantine I
337-361	Emperor	Constantius II			Son of Constantine I
361-363	Emperor	Julianus (Julian the Apostate)			Cousin of Constantius II
363-364	Emperor	Jovian			
364-375	Emperor West	Valentinian I			
364-378	Emperor East	Valens			Brother of Valentinian I
375-383	Emperor West	Gratian			Son of Valentinian I
383-388	Emperor West	Valentinian II			Son of Valentinian I
379-395	Emperor East	Theodosius I (the Great)			
388-392	Emperor West	Maximus			
392-394	Emperor West	Eugenius			
395-423	Emperor West	Honorius			Son of Theodosius I
395-408	Emperor East	Arcadius			Son of Theodosius I
425-455	Emperor West	Valentinian III			Nephew of Honorius
455	Emperor West	Petronius Maximus			
455-456	Emperor West	Avitus			
457-461	Emperor West	Majorian			
461-465	Emperor West	Livius Severus			
467-472	Emperor West	Anthemius			Son-in-law of Marcian
472	Emperor West	Olybrius			Son-in-law of Valentinian III
473-474	Emperor West	Glycerius			
474-475	Emperor West	Julius Nepos			
474-491	Emperor East	Zeno	426	491	
475-476	Emperor West	Romulus Augustulus			Son of Orestes
476—Western Roman Empire ended when Augustulus was defeated by Odoacer.					

ITALY

SCIRIANS

476-493	King	Odoacer	434	493	
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OSTROGOTHS

493-526	King	Theodoric (the Great)	454	526	Son of Theodemir
526-534	King	Athalaric	516	534	Grandson of Theodoric
527-565	King	Justinian			
534-536	King	Theodatus		536	
536-540	King	Vitiges			Brother-in-law of Athalaric
540	King	Theodebald (Hildibald)		540	
540-541	King	Eraric			
541-552	King	Tortila (Baduila)		552	Nephew of Theodebald
552-553	King	Teias			
553-565—Italy under Byzantine Empire.					

LOMBARDS

568-573	King	Alboin		573	
573-575	King	Cleph			
584-590	King	Autharis		590	Husband of Theodelinda, son of Cleph
590-591	Queen	Theodelinda			Wife of Autharis
591-615	King	Agilulf			Theodelinda's consort
615-625	King	Adaloald			Son of Agilulf
625-636	King	Arioald			Son-in-law of Agilulf
636-652	King	Rotharis		652	Son-in-law of Agilulf
652-661	King	Aribert I			
662-671	King	Grimoald			Son-in-law of Aribert
671-674	King	Garibald			Son of Grimoald
674-688	King	Bertharit			Son of Aribert
688-700	King	Cunibert			Son of Bertharit
701-712	King	Aribert II			
712-744	King	Liutprand (Luitprand)	690	744	
744-749	King	Rachis of Friuli			
749-756	King	Aistulf		756	Brother of Rachis of Friuli
756-774	King	Desiderius		774	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY					
774–814	King	Charlemagne	742	814	Son-in-law of Desiderius
814–818	King	Bernard			Grandson of Charlemagne
818–855	King	Lothair I	796	855	Grandson of Charlemagne
855–875	King	Ludwig II (Louis)	804	876	Son of Louis I
875–877	King	Charles the Bald	823	877	Son of Louis I
877–880	King	Carloman	828	880	Nephew of Lothair I
880–887	King	Charles the Fat	839	888	Brother of Carloman
VARIOUS KINGS					
888–894	King	Guy of Spoleto		894	
894–898	King	Lambert			Son of Guy of Spoleto
899–905	King	Louis III of Burgundy	880	928	Grandson of Ludwig II
888–923	King (rival)	Berengarius of Friuli		924	Great-grandson of Charlemagne
923–933	King	Rudolf II of Burgundy		937	Son of Rudolf I
933–947	King	Hugh of Arles		947	
947–950	King	Lothair II		950	Son of Hugh of Arles
950–961	King	Berengarius II of Ivrea		966	Grandson of Berengarius of Friuli
961–973	King	Otto (the Great)	912	973	Son of Henry I the Fowler
961–1254—Italy was subject to the Holy Roman Empire.					
1861—Italy was divided into many small states until reunification.					
KINGDOM OF ITALY					
1861–1878	King	Vittorio Emanuele II (Victor Emmanuel II)			
1878–1900	King	Umberto I (Humbert I)	1844	1900	Son of Vittorio Emanuele II
1900–1946	King	Vittorio Emanuele III	1869	1947	Son of Umberto I
1946	King	Umberto II (Humbert II)	1904		Son of Vittorio Emanuele III
1946—Italy became a republic.					



2

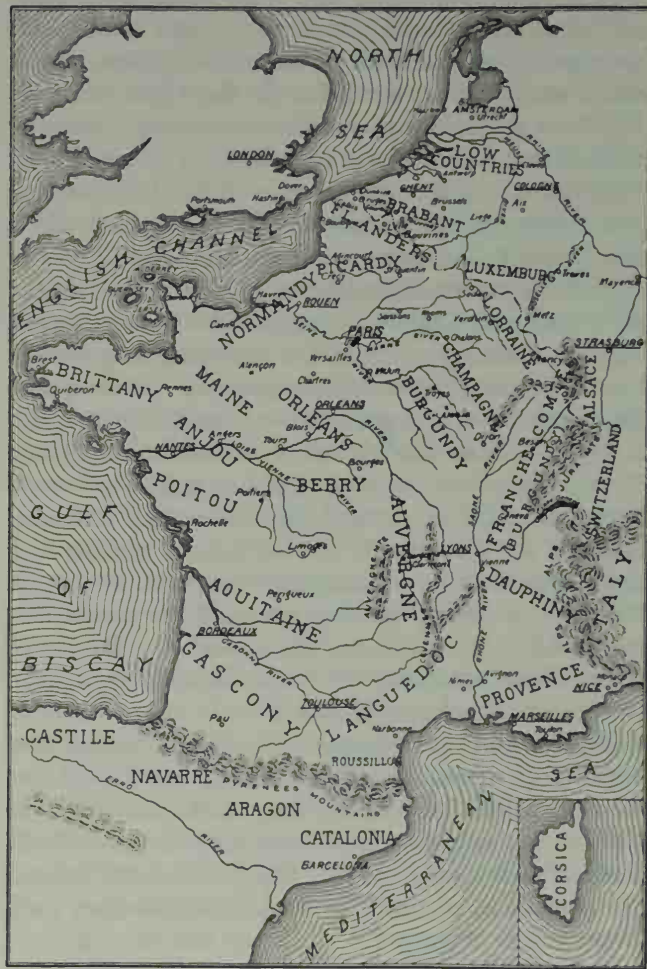
The Kingdom of France

France occupies a geographic position between continent and ocean. France was equally a maritime and a land power with the Pyrenees and Alps guarding the south but totally exposed to the northeast. Its position between north and south made it from earliest times a converging place of peoples. It has also had the task, throughout its history as a kingdom, of defending on the north and east an extended land frontier and on the west and south a long seacoast. The French monarchies have been forever torn between two essential but not always reconcilable policies of land or sea strength.

The founding of Marseilles about 600 B.C. by the Greeks from Phocaea was the first approximate date in French history. At that time the Mediterranean coast and much of the land of what is now France was inhabited by the Ligurians. A second and even more important invasion was that of the Celts (Kelts), a tall, blond race who came from beyond the Rhine and spread themselves throughout Gaul in successive waves of invasion and immigration during the course of two or three centuries until Gaul became a Celto-Ligurian country.

THE OLD CELTS (150 B.C.)

In olden times, before human beings wrote down histories, Europe was overrun by a great people, whom it is convenient to call the Celts—fierce, bold, warrior people, who kept together in large families—or clans—all nearly related, and each clan with a chief. The clans joined together and formed tribes, and the cleverest chief of the clans would be the leader. They spoke a language nearly alike. There were two great varieties of Celts—the Gael and the Kymry (Kewmri). The Gael were the tallest, largest, wildest, and fiercest, but they were not as clever as the little black-eyed Kymry. The Kymry were the people who had the Druid priests. But we know little about the Kymry, as all their knowledge was in verse, which the Druids and bards taught one another by word



The historical Provence of France

of mouth, and so was never recorded. What we do know of them was gleaned from their neighbors the Greeks and Romans, who considered them to be very savage, and lived in fear of them.

When the Celts pushed into new territory, it was generally because they were driven from their homes by fiercer, stronger clansmen behind them, coming from the

east to the west. When these weaker Celt tribes found that they could not hold their own against the stronger tribes, they put wives and children into wagons made of wood or wickerwork, collected their oxen, sheep, and goats, called their great shaggy hounds, and set forth to find new homes. The men had long streaming hair and beards, and wore loose trousers of wool, woven and dyed in checks by the women—tartan plaids, in fact. The leaders always had gold collars around their necks, and they used round interwoven wicker shields, long spears, and heavy swords. When the country was free to the west, they generally settled down in a woods near a river, closing in their town with a wall of trunks of trees and banks of earth, and setting up their homes of stone or wood within.

If other tribes whom they could not defeat were to the west of them, they would turn to the south into Greece or Italy. One set of Celts, in very olden times, even managed to make a home in the middle of Asia Minor, and it was to their descendants that Saint Paul wrote his Epistle to the Galatians. Another great troop, under the mighty *bran* (chief) who in Latin is called *Grennus*, even broke into the great city of Rome itself. All the women and children of Rome had been sent away, and only a few brave men remained in a strong place called the Capitol, on the top of the steepest hill. There they stayed for seven months, while the *bran* and his Gaels occupied the city, drank up the wine, and consumed long-horned oxen from the surrounding meadowland. The *bran* and his troops never did get into the Capitol, because the Romans paid the chief a great sum in silver not to enter Rome. The tribe that came with him stayed seventeen years in the middle parts of Italy before they were surrounded and defeated. Whenever a group of Celts saw there was no hope of escape, it was their custom to withdraw to within their enclosure and slay their wives and children, set fire to everything, and then kill themselves. Their worst fear was to be made slaves. All the north part of Italy beyond the river Po was filled with Celts, and there were many more of them beyond the Alps. So it came about that from the word Gael the Romans called the north of Italy Gallia Cis-Alpina—Gaul on this side of the Alps, and the country westward, Gallia Trans-Alpina, or Gaul beyond the Alps; and all the people there were known as Gauls, whether they were Gael or Kymry.

Far up in Gaul, the high ground that divides the Rivers Loire, Saone, and Rhine was found by the clever sailors and merchants called Phoenicians. There is a beautiful bay where Gaul touches the Mediterranean, and not only the Phoenicians found it, but the Greeks. The Greeks came to live there, and built the cities of Marseilles, Nice, Antibes, and several more. The Greeks always built lovely cities with marble temples to their gods, pillars standing on steps, and gardens with statues in them and theaters for seeing plays acted in the open

air. Inside these cities and close around them everything was beautiful. The Greeks brought culture and society to southern France and Italy. As a result, the Gauls who lived nearby learned some of the Greek ways and became tamed. They coined money, wrote in Greek letters, and bought and sold with the Greeks. Their wilder brethren beyond did not approve of this, however. Sometimes, indeed, the wilder clans threatened to rob the cities, and the Greeks begged the Romans to protect them. So the Romans sent an officer and an army, who built two new towns, Aix and Narbonne, and went to war with the Gauls.

Then a messenger was sent to the Roman camp. He was an immensely tall man, with a collar and bracelets of gold, and beside him came a bard singing the praises of his clan, the Arverni. There were many other attendants; but his chief guards were a pack of immense hounds, which came pacing after him. He bade the Romans, in the name of his chief, Bituitus, to leave the country and cease harming the Gauls. The Roman general turned his back and would not listen; so the messenger went back in anger and the Arverni prepared for battle.

When Bituitus saw the Roman army he thought it so small that he said, "This handful of men will hardly furnish food for my dogs." He was not beaten in the battle, but by a fluke he and his family were captured just after it, and they were made prisoners and sent to Italy. He was kept a captive all the rest of his life, while his son was brought up in Roman learning and habits, and then sent home to rule his clan and teach them to be friends with Rome. This was about one hundred fifty years before the coming of Christ.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST (67 B.C. –A.D. 79)

The Romans called the country they had taken for themselves in Gaul the Provence, and Provence has continued to be its name. They filled it with numerous colonies—actually cities. When a soldier retired he would receive a grant of land if he promised to defend it. When groups of soldiers combined their land and defense, a city was formed. The first thing they did was to set up an altar and then they built a temple; after that houses, a theater, and public baths, with causeways as straight as an arrow joining the colonies and then cities together. Each city had two magistrates elected every year, and a governor lived at the chief town with a legion of the army to keep the countryside in order.

When the Romans once began in this way, they always ended by gaining the whole country in time. They took nearly a hundred years to gain Gaul. First there came a large-scale invasion of some wilder Kymry, whom the

Romans called Cimbri, from the west, with some Teutons. They broke into Gaul and defeated a great Roman army; and there was ten years of fighting with them before the stout old Roman, Gaius Marius, beat them in a great battle near Aix. All of the Kymry and Teutons were killed on the battlefield, and then the women killed their children and themselves rather than fall into Roman hands. That was 103 B.C.; and Julius Caesar, the same Roman who first invaded Britain, a nephew to Marius, began his conquest of the whole of Gaul. By this time many of the Gaulish tribes had come to be civilized and lived in peace with the Romans and asked for their help. Some wanted help because they feared the less civilized tribes, and others wanted help because the Germans behind them had pushed a big tribe of Kymry out of the Alps, and they wanted to come down and settle in Gaul. Julius Caesar made short work of these Kymry newcomers, and also he defeated the Germans who were trying to get into Gaul. Caesar expected all the Gauls to submit to him—not only those who lived around Provence and had always been friendly to Rome, but all the free ones in the north, too. He was not only a brilliant soldier but also a great civil governor. He conquered all the east side and then he subdued the Belgae, who lived between the Alps and the sea; all the Armoricans along the north; and then the still wilder people on the coast toward the Atlantic Ocean.

But while Caesar was away in the north, the Gaulish chiefs in the south resolved to rise at once, and put themselves under the command of the brave young mountain chief of the Arverni. The Romans called him Vercingetorix. He was not a wild shaggy savage like Bituitus, but a graceful, spirited chief, who had been trained in Roman manners and knew their ways of fighting. The Gauls all rose one night to do battle. It was in the depth of winter, and Caesar at the moment was resting back in Italy. But he immediately started back on first tidings, and led his men through six-foot-deep snow, taking every Gallic town on the way.

Vercingetorix saw that the wisest thing for the Gauls to do would be to burn and lay waste to the land, so that the Romans would have nothing to eat. Caesar followed Vercingetorix to his hills of Auvergne, and fought a battle with him, the only defeat the great Roman captain ever had; indeed, he was obliged to retreat from the face of the brave Arverni. They followed Caesar, and fought another battle, in which he was in great danger. But the Gauls were not as long on strategy as they were on bravery. They fled, and it was all Vercingetorix could do to lead his men to a big camp under the hill of Alesia. He sent horsemen to rouse the rest of Gaul, and shut himself and his troops up in a great enclosure.

Caesar and the Romans came and made another enclosure outside, eleven miles around, so that no help, no food, could reach the Gauls, who had provisions for but thirty days. Their friends outside did try to break

through to them, but in vain. Then the brave Vercingetorix offered to give himself up to the Romans, provided the lives of the rest of the Gauls were spared. Caesar gave his word that this should be done. Accordingly, at the appointed hour the gates of the Gallic camp opened. Out came Vercingetorix in his richest armor, mounted on his finest steed. He galloped about, wheeled around once then, drawing up suddenly before Caesar's seat, sprang to the ground, and laid his sword at the victor's feet. Caesar was not touched. He kept a cold, stern face, ordered the gallant chief into captivity, and kept him prisoner with him for six years, while finishing other conquests, and then took him to Rome to walk in chains behind the chariot in which the victorious general entered in triumph. Then with other captives, this noble warrior was put to death in the dark vaults under the hill of the Capitol.

With Vercingetorix ended the freedom of Gaul. The Romans took possession of all the country and made the cities like their own. The Gaulish chiefs thought it an honor to be enrolled as Roman citizens; they wore the Roman tunic and toga, spoke and wrote Latin, and, except among the Kymry of the far northwest, the old Gaulish tongue was soon forgotten. Today, grand temples and amphitheaters still remain in the area of Nismes, Arles, and Autun, and roads, made as only the Romans could make them, crisscross throughout the country. Except in the wilder and more distant parts, living in Gaul was very much like living in Rome.

After Julius Caesar, the Romans had emperors at the head of their state, and some of these were very fond of Gaul. But when the first twelve who had some connection with Julius were all dead, a Gaul named Julius Sabinus rose up and called himself emperor. The real emperor, chosen at Rome, named Vespasian, soon came and overthrew his cause, and hunted him down in his country house. Flames burst out of it, and it was declared that Sabinus had died there. But no; he was safely hidden in a cave in the woods. No one knew of it but his wife Eponina and one trusted slave, and there they lived together for nine years and had two little sons. Eponina twice left him to go to Rome to consult her friends whether they should try to obtain a pardon for her husband. They believed Vespasian was too stern a man. They saw no hope, so she went back disappointed. Once, word got out and she was followed, and Sabinus was found. He was taken and chained and carried to Rome, and she and her two boys followed. She knelt before the emperor and sought his pardon, saying that here were two more to plead for their father. Tears came into Vespasian's eyes, but he would not forgive, and the husband and wife were both sentenced to die. The last thing Eponina said before his judgment seat was that it was better to die together than to be alive under such an emperor. Her two boys were taken care of, and they lived long after in distant places from Rome.

THE CONVERSION OF GAUL (100–400)

Provence was so near Rome that very soon after the Apostles had reached the great city, they went on to Gaul. The people in Provence to this day believe that Lazarus and his two sisters went there. Their first bishop (of Arles) was Trophimus, and he is believed to have been the Ephesian who was with Saint Paul in his third journey, and was at Jerusalem with him when he was made a prisoner.

It was many years before the Gallic Christians suffered any danger for their faith. Then, under Emperor Marcus Aurelius, a governor was sent to the Provence who was resolved to put an end to Christianity. The difficulty was that there were no crimes of which to accuse the Christians. But the Christians were rounded up anyway. The Gallic bishop Pothinus was dragged through the streets, and so ill-treated that after a few days he died in prison. For fifteen days the others were brought out before the non-Christian people in the amphitheater, while every torture that could be thought of was tried on the Christians. The persecution did not last much longer after this, and the bones of the martyrs were collected and buried, and a church built over them, which is now the Cathedral of Lyons.

Almost all the townsmen of Lyons became Christians after that, but the people out in the country were much less easily converted. Indeed, the word *pagan*, which now means a "heathen," was only the old Latin word for a peasant or person who lived in the country. In the year 202, Emperor Septimius Severus put out an edict against the Christians. The fierce Gauls in the adjoining countryside, hearing of it, broke into the city and slaughtered every Christian they could find. There is an old mosaic pavement in a church at Lyons where the inscription declares that nineteen thousand died in this massacre.

The northerly parts of Gaul had not yet been converted, and a bishop named Dionysius was sent to teach a tribe called the Parisii, whose chief city was Lutetia, on the banks of the Seine. He was taken in the year 272, and was beheaded just outside the walls on a hill which is still known as Montmartre, the martyr's mount. His name, cut short into Saint Denys, became one of the most famous in all France.

The three Celtic provinces, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, were together under one governor, and the brave, kindly Constantius I ruled over them and hindered persecution as much as he could. His son Constantine I was also much loved, and it was while marching to Italy with an army that included many Gauls that Constantine saw the vision of a bright cross in the sky, surrounded by the words, "By this conquer." He did conquer and did confess himself a Christian two years later, and under him the church of Gaul flourished. Gallic bishops were at the

great council of Nicea, in Asia Minor, when the Nicene Creed was drawn up.

After Constantine's death, his son Constantius II fostered the false doctrine that the Nicene Creed contradicted. He lived at Constantinople, and dressed and lived like an Eastern prince, and the Gauls were growing discontented, especially since the Franks—a ferocious tribe of their Teuton enemies to the east—were trying to break into their lands. A young cousin of Constantius II, named Julianus, was sent to fight with them. He fixed his chief base in a little island in the middle of the River Seine, at Lutetia, among his dear Parisii, as he called his tribe, and from there he came out to drive back the Franks whenever they tried to attack the Gauls. He was a very brave, able man, but he had seen so much selfishness and weakness among the Christians in Rome and Constantinople, that he believed their faults arose from their faith. As soon as Constantius was dead, and he became emperor, he reverted to being heathen again. He only reigned three years, and then, in the year 363, was killed in a war with the Persians. He was the last of his family, and several emperors rose and fell at Rome.

The governor of Gaul, Maximus, called himself an emperor and, raising an army in Britain ruled Celtic provinces for seven years. He was a brave soldier, and not a wholly bad man, for he loved and valued the great bishop Martin of Tours. Martin had been brought up as a soldier, but at eighteen he had become a Christian and was the pupil of the great bishop Hilary of Poitiers. He and the monks used to go out from there to teach the pagans who still remained in the far west. Martin did what no one else had ever done: he taught them to become staunch Christians, though they still spoke their own tongue and followed their own customs.

This was Saint Martin's work while his friend, the false emperor Maximus, was being overthrown by the true emperor Theodosius I. Struggling and fighting continued among the Romans and Gauls, while the dreadful Franks were every now and then bursting into the country from across the Rhine.

Saint Martin had finished the conversion of Gaul just before his death, in his monastery at Marmoutiers, in the year 400. He died in time to escape the terrible times that were coming up all the Gauls, or rather Romans. For all the southern and eastern Gauls called themselves Romans and spoke nothing but Latin.

THE FRANK KINGDOM (450–533)

That race of people which had been driving the Celts westward for six or seven hundred years was finally making its way into Gaul. They had been held back only by Roman skill. This race as a general name was called Teutonic, but it divided into many different nations. The



Julianus declared emperor by his soldiers at Paris

people were large-limbed, blue-eyed, and light-haired. They all spoke a language like rough German, and all had the same religion, believing in the great warlike gods, Odin, Thor, and Frey. They worshipped them at stone altars, and expected to live with them in the hall of heroes after death—that is, all so-called who were brave and who were chosen by the *Valkyr*, or “slaughter-choosing goddesses,” to die nobly in battle. Cowards were sent to dwell with Hela, the pale, gloomy goddess of death.

They had lived for at least five hundred years in the center of Europe, now and then attacking their neighbors, when they were being harrassed by another, fiercer race, who was pushing them from the east. The chief tribes were the Goths, who conquered Rome and settled in Spain; the Longbeards, or Lombards, who spread over the north of Italy; the Burgundians (burg or town people), who held all the country round the Alps; the Swabians and Germans, who stayed in the middle of Europe; the Saxons, who dwelt around the south of the Baltic, and finally conquered south Britain; the Northmen, who found a home in Scandinavia; and the Franks, who had been long settled on the Rivers Sale, Meuse, and Rhine. There were two tribes of Franks—the Salian, from the River Sale, and the Ripuarian. They were great horsemen and dreadful pillagers, and the Salians had a family

The meeting between Julianus and the Frank chiefs





King Pharamond, 418–28



King Clodio (Clodion), 428–48



King Clovis (Chlodwig),
482–511



Clovis I's wife, Clothilde,
478–545



King Merovech (Merovee),
447–58



King Childeric I, 459–81



Elevation as king for Clovis

of kings, which, like the kings of all the other tribes, were supposed to have been descended from Odin. The king was always of this family, called Meerwings, after Meerwing—or Merovech—the son of Pharamond, one of the first chiefs.

After the death of the great Theodosius, who had conquered the emperor Maximus, there was no force to keep these Franks back, and they were continually dashing into Gaul and carrying off slaves and plundering. Even worse was the great rush that, in the year 450, was made all across Europe by the Huns, a terrible nation of another race, whose chief was called Etzel (or Attila) and who named himself the Scourge of God. In 451, he invaded Gaul with his army, whose faces had been gashed in infancy by their savage parents, that the warriors might look more dreadful. At Lutetia, the people wanted desperately to flee, but they were persuaded to remain by the holy woman Geneveva. She was a young shepherdess of Nanterre, near Paris, who had devoted herself to the service of God and whose holy life made the people listen to her as a kind of prophet. And she was right. The Huns did not come farther than Orleans, where the good bishop Lupus made the people shut their gates and defend their town until rescued by an army composed of Franks, Goths, Burgundians, and Gauls, under the command of Roman general Aëtius. In 451, he attacked the Huns at Chalons-sur-Marne, beat them, and drove them

back. Chalons was the last victory won under the old Roman rulers, for there now was too much conflict in Italy itself for Rome to help anyone. In came the Franks, and Childeric, the son of Merovech (Meerwig), came to Lutetia, or Paris, as it was now called. He had a great respect for Geneveva, heathen though he was; and when he came home from plundering, with crowds of prisoners driven before him, Geneveva would go and stand in front of him and plead for their pardon. He never could withstand her and always set them free. She died at eighty-nine years of age, and the church named her Saint Geneviève.

Childeric's son was named *Chlodwig*, which means "renowned war," but histories generally called him Clovis. He wanted to marry a Burgundian maiden named Clothilde, and as she was a Christian, he promised that she would be allowed to pray to her God in the churches that still stood throughout Gaul. When her first child was born, she wanted Clovis to let her have it baptized. The child died soon after birth and Clovis feared it was because her God could not save it. However, they had the next child baptized, and when it fell sick she prayed for it, and it recovered. Clovis began to listen more to what she said of her God, and when, soon after, the Germans came with a great army across the



Clovis the champion in hand combat at Mars



A.D. 496 Clovis marched at the head of the Salians.



Baptism of Clovis



Interview of Alaric and Clovis

Rhine and he drew out his Franks to fight with them at Tolbiac, near Cologne, he was in great danger in the battle, and he cried out, "Christ, whom Clothilde calls the true God, I have called on my own gods, and they help me not! Send help, and I will own Thy name." The Germans were routed and Clovis had his victory.

He kept his word, and was baptized at Rheims by Saint Remigius, with his two sisters, three thousand men, and many women and children. And, as he was the first great Teutonic prince who was a Catholic Christian, the king of France, ever since that time, has been called the Most Christian King and eldest son of the church.

Clovis was the first Frank chief who really made a home of Gaul, or who wore a purple robe and a crown like a Roman emperor. He made his principal home at Paris, where he built a church on the little island on the Seine, in honor of the Blessed Virgin, measuring the length of how far he threw an axe; but, though he honored the Gaulish clergy, he was still a fierce and violent savage, who did many cruel things. He generally repented of them afterward and gave gifts to churches to show his sorrow, and the holy men were with him when, in 511, he died at Paris.

The four sons of Clovis divided the kingdom. That is, they were all kings, and each had towns of his own. In the four chief towns—Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Metz—they all had equal geographical shares. Not that they really governed, but they always were leaders when the Franks went out to plunder in the southern lands of

Provence and Aquitania. There was another part the Franks never conquered, namely, that far northwestern corner called Armorica, which Julius Caesar had conquered, and Saint Martin had converted last of all. The granite moors did not tempt the Franks for the Kymry there were very bold. Moreover, so many of their kindred Kymry from Britain came over for fear of the Saxons that the country came to be called from them Bretagne, or Brittany, and the Kymric tongue is still spoken there to this day.

When Chlodmir, one of the sons of Clovis, died, his three little sons were sent to Paris to be under the care of their grandmother, Clothilde. She was so fond of them that their uncles, Clothaire and Childebert, were afraid she would require that their father's inheritance should be given to them. So they asked her to send the boys to them on a visit, and as soon as they arrived, a messenger was sent to the queen with a sword and a pair of scissors,

Clovis entering Tours





King Childebert, 511–58



Clothaire I, king of Soissons,
558–62



Radegond, wife of Clothaire I

desiring her to choose. This meant that she should choose whether the poor boys should be killed, or have their heads shaven and become monks. Clothilde answered that she would rather see them dead than monks. In the year 533 Clothaire killed the eldest, who was only ten, with his sword. The second clung to Childebert and begged for his life, but Clothaire forced his brother to release him, and killed him too. The third boy, whose name was Chlodoald, was helped by Childebert to escape, and when he grew older he went into a monastery. He was so good a churchman that he became known as St. Cloud.

THE LONG-HAIRED KINGS (533–681)

The Meerwings, or long-haired kings, were the most wicked dynasty to ever call themselves Christian. They murdered, plundered, and married numerous wives, just as if they had been heathens. By the Frank law, a murder might be redeemed by a payment, and it was fully twice as costly to kill a Frank as to kill a Roman, that is to say,

Clothaire discovering the assassins



a Gaul. Except in the cities in Provence and Aquitania, this term *Roman*, once so proud, was now little better than that of a slave.

Out of all the Meerwing names, several have to be remembered above the rest for their crimes. Clothaire I, the murderous son of Clovis, left four sons—Gontram, Charibert, Siegbert, and Chilperic—among whom the kingdom was, as usual, divided. Two of these sons, Chilperic and Siegbert, wished for queenly wives, though Chilperic, at least, had a houseful of wives and among them a slave girl named Fredegond. The two brothers married the two daughters of the king of the Goths in Spain, Galswinth and Brynhild. Siegbert seems to have really loved Brynhild, but Chilperic cared for the beautiful and clever Fredegond more than anyone else, and very soon Galswinth was found in her bed strangled. Fredegond reigned as queen, and Brynhild hated her bitterly and constantly stirred up her husband to avenge her sister's death. Siegbert raised an army and defeated Chilperic, but Fredegond contrived to have him stabbed. She also contrived to have all her husband's other children killed by different means, and, at last, in the year 584, she contrived that he too should be stabbed when returning from a hunting trip. She had lost several infants, and now had only one child left, Clothaire II, a few

King Chilperic I, 566–84

King Charibert, 562–66, a son
of Clothaire I





Death of Clothaire I

months old. But in his name she ruled what the Franks called the Ne-oster-rik, or Western Kingdom, namely, France, from the Saone westward; while Brynhild and her son Childebert ruled in the Auster-rik, or Eastern Kingdom, from the Saone to the Sale and Rhine. There was a most bitter hatred between the two sisters-in-law. Fredegond died in 597 at Paris, leaving her son Clothaire II on the throne.

Brynhild quarreled with the Franks chiefs, and when the bishops found fault with her she attacked them, and even caused the saintly bishop of Vienne to be assassinated. In her time there came from Ireland a number of very holy men, Celtic Christians, who had set forth from the monasteries to convert such Gauls and Franks as remained heathen. Brynhild's two grandsons, Theudebert and Theuderick, reigned in Auster-rik. Theuderick listened willingly to the holy men. There was a fierce quarrel finally between her two grandsons. Theuderick was taken prisoner by his brother, and forced to cut his hair and become a monk, but this did not save his life. He was put to death shortly after, and Theudebert soon after died. So Brynhild, after having ruled in the name of her son and grandsons, now governed for her great-grandson, Siegbert, thirty-nine years after her husband's death. But she was old and weak, and her foe, Frede-

Fredegond, wife of Chilperic I



Chilperic dividing his father's treasures

Fredegond, 561-93,
wife of Chilperic IBrynhild, wife of
Siegbert

gond's son, Clothaire II, attacked her, defeated her forces, and made her and her great-grandchildren prisoners. The boys were slain, and the poor old Gothic queen, after being placed on a camel and led through the camp to be mocked by all the savage Franks, was tied to the tail of a wild horse, to be dragged to death by it! This was in the year 614 when barbarianism was still a way of life.

Clothaire II thus became king of all the Franks, and so was his son, Dagobert I, who was not much better as a ruler but was not quite so savage. In fact, the Franks were getting gradually civilized by the Romanized Gauls—the conquerors by the conquered.

Twelve more Meerwings reigned after Dagobert. They become less savage and hardly attended at all to the affairs of their kingdoms, only amusing themselves in their palaces at Soissons or Paris, thus obtaining the name of *Rois fainéants*, or “do-nothing kings.” The affairs of the kingdom fell into the hands of the *major domo*, as he was called, or “mayor of the palace.” The Franks, as they tried to have courts and keep up state, followed Roman patterns so far as they knew them, and gave Roman names from the emperor's court to the men in attendance on them. So the steward, or major domo, master of the royal household, rose to be the chief person in the kingdom next to the king himself. The next most important people were called *comites*, “companions of the king, counts”; and the chief of these was the master of the horse, *comes stabuli*, the “count of the stable” or, as he came to be called in the end, the constable. The leader of the army was called *dux*, a Latin word meaning “to lead,” and this word became duke. But the mayor of the palace under these foolish do-nothing Meerwings soon came to be a much greater man than the king himself, and the mayor of the palace of the Oster-rik or Austrasia fought with the palace mayor of the Ne-oster-rik or Neustria, as if they were two sovereigns.

Finally, Ebroin, the last Neustrian mayor, was murdered in 681, the Neustrian army was defeated, and the Austrasians became the more powerful. Their mayors



Death of Siegbert, 575



Clothaire II, 584-628



Brynhild, 534-613, wife of Clothaire II



Clothaire II measuring the prisoners



Death of Brynhild



Chilperic, 566-84, and son Merovech



Death of Merovech

were all of one family, the first of whom was named Pepin I of Landen. He was one of Queen Brynhild's great enemies, but he was a friend of Dagobert I, and he and his family and their armed followers were brave defenders of the Franks from the other German nations.

CARL OF THE HAMMER (714-41)

The son of Pepin I of Landen (the Elder) is commonly called Pepin L'Heristal (Pepin II). He was mayor of the palace through the reigns of four do-nothing Meerwings, and was a brave leader of the Franks, fighting hard with their heathen neighbors on the other side of the Rhine, the Saxons and Thuringians.

He died in 714, and after him came his brave son Carl of the Hammer, after whom all the family are known in history as Carlings. Whether it was meant that he was a hammer himself or that he carried a hammer, is not clear, but it is quite certain that he was the greatest man in Europe at that time. The soft Roman sound softened his name into Carolus and translated his nickname into Martellus, so that he has become known in history as Charles Martel. He was duke of Austrasia and mayor of the palace under Clothaire IV and Theuderick IV.

It was a hundred years since Mohammed had risen up in Arabia, teaching the wild Arabs a strict law, and declaring that God is but one, and that he was His prophet, by which he meant that he was a greater and truer prophet than the Lord Jesus Christ. He taught that it was right to fight for the spread of the religion he

Dagobert I, 628-37



Submission of the Gascons to Dagobert I





The dish of Dagobert



Clovis II, 637-55



King Clothaire III, 655-68



Childeric II, 668-74

taught, and his Arabs fought so well that they overcame the Holy Land and held the city of Jerusalem. Besides this, they had conquered Egypt and spread all along the north of Africa, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea; and then they crossed over into Spain, and subdued the Christian Goths, all but the few who held fast in the Pyrenees.

And now these Arabs—also called Saracens and Moors—were trying to pass the Pyrenees and make attacks upon Gaul, and it seemed as if all Europe was going to be given up to them and become Mohammedan. Abdul Rhaman, the great Arab governor of Spain, crossed the Pyrenees at the Pass of Roncevalles, burst into Aquitania, and won a great battle near Bordeaux.

Then they marched on toward Tours, but by this time Carl of the Hammer assembled a great army; not only Franks, but Burgundians, Gauls of Provence, and Germans from beyond the Rhine—all who acknowledged owning the sovereignty of Austrasia, and who wanted it saved from the Arabs.

The battle of Tours, between Charles Martel and Abdul Rhaman, was fought in the autumn of 752, and was one of the great battles that decided the fate of the world. For it was this battle that determined whether Europe would be Christian or Mohammedan. It was a hotly



Murder of Childeric II and the royal family

Battle of Testry 682; Pepin II captures Thierry III



King Thierry III, 674-91

Clovis III, 691-95

King Childebert III, 695-711

King Dagobert III, 711-16





Pepin I, 628-39

King Clothaire IV, 717-19

King Chilperic II, 716-21



King Thierry IV, 721-37

Charles Martel, 714-41



fought combat, but the tall powerful Franks and Germans stood like rocks against every charge of the Arab horsemen, till darkness came on. The Hammer had the Franks sleep where they fought, to be ready the next morning to begin the battle again. But all except the dead and wounded Arabs were gone. They had withdrawn in the night, and the battle of Tours had saved Europe. However, the Hammer still had to strike many blows before they were driven back into Spain, and this tended to bring the south of Gaul much more under his power. Charles Martel was looked upon as the great defender of Christendom, and, as at this time the king of the Lombards in northern Italy seemed disposed to make himself master of Rome, the pope sent two nuncios, as pope's messengers are called, to carry him presents, among them the keys of the tomb of Saint Peter, and to beg for his protection. Still, great as he was in reality, he never called himself more than mayor of the palace and duke of Austrasia, and when he died in 741, his sons, Pepin and Carloman, divided the government, still as mayors, for the Meerwing Childeric III. In 747, however, Carloman, weary of the world, had his head shaven by Pope Zacharias, and retired into the great monastery of Monte Cassino. Pepin, commonly called *le bref*, or the Short, ruled alone, and in 751 he asked Pope Zacharias whether it would not be wiser that the family who had all the power should bear the name of king. The pope replied that so it should be. Childeric III was put into a convent, and the great English missionary-bishop, Saint Boniface, whom Pepin and his father had aided in his work among the Germans, anointed Pepin III king of the Franks at Soissons. Two years later, the next pope, Stephen II, came into Gaul again to ask aid against the Lombards, and at the Abbey of St. Denys anointed Pepin again,

Charles Martel receiving the pope's presents



together with his two young sons, Carl and Carloman. And so the Meerwings passed away, and the Carlings began.

Pepin was a great improvement on the do-nothing Meerwings. When the Franks entered Italy and defeated Astolfo, king of the Lombards, Pepin was rewarded by being made a senator of Rome even though he could not read or write. Afterward, the Lombards attacked the pope again. Pepin again came to his help, and after gaining several victories, forced King Astolfo to give up part of his lands near Rome. Pepin made a gift of these to the pope, and this was the beginning of the pope becoming a temporal sovereign, that is, holding lands like a king or prince, instead of only holding a spiritual power over men's consciences as head of the Western church.

Pepin III died at the Abbey of St. Denys in the year 768. In reality he was not the king of France, but king of the Franks, which does not mean the same thing.

CARL THE GREAT— CHARLEMAGNE (768-814)

Carl and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin III, at first divided the Frank domains; but Carloman soon died, and Carl reigned alone. He is one of the mightiest of the princes who ever bore the name of Great. The Franks called him Carl der Grösse, Carolus Magnus in Latin, and this has become in French, Charlemagne.

He was a most warlike king. When the Saxons failed to send him a tribute of three hundred horses, he entered their country, ravaged it, and overthrew an image that they used as an idol—called Irmensul. Thereupon the Saxons burned the church at Fritzlar, which Saint Boniface had built, and so the war went on that way for years. Charlemagne was resolved to force the Saxons to be Christians, and Witikind, the great Saxon leader, was fiercely resolved against yielding, viewing the honor of the god of Odin as the honor of his country. They fought on and on, until, in 785, Charlemagne wintered in Saxony in victory, and at last persuaded Witikind to come



Coronation of Pepin III, the Short



Death of Pepin III



Charlemagne, 768-814

Statue of Charlemagne showing his crown



Pepin III, 751-68



Pepin III



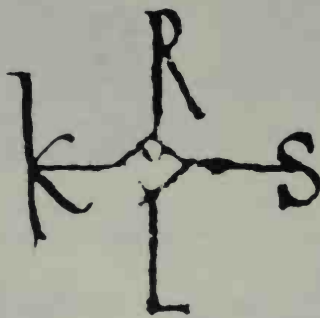
Baptism of Witikind. Witikind, the chief of the Saxons, defeated by Charlemagne in 785, is forced to be baptized along with all Saxons in the Church of Rome.





Charlemagne, from a mosaic in the Church of St. John de Lateran

The coronation of Charlemagne



Although a phenomenal empire builder and administrator, Charlemagne had great difficulty in learning how to write—a skill he attempted only after the age of thirty, when already well on the way to uniting the greater part of Europe under his rule. The most he ever accomplished readily with pen in hand was a monogram of his own name, *Karolus*, which he inscribed on scores of edicts issued to his Frankish, Saxon, Lombard, and Basque subjects. The example above (greatly magnified) appears on a document of the year 774, at the time of his first visit to Rome. Despite his own difficulties with the alphabet, Charlemagne was instrumental in setting up schools and libraries, in promoting the revival of the Latin language, and in stimulating the Carolingian renaissance.

and meet him at Attigny. There the Saxon chief admitted that Christ had conquered and consented to be baptized. Charlemagne made him duke of Saxony, and he lived in good faith to the new vows he had taken. The Frisians and Bavarians, and all who lived in Germany, were forced to submit to the great king of the Franks.

There was a new king of the Lombards—Desiderio, and a new pope—Adrian I; and as usual they were at war, and again the pope entreated for the aid of the Franks. He came with a great army, drove Desiderio into Pavia, and besieged him there. It was a long siege, and Charlemagne had a chapel set up in his camp to keep the Christmas holiday; but for Easter he went to Rome and was met miles away by all the chief citizens and scholars carrying palm branches in their hands, and as he mounted the steps to St. Peter's Church, the pope met him, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He prayed at all the chief churches in Rome and then returned to Pavia, which he soon captured. He carried off Desiderio as a prisoner and took the title of king of the Franks and the Lombards. This was in the year 775, while the Saxon war was still going on.

He likewise had a war with the Arabs in Spain, and in 778 he crossed the Pyrenees and overran the country as far as the Ebro, where the Arabs offered him large gifts of gold and jewels if he would stop his campaign before attacking their splendid cities in the south. He consented.

Charlemagne had three sons—Carl, Pepin, and Lodwig (Louis). When the two younger were four and three years old, he took them both with him to Rome, and there Pope Adrian anointed the elder to be king of Lombardy; the younger, king of Aquitania.

Charlemagne had gathered the most learned men he could find at his father's palace at Achem, and he had a kind of academy where his young nobles and clergy might acquire the learning of the old Roman times. (His son Lodwig was educated there.) In fact, Charlemagne taught there himself. Charlemagne was a Renaissance man. He worked hard to remedy the need for a good education; and such was his ability that he could calcu-

Coronation of Charlemagne



late the courses of the planets in his head. He had an excellent knowledge of Latin; Saint Augustine's *City of God* was his favorite book—a bible of its time; and he composed several hymns, among them the *Veni Creator Spiritus*—that invocation of the Holy Spirit which is sung at ordinations. He also knew Greek, wrote a Frankish grammar book, and collected the old songs of his people.

No one was honored as much and respected in Europe, and after two more journeys to Rome on behalf of Pope Leo III, the greatest honor possible was conferred upon him. In the old Roman times, the Roman people had always elected their emperor. They now elected him. On Christmas day of the year 800, as Carl the Frank knelt down before the altar of St. Peter's, the pope placed a crown on his head, and the Roman people cried out, "To Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, the great and peaceful emperor of the Romans, life and victory!"

So the empire of the West, which had died away for a time or been merged in the empire of the East at Constantinople, was brought to life again in the person of Charlemagne; while his two sons were rulers of kingdoms and all around him were numerous dukes and counts of different subject nations, all comprising his empire. The old cities and Provence—Aquitania, Lombardy, and Gaul—though they had councils that governed themselves, claimed him as their emperor. Moreover, he made the new territories which he had conquered along the German rivers great bishoprics, especially at Triers, Mentz, and Koln, thinking that bishops would more safely and loyally guard the frontier and tame the heathen borderers than fierce warrior counts and dukes.

Aachen was the capital of this empire. There Charlemagne had built a great cathedral, and a palace for himself. His chosen Christian name of David fitted him well, for he was a great benefactor of the church. He gathered together his bishops several times during his reign to consult on the church's good and defense. Indeed, his benefits to her and his loyal service were such that he was placed in the pope's calendar as a saint.

He was a tall figure, with a long neck, and was exceedingly active and dextrous in all exercises—a powerful warrior and very fond of hunting, but preferring swimming to anything else. Nobody could swim or dive as he

Charlemagne in royal costume



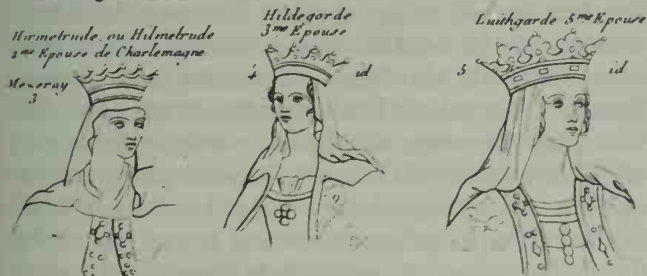
Charlemagne crossing the Alps



Charlemagne receiving the emissaries of Haroun-al-Rashid



Charlemagne's wives





Equestrian statue of Charlemagne



*Charlemagne
in later life*

could; and he used to take large parties to bathe with him, so that a hundred men were sometimes in the river at once. His dress was stately on occasion, but he did not approve of mere finery. When he saw some young noble overdressed, he would enjoy taking him on a long muddy ride in the rain.

He had intended his eldest son, Carl, to be emperor, and Pepin and Lodwig to rule Lombardy and Aquitania under him as kings; but Pepin died in 810, and Carl in 811, and only Lodwig was left. This last son he had accepted as emperor by all his chief nobles in the church at Aachen, after which he bade the young man take a crown that lay on the altar and put it on his own head. "Blessed be the Lord, who hath granted me to see my son sitting on my throne," he said.

Louis I, 814-40



Charles the Bald, 843-77



Charlemagne died in the next year, in 814, at the age of seventy-one, and was buried at Aachen, sitting upright, robed and crowned, in his chair, with his sword by his side.

THE CARLINGS (814-87)

Charlemagne's son, Lodwig—Ludovicus Pius, as the Latins called him, or Louis le Debonnaire, as he stands in French books—was a good, gentle, pious man, but his life was one continual fight with his sons. After he—Louis I—had given three kingdoms to his three sons, their mother died; he married again, and had a younger son, Charles; and his desire to give a share to this poor boy led to no less than three great revolts on the part of the elder stepbrothers, until at last their poor father died worn out and brokenhearted, on a little islet in the Rhine, in the year 840.

The eldest son, Lothair, was then emperor, and had for his own, beside the kingdom of Italy and that country where Aachen (the capital) stood, the strip bounded by the Rhine and the Alps to the east, and the Meuse and the Rhone to the west. He was in the middle, between his brothers—Louis, who had Germany and Charles, who had all the remainder of France. They fought over this. When Lothair died, his two sons divided his dominions again—the elder (whose name was the same as his own) got the northern half, between the Meuse and Rhine; and the younger had the old Provence. They both died soon and would not be worth mentioning, but that the name of the two Lothairs remained to the northern kingdom, Lotharick, or Lorraine, and the old kingdom of Arles, or Provence.

Charles survived all his brothers and came to be the head of the family, the second emperor Charles, commonly called the Bald. He was king from his father's death in 840, but emperor only for two years, from 875 to 877; and his life was a time of tumult and warfare, though he was an active, able man, and did his best. He had a good deal more learning than Charlemagne had to begin with, and like him had a school in his palace. He was a great debater and philosopher, and got into trouble occasionally with the pope about some of his definitions.

Charles the Bald had little time to enjoy his palace school, for the Northmen were moving south and were even more dreadful enemies of France than of England. The first fleet of their ships had been seen by Charlemagne, and he had shed tears at the sight; for he perceived that all his efforts to subdue and convert Bavarians, Saxons, and Frisians had not saved his people from a terrible enemy of their own stock, far more earnest in the worship of Odin and likely to come in greater numbers. All through the troubles of Louis I parties of Northmen were landing, plundering any city or abbey that was not strong enough to keep them off; and when

King Alfred the Great had made England too mighty for them, they came all the more to France. Sometimes they were met in battle, sometimes a sum was offered to them to spare a city from their plunder; and if the walls were strong, they would generally accept it. Paris was thus bought off in the time of Charles the Bald from the terrible sea-king, Hasting.

After Charles the Bald there were three very short reigns, only lasting seven years altogether, of his son and his two grandsons, and then the head of the Carlings was Charles II, commonly called *der Dicke* (the Thick or the Fat)—in France known as Charles le Gros. He was the son of Louis II, called the German, the son of Louis I, the Pious, and seems to have been less fit than most of his kindred for the difficulties of his post as emperor of the West, or king of the Franks.

The invasion of Northmen was worse than ever in his time because Harold the Fairhaired had made himself sole king of Norway, driving out all opposition; and those who would not brook his dominion now came southward, intending not only to plunder, but to find homesteads for themselves. One of these was the famous Rolf Gange, or Walker, so called because he went into battle on foot. In the year 885 Rolf and another sea-king named Siguid sailed up the Seine with seven hundred great ships, which stretched for sixteen miles along the stream, and prepared to take Paris.

For thirteen months the city was besieged, until at last the emperor arrived with an army collected from all the nations under him; but, after all of this, he did not fight—he only paid the Northmen to leave Paris and go to winter in Burgundy, which was at enmity with him. In fact, every part of the empire was at odds with poor fat Charles; and the next year (887) a diet, or council, met on the banks of the Rhine and deposed him. Arnulf, a son of the short-lived Carloman, was made emperor; Count Eudes was crowned king of France; Guy (duke of Spoleto) set up a kingdom in Italy; Boso of Arles called himself king of Provence; and Rodolf (another count) was crowned king of Burgundy, so that it appeared as though the whole empire of Charlemagne had been broken up.

THE COUNTS OF PARIS (887-987)

Charles the Fat died of grief the year after he was deposed. He was not the last Carling. Besides the emperor Arnulf, there was a son of Louis the Stammerer (another Carl) who tried to win the old French domains back from the Northman, Eudes. In fact, the westerly Franks, who held Paris and all the country to the Atlantic Ocean, had become very mixed with the old Gauls and had learned to speak Latin, though it was a little altered. In fact, it was the beginning of what we call French. They held with Eudes while the Franks around



Charles II, 884-87

Laon and Soissons were much more German, and chiefly clung to the Carling Charles, though he bore no better surname than the Simple. The farther eastward Franks of Franconia, as it is now called, with all the other German tribes—Swabians, Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, and so forth—were under Arnulf, and made up the kingdom of Germany. The Franks west of the Rhine never were joined to it again. After the death of Arnulf's only son, Louis III, called the Child, no more Carlings reigned there. The Saxons sustained the leadership.

The counts of Paris were not Gauls but Saxons who had settled in the Frank country and made common cause with the Gauls. They had the same sort of patience with which the first Carlings had waited—until the Meerwings were worn out. Eudes let Charles the Simple govern the lands between the Meuse and Seine, and when Eudes died in 898, his brother Robert the Strong only called himself duke of France, and let Charles the Simple be king of the Franks.

All this time Rolf and his Northmen had gone on conquering in northern Gaul. They did not plunder and

Louis II, 877-79



Charles II, the Fat





*Louis III (879–82) and
Carloman (882–84)*



*Eudes (Odo), count of
Paris, 888–98*

Charles the Fat and Count Eudes



Henry I of Germany visiting Charles III, 898–922



ravage like common vikings. Rolf was cleverer, for he spared the towns and made friends with the bishops; and though he and his men fought with the nations beyond, they treated all the country between Brittany and the River Epte as if it were their own. Charles the Simple came to an agreement with Rolf. He said that if Rolf would become a Christian and accept him as his king, he would give him his daughter in marriage and grant him the possession of all these lands, as duke of the Northmen. Rolf consented, and in 911 he was baptized at Rouen, married Gisla (the king's daughter), and then went to swear to be faithful to the king. Now, this ceremony was called swearing fealty. It was repeated whenever there was a change either of the overlord or the underlord. The duke, count, or whatever he was, knelt down before the overlord and, holding his hands, swore to follow him in war and to be true to him always. The overlord, in his turn, swore to aid him and be a true and good lord to him in return, and kissed his brow. In return, the underlord—vassal, as he was called—was to kiss the foot of his superior. This was paying homage. Kings thus paid homage, and swore allegiance to the emperor; dukes or counts, to kings; lesser counts or barons, to dukes; and for the lands they owned they were bound to serve their lord in council and in war, and not to fight against him. Lands so held were called fiefs, and the whole was called the feudal system. Now, Rolf was to hold his lands in fief from the king, and he swore his oath, but he could not bear to stoop to kiss the foot of Charles. So he was allowed to pay this homage by a deputy.

Rolf was a sincere Christian; he made great gifts to the church, divided the land among his Northmen, and kept up such good laws that Normandy, as his domains came to be called, was the most law-abiding part of the country. It was said at that time that a gold bracelet could be left hanging on a tree in the forest for a whole year without anyone stealing it.

Charles the Simple, in the meantime, was overthrown in an odd way. Robert of Paris and Duke Rudolf of Burgundy made war on him, and took him prisoner. Charles's wife was a sister of the English king Ethelstan, and she fled to him with her young son Louis. They stayed there while first Robert was king for a year, and then Rudolf, and poor Charles was dying in prison at Peroune; but when Rudolf died in 936, the young Louis was invited to come back from England and be king. The count of Paris, Hugh the Great, and Rolf's son, William Longsword (duke of Normandy), joined together in making him king. But Louis IV was so afraid of them that he lived at Laon in constant hatred and suspicion. The French people indeed held him as a stranger and called him Louis *d'outremer*, or "from beyond the seas."

William Longsword was murdered by the count of Flanders, when his little son Richard was only seven years old. Louis thought this his opportunity. He went

to Rouen, declared himself the little boy's rightful guardian, and carried him off to Laon, and there treated him so harshly that it was plain that he had intentions of getting rid of the child. So Osmond de Centeville, the little duke's squire, galloped off with him to Normandy in the middle of the night. A great war began, and Harold Bluetooth, king of Denmark, came to the help of the Northmen. Louis was made prisoner, and only gained his freedom by giving up his two sons as hostages. Hugh, count of Paris, aided young Richard of Normandy; while the Saxon emperor of Germany, Otto, aided Louis; and there was a fierce struggle, ending in the victory of the count of Paris and the Northmen. One of the young Frank princes died in the hands of the Normans; the other, Lothair, was given back to his father when peace was made.

In the year 954 Louis IV died at Theims, and his widow entreated that the great count Hugh protect Lothair. He did so, and so did his son and successor, Hugh—commonly called Capet, from the hood he wore—who managed everything for the young king.

Peace was made, and the emperor gave Lothair's younger brother, Charles, the province of Lotharick, or Lorraine, as it was coming to be called.

Lothair died soon after, in 986; and though his son Louis V was crowned, he lived only a year. When he died in 987, the great counts and dukes met in consultation with the chief of the clergy and agreed that, as the counts of Paris were the real heads of the state and nobody cared for the Carlings, it would be better to do as the Germans had, and pass over the worn-out Carlings, who spoke old Frank, while the Paris counts spoke the altered Latin, which by now came to be called French. So Charles, duke of Lorraine, was not listened to when he claimed his nephew's crown, but was forced to return to his own dukedom, where his descendants ruled for a full eight hundred years.

And in 987, Hugh Capet, count of Paris, was crowned king of France, and from that time French history begins.

The family that began with Robert the Strong exists still, after more than one thousand years, of which it reigned over France for nine hundred. It is usually called the House of Capet, from Hugh's nickname, though it would be more sensible to call it the House of Paris. In French history there were three great families—Merovingians or Merovingians, the Frank chiefs; Carlings or Carolingians, the chief of whom was emperor of the West; and House of Paris, or Capetians, the kings of France.

HUGH CAPET (987-96)

The new king was duke of France, count of Paris, and guardian of the Abbey of St. Denys. So in the place called Île-de-France he was really master, and his brother



Rudolf (923-36), son-in-law of Robert, 922-23



Louis IV, 936-54

Louis V, 986-87



Hugh Capet, 987-96

Capet





Adelaide, wife of Hugh Capet



Hugh Capet

Henri was duke of Burgundy. But on the Loire was the great county of Anjou, with a very spirited race of counts; and to the eastward were Vermandois and Champagne, also uncompromising counties. In all these places the nobles, like the king himself, were descended from the old Franks. In Normandy the people were Northmen, and in Brittany both the duke and people were still old Kymry, but the Norman dukes always considered that Brittany had been put under them.

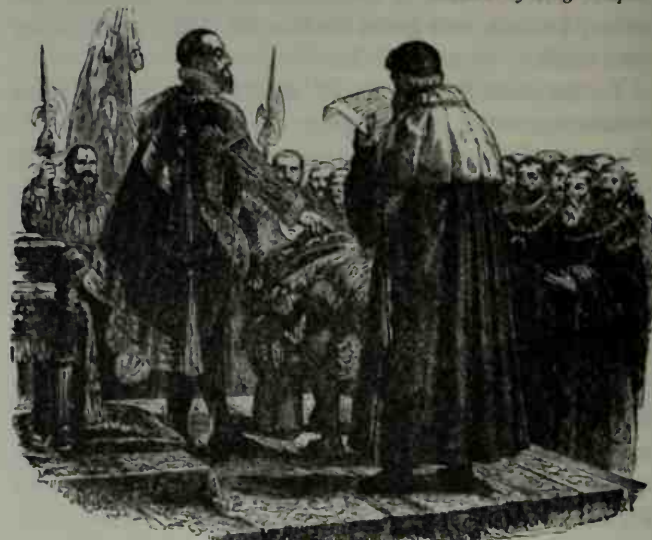
In the southern half of the country the people were less Gaul than Roman. These were the dukes of Aquitania or Guyenne, the counts of Toulouse, and the counts of Narbonne. But in the southwest of Aquitania, near the Pyrenees and the sea, were an old race called Basques, who seemed to be older still than the Gauls and did not speak their language, but a strange and very difficult one of their own. The Basques who were mixed with the other inhabitants in the plains were called Gascons in France and Vascons in Spain.

These Romance-speaking counts were considered by the king of France to belong to him, but whether they considered themselves to belong to the king of France or not was quite a different thing. The county of Provence, old Provincia, certainly did not, for it came straight from the Holy Roman Empire. So did the other countries to the east, where a German tongue was spoken, but which had much to do with the history of France—namely, Lorraine, where the old Carlings still ruled, and in Flanders. So the king of France was not really a very mighty person, and had little to call his own.

At this time, in the reign of Hugh Capet, there was very little good to be seen in the world. All over France there were turbulence, cruelty, and savage ways, except, perhaps, in Normandy, where Duke Richard the Fearless and his son Duke Richard the Good kept order and peace and were brave, upright, religious men, making



Election of Hugh Capet



Hugh Capet takes the oath of office as king of France

their subjects learn the better, rather than the worse ways of France. However, there hardly was a worse time in all the history of Europe than during the reign of Hugh Capet, which lasted from 987 to 996.

ROBERT THE PIOUS (996–1031); HENRY I (1031–1060); AND PHILIP I (1060–1108)

Now, as the year 1000 of our Lord was close at hand it was thought that this meant that the Day of Judgment was coming then, and there was great fear and dread at the thought. When the year 1000 began, so many felt it was not worthwhile to sow their corn that a most dreadful famine resulted, and there was great distress everywhere.

But all this time there were good men who taught repentance, and one blessed thing they brought about, while people's hearts were soft with dread, was what was called the Truce of God, namely, an agreement that nobody should fight on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, so that three days in the week were peaceable. The mon-

asteries began to improve, the clergy became more diligent, and the king himself, whose name was Robert II, the Pious, was one of the best and most religious men in his kingdom. He used to come to the Abbey at St. Denys every morning to sing with the monks and wrote and set to music several Latin hymns, which he carried to Rome and laid on the altar at St. Peter's. But he could not manage his kingdom well, and he was exploited. He had married his cousin, Berthe of Burgundy, who was heiress of Arles in Provence. Now, Provence belonged to the empire, and the emperor did not choose that the kings of France should have it; so he made the pope, whom he had appointed, declare that Robert and Berthe were such near relations that they could not be husband and wife, and, with great grief, Robert submitted. Berthe went into a nunnery, and he married Constance of Aquitania. The sons were more like her than like their father, and Robert had a troubled life, finding little peace except in church, until he died in the year 1031.

His eldest son, Henry I, reigned after him, and the second son, Robert, became duke of Burgundy and began a family of dukes that lasted four hundred years. But the spirit of improvement that had begun to stir was going on. Everybody was becoming more religious. The monks in their convents began either to set themselves to rights, or else they found fresh monasteries in new places, with stricter rules. And a very great man, whose name was Hildebrand, was stirring up the church not to go on leaving the choice of the pope to the emperor, but to have him properly appointed by the clergy of the diocese of Rome, who were called cardinals—that is, chiefs.

Henry I had been dead six years, and his son Philip I had reigned forty-eight years, from 1060. William the Great, duke of Normandy, became still greater by winning for himself the kingdom of England. Philip did not want this. He was afraid of William and did not at all wish to see him grow so much more powerful than himself. He spoke contemptuously of the new king of England whenever he could, and at last it was one of his foolish speeches that made William so angry as to begin the war in which the greater conqueror met with the accident that caused his death.

Philip was by no means a good man. After he had lost his first wife, he fell in love with the beautiful countess of Anjou, Bertrade de Montfort, and persuaded her to come and pretend to be his wife. His son Louis, who was so active and spirited that he was called *l'éveillé*, which means "the wide awake," showed his displeasure, and Philip and Bertrade so persecuted him that he was obliged to seek refuge in England.

It was in this reign that a pilgrim called Peter the Hermit came home with a piteous story of the cruelty of the Mohammedans, who had possession of the Holy Land. He obtained leave from the pope, Urban II, to call all the warriors of Christendom to save the Holy Sepul-

cher where Jesus Christ had lain from the hands of the unbelievers. The first great preaching was at Clermont, in Auvergne; and there the whole people were so moved that they cried as if with one voice, "God wills it," and came crowding around to have their left arms marked with a cross, made of two strips of cloth, on an armband. An army came together from many of the lands of the West, and the princes agreed to lay aside their quarrels while the Crusade lasted. The good duke Godfrey led them all through Germany and Hungary and across the narrow straits of the Bosphorus, meeting with many problems and perils as they went. But at last they did get safely to Jerusalem, laid siege to it, and conquered it.

Robert II, 996-1031



Robert II, king of France

Henry I, 1031-60



Philip I, 1060-1108



Philip I





Louis VI, 1108-37



Seal of Louis VI



Louis VI



Louis VII, the Young, 1137-80

Then they chose Godfrey to be king of Jerusalem, but he would not be crowned, he said it was not fitting for him to wear a crown of gold where his Lord had worn a crown of thorns. Many nobles and knights stayed with him to help guard the holy places when the others went home. People from England, Spain, Germany, and Italy then joined the Crusade, but there were always more French there than those of other nations.

Louis the Wide Awake was called home by the French barons and ruled for his father for the last eight years of Philip's reign, though the old king did not die till the year 1108.

LOUIS VI, THE FAT (1108-37)

It is disappointing to find that Louis the Wide Awake soon became Louis the Fat (Louis le Gros). But still he was spirited and active, and much more like the old counts of Paris than any of the four kings before him had been; and he was a brave and just man, who therefore was respected.

It should be recalled that when Robert II, duke of Normandy, governed so badly, his Normans asked King Henry I of England, his brother, to help them. Louis did not choose to see the eldest brother despoiled, and he was

glad that the king of England and the duke of Normandy should not be the same person. So he helped Robert, but could not keep him from being beaten at Tenchebray and made prisoner. Afterward Louis befriended poor young William, Robert's son; but he was beaten again at Brenneville. There were nine hundred knights in this battle of Brenneville, and only three were killed, because the armor they wore was so strong. Then Louis helped William to obtain the county of Flanders, which he inherited from his grandmother, Queen Matilda; but the poor young prince had not long been settled in it before he died of an injury to his hand from a lance point.

Men of note lived in the time of Louis VI. One such was Suger. Suger was abbot of the monastery at St. Denis, of which the kings of France, as counts of Paris, were always the protectors; where their most precious banner, the oriflamme, was kept. Also, it was where they were always buried. Suger was a clever and able man, the king's chief adviser, and may perhaps be counted as the first of the men who filled the place of king's adviser or, as we now call it, prime minister. In those times these statesmen were almost always clergy, because few others had any learning.

Louis VI, though not an old man, soon fell into declining health. He thought he had contrived admirably to get more power for the kings by giving his son in marriage to Eleanor, the daughter of the duke of Aquitaine. As she had no brother, her son would have owned that great southern dukedom as entirely as the county of Paris, and this would make a great difference. Young Louis was sent to marry the lady and bring her home; but while he was gone, his father became worse, and died in the year 1137.

Louis VI had begun to govern in his father's name in 1100, just as Henry I of England came to the crown, and he died three years after Henry, while Stephen and Matilda were fighting for power in England.

LOUIS VII, THE YOUNG (1137-80)

The Young is an odd historical name for a king who reigned a good many years. But Louis VII was called so at first because he was only eighteen years old when he came to the throne, and the name clung to him because there was always something young and simple about his character.

The first great event of his reign was that Saint Bernard stirred Europe once more to start a crusade to help the Christians in Palestine, who were hard pressed by the Mohammedans. At Vezelay there was a great assembly of bishops and clergy, knights and nobles; and Saint Bernard preached to them so well that soon all were fastening crosses to their arms and tearing up mantles and robes because enough crosses had not been made beforehand for the numbers who wanted them. The



Louis VII



*Louis VII receiving the cross
from Saint Bernard*



Louis VII on Mount Cadmus

young king and his beautiful queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, vowed to make the crusade too, and set out with a great army of fighting men and, beside them, pilgrims, monks, women, and children. The queen was very beautiful and very vain; and though she called herself a pilgrim she had no notion of denying herself. So she carried all her fine robes, her ladies, waiting-maids, minstrels, and jesters. The French had no ships to take them directly to the Holy Land, but had to go by land all the way, along the shore of Asia Minor. Great numbers of pilgrims perished along the way, and just as they had passed the city of Laodicea, the Mohammedan army came down on the rear guard in a narrow valley and began to make a great slaughter of them. The whole army would have been cut off had not a poor knight named Gilbert, whom no one had thought much of, come forward, taken the leadership, and helped the remains of the rear guard to struggle out of the valley. Through all the rest of the march, Gilbert really led the army; and yet after this he is never again mentioned in history.

When Palestine was reached at last, there were not ten thousand left out of the four hundred thousand who had set out from home. The prim queen's zeal was quite spent. She despised her pious husband and said he was more like a monk than a king; and as soon as they returned from this unhappy crusade, they tried to find some excuse for breaking their marriage.

The pope allowed the king to rid himself of this faithless lady, and let them both marry again. He married Constance of Castille, and Eleanor took for her husband the young English king, Henry II, and brought him all her great possessions.

The very thing had come to pass that the king of France feared—namely, that the dukes of Normandy should get more powerful than he was. For Henry II was at once king of England, duke of Normandy, and count of Anjou, and his wife was duchess of Aquitaine and Guienne; and, as time went on, Henry betrothed his little son Geoffrey to Constance, the orphan girl who was heiress to Brittany, and undertook to rule her lands for her; so that the lands over which Louis had any real power were a sort of little island within the great sea of the possessions of the English king. Besides that, Henry was a much cleverer man than Louis, and always got the better of him in their treaties. The kings of France and dukes of Normandy always met at Gisors, on their border, under an enormous elm tree, so large that three hundred horsemen could find shelter under the branches; and these meetings never went well for Louis. He was obliged to promise that his two daughters, Margaret and Alice, should marry Henry's two sons, Henry and Richard, and to give them to Henry to be brought up. When Henry had his great dispute with Archbishop Becket over the question of whether or not clergymen were subject to the law of the land, Becket fled to France. Louis loved and respected him very much, gave him shelter in an abbey, and tried hard to make peace between him and Henry, but never could succeed. After six years, Henry pretended to be reconciled, and Becket went home in the year 1170 and was murdered very soon after.

Louis must have been very much surprised when his former wife, Queen Eleanor, came disguised as a man with her three eldest sons to his court, making serious complaints against Henry for keeping the government of their provinces in his own hands and not allowing the children any reign. He must have thought it only what they deserved, but Louis gave them what help he could. Henry was a great deal stronger and craftier than any of them, and soon defeated them. Eleanor was thrown into prison and kept there as long as she lived. She may have deserved it, but her sons and the people of Aquitaine did not think so. Those people of Aquitaine were a curious race—they were very courtly, though not very good; and they thought more of music, poetry, and love-making than of anything else, though they were brave people, too. Every knight was expected to be able to write verses and sing them, and to be able to hold an argument in the courts of love. The best poets among them were called troubadours; and Eleanor herself and her two sons, Richard and Geoffrey, could compose songs and sing them. All were as much beloved in Aquitaine as Henry was hated.

Louis VII was married three times—to Eleanor of Aquitaine, to Constance of Castille, and to Alice of Champagne. These three queens had among them six daughters but no son, and this was catastrophic, since no women had ever reigned in France; for it was held that the old Salian Franks had a law against women reigning. At any rate, this grew to be the rule in France, and it is called the Salic law. However, the problem was not to be settled at this moment in French history, for at last a son was born to Louis in 1165, and in his joy he caused the babe to be christened Philip *Dieu-donné*, or “God-given.”

The boy was the cleverest son who had sprung from the House of Paris for ages past, and while still quite young, had concern for all that was important to his father and his kingdom, at an age when other young boys were concerned only for sports and games. When his father met the English king at the elm of Gisors, young Philip was present and saw how Henry overreached and took advantage of Louis, and he was bitterly angered, and swore that some day he would get back all that his father was losing.

One day young Philip was out hunting in a forest with his father when he missed his companions, lost his way, and wandered around all night. When he was found, he

was so spent with hunger and cold that he contracted a bad illness, and was in great danger for some days. When he grew better, King Louis, in great joy, thought this precious life had been granted by the prayers of his old friend Thomas à Becket, and asked Henry’s permission to come and give thanks at the archbishop’s tomb at Canterbury. He came, and was welcomed as a friend and guest. He gave great gifts to the cathedral in thanks, which became the great treasures of today’s Canterbury Cathedral.

He had his beloved son, though only fifteen, crowned, that France might have a king over her while he was in England, and Philip was very soon to be the only king, for good, honest, naive Louis the Young died very soon after his return from Canterbury, in the year 1180, nine years before the death of his great enemy, Henry II.

PHILIP II, AUGUSTUS (1180–1223)

Philip the “God-given” is most commonly known in history as Philip Augustus. Why, is not quite plain; but as he became a very powerful king of France, it is most likely that one of the old names of the Western emperors, Caesar Augustus, got applied to him.

If Philip’s father Louis was yet known as the Young in his old age, Philip could have been referred to as Philip the Old in his youth, for he was much older in skill and cunning at fifteen than his father had been most of his lifetime. The whole history of his reign is an endeavor to get the better of the Plantagenet line of England. He so hated the thought of what he had seen under the elm tree of Gisors that his first act was to cut it down. He saw that the best way to conquer his enemies was by pretending to be their friend and helping in their quarrels. The eldest and the third sons, Henry and Geoffrey, were by this time dead, and Richard of the Lion-Heart, the second son, the favorite of the Aquitaine troubadours, was on one of the Crusades.

Then came news from Palestine that the Christians had been conquered by the great Saracen chief Saladin, and that Jerusalem had been taken by him. There was great lamentation, and a fresh crusade was decided on by all the princes of Europe, the king of France, the king of England, and the other royal rulers. The emperor Frederick of the Red Beard set off first, but he was lost by the way while crossing a river in Asia Minor. The two kings waited—arranging their participation. Philip’s way of doing this was to get Richard to his court and pretend to befriend him. They became close friends—drank out of the same cup and ate out of the same dish. But Philip was stirring up Richard—who needed it little—against his father, with his brother John joining with him. This was the rebellion that broke the heart of Henry II. He died, and Richard, on his crusade, became king.

It was the first crusade when the armies went by sea



Philip II, 1180–1223

Philip II, Augustus



Philip Augustus



instead of by land. Richard had his own fleet, but Philip was obliged to hire ships of the merchants of Genoa; and when the two fleets reached Sicily, they would not venture to sail on until the winter was over. Now that Richard was king, Philip no longer pretended to be his friend, which resulted in many disputes among the Crusaders. In the spring, they sailed on to help the Christians, who were besieging Acre. Philip arrived first, but no great things were accomplished until Richard arrived. The heat of the climate soon made both kings fall ill, and when the city was taken, Philip's doctors declared that he must go home at once if he wished to recover. Most likely they were right, but he was glad to go, for he hoped to do Richard a great deal of harm while he was away. The pope had forbidden anyone to attack a Crusader's lands while he was away; but Philip could stir up Richard's subjects and his brother against him. And when Richard was made captive in Austria, on his way home, Philip even sent money to the emperor of Germany to keep him a prisoner. At last, when the German princes had forced the emperor to set him free, Philip sent word to John, in a short message: "Take care of yourself, for the devil is let loose."

Oddly, when, two years later, Richard of the Lionheart was killed at Limoges, Philip became John's most bitter enemy, and the friend of the only other Plantagenet left, namely, Geoffrey's son Arthur, duke of Brittany, who appealed to his suzerain, Philip, to make him duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, as son of the elder brother. Philip called on John to give up these lands, but John offered to make peace only by marrying his niece, Blanche, the daughter of his sister and the king of Castille, to Philip's son, Louis VIII, the Lion. Philip was in trouble in France at the time, so he consented to make this peace.

Philip was his own worst enemy. His first wife, Isabelle of Hainaut, was dead, and he had thought to make friends with the king of Denmark by marrying his daughter Ingeborg. But the Danes were then very backward in culture and learning, and poor Ingeborg was a dull, ignorant girl, not at all like a courtly lady. Philip took such a dislike to her that he sent her into a convent, and instead married the beautiful Agnes de Meranie, the daughter of the duke of the Tyrol. At that time one of the mightiest popes who ever lived was ruling—Innocent III. He was determined not to let anyone, however great, go on in sin undisciplined, and he called on King Philip to send Agnes away and take back his only true wife—Ingeborg. And when Philip would not, the pope laid the kingdom under an interdict—that is, he forbade any service to go on in any church except in those of the monks and nuns, and there only with the doors shut against all outsiders. The whole nation was, as it were, cut off from God for their monarch's sin. Philip stood up against this dreadful sentence, but he found the people could not bear it, so he sent Agnes home, and took

Ingeborg back. He was then absolved, and his kingdom went on prospering.

When, in 1203, Arthur of Brittany perished in prison, Philip summoned John, as a vassal of France, to answer for the murder. The great vassals met, the trumpets sounded, and John was called on to appear; but as he did not come, he was sentenced in absentia to forfeiture of his lands of the Normandy and Anjou, and Philip entered them with his army and took the castle, as John could not get men or money to come and stop him. Only the lands of old Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was still alive, remained to the English.

This forfeiture was a great step in the power of the French kings, since not only had the English king lost Normandy and Anjou, but these two great domains were added to the French king's county of Paris. He had no duke or count between him and the barons or cities. Also, Philip's designs against the Plantagenets were favored by John's own misconduct. The quarrel with the pope about the archbishop of Canterbury made Innocent III invite Philip to go and conquer England, and the fear of this brought John to make his peace with the pope.

However, John's nephew, Otho of Brunswick, was emperor, and he too had quarreled with the pope, who wanted to make young Frederick of Sicily emperor.

Philip II in procession



Philip took Frederick's part, and Otho marched against him into Flanders. All the French nobles had gathered around their king, and at Bouvines one of the greatest battles and victories in French history took place. Otho had to gallop away from the battle to save his life. This great battle was fought in the year 1214.

Very shortly after, Philip's eldest son, Louis, called the Lion, was invited to England by the barons, because they could no longer bear the horrible cruelties and wickednesses of John; and he would not keep the Magna Charta, which he had signed. Louis went to England, and London was put into his hands; but when King John died, the barons preferred to have his little innocent son, Henry III, as their king, than to be joined on to France. Battles ensued. So, after Louis's troops had been beaten by land and by sea, he came home and gave up the English crown.

But Philip Augustus certainly had the wish of his life fulfilled, for he had seen his foes of the House of Plantagenet humbled and he had recovered the chief of their great possessions in France.

He died in the year 1223, having lived in the reigns of four English kings and done his utmost to injure them all. He was brave and clever and a good friend of the people in the towns. The French people were very proud of him.

THE ALBIGENSES (1190) AND LOUIS VIII, THE LION (1223-26)

Louis the Lion had a very short reign, for most of his activities had been in his father's time. They have been treated lightly, intentionally, so that the reader might have a better understanding of the history of Philip Augustus and his crafty dealings with the House of Plantagenet.

Now, it would be in good perspective to go back and cover Louis before he came to the throne and examine the people he chiefly fought. The south of France, which had first been settled by the Romans and had never been peopled by the Franks, was much more full of "learning" than the northern part. The evil ways of Christians strengthened the notions of these people, who were called Albigenses (from the town of Albi). A great many people followed them. Even some of the great princes of the South began to feel as if the Albigenses were something special belonging to themselves and to the old culture of the Roman Provincia (Provence).

But the great pope, Innocent III, would not permit all this country to fall away from the church. Two men offered to help. One was a Spaniard named Dominic, who wished to found an order of brethren to go forth, preach, teach, and bring back heretics; the other was an Italian, named Francis, who cared above all for holiness and longed to be like the Lord, and wanted to draw

together men within the church to be more spiritual. Both these good men were allowed to institute brotherhoods, orders not like the monks in the old convents, but poorer and not quartered with the nuns. Their brethren were called friars, and went about preaching and hearing confessions, and helping men and women to lead holier lives—friars of Saint Francis went to Christian places, and those of Saint Dominic went wherever there was heresy. Dominic was further allowed to judge and punish with severe penances and captivity those who would not be convinced. The work he and his friars did was called the Inquisition.

But the great dukes and counts in the south of France—in Provence, Toulouse, Foix, Albi, and many others—did not choose to have their people interfered with. The more learned people of this area, the Albigenses, became Provençal princes, being cleverer than their uncultured neighbors. They were less disposed to punish their subjects, but they were also less religious and less honest. Pope Innocent had no doubt but that they should be called to account. So he proclaimed a crusade against them, as if they had been Saracens, and made the leader of it Simon, count de Montfort, a disciplinarian. Pedro II, king of Aragon, joined with the Albigenses, and in the

Louis VIII, 1223-26

Louis VIII



Louis VIII

Blanche of Castille



year 1213 a great battle was fought at Muret, in the county of Toulouse, in which the Albigenses were beaten and the king of Aragon was killed. The count of Toulouse, Raymond, who fought against this crusader, was declared by the pope to be unworthy to rule, and he granted Simon de Montfort all the lands he had conquered in the south of France. In the northern parts Simon was looked on as a saint, and when he went to do homage to the king, people ran to touch his horse and his clothes as if they were something holy. Louis the Lion aided Simon and learned the art of war during these battles, but when the crusaders tried to take the city of Toulouse, the people held out against them. One night, when Simon was attacking the walls, a woman threw down a heavy stone, which struck him on the head and killed him. The year was 1217.

His eldest son, Amaury, took his place in the long struggle but was not as able a warrior, and the Albigenses began to better the Crusaders. But in the year 1223, when Philip died and Louis became king of France, he was called upon by the pope to accelerate the Crusade. He fought well, but Louis was not as capable as he was brave. In the three years of his reign he did

little to overcome the Albigenses. While he was passing through Auvergne in 1225, typhoid broke out among his army; he fell ill himself and died in the year 1226.

At his death, his eldest son, Louis IX, was only eleven years old; but the queen, Blanche of Castille, his mother, was a very capable woman and managed the kingdom excellently. She sent fresh troops, who gained such successes that Count Raymond of Toulouse was forced to surrender. And, he had to give his only child into Blanche's care to be brought up as a wife for her third son, Alfonso. The count of Provence had only daughters, four of them, and these girls were "contracted" into marriage in due time to the king of France and his brother Charles, and to the king of England and his brother Richard, and thus all that great country of the Languedoc was brought under the power and influence of the North. The Dominican friars and the Inquisition were put into authority throughout the conquered lands.

SAINT LOUIS IX (1226-70)

The little king, Louis IX, who came to the throne in 1226, when he was only eleven years old, was happy in having a wise mother, Queen Blanche of Castille, who both brought him up carefully and ruled his kingdom for him well. At a young age, he married Margaret of Provence. He was so much stronger and cleverer than the poor, foolish Henry III of England that his barons advised him to take away all of Guienne, which had been left to King John. But he said he would not perform such an injustice. Yet when Henry wanted him to give back Normandy and Anjou, he studied the matter well, and decided that King John had justly forfeited them for murdering Arthur of Brittany.

He was still a young man when he had a very bad illness and nearly died. In the midst of it, he made a vow that if he got well he would go to the Holy Land and fight to free Christ's Sepulcher from the Mohammedans. As soon as he was well he renewed the vow. Though his people didn't want him to leave France, he felt they would be governed well by his mother, so as soon as he assembled an army, one hundred thousand strong, he set out on his crusade with his wife and his brothers.

As the Mohammedans who held the Holy Land came from Egypt, it was thought that the best way of fighting them would be to attack them in their own country. So Louis sailed for Egypt, and besieged and took Damietta; and there he left his queen, Margaret, while he marched on to the Nile, hoping to battle the enemy there. The battle was fought at Monsoureh. The adversaries were not native Egyptians, but soldiers called Mamluks. They had been taken from their homes in early infancy, made Mohammedans, and bred to be soldiers. They were fierce warriors. The French main line charged into battle, but the Mamluks got between them and their main camp, cut them off, and killed them, except for the king, who was

Blanche of Castille



Louis IX freeing the prisoners during his coronation



Louis IX, 1226-70



Marguerite of Provence, wife of Louis IX





Saint Louis (Louis IX)

seriously ill with malaria. He recovered, and at last it was settled that he would be set free for a heavy ransom, and he agreed to give up the city of Damietta. Then he embarked with his queen and the remains of his army for the Holy Land, where there was peace just then. After he had fulfilled his vow of pilgrimage, he returned to France. His mother had died in his absence.

Fourteen most happy and good years followed his return. He was a most wise king and thoroughly just. There was a great oak tree near his palace of Vincennes, under which he used to sit, hearing the causes of the poor as well as the rich and administering justice to them all.

The pope had a great quarrel with the emperor Frederick II and tried to make Louis go to war against him, as his father had done against King John of England. But the king knew that the pope's bidding was not right and delayed taking any action.

Louis IX and Henry III and their two brothers, Charles, count of Anjou, and Richard, earl of Cornwall, had married the four daughters of the count of Provence. The earl of Cornwall was chosen to be king of the Romans—that is, next heir to the Western Empire—and when her three sisters were queens, the fourth sister, Beatrice, kept the county of Provence. The pope offered the kingdom of the Sicilies to Beatrice's husband, Charles of Anjou. It rightfully belonged to the grandson of the emperor Frederick so Louis asked his brother to decline the grant. But Charles was an ambitious man. With an army of Provençals he set out and occupied the new kingdom, now called Naples and Sicily. The young Western Empire heir Conradin set off to try to regain his inheritance, but Charles defeated him in battle, made him prisoner, and put him to death on the scaffold. So both the pope and Charles had their way.

Louis had always intended to make another crusade, and Charles promised to join him in it, as had Edward of England. All of North Africa was held by the Moors, who were Mohammedan. Louis had had letters that made him think that there was a chance of converting the dey of Tunis to the Christian faith. So Louis, with his army, landed in the Bay of Tunis and encamped in the



Death of Saint Louis

plains of Old Carthage to wait for King Charles and Edward of England. It was very hot and unwholesome, and sickness broke out. The king was soon ill himself. He lay repeating Psalms and dictating a beautiful letter of advice to his daughter, as he grew worse and worse; and at last with the words, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem!" on his tongue, he died in the year 1270.

Charles of Sicily and Edward of England arrived three days later. As soon as they assembled the armies and satisfied their quest, they sailed for Sicily, taking with them the new young king, Philip III. Louis was buried at St. Denys, and he has ever since borne the well-deserved title of saint.

PHILIP III, THE BOLD (1270–85) AND PHILIP IV, THE FAIR (1285–1314)

Saint Louis left three sons. The second, Robert, count of Clermont, should be remembered, because three hundred years later his descendants, the House of Bourbon, ascended to the throne of France. The eldest son, Philip III, was a man who left little mark in history, though he reigned fifteen years. The most remarkable thing that happened in his time was a great rising against his uncle, Charles of Anjou, in Sicily. The French and Provençal knights that Charles had brought with him were proud and rude in their behavior with the people of the country. At last, on the Easter Monday of 1282, as the people of Palermo were on their way to church to hear vespers, a French soldier openly raped a Sicilian girl, which ended in the people rising up en masse and killing all the Frenchmen on the island. This was called the Sicilian Vespers. The Sicilians then sent a messenger offering their crown to Pedro, king of Aragon, the nearest kinsman left to their old line. The pope was so angry with King Pedro for accepting it that he declared his kingdom of Aragon forfeited, and sent Philip of France to take it from him. But soon after the French army had advanced



Philip III, the Bold, 1270–85



*Isabelle of Aragon,
wife of Philip III*



Philip IV, 1285–1314



*Jeanne of Navarre,
wife of Philip IV*

into Aragon sickness broke out among them, the king himself caught it, and died in the year 1285. Pedro of Aragon gained the island of Sicily and kept it, though Charles of Anjou and his sons reigned on in Naples on the mainland.

Philip IV, called le Bel, or the Fair, was only seventeen years old when he came to the crown; but he was as clever and cunning as his granduncle, Charles of Anjou, or his great-great-grandfather, Philip Augustus. His main objective was to increase the territory of the crown by any means possible. He had to deal with Edward I, who was more anxious to make one kingdom of Great Britain than to be powerful in France, and so had little concern for his French duchies. So when Philip seized Guienne, Edward would not draw off his men from Scotland to fight for it, but made a peace which only left him Gascony. He sealed it for himself by marrying Philip's sister Margaret, and betrothed his son Edward to Philip's little daughter Isabel. It was the worst action of King Edward's life—for young Edward was already betrothed to the young daughter of the poor count of Flanders, Guy Dampierre, whom Philip was openly oppressing. When England thus forsook their cause, Philip made the count of Flanders prisoner, and placed him in prison for the rest of his life.

But the most remarkable part of the history of Philip IV concerns the church and the popes. The pope, Boniface VIII, was an old man but full of fiery vehemence. He sent a letter of reprimand, bidding the king release the count of Flanders, make peace, and also, to stop exacting money from the clergy.

Philip, too, was very angry, and the two went on exchanging letters that made matters worse. The pope threatened to depose the king. Philip sent off to Anagni (where the pope lived) a French knight named Nogaret and an Italian called Sciarra Colonna, who had quarreled with the pope and fled to France. They rode into Anagni, crying, "Long live the king of France! Death to Boniface!" at the head of a troop of worthless fellows who had joined them. The people of Anagni were so shocked that they barely moved. The men went on to the

church, where they found the pope, a grand old man of eighty-six, seated calmly by the altar in his robes, with his tiara on his head. They rushed up to him, insulted him, and slapped his face. Colonna would have killed him on the spot but Nogaret interfered. They dragged him out of the church, and kept him prisoner for three days while they physically and mentally tormented him. After the townspeople recovered from their fright, they assembled, rescued the pope, and carried him back to Rome. But the abuse proved too much for him, and a few mornings later he was found dead. This piteous death in the year 1303 was blamed on Philip.

Another pope was chosen, but as soon as Philip found that the new one was determined to control him too, he had him poisoned and then determined to get the future one into his hands. There were a good many French cardinals who would, he knew, vote for anyone he chose. Meeting in secret with the archbishop of Bordeaux, the king told him he would have the cardinals' votes on six conditions. Five of these related to the old quarrel with Boniface; the sixth Philip would not tell then, but the archbishop swore it should be fulfilled. The king then arranged his election as pope, and the archbishop took the name of Clement V.

To everyone's surprise except Philip's, Clement chose to be crowned at Lyons instead of Rome, and then took up residence at Avignon, in Provence, which, though it belonged to the pope's empire, was so much in France that it was in the king's power.

Philip the Fair was a very greedy man, always seeking money and going to any means to obtain it. Soon after Saint Louis's last crusade, the last spot that was held by the Christians—Acre—had been taken from them. The Knights Hospitalers who held it then settled on the nearby island of Rhodes, hoping someday to return to the Holy Land. But the Knights Templars, their leaders, had gone to the royal houses in Europe, where they trained young men in arms. Philip cast his eyes on the Templars' wealth, and told the pope that his sixth condition was that they should be destroyed. Most of them were living in France. They and the others were invited

to attend a great meeting in France. When almost all were there, serious charges were made by the church—that they were really heathen, and that no one came into their order without first being made to renounce his baptism and trample on the cross.

The 502 who were assembled were imprisoned and tortured for forty days by the Inquisition. Seventy-two of them confessed.

Then, after being kept in prison one more year, the rest were sentenced, brought out in parties of fifty, and burned to death at the stake. At that time the pope declared the Knights Templars order dissolved, and gave the king all their possessions. The year was 1311.

The Grand Master, James de Molay, was kept in prison three years longer, but then was brought out at Paris and burned at the stake in the king's palace garden. As this very religious man stood in the fire, he called out to Clement, pope of Rome, and Philip, king of France, to appear with him before the judgment seat of God—the pope in forty days, the king in a year—to answer for the torture and murder of his knights.

On the fortieth day, Clement V died; and at the end of one year, Philip the Fair died at age forty-six. The year was 1314.

LOUIS X, THE QUARRELSOME (1314–16); PHILIP V, THE TALL (1316–22); CHARLES IV, THE FAIR (1322–28); PHILIP VI, THE FORTUNATE (1328–50)

Philip the Fair left three sons—Louis, Philip, and Charles—and one daughter, Isabelle, who was married to Edward of England. Louis X was called by the nickname of *Hutin*, which is said to mean the “Peevish” or “Quarrelsome.” He was married to the young queen of Navarre, but he only reigned two years and his only son lived but five days. The French barons declared it was against the old law of the Salic Franks that their king-

dom should fall to a woman, so Louis's little daughter Joan was only to remain Queen of Navarre, while his brother, Philip V (le Long, or the Tall), became king. Philip was nearly as cruel as his father.

There was a rumor that the drinking water in Paris had been poisoned by the lepers and the Jews, whereupon Philip gave orders that they all should die for it. They were killed on the spot or else burned at the stake throughout France, while the king and his nobles seized their treasures.

The king died young, at only thirty years of age, in the year 1322, leaving only four daughters. His brother, Charles IV, the Fair, succeeded him. It was during the six years that Charles was on the throne that his sister Isabelle came from England with complaints of her husband, Edward II. She succeeded in collecting a number of French knights, who helped her to dethrone Edward. He was brought to a miserable end in prison. The French people were pleased when Charles died in 1328, for their kingdom went to a public favorite, Philip VI, count of Valois, the son of the younger brother of Philip IV.

But Edward III of England called himself the rightful heir, declaring himself a closer blood relative to his uncle, Charles IV, than Philip VI, their first cousin. This was true, for if all the daughters of the three last kings were kept from reigning, it was unreasonable that he should pretend to be a rightful heir through their aunt. At first, though, he put his claim forward and he seemed to have been willing to let it rest for a while. But there was a certain Robert Artois, who had been deprived of what he thought was his lawful inheritance. Philip banished Robert to England. There he induced the king to back his claim, and so, if an oversimplification may be set forth, began the war with France that is called the Hundred Years War. The great cities in Flanders were friendly to the English. But Philip had tried to make them accept a count whom they hated, so they drove him away and invited Edward to Ghent. The French fleet tried to meet and stop him, but their ships were defeated off Sluys in the year 1340 and sunk, with great loss of men.

Louis X (Hutin), 1314–16



Louis X



Philip V, 1316–22



Philip VI, 1328–50



Not long after, there was a dispute about the dukedom of Brittany, which was claimed by the daughter of the elder brother, and by the younger brother, of the late duke. The niece had married Charles de Blois; the uncle was the count de Montfort. The king of France took the part of the niece, the king of England that of Montfort. Before long, Montfort was made prisoner and sent to Paris, but his wife, the brave Joan, defended his cause as well as any knight could have. She shut herself up in Hennebonne and held out the town while de Blois besieged her, even when the townsmen began to lose heart and said they must surrender. She held out until rescued by the English fleet.

The war in Brittany lasted twenty-four years altogether. Montfort made his escape from prison but died very soon after he reached home. His widow sent her little son to be brought up in Edward's court in England, while she took care of his responsibilities at home. The English gradually became very hated and disliked in Brittany, for they had been very cruel in their treatment of the people.

Edward made his greatest attack on France in 1346. Philip had gathered all the very best of his men in the kingdom. The knights and soldiers of France were nearly as strong in troops as those of England, but there was one great difference between the two armies, and that rose from the class consciousness of French counts and barons. Everyone below them was a poor, miserable serf (unless he lived in a town), and had never handled a bow or any other arms before. In England there were farmers and stout peasants who used to practice shooting with the bow once a week. So there were always sturdy English archers available to fight, but the French had nothing of the same kind, and therefore, hired men from Genoa. The battle was fought at Crecy, near Ponthieu; and when it was about to begin, by each troop of archers shooting a flight of arrows at one another, it turned out that a shower of rain which had just fallen had slackened the bowstrings of the Genoese archers. But the Englishmen had their bows safe in leathern cases, and their

strings were in good order, so their arrows rained death on the French. A charge was ordered to cut the English archers down. But in the way stood the poor Genoese, fumbling to tighten their strings. The knights were so angry at being hindered that they began cutting them down right and left, thus spending their strength against their own army. So, it was no wonder that they were defeated and put to flight. King Philip himself had to ride as fast as he could from the battlefield.

The English went on to besiege and take the city of Calais, and in Brittany Charles de Blois was defeated and made prisoner. At that point both kings were glad to call a truce and rest their troops for a few years, although Edward still called himself king of France, and the dispute was far from settled. Philip paid his men by bringing to the nation a tax upon salt, while Edward's chief tax was on wool. So while Philip called his rival the wool merchant, Edward said that the Valois did indeed reign by the Sálíc law (*sal* being the Latin for "salt").

The counts of the Viennois, in the south of France, used to be called counts dauphin, because there was a dolphin on their coat of arms. The dauphin Humbert, having neither children nor brother, bequeathed his county to the king's eldest grandson, Charles, on condition that it should always be kept separate from the crown lands. After that, the eldest son of the king of France was always called the dauphin.

Philip died in 1350 after a reign that had been little more than one long war.

JOHN II, THE GOOD (1350–64)

If Philip VI had a reign that was all one war, it was much the same with his son John, who considered himself a brave and honorable knight, though he often was cruel and criminal in his actions.

The little kingdom of Navarre, in the Pyrenees, had passed from Louis X to his grandson Charles, called the Bad. In right of his father, the count d'Eveux, Charles was a French noble, and he wanted to hold the highest office a noble could hold—namely, that of constable of France. The constable commanded all the armies, and was the most powerful person next to the king. When John gave the appointment to Lord Charles de la Cerda instead of Charles the Bad, Charles contrived to poison the new constable. The dauphin (Charles) ordered that Charles the Bad be seized and imprisoned. He invited him to dinner, and appeared to be very friendly. But in the midst of the feast the king appeared with a band of soldiers, seized the king of Navarre, and sent him off to prison. Charles the Bad had many friends who were angered by his imprisonment and took his case up with the king of England. Edward, the Prince of Wales, who was in Gascony at this time, took advantage of the opportunity and advanced into the French dominions. John assembled an army to meet him.

*Jeanne of Bourgogne,
wife of Philip VI*

John II, the Good, 1350–64





John the Good

The battle was fought at Poitiers; John was there, with his sons and his brother and all his best knights, and the battle was long and hotly fought. The French did much better than at Crecy but the English were too strong for them. The king fought valiantly with his youngest son Philip close by his side. But at last the father and son found themselves almost alone, with no one but the enemy around them. The king was wounded. So he called to the closest enemy noble he saw—one Denis de Morbeque—and surrendered to him. He was brought before the Prince of Wales, who treated him with the utmost kindness and courtesy, personally dressed his wound, and did his best to lighten the humiliation of captivity.

Things fell into a state of disrepair. Although there was a truce between the two kings, the prince's troops—Free Companions, as they called themselves—roamed about, plundering and robbing all over France, while the king was a prisoner in England. In Paris, a burgher named Stephen Marcel was chosen provost and led the people in terrifying the government officials into doing what he pleased. Believing that the dauphin's friends were giving him bad advice, Marcel stormed into his presence, at the head of a troop of Parisians, and demanded, "Will you put an end to the troubles, and provide for the defense of the kingdom?" "That is not my part," said Charles, "but that of those who receive the money from the taxes." Marcel signaled and his followers murdered the two noblemen who stood beside the dauphin. The prince, in terror, fell on his knees and begged for his life.

But the dauphin eventually escaped from Marcel's custody and took up arms against Marcel. Charles of Navarre had been released from his imprisonment and was fighting in the south of France; and Charles de Blois had been ransomed and was fighting in Brittany. But the peasants, who always had been ill-used by the nobles, began to rise against them. "Bon homme Jacques" was

the nickname given them by the nobles, and hence this rebellion was called the Jacquerie.

The peasants were little more than savages. Whenever they would capture a castle, they murdered everyone in it. They set up a king from among them, and soon one hundred thousand had risen in Picardy and Champagne. But they were armed only with scythes and axes, and the nobles soon cut them down. They were just as brutal themselves in their revenge. The king of the Jacques was crowned with a red-hot tripod and hung, and the poor peasants were hunted down like wild beasts and slaughtered everywhere. No lessons were learned in that rebellion.

The dauphin besieged Paris, and Marcel, finding that he could not hold out, asked the king of Navarre to help him. But another magistrate, who hated Charles the Bad, contrived to attack Marcel as he was changing the guard, killed him and six of his friends, and brought the dauphin back into Paris.

King John was anxious to return, so he promised to give up to Edward of France all of the land that Henry II and Richard of the Lion-heart had held, but the dauphin and the states-general did not choose to confirm his proposal, thinking it better to leave him in prison than to weaken the kingdom so much. So Edward invaded France again and marched up to Paris, intending to fight another battle.

Between the war and the Jacquerie, the whole country was bare of inhabitants, cattle, and crops. The English army was in need of food and the prospect of none in the countryside did hurt their plans. So Edward consented to make peace and set John free on the conditions that two sons should be given up as hostages until payment of a great ransom was received and that a large part of Aquitaine be ceded to England.

King John returned but he found the kingdom in such a dreadful state of misery and poverty that he could not collect the money for the ransom. Nor would his sons agree to be pledges for it. John was very disappointed and ashamed and said the only thing he could do was to return and give himself up as a prisoner since he could not fulfill the conditions of his release. He said, "Where should honor find a refuge if not in the breasts of kings?" and accordingly he went back to London where he was welcomed as a friend by King Edward and there he died in the year 1364. He left four sons—the dauphin Charles; Louis, the duke of Anjou; John, duke of Berry; and Philip, who had married the heiress of Burgundy and was made duke of that province.

CHARLES V, THE WISE (1364–80)

Charles V, in spite of his shortcomings as dauphin, was a much abler man than his father, John. He had learned the best was to handle the English enemy—namely, not to fight with them but to starve them out.



Charles V, 1364-80

The French knights could beat anyone in Europe except the English and at this moment in history there appeared to be peace with Edward III. But with Charles the Bad of Navarre there was still war, until a battle was fought at Cocherel, between the French, under the brave Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin, and the Navarrese, under the great friend of the Black Prince, the brave Gascon knight Captal de Buch. Du Guesclin gained a great victory and took Captal prisoner, and from that time no French knight was his equal. Charles the Bad had no choice but to make peace.

The young de Montfort, who had been brought up in England, was by this time old enough to try to fight for Brittany; and though the kings were at peace, the Prince of Wales loaned him a troop of English, commanded by the best captain in all Europe, Sir John Chandos. At the battle of Auray, Charles de Blois, who had so long wanted to win the duchy, was killed, and du Guesclin was made prisoner. After this, the king accepted Montfort as duke of Brittany, and the war was over.

When the wars were over, the Free Companions (or Free Lances) had nobody to hire them, so they took "possession" of a number of castles, and lived by plundering the travelers in the nearby countryside. They were a real problem for the king. Therefore, King Charles asked du Guesclin how to get rid of them and Bertrand came up with a plan. Castille, in Spain, had at that time one of the wickedest kings who ever lived, Peter the Cruel, who murdered his wife (a cousin of Charles), and killed, among others, most of his half-brothers. One of the brothers, Henry of Trastamare, managed to escape and came to France to ask for help. Du Guesclin told the king that it would be an excellent way of getting rid of the Free Companions by drawing them off to Spain. Charles consented and du Guesclin invited their leaders to meet him. When the Free Companions found that he would lead them, they all consented. As they rode past Avignon, they frightened the pope into giving them a large contribution, and as soon as they entered Castille,

Peter the Cruel fled and Henry was crowned king. He kept du Guesclin in his service, but sent all the others back to France.

However, Peter the Cruel came to Bordeaux and presented himself to the Black Prince as a distressed king. Edward took up his cause, and undertook to set him upon his throne again. All the Free Companions, who were coming back from Spain, no sooner heard that the prince was going there than they took service with him to restore the very king they had just dethroned. A great battle was fought at Navareta, in which the prince was victorious. Du Guesclin was made prisoner, and Henry of Trastamare fled for his life. Peter was placed on the throne once more; but he kept none of his promises to the English. Sickness broke out among the Black Prince's troops and they went back to Bordeaux, leaving Peter to his fate. France was anxious to have Du Guesclin free again, and even the maidens of Brittany were said to have spun day and night to earn money for his ransom. As soon as the sum was raised and he was at liberty, he returned to Spain with Henry, and then they chased Peter into the castle at Montiel. Peter came out in the middle of one night and attempted to murder his brother but in the struggle was himself killed, to the great relief of all concerned.

The Black Prince was, in the meantime, ill at Bordeaux, and with a problem of how to pay the Free Companions since Peter had not given him a promised payment for helping him. He was obliged to tax his Gascon subjects and this made them very angry. They appealed to Charles V and he summoned the Prince to appear at Paris and answer their complaint.

Edward said he would only come with his "helmet on his head and sixty thousand men" behind him, and so the war began again. But the prince was in poor health, and could not lead in battle as he had in the past.

The war was carried on by sieges of castles that, one by one, fell into French hands because the English prince could no longer rouse himself; and though he couldn't mount his horse, he went in a carriage to besiege the city of Limoges. When it was taken, he sought his revenge in a terrible massacre of all the inhabitants. This expedition was his last. He went back to England a sick man and never recovered. Governors were sent to Bordeaux but they could do little against the continually advancing French, and at last nothing in France was left to Edward but the province of Gascony and the city of Calais. A truce was made. But soon both the great Edwards were dead and Richard II was on the throne, under the regency of uncles who tried to carry on the war but fared no better.

The king had carefully instructed his queen, Jeanne of Bourbon, on how to bring up his two young sons, Charles and Louis, but to his great grief she died first. He was obliged to leave the boys in the care of their uncles. He died on September 16, 1380, after a reign of such



Charles VI, 1380–1422

great success that he is commonly known as Charles the Wise.

CHARLES VI (1380–1422)

Young Charles VI, at twelve years of age, was an orphan king. His uncles—the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy (his father's brothers), and the duke of Bourbon (his mother's brother), shared running the government so he was allowed to grow up unrestrained.

The church was in an unsettled state. The popes, while living at Avignon, were at the beck of the French kings and this was not accepted by the other lands of the Western church. At last, in the year 1376, Pope Gregory XI had decided on going back to Rome, though Charles V and all the cardinals of French birth did all they could to prevent him. He died two years later. Then all the cardinals who wanted to stay in Italy chose one pope, and all the cardinals who wished to live at Avignon chose another. So there were now two popes, the real pope and the antipope, and this made for a grievous division which is known in history as the Great Schism. The French and all their friends stood by pope at Avignon, the English and all theirs by the pope at Rome.

One of the proudest nobles was Louis, count of Flanders. He controlled many rich cities in his county where almost all of the best cloth, linen, and lace of the time was made and where the burghers were wealthy. There was always much dislike and distrust between the counts and the cities, and Louis was so tough an administrator that at last the men of Ghent rose up against him and shut their city gates. They chose as their leader Philip van Artevelde, the son of the brewer Jacob van Artevelde, who had been a friend of Edward III. Artevelde led them out to fight with the count, gained a great victory, and drove him into the city of Bruges. In Bruges, he was disliked as much as he was in Ghent. The people rose up against him in the streets and nobody would give him shelter—until at last he found himself in the house of a poor widow who had once received alms from him. He begged her to hide him and she told him to lie under the bed in which her three little children were lying asleep. When his enemies burst through the door, they saw only the bed full of children and went away. In the

morning he managed to get out of the city and escaped to Paris.

He implored the king and his uncles to come to his help. He had but one daughter, who was engaged to marry the son of the duke of Burgundy, so it was in their interests to help—and the young king was very eager to perform in his first campaign. All the burghers involved in the revolt came out to battle with the knights and soldiers but they could not make headway against such an experienced leader as the constable de Clisson. At the battle of Rosbecque twenty-six thousand men were killed, and Philip von Artevelde was trampled to death in his flight from the battlefield.

The young king married Isabelle of Bavaria, a dull, selfish woman, who cared more for food and amusement than for her family.

As there was peace in England, the French knights thought only of crusades. Indeed, the Turks, under their great leader Bajazet, were beginning to make their way into Europe; and the eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, set out with a party of French knights to help the Hungarians against them. They arrived just as a truce had been sworn to on each side. But the Hungarians broke their word and attacked the Turks. Their breach of faith was met with reprisal, for the whole Hungarian army was defeated and butchered by the Turks, and only John himself, with twenty-seven nobles, survived to be ransomed.

Later, Marshall Boucicault led another army to help the emperor of Constantinople, Manuel Palaeologos, and brought him back to France to visit the king where he asked for further aid for his cause.

BURGUNDIANS AND ARMAGNACS (1415–22)

Nothing could have been worse than the state of France under the mad king Charles VI, the Well-Beloved. As long as his uncle (the duke of Burgundy) lived and the country was under some sort of government, the king was cared for. But when Duke Philip died, and the dukedom passed to his son, John the Fearless, there was a perpetual quarrel between this rough and violent duke and the king's brother Louis, duke of Orleans. The duchess of Orleans—a gentle Italian lady Valentina of Milan—was the only person who could calm the king.

The people of Paris hated Orleans and loved the duke of Burgundy, and were resolved to get the king into his own power on the throne. So one night, as the duke of Orleans was going home from visiting with the queen, Isabelle, he was attacked by murderers and killed in the streets of Paris. The duchess of Orleans came with her sons and knelt at the king's feet, imploring that the murderer be punished, but he would do nothing. Her son, the young duke of Orleans, married the daughter of the count of Armagnac, who took up his cause so vehe-

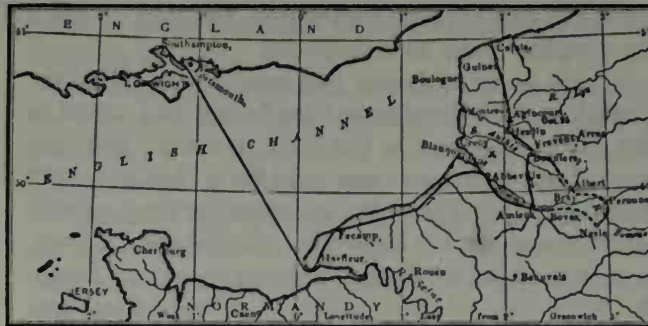


Henry VII crowned on Bosworth Field in England

mently that eventually all the friends of the House of Orleans were called Armagnacs.

The king's oldest son, the dauphin Louis, was sixteen years old and was trying to get into power. He was bright but an "idle" youth, and no one paid much attention to him. When he heard that the new king of England, Henry V, intended to invade France, Louis sent him a present of a basket of tennis balls, saying they were his most fitting weapons, considering his lifestyle "as the madcap prince who loved to play tennis." Henry answered that he could return the balls from the mouths of cannon against Paris, and it was not long before he crossed the channel, and laid siege to Harfleur, in Normandy.

He soon captured it and he proclaimed himself king of France, like Edward III before him. Then he proceeded to conquer the country. The dauphin collected an army and marched to intercept Henry as he was on his way from Harfleur to Calais to obtain fresh supplies. The French army greatly outnumbered the English and thought it would be easy to cut them off in that they were hungry, sick, and worn out from the long march. But the carelessness, dissensions, and insubordination of the French army would have caused it to be beaten by a far less skillful general than was Henry V. Though each French noble and knight was personally an excellent leader, this did little good when they were not united into a single army. There was an immense slaughter at this famed battle of Agincourt, and many noted prisoners were taken by the English, especially the duke of Orleans. Henry kept the nobles in captivity in England until he would win the whole kingdom of France.



Map illustrating the march of Henry V of England and the Battle of Agincourt, 1415

The dauphin, Louis, although wounded, escaped from the battle but died soon after. His next brother (the dauphin John) did not survive him much longer. The third brother (the dauphin Charles) was entirely under the power of the Armagnac party.

But the count of Armagnac was so insolent that Queen Isabelle could not bear it any longer and fled to the duke of Burgundy's protection. The people of Paris, hearing of this, rose against the Armagnacs and murdered every one of them they could catch. The count himself was horribly gashed, and his body was dragged up and down the streets. The king was still in a state of mental ill health in the palace, so the dauphin was easily rescued by his friend, Sir Tanneguy du Chastel. For a whole month there was nothing but savage murders throughout Paris of all who were supposed to be Armagnacs. Then the queen and the duke of Burgundy returned, took over, and restored order to the city of Paris.

No one did anything to relieve Rouen, which Henry V was besieging. He captured it in spite of the citizens holding out very bravely. The queen and duke determined to make peace with Henry and met him at a meadow near Pontoise. They held a conference in which Henry asked for the hand of Catherine, the youngest daughter of Charles and Isabelle. And he wanted all of the provinces that had once belonged to the English kings as her dowry—Normandy, Aquitaine, and all of the other smaller territories. If this was refused, he would conquer all of the kingdom for himself.

No absolute promises were made. The duke of Burgundy could not bear to give up such a large portion of his native realm. He considered going over to the dauphin and helping him to defend himself. A meeting was arranged for the duke and dauphin on the bridge of Montreuil. But Tanneguy du Chastel and the prince's other friends had no intention of letting the boy join in the power of the great duke, so during the conference they treacherously stabbed John the Fearless in the heart. Thus, he paid for the murder of the duke of Orleans. The consequence was that his son Philip, called the Good, went over to the English. Before long, Henry V was married to Catherine and was to be the regent of

France as long as poor Charles lived, and after his death the dauphin would be disinherited.

All the north of France had been conquered by the English and the dauphin and his friends had retired to the south. They sent to the Scots to ask for help and many brave Scotsmen came, glad for a chance to fight with the English. Henry had gone home to England with his bride and had left his brother, the duke of Clarence, in command. As the English were marching into Anjou, the Scots attacked them at Beaujeu, defeated them, and killed the duke of Clarence.

Henry came back quickly. He took the town of Meaux, but the siege lasted the whole winter. Henry caught a bad cold there, and was never well again although he attended church services on Sundays at Paris with great pomp and ceremony. Soon after, he set out on another campaign but he became so ill on the journey that he had to be carried back to Vincennes, where he died. King Charles died only three months later, in October 1422, after thirty years of suffering from insanity.

CHARLES VII (1422–61)

Although current history counts the reign of Charles VII as beginning from the death of his father, it was really the infant Henry, son of the king's sister Catherine and Henry V of England, who was proclaimed king of France over the grave in which Charles VI was buried. Henry was acknowledged as king throughout France as far as the Loire, while his uncle, the duke of Bedford, acted as regent.

Charles VII was proclaimed king by the Armagnacs, but most people still called him the dauphin, and many termed him the king of Bourges, for he lived in that little town.

Bedford, in the meantime, was determined to continue the conquest of France and sent the Earl of Salisbury to lay siege to Orleans. But the place was bravely defended and Salisbury was killed by a shot in the throat. Soon after, as some supplies were being sent to the English, a party of French nobles resolved to stop them and at-

tached the wagons. The English came out of their fortifications to defend them and there was a general battle which is known in history as the Battle of the Herrings. It took this name because the provisions chiefly consisted of salt fish intended to be eaten during Lent.

It was a long siege, but miraculous aid came to the French. A young girl named Jeanne d'Arc said that she was summoned by the angel Saint Michael and the virgin saints, Catherine and Margaret, to save her country and lead the king to be crowned at Rheims. At first no one believed her, but she was so persuasive that finally she came to the attention of the king and he sent for her. To test her, he received her by torchlight and stood in the midst of many nobles more richly dressed than he. But she knew him at once from among them. She told him things that he declared no one else could have known about himself, which made him certain she must have some heavenly knowledge. She said her "voices" directed her to get a massive sword from the shrine of Saint Catherine, at Fierbois, and with this in her hand to lead the French troops to drive the English from Orleans. Jeanne d'Arc saved Orleans although she never herself fought or struck a blow. She only led. The French had such trust in her that wherever she led, they willingly followed. The English soldiers, on the other hand, believed her to be a witch, and upon seeing her they fled in horror and dismay, leaving their leaders, who stood in disbelief, to be slain.

She succeeded in entering Orleans and delivering it from the siege. Thereafter she was called the Maid of Orleans, and victory seemed to follow her. She fought in the name of Heaven and did all she could to make her followers holy and good, rebuking them for all bad language and other excesses. Eventually she had the satisfaction of opening the way to Rheims, the city where all French kings had been crowned ever since the beginning of the Meerwings. She saw Charles VII crowned and anointed, and then she asked to return to her home. The king and his council would not permit this because she was such an encouragement to their men and a terror to the English. But her hope, confidence, and blessings were

Charles VII, 1422–61



Marie of Anjou, wife of Charles VII



Joan of Arc presented to Charles VII



now gone. The French aristocracy did not like her. At Compiègne, the governor would not open the gates, leaving her outside to be made a prisoner by the Burgundians. She was kept in prison a long time—first in Burgundy, and then at Rouen—and tried before French and Burgundian bishops who decided that her “voices” had been delusions of Satan and her victories his work. Therefore, she was “penanced” to be burned at the stake as a witch. To the disgrace of Charles VII, he never stirred a finger to save her, and she was burned to death in the marketplace at Rouen.

No king ever deserved less to win back a kingdom than Charles. He amused himself with one unworthy favorite after another. But there was a brave spirit among his knights and nobles, and the ablest of them was Arthur, count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany and constable of France. As the French grew stronger, the English grew weaker. The duke of Burgundy made his peace with the king of France; and the duke of Bedford soon after died at Rouen.

Step by step, bit by bit, did the French king regain his dominion. When his cause began to look hopeful, he came in person to receive the release of Paris and to reconquer Normandy. But the war was not finally ended till the year 1453, when Bordeaux itself was taken by the French and thus ended the Hundred Years War that Edward III had begun.

When the war was over and the bands of men-at-arms had nothing to do, Charles VII managed better than his grandfather, Charles V. He put them under strict rules and gave them pay so that they were an asset to him instead of being a torment to the people. This caused the nobles to lose power and they rose in an insurrection, which the dauphin Louis joined, chiefly because he was at odds with his father. But when Louis found the king's soldiers too strong for the rebels, he made his peace with his father and left them to their fate.

Charles became a wealthy monarch and established peace. In the church, too, there was peace; for at the council held by the Lake of Constance, in the year 1415, the rival popes of Rome and Avignon had both been

made to resign, and a new one had been elected, who was reigning at Rome.

Through Charles's name in history is the victorious, his son Louis, the dauphin, hated him and in a cunning, bitter way did all he could to vex and anger him. After many quarrels, Louis fled from court and asked for the protection of Duke Philip of Burgundy, who had become the most magnificent and stately of European princes and hoped to make himself or his son king of the Low Countries.

The old king lived in continual fear of this son of his, and believing that Louis would attempt to poison him, he refused to take any food or drink until he lost the power of swallowing, and thus the king died a miserable death in the year 1461.

LOUIS XI (1461–83)

Louis XI wore the most shabby clothes and an old hat topped with little lead images of the saints, which he would take down, one at a time, and invoke to help him. Though his religious attitude was appreciated by the church, he actually was simply superstitious. His court jester once overheard him at his devotions and thought them so absurd and foolish that he could not help telling of them. The truth was that Louis had no love for God or man—he had only fear; and so he tried to bribe the saints with fine promises of gifts to their shrines. And his fear of man made him shut himself up in a grim castle at Plessis-les-Tours, with walls and moats all round, and a guard of archers from Scotland posted in iron cages on the battlements to shoot at any dangerous-looking person. He did not like the company of his nobles and knights but preferred that of his barber, Oliver le Daim, and his chief executor, Tristan l'Hermite. Anyone offending him was imprisoned in the castle of Lockes or put to death.

He had one brother, the duke of Berri, whom he feared and hated, and he persecuted him until the duke of Burgundy took the young man's part. But the king managed

Entry of Henry IV into London



Louis XI, 1461–83



Henry VI released from the Tower





The entrance of Louis XI into Paris



Louis XI and Charles the Victorious at Peronne

to break up their alliance and get his brother back into his own hands. He then poisoned him.

The old duke, Philip the Good, died just after Louis came to the throne; his son, Charles the Bold, was a brave, high-spirited prince, very ambitious and even more bent than his father on making his dukedom into a kingdom. To upset this ambition was Louis's great object. First, he began to stir up the turbulent towns of Flanders to rebel against Charles, and then while this was brewing he went to visit him at his hometown of Peronne, hoping to win him over. But the mischief he had set in motion at Liege broke out suddenly, and the people rose in a tumult, killed the duke's officers, and closed their city gates. Louis had placed himself in his own trap. So Charles thought it only fair to leave him there. He left him there until the French army came to rescue him and reduced Liege to nothing.

Now the king and duke hated one another more than ever. Charles, who had married the sister of Edward IV of England, promised to aid the English if they would come to conquer France. Then Edward would have all the western parts, and he all the eastern. Edward came with one of the finest armies that had ever sailed from England, but in the meantime the duke of Burgundy had been drawn into a war with the German emperor, and could not join him. The two kings met one another on the bridge of Pecquigny, across the Somme, with a great wooden barrier put up between them, for fear they should murder one another. Actually, they kissed one another through the bars, while the two armies looked on—the English ashamed, and the French well pleased.

Charles the Bold would have gone on with the war, but Louis stirred up fresh enemies for him in Switzerland. The town of Basle rose up in arms, murdered Charles's governor, and then joined the young duke of Lorraine, his bitter enemy. Both made war on him. Charles was beaten in two battles, at Morat and Granson, and at last, when he was besieging Nancy (the capital of Lorraine), the wicked Count Campobasso, the commander of his hired Italian troops, betrayed him to

the Swiss by opening the gates of the camp. There was a great slaughter of the Burgundians, and after it was over the body of the brave duke Charles was found, badly mutilated.

He left but one daughter, named Mary. His dukedom of Burgundy could not go to a woman, so it was returned to France. But Mary was sovereign of all Flanders and Holland. Her father had betrothed her to Maximilian of Austria (the son of the German emperor). When Louis was stirring up her towns to rebel against her, she sent her betrothed a ring as a token to beg him to come to her help. He did so at once; they were married and were most happy and prosperous for five years, until Mary was killed by a fall from her horse. Her baby son Philip received her royal inheritance.

Louis had three children—Anne, who married the duke of Bourbon's brother, the lord of Beaujeu; Charles; and Jane, a poor, deformed, sickly girl. She wanted to go into a convent but he forced her to marry her cousin Louis, duke of Orleans. Charles the dauphin was sickly too, and the king himself was in poor health. He was in great dread of death and sent for a spiritualist from Italy (Francis de Paula) to pray over him, vowing to give silver and gold images and candlesticks and shrines to half the saints if they would save him. But death came to him anyway, in 1483, just as Richard III of England had gained the crown.

CHARLES VIII (1483–98)

Charles VIII was but nine years old when he came to the crown. He was a weak lad, with thin legs and a large head, but full of spirit. His older sister, Anne, the lady of Beaujeu, had charge of him and his kingdom. At first, the lady of Beaujeu's time was taken up with quarrels with their brother-in-law, the duke of Orleans, who thought he had a better right to be regent than a woman did. The duke of Brittany had no son, and there was a long line of nobles who wanted to marry his little daugh-

ter Anne. Orleans had hopes of getting divorced from his "good wife" Jane and marrying this young girl. A battle was fought between the Bretons and French, in which Orleans was knocked off his horse and made prisoner. He was taken from one castle to another but his good wife Jane always followed him to do her best to comfort him, and never left him except to try to obtain his pardon. But the lady of Beaujeu was smart enough not to try too hard as long as Anne of Brittany was not married. Indeed, the lady thought the best thing would be if young Charles VIII could marry Anne, and join the great dukedom to his dominions.

But, on one hand, Charles was betrothed to Maximilian's daughter Margaret, and Anne to Maximilian himself; and, on the other, there was nothing the Bretons hated so much as the notion of being joined with the French. They wanted the poor girl of fourteen to marry a grim old baron, Alan de Foix, who had eight children already, because they thought he would fight for the duchy. In the middle of all of this, the duke of Brittany died. Anne of Beaujeu, in the meantime, raised an army and entered Brittany, taking one town after another. Anne of Brittany held out in her city of Rennes. Late one evening a young gentleman came to the gates and desired to see the duchess. It was the king. And so sweet and gentle in manner, and so knightly in stature was he, that Duchess Anne forgot her objections and consented to marry him. And so the duchy of Brittany was joined to the crown of France. As soon as Charles and Anne were married, the duke of Orleans was released.

Charles, recalling that he had the right to the kingdom of Naples, which old King René had left to his father, gathered together one of the most splendid armies that was ever seen in France to go and conquer it for himself. No group in Italy was ready to oppose him, for the cities were all quarreling among themselves and the pope who was reigning then, Alexander VI was one of the wickedest and most ineffective men who ever lived. He marched into the territory and was crowned king of Naples. Then he left a division of his army to guard the kingdom. The people had hoped that this young king would set things right—call a council of the church, have the court of

Rome purified. But Charles, a mere youth, who cared more for making a grand knightly display, could not manage his army, and they committed cruel acts on the people of Italy. He rode back the whole length of Italy and on the way claimed the ducy of Milan for his brother-in-law, the duke of Orleans, whose grandmother, Valentina Visconti, had been a daughter of the duke of Milan.

However, the Italian states allied against him, and a great army gathered together to attack him at Fornova. Then he showed all the high spirit and bravery there was in him. He really seemed to grow bigger with courage. He fought like a lion and gained a grand victory.

But there is more to being a king than knighthood. He did not manage well what he had conquered. He had not sent men or provisions to his army in Naples, so they were all driven out by the great Spanish captain, Gonzalo de Cordova. Only a token of them made it back home to France.

Charles began to mature as he grew older. And when he lost both his infant sons, his grief changed him a great deal. He read better books than the romances of chivlary, and he learned piety, justice, and firmness. He resolved to live like Saint Louis, and began, like him, sitting under an old oak tree to hear the causes of the rich and poor, and doing justice for all.

Above all, he realized how vain and foolish he had been in Italy, and what a great opportunity he had thrown away to try to get the terrible things that were going on with the pope and his cardinals ended. By helping the good men left in Italy, together with Maximilian and Henry VII, he hoped to call a council of the church, and set matters straight. He was just beginning to make arrangements for another expedition to Italy when, one day in 1498, while he was riding through a dark passage leading to the tennis court at Blois, he struck his forehead against the top of a doorway, was knocked backward, and after a couple of hours, died. He

Charles VIII, 1483-98



Anne of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII



Anne of Brittany



Meeting of Charles and Anne of Brittany





Louis XII, 1498-1515

was in the twenty-ninth year of his life and the fifteenth of his reign.

LOUIS XII (1498-1515)

Charles VIII had lost both his children, so the crown went to Louis, duke of Orleans, grandson to the second son of Charles V. The first thing he did was to bribe the pope (Alexander VI), to sanction a dissolution of his marriage to Jane, who was sent to a convent. He then married Anne of Brittany in order to keep her duchy united with the crown. She was a very noble and high-spirited queen, and kept her court in excellent order.

Louis was a vain man, and could not rest until he had accomplished as much as Charles VIII. So he allied himself with the pope, marched off into Italy with a big army, and seized Milan. He did not himself go to Naples, but he sent an army who seized a large portion of the kingdom. Then the Spanish king Ferdinand persuaded Louis to make peace, and divide the Kingdom of Naples in half with Spain.

The Italians themselves hated both the French and Spaniards, and only wanted to get Italy free of them; but instead of all joining openly together against them, their little states and princes took different sides, according to which side they hated more. A now famous Florentine, named Machiavelli, wrote a book called *The Prince*, in which he stated that craft and trickery were the right way for small states to overthrow their enemies and prosper. His tongue-in-cheek philosophy is now accepted principle, and is known widely by his name. In any event, the small states prospered by following his advice. Pope Alexander VI was poisoned by drinking by mistake the wine he had intended for another. The new pope, Julius II, made league with Louis and Maximilian against the Venetians. It was called the League of Cambrai, but no sooner had the brave French army gained and given to Julius the towns he had been promised, he turned again to the traditional Italian hatred of the foreigner and deserted their cause. He made another league, which he called the Holy League, with the emperor Maximilian, the Spanish Ferdinand, and Henry VIII of England, for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy.

The French army in Italy was attacked by the Span-

iards and Italians, and though the brave young general Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, gained a grand battle at Ravenna, he was killed at the climax of it. The French were driven out of the duchy of Milan, over the Alps, and out of Italy. Louis XII could not send help to them, for Ferdinand was attacking him in the south of France and Henry VIII in the north. The sister of the duke of Nemours was the second wife of Ferdinand and he believed she had a hereditary right to be queen of Navarre. Thus Ferdinand seized the little kingdom and left only the rights that belonged to the French side of the family, so that since that time the king of Navarre has been but a French noble.

Henry VIII had a fine army with him, with which he besieged and took the city of Tournay, and fought a battle at Enguingate in which the French were taken by surprise. A panic seized them and they retreated, leaving their brave knights to be taken prisoners. They galloped off so fast that there were only forty Frenchmen killed. The English called it the Battle of the Spurs. When Terouenne was also taken, Louis thought it was time to make peace.

Louis's wife, Anne of Brittany, had just died. She had had only two daughters, Claude and Renée. As Claude was heiress of Brittany, Louis thought it was a good idea to marry her off to Francis, duke of Angouleme, who was first cousin to her father, and who would be king of France. Francis was a fine, handsome, intelligent young man, but Queen Anne knew Claude would not be happy within Francis's family and tried hard to prevent the match. However, she could not succeed and she died soon after it was concluded. Louis then offered to marry Henry's youngest sister, Mary, the most beautiful princess in all of Europe, and she was obliged to consent. Louis XII was not an old man but he had long been in poor health. The feasting and pageants with which he received his young bride took its toll. He died at the end of six weeks, on New Year's Day of 1515.



Francis I, 1515-47



Equestrian portrait of Francis I

He has been called the Father of His People, although history does not record that he did much for their basic welfare. He taxed them heavily for his wars in Italy. But his appearance was always pleasant, and that meant a great deal to the French.

FRANCIS I (1515–47)

Francis I, the new king of France, was twenty years old when the crown was placed on his head. He had a lot of chivalrous ideas. But he had no sense of morals to keep the truth and honor that are the real part of chivalry.

To conquer Italy was his first notion, and he started to march across the Alps. But the Swiss had turned against him and blocked his way at Marignano. There was a terrible battle beginning at dusk, and when night came everything was in confusion. All night the great cow horns, which were the signal of the Swiss troops, were heard blowing, to gather them together. But the next morning the French rallied and won a great victory. No one had ever defeated the Swiss before. When it was over, Francis knelt down before the famous knight Bayard and asked to be dubbed a knight by him, as the bravest and truest of knights. When this was done, Bayard kissed his sword and declared that it should never be used in battle again. It was retired to the royal palace and may now be seen at the Louvre museum in Paris.

After this, Francis went on to take possession of Milan

and he had a royal audience with the pope at Bologna. There was a new pope, Leo X, a man very fond of art and learning and everything beautiful, though he had little ambition for the duty of his office. However, he made a wise agreement with Francis, which is called the Concordat of Bologna. The king gave the pope certain payments of treasures every year "forever" and gave up the calling of church councils of the French clergy. The pope, in return, gave the king the right for him and his successors of appointing all the bishops, deans, abbots, and abbesses in France forever.

Francis wanted to be emperor of Germany and tried to get Henry VIII to help him. They had a meeting at Ardres (near Calais). That conference was known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The two kings were both spirited young men, and they wrestled and played together like two boys. But nothing came of this meeting, for Henry preferred that the emperor be the young king Charles of Spain (who was grandson to the emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy).

When Maximilian died, Francis offered himself to the empire and told the electors they were to think of him and Charles not as enemies, but as rivals for the same lady. This, however, was only a speech, for Francis was very discontented when Charles was chosen emperor, and he started a war at once. But all he got for this was the Italians rising again and driving his army out of Milan. And, another misfortune befell him. His mother, Louise of Savoy, fell in love with another Charles, the duke of Bourbon and constable of France. When the constable rejected her, she resolved to ruin him and made the king take away his lands. The constable was so angry that he went to Spain and offered to serve Charles against his king and country. He was so good a captain that Charles placed him in command of an army.

The constable led a Spanish army to invade France, and ravaged Provence. But the French rallied under Francis and he was driven back. Then Francis crossed the Alps, hoping to recover what he had lost in Italy. There was a great battle fought on February 24, 1525. Francis was too hasty in thinking the victory was his. He charged with all his troops, got entangled in the firmly

Francis I





The dauphin Francis, son of Francis I

positioned Spanish squadrons, and was surrounded, wounded, and forced to give himself up as a prisoner. He was sent as a prisoner to Madrid.

Charles would only release Francis upon the very harshest of terms—namely, that he should yield all his claims to Italy, renounce the sovereignty of the Low Countries, make Henry d'Albret give up his claim to Navarre, and marry Charles's sister Eleanor. Francis was to give his two sons as hostages until this was carried out. Francis declared that he would rather abdicate his throne than cripple his kingdom in such way. However, after ten months' captivity, he agreed to do all that was demanded of him. He was escorted back to the borders, where, on the River Bidassua, he met his two young sons, who were to be exchanged for him. After embracing them and giving them up to the Spaniards, he landed, mounted his horse, made it bound into the air and, waving his sword above his head, cried out, "I am yet a king!"

In France just then, John Calvin, a superintellect and a man of much learning, who had been studying for the priesthood, had, during his course of study, come to think that much of the teaching of the church of Rome was wrong. He wrote books that were eagerly read by great numbers, and his cause was welcomed by the king's sister, Margaret, who had married the dispossessed king of Navarre, and by his sister-in-law, Renée, the duchess of Ferrara. But the Calvinist teaching made Francis angry. Someone broke a statue of the Blessed Virgin in the streets of Paris, and this led to a cry on the part of the people that such things should not be allowed to go on. The persons pointed out as Calvinists were seized, and when they showed how little regard they had for the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, they were turned over to the clergy of the state. They were burned

alive, according to the laws of France dealing with heretics.

But their brethren were only the firmer in their doctrine and hated the Roman Church all the more. The Calvinists in France were called Huguenots, though no one is quite certain why. One likely explanation is that it is from two Swiss words, meaning "oath-comrades," because they were all sworn brothers. Calvin himself, when he could not safely stay in France, accepted an invitation from the Reformers of Geneva to come and guide them, and from there he sent out rules which guided the French Huguenots.

Margaret, the queen of Navarre, believed like the Huguenots that much was wrong in her church, but she preferred to have the church set these things right. However, her only child, Jane, grew up to be an ardent Huguenot. Jane married Antony, duke of Bourbon, who was called king of Navarre in her right, though the Spaniards had all of the real kingdom of Navarre and she only had the little French counties of Béarn and Foix. But here she fostered the Huguenots with all her assets.

Charles V and Francis kept up a war for most of their lives, but without any more great battles. Francis did everything possible to hurt Charles. Though he was persecuting the Calvinists at home, he helped and made friends with the Protestants in Germany, because they were the emperor's greatest problem. And, because

Sanguine drawing of Francis I in his last years, taken from life





The boundaries of France in the time of Francis I

Charles was at war with the Turks and the Moors, Francis allied himself with them. However, as he deserved, his treachery profited him little, for the emperor gained a fast hold on Italy, and, moreover, invaded Provence. But the count de Montmorency laid waste to every town, village, and farm in his way, so that his army found little to eat. Thus, he was forced to retreat. The poor Provençals suffered just as much from lack of food, but the territory was saved, and Montmorency was made constable of France as a reward.

After this, peace was made for a time, and Charles, who wanted to go in haste from Spain to Flanders, asked permission to pass through France; and Francis received him most courteously, sending the dauphin to meet him, and entertaining him magnificently. But at one of the banquets, Francis pointed to the duchess of Chatelherault, saying, "Here's a lady who says I am a great fool to let you go free." The emperor took the hint and dropped a costly ring into the gold basin that the duchess held to him to wash his hands in. Charles departed in safety but no sooner did Francis hear of him being in trouble in his own domains, than all promises were again broken, and the war began again. This time Henry VIII was also very angry with Francis and joined the emperor to punish him. Charles invaded Champagne, and Henry landed at Calais, and besieged and took Boulogne. However, the Spanish emperor made peace. Then Henry, for a ransom of 2 million crowns, promised, in eight years time, to give back Boulogne. Just after this peace was made Henry died, and Francis only lived two months after him, dying in January 1547, when only fifty-three years old. Queen Claude had long been dead, and Francis had married the emperor's sister, Eleanor. She had

had no children, and most of Claude's were weak and in ill health—only two survived their father: Henry, who had been the second son, but had become dauphin; and Margaret, the youngest daughter.

HENRY II (1547–59)

The dauphin became king and reigned as Henry II, the son of Francis I. His greatest friend was the constable de Montmorency with whom he had a close friendship all his life, and his one strong romantic feeling was for a beautiful lady named Diana of Poitiers. She was the daughter of the great Florentine family of Medici. She had a large family, and the eldest son, Francis, was betrothed to the infant Mary, queen of Scots, who was sent from her own kingdom to be brought up with her young husband in the court of France.

Henry continued the war with the emperor of Spain. He had one very able general, Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise (a son of René, duke of Lorraine, who was the grandson to old King René). He sent this general to capture the city of Metz, and there Guise withstood a siege by the emperor himself—until hunger and famine wreaked such havoc on the besieging army that they were forced to retreat.

The emperor was growing old, and suffering badly from gout, so he was longing to retire. He decided on resigning his crowns and spending the remainder of his life in a Spanish monastery. He gave the empire to his brother Ferdinand; and the kingdoms of Spain, the two Sicilies with Lombardy, and the Low Countries to his son, Philip II, who was married to Mary Tudor, queen of England. This made the English join in the war against Henry II, and a small body of men was sent to the Spanish army, which, with Philip himself, was besieging Saint Quentin, a town on the borders of Picardy. One of the bravest men in France, a Huguenot nobleman named Gaspar de Chatillon, admiral de Coligny, was defending the town, and his brother, the sieur d'Andelot tried hard to break through and bring him provisions, but he was beaten back. There was a great battle fought

Henry II, 1547–59



The duke of Guise



on August 10, 1557, before the walls, when the constable de Montmorency, who commanded the French, was defeated. He was made prisoner, four thousand men were killed, and Coligny was forced to surrender. France had not suffered such a defeat since the battle of Agincourt. However, it was some comfort to the French that the duke of Guise managed to take by surprise the city of Calais, which the English had held ever since the time of Edward III and which was their last French possession. But other misfortunes forced Henry to make peace; and at Chateau Cambresis, in 1559, a treaty was signed that put an end to the long Italian wars that were begun by Charles VIII nearly seventy years before. After this, there was great rejoicing, but the persecution of the Calvinists was carried on with more rigor, and the king and all his court, including the ladies, used to be present at the burnings at the stake in the marketplace.

One of Francis's acts had been the seizing of the little dukedom of Savoy in the Alps, which he added to his kingdom. The landless duke of Savoy was serving in the Spanish army and was an able general. Indeed, it was his leadership that had won the battle of Saint Quentin. One article in the peace of Chateau Cambresis had been that the French should give him back his dukedom and marry him to Margaret, the only sister of Henry. The wedding festivities were intended to be very magnificent, and Henry began them with a splendid tournament, like those of the olden times of knighthood, when the knights, in full armor, rode against each other with their heavy lances. Henry himself took part in this one, and tried to unhorse the sieur des Lorges, eldest son of the count of Montgomery. There was generally very little danger to men in steel armor, but as these two met, the point of des Lorges' lance pierced a joint in the visor of Henry's helmet, and penetrated his eye and brain. He was carried from the field, and lay speechless for two days. In the meantime, his sister was hastily married in private to the duke of Savoy so that his death might not delay the fulfillment of the treaty. He died on June 29, 1559, leaving four sons (Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules) and three daughters (Elizabeth, Claude, and Margaret), all young children.

FRANCIS II (1559-60) AND CHARLES IX (1560-74)

The next two reigns, though they are, of course, called the reigns of Francis II and Charles IX, were really the reign of their mother, Catherine de' Medici. Because Francis was only fifteen when he lost his father, his mother took over the chief management of his affairs. He died of a "swelling in the ear" in his seventeenth year, in 1560. His brother, Charles IX, who was only twelve years old, then began to reign.

At Vassy, where the mother of the duke of Guise lived,



Francis II, 1559-60

there was a barn where the Huguenots used to meet. On one occasion when her son was visiting her, she complained of them. He went to their church and stayed to listen to their singing. His followers were very angry at this and broke into the barn and killed several Huguenots. This was the beginning of the terrible war between the Catholics and the Huguenots. From a historical point of view, it's important to know that a Guise was always at the head of the Catholics and a Bourbon at the head of the Huguenots. The city of Rouen fell into the hands of the Huguenots, and Guise besieged it. But in the course of the siege the duke was shot by a murderer named Poltrot and died in a few hours. His son Henry, who was very young at the time, always believed that the murderer had been sent by the admiral de Coligny and though this is not at all likely, the whole family vowed vengeance against him. During this siege, Antony, duke of Bourbon, was also killed. He was no great loss to the Huguenots, for he had gone over to the other side, and his wife, Queen Jane, was freer to act for them without him.

It the interim, the queen's sons were beginning to grow up. She did not want to put the king on the throne for fear he would learn to govern and take away her power. Her third son, Henry, the duke of Anjou, commanded in the battle of Jarnac. The prince of Condé who was on the other side, had his arm in a sling from a wound received a few days before. And just as he had ridden to the head of his troops his horse reared, fell on him, and broke his leg. But he would not give up, and rode into the battle as he was. He was defeated and taken prisoner. He was lifted off his horse and placed in the shade of a tree, helpless. A friend of the duke of Anjou, riding by, recognized him, stopped, and shot him through the head.

The Queen of Navarre felt that she must come to the head of her party. She had one son, Henry, prince of Béarn. Queen Jane had had him most carefully taught both religion and other studies so that he was a boy of great promise. He was fifteen years old at this time and his cousin Henry, son of the prince of Condé, was about the same age. Queen Jane took them to the head of the Huguenot army and they were trained to be leaders while admiral de Coligny managed their affairs.

Queen Catherine began to realize that she would never



Catherine de' Medici, regent, 1560-63

be able to put the Huguenots down by force. She pretended to make friends with them, and she and her son, Charles IX, made them grants for the sake of getting them into her power. She offered to marry her daughter Margaret to the prince of Béarn, and invited him to her court. Poor Queen Jane could not bear to let her boy go, for she knew what would happen. Catherine kept a contingent of young ladies about her who were called the Queen Mother's Squadron, and who made it their business, with their light songs, idle talk, and pleasant sexual habits, to corrupt all the young men who came in contact with them. By comparison, Jane's little court was grave, strict, and dull, but Henry enjoyed the change. Catherine took care never to have mother and son at her court together. She sent Henry home before she invited his mother to the court.

While at court, Jane fell suddenly ill and died. There was a man about court, a perfumer, whom people called the Queen's Poisoner. History records a fear of the court's that Catherine had had the poisoner kill Jane.

Poor young Charles IX would have been a good king if his mother had allowed him, but she taught him that the way to reign was to deceive, and he had such fear of her that he choked all of his better feelings. She was exceedingly afraid of the Huguenots, and thought they were conspiring against her and the young Henry, duke of Guise, was ready to do anything to be revenged against Coligny, whom he viewed as his father's murderer. So, to get the Huguenots into her power, Catherine invited all their chief nobles to come to the wedding of her daughter, Margaret, with young Henry, who had become king of Navarre. The pope would not give permission for the princess to marry one who stood outside the church, so the queen forged his consent!

Coligny and all his friends had come to the wedding, and the king was so delighted with the brave, honest old



Charles IX, 1560-74

soldier that Catherine thought she should lose all her power over him. One day, Coligny was shot in the streets of Paris by a would-be murderer. Though only his hands were shattered, he was so ill that the king came to see him and all his friends gathered round him to protect him. Thereupon, Catherine plotted with her son, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise, that, when the bell of the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, close to the palace of the Tuileries, rang at midnight before Saint Bartholomew's Day, the Catholic people of Paris who were friends of the duke of Guise should rise upon the Huguenots who were asleep in their homes and kill them all. It was hard to get King Charles to consent, for there were many Huguenots whom he had learned to love, but when he found that he could not save Coligny, he said, "Let them all die; let none live to reproach me." However, he called into his own bedroom two whom he most

Charles IX on horseback



*Elizabeth of Austria,
wife of Charles IX*





Charles IX with his second wife, Elizabeth of Austria

wished to save—his doctor and his old nurse. But there were a great many more in the palace who had attended to the young king of Navarre, and every one of these was slaughtered. Everywhere murder was going on. The followers of Guise wore white scarves on one arm, that they might know one another in the dark, and a troop of them rushed in, slew old Coligny in his bedroom, and threw the corpse out the window. All the rabble of Paris joined in the slaying and plundering of their neighbors, and in all the other towns where the Huguenots were the weakest the same horrid slaughter was going on. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day is the deadliest crime in the history of France. The young king is said to have drawn his sword against the king of Navarre and prince of Condé, and would have struck them if his young wife, Elizabeth of Austria, had not heard of it, and ran in entreating him to spare them. Their lives were spared on condition that they would return to the church, which they did, and they were watched and forced to live like prisoners at court.

When Queen Elizabeth of England heard of his shocking day, she broke off the plans for marrying the duke of Anjou—a scheme which Catherine de' Medici had set up, as it would have made her third son a king without the death of the second. However, a kingdom did come to him, for the old realm of Poland always chose the king by election by all the nobles, and their choice was Henry,

duke of Anjou. He did not like going to that wild country, away from all the amusements of Paris, and delayed as long as he could.

Meantime, the poor young king tried to forget the horrors of the night of Saint Bartholomew. The grief of it all was ruining his health. His mother was too busy trying to secure the throne for his brother to attend to him. He died in the year 1574, when only twenty-three years old. His last words were, "If our Lord Jesus will have mercy on me for my crime!"

The war with the Huguenots was still going on when he died, for though Coligny was slain and the king of Navarre was still watched and guarded at court, there were enough nobles left alive to hold out against their enemies. If the troops of the queen and duke of Guise came up on a meeting of the Huguenots, they burned the building and killed everyone who came out of it. And if the Huguenots found a church or convent not defended, they burned it and killed the monks or nuns. Everyone waited anxiously for the arrival of the new king. He was delighted to leave Poland, although he was in no hurry to take all the troubles of his French kingdom upon himself, so on his journey home, he went out of his way to Italy and stayed there a month amusing himself. In the meantime, the duke of Guise was growing stronger and stronger and was becoming a great favorite with the people of Paris. Catherine was hoping to marry off her fourth son, Hercules, the duke of Alençon, to Queen Elizabeth, who pretended to think about it. She even sent for him to see her. But it was all in order to keep peace with France. The duke was an ugly little misformed youth, whom the queen took a fancy to, but it wasn't serious.

HENRY III (1574–89)

On his way home through Savoy, Henry visited with Louise de Vaudemont, a very beautiful girl, a cousin of the duke of Guise, and he desired to marry her. Queen Catherine tried to prevent it, but the king would not let her have a say.

King Henry III was a strange person. He cared for little but fine clothes, his own beauty, and a sort of religion that did him no good. He slept in a mask and gloves for the sake of his complexion, and painted his face; and every day he stood over his wife to see her hair dressed, and chose her clothing and ornaments. He had a set of friends like himself, who were called his "darlings," and were fops like himself. They all wore rosaries, of which the beads were carved like skulls; and they, king and all, used to go in procession, barefoot and covered with sackcloth, to the churches in Paris, with whips in their hands, with which to flog one another in penance for their sins. Yet they were horribly cruel and thought nothing of murder.



Henry III, 1574-89

Louise of Lorraine,
wife of Henry IIIHenry III in his favorite
royal garbHenri, prince of Navarre, in 1557,
later Henry IV

Henry of Navarre stayed in this strange court of his for nearly two years, but at last, in 1576, he fled away to the Huguenot army in the south of France and professed himself a Calvinist again. He soon showed that he was by far the ablest leader that the Huguenots had had, and he obtained another peace.

Even the duke of Alençon, the youngest brother, could not bear the life at Henry's court and fled from it. At one time the Dutch, who had revolted from Philip of Spain, invited the duke to be their "king." But he did them little good and on his way home he died. His death made a great difference because Henry III had no children, and as women could neither reign in France themselves nor leave any rights to their children, the nearest heir to the crown was Henry of Navarre, whose forefather, the first count of Bourbon, had been a son of Saint Louis.

Everybody knew he was the rightful heir, but to have a Calvinist king to reign over them seemed frightful to the more zealous Catholics. They formed themselves into a society, which they called the Holy League for maintaining the church, the great object of which was to keep Henry of Navarre from becoming king of France. The duke of Guise was at the head of this league.

There was a third party—Catholics, but loyal, and with the count de Montmorency at their head—and these were the persons Henry trusted most. He was fond of his bright, kindly brother-in-law, the king of Navarre, and never would do anything to prevent him from succeeding, although he found that it was not safe to remain in Paris and went to his palace at Blois. There he framed a plot for freeing himself from the duke of Guise. He placed guards whom he could trust under the staircase and in his anteroom, and when Guise came to visit the king they murdered him. The duke's brother, the cardinal of Guise, was killed the same day, and Henry went up to his mother, Queen Catherine, who was ill in bed, to tell her that he was free from his enemy, but she saw plainly that he was only bringing more trouble upon himself. "You have a cut," she said; "can you sew? Have you thought of all that you will bring on yourself?" He said he had done so. "Then you must be prompt and firm," she said; but she did not live to help him through his difficulties. She died two weeks later.

Henry was far from able to sew. The Holy League was mad with rage. Guise's sons were little children, so his brother, the duke of Mayenne, took the lead, and though he was not a clever man, the party was so strong that it took no great ability to make it rough for the king. The duke's sister, the duchess of Montpensier, really was like a fury and went about the streets of Paris stirring up the people, who already hated and despised the king and now raged against him. They tried him in effigy, deposed him, carried his figure through the streets heaping insults upon it, and made an anagram of his name, *Henri de Valois—Vilain Herodes*. He was brought to such distress that he was obliged to beg Henry of Navarre to come and help him. The two kings met at Plessis-les-Tours and were most friendly together. They joined their armies and began to besiege Paris. But this made the Leaguers more violent against Henry than ever, and a young monk named Clément, fancying that there was no sin, even virtue, in freeing the church from a man like Henry, crept out of Paris with a packet of important letters, and while the king was reading one, stabbed him with a dagger. Clément was instantly slain by the king's guard, and the king of Navarre was sent for and arrived in time to see his brother-in-law still alive. Henry embraced him, asked his people to make him king of France, and added, "But you will never be able to reign unless you become a Catholic." Then he died (in the year 1589), the last and most contemptible noble in the House of Valois. The Leaguers rejoiced in his death and praised the murdered



Henry IV, 1589–1610

Clément as a saint and martyr, while they set up as king the cardinal of Bourbon, the old uncle of the king of Navarre, declaring that it was impossible that a heretic should ever reign in France.

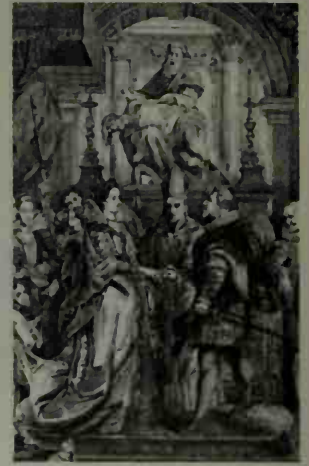
HENRY IV (1589–1610)

The new king, Henry IV, was so poor, that he was obliged to dress himself in the robes left by his brother-in-law. France was now divided into two parties instead of three, for the Leaguers were against the Huguenots, while the moderate Catholics thought that the birthright of the crown called upon them to be loyal to any sort of king. Both were with Henry.

Henry's uncle, Cardinal Charles, the Leaguers' king, soon died, and then they talked of the throne for Isabelle, a daughter of Philip II of Spain, because her mother had been the eldest sister of the last three kings. But as there was a great hatred of the Spaniards among the French, this plan did harm to their cause and made many more of the Catholics turn to Henry. He was fighting his way to the throne through numerous battles and sieges. At the battle of Ivry, in Normandy, he told his followers that if they wanted a guide in the thick of the fray they had only to follow his white feather, and the saying became a byword after his great victory—"follow the white feather." The Spaniards came to help the league



Henry IV in his walking costume



The marriage of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici, 1600

and the war lasted for years, while Henry still was kept out of Paris. At last he made up his mind that he would return to the Roman Catholic church. He used to say that one of the true things that nobody would believe was that he had changed out of an honest belief that the Calvinists were wrong. But he did gain a kingdom by so doing though the truth was that he had very little religion of any kind at all. But it was true that he did not like the strict ways of the Calvinists. The Catholics were only too glad to have him and accepted him heartily. But the league was not satisfied, and only in the year 1594, when he had been king five years, did he ride into Paris without any opposition from them. Even then the Leaguers went on opposing him, till at last his wisdom and that of his good old friend, the duke of Sully, succeeded in overcoming their objections, and the duke de Mayenne consented to make peace with him.

Only then did Henry IV really begin to reign. He had to put down some of the great nobles who had grown overly powerful and insolent during the long civil war. He tried to bring about peace between the Catholics and

Marguerite of Valois,
wife of Henry IV



Gaston of France,
third son of Henry IV





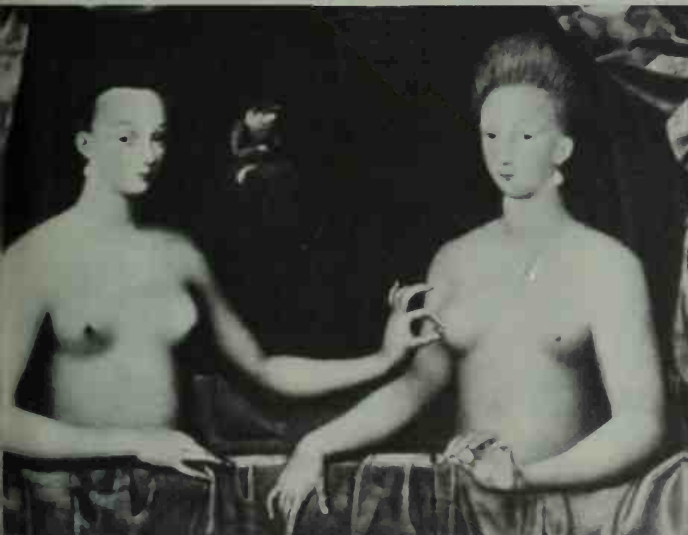
The entrance of Henry IV into France

A caricature of the older Henry IV



Marie de' Medici

Gabrielle d'Estrées, the duchess of Beaufort, right, mothered three of Henry IV's children. She almost became queen. She is seen in this Louvre Museum painting with her sister-in-law, the duchess of Villars.



the Calvinists. He had friends on both sides, and was anxious to make them live in unity without fighting with one another or persecuting one another. So he created a law that gave the Calvinists permission to have places of worship, provided it was not where they would annoy Catholics. And they were not hindered from taking offices at court or in the army, or from having schools in certain places. To secure all this to them, they were allowed to hold three towns as pledges—La Rochelle, Montauban, and Montpellier. In this last one, there was a college for educating their pastors. This law was called the Edict of Nantes because Henry had it registered by the parliament of the old duchy of Brittany, since each old province still kept its own laws and parliament. He obtained this Edict of Nantes with great difficulty, for the Catholics thought it wrong to allow any person to remain outside the church. But the people were worn out with the long and bloody civil war and glad for a respite. So the edict was passed and France began on the road to recovery.

Henry had no children and therefore wished to divorce his wife Margaret so that he might marry another who might bear him an heir, instead of having to leave his crown to his young cousin, the prince of Condé. So, as there had never been real consent on the pope's part to the marriage of the cousins and as the bride had been forced into it against her will by her mother and brother, the pope was persuaded to pronounce the wedding null and void, and that the two were free to marry again. It was not easy to find a princess, for all the Spaniards and Austrians and their allies were his greatest enemies. And he could not now marry a Protestant. So he ended up by choosing one of the Medici family, Marie. She gave him two sons and three daughters, and there never was a fonder father. Once, when the Austrian ambassador came to see him, he was found on all fours, with his little son riding on his back. "Are you a father, sir?" he said to the ambassador. "Yes, sire." "Then we will first finish our game," returned the king.

There were many of the remnants of the Leaguers who hated the king for having once been a Huguenot and for the Edict of Nantes. Though the love of the whole country was more and more with him, he still was not willing to gather a great crowd together in Paris for fear of an outbreak. So, as he had been crowned long before he was married, the coronation of Marie de' Medici was put off year after year. Henry was not with her when the coronation finally took place, but looked on from a private box at the pageant.

The next day, just as he had seated himself in his carriage, a man named Francis Ravaillac sprang up on the wheel, held a paper for him to read, and the next moment stabbed him in the heart with a knife. He died instantly, one of the greatest losses his country had ever known. It was on May 14, 1610. He was known to the French as *le Grand Monarque*, "the Great Monarch."



The Coming of Age of Louis XIII, painting by Rubens



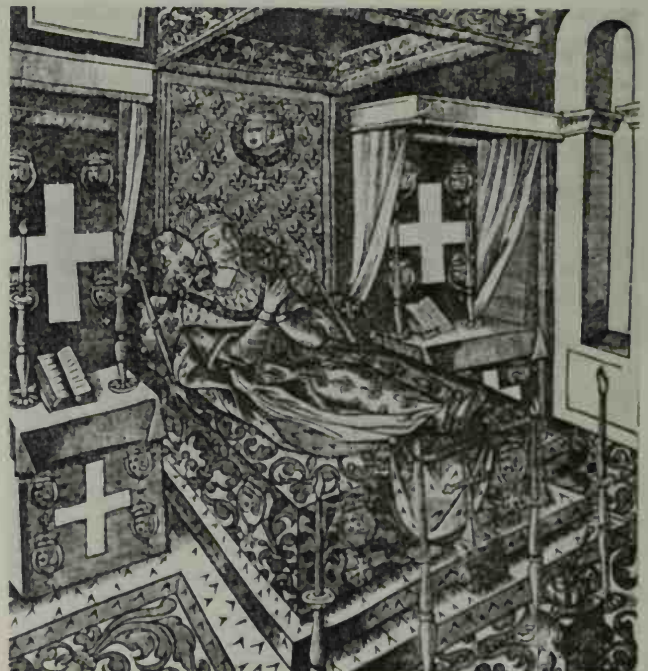
The later kings of France: Top row, Charles VIII, Louis XVI, Louis XII, second row, Louis XV, John II, Charles V; third row, Francis I, Henry IV, Henry III, Henry II; fourth row, Francis II, Charles VII; bottom row, Charles X, Louis-Philippe, Louis XVIII.

Cardinal Richelieu

Louis XIII, 1610-43



The deathbed of Louis XIII



LOUIS XIII (1610–43)

The eldest son of Henry IV, Louis XIII, was but nine years old when his father was killed and his mother, Marie de' Medici, became regent. She was a weak, foolish woman, and let herself be entirely guided by an Italian lady in her court named Galigai, who had married a man named Concini. Marie made her son give him the title of Marshall d'Ancre, and it was they who really ruled France. But all the French nobles hated d'Ancre.

Their rule lasted seven years, but when the young king was sixteen years old, a young nobleman named Luynes told him that, now that he was growing up, he would be secretly killed so that his mother might continue as regent in the name of his little brother. So Louis had his guards arrest Marshal d'Ancre next time he came to the palace, and instructed them to kill him if he resisted. He did resist and was slain, and his wife was tried for bewitching the queen and put to death. Marie was forced to leave the court and go into "retirement" in the country. After some years of wrangling with her son, she went to England, for her youngest daughter, Henrietta Maria, had married King Charles I. Queen Marie later died in extreme poverty.

Louis XIII was a strange person—slow, dull, and cold-hearted, though not ill-disposed. His health was bad, and he hated problems of state more than anything else. There was a very clever man in his court, Armand de Richelieu, bishop of Lucon. Albert de Luynes was the king's first minister after d'Ancre's fall, and when he died of a fever, Richelieu took over the management of everything. He let the king have young men as his companions and young women as his favorites. But if ever one of these showed anything but amusement and fancy—any spirit—or tried to stir the king up to act for himself and overthrow the tyranny he lived under, Richelieu always found it out and put the bold one to death. The king did nothing to save his friends. For in truth he disliked trouble more than anything else, and Richelieu thought and acted for him.

As the pope created him, the cardinal was really one of the greatest statesmen who ever lived and made France a much greater and more mighty power than ever before. He made the king much more powerful too. He was a hard, stern man, and did not bother with justice. He could do but one thing—make the crown of France more powerful. The nobles, who had grown strong and haughty during the long wars, were very sternly, and even cruelly, put down by him. He thought nothing of having them accused of treason, shutting them up in prison, or having them put to death. Thus he managed to get rid of all the great men who had been almost princes, such as the count de Montmorency, grandson of the old constable.

He also made war upon the Huguenots, in spite of the

Edict of Nantes, and tried to take La Rochelle from them. There was a long and deadly siege. Charles I of England sent them help but his favorite, the duke of Buckingham, who was to have had the command of the fleet that was coming to help them, died at Portsmouth. When at last the people were starved out, after fourteen months, the cardinal made the king himself come down to personally receive their surrender. La Rochelle was a terrible loss to them. But at least the Roman Catholic Church was in a much better state. There were many very good men among the clergy, especially Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, and Vincent de Paul, an outstanding priest, who gathered together the poor desolate children who had no homes and had good families take care of them. He also first established the order of the Sisters of Mercy, who were like nuns, only they were not shut up in convents. Their work was to nurse the sick, take care of orphans, and teach poor children. The great ladies at court used to put on plain dresses and nurse the sick in the hospitals. Even the queen served. She was a Spanish princess, called Anne of Austria—a good, kind, and gracious lady—but not cared for much at court. For many years she had no children, but at last, when all hope had been given up, she had first one boy and then another, and there was immense rejoicing among the people.

Wars had been going on with the Spaniards all through Louis's reign in Italy and the Low Countries, as well as great conflict between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Germany, which is known as the Thirty Years War. Cardinal de Richelieu managed matters so well that France almost always gained overwhelming advantage in affairs with other countries.

But Richelieu's own iron rule was coming to an end. He had been in very bad health in his later years, yet he never seemed to care about it and was as fierce as ever if a friend of the king appeared to take away any of his power. The baron de Cinq Mars was put to death for conspiring against him when he was almost at the edge of his grave. He declared, when he was receiving his last communion, that he had always meant to work for the honor of God and the good of the state. He died early in his fifty-eighth year on December 4, 1642. On his deathbed he advised the king to put trust in an Italian priest named Mazarin.

Louis seemed to be little bothered by the loss of Richelieu. He only said, "There's a great statesman dead"; and when there was a great storm on the day of the funeral, he said, "The cardinal has a bad day for his journey." But he was in a very weak state of health himself, and only lived five months after Richelieu, dying at the age of forty-two years, on May 14, 1643, and though his reign was a grand one for France, it was no thanks to him, but to the great statesman, Richelieu, who ruled both him and the country.



Louis XIV as a young man



Louis XIV, 1643–1715



Cardinal Mazarin



Louis XIV in pomp for the ceremony

LOUIS XIV (1643–1715)

"I am Louis XIV," cried the little five-year-old dauphin, as he stood by his dying father's bedside. "Not yet," the old king was still strong enough to say, though he did not live many more hours. His reign was to be the longest ever of a king (seventy-two years).

At first his mother, Queen Anne, was regent, and she trusted entirely to Cardinal Mazarin. He was not a great man, like Richelieu, but he was clever and cunning and the saying was, "The fox comes after the lion." He was a foreigner and of low birth. The French found it much harder to submit to him than to Richelieu, who was of one of the noblest families in France. Only four days after the accession of the little king, the duke d'Enghien won the great battle of Rocroy in the Low Countries in which the fine old Spanish foot soldiers were annihilated. After two more victories, peace was made between France and Spain. But this did not make things easier for Mazarin, for all the nobles who had been away with the army came home with nothing to do—especially the duke d'Enghien, who soon, on his father's death, became prince of Condé, and who was proud and fiery and hated the young upstart Mazarin.

All this hatred broke out in a great quarrel between the queen and the parliament of Paris. The parliament of Paris was a very different body from the Parliament of England. It did not represent the whole kingdom, for each of the great old provinces had a separate parliament of its own. It was made up only of the lawyers of Paris and the great nobles who belonged to the old duchy of France, along with the bishops and princes of royal blood. It judged peers of France for state offenses, and in matters of property. But it could not make laws or grant taxes. All it could do was to register the laws and the taxes when the king had made them. The king's acts were not valid till this had been done. When Mazarin, in the king's name, laid a heavy tax on all the food that was brought into Paris, the parliament refused to register the act, and there was a great struggle, which was known by the strange name of the Fronde. *Fronde* is the French word for "sling." In the earlier part of the quarrel the speakers used to stand up and throw sharp words at one another, just like little boys slinging stones at one another. But they soon came to much worse weapons.

The Fronde was the effort of the parliament to stand up against the royal power. There were two sieges of Paris in the course of it. The prince of Condé at first would not turn against the king and helped to make a peace. But he insisted on Mazarin being sent into exile, and when he was gone, Condé was found to be such a stern and insolent master that they contrived to get Mazarin back. Then he threw Condé into prison. Condé's wife joined with the other Frondeurs to try to gain his freedom again and he was set free—but only to make another war. Then, he joined the Spaniards, and helped them to wage war against his own country.

Cardinal Mazarin followed up all the plans of Richelieu, and France went on prospering and gaining victories until the Spaniards at last, in the year 1659, made what was called the Peace of the Pyrenees, giving up several towns in the Low Countries. In time the young King Louis was to forgive the prince of Condé and to marry Marie-Therese, the daughter of the king of Spain.

Two years later Cardinal Mazarin died. He had, like Richelieu, cared for the greatness of the kingdom of France and for the power of the crown, but unlike Richelieu, Mazarin shaped the character of the king who held all this power. Louis XIV grew up thinking that the nation was made for his glory. Yet he turned out to be a wonderfully able man. Mazarin said, "There is stuff in him to make four kings, and an honest man into the bargain." When the cardinal died, and the ministers asked to whom they should come, he answered, "To myself," for he was Mazarin's understudy. And for all the half-century after that of his reign, he was always ready for them. His court was exceedingly splendid, and very stiff. Everyone had his place there and never came out of it; who must stand or who might sit, who might be on stools and who must kneel, in the royal presence,

was thought a matter of greatest importance. But Richelieu and Mazarin had robbed the nobles of all useful work, so all they cared for was war and ceremony of court and getting money from their poor peasants to support their expense.

Louis XIV had the two best generals then in Europe in the viscount de Turenne and the prince of Condé, and his nobles were very brave and spirited. His victories were all to the credit of his generals. When the king went out to war, he only went to the siege of some city where he rode quite out of reach of danger. And yet his people were all so proud of him that the very sight of him made his soldiers fight all the better, and poets wrote verses comparing him to Jupiter and Mars and every other warlike hero they could think of.

He had married Marie-Therese, daughter of the king of Spain; and when her father died, he pretended that he, rather than her little brother Charles, ought to inherit all the Low Countries. So Louis sent the duchess to persuade King Charles and his minister, with promises of money and concessions, to desert the Dutch; and she succeeded. The brave Dutch were left alone against all the power of France. William, prince of Orange, commanded their armies; and though he was beaten again and again, the little state never gave in. But, finally to keep out the French, it was necessary to open the flood-gates that protect Holland from the sea and let in so much water that the enemy could not pass.

Then the emperor of Germany took up the cause of the Dutch, but Louis sent Turenne against his troops and conquered Alsace. Turenne went on into Germany and there his army laid waste to the land. Crops in the fields were burned, houses and villages burned and plundered, the women and girls raped, and the men assaulted and killed. Turenne was killed while standing under a tree near the village of Salzbach, by a cannon shot, which nearly cut his body in two. He was buried among the

kings at St. Denys, and Condé took the command of the army, gaining many hard-fought battles until at last peace was made, leaving Louis in possession of Alsace and of the city of Strasburg.

Besides his great generals, the king had about him many of the ablest men who ever lived in France, both ministers of state and writers, and excellent bishops and clergy. The dauphin was a very dull youth who cared for nothing but playing at cards and hunting, and very little could be taught him. He married a German princess, who was duller still, and they had three sons, the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berri. To them the king gave as tutor Fénelon, archbishop of Cambrai, one of the best and holiest men then living. The duke of Burgundy was a fiery, selfish, passionate boy; but under Fénelon he learned to rule himself, and his whole thought was how to be a good and religious prince.

Louis lost his wife, Marie-Therese of Spain, and then married a lady named Madame de Maintenon.

In 1688, Louis lost out in his English alliance. Charles II and James II, having spent their youth in France and

Louis XIV and Mademoiselle de la Valliere



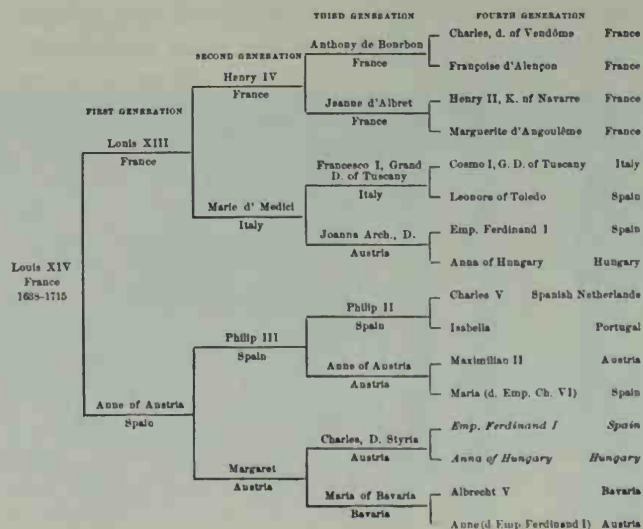
The dauphin, son of Louis XIV



Monsieur Philip I, duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV



Direct ancestors of Louis XIV





Louis XIV created the greatest of all royal palaces—Versailles and the Trianons.

being Roman Catholics, had always looked up to him and been led by him. But when the Revolution took place and James was driven away to take refuge once more in France, Louis's greatest enemy, William of Orange, became king of England. Louis gave James and his queen a home at his palace at St. Germain's and did all he could for them.

Charles II, king of Spain, died in 1700, leaving no children. His sister and his two aunts had married emperors of Germany and kings of France. But as the Spaniards did not choose to have their kingdom joined on to another, it was always the custom for the princesses to renounce all right to the crown for themselves and their children. However, the whole Spanish line had come to an end and there was really nobody else who had any right to it. Now, Louis XIV had married the sister, so his son was the nearest heir; but, on the other hand, the emperor of Germany was descended from the brother of the great Charles V, who had been emperor and king of Spain both at once. The emperor wanted to make his second son, the archduke Charles, king of Spain; and

Louis put forward his second grandson, Philip, duke of Anjou.

The Spaniards would have preferred Charles, but Louis was ready first. He made the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy give up their rights in favor to Philip, saluted him as king of Spain, and sent him off with an army to Madrid, saying, "There are no more Pyrenees"; by which he meant that France and Spain were now to be like one country. Now this was just what the rest of the world did not wish. France was a great deal too powerful already, so England and all the other states of Europe joined to assist the archduke Charles in winning Spain.

Thus began what was called the War of the Spanish Succession. The archduke Charles went to Spain and the English helped him there. The French army invaded Germany, but they were met there by the English and Austrian armies under the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy and were badly defeated at Blenheim.

Prince Eugene's father had always lived in France,

The glass gallery of Versailles





The battle gallery of Versailles

and his mother was a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, but he and some other young men had grown tired of the dull court life and had run away to fight in the Austrian army against the Turks. He was very angry and never forgave Prince Eugene, who took service under the emperor of Germany and was then the second-best general in Europe. All the great generals of Louis's youth were dead, and though Marshals Villars and Boufflers were able men, they were not equal to Marlborough and were beaten again and again in the Low Countries. The only victory the French did gain was in Spain, at Almanza, where, strangely enough, the English were commanded by a French Huguenot and the French by Marlborough's nephew, the duke of Berwick, who had left home with James II.

But troubles came fast for Louis XIV. He lost his only son, the dauphin, and all his great men who had made his reign so splendid were dying around him of old age, and nobody was rising up equal to them. His subjects, too, were worn out, all their strongest young men had been carried off to be soldiers, and there were not enough left to till the ground properly. Beside, the money that the king wanted for his wars and buildings was far more than they could pay. It was the tradesmen, farmers, and lawyers who had to pay it all, for in France no priest and no noble ever paid taxes. Moreover, all the family of a

noble was considered as noble forever, instead of, as it is in England, only the head of the house. So all the younger sons and their children paid no taxes and would not enter a profession, but only became clergy or soldiers.

Old as Louis was, his steadiness was admired even by his enemies when he continued dauntlessly to resist, even when there seemed little to hinder Marlborough and Eugene from marching upon Paris. However, this humiliation was spared the proud old king by the change in Queen Anne's councils, which deprived Marlborough of power and led to a peace at last with France. The archduke Charles became emperor after the death of his father and brother; and therefore Philip of Anjou was allowed to remain king of Spain.

The king kept up all his old state, but his strength and spirit were gone; and Madame de Maintenon used to say no one could guess what a dreadful thing it was to have to amuse an unamusable king. The brightest person at court was the young dauphiness, Adelaide of Savoy, wife of the duke of Burgundy, who was now dauphin. She used to play merrily with the king, and coax him into cheerfulness as no one else could. The dauphin was a grave, thoughtful man, very pious and religious, always thinking anxiously of the trouble that the kingdom would be in the state in which his grandfather would

The bedroom of Louis XIV at Versailles



The Grand Trianon on the Versailles grounds was more livable for the royal family.





In the Grand Trianon—the bedroom of Napoleon I

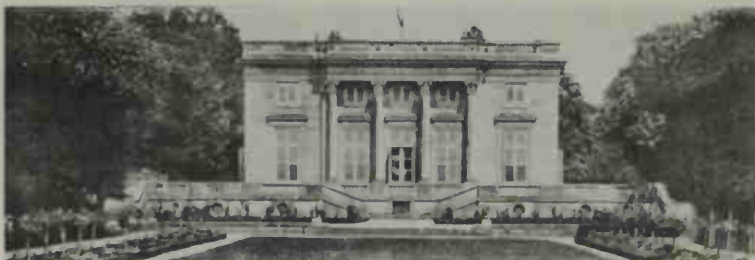
leave it. But he never had to bear that load, for a dreadful form of malignant measles spread through the court and the dauphiness caught it and died, then the eldest of her two little sons, and lastly, the good dauphin himself. No one was left of the whole family except the old king and one great-grandson, Louis; the dauphin's second son, a baby; and the king's nephew, Philip, duke of Orleans, the son of his brother.

It was a sad prospect for France when, a year later, Louis XIV died, after a reign of over seventy years, during which he had been one of the greatest monarchs in Europe. But, too, it was a sad reign for the little boy who had become king of France.



Regent Philip II of Orleans

The Little Trianon



LOUIS XV (1715–74)

The regent was Philip, duke of Orleans, a thoroughly dissipated man, not unlike Charles II of England. He died just as the young king, Louis XV, was growing up. Louis's queen was a Polish princess named Marie Leczinska. She was a gentle, kindly person, though not very intelligent. At first the king was very fond of her. But their moments of bliss soon ended when the king became a glutton and drunkard. He spent most of his spare time in immoral pursuits. The people did not know and had such a love and loyalty for the very name of king that he ended up being called Louis, the Well-Beloved.

There was a great war going on at this time between Marie Theresa, the queen of Hungary and archduchess of Austria, and Frederick II, king of Prussia. The English were allied with the Austrians and the French with the Prussians, and at the battle of Dettingen, George II had been defeated by marshal de Noailles. Again, at Fontenoy, the English were defeated, and Louis XV was with the army.

There was a peace for a little while, but what came to be called the Seven Years' War soon broke out again. This time the English were with the Prussians and the French with the Austrians. There was a great battle at Minden, which the French lost, and soon after there was a more lasting peace in Europe.

The bedroom of Marie-Antoinette in the Little Trianon





Europe after the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt

Louis XV as duke of Anjou, 1715-74—the great-grandson of Louis XIV



The older Louis XV



The princesses Adelaide, Victoire, and Sophie, the daughters of Louis XV



Louis XV had only one son, the dauphin, who, although he had grown up in the midst of the king's corrupt court, was himself upright and pious. He lived a peaceful, quiet life with his wife, a Polish princess. The upright dauphin died when only thirty-six years old, leaving five children, the eldest eleven years old, and his wife followed him fifteen months later, begging her four sisters-in-law to watch over her children. The king grew worse than ever and used to amuse himself by going in disguise to the dives of Paris. Yet at the same time he went to church services every morning.

Everyone saw that a great storm was coming for the king and that there must be a terrible downfall of the royal power that Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV had built up, and which Louis XV used so shamefully. But when the king was told that there was great danger approaching, he only said the kingdom would last his time. His grandson, the young dauphin, had grown up and married the beautiful, bright young daughter of Marie Theresa—Maria-Antoinette. The evening she arrived at Paris, there were grand "illuminations" and fireworks, and in the midst of it a rumor spread that seized the people that there was a fire. A large crowd rushed to the gates of the Champs Elysées, and a number of them were trampled to death. Although the young bride had nothing to do with it the tragedy, this made the people feel that she was a bad omen.

Louis XV died at the age of sixty-four, in the year 1774, after a disgraceful reign of sixty years, in which he performed little or nothing for the people and had constantly fallen deeper into the mire of physical excesses.

LOUIS XVI (1774-92)

The young king, Louis XVI, threw himself on his knees when he heard that his grandfather had died and cried out, "Oh God! help me; I am too young to reign."

It was as if he knew what dreadful times were coming, brought on by the selfishness and wickedness of those who had gone before him. Nobody could have been more anxious to set things right than Louis XVI. But the evils that had been working up for hundreds of years could not be set straight easily, and it was hard to know where or how to begin. And although the king tried, he was not clever enough to solve France's problems.

The great palace that Louis XIV had adorned at Versailles was so grand that nobody could live in it in comfort, not even a king. He had made a smaller one next to it at Trianon, but even this one was too stately for the queen's tastes. So she had another smaller house, with a farm and dairy. The people believed that something very wrong was going on out there. And they hated her because she was an Austrian and her country had been at war with theirs.

It was then that the Americans began their war with George III and England—the American Revolution. A



Louis XVI, 1793-95



Marie-Therese, daughter of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette

young French nobleman, the marquis de Lafayette, ran away from home to fight in their army. Afterward, Louis XVI sent troops to help them. The sight of the freedom the United States had gained made Lafayette and his friends feel far more bitter about the state of things at home where the poor were ground down to wretchedness by all the old rights of their lords. But until the laws were changed, neither king and nobles, nor clergy, however much they might wish it, could help them. No one felt this more than the king himself. At last, in 1789, he called together his States General—that is, all his peers, and deputies from the towns and provinces—to see what could be done. It was not like the English Parliament, where the peers form one chamber and the commons another; but they were all mixed up together, and there were a great many more deputies than peers, so that they had it all their own way. The people could not bear to wait any longer. It was no wonder, for they were very poor and miserable, and were suffering from starvation. Whenever they saw anyone whom they fancied was against the changes, they used to attack him, crying out, “To the lamp!” and hang him up on the street lamps.

They rushed to the great old prison, the Bastille, where the former kings had kept their state prisoners, and tore it down. But they found few there, for Louis XVI had released all of his grandfather’s prisoners. Most of the men at that time were enrolled in what was called the National Guard, and all wore cockades, and scarfs of red, blue, and white. Lafayette was made general of this guard.

The States General called itself the National Assembly, and went on changing the laws. It was at first settled that no law could be passed without the king’s consent, but the notion that he could stop any plan added to the people’s hatred. At last, when there was a serious scarcity of food in Paris, the mob all rushed out to Versailles. They came and filled the courts of the palace, shouting and yelling for the queen to show herself. She came out on the balcony, with her daughter of twelve and her son of six. “No children!” they cried, and she sent them back

and stood, fully believing that they would shoot her, and hoping that her death might content them. But no hand was raised. In the night they were seized with another fit of anger for lynching, and broke into the queen’s room from which she’d escaped while a brave lady and two of her guards were barring the outer door.

The next day the whole family moved back into the Tuileries palace in Paris.

The National Assembly went on to take away all the rights of the nobles and the property of the church, and to decree that the clergy must swear to obey them instead of the church. Those who refused were turned out of their parishes. The National Guard watched the palace and made the life of the royal family so miserable that they tried to escape in disguise. Fearing that they would come back with armies to put down the Revolution, the National Guard seized and stopped them, and they were more closely watched than ever. June 20, 1792, the mob rushed into the palace, threatened all the royal family, and spent three hours rioting and casting personal insults on them. All went well for a few weeks after that, but on the tenth of August another attack was made. The queen longed to let the Swiss guards and the loyal gentlemen fight for her husband, but Louis could not bear to have a drop of blood shed in his defense and hoped to save lives by going to the National Assembly with his wife, children, and sister. But no sooner were they gone than eleven of the gallant men of his guard and household were savagely massacred and their heads were carried about the street of Paris on the tops of poles. It was fear that made the Parisians so ferocious, for the German princes and the French nobles had collected an army to rescue the king, and the mob thought, to destroy them. In bitter hatred the assembly voted that Louis XVI was no longer king of France and the nation was free. So his reign ended on August 10, 1792.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION (1792-96)

The government, after the king was deposed, was placed in the hands of the National Assembly—or Convention, as it called itself—of deputies chosen by the people.

The short account of it all is that, for years and years before, the kings, the nobles, and some of the clergy too, had cared for little but themselves, and had done hardly anything to help their people. So now these people were rebelling. The king, queen, his children, and sister (Madame Elizabeth) were shut up in a castle called the Temple, so named because it had once belonged to the Knights Templars, and there they were very roughly treated. Great numbers of the nobles and clergy were shut up in other prisons; and when news came that an army of Germans and emigrant nobles was marching to rescue the king, a set of assassins was sent to murder

them all, cutting them down like sheep for the slaughter, men, women, and children. But, the family in the Temple was spared for the time being. The emigrant army was beaten at Jemappes and the brave nobles and peasants who had risen in the district of La Vendee, in hopes of saving them, could not get by the regular French army, all of whom had joined in the Revolution. Three men had the leadership who thought that the only way to make a fresh beginning for France was to kill everyone who had inherited any of the rights that had been so oppressive. Their names were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, and they had a power over the Convention and the mob that no one dared resist. This period was called the Reign of Terror.

At that time, a doctor named Guillotin had invented a machine for cutting off heads quickly and painlessly. The device to this day has carried his name—the guillotine. This horrible instrument was set up in Paris to do this work of cutting off the old race. The king—whom they called Louis Capet, after Hugh, the first king of his line—was tried before the National Assembly and sentenced to die. He forgave his murderers and charged the Irish clergyman, named Edgeworth, who was allowed to attend him in his last moments, to take care that, if his family were ever restored, there should be no attempt to revenge his death. The last words of the priest to him were, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to the skies."

The queen and her children remained in the Temple until the poor little prince—a gentle, but spirited boy of eight—was taken from them, and shut up in the lower rooms. His prison guard named Simon was told that the boy was not to be killed or guillotined but to be "got rid of" by any method he should choose. Not long after, Marie-Antoinette was taken to a dismal chamber in the Conciergerie prison until she too was brought to trial, sentenced to die, and guillotined eight months after her husband. Madame Elizabeth was likewise put to death, and only the two children remained, shut up in separate rooms. But the girl was better off than her brother in that she was alone with her little dog, and had not been subjected to torture.

Meanwhile the guillotine was in use every day. Cartloads were carried from the prisons—nobles, priests, ladies, young girls, lawyers, servants, shopkeepers—everybody whom the savage men who were called the Committee of Public Safety chose to condemn to death. There were guillotines in most towns, but at Nantes the victims were drowned and at Lyons they were placed in a square and shot down with grapeshot.

Moreover, all churches were taken away from the faithful. A woman who was called the Goddess of Reason was taken to the great cathedral of Notre Dame, where she was enthroned. Sundays were abolished as a holy day and every tenth day was kept instead. Christianity was called folly and superstition.

Marat was stabbed to the heart by a girl named Char-

lotte Corday, who hoped the assassination would end these horrors. But the other two continued their work of blood, until Robespierre grew jealous of Danton, and had him guillotined. But at last the more humane of the National Convention plucked up courage to rise against him, and he and his associates were carried to prison. He tried to commit suicide with a pistol but only shattered his jaw. In this condition he was guillotined, and then the Reign of Terror which had lasted about two years was brought to an end.

There was much rejoicing at Robespierre's fall. The prisons were opened, and people began to live freely once more. The National Convention governed more mildly and reasonably. But they had a great deal on their hands, for France had gone to war with all the countries around it. The soldiers were so delighted with their new-found freedom that it seemed as if no army could defeat them. The invaders were driven back everywhere. And thus was brought to light the wonderful powers of a young Corsican officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. When there was an attempt of the mob to rise again, Colonel Bonaparte came with his grapeshot and showed that there was a government again that must be obeyed, so that good order was restored.

Some pity had at last been felt for the poor children in the Temple. It came too late to save the life of the boy, Louis XVII, as he was known. For the whole ninth year of his life he had been imprisoned alone in a filthy room, so that he was one mass of infection. He lingered on until June 8, 1795, when he died. In the end of the same year his sister was released and went to Russia to join her uncle, who had fled at the beginning of the Revolution. He was then known by the loyal among the French as Louis XVIII.

In the meantime, the French army had beaten the Germans on the northeast border and had decided to attack the Germans in the north of Italy. Bonaparte made a passage of the Alps, which is considered an

Louis XVII when he was the grand dauphin



Louis XVII in the temple



engineering miracle, and he gained amazing victories. His plan was to get all the strength of his army into one point and, with that, to fall upon the center of the enemy. Since the old German generals did not understand this way of fighting, Napoleon defeated them everywhere and won all of Lombardy, which he set up as a republic, under the protection of the French.

NAPOLEON I (NAPOLEON BONAPARTE) (1799–1814)

When Bonaparte had come back from Italy, he persuaded the governing Directory to send him with an army to Egypt to try to gain the East and drive the English out of India. He landed in Egypt and near Cairo won the Battle of the Pyramids, and tried to promote himself among the people of Egypt by showing great admiration for Mohammed and the Koran. But his ships, which he had left on the coast, were attacked by the English fleet under Sir Horatio Nelson, and every one of them taken or sunk except two, which carried the tidings home. This was called the Battle of the Nile.

The sultan of Turkey, to whom Egypt belonged, fitted out an army against the French, and Bonaparte marched to meet it halfway in the Holy Land. There he took Jaffa, massacred the Turkish garrison, and beat the sultan's army at Tabor. But Acre was so well defended under a brave English sailor, Sir Sidney Smith, that he was obliged to turn back without taking it. He led his troops back, suffering badly from hunger and sickness, to Egypt, but there defeated another Turkish army in the Battle of Aboukir. However, he heard news from home that showed him that he was needed: The pope was a prisoner in France, and the king of Naples had fled to Sicily. The Russians had come to the help of the other nations, and the French had nearly been driven out of Lombardy. Besides, the Directory was not able to keep

Napoleon at an early age when he was in attendance at the military school in Brienne



A schoolmate at Brienne sketched this portrait of Napoleon.



A portrait of Madame Laetitia Buonaparte, Napoleon's mother

Napoleon was arrested on August 10, 1794. Ten days later, "for they [the government] saw nothing to justify any suspicion of his conduct [in the Italy campaign] and, that, taking into consideration the advantage that might accrue to the Republic from the military talents of the said General Bonaparte, it was resolved that he should be set at liberty."



Napoleon as a young lieutenant in the artillery





Napoleon crossing the Alps in the third Italian campaign, 1796



Napoleon's bride, Josephine. The wedding took place on March 9, 1796, and Josephine cut ten years off her age in the certificate.



Napoleon at the Battle of Rivoli



The first meeting between Napoleon and Josephine

Napoleon on the bridge at Arcola, 1796



An engraving of the time showing Napoleon Bonaparte as general in chief of the army of Italy

An allegorical engraving in 1797 showing the humiliation of Austria and the exaltation of Napoleon.





Napoleon before the Sphinx. He defeated the Mamelukes at the plains below the Pyramids and entered Cairo on July 24, 1798.

the unruly people in order; Napoleon felt himself so much wanted, that, finding there were two ships in the port, he embarked in one of them and came home, leaving his Egyptian army to return later.

He was received at home like a conqueror; and the people of France were so proud of him that he soon persuaded them to change the Directory for a government of three consuls, of whom he was foremost. He lived in the Tuileries and began to set up something very much like the old royal court. And his wife, Josephine, was a beautiful, graceful, kind lady, whom everybody loved and who helped very much in gaining people over to his cause. Indeed, he gave the French peace at home and victories abroad and that was what they desired. He

won back all that had been lost in Italy also, and at the Battle of Marengo, on June 14, 1800, when the Austrians were totally routed, he had a great victory. Austria made peace and nobody was at war with France but England. But not all was victory for Napoleon Bonaparte—the last remnant of the French army in Egypt was beaten at Alexandria and obliged to let English ships transport them back home to France. After this there was a peace called the Peace of Amiens, but it did not last long. As soon as Bonaparte had decided on war, he pounced without notice on every English traveler in his dominions, and kept them prisoners till the end of the war.

Napoleon Bonaparte had made up his mind to be emperor of the French, but before declaring this, he

A lithograph of Napoleon in Egypt in 1798



Napoleon Bonaparte, left, and the pasha of Cairo



Napoleon as he appeared to artist Greuze when Napoleon was the first consul of France



On April 25, 1804, the French ruling Tribunal announced that the head of state of France should be entitled emperor. Upon hearing of this, King George III of England took a new look at this upstart Napoleon, which is depicted in this caricature by Gill-ray.





The day of the coronation for Napoleon and Josephine was set for December 2, 1804. The royal coach is seen here arriving for the coronation at Notre-Dame.

wanted to alarm the old royalists. So he sent a party to seize the duke d'Enghien (heir of the princes of Condé) who was living at Baden, and took him to Vincennes where at midnight, he was tried by a sham court-martial and at six in the morning brought down to the courtyard and shot beside his own grave.

After this, everyone was afraid to utter a word against Bonaparte becoming emperor and on December 2, 1804, he was crowned in Notre Dame in great splendor. The pope was present, but Bonaparte placed the crown on his own head—a golden wreath of laurel leaves and he gave his soldiers eagle standards, in memory of the old Roman Empire. He drew up an excellent code of laws which have been used ever since in France, and are known by his name. His wonderful talents did much to bring the shattered nation into order. Still, England would not acknowledge his takeover. He had an army ready to invade England, but the English fleet never allowed him to cross the Channel. And when he chose to challenge them, his fleet was entirely destroyed by Lord Nelson at the great Battle of Trafalgar on October 21, 1805.

At the same time Napoleon was winning another splendid victory at Ulm over the Austrians, and not long after he beat the Prussians at Jena and had all Germany at his feet. He was exceedingly savage with the Prussians and was insolent in his manners to the gentlewoman, Queen Louisa, when she came with her husband to try to make better terms for their country. The Russians advanced to the aid of Germany, but also, the battles of Eylau and Friedland made them anxious for peace. Indeed, there was never a much abler military man than Napoleon but he had very little honor or honesty. He made his family kings of conquered countries. His brother Louis was king of Holland; Jerome, of Westphalia; and the eldest brother, Joseph, king of Naples. And in 1808 he contrived to cheat the king of Spain of his crown and keep him and his son prisoner in France



The coronation. After Napoleon placed the crown of the emperor on his head, he then placed the crown of the empress on Josephine's head.

while Joseph was sent to reign in Spain. Also at one point, General Murat, the husband of his sister Caroline, was made king of Naples. The Portuguese royal family was obliged to flee to Brazil. But the Spaniards and Portuguese would not submit to the French yoke and called on the English to help them.

Year after year the duke of Wellington was beating Napoleon's generals and wearing away his strength. But Napoleon still went on with his German wars and, in 1809, after two terrible battles at Aspern and Wagram, entered Vienna itself. Again there was a peace.

Napoleon, wanting to have a male child to leave his empire to, had decided on setting aside his loving Josephine and made the emperor Francis of Austria an offer of marriage for the hand of his young daughter, Marie Louise. In 1810, the deed was done.

The marriage was as little liked in France as in Austria, where the people felt that their hero had abandoned them in "giving up on" Josephine. She still had her little court, and was treated and addressed as Empress, however.

The next year, 1811, Napoleon's desire was fulfilled. His new wife presented him with a little son to perpetuate his imperial line, and the baby was promptly crowned king of Rome.

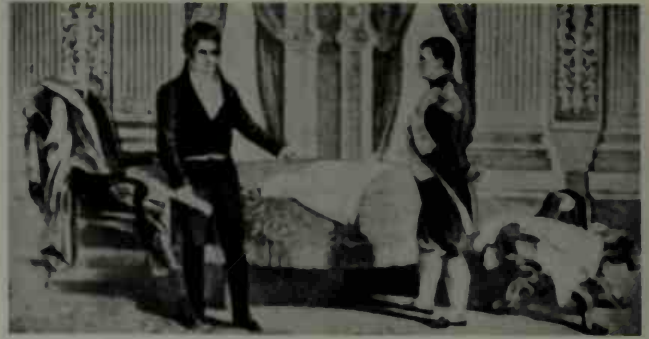
The imperial arms of Napoleon





Napoleon in his coronation attire with implements

Queen Josephine as she appeared at the coronation



The French fleet was destroyed at the Battle of Trafalgar on October 21, 1805. Had Napoleon listened to the American, Robert Fulton, seen here trying to sell Napoleon on a steam-powered navy, he might never have had a Trafalgar.



After the Battle of Austerlitz, the victor, Napoleon, met with the Austrian emperor, Francis II, the loser, and brought about severe conditions to be put into a treaty. A treaty was concluded at Presburg, on the twenty-seventh day of December 1805, by virtue of which Bonaparte was recognized as king of Italy; the Republic of Venice was detached from Austria, and united to his Italian Kingdom; the electors of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, as allies of France and traitors to the national cause, were to be created kings; the duke of Baden, in reward for his having taken in good part the kidnaping and murder of the duke d'Enghien, was to be elevated to be a grand-duke; and these three states were to be enlarged at the expense of Austria. Istria and Dalmatia were ceded. Austria agreed to pay a war indemnity of 140 million francs. Gallant and loyal Tyrol was severed from the crown of Austria, and handed over to Bavaria; and Napoleon was constituted "protector" of a confederation of the Rhine, comprising all the western states of Germany.

There were other secret arrangements, which were speedily carried into effect. Eugene Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy, Josephine's son, was given the hand of Augusta Amelie, daughter of the king of Bavaria; and Stephanie Beauharnais, Eugene's cousin, was united to the son and heir of the grand-duke of Baden. Jerome Bonaparte was to take as wife a daughter of the elector of Wurtemberg. Such were the first royal alliances negotiated, the prelude to others, in which the blood of a Corsican attorney's children was to be mixed with that of the most ancient and princely families in Europe.



Napoleon's brother Louis becomes the king of Holland.



His brother Jerome is given the throne of Westphalia.



The third brother, Joseph, turned down the offer of king of Italy and became the king of Naples. Later Joseph was named the king of Spain by Napoleon.



The fourth brother, Lucien, was married to an American woman by the name of Elizabeth "Betsey" Patterson, of whom Napoleon decreed: "She shall not set foot on the territory of France." There was no throne for Lucien.



Lucien Bonaparte married the American beauty, Betsey Patterson, at Baltimore, Maryland, on Christmas Eve, 1803. The Maryland Legislature granted her a divorce in 1815. She lived on as Madame Patterson-Bonaparte until her death in 1879. They had one child, Jerome, who was born in England.

Napoleon meets at Tilsit with Czar Alexander I and his queen, Louise, in 1807.



The folly of the successful gambler possessed him. His superstitious belief in his "unconquerable star" increased. He attempted the impossible—and brought about his own destruction. He resolved to crush England, despite her military impenetrable shelter in the seas.

Extending his insatiate hands in an ever wider grasp, Napoleon declared war against Russia, and in 1812 invaded the domain of the czar with an army of half a million men, gathered from all western Europe. Her capital was conquered, but the Russians themselves burned it and left the French to starve and freeze amid the ruins. The terrible Russian winter set in unusually early, and the invaders perished by tens of thousands. They retreated in despair. The French marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," held a remnant of the rear guard together; but in that nightmare flight across the Russian steppes, the mighty army was practically annihilated, and the heroic strength of France was broken. Napoleon fled to Paris.

The Prussians rose in eager revolt behind him; the Russians and then the Austrians joined them; but Napoleon wrung yet another army from exhausted France—an army of boys and old men. Despite his transcendent genius, the hitherto invincible conqueror was defeated at Leipzig in the Battle of the Nations, and once more was forced to flee back into France.

Even then he refused the easy terms of peace offered him by the allies, and persisted in struggling against them. So they captured Paris in 1814, and the French Senate, which Napoleon himself had created merely to register his laws, sent notice to him that it had deposed him from his rank as emperor. No other plan seemed possible to save France; and Napoleon, waiting with the



Czar Alexander was asked by Napoleon for the hand of his daughter Catherine, but the Russian monarch delayed his answer until Napoleon took a second choice, Princess Marie Louise of Austria.



On March 17, 1811, Marie Louise bore Napoleon a son, and he was named Napoleon Francis Charles Joseph, the king of Rome.

The baptism of the king of Rome



A medal struck for the imperial family, Francis I, emperor of Austria; his daughter, Marie Louise, the queen of France; and Napoleon, the emperor of France.



Napoleon breaks the news of the impending divorce to Josephine. She faints upon hearing the news from Napoleon that he wants a wife who can bear him an heir to the throne.

The French empress Marie Louise in her royal robes. Napoleon told Josephine, "Marie Louise is not beautiful but she is the daughter of the Caesars."





Napoleon at Fontainebleau, March 31, 1814, contemplating his future



Napoleon under guard at his place of forced exile. He retains the title of emperor, is to receive 2 million francs a year, and is to have a personal guard of 400 men but is never to leave the island of Elba, and his son cannot remain emperor of France, Napoleon II.

remnants of his troops at Fontainebleau, accepted the decree, surrendered himself to the allies, and was given exile to the little island of Elba, lying in the Mediterranean just off the southern coast of France.

Louis XVIII was summoned by the allies to the throne that, for nineteen years, ever since the death of his little nephew, Louis XVII, he had held in name alone. The various European kings planned to restore France to the position that was hers in Louis XVI's time; but before they could get the ancient system into running order, Napoleon escaped his exile and burst upon them like a sudden thunderbolt. He landed, unexpected, in southern France, and summoned the people to rally once more

The famous painting by Meissonier of Napoleon at Waterloo



around him and drive out their foreign dictators. His magnetic power in speech-making had not deserted him; his former soldiers rushed tumultuously to his standard; and, with an army that grew at every step in obedience to the tune on the flute of the Pied Piper, he advanced upon Paris.

King Louis wrung his hands in bewilderment. He had kept in office some of Napoleon's able generals, and now Ney, the most celebrated of them all, was ordered to lead the king's army against his former emperor. Ney obeyed, saying he would "bring the Corsican back in an iron cage." But when he saw his comrades marshaled around Napoleon, when the great leader himself summoned his lieutenant to rejoin him, old memories were too strong; and Ney, most eager of all, united his deliriously cheering troops with those of Napoleon, who entered Paris and regained his empire without a blow. Louis XVIII fled once more to Germany.

The brief period of Napoleon's restoration to power is called the Hundred Days. It lasted from March to June 1815. The states of Europe declared instant war against him. The armies of Prussia and England took the field at once; and Napoleon determined to crush them before their Austrian and Russian allies could join them. Hence came the celebrated campaign of Waterloo.

The English under Wellington and the Prussians under Blucher lay along the northeastern frontier of France, where Belgium is now located. Napoleon succeeded in driving his army between them and attacked each separately. The English were held in check by Ney at Quatre Bras, while the Prussians were defeated by Napoleon at Ligny. They were not completely destroyed; but, leaving a small force to hold them in check, Napoleon hurled all his strength against the English at Waterloo. If he could drive them back into the sea, the



Polish Countess Marie Walewska. A visitor to Napoleon at St. Helena, where he died, was his favorite of mistresses, Marie Walewska, who mothered a son for him. The offspring of this lifetime affair was Alexander, who was recognized officially by the next monarch, Louis XVIII.



On May 6, 1821, in the midst of the worst storm ever experienced on St. Helena, Napoleon died. He had been sent to St. Helena after a 100-day escape from Elba.

On December 15, 1840, Napoleon's body was interred in Paris. This is an illustration at the time of the funeral cortege.



The death mask of Napoleon



The funeral service inside the Church of the Invalides where Napoleon's body was put to permanent rest

remaining Prussians would be an easy prey.

The struggle was heroic, a death-grapple of giants; seventy thousand Frenchmen against an equal number of English. All day long they fought. Napoleon, by repeated attacks on the English wings, compelled Wellington to send reinforcements there and thus weaken the center of his line. Then the emperor concentrated his best troops for an attack on the depleted center. Just as the charge was ready to begin, Prussian troops appeared on the field, having by a wonderful march evaded the French division sent to hold them in check. The troops aimed against Wellington's center had to be turned against the new arrivals.

The flower of the French cavalry charged the English center; but a ditch lay invisible between them, and into this most of the foremost files of the galloping cavalry fell, until their numbers made a bridge of living bodies over which their surviving comrades rode. The weakened force could not break the solid squares of English infantry. More Prussians reached the field. There was one last, hopeless charge of the French "Old Guard," Napoleon's finest regiments. But the veteran column met devastating English artillery fire. Wellington declared victory and the whole English line advanced with the Prussians. The remnants of the French were swept from the field in disorderly flight amid cries of "Treason!" and "Sauve qui peut!" (Save himself who can!)

Both Napoleon and Ney sought death upon this field that saw the final ruin of their hopes. But both were



Napoleon's son, Francis Charles Joseph, reigned as Napoleon II for a few days in 1815 but then became the duke of Reichstadt in Austria. He died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-one in Vienna, July 22, 1832.

reserved for sadder fates. Ney had five horses shot from under him, yet escaped without a wound. Napoleon strove to force his way through the crowd of fugitives and advance against the British lines, but his officers surrounded him and forced him away from the field of battle toward Paris. Seeking escape, he went at last to Rochefort and, finding it impossible to get to America, gave himself up to the captain of an English ship, the *Bellerophon*. He was taken to Plymouth harbor and remained on board until his fate was decided by the allied sovereigns. They were determined to send him where he should not again escape to disturb all Europe. He was therefore placed on the little lonely island of St. Helena, out in the Atlantic Ocean, under the custody of an English governor who was to see him every day. He chafed in his confinement and the governor (Sir Hudson Lowe) reacted under warrant, with harsh and insulting treatment. After six miserable years, Napoleon died, in 1821, of cancer of the stomach, and was buried under the willow trees of Longwood, in St. Helena.

His brothers and sisters had all been taken off their thrones. Murat tried to recover Naples, but was "taken out" and shot. But the others submitted quietly. Marie Louise had a little Italian duchy given to her and her son Napoleon (who had been pronounced emperor by his father, but the allies had opposed it) was called the Duke of Reichstadt, and brought up at the court of his grandfather, the emperor of Austria. He died in early youth. The English army had remained for three years in France, to assist Louis XVIII in case of any fresh outbreak. Marshal Ney, the foremost of the generals who had gone over to Napoleon, was tried by court-martial and shot. Almost everyone else was forgiven and Prince Talleyrand, one of the cleverest and most cunning men who ever lived, who had risen under Napoleon, worked on with Louis XVIII.

LOUIS XVIII (1814-24)

The allies had entered Paris—Russians, Austrians, and Prussians—and the duke of Wellington, after winning the Battle of Toulouse at Waterloo, came up from the south to meet them there.



Death mask of the duke of Reichstadt

It was the saying in France that in their exile on the Bourbons had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. This was not quite true of Louis XVIII, who was clever in an indolent way and resolved to please the people enough to remain where he was until his death, and really gave them a very good charter. His brother Charles, count of Artois, was much more strongly and openly devoted to the old ways that came before the Revolution and, as Louis had no children, his accession was not desired. His eldest son, the duke of Angouleme had no children, and his second son, the duke of Berri, who was married to a Neapolitan princess, was the most amiable and hopeful person in the family. But on February 12, 1820, the duke of Berri was stabbed by one Louvet, as he was leaving the opera, and died in a few hours. His infant son, Henry, duke of Bordeaux, was the only hope of the elder branch of the Bourbons for eventually wearing the crown.

France was worn out and weary of war, so little happened in this reign except that the duke of Angouleme made an expedition to assist the king of Spain in putting down an insurrection. The French nobility had returned to all their titles but many of them had lost their property in the Revolution.

Louis XVIII was in failing health but he kept up much of the old state of the French court and was most careful never to keep anyone waiting, for he used to say, "Punc-

Louis XVIII, 1814-24, at the time he assumed the throne



Countess of Provence, the wife of Louis XVIII





Charles X, 1824-30

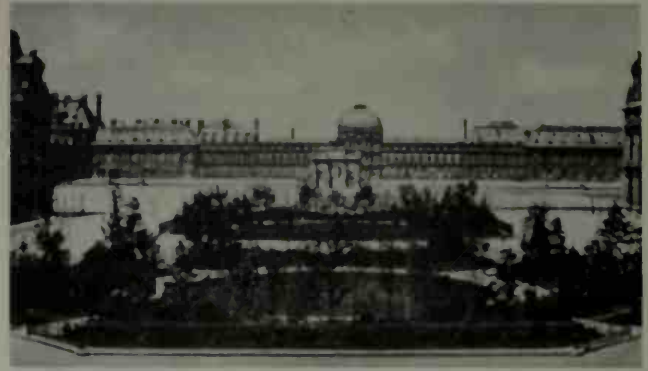
tuality is the politeness of kings." Even when very ill, he would never give up any of the court duties, and when urged to spare himself, said, "A king of France ought to die standing." But for some years he was unable to walk, being dreadfully tormented by gout, and he was obliged to let his brother manage his affairs. He was shrewd enough to dread the desire of Charles, the count of Artois, to return to the old times of the overgrown royal power. When he found himself dying, he put his hand on the head of his little four-year-old grandnephew, Henry, and said, "Let Charles X take care of the crown for this child." And then he died in September 1824.

CHARLES X (1824-30)

When Charles X had been the young count of Artois, before the Revolution, he had been a playfellow of Marie-Antoinette in those bright, giddy days. After his exile and wanderings, in his old age, he had become very religious; for he was guided entirely by the pope and a few clergy who wanted to bring conditions back to what they were before the Revolution.

The first effort of his rule was made on behalf of the Greeks, who had long been trying to break away from the rule of the Turks. At last the Prussian, English, and French fleets joined and defeated the Turks and Egyptians at the battle of Navarino, after which, Greece was

The coronation of Charles X at Reims



The Tuileries, the royal residence in Paris of all of the nineteenth-century monarchs. (It was set afire by the Communists in 1871 and nearly destroyed.)

able to become a kingdom, under Christian rule.

On July 26, 1830, the king put out an edict ending the liberty of the press—that is, forbidding anything to appear in any newspapers without being approved by the government. Other distasteful edicts were also made. Everyone begged the king to change his mind and withdraw the edicts, but he thought it was yielding that had ruined his oldest brother, Louis XVI, and nothing would persuade him to give way. There had been fighting throughout Paris, and his troops had been broken and driven out by the National Guard. Then he did consent; but the people would not be satisfied without dethroning him, and he was obliged to leave France again, taking with him his son and daughter-in-law (the last dauphin and dauphiness) and his grandson, the little Henry. They lived first in Scotland, and afterward in Italy and in Germany. The old loyal French still viewed Charles and, after his death, his grandson, Henry V, as the only true kings of France.

Some of the French wanted to have another republic, but most of them wished to try a limited monarchy, like that of England, with a king at the head who had no power to do anything without the consent of the subjects. At that time, they resolved to put at the head of their new constitution the duke of Orleans. He was of the Bourbon royal blood, for he was descended from Louis XIV's brother, the duke of Orleans. He had given up his title of duke of Orleans, and called himself Citizen Philip Egalité (equality), but when, in the Reign of Terror, everyone who had any high birth was put to death, he was guillotined. His eldest son, Louis-Philippe, served in the French army until his father, mother, and younger brothers were thrown into prison, and he was forced to flee to Switzerland, where he was obliged to earn his living as a teacher. Afterward he went to England, where his brothers joined him, but they both fell ill and died, one in England, and the other at Malta. Next he traveled in America.

At the Restoration, he went back to France, with his wife, Marie Amelie, the daughter of the king of Naples,

and his sister Adelaide. They brought up their large family at the Palais Royal. When Charles fled, the leaders of the nation all agreed to offer the crown to the new duke of Orleans, but it was not to be as an old hereditary monarch. He was not to be king of France, but king of the French. He was not to be Louis XIX, but Louis-Philippe I, and his eldest son was not to be dauphin, but duke of Orleans. And his power was to be bound by peers and deputies much as the power of the English king is bound by the peers and commons.

This was the revolution of the Three Days of July,

LOUIS-PHILIPPE I (1830–48)

Louis-Philippe of Orleans was called the Citizen King. He used the tricolored flag of the old Revolution instead of the white one of the Bourbons to show that he reigned not as a son of the old royal family but by the choice of the people. There was a chamber of peers and a chamber of deputies, and the constitution was a limited monarchy.

Most of the colonies the French had once made have been lost in the wars since the time of Louis XIV, and Louis-Philippe thought it would be good to form new ones. A settlement was made in Algeria, but it caused a long and fierce war with the Arab chiefs, which lasted nearly throughout the reign. The Arabs were as brave as the French themselves and had a most gallant chief, named Abd-el-Kader. At last, however, after years of fighting, he was forced to surrender and was taken to France.

The French also tried to make settlements in the Pacific Islands, especially New Caledonia and the island of Tahiti. They were not at all welcome in Tahiti, for the native queen, Pomare, had been taught to be a Christian by the English and did not wish for French protection or Roman Catholic teaching. However, the French were the stronger and had taken over the control there.

Louis-Philippe did his utmost to keep the Parisians in good spirits, knowing that he could only reign by their favor, and as the miseries of the old wars were forgotten the French only thought of the victories of the times of Napoleon, praising him as the greatest of heroes. The



In this painting, Louis-Philippe is shown making a public announcement in which he refused the Belgian crown on behalf of his son, the duke of Nemours (on his left). The Belgian National Congress elected the duke as king.

king gratified them by requesting the English to allow him to bring home the corpse of the emperor Napoleon and bury it in the Church of the Invalides, a great asylum for old soldiers at Paris. It was brought to Paris in a huge triumphal car, which was followed through the streets by Louis-Philippe and his sons. A chapel was built, and ornamented with splendid marbles, for the burials of the Bonaparte family. Napoleon's little son was dead, but his brother Louis had left a son, who lived in exile in England and Germany. As it happened, there was a horrible conspiracy by some persons, of whom the chief was named Fieschi, to kill the king as he rode in a ceremony. The king was not hurt but fourteen people were killed. The assassins were traced and Fieschi was put to death.

The republican dislike of having religion taught in schools hindered the growth of the nation. There were the Legitimists, who viewed first Charles X and then his grandson, Henry V, the count of Chambord, as the only true king, and would accept no rule under Louis-Philippe.

The king had five sons, of whom the eldest, the duke of Orleans, was much loved by the people. He married the princess Helen of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and they had two little sons before he was killed by leaping out of his open carriage while the horses were running away.

At last, in February 1848, after the council and the chambers of deputies had decided against measures desired by the people, there was a rebellion of the people throughout Paris. The troops and the National Guard were called out, but when the moment came for action, the National Guard would not fire but made common cause with the people. The army would still have fought, but Louis-Philippe would not allow them to shed blood for him. He sent a message that he abdicated in favor of his little grandson, the count of Paris, with his mother, the duchess of Orleans, as regent. Then he left the Tuileries privately, under the name of William Smith, and safely reached England.

The duchess of Orleans bravely came forward with her two boys but there was no favor, only anger, and her friends saw it was all in vain, and spirited her away as fast as they could. All the family made their way by different means, one by one, to England, where the queen and her people received them kindly. Claremont Palace was lent to them as a home, and there Louis-Philippe and his good queen spent the remainder of their lives. He died in the year 1850, and Marie Amelie a few years later.

THE REPUBLIC (1848–52)

After Louis-Philippe and his family had fled from France, there was a time of confusion. An assembly of deputies met from all parts of France to arrange a new government.

In truth, the Red Republicans, who did not want to see any one in power richer than themselves, were very disappointed that, though noblemen and gentlemen had no more rights than other people, they were still rich men who kept their money and estates.

In the end of June 1848, there were three dreadful days of street riots. It was a fight of the Red Republicans against the Tricolored. Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality were the watchwords of both, but the Red Republicans were tougher than the Tricolored, for they thought that liberty had no order at all. The good archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre, going out on one of these miserable days to try to make peace, was shot through the back from behind a barricade and died a few hours later. However, General Cavaignac, one of the brave men who had been trained to war by the fighting in Algeria, so managed the soldiers and the National Guard that they put down the Red Republicans and restored order.

The Italians rose and tried to shake them off with the help of the king of Sardinia; and at the same time there was a great rising against the pope, Pius IX, at Rome. The popes had held Rome for more than a thousand years, and there ruled the Western church. But there had never been any very righteous princes among their Roman subjects, and things had fallen into a sad state of confusion. When Pius IX first was chosen, he had tried to improve the situation, but his people moved too fast for him and so alarmed him that he fled in the disguise of a servant on a donkey. The Roman Catholics thought the pope could not rule over the church freely unless he had Rome as his own and lived there as a prince. A French army was sent to restore him and Rome was taken, giving the pope his throne again.

After much deliberating in the French assembly, it was settled to have a republic, with a president, like the Americans. Then Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, offered himself as president and was elected, all the "quiet" people and all the Bonapartists joining in the choice. Most of the army were Bonapartists, for the sake of the old victories of Napoleon. Louis Napoleon had great power in his hands. Soon he persuaded the people to change his title from president to that of first consul, as his uncle had once been called.

The next time there was a disturbance at Paris, Louis Napoleon met the mob. He surrounded them with soldiers, had cannon planted so as to command every street, and fired upon the mob before it had time to do any harm; then he captured the ringleaders and had them executed. This certainly was official violence and cruelty, but the Parisians were taught they must obey law and order. This masterstroke is always called the *coup d'etat*, or "stroke of policy," for it settled affairs. And after that, Louis Napoleon did as he chose, for no one dared resist him.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852-71)

The entire French nation, in the beginning of the year 1852, was called upon to decide by vote whether or not they would form an empire again, or continue to be a republic. Every man, rich or poor, who was not a convict, had a vote, and the larger number decided for the empire and for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as the emperor. He considered himself the successor of his uncle, and therefore called himself Napoleon III, counting the little child in whose favor the great Bonaparte had abdicated at Fontainebleau as Napoleon II. He married a Spanish lady of high rank, Eugénie de Montijo, but not of royal blood, whose mother was Scottish. One son was born of this marriage, who was called the prince imperial. The emperor ruled with a strong hand and put things in order again.

The name the emperor wished to be called by was the Napoleon of Peace, as his uncle had been the Napoleon of War. But it was not always possible to keep the peace. In the year 1853, just after he had been crowned, the Russian emperor began to threaten to conquer Turkey and thereupon the French joined with the English to protect the sultan. The French and English armies, together, landed in Turkey and then made an expedition

Louis Napoleon takes the oath of office as president of France.



*Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon),
1852-71*



President Napoleon after his coup d'etat





Napoleon III in formal wear posing with his royal robe and crown



Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III

Empress Eugenie and her ladies of honor



The royal reception of the Siamese ambassador at Fontainebleau by Napoleon III



Napoleon III at Solferino. In this battle France defeated Austria, 1859.



to the Crimea, where the Russians had built a strong fortified city named Sebastopol, from which to attack the Turks. Marshal Bugeaud was the French general and, with Lord Raglan, commanded in the great battle fought on the banks of the Alma, and then laid siege to Sebastopol, where again they fought a dreadful battle. Peace was made, on condition that all the fortifications of Sebastopol should be destroyed, and no fleet or army would be kept there in the future.

After having been allies in this war, England and France became much greater friends, and Queen Victoria and the emperor made royal visits with one another. The emperor had a love and affection for England, which became a home to him in his later days of exile.

The Italians were more uneasy and miserable than ever under the rule of the Austrians and begged Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, to help them, and become an Italian king over them. Louis Napoleon gave them his help and went in person to Lombardy, where the French and Italians defeated the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino, after which there was again a peace; and Victor Emmanuel was made king of Italy on condition that, in return for the help he had received, he should give to France the little province of Nice, which had always been part of the dukedom of Savoy. But the Romans hoped that they also should have been shaken of the papal government, so a guard of French soldiers was maintained in Rome.

Another undertaking of the French emperor was to bring Mexico in line. Mexico had been settled by Spaniards and belonged to Spain until it revolted. Some of the well-off people in Mexico thought that they might do better if they set up a monarchy, and the French promised to help them. The archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, was chosen, and went out with his young wife, Charlotte, daughter of the king of Holland. They were guarded by a French army, but they were soon brought home. And once they had left Mexico, the Mexicans rose up, made their emperor prisoner, and executed him.

The emperor of the French was trying to teach the people to rule themselves to some degree, instead of expecting him to keep order with his power from above. He was anxious to be sure of his son reigning after him and he put it to the vote of all of France whether the empire should be hereditary. The vote was in his favor, and he seemed quite secure. But at this time the Prussians had been gaining great successes against Denmark and Austria, and the French were very jealous of them and expected a fight for some of the provinces along the Rhine. Just then, too, the Spaniards had risen and driven out Queen Isabella. They elected a cousin of the king of Prussia to be their king. He never accepted the Spanish crown, but the motion made the French furious, and there was a great cry from the whole nation that the pride of the Prussians must be put down. The emperor



The Austrian archduke Maximilian I of Mexico was the victim of Napoleon III's plan to establish a monarchy in Mexico. He was declared emperor of Mexico in 1863 and was shot by the Republicans in 1867.



The empress Charlotte, wife of Maximilian



Napoleon III with the European sovereigns riding to the World's Fair in Paris, 1867

saw his popularity was failing him and that his only chance to stay was to please the people by going to war. The army went off in high spirits to meet the Prussians on the Rhine—singing, shouting, drinking; and the emperor took his young son with him, trying to seem as hopeful as they. This was in the summer of the year 1870.

THE SIEGE OF PARIS (1870–71)

It was in the provinces of the Rhine that the big battle was fought. In that first fight, at Werth, the French were successful, and a great deal was made of the victory. The prince imperial fired the first cannon and all the newspapers called it his "baptism of fire." Next, all around the city of Sedan there was a frightful battle, which lasted day after day, and in which the French were decisively beaten, and so surrounded and cut off from retreat by the German forces, that the emperor was obliged to surrender himself as a prisoner to the king of Prussia. Before the final battle, he had sent his son to England, as he'd seen things were going badly. The Empress Eugenie had been left as regent at Paris, but as soon as the dreadful news came, all the Prussians rose up and declared that the emperor be deposed. They wanted to have a republic again. All that her best friends could do for her was to help Eugenie steal out of the Tuileries in plain dress, and she reached England safely.

The Prussians bitterly hated the French ever since the elder Napoleon had so tyrannically stepped on Prussia and mistreated Queen Louisa, the mother of the king William, who was now leading his forces in taking Paris. King William placed his headquarters in the grand old palace of Versailles and then besieged Paris, cutting off all supplies and all communication from outside. No one could come in or out, except through the German outposts. Letters came and went by carrier pigeons; and tiny letters on thin paper, and newspapers in print so small that they could only be read with a magnifying glass, were prepared for this pigeon post. Starvation set in as the winter came on; and there was a dire need for fuel as well as food. Meanwhile, the Germans shelled Paris.

After a half year of siege, the French made terms. The



The last moments of Maximilian. Here he is shown trying to console his friends.

The emperor refused a blindfold before the firing squad.





The Communists destroying the statue of Napoleon I



The arrest of Napoleon at Boulogne



Napoleon III in "retirement"

Bismarck, Thiers, and Favre arranging the peace terms



two provinces of Lorraine and Alsace, which used to be German, were given up to Prussia. Prussian troops were to be left for a year in garrison in France and a fine was to be paid. At the same time, quantities of food and fuel were sent in for the famished Parisians, the prisoners were released, and among them the emperor, who went back to England.

THE COMMUNISTS

The terms of the treaty were no sooner known than all the ill will and distrust of the Red Republicans openly broke out. The government withdrew to Versailles to wait for the arrival of all the troops who had been in captivity.

A sort of government was set up, calling itself the Commune—an old word for a town council governing itself—and thus the Red Republicans were known as the Communists. The people's former pride in the first Bonaparte had turned into a ferocious hatred of him. Even the great column in the Place Vendôme, raised in honor of his victories, was destroyed. The Communists were as furious against law, order, property, and religion as even their grandfathers in the Reign of Terror had been. Some of the French leaders had been captured and kept at Versailles. The Communists then seized the archbishop, Monseigneur Darboy, and five more clergy, and threw them into prison, then finally shot them. The good archbishop died with his hand uplifted, as if in the act of blessing his murderers. This was on May 24, 1871.

All France was against the madmen who had possession of their beloved Paris, but the Communists held out desperately. At last, however, the soldiers from Versailles began to force their way in, and then, in their final

The prince imperial Eugene Louis Jean Joseph Napoleon, the only son of Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie. He was the hope of the Bonapartist party to be emperor but his untimely death in a British expedition in Zululani ended their campaign, June 1, 1879.



madness, the Red Republicans set fire to the city. The Hotel de Ville was soon blazing, and so was the Tuileries.

The Versailles government, their troops, were in a frenzy of rage and grief at seeing their beautiful city destroyed before their eyes. And as the soldiers slowly fought their way in, with cannon pointed down the streets, mowing all before them, they made a most fearful slaughter of men and women alike—the innocent with the guilty. There was a last stand made by the Communists in the great cemetery of Père la Chaise, where most of them died and large groups of the captured were marched off toward Versailles—many to be shot at once, others imprisoned, and after trial sent off to prison, and exiled to New Caledonia. Thus the Red Republic was extinguished in fire and blood, and order was restored. For the time Louis Adolph Thiers ruled as a sort of president and set matters as right as possible.

Meanwhile, the emperor, Napoleon III, died in his exile in England and the nation began to consider what should be the government of the future. The old parties still existed—the Legitimists, still loyal to Henry, count of Chambord; the Orleanists, wishing for a son or grandson of Louis-Philippe; the Bonapartists, loving the memory of Napoleon III and hoping to restore his son; and

the Moderate Tricolored Republicans, chiefly seeking rest and order, and revenge upon Germany and the remnants of the Communists.

Henry, count of Chambord, had no children, so the count of Paris, eldest grandson of Louis-Philippe, was his rightful heir. There was a plan that the Legitimist and Orleans parties would join, and a proposal was made to restore the count of Chambord as such a king as Louis-Philippe, and that the count of Paris should reign as he had.

But the count of Chambord's answer was that he would come to his forefather's throne if he were invited, but only to reign as they did, by the right given to his family by God, not as the chosen of the people. He would be the Most Christian King—the king of France, not of the French; with the white flag of the Bourbons, not the tricolor—and the Eldest Son of the Church, obedient to the pope.

Nobody, except the old Legitimists, was in a mood to accept this answer; and so, when the choice of a government was put to the vote of the nation, it was decided to have a republic, with a president, instead of a monarchy. Marshal MacMahon was soon after elected as president and the French were never again ruled by a monarch.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
418–428	King	Pharamond		428		
428–447	King	Clodio (Clodion)		447		
447–458	King	Merovech (Meerwig) (Merovee)		458		
458–481	King	Childeric I	435	482	Son of Merovech	
482–511	King	Clovis I (Chlodwig)	467	511	Son of Childeric I	Clothilde
511–558	King	Childebert I	498	558	Son of Clovis	
558–562	King	Clothaire I	500	562	Son of Clovis	Radegond
562–566	King	Charibert	522	566	Son of Clothaire I	
562–575	King	Siegbert	535	575	Son of Clothaire I	Brynhild
566–584	King	Chilperic I	539	584	Son of Clothaire I	Fredegond
584–628	King	Clothaire II	584	628	Son of Chilperic I	
628–637	King	Dagobert I	602	637	Son of Clothaire II	Nanthilde
637–655	King	Clovis II	635	655	Son of Dagobert I	Bathilde
655–668	King	Clothaire III	650	668	Son of Clovis II	
668–674	King	Childeric II	650	674	Son of Clovis II	
674–678	King	Dagobert II				
674–691	King	Thierry III	658	691	Son of Clovis II	
691–695	King	Clovis III	680	695	Son of Thierry III	
695–711	King	Childebert II	684	711	Son of Thierry III	
711–716	King	Dagobert III	700	716	Son of Childebert II	
716–721	King	Chilperic II	670	721	Son of Childeric II	
721–737	King	Thierry IV	715	737	Son of Dagobert III	
737–742	Interregnum					
743–751	King	Childeric III	731	754	Son of Chilperic II	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY						
628-639	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin I, the Elder		640		
687-714	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin II (Pepin L'Heuristal)		714	Son of Pepin I, the Elder	
714-741	Mayor of the Palace	Charles Martel (Carl of the Hammer)	689	741	Son of Pepin II	
741-747	Mayor of the Palace	Carloman		754	Son of Charles Martel	
747-751	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin III, the Short	714	768	Son of Charles Martel	
751-768	King	Pepin III, the Short				Berthe
768-771	King	Carloman	751	771	Son of Pepin III	Hildegard
768-814	Joint Ruler	Charlemagne (Carl the Great)	742	814	Son of Pepin III	
814-840	Joint Ruler	Louis I, the Pious (Ludwig)	778	840	Son of Charlemagne	Ermengarde
840-843	Joint Ruler	Lothair, Louis, and Charles the Bald			Sons of Louis I	
843-877	King	Charles I, the Bald	823	877		
877-879	King	Louis II	846	879	Son of Charles I	Adelaide
879-882	King	Louis III	863	882	Son of Louis II	
882-884	Coregent	Carloman		884	Brother of Louis III	
884-887	King	Charles II, the Fat (Charles III)	839	888	Son of Louis II	
888-898	King	Eudes, count of Paris	858	898		Theodorade
898-922	King	Charles III, the Simple	879	929	Son of Louis II	Ogine
922-923	Rival King	Robert	865	923	Brother of Eudes	
923-936	Rival King	Rudolf, duke of Burgundy		937	Son-in-law of Robert	Emme
936-954	Rival King	Louis IV, d'Outremer	918	954	Son of Charles the Simple	Gerberge
954-986	Rival King	Lothair	941	986	Son of Louis IV	Emme
986-987	Rival King	Louis V, the Indolent	967	987	Son of Lothair	Blanche of Aquitaine
CAPETIAN DYNASTY						
987-996	King	Hugh Capet	946	996		Adelaide of Guienne
996-1031	King	Robert II, the Pious	971	1031	Son of Hugh Capet	Constance de Provence
1031-1060	King	Henry I	1004	1060	Son of Robert II	Anne of Russia
1060-1108	King	Philip I, the Amorons	1052	1108	Son of Henry I	Berthe of Holland
1108-1137	King	Louis VI, the Fat (Louis the Wide Awake)	1081	1137	Son of Philip I	Adelaide of Savoy
1137-1180	King	Louis VII, the Young	1120	1180	Son of Louis VI	Alice of Champagne
1180-1223	King	Philip II Augustus (the God-given)	1165	1223	Son of Louis VII	Isabelle of Hainaut Ingebruge of Denmark
1223-1226	King	Louis VIII, the Lion	1187	1226	Son of Philip II	Blanche of Castille
1226-1270	King	Louis IX (Saint Louis)	1214	1270	Son of Louis VIII	Marguerite of Provence
1270-1285	King	Philip III, the Bold	1245	1285	Son of Louis IX	Isabelle of Aragon
1285-1314	King	Philip IV, the Fair	1268	1314	Son of Philip III	Jeanne of Navarre
1314-1316	King	Louis X, the Quarrelsome (Hutin)	1289	1316	Son of Philip IV	Jean I
1316-1316	King	John I	1316	1316	Posthumous son of Louis X	
1316-1322	King	Philip V, the Tall	1294	1322	Son of Philip IV	Jeanne, duchess of Bourgogne
1322-1328	King	Charles IV, the Fair	1294	1328	Son of Philip IV	Isabelle (reine d'Angleterre)
VALOIS DYNASTY						
1328-1350	King	Philip VI, the Fortunate	1293	1350	Nephew of Philip IV	Jeanne of Bourgogne Blanche of Evreux
1350-1364	King	John II, the Good	1319	1364	Son of Philip VI	Bonne of Luxemburg
1364-1380	King	Charles V, the Wise	1337	1380	Son of John II	Jeanne of Bourbon
1380-1422	King	Charles VI, the Well-Beloved	1368	1422	Son of Charles V	Isabelle of Bavaria
1422-1461	King	Charles VII, the Victorious	1403	1461	Son of Charles VI	Marie of Anjou
1461-1483	King	Louis XI	1423	1483	Son of Charles VII	Charlotte of Savoy
1483-1498	King	Charles VIII, the Affable	1470	1498	Son of Louis XI	Anne of Brittany

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
1498–1515	King	Louis XII, the Father of His People	1462	1515	Brother-in-law of Charles VIII	Jeanne
1515–1547	King	Francis I	1494	1547	Second son of Louis XII	Claude of France
1547–1559	King	Henry II	1519	1559	Son of Francis I	Catherine de' Medici
1559–1560	King	Francis II	1544	1560	Son of Henry II	
1560–1563	Regent	Catherine de' Medici	1519	1589		Henry II
1560–1574	King	Charles IX	1550	1574	Son of Henry II	
1574–1589	King	Henry III	1551	1589	Son of Henry II	Louise of Lorraine
BOURBON DYNASTY						
1589–1610	King	Henry IV, the Great	1553	1610	Brother-in-law of Henry II	Marguerite of Valois Marie de' Medici
1610–1617	Regent	Marie de' Medici	1573	1642		Henry IV
1610–1643	King	Louis XIII, the Well-Beloved	1601	1643	Son of Henry IV	Anne of Austria
1643–1651	Regent	Anne of Austria	1601	1666		Louis XIII
1643–1715	King	Louis XIV, the Great	1638	1715	Son of Louis XIII	Marie-Therese of Spain
1715–1723	Regent	Philip of Orleans	1674	1723	Nephew of Louis XIV	Henriette d'Angleterre
1715–1774	King	Louis XV, the Well-Beloved	1710	1774	Great-grandson of Louis XIV	Marie Lezczinska
1774–1792	King	Louis XVI, the Beloved	1754	1793	Grandson of Louis XV	Marie-Antoinette of Austria
1793–1795	King	Louis XVII	1785	1795	Son of Louis XVI	
FIRST REPUBLIC						
1799–1804	First Consul	Napoleon Bonaparte	1769	1821		Josephine de Beauharnais Marie Louise of Austria
1804–1814	Emperor	Napoleon I				
1814	Emperor	Napoleon II	1811	1832		
BOURBON DYNASTY						
1814–1824	King	Louis XVIII	1755	1824	Brother of Louis XVI	Louise Marie Josephine of Savoy
1824–1830	King	Charles X	1757	1836	Brother of Louis XVIII	Marie-Therese of Savoy
1830–1848	King	Louis-Philippe I, the Citizen King	1773	1850		Marie Amelie of Naples
SECOND REPUBLIC						
1848–1852	President	Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	1808	1873	Nephew of Napoleon I	
SECOND EMPIRE						
1852–1871	Emperor	Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon)				Eugenie de Montijo



3

England, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom

Little was known of Britain until Phoenician sailors, sailing off the coast of Gaul, saw in the distant horizon the white cliffs of a strange land. The Gauls told them that because of the white color of the cliffs they had given the name of *Albion*—meaning “white”—to the country. The title has lived through all the centuries and was a favorite one with poets and orators. But in the last hundred years, it has become known as the white cliffs of Dover.

The accounts of those remote days are so vague that little dependence can be placed upon them, so we must look at the time of the mighty Caesar for our first knowledge of England.

While Caesar was engaged in conquering Gaul, he discovered that his opponents received great help from their kinsmen, who crossed over from Albion to aid them in repelling the Roman invaders. This fact, added to the strange stories that he heard about the people of the islands, led Caesar, in the year 55 B.C., to sail for Albion—which he, in imitation of the Greeks, called Britain. He took with him two legions, or about twelve thousand men, and that was the first historical invasion of England. The time was late in summer, and the landing place was near the site of the present town of Deal.

The shaggy Britons had watched the approach of the Roman ships, and were in truth more eager for battle than the Romans themselves. The savages had flung off their clothing of skins, so they were literally “stripped for the fight,” and many who were on horseback forced their animals far out into the waves, while the riders taunted the invaders, whom they were impatient to reach. Others galloped up and down the beach in their war chariots and filled the air with their defiant cries. The Romans drawing near were awed by what they saw. They had learned from the Gauls of the frenzied devotion of the Britons to the Druidical faith. The Romans knew nothing of that gloomy and fearful religion, and at first were afraid to offend the unknown god whom the savages worshiped.



Old England

Despite their bravery, the Britons were soon scattered in disorder. In his *Commentaries*, Caesar refers to his first campaign in Britain as a reconnoitering expedition, and expressed his intention of returning there later.

Accordingly, the following year he came back with a more powerful force, and penetrated some distance in-



Julius Caesar

land. After several months Caesar, finding little pleasure or profit in the wild, bleak island, abandoned it.

Britain was now left to itself for nearly a hundred years. Then in A.D. 43, the emperor Claudius led a third invasion into the country. The islanders made a sturdy resistance, and it was not until nine years had passed that Roman valor and discipline triumphed. Among the captives brought back to Rome was Caractacus, the heroic leader of the Britons. Though in chains, Caractacus held his head unbowed, his spirit unbroken. Brought before Claudius, Caractacus looked him defiantly in the face and refused to kneel or beg for his liberty. The simple majesty and dignity of the prisoner so impressed the emperor that he set him and his family free.

It has been said that the religion of the ancient Britons was Druidical. This faith was hideous in many of its features and of frightful severity, possessing no trace of

the gentleness of Christianity. *Druid* is from a word meaning an oak. The people venerated this tree and also the mistletoe, which still forms a part of our Christmas festivities. They had a regularly organized priesthood and offered up human sacrifices to win the favor of the gods. The priests held all the traditions, administered the laws, and prescribed the customs. Recent research shows this horrible religion was brought from Gaul in the earliest times. The priests kept most of their faith and its ceremonies secret but they believed in a life beyond the grave. They built temples and altars, open to the sky. Some remains of these may still be seen. The most striking is Stonehenge, on Salisbury plain in Wiltshire.

In A.D. 61 Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman governor of Britain, seeing that he could make no real peace with the Druids, set out to extirpate them. The island of Anglesey, off the coast of Wales, was their sacred refuge, and against that he and his men marched. They cut down the Britons, demolished the stone altars, and flung the frantic Druids into their own divine fires.

While Suetonius was in Anglesey, a vicious uprising broke out in the East. The leader was Boadicea, widow of a king of the Icenians. She drew the surrounding tribes to her and led them into battle.

At first it seemed as if the furious and fanatic Britons would sweep the Romans into the sea, but Suetonius returned and stamped out the revolt in one great battle. Eighty thousand Britons were killed, Boadicea poisoned herself in despair, and the Druids disappeared forever.

The real conqueror of Britain was Gnaeus Julius Agricola, who was governor from A.D. 78 to 84. He was an excellent ruler, who built a line of forts from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, to keep back the turbulent North Britons. He stopped the merciless tyranny of the Roman tax gatherers, and encouraged the natives to build comfortable dwellings, good roads, and thriving towns.

Claudius illustrated from a copper coin in the British Museum



Caesar illustrated from a copper coin in the British Museum



Hadrian illustrated from a copper coin in the British Museum



Constantine the Great illustrated from a gold coin in the British Museum



The emperor Hadrian visited Britain in A.D. 120, and not feeling strong enough to hold all the lands gained by Agricola, he constructed an immense wall from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. In 139 the emperor Antoninus Pius built a new dike, which followed the line of that of Agricola. The restless North Britons continued to be troublesome. The emperor Severus made a campaign against them between 207 and 210, and erected a chain of forts along the line of the dike built by Hadrian.

The Romans built some fifty towns, many protected by walls, and of these London soon became the chief, though York was made the civil and military capital of the country. The most notable incident in the history of York was the proclamation of Constantine as emperor in 306. Through him Christianity became the established religion of the empire, though his friendship for the growing faith was that of a statesman rather than of a devout believer.

Rome ruled Britain for three and a half centuries, but by that time the stupendous empire was crumbling to ruin. Her legions were called back to Rome. This left the British people in a state of hopeless collapse. On the north the Picts, on the northwest the Scots, and on the south and east the Teutons were hammering the miserable beings, who meekly bowed their heads to the blows and quarreled among themselves over theological questions, while their enemies swarmed over the border and swept them out of their path like so much chaff.

The foes who came by sea were Teutonic tribes from the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser in North Germany. Most of the country was conquered by these Teutons, of whom the principal tribes were the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who finally fused into one people, under the name of Anglo-Saxons, or *Angles* or *English*, while that portion of Britain in which they made their home was called *England*. They were cruel, and the conquered Britons they did not enslave huddled into the western part of the island.

The first of these Teutonic kingdoms was founded in Kent. A despairing British chieftain or king, Vortigern, undertook the dangerous experiment of fighting fire with fire. To save his people from their northern foes, the Scots, he invited the Teutons to come to his aid. Two well-known Jutish vikings, Hengist and Horsa, accepted the invitation with their followers, and in the year 449 landed on the island of Thanet, the southeastern extremity of England.

At first Hengist and Horsa served their host well, driving back the wild northern tribes. Soon, however, larger ambitions took possession of the shrewd sea kings. They recognized their own strength and the Britons' weakness; they sent word to other Jutes to join them and soon accumulated a formidable force.

Legend represents King Vortigern as cowardly, weak, and evil, and tells that he was fascinated by the wiles of Rowena, a daughter of Hengist. At any rate he made



The course of the Viking expeditions

little resistance against the bold robbers and the real defense of the Britons fell to his son Vortimer. There were many fierce combats and in one Horsa was slain. The valiant Vortimer also perished, and gradually the Jutes crushed out all resistance.

Finally, King Vortigern proposed a friendly meeting. Hengist, now sole leader of the Jutes, consented. In the midst of a great love feast held at Stonehenge, the treacherous Hengist cried out suddenly to his men, "Use your swords!"

At the signal every Jute stabbed his British neighbor through the heart. Vortigern alone was spared, for he had wedded Rowena and the murderers thought him more useful alive than dead.

These stories may or may not be the literal facts connected with the first entrance of the great Teutonic race into England. Hengist, Horsa, and Vortigern, however, really existed, and Eric, a son of Hengist, was, in 457, formally crowned king of Kent, that is, of England's southeastern coast. He was the first of her Teutonic kings.

Other Teutonic tribes were naturally drawn to Britain

by the Jutes' success. The Saxons, under a chieftain named Ella, founded a kingdom of Sussex (the South Saxons) in 477. Two Saxon chiefs, coming over in 495, conquered the portion of the country now known as Hampshire, and named it Wessex, or the kingdom of the West Saxons. Then, again, from Jutland came a swarm of Angles, who occupied all that remained of eastern Britain. Increasing in strength and numbers, they became masters of most of the country and gave their own name of Angles, or English, to all the invaders.

According to tradition, the famous King Arthur administered the first real repulse to the Saxons in 520, at Badbury, in Dorsetshire. Arthur has often been looked upon as a mythical hero, but careful research leaves no doubt that he was a valiant patriot who struck many stout blows at the invaders of his country. However, the Saxons pushed inland and their power grew. The kingdom of the Northumbrians was founded in 547, and consisted of the land from the Humber to the Firth of Forth; the kingdom of the Mercians embraced the midland country, while Kent was the kingdom of the Jutes, and Sussex that of the South Saxons. Essex, the kingdom of the East Saxons and that of the East Angles, divided into Norfolk and Suffolk (North-folk and South-folk), were less important. These seven leading kingdoms are often referred to as the Heptarchy.

The religion of the early English was like that of other Teutonic tribes, being a form of heathenism, in which Woden, who was the Odin of the Danes, was worshiped as the leading god, who gave victory. Next to him was Thor, or Thunder, who ruled the sky. There were other less important gods. Our Wednesday is Woden's Day and Thursday is Thor's Day, the names having been preserved to the present time.

Saint Augustine came to Britain in 597 to preach Christianity and was so successful that he established the first cathedral of Canterbury, of which he became archbishop and which is still the mother church of England. The church gained not only great social influence, but was a force in politics.

The kingdom of Wessex now enjoyed a century and a half of prosperity. Egbert, a descendant of Cerdic, the first king, claimed the throne in 787, but was overthrown by a rival, and fled the country. He found refuge in the court of Charlemagne, who was dreaming of reviving the old Roman Empire. Shortly after Charlemagne was crowned emperor of the West, the king of Wessex died, and Egbert was called home to succeed him. He showed the influence of Charlemagne upon his character by resolutely setting out to bring all the neighboring petty tribes into subjection to his sovereignty. His army, "lean, pale, and long-bearded," was a resistless engine, which steadily crushed all opposition, so that in 828 the great task was accomplished and Egbert had fairly won the right to assume the title of king of the English. Caesar had called the land Britain, the Celts had termed it Al-



Egbert, 828-39



Ethelred I, 866-71

LINEAGE OF THE WEST SAXON KINGS FROM EGBERT.

1st Generation.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ETHELBALD, 858-860. ETHELBERT, 860-866. ETHELRED, 866-871. 			
EGBERT, 800-836.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ETHELWULF, 836-858. 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ETHELSTAN, 925-940. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EDWIG, 955-958.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ALFRED, (The Great), 871-901. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EDWARD, (The Elder), 901-925. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EDMUND, 940-946. EDRED, 946-955. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EDGAR, 958-973, married, 1. Ethelfled; 2. Elfthryth.
	6th. EDGAR, married, 1. Ethelfled;	7th. EDWARD, (The Martyr), 975-979.	8th. EDMUND, (Ironside), 1016, married Edgyth.	9th. Edward, died 1057.	10th. Margaret, married Malcolm, King of Scots.
	2. Elfthryth.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ETHELRED, (The Unready), 979-1016, married, 1. Elfled; 2. Emma, daughter of Richard I. of Normandy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EDWARD, (The Confessor), 1042-1066, married Edgyth. 		
		10th. Margaret, married Malcolm, King of Scots.	11th. Edgyth Matilda, married Henry I., King of England.		

Lineage of the West Saxon kings from Egbert

bion, and it now took the name of Angle-land, or Eng-land.

Next England was made to feel the whip of the merciless Northmen, or Danes. These invaders were still heathen and they reveled in the destruction of the Christian churches and monasteries and in the slaying of the priests. Creeping along the coast, hiding in woods and caves, or sailing unexpectedly up the rivers in their galleys and then stealing horses, the Danes galloped through the country on their ferocious forays, sparing nothing they could reach.

The Scots of Ireland had been converted to Christianity in the fifth century mainly through the labors of the great missionary Saint Patrick, and his work was

carried on with marvelous completeness by his followers. Learning, therefore, flourished in Ireland, and students flocked thither from England, Germany, and Gaul. The land was luminous with churches and monasteries, but these were blotted out by the Danes, who drove the native Irish back into the swamps and bogs, and then made their own homes along the seacoast.

Such was the miserable condition of England and its immediate neighbors, when one of the greatest characters in English history appeared on the scene, and through his life and achievements accomplished a work for his country whose grandeur and importance have never been surpassed. This heroic figure was Alfred the Great.

ALFRED THE GREAT

Alfred was the fifth son of Ethelwulf, king of Wessex, and of Osburh, his first wife, and was born at Wantage in Berkshire in 849. The father, it is said, had been bishop of Winchester until necessity made him king. He fought the invading Northmen while under-king of Kent, and afterward succeeded his father Egbert on the throne.

Ethelwulf, however, had a side to his character for which the *Witan*, or "wise men," felt little sympathy. He was impressed by the spell that the name of Rome exercised in the Middle Ages, and disregarded many objections of his kingdom in order to make a pilgrimage to the Eternal City. Before leaving, he granted a tenth part of the rents from his private domain for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes. But this grant was afterward mis-



Alfred the Great,
871-901

takenly represented as a gift of the tenth of the entire revenue of the kingdom, and was the origin of tithes.

Little is known of the mother of Alfred, who was the daughter of the king's cupbearer, and came of the royal house of the Jutes, settled in the Isle of Wight.

Alfred's visit to Rome with Ethelwulf is supposed to have lasted about two years, and with this visit no doubt should be associated the main part of his formal education. He acquired a fair knowledge of Latin, and thus gained the key to the learning accessible at the time. There, too, he must have imbibed that fondness for literature that led him to translate what he looked upon as the classics in science, literature, and religion. On his way home, he remained for some months with his father at the court of Charles the Bald, king of the Western Franks, and there he tasted the best of medieval monarchy.

When Ethelwulf and his son left the court of Charles the Bald, the father was past sixty years of age, and took with him as his bride Judith, the daughter of Charles, a maiden not more than twelve. His people refused to receive him, for the leaders of Wessex had sworn an oath to bestow the crown upon his son, Ethelbald. The father complacently accepted the situation and withdrew to Kent, where he ruled as under-king for two years. His death was followed by the scandalous marriage of his widow to Ethelbald, but to neither did she bear any children, and her second husband passed away in 860.

Returning to her father, Judith eloped with Baldwin I of Flanders and from the couple descended Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V of Flanders, who became the wife of William the Conqueror. Alfred's daughter married Judith's son.

Ethelwulf set up for the first time in English history the claim to bequeath the crown as he chose. He willed that at his death it should pass to Ethelstan, his eldest son, then to Ethelbald, to Ethelred, and then to Alfred, the children of each being excluded. Ethelbert, standing



Ethelbald, 858-60



Saint Augustine before Ethelbert (860-66)

in order of age between Ethelbald and Ethelred, was to remain after his father's death the under-king of Kent.

While this arrangement suited the persons chiefly concerned, it by no means suited the Witan, who, seeing the need of a united kingdom as a protection against the Danes, set the will aside, and decided to take their kings in order from the ruling family. A condition as unparalleled as it was fortunate was that there was not a bit of jealousy among the brothers. Whoever was king was certain to receive the loyal support of the others. When Ethelbald died in 860, Ethelbert was called from Kent and his rule extended over both that province and Wessex. Six years later, Ethelred, his brother, succeeded. Alfred was at that time seventeen years old, and was the right-hand man of the king, serving as his chief of staff in war, as chief minister in peace, and signing all royal warrants next to the king. During the first three years of Ethelred's reign, the Danes swarmed over Northumbria and East Anglia, and were preparing to overrun Mercia and Wessex.

The first encounter of Alfred with the Danes took place in 868, before he was yet king, and when he was twenty. About that time he was marrying the daughter of Ethelred Mucil, earl of the Gainas.

At Alfred's wedding he was seized with a distressing

affliction that was beyond the skill of the best physicians of the time. Most probably the ailment was epilepsy, so that through the most trying years of his trying life, when engaged upon his grand work, he was liable at any moment to be taken with an epileptic fit. The affliction cannot fail to stir sympathy and deepen admiration of the wonderful man.

In this same year of 868, the Danes withdrew from Northumberland and invaded Mercia, whose people in their panic appealed to Wessex for help. Ethelred and Alfred lost no time in responding. The royal brothers led the brave men of Wessex to the defense of the place, but, though successful at first, were decisively overcome in a great battle. In one of the battles Ethelred was mortally wounded, and with the West Saxon forces withdrawing, the Danes remained masters of the field.

A few weeks after the accession of Alfred, he encountered the Danes again. He surprised them at first, but in the end was repulsed. The enemy, however, had never faced such resistance, nor suffered such severe losses. It did not take long to agree upon terms of peace. Alfred had to pay a heavy price, for he was obliged to debase the coinage, and to put a heavy tax upon landowners. A three-year respite that followed was enjoyed by Wessex only, and London remained in the hands of the Danes until finally reconquered by Alfred.

Alfred believed that his little kingdom could be saved only by action on the sea, and that the relentless invaders of his country must be defeated upon the water or not at all. It came about that, during the three-year breathing spell he created the first English navy. He was able to stop a Danish fleet heading for the Thames.

Stealing along the coast, the enemy found a landing place at Wareham in Dorsetshire. The alert Alfred immediately blockaded them, and the frightened Danes were glad to make a treaty by which they promised "speedily to depart his kingdom." But they found pretexts for breaking their pledge and, seizing Exeter, held it throughout the winter of 876-77. In the following

Alfred's "jewel"





Alfred's Britain with historical detail

spring, a Danish fleet of more than a hundred vessels sailed around the coast with the intention of reinforcing their countrymen blockaded in Exeter. But at Swanade a severe storm dashed all the ships upon the rocks. This wrested the control of the Channel from the invaders, and the garrison at Exeter was helpless before Alfred. The Danes saw they were defeated and surrendered on the promise of being permitted to leave Wessex. They passed into Mercia and divided some of the choicest lands in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire among themselves.

According to the rules of warfare in those days, it was the practice—to trade the sword for the plowshare. Not doubting the peace, the West Saxon army was disbanded, and the men turned to farming, believing no more fighting would be required. But, without warning, the Danes swarmed back over the Mercian border and surprised Wessex. Wessex passed unresisting into the possession of the Danes and King Alfred followed by his still faithful band, plunged into the swamps and forests of Somersetshire, so hidden in the tangled depths with

which his men were familiar, that his enemies could not trace him to his hiding place.

Between the opening of the year and Easter, 878, Alfred threaded his way to a piece of firm ground in the middle of the marshes formed by the Parret and the Tone. The position was very strong naturally, and he made his headquarters at Athelney, from where he began a guerrilla warfare through which he inflicted considerable damage on the enemy. It is related that, in order to learn the intentions of the Danes, Alfred visited their camp in the guise of a wandering minstrel and stayed a full week, entertaining them and their king, Guthrum, with his music. When he had learned all he wished to know, he quietly departed, without having once drawn suspicion to himself.

Before long Alfred's followers had so increased that he waged war in the open fields. The two forces met at Eddington, near Westbury, and the Danes suffered defeat. After a two-week siege, Guthrum surrendered. The invaders agreed to quit Wessex forever, and Guthrum agreed to turn Christian and be baptized. In the treaty concluded at Wedmore, the boundaries between Danish and English Britain were defined. The rights of Alfred were established over all Wessex, Kent, and London, and a large district extending into Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.

It was not until 886, however, that the little Saxon chiefs all over England, recognizing Alfred's ability and power, came to him voluntarily, and, placing their hands in his, acknowledged him as their king. In the same year Alfred was able to begin rebuilding London. Being secure now in the possession of the town, the English had no trouble in holding the Thames, and that protected Kent, Wessex, and Mercia.

A tremendous test of Alfred's material work for England came in 893-96, when Hasting, the Northman, landed an army in Britain, but after several defeats at the hands of Alfred, they surrendered. The last days of the illustrious Alfred closed in peace and tranquillity, the

Alfred singing in the Hall of Guthrum





Alfred acknowledged as king by the men of all England

entry in the English chronicle being as follows:

"This year [901] died Alfred, son of Ethelwulf, six days before the Mass of All Saints. He was king over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes. He held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years. And then Edward, his son, succeeded to the kingdom."

Alfred's services to England were those of a patriot and statesman as well as warrior. The code of laws that he compiled in 890 was prefaced by the Ten Commandments, and closed with the Golden Rule, and he remarked, referring to the former: "He who keeps them shall not need any other law book." The real services of Alfred the Great to his people lay less in the framing and codifying of the laws, than in the enforcing of them. He made it clear to his people that the supreme power of the ruler was buttressed by the judicial system, and the executive authority would be used to the utmost to enforce obedience.

THE LATER SAXONS

On the death of Alfred, his followers raised on a shield as their king, his eldest son Edward, surnamed the Elder, an able and ambitious soldier. He became king of all the

English, ruled for twenty-four years, but there were important events that took place during that time.

Edward passed away in 925, and his eldest son Ethelstan reigned until 940. Three years before his death, he and his brother Edmund gained a crushing victory over a Danish king from Ireland and the Scots, Danes, and Welsh of the north, then there was only one king in all England. His son, Edmund the Magnificent, after reigning brilliantly for six years, was stabbed to death by a banished outlaw. Since the sons of Edmund were still quite young, his brother Edred, who had a sickly body but a strong mind, was chosen king. Upon his death in 955, he was succeeded by his brother Edwy, who reigned for only three years. Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury and chief adviser to the king, was virtually sovereign during the reign of the licentious Edgar (959-75), and it was his wise policy that procured for Edgar the title of "the Pacific."

Disorder followed the death of Edgar in 975, and there was a bitter quarrel as to which of the king's sons should succeed him—Edward, about twelve years old, or Ethelred, who was six years younger. The elder was finally selected and Elfrida, the mother of the younger, was incensed, for she had set her heart upon obtaining the crown for Ethelred.

Edward the Elder (901-25) raised on the shield by his followers



Dunstan was still the real king, and it was he who placed the crown upon Edward's head. The stepmother, standing by, vowed a vengeance that was not long delayed. While King Edward was hunting one day, in Dorsetshire, he spurred ahead of his attendants and reached Corfe Castle, where his stepmother lived. The young king blew his hunting horn, and Elfrida hurried out beaming with smiles: "Dear King, you are welcome," she said, "pray dismount and come in!" "I am afraid, my dear madam," he replied, "that my company will miss me and think I have come to some harm. I will be glad to drink a cup of wine here in the saddle to you and my little brother, Ethelred."

Elfrida hurried into the castle to get the wine, and reappeared in a few minutes bearing it in her hand. The king reached down, smilingly took the cup, and lifting it to his lips, said, "Health to you both." At that moment, an armed attendant of the queen, who had stolen around unnoticed to the rear of the king, leaped forward and buried a dagger in his back. The king dropped the cup, and his startled horse dashed off. Weakened from the loss of blood, the dying king soon toppled from the saddle, but his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged over the stones, until his friends came up with the exhausted animal and released the body. Because of the manner of his death, Edward is called the Martyr. His great adviser Dunstan, in great grief, retired to Canterbury and devoted himself solely to religious duties until his death in 988.

Ethelred succeeded his murdered brother on the throne. He was surnamed the Unready, and was a worthless creature who gave himself up to all manner of vices. When the Danes began again their invasions of the country, the cowardly Ethelred and his friends resorted to the disgraceful practice of buying them off. This pleased the robbers, who took the money and then came again, sure of receiving each time a big bribe from the terrified and cringing English. The heavy taxes that it was necessary to impose were called *Danegeld*, or "Dane-gold." When the end of his resources was reached, the worthless Ethelred took refuge with Duke Richard the Good of Normandy, whose sister he had married.

Finally, in 1013, Sweyn the Dane conquered all England. He died the following year, and then Ethelred was recalled, but he, too, soon died, and the war went on between his son Edmund, surnamed Ironsides, and Canute, son of Sweyn. Thus there were two kings in the country. Edmund put up a brave fight, but in the end agreed to accept Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, and London for his share, while the Dane took all the rest. Edmund, however, had reigned only seven months (April 23–November 30, 1016), when he died, and Canute, or Cnut, became the first fully acknowledged Danish king of England, his rule lasting from 1017 to 1035.

Canute began his reign with great harshness, banishing or putting to death the leading Englishmen who had



Ethelstan, 925–40



Edwy (also Eadwig), 955–58



Edgar, 958–75



King Edgar

Edward the Martyr, 975–79



Canute and his queen





Dunstan crowning Edward the Martyr

fought against him; but this severity did not last. He soon sought the goodwill of the people. He rebuked the courtiers who, in flattering his greatness, declared that even the sea would obey him. He had them place his chair on the edge of the waves and commanded the rising tide to come no nearer. When it steadily rose despite his order, he had some harsh words for his flatterers.

Canute's plan was to form a mighty empire that included Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and England. He divided England into four districts or earldoms: Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, each ruled by an earl, with absolute authority. The plan began well, but mutual jealousy brought friction, until the safety of the country was imperiled.

Canute visited his different possessions, but lived mostly in England, of which he became very fond. He seems to have been a worthy Christian, for he showed a reverence for all that was good, and one day wrote to his subjects: "I have vowed to God to live a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously over my realm, and to administer just judgment to all."

When Canute died, England was divided between his two sons Harold and Hardicanute. By this time, however, the people had become tired of their Danish rulers.



The empire of Canute (Cnut), 1014-35

The Great Council of the Witan sent for Edward, the son of Ethelred, whom they wished to have as their king. He had been taken to the French or Norman court when only nine years old, and had spent nearly thirty years there. He took with him to England a number of French favorites, filled the churches with French priests, and in short ruled like the Frenchman he really was. He even went so far as to give his pledge to Duke William of Normandy, that on his death he would leave the English crown to the Norman duke. The latter never forgot this promise, though Edward chose to disregard it.

Edward married the daughter of Godwin, earl of Wessex, who was the real ruler of the country until his death in 1053, when he was succeeded by his son Harold as earl. The nominal king spent his time in church affairs, and built an abbey at the west end of London, which was called Westminster. His life was so blameless that he was given the name of Edward the Confessor, or the Christian. Hardly had Edward completed and dedicated his abbey, when he died and was buried there. On his death-



King Canute and the waves

*Harold Harefoot (Harold I),
(1035-40), son of Canute*





Harthacnut (Hardicanute),
1040-42



Edward the Confessor, 1042-66



Great seal of Edward the Confessor

bed, Edward, despite his solemn promise to the duke of Normandy, and in view of the fact that he had no children, recommended Harold, earl of Wessex, as his successor. His advice was followed. The Witan, or National Council, selected Harold as king, and he was crowned January 16, 1066. Now, the government rested in an elective sovereign, who was aided by the council of the Witan. All freemen had the right to attend this council, but the power really rested with a few of the nobles and clergy. The body could elect the king, but were required to limit their choice to the royal family. If he proved unfit, the Witan had the power to depose him. That body confirmed grants of public lands, and was a supreme court of justice in civil and criminal cases. In conjunction with the king, the Witan enacted laws, levied taxes, and appointed the chief officers and bishops of the realm.

The freemen were compelled to help in the maintenance of roads, bridges, and forts, and were obliged to serve in case of war. Besides the earls, who were nobles by birth, there was a class called *thanes*, or "servants," or companions of the king, who after a time outranked the hereditary nobility. Both classes were rewarded by the king for faithful services, or for valorous deeds, and

Harold's interview with King Edward on his return from Normandy (Bayeux Tapestry)



this reward was generally in the form of land, since the king owned most of it. The condition attached to such a gift was the obligation of the receiver to provide a certain number of equipped soldiers to fight for the donor. The nobles and large landholders, imitating the king, gave certain parts of their estates in the same way to tenants, and they in turn, if they chose, could do the same to those below them. This constituted the feudal system, by which every freeman below the rank of a noble was obliged to attach himself to some superior whom he was bound to serve, and who in return became his legal protector.

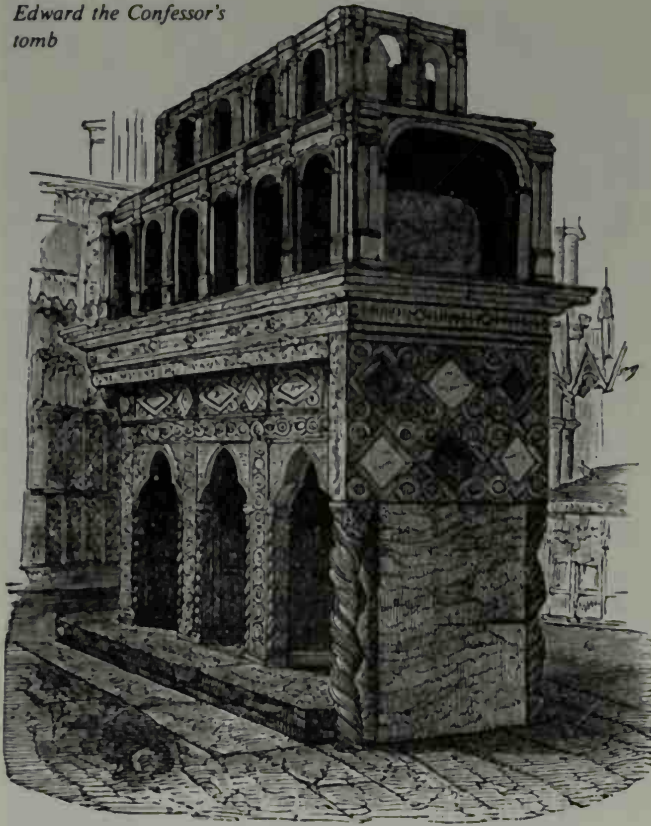
The sickness and death of Edward the Confessor (Bayeux Tapestry)



Funeral of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey (Bayeux Tapestry)



Edward the Confessor's tomb



Harold

The crown offered to Harold by the people (Bayeux Tapestry)



The coronation of King Harold II, 1066

THE NORMAN INVASION

One of the greatest battles in history—Hastings—had its beginnings with the bearing of a king's first message. Duke William of Normandy was about to mount his horse to join his friends on a hunt, when the messenger rode up with the new king's message of the news of the death of King Edward in England, and the accession of Harold II, who sent a demand to Harold that he should respect the promise made by the dead king. Harold's reply was a flat refusal, and the indignant duke resolved to "fight for his rights." He called his Norman barons around him, and promised large grants of land to all who would help him. Since most of the Normans were fond of fighting and adventure, and there was a promise of substantial rewards, they flocked in large numbers to his banner. Not meaning to neglect anything, he sent to the pope asking his favor, and it came back with a consecrated banner that was to be carried by the army. Just as the sun was creeping up in the horizon on September 27, 1066, Duke William's fleet and transports sailed out into the Channel, his own vessel in the lead, with the sacred banner fluttering at the masthead. His archers and cavalry numbered more than fifty thousand.

Now another Harold, who was a Goliath of a warrior and king of the Norwegians, had landed in the north of England. The opposing armies clashed together at Stamford Bridge, on September 25, with the result that the Norwegians were routed, and their leaders slain.

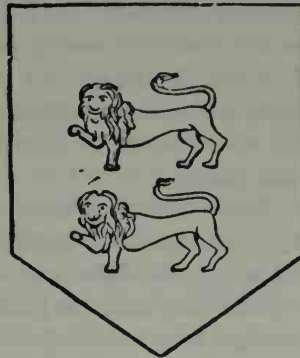




Great seal of William the Conqueror



William the Conqueror, 1066-87



Arms of William the Conqueror (William I)

William the Conqueror landing in England



William I and Tonstain bearing the consecrated banner at the Battle of Hastings (Bayeux Tapestry)

The Battle of Hastings



The English Harold was in high feather over his victory, and held a great feast at York to celebrate it, but in the midst of the merrymaking a messenger galloped up with the news that Duke William had landed at Pevensey. Harold did not waste any more time in celebrating, but, gathering his forces, hurried southward, and camped on the heights of Senlac. Meanwhile, William had landed and built a fort, from which he advanced to Hastings a few miles farther east. No enemy appearing, he began plundering the surrounding country, and was so employed when Harold arrived with his army on the evening of October 13. Full of confidence, the Saxons spent the night in feasting and song, while the Normans engaged in prayer and confession.

The great battle of Hastings opened on the following morning. A huge Norman knight rode forward in advance of his comrades, singing and tossing his great sword high in the air, catching it as it fell. A Saxon rushed forward to meet him and was slain. Then the two armies joined in battle, the Normans attacking, the Saxons defending. Twice the invaders were beaten back. A rumor spread that Duke William was slain, and his men began to flee. Throwing aside his helmet that all might see his face, he galloped among the fugitives and checked them with his voice and lance, threatening death if they did not turn again to battle. Then he bade his archers shoot into the air, so that their descending arrows fell like rain upon the unprotected heads of the Englishmen. King Harold fell, pierced through the brain by an arrow



Edith finding the body of King Harold

and bleeding from countless wounds. Still the sturdy Saxons held their ground, and William resorted to another stratagem. He made his most trusted troops feign flight. The foe broke ranks in a furious pursuit; and the better-trained Normans, turning unexpectedly upon the charging mob, scattered the English in confusion. Still, however, they struggled on, each little detached group fighting for itself, until night enabled the remnant to escape from the field of death. England had been conquered in one of the most desperate and bloody battles of history.

The next day, Harold's old and tottering mother, with tears streaming down her withered cheeks, begged for the body of her son, but the stern duke William would not permit it to have a Christian burial. For a long time it was impossible to find the mangled corpse, and it was only with the help of Edith "of the swan's neck," a

Facsimile of entries in Domesday book, which was a survey of the land and people of William's kingdom. A valuable document for historians, it divided the 2 million people in the land to status as serfs or free people and nobles, and divided real property according to ownership.

W TERRA WILLELMI DE BRATOSE. In hunc tenet. *In hunc tenet*
Willelmi de Bratose tenet de rege Susevete. Bratose
tenet de rege. E. Te se defit p. ii. hid. modo p. una hid.
pra. e. iii. car. In dno. e. una. 7 v. uille. 7 viii. bord. cu. ii.
car. lbi. molin. de. xviii. solid. 7 piscaria de. l. denar.
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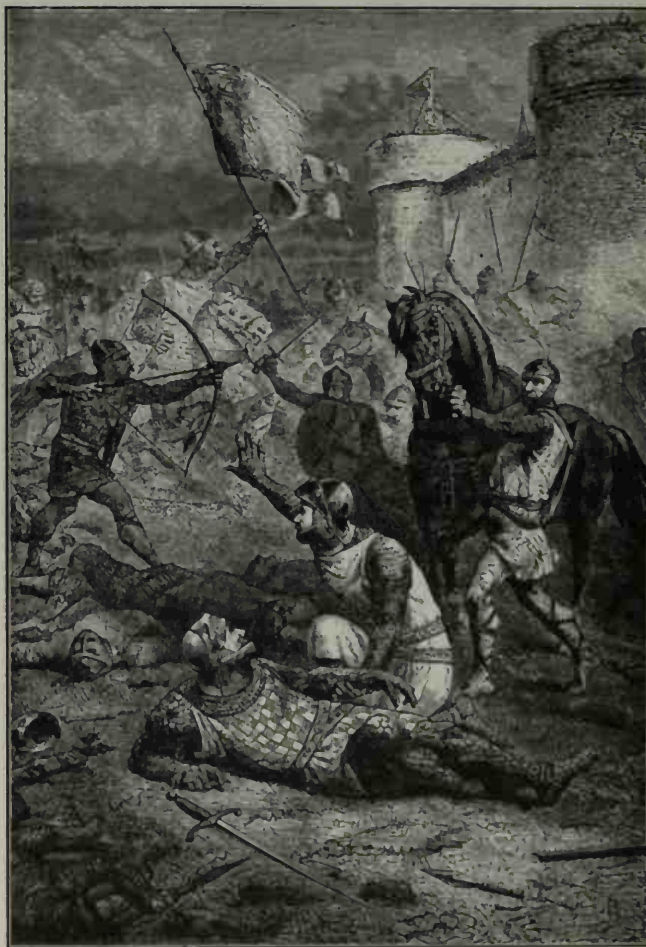
TERRA WILLELMI LOVER. In hunc tenet.
Willelmi Lover tenet de rege dea. Tenet de rege. E.
m. alod. Te se defit p. viii. hid. modo p. i. hid. 7 una c.
pra. e. v. car. In dno. dim. car. 7 iii. uille. 7 iii. bord. cu. ii.
car. lbi. ii. serui. 7 molin. de. xv. solid. 7 iii. de pa.
Silua de. v. porc. Valur. viii. lib. 7 post. c. lot. modo. lxx. sol.
Jit. W. tenet due. serui. Tenet de rege. E. m. alod. p. iii. hid. 7 una c.
pra. e. ii. car. lbi. sunt. ii. uille. 7 vii. bord. cu. ii. car.
7 xiii. de pa. Silua ad clausura. Valur. xl. sol. modo. xxx. solid.
Jit. W. tenet ad. serui. Tenet de rege. E. Te p. v. hid. m. p. ii. hid. 7 dimid. pra. e.
iiii. car. In dno. e. una. 7 iii. uille. 7 iii. cor. cu. i. car.
7 dimid. lbi. molin. de. xii. sol. 7 vi. den. 7 xl. de pa.
Valur. vi. lib. 7 uille. qui. reddit. vii. lib.

former favorite of the king, that it was picked out from the heaps of the slain. On the field of his great victory the Norman conqueror erected the Abbey of Battle, and tradition says he buried the body of his fallen foe under a pile of stones near the sea, whence it was removed by friends, and finally laid at rest at Waltham, near London, in the church (afterward Waltham Abbey) that Harold had built there.

With little delay William marched against London and burned the suburbs. The panic-stricken inhabitants, seeing no hope, threw open the gates without any defense. William repaid them by giving the city a charter that secured for it the same privileges that had been granted by Edward the Confessor. This interesting paper is still preserved among other documents in Guildhall, London. A striking fact connected with it is that William, unable to write his name, signed it with his "mark." He was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, in Westminster Abbey.

England having been so effectively conquered, William went back to Normandy, where by his appointment his queen, Matilda, was at the head of affairs. Before leaving England, he placed it in charge of his half-brother Eudes, bishop of Bayeux, aided by a trusted

William the Conqueror stricken down by his son Robert





The death of the Conqueror

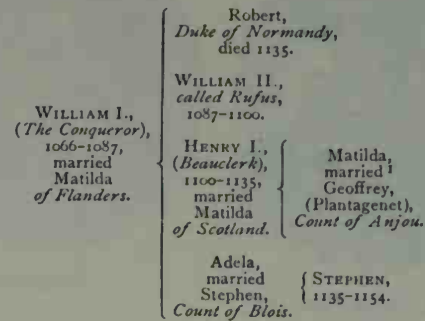
friend William Fitz-Osborn, who had been made earl of Hereford.

These two men were unfitted for the trust, and ruled so harshly that the people revolted and William found it necessary to return to England to quell the insurrection. In 1069, the foreign barbarians swarmed into northern England again and were aided by the English. William swore he would end the continual revolt by laying the country waste, and he kept the fearful oath. Villages, towns, dwellings, crops, cattle, everything beyond York and Durham, was destroyed, and the whole region so desolated that for nine years no one attempted to cultivate a plot of ground. More than a hundred thousand people perished of cold and starvation during the winter that followed. It was an act of dreadful ferocity, and yet there seemed to be a grim necessity for it.

William claimed that he had been the rightful king of England from the time of the death of his cousin, Edward the Confessor, and consequently all who had supported Harold II were traitors whose lands he confiscated, thereby increasing his wealth beyond estimate, and making himself virtually the owner of the whole kingdom. He built numerous strong castles in the different towns—the Tower of London being one of them. These were garrisoned with armed men to hold the surrounding people in subjection. The lands were divided mainly among his followers, so that at the close of his reign England had really only two classes of society—the Norman tenants, known as barons, and the English. They were no longer free, and were known as *villains*, who were bound to the soil and could be sold with it, but, unlike slaves, could not be sold apart from the land. The word *villain* came from this reference.

Within less than twenty years of his coronation, William ordered a survey and valuation to be made of all the land outside of London, with the exception of a few border counties on the north. These returns, which were complete to the minutest particular, were set down in an immense volume called the Domesday, or Doomsday, Book.

LINEAGE OF THE NORMAN KINGS FROM THE CONQUEROR TO STEPHEN.



¹ First married to the Emperor Henry V.; without offspring.

Lineage of the Norman kings from the Conqueror to Stephen

In the summer following the preparation of this book (1086), William summoned all the nobles and chief landholders, with their vassals, to meet on Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire. There some six hundred thousand men solemnly swore to support him as king against even their own lords—a sweeping and momentous proceeding, which made William supreme. Thus this great man completed his all-important work of blending and fusing together two peoples and civilizations. Still, the English were not conquered by another race, but by a more vigorous branch of their own race. Thus he showed the sea-wolf in his nature, though it was mingled at times with a strange gentleness that proved he was not wholly lacking in better qualities, and well earned for him the title of the Lion of Justice. He did great good to England by infusing the vigor of his Norse nature into the decaying system.

The Great Council, of which mention has been made often, seldom met, but there was need of a court to settle the disputes among the barons. So he organized the King's Court, which was a smaller and more easily handled body. Because of his stern policy many people came from other countries and settled in England. Among them were weavers and farmers from Flanders, who not only grew rich themselves, but added to the wealth of the country.

In 1087, William was so angered by a jest of the French king upon his bulky, awkward figure, that he set out to lay waste the borderland between France and Normandy. While riding through the ruins of Mantes, his horse stumbled and so injured him that he died some six weeks after. His eldest son, Robert, who had rebelled against his father, was not by the bedside of the dying king. So William gave to his second son, Rufus, a letter advising that he would be made king of England to the exclusion of his elder brother. The moment young William received this doubtful heritage, he set out for England to claim it. Henry, the third son, was given a fortune, and he also sped away to make sure of the inheritance.



William II, Rufus, 1087-1100

Three sons survived William the Conqueror, besides a daughter Adela, who married Stephen, count of Blois, a prominent French nobleman. Robert, the eldest son, secured Normandy. He had long been in revolt against his father. There is a legend that the father and son fought, unknown to each other, upon the field of battle. Robert unhorsed his father, and would have slain him, but suddenly recognizing his defeated foe, knelt and asked for pardon. A reconciliation followed. It was soon broken again, but Robert in the end was allowed to inherit Normandy.

William, the second son, called Rufus because of the color of his hair, was accepted as king of England on his appearance there. He was elected and crowned king, September 26, 1087, and reigned until 1100. Most of that period was spent in warring with the barons. He reveled in all sorts of vice.

It was during the reign of William that Christendom was filled with wrath by the news that the Saracens in the Holy Land treated with intolerable cruelty the multitudes of devout visitors, who were accustomed to make pilgrimages there. The pope proclaimed a crusade, which set out in 1096 to wrest the Holy Sepulcher from the Mohammedans. Among those caught in the thrill of

Rufus's deathbed, bishops and abbots attending, from a twelfth-century manuscript



Great seal of William Rufus



the general ardor was Robert of Normandy, who mortgaged his dominions for five years to his brother, in order to raise the expenses of his share in the Crusade. He set out for Palestine, while Normandy dropped like ripe fruit into the hands of William Rufus.

The latter was passionately fond of hunting. On August 2, 1100, he was engaged at his favorite pastime in New Forest, with a number of friends. Some time later, some of his attendants found him dying in agony, from the arrow of a crossbow that had deeply pierced his body. Walter Tyrell, one of the party, was suspected of launching the missile, and saved his own life only by fleeing to France. He always denied having fired the arrow, though suspicion attached to him all his life. A charcoal-burner carried the king's body to Winchester, where it was buried without any religious ceremony, for, even in those days of license and easy-going religion, it was considered a sacrilege to bestow any rites upon such

Matilda, queen of Henry I, from a statue in the west doorway of Rochester Cathedral



Henry I, Beauclerc, 1100-35





Great seal of Henry I



Great seal of Stephen



a vicious person, who had died unrepentant in the midst of his sins. The most that can be said for the reign of William Rufus was that it checked the aggressions of the barons and prevented his kingdom from falling into the anarchy that existed on the Continent.

It was now the turn of Henry, third son of William the Conqueror, to ascend the throne, he being the first of the Norman kings who was born and educated in England. He had enough of his father's administrative genius to carry out and complete the governmental plans that the Conqueror had organized. He created a supreme court, composed of his secretaries and royal ministers, with a chancellor at the head. Another body was formed, representing the royal vassals, the barons of the exchequer. The top of the table around which they assembled was marked like a checkerboard, and it was from this that the title came.

Rufus and Henry I carried out the plan of their father for holding Wales in subjection. This consisted of building castles on the frontiers and placing them in the charge of nobles, to whom were granted all the lands they could conquer from the Welsh. The sons, in addition to this method, planted a colony of Flemish emigrants in the district of Ross in Pembrokeshire, where they gained wealth by weaving cloth and tilling the ground, and defeated every effort of the Welsh princes to expel them.

A pathetic incident is connected with the reign of Henry. His queen, Matilda, died in 1118 leaving a daughter, Matilda, and an only son. The latter was a proud and vicious youth, whose only merit was the manner of his death. In 1120, when nineteen years old, the ship in which he was crossing the Channel was wrecked. He had put off from the sinking vessel, when the shrieks of his half-sister caused him to row back to her rescue. So many leaped into his boat that it went down, and he and all the noble company were drowned. It was said that from the moment the news was carried to King Henry, he never smiled again.

Although he married again, no children were born to the king, and he decided to settle the crown on his widowed daughter Matilda. The barons were displeased at the thought of being ruled by a woman, but had to consent and swore to sustain her in the succession. Then

her father compelled her to marry Geoffrey, count of Anjou, a youth only sixteen years old. This young man was called "the Handsome," and always wore in his helmet a sprig of the broom-plant of Anjou. Because of this fact, their son Henry II is known in history as *Plantagenet*, the Latin name of the plant being *Planta genista*.

Henry died in 1135. Two candidates for the throne immediately came forward. One was his daughter Matilda and the other his nephew Stephen. Despite the pledge of the barons to support Matilda, the feeling against the rule of a woman was so strong that Stephen was allowed to assume the crown. Four years later Matilda landed in England, determined to see that the wish of her father was carried out. The west of England rallied to her support, while the east stood by Stephen, the allegiance of the barons being divided. Stephen himself was one of the barons who had promised to sustain the queen. The king of the Scots, who was Matilda's uncle, came over the border with an army to help her.

It was in 1139 that Queen Matilda landed in England, and at the time a civil war was in all its fury. At the beginning of 1141, Stephen was taken prisoner at Lincoln, was put in chains and shut up in Bristol Castle. Then Matilda entered London in triumph, but was so scornful because of her success that everyone became disgusted, and she was driven out before she could be

Stephen of Blois, 1135-54,
nephew of Henry I

Arms of Stephen



crowned. Some months later, Stephen was exchanged for the earl of Gloucester, and the war raged again. The civil war was finally brought to an end by the bishops in 1153, with the agreement that Stephen should keep the kingdom for his life, and then should be succeeded by Henry, the eldest son of Matilda. Stephen died in the autumn of 1154. He was the last of the Norman kings, their combined reigns having covered almost a century.

The Norman conquest did not materially affect the divisions of society, though nearly all the Saxons were compelled to surrender their rank and estates to the Normans. A noble was a member of the National Council, or, in the case of an earl, he represented the king in the government of a county or earldom. He was not exempted from taxation, and his rank could descend to only one of his children. (The aristocracy in France were noble by birth, their rank passed to all their children, and they were generally exempt from taxation.) No changes were made in the organization of the church during the Norman period, but the principal offices in it were also handed over to the Normans. Learning was confined to the clergy, and the meager schools were connected with the monasteries and nunneries. Few books were written, the principal ones being histories. The old Anglo-Saxon chronicle was continued in English, and the chronicles of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntington were written in Latin. The best account of the Norman Conquest is the Bayeux Tapestry, worked in colored worsted and done, supposedly, by Queen Matilda. The length of the canvas is two hundred and fourteen feet, the width about twenty inches, and it consists of seventy-two scenes or pictures from which a clear knowledge can be gained of the armor, dress, and weapons of the period.

THE EARLIER PLANTAGENETS

Henry II, who was fond of wearing the sprig of the broom-plant in his helmet, came to the English throne in 1154. He was the first Plantagenet, but twenty-one years old, strong, coarse, and determined to do right.

Before Henry was crowned, he was one of the most powerful of princes. Although a vassal of the king of France, he was the owner of so many fiefs that he was stronger than his king and all the other vassals. From his father he received Anjou, from his mother, Normandy and Maine, and he gained the county of Poitou and the duchy of Aquitaine by marrying their heiress Eleanor directly after her divorce from Louis VII of France.

England contained more than a thousand castles, which, in the language of an early chronicle, were "nests of devils and dens of thieves." All of these Henry leveled to the ground. He told the great landowners they would pay him *scutage*, or shield money, in lieu of military service. His cunning motive was to hire foreign soldiers with this tax, and thus cause his countrymen to lose their



Henry II, 1154-89 (drawn from the tomb at Fontevrault)



Arms of Henry II



Great seal of Henry II

skill with arms, and be less liable to rebel against him.

He was very fond of Thomas à Becket, who was his chancellor, and he secured the election of Becket as archbishop of Canterbury. Becket was the son of a rich citizen of London, and had given his time to secular matters, but upon becoming archbishop he went to the other extreme, resigned the chancellorship, and led the most austere of lives. This displeased Henry, but before long a cause for more serious quarrel rose between them. It was the law that the bishops should hold courts of their own for the trial of ecclesiastics, but Henry insisted that they should be brought under the jurisdiction of the regular courts. Thomas à Becket would not agree to this, maintaining that the special courts for the trial of the clergy should remain as instituted by William the Conqueror. The king had some new laws passed that were called the Constitutions of Clarendon, because they were passed at that place by a council of the prelates and barons, in January 1164. One of the laws was the special enactment demanded by the king, and another was a decree that all appeals in England should be made to the king and not to the pope.

It was necessary for the archbishop to sign these laws. Being summoned to the royal court he entered the hall with his cross held in his hands. Nothing could affect his resolution to oppose the will of the king. To all the appeals and persuasions of the bishops and nobles, who gathered around him, he calmly shook his head in the negative and replied that he must appeal to the pope.

Many grew impatient and angry, and as he passed out of the hall called after him "Traitor! traitor!"

As might be expected, the pope sustained the archbishop, and Becket had to flee to France to escape the persecutions of King Henry. The quarrel went on for six years, and was intensified by the dispute over the coronation of the king's eldest son, whom Henry wished to make his viceroy in England. The pope declared that no one except the archbishop of Canterbury had the right to crown him, but Henry persuaded the archbishop of York to perform the ceremony.

The king, however, dreaded the anger of the pope, and, through the mediation of Louis VII of France, he patched up his quarrel with Becket, who returned to England, where he was joyfully welcomed. But there was no yielding on his part, and he surprisingly announced that he had in his possession the excommunication of the archbishop of York and his assistant bishops. Upon hearing of this, Henry was seized with one of his wild outbursts of rage and, rolling on the floor in a tantrum,

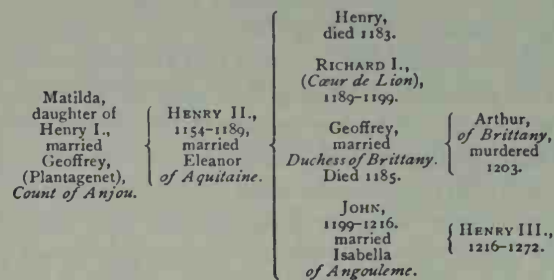


Henry II and his queen, Eleanor (effigies in the abbey church of Fontevrault)

The Angevin Empire of Henry II



LINEAGE OF THE ANGEVIN, OR EARLY PLANTAGENET, KINGS OF ENGLAND.



Lineage of the Angevin, or early Plantagenet, kings of England

yelled: "Is there no one who will rid me of this vile priest?"

Four knights who heard the words took it figuratively, riding into the cathedral where the archbishop was celebrating what he knew would be his last church service. The assassins tried to drag him from God's altar; but he resisted them, and they slew him where he stood. Then, they fled in fear.

By his death Becket triumphed. Henry was horrified when told what had been done, and made oath to the pope that he had nothing to do with the crime. He gained general belief in his innocence by kneeling upon the spot reddened by the blood of his former friend, and submitting to a beating like the vilest criminal. The laws that Becket had opposed were not established. The common people of England regarded the archbishop as a martyr, slain for his service to them and the church; and his grave became a shrine to which pilgrimages are made from all over the world.

The close of Henry's life was stormy. His neglected wife and his enemies stirred up his three older sons to rebellion against him. They were Henry, his heir; Richard, who had received the government of Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, who obtained Brittany through his marriage with Constance, the heiress. In 1173, they, in conjunc-

tion with a number of nobles of England and Normandy, including the kings of France and Scotland, formed a league against King Henry. He subdued the rebellion and showed leniency toward all except the king of the Scots, who was compelled to submit to a more humiliating vassalage than before, although Henry's successor allowed him to buy back his freedom, with only a shadowy lordship remaining over Scotland.

Henry the younger died in 1183, begging his father's forgiveness; Geoffrey was pardoned, rebelled once more, and died in 1186. Richard was quiet for a time, but it was against his nature, and in 1188 he fled to the king of France for protection, and then seized his father's foreign dominions. In answer to his request for a list of the barons who had joined the league against him, he read among the very first names that of his favorite and youngest son, John. He was so shocked and grieved that he fell into a coma and died in July 1189.

The work done by Henry II was the laying of the foundations of a just government in his country. The Norman method of settling disputes was by trial of battle. This was manifestly so unfair that Henry gave disputants the privilege of deciding their quarrels by reference to the decision of twelve knights of the neighborhood, who were familiar with the facts. This was the real origin of trial by jury, one of the most precious safeguards of modern justice. Another good law was that when the judges passed through a circuit, a grand jury of not less than sixteen was to report to them the criminals of the district. The judges sent the accused to the church to be



Richard Coeur de Lion placing the crown on his own head



Richard I, 1189-99 (from his tomb at Fontevrault)

Great seal of Richard I (Coeur de Lion)



examined by ordeal. If convicted, they were punished, but if acquitted they were ordered to leave the country within eight days. By this method the objectionable characters were effectively removed.

Regarding trial by jury, it must be added that during the reign of John, the son of Henry, in 1215, the church abolished the "ordeal" throughout Christendom. The custom then came into use of choosing a petit jury, familiar with the facts, who decided upon the truth of the accusations laid before the grand jury. In case of disagreement by the petit jury, a decision of the majority was accepted. The objections to this method gradually gave rise to that of summoning witnesses, who testified before the petit jury, with a view of making their decision unanimous. History first records this change in 1350, during the reign of Edward III from which may be dated the modern method of trial by jury, though Henry II was the real founder of the system.

Since the eldest son of Henry had died, he was succeeded in 1189 by his second son, Richard, known in history as *Coeur de Lion*, or the "Lion-Hearted." Richard spent his early years in southern France, the home of music and poetry, and was a dreamer, whose ambition it was to attain military glory. Of magnificent figure, with

the physique of a Hercules, and a courage that knew no fear, he was the hero of some of the most marvelous adventures that have ever been related. Although king of England for ten years, he spent less than a year in that country.

Richard went as one of the most valiant of the heroes who sought to rescue the Holy Sepulcher from the Saracens. Hardly had Richard taken the English crown in his strong hands and placed it upon his own head, when he hurried his preparations for a crusade in conjunction with his friend Philip Augustus of France and the emperor of Germany, their Crusade being the third in point of time. Such expeditions demanded enormous sums of money, and Richard resorted to extreme means to obtain what he required. He compelled the Jews to make him loans. He sold earldoms, lands, and public offices. It was at this time that the king of Scotland secured his freedom by the payment of ten thousand marks.

In the summer of 1190, Richard and the French king set out for the Holy Land. They had not gone far before they quarreled, for Richard had a most disagreeable temper, and it was hard for anyone to get along with him. Legend says that in a wrangle with Leopold of Austria the English king delivered a kick that fairly lifted his astounded antagonist off the ground.

Richard failed in his attempt to capture Jerusalem. He forced a landing with his troops at Acre, and performed many heroic feats of individual valor; but the sultan

Saladin was greater than he. When these two were not fighting each other, they met like brothers, and held many talks and discussions over their respective civilizations. Each trusted fully the honor of the other. When King Richard fell desperately ill of a fever, which none of the English physicians could cure, legend says that Saladin asked the privilege of sending his own medical attendant to him. Some of the king's friends suspected treachery and objected, but Richard insisted, and the visitor was led into the English camp at night, and doctored his royal patient so successfully that Richard was soon himself again. Finally, almost broken-hearted over his failure to conquer the Mohammedans, King Richard made a truce with Saladin, and set out to return to his own country.

When the king left England to go on his Crusade, his kingdom was ruled by his justiciars, the first of whom was the chancellor William Longchamp, bishop of Ely. He was honest and faithful to his sovereign, but, being a Frenchman, he hated the English just as intensely as they hated him. He was finally removed from office, and the king's brother John was placed at the head of affairs and he immediately began plotting with the king of France for the throne.

But the weeks and months passed and not a word came from the expected king. The only explanation was that he had met with death on the road. John was delighted, and lost no time in claiming the throne. But, Richard was alive. Various stories have been told of the account of his disappearance. His route compelled him to pass through Germany, and he tried to remain unknown, on account of his quarrel with Leopold, who would have been happy to punish him for the aggravating insult he had received at his hands, or rather his foot. The identity of Richard, however, was discovered.

Richard was seized by Leopold and sold to the German emperor Henry VI, who had him put in irons in a castle in the Tyrol. Blondel, a minstrel who had accom-



*Berengaria, queen of Richard I
(from the tomb at Fontevrault)*

Richard forces a landing at Acre



Blondel hears his master's song



panied Richard to Palestine, set out on a wandering tour through Germany in search of castles rumored to be holding his royal master. At every castle he approached, he sang one of the songs of which the king was fond. At the close of one of those weary days, when he was thus singing at the foot of a tower, he was thrilled by recognizing the voice of his master, who took up the next stanza and sang it through.

All this time, brother John was conspiring with the French king, and urging the emperor to keep Richard in prison, so that John might remain on the throne. But after more than a year's imprisonment, Richard was set free, in February 1194, on condition of paying a ransom so prodigious that it took one-fourth of the personal property of all the noblemen and most of the jewels and silver plate of the churches. It was an outrageous price to pay even for a king.

When Richard came into his own, the only punishment he inflicted on his brother, who had so basely betrayed him, was to take away his lands and castles. In March 1199, Richard quarreled with the viscount of

Limoges over a treasure that had been discovered on the estate of the latter and which was claimed by both. While the viscount's castle was being besieged, one of the defenders launched an arrow so well aimed that it pierced the shoulder of the king, who fell, mortally wounded.

Richard, having no children, was succeeded by his brother John, one of the greatest scoundrels that ever cursed England by his rule. When Henry II died he had left John dependent on his brothers, and in jest gave him the nickname of Lackland, which clung to him through life.

Now, the elder brother, Geoffrey, had left a son named Arthur, and the inhabitants of Anjou, which belonged to the English kings from the time of Henry II, wished to have this boy, instead of his uncle John, as their ruler. The French king took the side of Arthur, who had lost his mother a short time before.

"You know your rights," said the king to the young prince, "do you not wish to become king?"

"I do," was the emphatic reply.

"Very well; two hundred knights are ready to march



Richard I (effigy in the abbey church at Fontevrault)



Portrait of King John, 1199-1216 (from his tomb at Worcester)

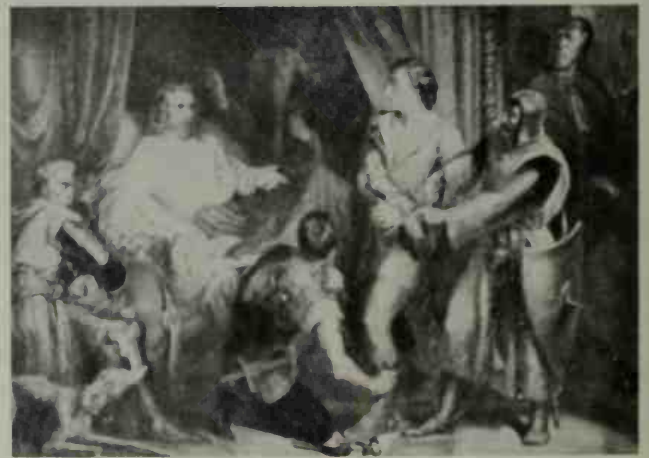
King John receiving his excommunication from the pope



Great seal of King John



King Richard is dying, and the man who shot the fatal arrow has been hauled before him, a terrified prisoner. But for all his faults Richard the Lion-Hearted was as generous as he was brave. He gave orders that the man be set free. But, as soon as their ruler was dead, they put this poor soldier to death.



with you against your own provinces while I advance into Normandy."

Fired by the ambition of asserting his own rights, Arthur placed himself at the head of the little force, which was as eager as he, and advanced against and laid siege to the little town of Mirebeau in Poitou. One of Arthur's noblemen delivered up the town on the night of July 31, 1202, to John, first exacting a promise that no harm should be done to the prince. The besiegers were made prisoners, while Arthur was taken to Rouen and thrown into a dungeon. It is written that on the night of April 3, 1203, the king came to the prison, accompanied by his esquire, Peter de Maulac, and that they took the prince from his dungeon and rowed out in a small boat on the Seine. Arthur, in great fear, begged his uncle to spare his life, promising to do whatever he wished if he would only allow him to live. But the king himself drove a dagger into the body of the poor youth and flung his body overboard. There is little room for doubt that Arthur was slain in this dreadful manner.

Philip, king of France, charged John with the crime and ordered him, as duke of Normandy, to appear at Paris for trial. John was too frightened to obey, whereupon he was proclaimed a traitor, and all his lands on the Continent were declared forfeited. After losing a great deal of territory, he made an effort to regain it, but was crushingly defeated, and Philip seized Normandy and took away from John all his possessions north of the Loire. This seeming misfortune was a great benefit to England, for her kings were now compelled to live among their own subjects and to center their interests and energies in them.

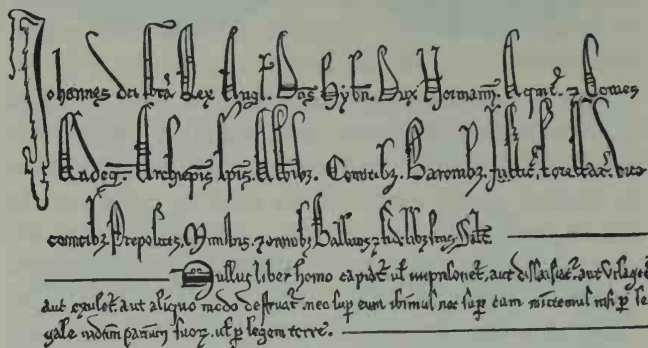
John came back from his defeat soured and revengeful. He insulted and ill treated the clergy to such a degree that Pope Innocent III interfered. With the king still proving stubborn, the pope laid England under an interdict. This meant the entire suppression of all religious services. For two years the church bells were silent. All sacraments were denied to the living and funeral prayers to the dead. The pope next excommunicated John, who laughed with scorn and treated the priests with such brutality that they fled from the country. Then the pope played a trump card by deposing the king and ordering Philip of France to seize the throne.

This brought John to his senses, for he saw himself totally abandoned. He knelt at the foot of the pope's representative, whom he had previously refused to allow to enter England, and promised to make amends with the church and pay a yearly tax of more than £60,000 for permission to keep the English crown upon his head. This satisfied the pope, who removed the interdict and excommunication, and peace was restored. Though the pope had vanquished him, John taxed the people to the point of starvation; he flung those whom he disliked into prison, and refused to bring them to trial.

One day in the summer of 1213, there was a secret

meeting in London of the leading men, including Stephen Langton, the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury. They agreed to form a new code of laws, taken from the ancient charter given by Henry I, and to compel the king to sign it. A few days later, the king was at Mass in the Tower of London, when he was scared almost out of his wits by hearing the angry shouts of the people themselves. In a short time the multitude filed through the streets into the open space in front of the tower. The trembling king went out and timidly asked what it all meant. He was told that the barons had risen against him and the citizens were welcoming them. The terrified John ran out of the back of the tower to the riverside, and escaped by rowing across the river.

As a result of this episode, a monumental historical event took place on the fifteenth of June 1215, at the meadow of Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames. The king's advisers laid before him a parchment that he did not dare refuse to sign. It was the famous Magna Charta, or Great Charter of England. It was the first agreement ever entered into by an English king and his



Specimen of Magna Charta, engraved from one of the original copies in the British Museum. The passages are a portion of the Preamble, the Forty-sixth Clause, and the Attestation.



King John (from his monument in Worcester Cathedral)

King John after signing Magna Charta





Henry III, 1216–72 (from his tomb in Westminster Abbey)

Great seal of Henry III



people. It contained sixty-three articles, most of which have become obsolete with time, but three imperishable provisions remain: 1. No free man shall be imprisoned or proceeded against except by his peers or equals, or the law of the land; 2. justice shall not be sold, denied nor delayed; 3. all dues from the people to the king, unless otherwise clearly specified, shall be laid only with the consent of the National Council. The Magna Charta made the English people a united body, and cemented and protected the interests of all classes.

As soon as the assembly had broken up, King John raged like a madman and swore that he would break every one of the laws that he had signed. He begged the aid of the pope who, in response, declared the charter void, promising that if the barons would submit they would suffer excommunication. But they could not be cajoled, and Langton would not pronounce excommunication against them so he was summarily suspended by the pope. John summoned his mercenaries from the Continent, and began ravaging England, invading Scotland to punish the northern barons and their leader, the king of the Scots. It was his custom each morning to burn the house in which he had slept during the night. Finally the barons became so desperate that they offered the crown to Louis, eldest son of the king of France. Louis brought over a French army. In the midst of the fighting, John died, October 28, 1216, and some said from stuffing himself with peaches and ale, while others whispered that he was poisoned by a monk. An epitaph reads that King John died, "a knight without truth, a king without justice, a Christian without faith."

John's eldest son, Henry, was crowned at the age of

nine and became King Henry III. During the lad's boyhood, his guardians ruled in his name, and all went fairly well. However, when King Henry came of age, he showed himself to be a degenerate son of a degenerate father. The extravagance of the ruler and his causeless and unsuccessful wars crushed the country under a colossal debt that in these times would be equivalent to \$65 billion. To meet the clamors of his numberless creditors, Henry mortgaged the right of extorting money from the Jews to his brother Richard.

When twenty-nine, Henry married Eleanor, daughter of Count Raymond of Provence, a French land bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Eleanor was brilliant and beautiful.

King John had promised to pay a yearly rental to the pope, who naturally looked upon Henry III as his vassal. The pope sent a legation to England who returned to Rome so laden with treasure that the Great Council of England had to meet to discuss what could be done to avert the financial ruin of the country. The barons were present, and the lesser knights were summoned, but though they conferred earnestly, they were not able to do anything. Finally, one man came to the fore in the person of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. He was a Frenchman, who gained his title from his mother, and had married the sister of the king's wife. Even the king recognized the stern stuff of which his brother-in-law was made. One day, when the royal barge was caught in a thunderstorm on the Thames, the earl, seeing His Majesty's terror, tried to soothe him with assurance that the tempest would soon pass. The king replied, "I fear *you* more than all the thunder and lightning in the world."

When the people came to recognize Simon de Montfort's nobility of character, they gave him the name of Righteous Simon. Simon the Righteous and the Great Council met at Oxford. They resolved that a number of councilors should be appointed whose permission should be necessary before the king could act. To this the king agreed, and the resolutions passed at this meeting were known as the Provisions of Oxford. The government, which promised so much, did not, however, last long, for the members of the council quarreled among themselves, and Henry was soon at war again with the barons. His eldest son, Prince Edward, who had been at times on his father's side, and at other times against him, thought perhaps it would be best to support his parent now, and he joined the royal troops. The two forces met in Sussex, and in the battle of Lewes, in May 1264, Henry and Prince Edward were taken prisoner by the barons. For most of the year following, England was ruled by Simon de Montfort and his councilors.

The most famous act of this patriot was the change he effected in the Great Council of the kingdom. Previously that body had been composed mostly of the barons and bishops, but Simon thought it fair that the lesser tenants,

or knights of the shire, should have a voice in making the laws of their country. He therefore arranged that two knights out of each shire should be summoned by writ in the king's name to the national assembly. He provided further that each town and borough should send two citizens, or burgesses, to the Great Council, as the direct representatives of the wishes of the people. This was the beginning of the House of Commons, and the Great Council was, for the first time, called the Parliament, with Simon de Montfort at the head of their affairs.

After a while, the barons fell to quarreling among themselves. Prince Edward effected his escape and began gathering an army. The disaffected barons rallied to him, and the supporters of Simon rapidly fell away, most of them being Welshmen. Simon, the younger, allowed himself to be surprised by Edward and his army at Kenilworth, after which Edward marched against the elder Simon at Evesham, in August 1265. By displaying in front the banners captured at Kenilworth, he deceived Simon and his followers into the belief that friends were approaching. The little company made a valiant fight, but were overpowered, Simon being among the slain. The defeat gave back authority to Henry, who reigned for fifty-six years, his death occurring on November 16, 1272.

EDWARD I AND EDWARD III

Henry's son, Prince Edward, was in the Holy Land on a crusade when his father died, and did not reach home for two years. Though his accession is dated in 1272, he was not actually crowned till 1274. Edward I was surnamed Longshanks, because of his towering stature, which raised him head and shoulders above ordinary men. He was immensely powerful, a fine horseman, his mind was of a superior order, and he ranks as a great statesman and ruler.

He had not been in England long, when he convened a parliament to which the representatives of the people

were called. In 1295, toward the close of his reign, the regular Parliament was established with its two branches of Lords and Commons. The term *Lords* included the higher clergy.

The ambition of Edward I was to bring all the island of Britain under his single rule. To the north, Scotland was virtually independent, while Wales on the west was in continual ferment. At the beginning the king set out to annex Wales. He led a strong force there, and, after a number of successes, seemed to have gained his end. To hold his possessions, he built several splendid castles, and garrisoned each with troops, ready to act. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, after a sturdy resistance was subdued, and peace reigned for several years, though the prince and his people were restless and eager for a chance to free themselves from their yoke. The first one to rise in revolt was David, the brother of the prince. He had fought against Llewellyn, and was under many obligations to Edward. The insurrection became formidable in 1282, but Llewellyn was slain in an encounter with an English knight, and the Welsh chieftains yielded, delivering up David, who was executed in September 1284. Then Wales was united to England, and Edward did all he could to win the goodwill of his new but turbulent subjects.

It is said that the sovereign promised to give the Welsh a ruler who could not speak a word of English, but who



Great seal of Edward I



Coronation chair of Edward I

Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I (from her tomb in Westminster Abbey)

Edward I, 1272-1307



Edward I on horseback



understood their own language as well as any of his age. The king's son Edward was born in the castle of Caernarvon, in April 1284. Of course he could not utter a syllable of English, and understood the Welsh tongue as well as any other infant of his age, besides which he was unquestionably a native of the country. When, therefore, the king presented the young prince to the Welsh as their future ruler, what could they say? Seventeen years later, the infant was created Prince of Wales, and ever since that time the title has been conferred upon the eldest son of the ruling sovereign of England.

While the king was getting ready to conquer Scotland, a curious opportunity came to him. Two claimants for the Scottish throne presented themselves in the persons of John Baliol and Robert Bruce, the latter a forebearer of the famous king and general of the same name. Both were of Norman descent, and agreed to leave the settlement of their dispute to Edward, who accepted the office of umpire on condition that whoever he selected should first acknowledge the overlordship of England. This was agreed to, and Edward named Baliol; but hardly had the latter been crowned, when he renounced his allegiance and allied himself to France. Edward pushed his campaign so inflexibly against the Scots that they were compelled to yield. Baliol surrendered the crown in 1296, and Edward seized Scotland. He received the homage of the Scottish parliament and placed Englishmen in all the leading offices. At the Abbey of Scone, near Perth, the English seized the piece of rock on which the Scotch kings were always placed at their coronation. According to legend, this stone had been the pillow of Jacob at Bethel, and wherever the talisman was, there the Scots should reign. Edward placed the stone, enclosed in a throne, in Westminster Abbey, where both remain. Every British sovereign since then has been crowned upon them.

Still the struggle continued. Robert Bruce, grandson of the previous claimant to the throne, proposed to Comyn, a powerful Scottish lord, that whichever of the two established his claim to the crown, should bequeath the kingdom by way of indemnity to the other. Comyn made the agreement, but he intended treachery from the first, and took the earliest occasion to send a warning of the conspiracy to Edward. Bruce was in England at the time and would have been arrested but for a warning, which was sent in a curious way to him. One day a messenger called and handed Bruce a pair of spurs. Now, since spurs are used to hasten the speed of a horse, Bruce could not mistake the meaning of the present. He immediately mounted his horse and made off, with no suspicion of the person who had betrayed him. While fleeing, he met a servant of Comyn who was bearing papers to the king. Bruce took the papers from him and thus discovered who the traitor was. Hardly a week later he and Comyn met at Dumfries. The former called his false friend into a neighboring chapel, and told him what he

had learned. The proof was too clear for Comyn to deny the charge, and he blustered. A fierce quarrel followed, and Bruce drove his dagger into the other, who fell on the steps of the altar. Horrified at what he had done, Bruce hurried out and met one of his friends, who, observing his agitated manner, asked what had taken place.

"I think I have killed Comyn," replied Bruce.

"You *think* so," said his friend, "then I will make sure of it."

Hurrying into the chapel he slew Comyn, as well as an uncle who tried to defend him.

Feeling that he was now an outlaw, Bruce raised the standard of independence and, surrounded by a number of priests and lords, was crowned at Scone. Thus on the Day of Annunciation (1306) Scotland had again a king.

The great blot upon the reign of Edward was his expulsion of the Jews. In answer to the demands of the people, who accused them of extortion, he stripped the unfortunates of their possessions, and drove them from the country. So completely did they vanish from English history that not until the time of Cromwell, more than four centuries later, were they heard of again.

It was while marching against Robert Bruce in Scotland that King Edward I died, in the year 1307. He was succeeded by his son Edward II who was a weak, contemptible scamp.

Spurred by the weakness of the king, Robert Bruce resolutely pressed his struggle for the independence of



Edward I and the assassin

Edward II, 1307-27



Great seal of Edward II



Scotland. Edward set out in 1314 with an army to stamp out the rebellion, but in the battle of Bannockburn, June 24, he was utterly routed by Bruce's greatly inferior force.

Again and again during the remainder of Edward's reign Bruce and his forces ravaged the northern counties of England and withdrew unpunished. At last, in 1328, the kingship of Robert Bruce and the full independence of Scotland was formally acknowledged by treaty.

The Scottish king thereon resolved to absolve himself of his many crimes by going on a crusade to the Holy Land. He died before he could follow out his purpose, and his chief lord, James of Douglas, took the dead king's heart from his body to bear it to Jerusalem. James perished in a skirmish with the Saracens, but his followers fulfilled his mission, and the heart of Scotland's greatest leader was entombed in the Holy City. The independence of Scotland was never again disputed, and the two halves of the British island remained separate until they were peaceably united in 1603 under the sway of a common sovereign, James I of England and VI of Scotland.

Isabelle of France, wife of the king, detested Edward II, and openly formed an attachment for Roger Mortimer, one of the chief barons. Under Mortimer's lead a

Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III (from the tomb of Westminster Abbey)



Effigy of Edward II (Gloucester Cathedral)



The tower in Berkeley Castle where Edward II was murdered. Investigation revealed that he suffered a horrible death, dying of a red-hot poker being forced into his bowels.



force was raised that captured and locked up the king in Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire. Commissioners from Parliament were sent to him with a demand that he should surrender the crown. The coward of a man complied, and then thanked his callers for making his young son his successor. Some time later, his wife incited Mortimer to murder her husband.

Since Edward III was only fourteen years old when his father was deposed, the government rested nominally in a council, but the real rulers were Queen Isabelle and her partner Mortimer. They treated the new king as if he were a prisoner. They were soon to find, however, that he was made of sterner stuff than his father. The dissatisfaction with the queen and Mortimer was so intense that young Edward found friends all around him. With their help he shook off his restraints and, in company with a number of daring companions, entered Nottingham Castle by a secret underground passage, and dashed into the room where the queen and Mortimer were staying. Mortimer was carried off as a prisoner and soon after brought to the gallows (November 1330). The queen was placed in confinement in Castle Rising, Norfolk, and kept there for the rest of her life.

We come now to that period in history known as the Hundred Years' War. For some time, the English and French kings had been bitterly jealous of each other. There were quarrels over the lands owned by England in France, and over the homage that the king of England had to pay because of these lands to the king of France as his "overlord." The enmity was intensified by the action of the French ruler in helping the Scots in their war against England, and by the affrays between the sailors on the French and English ships in the English Channel. Such was the state of affairs when Edward III came to the throne in 1327. He lost no time in allying

Edward III (from a wall painting, formerly in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster)

Edward III, 1327-77





Great seal of Edward III

himself with the people of Flanders, against whom the French king had made war.

When the French king died, Edward claimed the throne through his mother, who was the daughter of Philip IV, an earlier king of France. The claim was a poor one, but Edward thought his course would please his Flemish friends, besides giving employment to hundreds of turbulent barons, who were dangerous when they were left idle. Edward gained his first victory with his ships off Sluys, in June 1340.

After several years of desultory fighting Edward, in 1346, was making a raid through the French territories of Normandy, when King Philip of France pursued him with a force far larger than his own. Edward was on the bank of the River Somme, and dared not fight with the stream at his rear. All day he rode along the shore of the Somme looking for a ford. His men were hard pressed and exhausted, the French close behind them. At length

Edward III, and the countess of Salisbury



the ebbing tide gave Edward a chance to cross. Then the returning tide covered the ford, and King Philip and his huge army could pursue no farther till the next day.

Edward, advancing at a leisurely pace, planted his army in a strong place near the village of Crecy. "Here," he said, "we will await the Frenchmen."

The famous Battle of Crecy that followed on the next day, August 26, 1346, was the greatest of King Edward's victories. During the contest Edward, Prince of Wales, only sixteen years old, was placed in such peril that the earl of Warwick, who was near him, became greatly alarmed and sent an urgent request to the king for reinforcements.

"Is the prince wounded?" asked the king.

"Thank God, not yet, sire."

"Is he unhorsed?"

"No, sire, but he is in the greatest possible danger."

"He shall have no aid from me; let him win his spurs."

The son was called the Black Prince, because of the color of his armor, and he won his spurs on that eventful day, for no veteran knight could have acquitted himself more bravely. The French were completely defeated and fled in despair, and Edward the Black Prince became one of the most heroic figures in English history.

Through the efforts of Pope Clement VI, a truce was brought about. But the Scots had taken advantage of Edward's absence to invade England. They were defeated at Nevill's Cross, in October 1346, and David Bruce, their king, was taken prisoner.

The truce ended, and war with France was renewed in 1355. Edward the Black Prince was once more its hero. He started from the English possessions in southern France and made a raid similar to that in which his father had formerly devastated Normandy. The French, under a new king, John the Good, pursued him with a force vastly outnumbering his own. The Frenchmen rode so fast that they got between the prince and his destined goal, shutting him off from escape. He was in a trap.

Before attacking the little band of sturdy Englishmen, King John the Good sent one of his churchmen, Cardinal Perigord, to urge Edward to surrender. The prince, knowing his men were exhausted as well as over-matched, was ready to agree to almost any terms of peace. So all day long Perigord was kept riding between the hostile camps. King John, however, would listen to nothing less than the absolute surrender of Prince Edward with one hundred of his best knights. That would be to accept the battle as lost without fighting it, and the English scornfully refused, besides Edward's troops were now rested.

So on September 19, 1356, the Battle of Poitiers was fought. It was the counterpart of Crecy. The English bowmen and the English knights were invincible. The vast horde of Frenchmen fled. King John was taken prisoner. The Black Prince treated him with the greatest courtesy, complimented him on the courage he had dis-

played in battle, and entertained him at dinner that evening.

A peace was made at Bretigny in May 1360, which checked the fighting for the time. By the terms of this treaty, Edward yielded his claims to the throne of France, but retained Aquitaine, Calais, and some other districts, while John was given permission to ransom himself for 3 million gold crowns. Being ruler at Bordeaux, as prince of Aquitaine, the Black Prince aided the dethroned king of Castile, Pedro the Cruel, and by a victory at Navarrete regained his kingdom for him. Pedro had promised to pay the expenses of Edward, but now refused to do so. The prince was not only deeply involved in debt, but his health was broken and he went back to Bordeaux a changed man. He levied a burdensome tax, and the resentful nobles appealed to the French king, Charles V, who immediately renewed the war. The prince, though weak in body, made a brave fight, and retook Limoges.

After this battle, the Black Prince returned to England and another truce was declared. The king's third son, the duke of Lancaster (also called John of Gaunt) took control of affairs, for the Black Prince was near death, and his next brother was feeble.

And now, with the death of King Edward III, a boy was once more heir to the throne, for Richard, son of the Black Prince, was only eleven years old when he became king in 1377. Parliament decreed that the government during his minority should be vested in a council, but it did not take John of Gaunt long to gain control of affairs. He was unprincipled, extravagant, an enemy of reform, and was detested by the laboring classes.

The country was ready for revolt, and a poll tax was the spark that fired the magazine. A brutal collector went into the house of a workman named Wat Tyler, and so shamefully insulted his daughter that the father took a hammer, ran in, and with a single blow stretched the ruffian dead on the floor. The news of what had been done spread like wildfire, and the excited peasants left their huts and fields, armed themselves with clubs or any rusty weapons upon which they could lay hands, and, with Wat Tyler at their head, hurried to London to demand justice.

They felt that the only way of securing what they wished was by violence, and gave full vent to their anger. Reaching London they held the city for three weeks, burned the law courts and killed the lawyers, looking upon them as their enemies. Then, with their numbers swelled to a hundred thousand, they straggled on to Smithfield, still eager for violence. There the young king rode boldly out to meet them. He assured them that from that time forward they should all be free men and never again be held as serfs. Some were satisfied and went home. But in a few days the storm broke again, and once more the king rode out to meet them. Wat Tyler laid his hand on Richard's bridle, whereon Walworth, mayor of

London, struck the rebel down with a dagger. His death caused consternation in the ranks of his followers, and the insurrection collapsed as quickly as it had risen. Parliament effected a series of merciless executions, and refused to discuss any of the schemes that Richard had promised, and which he was disposed to favor; so the last condition of the peasants was worse than before.

In 1387, the opponents of the king gained the upper hand and banished or executed a number of Richard's friends; but he soon secured control, and took savage

John of Gaunt



Edward III (from his tomb at Westminster Abbey)



Edward III in the seizure of Mortimer



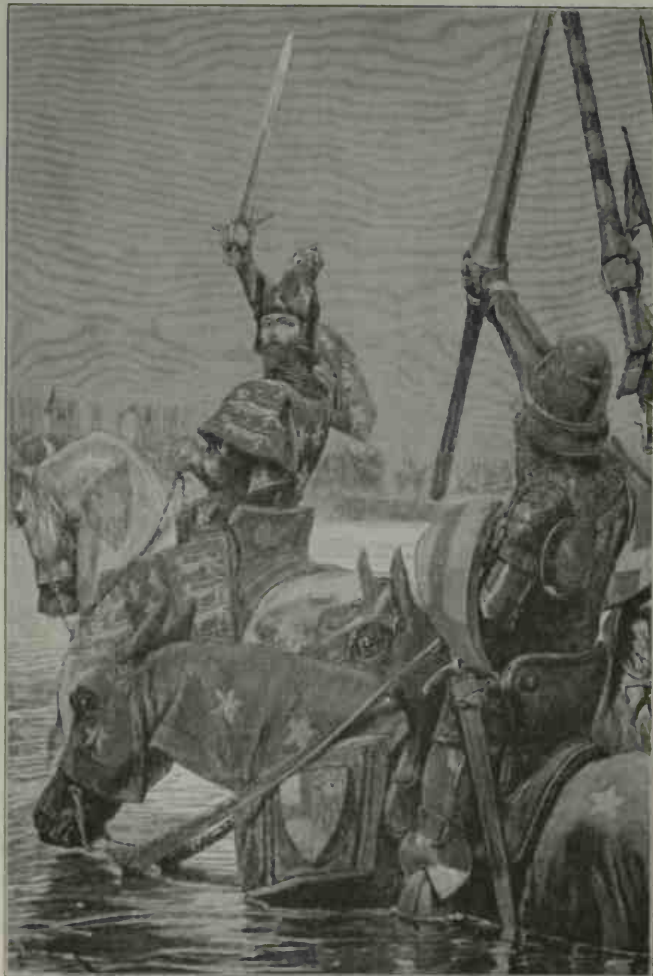
Windsor Castle, erected by Edward III, who was born at Windsor, on the site of an ancient castle presented by Edward the Confessor to the monks of Westminster





St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle

Edward III crossing the Somme



Cardinal Perigord and the Black Prince before Poitiers

Tomb of Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral



Richard II, 1377-99. When Richard's skeleton was exhumed in 1871 he was found to be nearly six feet tall. It is known that he had thick yellow hair and he has been credited with inventing the use of the handkerchief. He has been called "the best and royalest vyander [eater] of all Christian kings."



Anne of Bohemia, 1366-94, first queen consort of Richard II



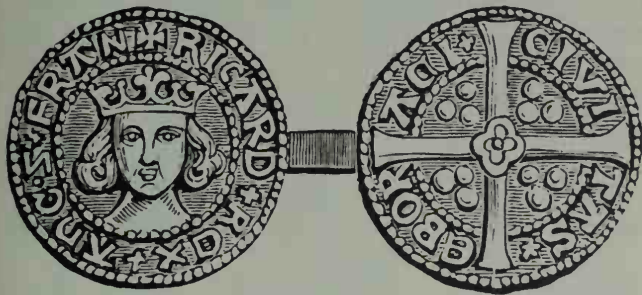


Great seal of Richard II



Richard II in his armor

Penny of Richard II



Banishment of Bolingbroke and Norfolk by Richard II



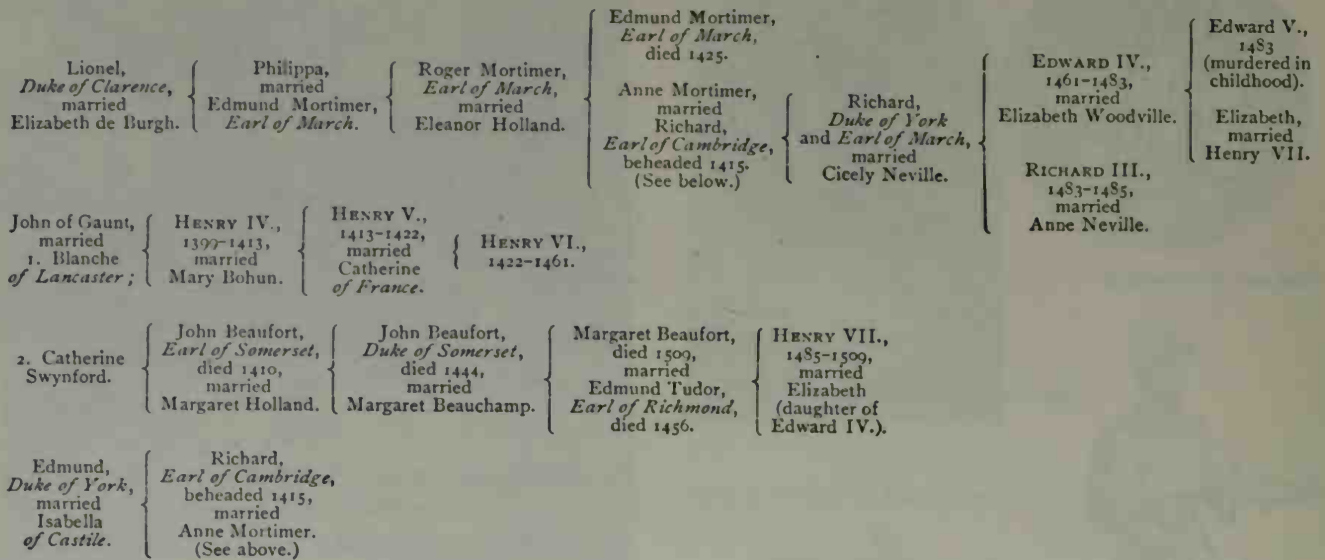
Funeral of Richard II

vengeance upon those who had opposed him. He governed well for nine years, then his first wife died. This was in 1394, and two years later the king married Isabelle, daughter of Charles VI of France, a girl only eight years old. His purpose in taking this amazing step was to secure an extended truce with France, but the act was very unpopular with his own countrymen, who hated France. Since his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, had led the opposition against him, Richard by a daring act of treachery had him seized in 1397, and carried off to France. He was placed in the charge of the governor of Calais, who soon sent back the desired message that he had died. Since there was no doubt that the duke had been murdered by order of the king, his enemies were terrified into quietude.

Two of the noblemen who had aggrieved him still remained unpunished. They were Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, a son of John of Ghent. Each suspected the other of betraying him, and a duel was arranged. Just as they were about to fight, Richard stopped the contest and banished Hereford for ten years, Norfolk for life. John of Ghent died shortly afterward, and the king seized his estates, which should have passed to Hereford. The latter, now duke of Lancaster, waited until Richard went on an expedition to Ireland. then he came back to England. Accompanied by Archbishop Arundel, another exile, he landed July 4, 1399, with a few armed men, at a seaport on the Humber, where they were immediately joined by the influential northern family of Percy. Followers flocked to them until their number swelled to sixty thousand, while Edmund, duke of York, uncle of the king, who was acting as regent, also turned against his master.

A fortnight passed before Richard heard of what was going on. He was so perplexed that he remained still longer in Ireland, but his troops steadily deserted, and he was persuaded to leave his hiding place by Percy, earl of Northumberland, who turned him over to Henry of Lancaster. The king was brought to London where, under

Derived from the three sons of Edward III.: John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Edmund, Duke of York; showing, also, the connection of the Neville family with that of York, and the Beauforts with the Tudors.



Lineage of the royal houses of Lancaster, York, and Tudor

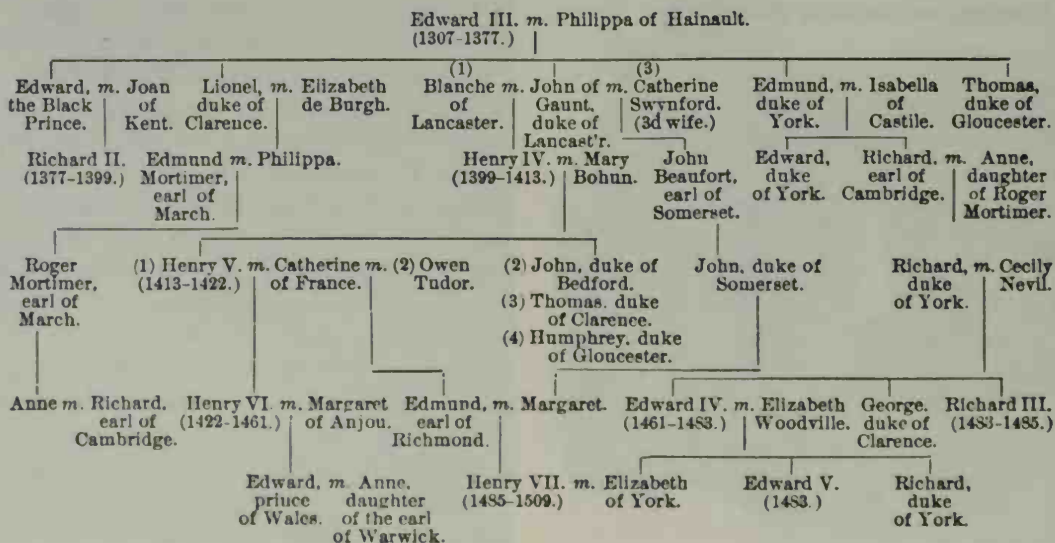
compulsion, he resigned his crown, and the next day, September 30, was formally deposed by the Lords and Commons on the charge of misgovernment. When this was done, Henry of Lancaster claimed the crown, on the ground of being a descendant of Henry III. Archbishop Arundel conducted him to the throne. Thus Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster and son of John of Ghent, became king of England in 1399, as Henry IV. Richard had rebuilt Westminster Hall, and the first Parliament that met there deposed him. He was confined to Pontefract Castle, Yorkshire, where he died after Henry's accession. There is reason to believe that his death was due to violence or starvation, which might have been voluntary or forced upon him.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

Next is a study of one of the most absurd and inexcusably criminal episodes in the history of England. The solitary redeeming feature about it is that it affected the upper classes only, and the losses, deaths, and disasters fell upon them. The episode is known as the Wars of the Roses, and, in order to understand it, one must keep a number of historical facts in mind.

Now, you have just learned that Henry IV of Bolingbroke was elected king in 1399. He was not the legal heir, because Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was de-

The lineage of Lancaster and York—Edward III





Prince Henry offers his life when his father doubts his loyalty upon return of the crown.

Henry IV, 1399-1413



Great seal of Henry IV

scended from an older branch of the family, and his claim therefore was superior to that of Henry, who was the *elected* king, being chosen by a special act of Parliament. Edmund Mortimer was a young child, and the people had had enough of boy kings, so they willingly assented to a setting aside of the regular succession.

When Henry IV came to the throne, the dethroned king, Richard, was pining in Pontefract Castle. Almost immediately the new monarch learned of a plot to release Richard and restore him to power. The conspiracy was readily crushed, and a month later Richard was found dead in his apartments. There can be little doubt that he was put to death by order of Henry, who had his body brought to London and exposed to public view, in order that the people might not think wrongly in the matter.

A good many believed the body shown was not that of Richard. Among these was Owen Glendower, a prominent Welshman, who had been a devoted friend of Richard, and who proved his sincerity by gathering a large number of men to make a fight for the restoration of Richard's rights. King Henry led his forces in vain against Glendower, who was soon aided by still more powerful friends.

Henry never would have obtained the throne but for the help of the wealthy and influential Percy family. They spent immense sums to aid him, and naturally expected a royal recognition of their services. This being denied, they turned against the king and joined Glendower in the attempt to win the crown for Richard, if still alive, or else for the earl of March. What specially angered Sir Henry Percy was the refusal of Henry to ransom the brother-in-law of Percy, who was a prisoner of Glendower. This relative was Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the boy of the same name, who was the hereditary heir to the English throne. Young Sir Henry was such a fiery fighter against the Scots that they nicknamed him Hotspur. A formidable alliance was made by this impetuous youth, his father, and his uncle, the earl of Worcester, when they joined Glendower and the Scottish earl Douglas in the resolution to dethrone Henry IV.

The two armies met at Shrewsbury, on the border of Wales, July 23, 1403, and fought an obstinate battle. It is said that Henry was told that a number of his enemies had sworn to seek him out and slay him. To baffle the

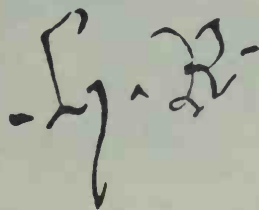


The coronation of Henry IV

Queen Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV (from the tomb at Canterbury)



Signature of Henry IV, consisting of the initials H.R. for Henricus Rex





Tomb of Henry IV and his queen at Canterbury Cathedral



Henry V on horseback

A Parliament of the time of Henry V



Queen Catherine, wife of Henry V

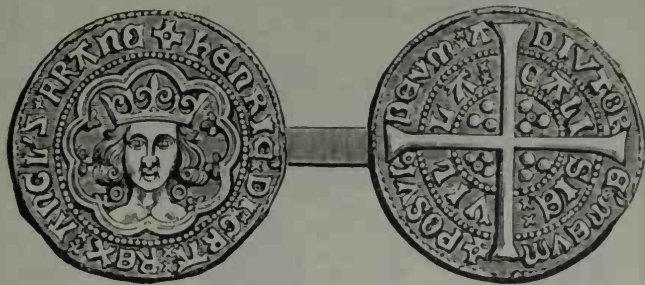
Henry V of England, 1413-22



Henry V being armed by his esquires

Entry of Henry V into London



*Groat of Henry V**Great seal of Henry V*

plot several knights donned armor like the king's, and every one paid with his life for the chivalrous act. The revolutionists, however, were routed, Hotspur was killed, and Worcester taken prisoner and executed as a traitor, as were a number of his leading companions. The elder Percy, who was not present, declared that his son had acted contrary to his orders, and he thus escaped punishment, only to lose his life in a subsequent rebellion. Although the power of Glendower was broken, he never made submission, and there were continual insurrections in Wales.

A statute was passed in 1401 against the heretics, which decreed that all who refused to abjure their heresy or, after abjuration, relapsed, should be delivered to the secular authorities to be burned. The first Wycliffite martyr was William Sawtry, a London clergyman, who was burned at Smithfield, in London, February 12, 1401.

Henry's health broke before he was fifty. It is said that he often suffered from the reproaches of his conscience, and had arranged to go on a crusade, but while praying at the tomb of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, he was stricken with a fatal illness, and died a few days later, on March 20, 1413.

The son of the dead king reigned from 1413 to 1422, as Henry V. While he was the Prince of Wales he was a wild, roistering fellow, but when he came to the throne, the responsibility of it sobered him, and he gave all of his energies to his new duties.

The opportunity for attacking France was too good to be lost for the country torn by the intriguing and ambitious dukes, who hated one another more than they hated the English. So Henry raised an army and invaded the distracted country. He sailed from Southampton in August 1415. With eight thousand troops he reached a point in France halfway between Crecy and Calais. The French troops were eight times as numerous as the English. But a drenching rain fell during the night, and made the ground so soggy that the land that the French had to cross became a mass of mud in which the horsemen floundered. A great advantage rested with the English bowmen, who, being dismounted, could move readily. The English gained a striking victory, which is known in history as the Battle of Agincourt, because of the name of the castle standing near the battleground.

Great was the rejoicing in England over this wonderful triumph of her yeomen. King Henry was received on his return with acclaim, and there was no longer any question of his right to sit upon the throne.

The young king led a second and larger army to France in 1417, and, profiting by the dissensions of the French, captured one city after another, until all Normandy was in his hands. By the treaty of Troyes in 1420, Paris itself surrendered. Henry married Catherine, the daughter of the French king. The part of France he had already conquered became England's property.

So here was a second crown ready to fall into the hands of this remarkable man, as yet scarcely out of his youth. It was too much good fortune. Henry died in 1422, while still busy crushing out the smoldering sparks of discontent in his new realm of France. Henry's body was brought back to England and buried in Westminster Abbey.

He left a son—also named Henry—only nine months old, whose title was king of England and France, but whose uncle, the duke of Bedford, reigned as regent. This uncle carried on the war in France, where some of the nobles upheld the son of Charles VI to succeed his father who had also died in 1422. This new king, the young Charles VII, was defeated again and again, until the victorious British laid siege to Orleans. The siege of the city was raised through the inspiration of Joan of Arc. In the end, the English were driven out of France, and the Hundred Years War closed in their defeat in 1453. England no longer owned the Norman soil, her only possession being the city of Calais.

By this time Henry VI had been nominally king of England for thirty years, but he was growing feeble. In 1453 a son, Edward, was born to Henry. This promised to perpetuate the rule of the Lancastrian kings who had come into power with Henry IV. Now, there were still living descendants of the older branch of the royal family, who had hoped to be some day recalled to the throne. Chief of these at the time was Richard, duke of York, nephew of the Edmund Mortimer who had been set up as a rival to Henry IV. This Richard ranked as the highest nobleman of the kingdom, and when the feeble King Henry VI became in 1453 temporarily insane, Richard of York was appointed regent.



Front of Henry V's chantry, Westminster Abbey



Tomb of Henry V in Westminster Abbey

Henry VI. From a portrait—artist unknown—in Eton College, which he founded. Although the English kings since Edward III had claimed to be kings of both England and France, Henry VI was the only English king ever crowned in France with that title.

Henry VI, 1422-61; 1470-71, in his youth



French territory held by the English when Joan of Arc appeared



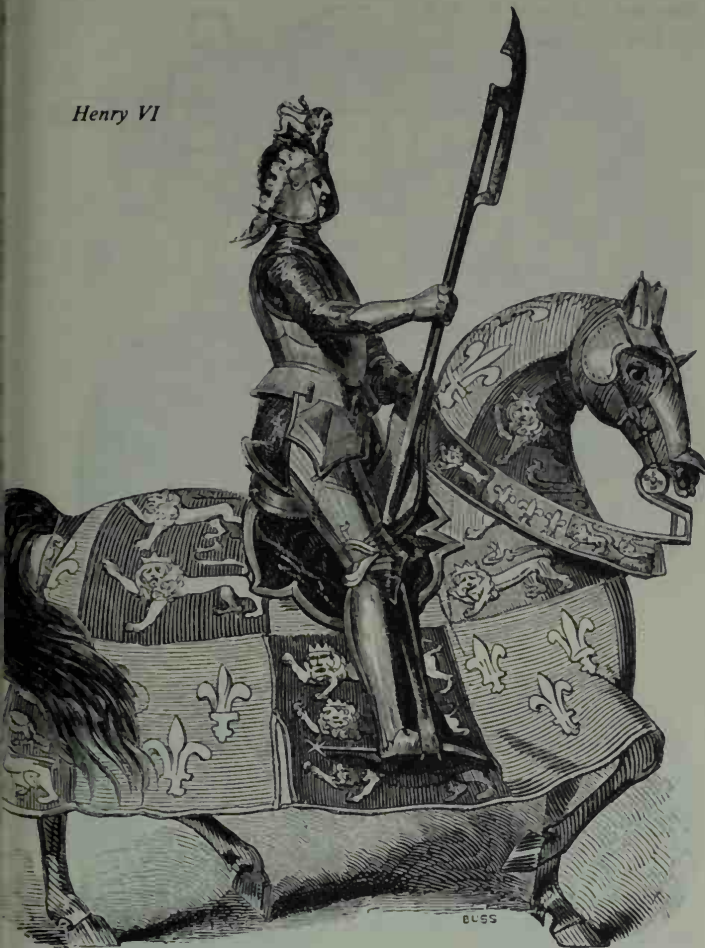
Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou

Queen Margaret

Margaret of Anjou, from an old manuscript



Henry VI



He took advantage of his power to crush the leading nobles of the Lancastrian party. The king's friends, alarmed, declared him once more capable of reigning, and would have ousted the duke of York from the re- gency, but Richard took up arms to defend his position.

The earl of Warwick, the wealthiest and most power- ful man in England, joined Richard, and the Wars of the Roses began. They were to devastate England for thirty years. The peculiar name Wars of the Roses was given them because the badge of the party of the king, the Lancastrians, was a red rose, while that of the rebellious Yorkists was a white rose.

This terrible civil struggle, which went on for thirty years, was, in truth, merely a shameless scramble for spoils, there being no real principle involved. In the first conflict at St. Albans, in 1455, the Yorkists gained a victory, as they did at Bloreheath, Staffordshire, and at Northampton, where Henry was taken prisoner, and Queen Margaret fled with the young prince Edward to Scotland. Richard demanded the crown, but Henry made a spirited refusal. Finally a compromise was agreed upon, by which Henry was to remain in posses- sion of his throne till his death, when Richard or his heirs was to succeed him.

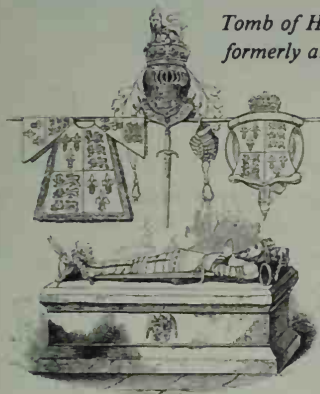
But the queen refused to allow her son to be set aside. She hurried down from Scotland to the north of En- gland, and was joined by several powerful lords. The duke of York, with some five thousand men, set out in the winter of 1460 to meet her. He lodged in a castle near Wakefield, and Queen Margaret dared him to come out and fight her. His generals urged him to wait where he was until joined by his brave son, the earl of March. The duke did not heed this advice, and he accepted the chal- lenge. His forces were cut to pieces, and he was made prisoner. His exultant captors set him upon an anthill and mockingly kicked him, while chanting, "Hail, king, who has no kingdom! Hail, prince, without a people; we trust your Grace is well and happy!"

Then they cut off the head of the duke, fixed it to the end of a pole, and handed it to the delighted Margaret. She had some paper doubled up in imitation of a crown, and placed it on the head, which was then fastened on the walls of York. From that time forward neither side gave quarter in their battles.

The next year the Lancastrians suffered a bloody re- pulse at Towton, where the snow was crimsoned by more than twenty thousand corpses. It is one of the incompre- hensible mysteries of human nature that these friends and neighbors should thus murder one another for no other object than to help the ambitious schemes of a wretched set of ambitious nobles.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the Yorkists at Towton, earned the name of the King-maker. He had made Richard almost king. Now he set the eldest son of the murdered duke firmly upon the throne, as Edward IV. Margaret and Henry took refuge in Scotland and,

Tomb of Henry VI, formerly at Windsor



Henry

Signature of Henry VI

Great seal of Henry VI





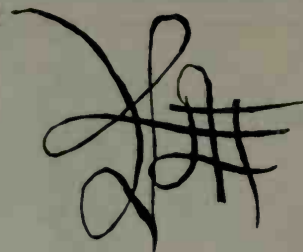
Edward IV, 1461-70; 1471-83

Queen Elizabeth Woodville

refusing to obey the summons of the new government, were proclaimed traitors. Henry was captured four years later and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

All through the reign of Edward IV (1461-83) the Wars of the Roses raged. The king married Elizabeth Woodville, who had no rank or money, and he distributed grand titles and estates so lavishly among his lady's relatives that the earl of Warwick became jealous. To make good his rights as King-maker he managed to oust Edward and return Henry to the throne. A few months later, however, Warwick was killed at the Battle of Barnet (1471), and King Henry was sent back to the tower, where he was secretly murdered on the same day that

Signature of Edward IV, R. E.
(for Rex Edwardus)



"Angel" of Edward IV



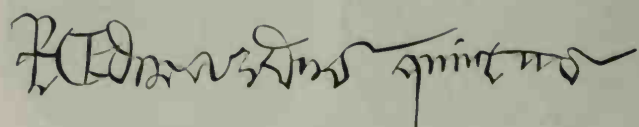
Edward IV

Great seal of Edward IV



Murdered prince called Edward V, 1483, from an old manuscript

Signature of Edward V



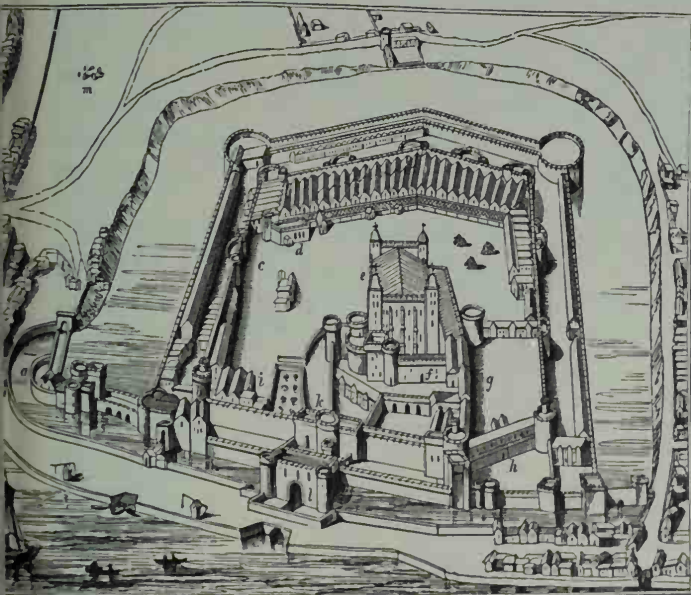


Earl Rivers presenting Caxton to Edward IV

The Tower of London at the time of Henry VI



The layout of the Tower of London



The Bloody Tower

Edward resumed his briefly interrupted reign. Margaret kept up the struggle. In the desperate battle of Tewkesbury (1471) her son was slain and she was made prisoner. After five years of captivity she was ransomed by Louis XI of France, and died in her own country of Anjou.

Edward IV lived a pampered life with no fear of another rebellion, since the Wars of the Roses had killed or financially ruined the barons. He added to his enormous wealth by compelling his subjects to give him large sums of money, which he called benevolences. There was only one person whom he had real cause to distrust, and that was his brother, the duke of Gloucester, who plotted for long years to obtain the throne of England. Miserable and worn out, Edward died in 1483, leaving his widow, five young daughters, and two little sons, Edward, the heir to the throne, and Richard, duke of York. Edward, who is called Edward V, though he never received the crown, was only twelve years old, and was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, the hunchback miscreant Richard, duke of Gloucester, who was appointed lord protector of the realm until the lad became of age.

Meeting the princes on the road to London in charge of their half-brother, Sir Richard Grey, and their uncle, Lord Rivers, the hypocritical duke of Gloucester insisted on taking personal charge of the young king. Then, on the pretense that the prince would be safer in the Tower of London than at Westminster Palace, he sent him to the great prison to pine in solitude.

The incredible villainy of Richard was not long in showing itself. Lord Hastings had voted to make him protector, but he was too honorable to assist him in seizing the crown. Richard accused Lord Hastings of treason, and had him beheaded without a hearing or trial. This left the way clear for the duke to carry out his atrocious purpose toward his two young nephews.



The Bloody Tower—north side

The princes in the Tower



Portrait of Richard III, 1483-85



Anne, queen of Richard III

Richard III

The queen mother, sensing the evil intention of her brother-in-law, took her other son and his two sisters, and fled to the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey. After long persuasion, with profuse promises and partial force, Richard induced her to yield her other son to his care. Historians of the period believed that by direct orders of Richard, the princes were smothered to death in the Tower of London, and the finding, a couple of centuries later, of the skeletons of two children corresponding in age to the princes, and buried at the foot of the stairs leading to the room where they were imprisoned, leaves little doubt as to the fate of the lads.

Richard gained enough influential friends to bring about his accession to the throne as Richard III. He strove to win the goodwill of his subjects, but his cruelty created an undercurrent of implacable enmity toward him. Inquiries, too, began to be heard as to what had become of the two princes.

Before Richard became king he persuaded the widow of that Edward (son of Margaret the queen) who was killed at Tewkesbury, to become his wife. He wanted his own son to marry Elizabeth, the eldest sister of the two murdered princes, thereby strengthening the succession of his family to the throne. But the son died and the king

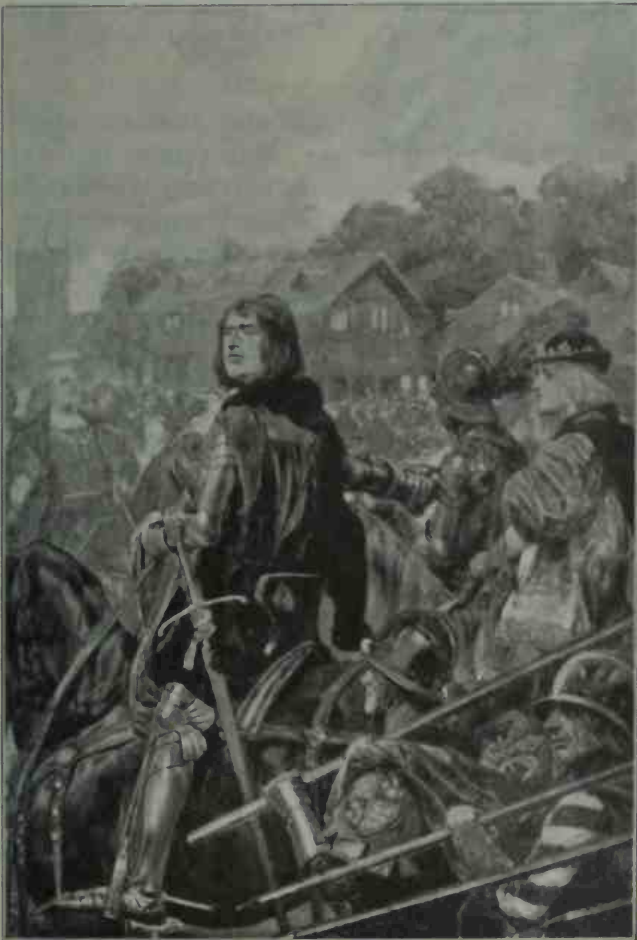
Richard III

Signature of Richard III



Great seal of Richard III

Richard III forcing his nephew from the protection of Lord Rivers



Bosworth Field—the crown of Richard placed on Henry's head

“disposed” of his own wife, then determined to marry the Princess Elizabeth himself.

But the princess was already engaged to Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who had been patiently waiting for years to strike a blow for the crown that he claimed by virtue of his illegitimate descent from the House of Lancaster. Convinced that his opportunity had come at last, he landed with six thousand men at Milford Haven, Wales, in 1485, and pushed on against King Richard.

He met Henry, August 22, 1485, at Bosworth Field, in Leicestershire, where the decisive battle was fought between the rival and pestilent houses of Lancaster and York. Richard strove with a skill and desperation that would have won the day, but for the treachery of many of his followers. At first, his army was twice as numerous as Henry's, but its disaffection more than equalized the strength of the combatants. Richard plunged into the thickest of the fight and, catching sight of Henry among a group of his knights, strove furiously to reach him. He hewed down the Lancastrian standard-bearer, fiercely unhorsed a knight, and struck viciously at Henry himself, but Sir William Stanley parried the blow, and the swarming foes struck Richard from his horse and killed him as he lay on the ground.



Rulers of England during the growth and decline of kingly power

After the battle the crown of Richard was found under a hawthorn bush where it had rolled. Picking it up, stained with blood as it was, Lord Stanley set it on the head of Henry amid cries of "Long live King Henry!" So, it was the only time in English history a king was killed and a king was crowned on the field of battle. On the same night a horse was led up to the church of the Gray Friars at Leicester, with a sack tied across its back. In it was the body of the last of the Plantagenet line, King Richard III, slain in the thirty-second year of his age, after a brief reign of only two years.

THE GROWTH OF ROYAL POWER UNDER THE TUDOR KINGS

The marriage of Henry VII to the princess Elizabeth, sister of the murdered princes and true heiress of the House of York, blended the white and the red roses and ended the civil war. The wedding took place a few months after the king's accession, and today in the east window of stained glass in the burial chapel of Henry VII, in Westminster Abbey, one may see the Roses joined.

With this the beginning of the House of Tudor was

ushered in for a long period of almost absolute kingly power. The nobility were so few in number that they were no longer to be feared, and the clergy as well as the people welcomed strong, centralized, conservative government. Henry was cunning and avaricious. By keeping out of foreign wars, he avoided the necessity of calling Parliament together and asking for grants of money. He strove to avoid taxing the poorer classes, since they were the most numerous, for he was anxious to hold his popularity with them. He revived the system of benevolences, and with the aid of his chief minister, Cardinal Morton, wrung large sums from the rich.

Henry VII greatly advanced his own interests through the marriages he arranged. That of his daughter Margaret with James IV of Scotland opened the way for the union of the two kingdoms, while the marriage of his eldest son Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the king of Spain, secured the alliance of Spain against France. When Arthur died a few months later, his father obtained a dispensation from the pope that permitted him to marry his younger son Henry to Arthur's widow, and it was this son who became Henry VIII of England. The rapacity of the king enabled him, when he died in 1509, to leave a vast fortune to Henry VIII, who was eighteen years old when he succeeded to the throne.

Within a few years after Henry's accession Martin

HENRY VII., 1485-1509, married Elizabeth, (daughter of Edward IV.)	Margaret, married James IV. of Scotland.	{	James V., of Scotland, married Mary of Guise.	{	Mary, Queen of Scots.
			HENRY VIII., 1509-1547 married		{
	1. Katharine of Aragon.	{	ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.	{	EDWARD VI., 1547-1553.
			2. Anne Boleyn		
	3. Jane Seymour.	{		{	



Elizabeth of York,
queen consort of Henry VII

Signature of Henry VII

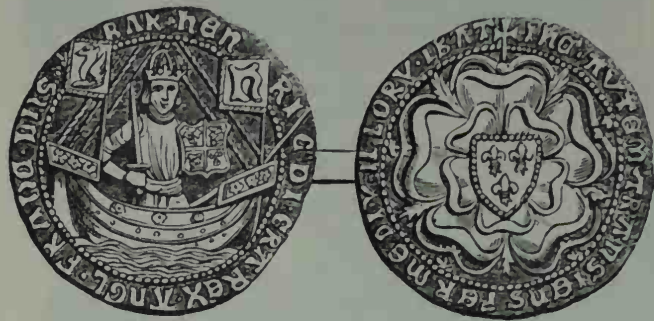
Lineage of the Tudor family of English sovereigns, from Henry VII, 1485-1509

LINEAGE OF HENRY VII. FROM JOHN OF GAUNT, THIRD SON OF EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt, 1340-1399, married (third wife) Catherine Swynford.	{	John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset.	{	John Beaufort, 1st Duke of Somerset.	{	Margaret, married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.	{	HENRY VII.

Lineage of Henry VII from John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III

Henry VII. Henry saw two principal duties before him when he came to the throne: (1) to heal the factions in the kingdom; (2) to establish a firm, strong government. It can be said with justice that he did both.



The rose-rial coin of Henry VII

Luther began his great battle against the doctrines and power of the papacy. It was in 1517 he nailed on the door of the church of Wittenberg his protests that led to the movement against the Church of Rome. Henry VIII was a firm Catholic, and some time later published a reply to one of Luther's works and sent a sumptuously bound copy to the pope, who was so pleased that he conferred on him the title of Defender of the Faith, which, rather strangely, has been retained by every English sovereign since that time.

France and Spain were becoming powerful nations, and Henry was ambitious to take a hand in the continental wars that he might gain some advantage. There was jealousy between the emperor of Germany and the king of France, and each naturally tried to gain the favor of the English king. He coquetted with both. In alliance with the German emperor in 1513, he defeated the French cavalry at Guinegate, who fled in such headlong haste that the conflict was called the Battle of the Spurs. The Scots took advantage of the war and invaded England, but were defeated by the earl of Surrey, September 9, 1513, at Flodden, where their king James IV, with some of the foremost of the nation, was left dead on the field. Peace was made the following year and, in June 1520, a series of friendly meetings took place between the new French king, Francis I, and Henry, which were on



Henry VII on
horseback



Henry VII delivering to John Islip, the abbot of Westminster, the Book of Indenture (Agreement), which specified the number of masses, collections, and other church obligations "for the repose of the souls of the King's wife, father, and other relatives."



The great seal of Henry VII



Catherine of Aragon. A marriage between Henry's eldest son, Arthur, and Catherine of Aragon, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand V and Isabella of Spain, took place in 1501, the bride being sixteen and the bridegroom fifteen years old. A few months later, the bridegroom died, and negotiations were opened for a marriage of Catherine to the king's younger son, his namesake, Henry, then heir to the throne; but some years passed before that fateful marriage was brought about.



The great brass screen enclosing the altar tomb of Henry VII and his queen in his chapel at Westminster Abbey

such a scale of splendor that the meeting place was called the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The grand display, however, proved of no advantage to the French king, for Henry soon made an alliance with the emperor Charles V, and in 1522 a new war was launched against France, which closed three years later with an agreement of the French sovereign to pay a large annual pension to the English king.

Henry VIII was certain to break before long with the church, of which he was at first so valiant a defender. He had as his adviser one of the ablest and most unscrupulous of men in Thomas Wolsey, a priest who was able to reach the loftiest position. He climbed upward as archbishop of York, chancellor, cardinal, papal legate, and hoped, with seemingly good reason, to become pope himself. The best government of Henry's reign was when Wolsey was at the head of affairs, or from 1515 to 1529. But as the years passed, the pleasant temperament of the king gave way to gloom and dissatisfaction.

When Henry was only twelve years old, he had been betrothed to Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. He tired of her, and then, under the pretense that he believed the marriage unlawful, he was determined to be divorced in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of his court. Cardinal Wolsey favored this divorce because he hated the Spanish royal family and saw in it the means of detaching England

from its alliance with that country, while the hope of making a new union with France, through the marriage of the king with a princess of that country, was the scheme that appealed to him. He therefore, in 1527, did his utmost to persuade the pope to consent to the divorce.

Pope Clement VII was in a dilemma. Francis I of France supported England, while, on the other hand, Charles of Spain threatened. The pope temporized, and, to gain time, issued a commission to Cardinal Campeggio and Wolsey to adjudicate the question. Meanwhile, the impatient king discarded Catherine, who was six years older than he, and started living with Anne Boleyn. This turn of affairs knocked Wolsey's schemes awry, and, losing all wish to get the divorce, he favored procrastination as much as did Pope Clement, who revoked the decision, and transferred the question to Rome.

This step virtually ended the papal power in England. The king and Anne Boleyn were exasperated against Wolsey, because they were sure he had tricked them, and they resolved to punish him. (Under a law of Richard II no representative of the pope had any legal authority in England.) Since he had dared to thwart the will of the king, he should now pay the penalty. Feeling his helplessness, Wolsey meekly gave up everything—riches, power, and rank. He was allowed to go into retirement, but a year later was arrested on the charge of treason. While in custody on his way to London, he fell grievously ill, and stopped at the Abbey of Leicester to die.

A new ministry was formed in October 1529, in which, for the first time, the highest places were given to laymen. Sir Thomas More was made chancellor, and the chief adviser of the king was Wolsey's old assistant, Cromwell. About this time, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, of Cambridge, advised the king to lay his divorce question before the universities of Europe. Henry eagerly did so, and with the use of bribes, a favorable response was drawn from the majority. The king was so heartened by this verdict that he charged the whole body of the English church with being guilty of the same offense that Wolsey had committed. Quaking with fear, they bought the pardon of the irate ruler with the payment of a sum amounting to several million dollars. This was clinched by the declaration that the king was the supreme head on earth of the Church in England. Thus, the Reformation entered the kingdom of England.

Henry married Anne Boleyn in 1532, after having lived with her as her husband for some five years. Cromwell succeeded Wolsey as the king's confidential adviser, and Henry and Anne were crowned in Westminster Abbey. The indignant pope ordered the king to leave her, under the threat of excommunication, and to take back Catherine. Henry answered through his obsequious Parliament, which in 1534 passed the Act of Supremacy, which made the king absolutely the head of the church.



Henry VIII. Well-educated, and he had a fairly good mind; but his egotism, his willfulness, and his selfishness had no bounds. Those traits in the king became the cause of infinite suffering to England; but his subjects were so filled with admiration of his stature, his strength, his fine presence, and the bluff freedom of his manner toward them, that they were quite heedless of his character in the first years of his reign.

One of Henry's first acts was to marry Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and he is said to have done so less from policy than from choice. Catherine was twenty-five, while he was nineteen, but her person was attractive to him then, and her manners pleased. For two years he seems to have been contented with the enjoyments of a gay and extravagant court. Then he was seized with the ambition to play a conspicuous part in the eyes of the world. An iniquitous league for the despoiling of Venice had been followed by what was styled a "Holy League" against France, formed by Ferdinand of Spain, the emperor Maximilian, and the pope. Henry was easily drawn into the League, but only to be betrayed. His allies used him to bring pressure on France for secretly securing their own terms of peace.

Meantime, while Henry was making war in France, his Scottish brother-in-law, James IV, acting on the old friendship of Scotland for France, invaded England and suffered the awful defeat of Flodden Field, where he and ten thousand of his countrymen fell. This brought Henry's nephew, James V, the son of his sister Margaret, to the Scottish throne.



Suit of armor presented by the emperor Maximilian I to Henry VIII



The great seal of Henry VIII



Shilling of Henry VIII

Henry VIII

Signature of Henry VIII

This grotesque mask is the only surviving piece of the armor collection given to Henry VIII by Maximilian



Landing of Henry VIII at Calais, June 30, 1513



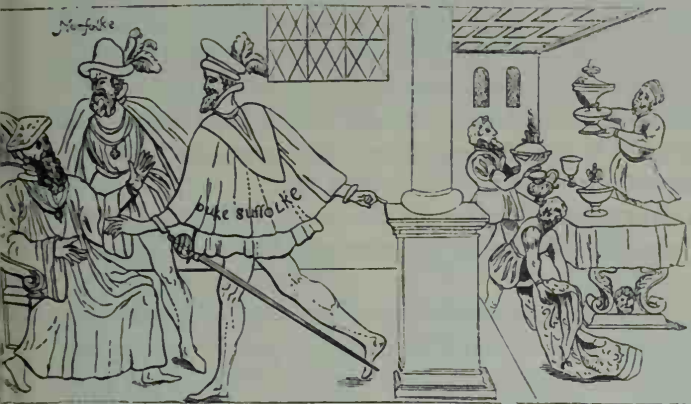


Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold



Anne Boleyn. Jane Seymour. Catherine Howard.

Execution of Anne Boleyn. In January 1536, the divorced Queen Catherine died, and by her death she seems to have doomed her rival, Anne. The king had been tiring of the latter for some time, but feared to reopen the old divorce question if he tried to make himself wifeless again. But no sooner was Catherine out of the way than he determined to be rid of Anne Boleyn, and his creature, Thomas Cromwell, lost no time in finding the means. On charges of misconduct and of conspiracy, which few who have investigated the matter give credit to in the least, she was condemned and beheaded (May 1536), while five unfortunate gentlemen, accused of complicity in her crime, shared her fate. Henry married his third wife, Jane Seymour, on the day after Anne's head fell.



Wolsey surrendering the great seal

Henry VIII courting Anne Boleyn

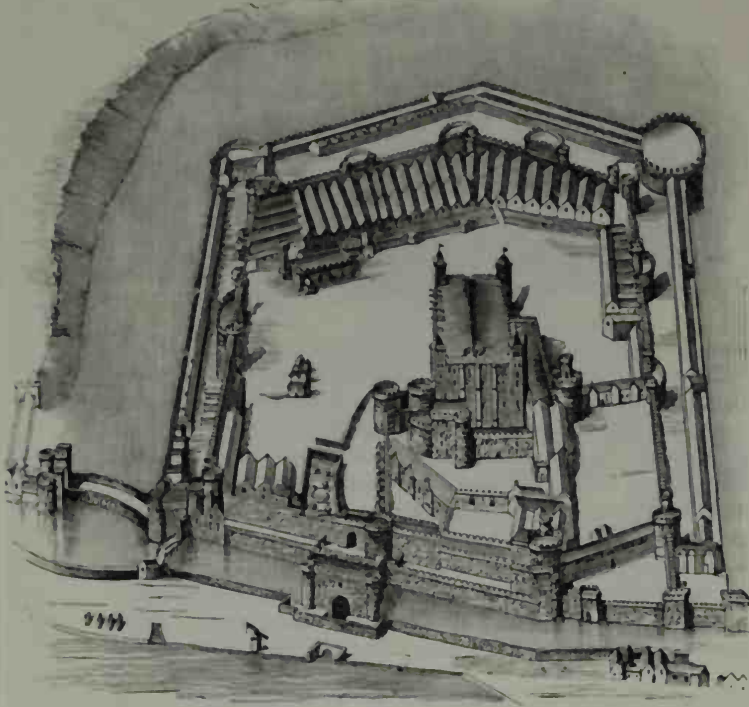


The denial of this was to constitute treason. The act of 1534 was the most momentous in the ecclesiastical history of England.

Henry was given the right to declare any judgment and to punish its violation with death. Cromwell was his ready tool in this infamy, it being their rule not to allow any accused person to be heard in his own defense. The venerable Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the great and good Sir Thomas More could not conscientiously accept the decree that Henry was head of the church, and, for this voice of conscience, both were brought to the scaffold. As More came to the steps leading to the scaffold, he turned to the governor of the Tower of London and said: "If you will see me safely up, I will come down without help."

All Europe was horrified by these atrocious murders, and Henry's only ally, Francis I, remonstrated. The pope declared his excommunication against the tyrant (whom he had once dubbed Defender of the Faith), and Henry retaliated by suppressing the monasteries.

These drastic measures caused a fierce insurrection in the north, where the rebels became so powerful that terms had to be made with them and certain concessions granted, one of which was a general amnesty. The leaders, however, were executed, and the suppression of the rebellion was followed, in 1537, by the dissolution of the larger monasteries. In this same year an order in council placed the English translation of the Bible and six altered articles of religion in every church so that all might read them, and warned all of the penalty of refusing to accept the decisions of the English church. Thus, whoever denied the first article, that of transubstantiation, should be declared a heretic and burned at the stake. Whosoever spoke against the other five articles should, for their first



The Tower of London in the sixteenth century, where the executions took place

offense, forfeit their property, and for the second should die at the stake.

This act caught the truculent Cromwell. He had used his influence as a member of the government to thwart the execution of the law by staying proceedings and granting pardons, but Henry had become his enemy and put him to death.

Anne Boleyn, who was the mother of Elizabeth, destined to become one of the greatest queens Europe ever knew, was charged with unfaithfulness, and it is more than likely the charge was true. She was executed, and then Henry married Jane Seymour, who died a year after the birth of a son, who eventually became Edward VI. In 1540, Cromwell arranged a marriage with Anne of Cleves, who was so homely in looks that the king could hardly stand being seen with her and quickly brought about a divorce. It was in that year that Cromwell was beheaded, partly due to the resentment of the king for having cajoled him into the distasteful marriage. His next union was with Catherine Howard, who had been a wanton. She strove to keep the dreadful fact a secret, but Henry found it out, charging her with treason, and she suffered the fate of Anne Boleyn. His sixth and last marriage was with Catherine Parr, who, too, would have gone to the block on the charge of heresy, except that she knew how to flatter the king's conceit and to make him believe she thought him a profound theologian, when in reality he had a lesser than average intellect, compared to those in his court.

War broke out in 1542 with Scotland, where the king,

James V, was a Catholic, and unwilling to form an alliance with his uncle Henry VIII. A Scottish army invaded England, but fled in panic before an insignificant force of English at Solway Moss. James was so mortified that he did not survive long, and left as his successor an infant daughter, Mary Stuart. The politic Henry negotiated a marriage between her and his son Edward, but the Scots repudiated the treaty, and Henry sent an army to enforce it. The troops ravaged the country and sacked Edinburgh. Exasperated with France because of its intrigues in Scotland, Henry made an alliance with Charles V, entered France in 1544, and captured Boulogne, but in the end agreed that it should be returned in eight years, upon the payment of a heavy ransom.

Henry, although only thirty, was old, diseased, unwieldy, and in continual pain, due to his excesses and debauchery. His condition became worse as he lived on. He succumbed on January 28, 1547, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He was execrated equally by Catholic and Protestant, for he persecuted both with relentless fierceness. The former were put to death because they would not own him as head of the church, while the Protestants were burned at the stake because they refused to believe the Roman Catholic doctrines. It was Sir Walter Raleigh who said of Henry VIII: "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost to the world, they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king." On that dismal winter night when the wretched creature lay dying, he sent for Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to receive his last words, and passed away, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung." The world was well rid of him.

Parliament had given Henry special powers regarding the succession. His son Edward, who was only nine years old, was the rightful heir, but Henry ordered that, if his son died childless, the kingdom should go to Henry's daughters, first to Mary and her heirs, then to Elizabeth and her heirs. After these two, it was to pass to the descendants of his younger sister Mary.

The throne went first to the feeble, sickly son of Jane Seymour, who was crowned as Edward VI in 1547, en-

Edward VI, 1547-53

(from a painting by Holbein)

Edward VI





Edward VI entering London in his coronation procession



Great seal of Edward VI



Gold sovereign of Edward VI

Edward

Signature of Edward VI

tering London in triumphal procession. The duke of Somerset, uncle of Edward, was appointed to reign during the new king's minority. England then had two great parties—Roman Catholics and Protestants—and the momentous question was which was to become the master of the kingdom. Somerset, the protector, was a Protestant, and he brought that faith to the front. He was ambitious and he was a fine soldier. In the first year of his rule he invaded Scotland with the purpose of compelling the marriage of Mary with the young English king; but Mary eluded him. She was sent to France the next year, became the betrothed of the French dauphin, who was afterward Francis II.

The bitterest enemy of Somerset was his own brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, high admiral of England, who had married Catherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII. He aimed to supplant the protector, but was destroyed by a bill of attainder and beheaded March 20, 1549. Somerset was not long in following him, for his rule was detested at home and was a failure abroad, and in 1552 he was beheaded on a charge of conspiring against his rival, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and against other lords of the council.

The duke of Northumberland, who now took the management of affairs, resembled Somerset whom he had supplanted, for he had no religion, but professed to be a rigid Protestant. Seeing that Edward could not live long,



Edward VI. A boy-king was once more on the English throne. Authorized by Parliament, his father had left a will that appointed a council of regency to administer government in Edward's name until he should be eighteen years old.



Edward VI writing his journal



Lady Jane Grey urged to declare herself queen

Return of Catholic prelates under Mary I



Lady Jane Grey (from an original picture in the collection of the earl of Stamford and Warrington)



Execution of Lady Jane Grey in the Tower of London, February 12, 1554

Mary I (1553–58). The duke of Northumberland kept King Edward's death a secret until he had proclaimed Jane queen of England. The poor girl knew that a great wrong was being done in her name. She begged that she might not be forced to accept the crown; but she could do nothing to prevent it as her father, her husband, and his father all were bent on making her obey them. So she had to sit as a queen in the royal apartments in the Tower of London.

But as soon as the news reached Mary, she traveled toward London. As everyone knew her to be the right queen, and the people joined her, even Northumberland was obliged to throw up his hat and cry, "God save Queen Mary." Jane and her husband were safely kept, for Mary meant no harm to them had their friends remained quiet. However, the people became discontented when Mary began to have the Latin service used again, and put Archbishop Cranmer in prison for having favored Jane. She wanted to be under the pope again, and she became engaged to marry the king of Spain, her cousin, Philip II. This was very foolish of her, for she was a middle-aged woman, pale, and low spirited; and he was much younger. The English hated it so much that the little children played the queen's wedding in their games and always ended by pretending to hang the king of Spain, Northumberland thought this discontent gave another chance for his plan, and tried to raise the people in favor of Jane, but so few joined him that Mary very soon put them down, and beheaded Northumberland. She thought, too, that the quiet of the country would never be secure while Jane lived, and so she consented to her being put to death. Jane behaved with beautiful firmness and patience. Her husband was lead out first and beheaded, and then she followed. Mary's sister, Elizabeth, was suspected also, and sent to the Tower. She came in a boat on the Thames to the Traitor's Gate; but when she found where she was, she sat down on the stone steps, and said, "This is a place for traitors, and I am none." After a time she was allowed to live in the country but was closely watched.

Philip of Spain came and was married to Mary. She was very fond of him, but he was not very kind to her, and he had too much to do in his other kingdoms to spend much time with her. Her great wish in choosing him was to be helped in bringing the country back to the old obedience to the pope; and she succeeded in having the English Church reconciled again to communion with Rome. But this displeased many of her subjects exceedingly. They thought they should be forbidden to read the Bible and they could not endure the Latin service.

he feared the coming to the throne of Lady Mary, who was sure to bring an end to his arbitrary power. He therefore persuaded Edward to do an illegal thing by altering the succession, and, shutting out his sisters, to settle the crown on his cousin Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the duke of Suffolk and granddaughter of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon. The hope of the duke of Northum-

berland was to raise his fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, who had just married Lady Jane, to the throne of England. Edward died July 6, 1553, and some people in the court believed that the duke of Northumberland used poison to hasten Edward's death.

Lady Jane Grey had married at the age of sixteen, and she and her husband were devotedly attached to each other. They lived in a castle in the beautiful park near Leicester. But one day Lady Jane's father-in-law and several nobles came into her presence and, kneeling at her feet, hailed her as the queen of England. She was terrified, and assured them that she had no wish to reign, and would not do so. They insisted, and when her father and mother urged her for their sakes to accept the honor, she unwillingly consented; but it was with a sinking heart. She was proclaimed on the tenth of July; but Mary was the rightful heir, and at Norwich on the nineteenth of the same month was also proclaimed queen. Mary entered London at the head of a band of friends, without a single hand being raised to defend Lady Jane Grey, whom none were ready to accept as their queen, since she had no moral or legal claim to that honor. The duke of Northumberland was brought to trial and beheaded, and Lady Jane and Guilford Dudley were sent to the tower. Lady Jane and her husband were beheaded February 12, 1554.

Returning to Mary Tudor, whose reign began in July 1553, she was a devout Catholic, the daughter of Henry VIII. She married her cousin Philip II of Spain, who was a languid bigot, and who married her because it suited his father's policy. When he came to England he was received with coldness and distrust. He went back to his own land to become king of Spain and of the Netherlands, after which he returned but once to urge the queen to join him in a war against France. She did so, and the results were disastrous to England. In January 1558 Calais was captured by the French, after the English standard, planted there by Edward III, had waved above its walls for more than two hundred years. It was destined to fall in the course of time, and its loss was no harm to England, though Mary was so oppressed and humiliated that she declared that when she died "Calais" would be found written on her heart.

She was a fanatic, but a resolute one. The dearest ambition of her life was to restore England to the Church of Rome. Like most people of those times, she believed that those who thought differently should be compelled to renounce their opinions and, if they refused to do so, should be punished with death. The fires of persecution that blazed during Mary's reign led to her being called Bloody Mary, for by the close of her reign more than two hundred men and women had perished at the stake. The most notable of the martyrs were John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer. Ridley and Latimer were burned together at Oxford, October 16, 1555. Latimer, exhorting his



Queen Mary (from a painting by Holbein)



King Philip, husband of Queen Mary

the blood of thousands of Protestants, who had died the most cruel of deaths.

Broken in health, neglected by her husband, and hated by her countrymen, Mary died November 17, 1558, after a reign of only five years.

THE GLORIOUS REIGN OF ELIZABETH

The woman who next came to the throne, and whose greatness the whole world now knows, stood for years seemingly much nearer the scaffold than the crown. She was the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII, whereas Mary, who had just died, was daughter of his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, so that the two queens were half-sisters.

The legitimacy of Elizabeth depended on the validity of her father's divorce from Catherine, and Catholics had always denied that he was legally divorced. So Elizabeth's very existence was an insult to her sister Mary. And Elizabeth was a Protestant! Mary kept her in prison, in constant expectation of death.

Philip II of Spain turned the scale. Mary Stuart of Scotland was the next heir to the throne. She had married the dauphin of France, who was Philip's greatest enemy. Mary Stuart's accession would elevate France, to



Great seal of Queen Mary

Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (from a painting by Zuccherro)

marye

Signature of Mary



Gold rial of Queen Mary

friend to die like a man, declared, "We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Cranmer, the leader of the church of Henry VIII, recanted, but was also brought to the stake. Yet both Cranmer and Latimer had been zealous in sending others to the stake who had differed with them. But, sad as it was, persecution in England never reached the appalling extent that it did in Spain. The fiendish Philip II reddened the lowlands of Holland with

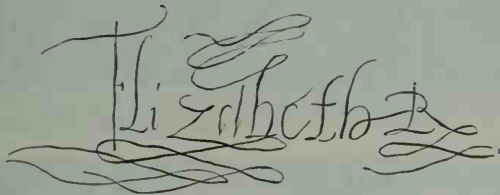




Queen Elizabeth surrounded by her court (from a print by Vertue)



Great seal of Queen Elizabeth



Signature of Elizabeth



Crown piece of Queen Elizabeth



State carriage of Queen Elizabeth (from Hoefnagel's print of Nonsuch Palace)

the dwarfing of Spain, and, though both Philip and Mary were Catholics, he preferred that England should become Protestant rather than destroy his own political dominance, and give to France the balance of power in Europe.

So Elizabeth became queen of England in 1558, when she was twenty-five years old. She was a most extraordinary woman. Surrounded and advised as she was by some of the ablest of statesmen, she was wiser in some respects than all in her court, and could outwit them at their own games. She was a consummate statesperson, and the forty-five years that she sat on the throne were in many respects the grandest that England has ever known.

Mary Stuart of Scotland had become queen of France, and claimed the English crown through her descent from Henry VII, on the ground that Elizabeth had no such right, because the pope of Rome had never recognized the marriage of her mother Anne Boleyn with Henry VIII. France and Rome maintained this claim, while

Francis Drake knighted by Elizabeth. For more than a dozen years before England and Spain were avowedly at war, Francis Drake and others attacked Spanish-American settlements, fought Spanish warships, plundered Spanish treasure ships, and shared the spoil with English courtiers, and even with the English queen. In 1577, Drake set sail on a memorable voyage, which followed the route of Magellan to the Pacific, gathered booty along the whole Peruvian coast, and then circled homeward by the Cape of Good Hope, having rounded the globe.





Shakespeare before Queen Elizabeth



Queen Mary of Scotland (from a painting by Zuccherò)



Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower awaiting his execution



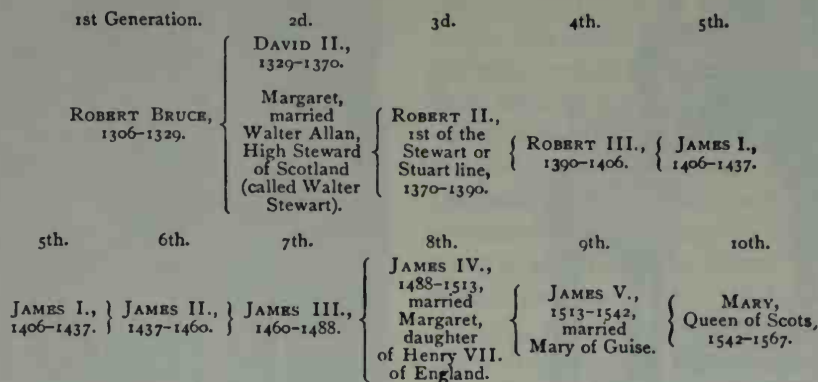
Mary, Queen of Scots in prison

Elizabeth signing Mary's death warrant. Mary, Queen of Scots' execution cannot be called the cause of war between Spain and England, because war had long existed as a fact, though it was never acknowledged. That singular state of things is not easily understood at the present day.



Mary Stuart led to execution

LINEAGE OF THE STEWART OR STUART SOVEREIGNS OF SCOTLAND, FROM ROBERT BRUCE TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.



Lineage of the Stewart, or Stuart, sovereigns of Scotland, from Robert Bruce to Mary, Queen of Scots



The surrender of Mary, Queen of Scots at Carberry Hill (from the old picture engraved by Vertue and published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries)



Holyrood House, the ancient royal palace of Edinburgh (from an original drawing made in 1828). Only a portion of the left, or north, wing of the present building existed in the time of Mary.

Philip II supported Elizabeth, whom he hoped to marry and thus add England to his dominions.

Grand as the reign of Elizabeth was, it was harrassed by innumerable plots against her life and against the Protestant religion. Her most formidable enemy was Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, who had married the French dauphin. She claimed the English throne as granddaughter of a sister of Henry VIII, while Elizabeth was excluded from such right on the old ground of illegitimacy. Mary urged Elizabeth to set matters straight by naming her as heir to the throne; but no matter how much inclined Elizabeth might have been to do this, she dared not for fear that the Roman Catholics would then find means of putting her out of the way, to make room for the queen of Scots.

Philip of Spain, her brother-in-law, wanted to marry Elizabeth that he might hold England as a Roman Catholic country. The queen was anxious to keep peace with Spain and France, for she had not the money nor the ships with which to go to war. So she dallied and delayed

her replies to both requests. The pope was also kept waiting and hoping, until he, too, saw through her plans, and issued his edict of excommunication against her. When Mary's husband, the king of France, died, she went back to Scotland, assumed the Scottish crown, and boldly asserted her right to that of England.

Mary was a wonderfully beautiful and fascinating woman and, a few years after returning to Scotland, married Lord Darnley. He became infuriated because of the favoritism she showed her Italian secretary Rizzio, and, with several companions, Lord Darnley seized Rizzio in her presence, dragged him into an antechamber, and stabbed him to death. A year later, Darnley was murdered, and it was generally believed that his wife and the earl of Bothwell, whom she later married, instigated the crime. The people were so outraged that they seized and put her in prison, compelling her to abdicate in favor of her infant son James VI. She escaped and fled to England. Elizabeth feared that if Mary crossed to France, she would stir up that country to war. So she had



Tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots in the south aisle of Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey

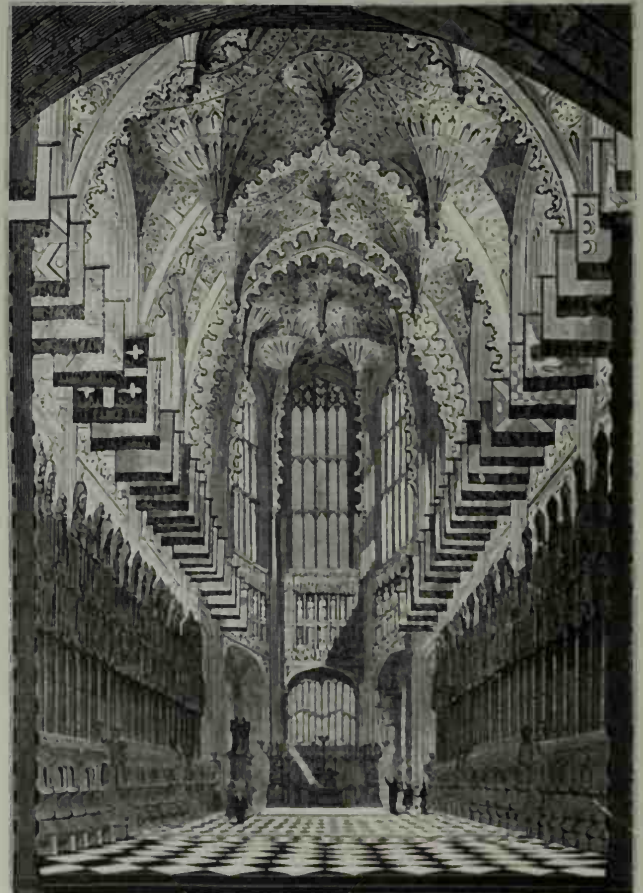


Tomb of Queen Elizabeth in the north aisle of Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey

The death of Queen Elizabeth (from the painting in the Louvre)



Interior of Henry VII's chapel





Westminster Abbey and Hall at the time of Elizabeth

her rival thrown into prison, and kept there for some nineteen years.

Finally, Mary became involved in a plot to kill the English queen and seize the government in the interest of the Roman Catholics. William the Silent, who expelled the Catholics from a part of the Netherlands, had been assassinated by one of that faith, and the Puritans in the House of Commons blamed the death on Mary. Impelled by a sense of her own peril, Elizabeth signed the fatal warrant, and Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire.

Mary's devices threatened the destruction of England, for she had been so disgusted with her cowardly son James, who deserted her and accepted a pension from Elizabeth, that she left her claim to the throne of England to Philip II of Spain. He was the most powerful ruler in Europe, determined to conquer England, add it to his own immense possessions, and restore it to the religion of the pope. The fleet that Philip prepared consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels, larger than any other ever in Europe. The land forces were to be led by the duke of Parma, twenty thousand of them on board the ships of war, while thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands ready to be transported to England. Since no doubt was entertained of the success of the fleet, it was called the Invincible Armada.

England was thrown into consternation by news of the coming of the terrible armada, for there seemed no earthly hope of a successful resistance. All that the kingdom had in the way of a navy was thirty ships "of the line," very small in comparison with the huge galleons of the enemy. But, a series of storms and the success of the British in various skirmishes with the armada made it vincible and it returned to Spain defeated.

The great Elizabeth died and her death cast a pall all over England. In her old age she had adopted a young man thirty years her junior, the dashing earl of Essex. For him she seems to have entertained a real affection;

but she expected him to treat her not as a mother, but as a gay young miss. She exacted from him the double devotion of a lover to his lady and of a subject to his queen. She made him captain-general of all her forces, the most conspicuous man in her kingdom. Yet at the same time, his real power was nothing in those moments when he didn't please his sovereign. Once when he attempted to offer some advice, Elizabeth boxed his ears in the presence of the whole court. Essex was with difficulty restrained from returning the assault. "I would not have stood as much from her father," he cried, "and I will not from a petticoat." Later, he led his friends in a minor uprising, endeavoring to drive away by force of arms those of the queen's council whom he deemed his enemies. He was arrested, and after much wavering Elizabeth had him executed for treason. Then she became dejected, and her physical strength gradually passed from her. She died on March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, after a reign of nearly forty-five years.

THE STUART KINGS

Since Elizabeth was the last of the Tudors, the Stuart line begins with the coronation of James VI of Scotland in 1603. He was the only son of Mary, queen of Scots, and a great-grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. This made him the nearest heir, and Parliament chose him as James I of England. His accession united England and Scotland under one king, but each had its own parliament, its own church, and its own laws. The strange sight was presented of a sovereign ruling over three kingdoms, each with a different religion, for England was Episcopal, Scotland Independent, and Ireland Catholic.

While on his way from Scotland to receive the crown, an immense petition was presented to him from the Puritan clergy, asking that they might be permitted to preach without wearing a surplice, to perform the marriage ceremony without using the ring, to baptize without making the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, and to



Young James I, 1603-25



James I of England, and VI of Scotland, was the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots, by her second husband, Darnley, who was the grandson of Margaret Tudor, through whom the Scottish line claimed the succession to the English crown. Solomon the Second, as he was called by his obsequious courtiers, or the "wisest fool in Christendom," as he was styled by Henry IV, of France, was a man of shrewdness and considerable learning; but he was mean, vulgar, and undignified, and never really understood his English subjects. His overweening conceit in his own wisdom, and his fixed idea that he ruled by divine right, and was responsible to no earthly power, led to those incessant disputes with the Commons that culminated so tragically in the reign of his son, Charles I.

The first act of James's reign was to put an end to the Spanish war; but the most important question he had to decide was one of religious toleration. A memorable conference was held at Hampton Court in 1604, at which four Puritan ministers, the king, some twenty bishops, and a large number of courtiers were present. Everything was quietly discussed till someone mentioned the word presbytery; then the king lost his temper and treated the conference to an animated specimen of royal logic, the burden of which was: "No bishop, no king." He needed the bishops to prevent the clergy from gaining ascendancy over the crown. After hearing the royal speech, Bancroft, bishop of London, blessed God on his knees for having sent them such a monarch. The Puritans were flatly told to conform or leave the church. This Hampton Court Conference led the king to order a revised translation of the Bible to be made. This Authorized Version, published in 1611, has, by its power and beautiful diction, contributed more than any other work to the formation and maintenance of the English language in its strength and simplicity, and in widespread use today is still known as the King James version of the Bible.

Anne of Denmark, queen of James I



Anne of Denmark, showing the "wheel farthingale" then worn



dispense with bishops. The king held a conference at Hampton Court near London, eager for the chance to display his learning. But he distrusted the Puritans. He was an unshakable believer in the divine right of kings to rule, and looked upon this petition of the Puritans as a dangerous step toward the disputing of that right. To all arguments he replied with a wag of the head, and mumbled his pet maxim, "No bishop, no king," meaning that the two were inseparable. He would not grant any of their petitions and his persecutions of the Puritans became so violent that many of them left the country, and some crossed the Atlantic to settle in New England.

The most notable result of the Hampton Court conference was the order of the king for a new translation of the Bible. This was published in 1611, and constituted the Authorized Version, which is still used by the Protestants everywhere. When the king told the Puritans they must conform to the practice of the Episcopal church, three hundred of their clergymen surrendered their parishes. Parliament was displeased with James's harsh treatment of the Puritans.

The king added to his growing unpopularity by the vehemence with which he insisted upon his "divine rule." He maintained that his authority was derived directly from God and was above and beyond the English constitution, a theory that placed every man's life and liberty completely at his mercy. The claim led James continually to violate the law of the land. He ejected legally elected members of the House of Commons, and thrust in prison those who found fault with his action. This fight lasted throughout the whole twenty-two years of his reign.

Robert Catesby, a prominent Catholic, formed a plot to blow up the Parliament House on the day the king was to open the session, November 5, 1605. With the government out of the way, he expected to persuade the Catholics to rise and proclaim a new sovereign.

A cellar under the House of Lords was rented, and barrels of gunpowder were secretly carried there. Guy Fawkes, a soldier of fortune, of considerable military experience and of dauntless courage, was the most determined of the conspirators. The plan was for him to fire the explosive and then flee to Flanders on a ship that was waiting in the Thames. The Roman Catholic peers, and others whom the conspirators wished to save, were to be prevented from going to the house by some pretended message on the morning of the fateful day. There were so many in on the plot that it is not surprising that it was revealed to the king and those selected for annihilation. On the morning of November 5, a little after midnight, Guy Fawkes was arrested as he was coming out of the cellar under the Parliament House. Three matches were found on him, a dark lantern burning in a corner within, and a hogshead of thirty-six barrels of gunpowder. Under torture Fawkes confessed his guilt, but would not betray his associates, though they were traced out and



James I



Crown piece of James I

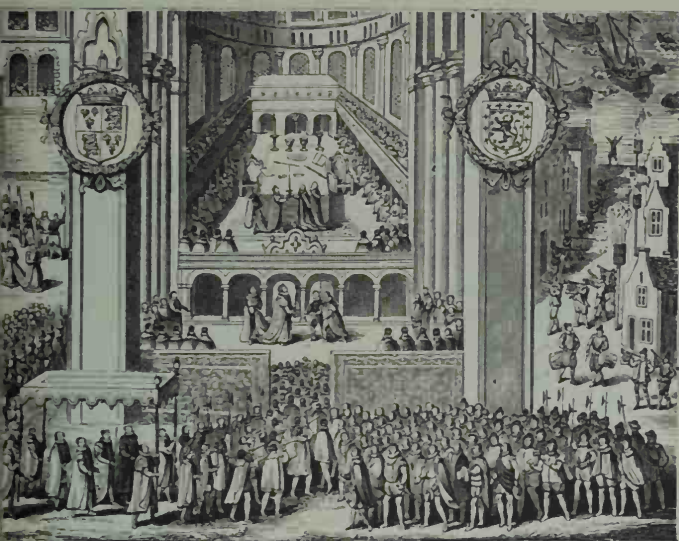


Great seal of James I



CROSS OF ST. ANDREW. SCOTLAND. CROSS OF ST. GEORGE. ENGLAND. THE "UNION JACK." GREAT BRITAIN.
A white cross on a blue field. A red cross on a white field. The two crosses combined.

Upon the accession of James I, he issued a proclamation ordering his subjects to use a flag with the two crosses "joined together according to a form made by our heralds." It is said to have received the name Union Jack because the king signed his name in French, Jacques. In 1801, on the legislative union with Ireland, the Cross of Saint Patrick, red upon a white field, was added to the union flag.



Coronation of James I

James I

James I (from a letter to his son Charles, while on his Spanish love-making expedition, beginning "My deal bable")

either killed on being captured, or died on the scaffold.

The obstacle to James enforcing his divine right was that he was always in need of money, and Parliament refused grants without the concession of reforms on his part. In order to get money to support his army in Ireland, James created the title of baronet, which anyone could buy for a price. The people did not seem as anxious for the honor as he expected, so he ordered that everyone who had an income of forty pounds or more a year, derived from landed property, must either buy knighthood or pay a big price for the privilege of not buying it.

The name of Sir Walter Raleigh is identified with the settlement of the southern part of the United States. Without the slightest foundation for the charge, he was accused of conspiracy and kept for a number of years in the Tower of London. Then the avaricious king let him out to go on an expedition in quest of treasure in a distant part of the world. Raleigh not only failed to get the treasure, but was foolish enough to become embroiled with the Spaniards on the coast of South America. The Spanish king hated Raleigh because of the part he had taken in the destruction of the Spanish armada, and he demanded of James that the latter should punish his subject for the flurry in South America. The English sovereign was so angry because of Raleigh's failure to secure him the coveted wealth, that he revived the



Guy Fawkes brought before King James

fifteen-year-old charge of conspiracy, and had the once popular favorite beheaded.

King James I died from drunkenness and gluttony in 1625. The duke of Sully made the pointed remark of him that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom." The marked features of his reign were the planting of the colonies in America, which proved the germ of the present United States; and his prolonged fight with the House of Commons, in which the latter showed themselves the stronger.

The wife of James I was Anne of Denmark, and their children were Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612; Charles, who was his father's successor; and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Frederick V, elector palatine of Germany. Because the Bohemians who were in revolt chose Frederick as king, Elizabeth is remembered as the queen of Bohemia. James was the first to take the title of king of Great Britain, and it was he who formed a national flag, which symbolized the patron saints of England and Scotland, Saint George and Saint Andrew, the combination becoming known as the Union Jack.

Charles I was born in November 1600, so that he was twenty-five years old when he succeeded to the throne of Great Britain. He was an extraordinary man, who may be described as having a dual or double nature. In his private life he was conscientious, honorable, and the most courteous of gentlemen. He was what he claimed to be, irreproachable in morals and conduct, scrupulous in all of his personal relations, and a model citizen. As a sovereign, he was exactly the reverse. This may be ascribed to his fanatical belief in the divine right of kings, which he had learned from his father, and which was intensified in the son. He believed himself above all law, and that Parliament, instead of being his master, should be his servant.

He opened his reign with more than one grave mistake. He had imbibed from his father the notion that an Episcopal church was most consistent with the rightful

LINEAGE OF THE HANOVERIAN SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND,
FROM JAMES I., OF ENGLAND.

1st Generation.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.
James I. of England	{ Elizabeth, married Frederick V., Elector Palatine.	{ Sophia, married Ernest, Elector of Hanover.	{ GEORGE I., 1714-1727.	{ GEORGE II., 1727-1760.
5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	9th.
GEORGE II., 1727-1760.	{ Frederick, died 1751.	{ GEORGE III., 1760-1820.	{ GEORGE IV., 1820-1830.	
			{ WILLIAM IV., 1830-1837.	
			{ Edward, Duke of Kent, died 1820.	{ VICTORIA, 1837-1901.
9th.	10th.	11th.		
VICTORIA, 1837-1901.	{ EDWARD VII., 1901-.	{ George Frederick, Prince of Wales.		

Lineage of the Hanoverian sovereigns of England, from James I of England

authority of kings, and he adopted severe persecuting measures against the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland. He offended his people by marrying Marie Henriette of France, a rigid Catholic, who greatly influenced his religious views, and he made the duke of Buckingham, the unpopular minister of his father, his own prime minister and chief adviser.

The queen, Henriette, had a genius for extravagance, and kept her royal husband busy gathering the immense sums which she insisted she must have. The only way Charles could get the funds was by a grant from Parliament, and there came a time when that body felt strong enough to deny his request, except upon his agreement to sign the "Petition of Right," which would give the people certain reforms and concessions.

Parliament had already drawn up articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham for misgovernment, but when the king signed the Petition of Right, they felt that the victory warranted them in dropping proceedings. Soon after the duke was stabbed to death by one of those "nuts" who fancy that such crimes are of help to their country.

It was during this period that the famous Dutch painter, Vandyke, came to England. He painted several appreciative portraits of Charles and the various members of the royal family; and the grateful monarch knighted him as Sir Anthony Vandyke.

All sorts of devices were resorted to for raising money. One of these was to levy "ship money," so called because it was pretended that it was for the purpose of building a fleet. John Hampden, a wealthy country gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who could have paid his tax a score of times over without feeling it, refused as a matter of principle, and his courage heartened others to do the same. On his appeal, the corrupt judges decided against him, but Hampden was raised higher than ever in the estimation of his countrymen.

The story is told that Hampden became so disgusted with the tyranny of the king, that he resolved to join the



The second Stuart king, Charles I, 1625–49 (painted by Vandyke). Charles was in his twenty-fifth year when he came to the throne. Unlike his father, he was agreeable in person and manner, and could bear himself with the dignity that befits a king. In blamelessness of private life, in many refinements of feeling and taste, he offered an example to be admired. He could be chaste, he could be temperate, he could be courteous; but he could not be upright; he could not be straightforward in what he said and did; he could neither deal honorably with opponents nor be faithful to friends.

This weakness of integrity was balanced in Charles by no intellectual strength. He was narrow in his views, arrogant in his temper, impatient of facts. He had learned from his father to look on royalty as something divine.

"Baby Stuart" (James II), from the painting, 1635, of *The Three Children of Charles I* by Anthony Vandyke, in the Royal Gallery at Turin



Charles I demanding of five members of Parliament

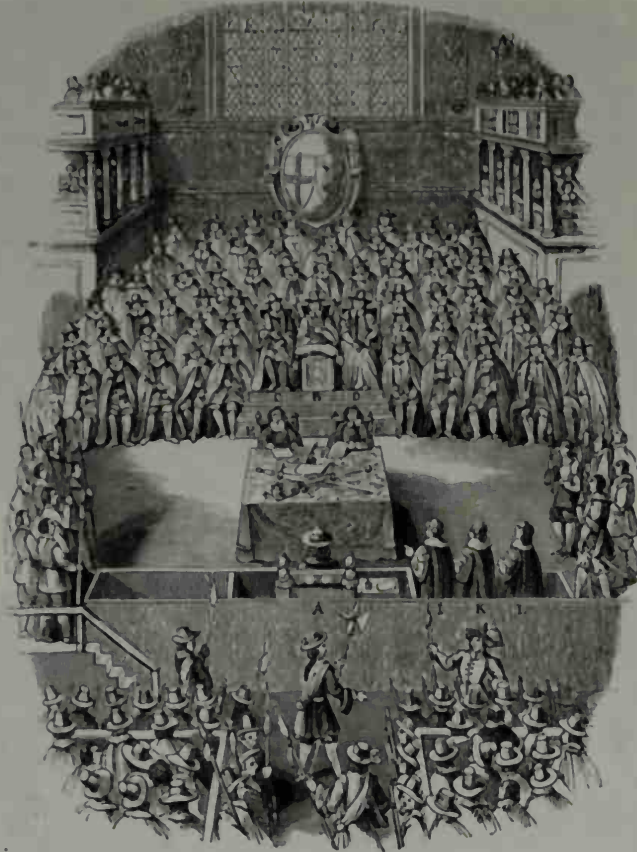


Charles I raises the standard of civil war at Nottingham

Puritans who had crossed the Atlantic to America, and that in company with his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, he went on board a vessel in the Thames, but as they were about to sail the king forbade it, and they returned to their homes. The course of the history of England would have been drastically different if King Charles had allowed those two men to leave the country!

The Scots in 1637 rebelled against the attempt to compel them to accept a liturgy like that of England. Two years later Charles marched against them, but his empty treasury and mutinous soldiers forced him to make terms; and, no choice being left to him, he called a Parliament in 1640, of which he was so distrustful that he speedily dissolved it. Then the Scottish war broke out more fiercely than ever, and, when an army actually invaded England, he quickly summoned the law-making body once more. This is known in history as the Long Parliament, because it lasted twenty years—longer than the life of the king.

The Grand Remonstrance, which set forth all the

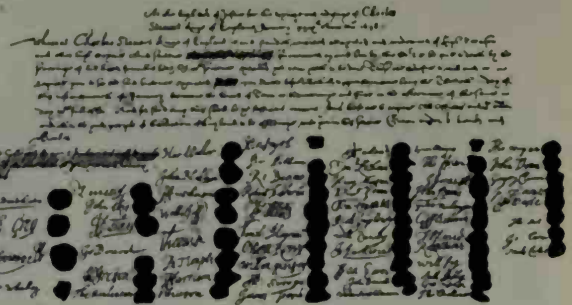


Trial of Charles I. A. the King; B. Lord President Bradshaw; C. John Lisle; D. William Say, Bradshaw's assistants. E. Andrew Broughton; F. John Phelps, clerks of the court. G. Oliver Cromwell; H. Henry Marten, the arms of the Commonwealth over them. I. Coke; K. Dorislaus; L. Aske, counselors for the Commonwealth. The description of the plate ends with these words: "The pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented to your view by an eye-and ear-witness of what he heard and saw there."



York half-crown piece of Charles I

The king on his journey to the Scots



At the high Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart King of England January 30th Anno Domini 1649.

Whereas Charles Stuart King of England is and standeth convicted etaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crimes And sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court to be putt to death by the coverings of his head from his body Of w^{ch} sentence execution yet remaineth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open Streets before Whitehall upon the morrow being the Thirtieth day of this instant month of January between the hours of Tenn in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day wth full effect And for see doing this shall be yo^r sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assisting unto you in this Service Given under o^r hands and Seales.

The warrant to execute Charles I. The black blots are seals. Notice Cromwell's signature in the left-hand column.

shortcomings of the king's government, was printed and circulated throughout the country, and added much to the distrust already felt for the king. Charles was now at bay. Baffled and furious, the king was determined to make Parliament bend to his will through the use of military force. While England had no standing army, every county had a large body of militia, which was legally under the control of the king, and Parliament now insisted that he should resign that control into its hands. He refused, flung his standard to the breeze at Nottingham, August 22, 1642, and the civil war began.

In this lamentable strife the opponents were Royalists and Parliamentarians, or more the latter name being applied to the Puritans, who, to show their contempt of the prevailing fashion of long hair, wore their own cropped short. They were commanded by an able officer in Robert, earl of Essex, a son of the favorite whom Elizabeth had caused to be executed. He met the Royalists at Edgehill, in Warwickshire, on the twenty-third of October, and fought an indecisive battle. The commander of the Cavaliers was Prince Rupert, son of the queen of Bohemia, and nephew of the king, a brave, dashing officer, whose practice of looting caused many to look upon his acts with disfavor. The king was well provided with gentleman cavalry, whose horses were much superior to those of the raw levies of the Parliamentarians; but he had insufficient artillery and ammunition. The queen, who had withdrawn to Holland, sold her own and the crown jewels, and bought considerable ammunition, which she sent to him. She herself returned to England in February 1643, with four ships, and landed at Bridlington. A few months later the gallant patriot, Hampden, was killed in a skirmish with Prince Rupert.

Parliament now formed an alliance with the Scots,

who, in 1644, sent an army, while Charles made a treaty of peace with the Catholics in Ireland, so as to allow him to bring troops home from that country. He then summoned those of the Peers and Commons who were loyal to him to meet in Parliament at Oxford, and they thence directed his cause. It failed because of the transcendent ability of one man—Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon in 1599, his father being a country gentleman of some means. Little is known of his boyhood, but he left college in 1616 to take over the management of the estate of his father, who had died. In 1620, he married the daughter of Sir James Bouchier. He associated himself with the Puritan party, who respected his earnestness and sagacity. He made his first appearance in Parliament in 1628, but had hardly taken his seat when he and his fellow commoners were sent home again by the king. Cromwell devoted the next eleven years to farming, but was sent to Parliament in 1640 as a member for the town of Cambridge.

Oliver Cromwell on horseback (his signature appears below)



Cromwell



Oliver Cromwell



Mr. Oliver Cromwell visits Mr. John Milton

In July 1642 Cromwell moved in Parliament for permission to raise two companies of volunteers, having first supplied the necessary arms at his own cost. A month later he seized the magazine at Cambridgeshire. Now that the opportunity came, Cromwell exhibited astonishing military genius. The troop of cavalry that he formed, his "Ironsides," resisted the efforts of Rupert, who hurled his gallant cavaliers in vain against them. As a lieutenant colonel on the bloody field of Marston (July 2, 1644), and in the second battle of Newbury, three months later, Cromwell displayed admirable bravery and skill, but the backwardness of his superiors prevented them from reaping the full fruits of victory. Cromwell complained in Parliament, and declared that unless greater vigor was shown a dishonorable peace would be forced upon them. He had already so demonstrated his ability that he was excepted from the provision of the "Self-denying Ordinance." In the new model army which was formed, Lord Fairfax, one of the new noblemen on the Puritan side, was appointed general, with Cromwell as lieutenant general of the horse. At Naseby (June 1645) Cromwell commanded the right wing of the parliamentary forces, and the royal army was

utterly routed and ruined. After the disorderly flight, the papers of the king were picked up on the battlefield, and proved him more perfidious than even his enemies had suspected. These papers revealed that he meant to betray those who were negotiating with him for peace, and was arranging to bring foreign troops to England.

Naseby practically ended the first civil war. The Royalists in the west were soon brought under submission. Bristol was carried by storm, and everywhere the cause of the king rapidly crumbled. In May 1646 he escaped from Oxford in disguise, and finally, in his extremity, surrendered to the Scottish army, which delivered him to the English Parliament. After remaining a state prisoner for more than four months, he was carried off by Fairfax's guard to the army, chiefly Independents. The soldiers became so threatening that, believing his life in danger, he escaped from Hampton Court and, in his bewilderment, flung himself into the custody of Colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, who confined him in a castle, from which he tried in vain to escape.

At this time the country was in a critical condition. The Welsh were in revolt; a hostile Scottish army, made up of Presbyterians and Royalists, was bearing down from the north, and Rupert, to whom seventeen English ships had deserted, was preparing for a descent from



*Charles I and armor-bearer
(by Vandyke)*

Holland, while Ireland was rampant in its royalism. The promptest and most energetic measures were necessary to save the country, and Cromwell was the man to take them. The Welsh were forced to surrender, and Cromwell routed the Scots at Preston Moor.

The Presbyterian element dominated in Parliament, and the Independent in the army. They were jealous of each other's power, but Cromwell, with his usual sagacity, had the king removed from the commissioners' hands into those of the army, in June 1647. Then some of the leading Presbyterians were turned out of Parliament by the army, and the Independents with Cromwell gradually gained the ascendancy.

Charles I



Charles I's queen, Henriette Marie



Charles R

Signature of Charles I



Great seal of Charles



Vandyke painting the portrait of King Charles's family



Seizure of the king of Holdenby



Queen Henriette interceding for Charles I



Execution of Charles I

"A shadow moved across his forehead!" Cromwell viewing the body of Charles I



Two years were spent in fruitless negotiations, when Charles, who was still a prisoner on the Isle of Wight, made a treaty with the Scots, in which he promised to establish the Presbyterian church in England if they would send an army to re-place him on the throne. The advance of the Scots into England and the flocking of the Royalists to their aid caused the civil war to break out again. On the return of the victorious parliamentary army to London the Presbyterians were still temporizing with the king. In December 1648, Colonel Pride drove more than one hundred of the Presbyterian members out of Parliament, the process being known in history as Pride's Purge. Cromwell did not order this summary proceeding, but approved of it. Some sixty Independents were left, and the body was derisively called the Rump Parliament.

The Rump Parliament voted that the king should be brought to trial on the charge of treason against the government. The Lords refused to agree, whereupon the Commons declared that the supreme authority rested in them, and closed the House of Lords. A High Court of Justice was organized for the trial of the king, Cromwell, of course, being a member of it. On January 20, 1649, the

king was brought before this court. He bore himself with a dignity that compelled the respect of his enemies. He was found guilty, and the sentence of death was pronounced upon him as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation." He calmly accepted his fate, bade farewell to his children, and was beheaded on the scaffold before Whitehall, on January 30, 1649.

CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Before the multitude which stared with mingled awe, exultation, and pity upon the beheading of Charles I had separated, the House of Commons declared that no person should be proclaimed king of England, or Ireland, or the dominions thereof. So in 1649, England ceased to be a kingdom and took the name of a Commonwealth. Within two months the House of Lords was abolished, not only as an encumbrance but as a dangerous menace to the nation. England, then, claimed to be a republic, governed by a Council of State, with John Bradshaw as president and the famous poet, John Milton, the foreign secretary. Fairfax and Cromwell commanded the army, but the heart of the Commonwealth was the grim, relentless, iron-willed Cromwell.

The young republic, like our own, was pestered by anarchists, who contended that all offices should be done away with and rank and property placed on an equality. These people called themselves Levelers, and broke out in a vicious mutiny, which Cromwell crushed.

Fairfax soon resigned, and Cromwell became the sole head of the military forces of his country. The Royalists were numerous and daring, and the Presbyterians detested the army and the Rump Parliament, from which they had been excluded. The dead king had left six children—Charles, Prince of Wales, born in 1630; James, duke of York, born three years later; Henry, who died young; and three daughters—Mary, Elizabeth, and Henrietta. Mary married Prince William of Nassau, stad-



Cromwell taking the oath as lord protector

The children of Charles I. Charles, afterward Charles II, 1630–85; Elizabeth, who died unmarried at Carisbrooke, 1635–50; and Mary, afterward princess of Orange and mother of William III, 1650–1702. Charles had two other children, James, duke of York, afterward James II, 1630–1701; and Anne, who died in infancy.



Cromwell's daughter begs him to refuse the crown



Oliver—protector, a signature changed (from a patent dated July 5, 1655)



Cromwell's great seal for Scotland

holder of Holland. It is remarkable that both of the older sons afterward became kings of England, as also did the son of Mary. The daughter Elizabeth died in 1650, a prisoner held by the Parliamentarians, in Carisbrook Castle. The daughter Henrietta Maria, born in 1644, married the French prince, Philip, duke of Orleans.

The Royalists in Ireland proclaimed Prince Charles, king, and Cromwell went there to quell the uprising. He made a cyclone campaign, his fanatical soldiers showing no mercy, and in the space of nine months he had so nearly crushed the revolt that he left his son-in-law, Ireton to finish the work, while he passed over Scotland to stamp out the rebellion there. Young Charles had reached that country and been received as king, but Cromwell attacked the Scots at Dunbar, September 3, 1650, and routed them "horse, foot, and dragoons." While the great general was still engaged in subduing Scotland, Charles led his army across the border and pressed on as far as Worcester, where Cromwell overtook and defeated him on the anniversary of the victory at Dunbar. Charles made his escape, but three of his leading supporters were executed, Parliament having declared all his adherents rebels and traitors.

Cromwell yearned to get hold of Charles, and offered a reward of a thousand pounds for his capture. Charles and his friend, Lord Wilmot, sailed in a collier from the small fishing town of Brighton. After passing more dangers the prince landed in Normandy, where even the powerful arm of Cromwell was not long enough to reach him. Meanwhile the war in Scotland was brought to a successful conclusion by General George Monk, one of Cromwell's officers.

War broke out with Holland in 1652, and was noted for the resolute strife between the great Dutch sailors,

Martin Tromp and Michael de Ruyter, on one hand and Admiral Robert Blake on the other. Tromp, having defeated Blake, sailed through the Channel with a broom at his masthead, as an intimation of the manner in which he had swept the seas of the British. But Blake had his revenge. Tromp was slain in a naval battle in 1653, and peace was made with the dejected Holland the following year.

Cromwell had urged the need of calling a Parliament which should represent the country and provide the necessary reforms. The leading member of the house was young Sir Harry Vane, who had made an excellent governor of the colony of Massachusetts. Feeling that there was imminent danger of the country falling into the power of Cromwell as military dictator, Vane urged with all the earnestness in his power, that the bill should be passed without delay. Cromwell never hesitated in such crises. With a squad of soldiers he strode to the building and, leaving them at the door, entered the house and sat down to watch what was being done. He could not restrain himself long, and springing to his feet, charged the Commons with misgovernment and the abuse of their power. As he talked, his anger rose, until exclaiming, "You are no Parliament!" he called in his soldiers, had them pull the presiding officer from his seat and throw him outside. The other members scrambled after. When

Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament (from a painting by Benjamin West)



Silver crown piece of Cromwell





Cromwell and his family listening to Milton playing the organ at Hampton Court

all were gone, Cromwell locked the door, thrust the key into his pocket, and went home.

The old Parliament out of the way, Cromwell called a new one to his own liking. It had one hundred thirty-nine members, and was nicknamed the Barebones Parliament, because one of its members bore the curious name of Praise-God Barebones. It was ridiculed from the first; but it cannot be denied that it did good work, and that some of the laws originated by it proved very helpful to the country.

A constitution was presented by a council which, on December 16, 1653, made Cromwell lord protector of England, Ireland, and Scotland. A few years later a second constitution offered him the crown. Tradition represents him as desiring to take it, but being withheld by the entreaties of his favorite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole. So, Cromwell refused the crown of England. He tried, however, to restore the House of Lords, failing only because the members would not attend. Most of the old forms of the constitution were revived, though they were veiled under other names. Since Ireland and Scotland were at this period added to the English Commonwealth, the representatives of those two countries took seats in the English Parliament, but an army of ten thousand men under General Monk was required to hold the Scots in subjection.

Tyranny of the Stuart kings had sent hundreds of Puritans to Massachusetts and other New England colonies. There was now a reversal of these conditions, and many of the Royalists fled to Virginia, where they founded one of the greatest states of the American Union. It seems singular that these roystering Cavaliers, with their horse-racing, cock-fighting, gambling, and convivial dispositions, should have laid the foundation of a state which until long after the revolution was the leading member of the Union. Virginia remained true to the king all through the troublous times of the Commonwealth. When Charles I was beheaded, the Virginians



Hampton Court Palace (from a print of the time)

recognized his exiled son as the rightful sovereign, and were the last subjects to submit to the Commonwealth. Cromwell showed both generosity and sagacity in dealing with these rebels across the ocean. In 1652 he sent a strong fleet to Virginia, but at the same time offered such liberal concessions for a simple declaration of allegiance, that the colony reluctantly accepted him as its overlord. When Charles II came to the throne, he expressed his gratitude for the loyalty of the colony by ordering the arms of the province to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, Ireland, as an independent member of the kingdom. That is why Virginia is called the Old Dominion.

It is wonderful that a man who didn't turn his attention to war until he was forty years old should have developed so astounding a genius in that direction. The success of Cromwell's foreign policy was amazing, and to him is due the chief glory of England's advance to one of the foremost powers of Europe. He built a great navy and, under the mighty Blake, her fleets smote the Dutch, until they took down the brooms from their mastheads and promised forever after to salute the English flag wherever met on the high seas. It was Blake who compelled the duke of Tuscany to pay for injuries to England's commerce, and who scourged the pirates of Barbary till they cowered before him. The West Indian possessions of Spain were hammered into submission in 1655. Two years later, in the face of a terrific fire from the shore batteries, Blake destroyed the Spanish treasure-ships in the harbor of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe. Having won one of the most illustrious names in naval annals, the grim old veteran lay down and died off Plymouth in the summer of 1657. The following year the allied English and French forces captured Dunkirk from the Spaniards, and the French king, by way of thanks, presented the city to the English, who thus received a consolation for the century-old loss of Calais.

Cromwell, who had been so absolutely fearless in bat-



Richard Cromwell

tle, grew so afraid of secret assassination that he wore armor concealed under his clothing. Then came the finishing blow to his strength in the death of his beloved daughter, Elizabeth. Cromwell passed away on September 3, 1658.

How seldom a great genius is succeeded by one worthy of wearing his laurels! Cromwell left two sons, Henry and Richard, the elder of whom was proclaimed protector. But, the dissatisfaction with him was so deep that the old Rump Parliament was called together at the end of eight months, and demanded his resignation. As gently as a lamb he stepped down and withdrew to private life, where he was followed by his brother, Henry, who had shown considerable capacity in governing Ireland during the Protectorate. Richard was nicknamed "Tumble-down Dick," and caricatures of him were displayed in many public places. He was given a pension, and lived in strict privacy until his death, in 1712, in his eighty-seventh year.

Under Richard Cromwell the Commonwealth had existed only in name. The country was placed under the control of the Rump Parliament, which represented only itself. The quarrel between it and the army was immediately renewed, and before long the body was expelled by the military leader, General John Lambert, who hoped to travel in the footsteps of the great Cromwell. General Monk, commander of the English army in Scotland, however, refused to recognize the government thus set up, and advanced with his forces toward England and made his headquarters at Coldstream-on-the-Tweed. It is in memory of this fact that one of the regiments composing his vanguard is still known as the Coldstream Guards.

The people on hearing the news rose against the government, and the fleet, sailing up the Thames, at the same time declared for the Parliament. General Lambert, who had expected to play the role of the great Cromwell, moved to the north to check Monk, but his soldiers fell away from him, and the triumphant Monk entered London in February 1660. He was a grim, silent man, who kept his own counsels, and for several days he



Great seal of Richard Cromwell, obverse; Great seal of Richard Cromwell, reverse

gave no sign of his intentions. Then he declared in favor of a free Parliament. The announcement was received with the blazing of bonfires, the ringing of bells, and the joyful shouts of the people. The Presbyterian members hurried back to their seats again, and, after issuing writs for a general election, dissolved March 16. Thus passed away the notable Long Parliament, which had been in existence for twenty years.

The new assembly was termed a Convention Parliament, because it was called without royal authority. It met about a month later, including ten members of the House of Lords. Meanwhile Monk had been in communication with the exiled Charles, who issued a declaration of pardon to all for past offenses, "excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament." One week after this declaration was received, May 8, Charles II was proclaimed king, and the fleet which had been sent to convey him from Holland to Dover arrived at London, May 29. Bells clanged, flags waved, and bonfires flashed all the way to London.

THE RESTORATION AND SECOND EXPULSION OF THE STUARTS

By a pleasant fiction the beginning of his reign was dated back twelve years before, that is, from the day of his father's execution. The Commonwealth troops were disbanded, but the King retained a select guard of five thousand men, from which in time a large standing army grew.

No reign could have begun under more promising prospects than that of Charles II. He was heartily welcomed by the great majority of his people. He had talents, a pleasing temper, and a courteous manner, but he was utterly lacking in moral principle. He secretly favored the Catholic religion, but it was as a matter of policy, for he would accept no faith that put the least restraint on his shameless life. In short, the times that were ushered in by his reign were a complete and abso-



Charles II as a boy



Charles II, 1660-85

lute reaction from the rigid morality of the Puritan rule. Immorality reigned everywhere in the Commonwealth.

The new Parliament passed an Act of Indemnity, granting a general pardon, but excepting from its benefits the judges who had condemned Charles I to death. Some of these were imprisoned for life, and thirteen were executed; but most of the others had already fled from the country. One of the silliest revenges conceivable was the digging up of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride on the anniversary of the late king's death and hanging them in chains at Tyburn, after which they were buried at the foot of the gallows among the remains of highway robbers and the lowest of criminals. The Episcopal form of service was restored. It was in 1662 that the Act of Uniformity was passed. This ordered every clergyman who did not assent and consent to everything in the prayer book, and who did not use it in his Sunday services, to surrender his church. It meant that he must leave his home and go out in the world, to seek in the best way he could a living for himself, his wife, and children. On August 24 of that year two thousand clergymen abandoned their homes. During the reign of Charles II eight thousand religious Dissenters died in the jails. The Scottish Parliament was as merciless as the English in persecuting the Dissenters, for Scotland had again become a separate kingdom.



*Catherine of Braganza,
wife of Charles II*

Charles II and the English ambassadors at The Hague, arranging the terms of his restoration



Charles II welcomed back to London





King Charles II landing at Dover



Charles II at Lady Castlemaine's house

Top: view of Worcester. The battle was fought on the foreground meadows. Center: the fight of Charles before the parliamentary soldiers, designed from various contemporary portraits of Charles II, Harrison, Lilburne, Bradshaw, and others. Bottom: the old wooden house in the corn market, Worcester, in which Charles lodged.



One of the shameful acts of Charles II was the seizure of New Amsterdam—the present city of New York—in 1664. The infamy of the proceeding lay in the fact that England and Holland were at peace, and the former in a treaty had recognized the justice of Holland's claim to the territory through the discovery of Henry Hudson.

The marriage of the king in 1662 to the Infanta of Portugal, Catherine of Braganza, brought him the fortress of Tangier in Africa and the island of Bombay in India. The latter was soon turned over to the East India Company, and Tangier was abandoned as worthless. In the year mentioned Charles, in order to procure funds with which to keep up his debauchery, sold Dunkirk to the king of France, much to the displeasure of the English.

Charles had shown himself as ambitious as his father to rule without a Parliament, but he needed money. How to get it without the help of Parliament was the great problem of his reign. Louis XIV of France, the greatest monarch in Europe, was anxious to conquer Holland, that he might add it to his own kingdom and extend the power of Romanism. He made the secret treaty of Dover with Charles (May 22, 1670), by which the latter, for the price of three hundred thousand pounds, was to aid him in carrying out this scheme for destroying the liberty and Protestant faith of Holland. Charles started a war with the Dutch, but quickly found he must have more funds with which to carry it through. There was then lying in the government treasury a sum equal to 10 million dollars in these days, which was pledged to repay the leading merchants and bankers who had made loans to the government. The king deliberately stole this enormous sum and used most of it in pandering to his vices. A financial panic resulted, which ruined some of the oldest firms in London.

Charles's declaration of war against Holland in 1672 earned him the bribe promised by the king of France, and he was eager for more, but was too cautious to come out openly as a Catholic. The nearest he dared go was to issue a proclamation of indulgence to all religions, and under this he may have intended to bestow special favors on the Catholics. Parliament replied, however, by requiring every government officer to declare himself a Protestant. This compelled the duke of York, the next heir to the throne, to resign as Lord High Admiral, for he was a Catholic and not such a coward as to be ashamed of his religious belief.

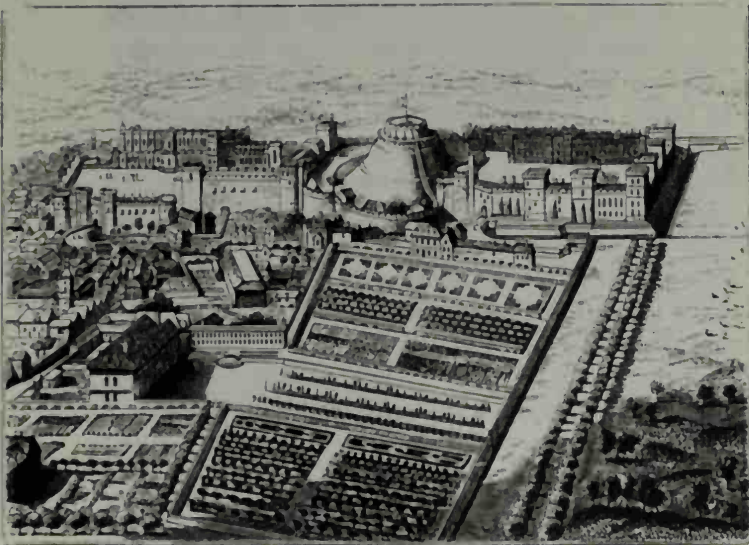
Charles was frightened by the vigor of Parliament, and tried to wheedle it into granting him more money by marrying his niece, the princess Mary, to William of Orange, head of the Dutch Republic and the foremost Protestant on the Continent. Thus peace was once more made with Holland only two years after the declaration of war.

The Magna Charta had declared that no freeman should suffer arbitrary imprisonment, but many ways



Shilling piece of Charles II

Signature of Charles II (from the original in Harleian Library)



Windsor Palace at Charles II's time

Great seal of Charles II



were found of breaking the law. So, in 1679, Parliament passed the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which declared that no man should be detained long in prison on a criminal charge without being brought before a judge, who should inquire into the legality of the imprisonment and arrange for a speedy trial. This merciful and just provision is one of the most precious rights guaranteed in any country.

It was at this time that the two political parties came to be known by the respective names of Whig and Tory, which still prevail, though, of course, the meaning of the terms has undergone many shadings and changes. The first Whigs were the Scottish Puritans or Covenanters who rejected the episcopacy that Charles I had tried to force upon them. The word was a term of reproach, as was that of Tory, when applied to the Roman Catholic outlaws of Ireland. The name Tory was now given to those who supported the claim of the duke of York as the successor of the king. This duke was James, the brother of Charles, and he was of the Roman Catholic faith. The Whigs were those radical Protestants who endeavored to shut him out from the accession. The excitement ran so high that the country was on the verge of civil war.

What undoubtedly prevented an outbreak was the discovery of the Rye House Plot. This was formed by a number of desperate Whigs, and its object was the assassination of the king and his brother at a place called the Rye House, not far from London. The purpose was to place the highly popular duke of Monmouth on the throne. He was the illegitimate son of the king, who had no legitimate descendants. The plot was betrayed. The leading advocates of the bill for excluding James from the succession had been Algernon Sidney, Lord Russell, and the earl of Essex. Probably none of them had any real connection with the Rye House Plot; but the opportunity seemed too good to lose, and they with others were arrested for the conspiracy. Sidney and Russell, who were clearly innocent, were tried, condemned, and executed. The earl of Essex, to avoid the fate of his comrades, committed suicide while imprisoned in the Tower of London. The duke of Monmouth was banished to Holland.

While considering his future policy, Charles was seized with a fit, and after lingering several days, died February 6, 1685. He refused at the urging of the bishops to take the last rites, but, his brother quietly brought a monk into the chamber and insisted on the sacrament being administered. So, the king died a Catholic.

The duke of York now came to the throne as James II. While his accession was dreaded because of his religious faith, general confidence was felt in him because of his courage and honesty, and when he declared he would respect the laws and defend the Church of England, few doubted him. Still, one of the dearest wishes was to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England. The Protestants were indignant when, on the Easter Sunday



James II, 1685-88



Maria Beatrix of Modena, queen of James II



Mary, daughter of James II



James II



Halfpenny, James II



Great seal of James II

preceding his coronation, he went to Mass in royal state.

Four months after the accession of James, the duke of Monmouth was led to believe by a number of refugees that if he would return to England and claim the throne as a Protestant he would be welcomed with open arms. Landing at Lyme on the coast of Dorsetshire, he issued a proclamation denouncing James as a usurper, tyrant, and murderer, because, like Nero, he had applied the torch to London, cut the throat of Essex, and poisoned his brother, Charles II! It was so preposterous a charge that it caused ridicule even among the friends of the duke.

On July 8, 1685, at Sedgemoor, "King Monmouth" was captured. He prayed his captors to take him to the king. They did so, and he flung himself on the ground at his royal uncle's feet, weeping and begging for life, no matter how hard the terms. When his pleadings were received with contempt, he regained a spark of manhood, and walked with some dignity to the Tower, from which he was taken to the scaffold and hanged.

Henry IV of France had issued the Edict of Nantes, granting liberty of worship to Protestants in his kingdom, but in 1685 the edict was revoked by Louis XIV, who thereby drove thousands of Huguenots to England and America. This encouraged James II to take steps in the same direction. While he did not dare go so far, he began violating the English law by placing Catholics in the most important offices of church and state. At the same time he stationed an army of thirteen thousand men near London, that they might be ready to quell any rebellion. Then he superseded the Protestant duke of Ormond, as governor of Ireland, with Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, a notorious Catholic, with orders to



James II at an indoor tennis court

Signature of James II

James R



James II receiving news of the coming of William of Orange



James Francis, the Old Pretender



Landing of William III at Torbay

recruit an Irish Roman Catholic army to sustain the king. In following this policy, it should be stated that the king went contrary to the wishes of Pope Innocent XI, who desired and even entreated him to rule according to law.

At this time an event took place whose consequences were of momentous importance to the kingdom: This was the birth, on June 10, of James Francis Edward, son of the king and of his second wife, Mary of Modena. By his first wife the king had already two daughters—Mary,

William and Mary requested by Parliament to become king and queen



The flight of James's queen



who had married William, prince of Orange, and lived in Holland, and a younger daughter, Anne, married to George, prince of Denmark, and then living in London. Both daughters were ardent Protestants, and it was because of the prospect that one of them would ascend the throne upon the death of James that the English people had submitted to his many violations of law.

The birth of a prince, however, dashed all these hopes, for he would of course be reared by his father as a strict Catholic. The angry people declared that no prince had been born, and that the infant was the child of obscure parents whom the royal couple were trying to palm off upon them as the legal successor to the throne. The disappointment was so bitter that a number of leading citizens sent a secret and urgent invitation to William, prince of Orange, to come to England with an army to defend the claim of his wife, Mary, to the English throne. William took time to consider the important matter and then decided to accept the invitation. He was greatly influenced in taking this step by the warm support of the leading Catholic princes of Europe—excepting the king of France—and by the friendship of the pope himself, who made no secret of his disgust with the idiotic rashness of the English king.

On November 5, 1688, William landed with fourteen thousand troops at Torbay. He issued a declaration that he came to protect the liberties of England and to secure the calling of a free Parliament, which should redress grievances and inquire into the facts concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales. The scared James tried to rally a force to resist the invader, but was terrified when his son-in-law, Prince George, and Lord John Churchill, afterward duke of Marlborough, went over to William's side. James's troops kept slipping from him, and finally his younger daughter, Anne, passed over to the enemy. "God help me," exclaimed the despairing king, "when my own children desert me!"

Unwilling to make terms with his enemies, he hastily arranged the escape of himself and his family. In the darkness of a stormy night the queen stole out of Whitehall with her infant child and was safely carried to France. This babe, whose birth caused all the trouble, never received any more royal title than that of "The Pretender, which he passed to his son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender.

Shortly after midnight, on December 11, the king followed his wife in flight. Crossing the Thames, he dropped the great Seal of State into the river, foolishly imagining that without it his adversary could not legally decide the questions left unsettled at his departure. When the king reached the coast, he was captured by some fishermen and brought back; but William did not want him, and allowed him to escape a second time. James reached France, where he was welcomed and supported by Louis XIV.

The extraordinary feature of the revolution of 1688



William III, 1689-1702

was that it was accomplished without bloodshed. With James II out of the kingdom, the situation was simplified. A Convention, or Parliament, met and declared that James had broken the original contract between king and people, and that the throne as a consequence was vacant. On the invitation of an assembly of peers and commoners, the prince of Orange assumed charge of the government, and called a Convention of the Estates of the Realm, which assembled January 22, 1689.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND ANNE

William of Orange was a silent, reserved man, devoid of all personal magnetism, but with stern qualities and virtues that commanded respect. The Declaration of Rights having been read to him and his wife, Mary, they assented to it, and were formally invited to accept the joint sovereignty of the realm, with the understanding that the duties were to be administered by William alone.

It was not in the nature of things that the accession of William and Mary should be acceptable to all. The extreme Tories still clung to James II. These adherents became known as Jacobites, from the Latin *Jacobus* for James. There were many of them in the south of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. They kept up communication with James, and were forever plotting for his restoration.

Parliament having drawn up the "Bill of Rights," it was signed by the king, and became the law of the realm.

Queen Mary II



Costume of William III

Costume of Queen Mary



Arms of William III



Great seal of William and Mary



Great seal of William III



Crown piece of William and Mary

The divine right of kings to rule; which had cost more than one of them his life, vanished into the mists of the Dark Ages. It was distinctly declared that only with the consent of Parliament could a standing army be maintained in time of peace; that the people could not be taxed in any form whatever without permission of the same body; that every man, no matter how humble his station, had the right to petition the crown for redress of any wrong; that no interference would be permitted with the election of members of Parliament; that the laws should be faithfully executed regardless of the king's wishes or views; and finally that no Roman Catholic, or

one marrying a Roman Catholic, should ever be eligible to the throne of England.

In those days, as at the present time, an overwhelming majority of the Irish were Roman Catholics, but they had been gradually ousted from their hold on the land, most of which was owned by a comparatively few Protestant settlers. His loyal supporter, Tyrconnel, now rallied the Catholics, and invited James to come over from France and claim his own, assuring him that he was certain to secure it. It was because the Protestants in the north of Ireland stood by the prince of Orange that they have ever since been known as Orangemen.

Louis XIV of France was profoundly interested in this movement, and furnished money, arms, and troops to James, who landed in Ireland in March 1689. He made his headquarters at Dublin, where he issued his famous Act of Attainder, which ordered all who were in rebellion against his authority to appear for trial on a certain day, under penalty of being declared traitors, hanged, drawn and quartered, and their property confiscated. It was a tremendous document, and that there might be no mistake about it, more than two thousand people were warned by name that if they failed to do as commanded, they would be put to death without trial.

Having launched this thunderbolt, James and his troops next laid siege to the Protestant town of Londonderry, which held out for more than three months. When all hope seemed gone, an English force sailed up the river, dashed through the obstructions, and rescued the brave city.

In the following summer William himself went over to Ireland and commanded at the battle of the Boyne, fought in the east, on the banks of the river of the same name. He had a more numerous force than his opponent, and it was better disciplined and well armed. Because of a wounded right arm William was compelled to handle his sword with his left. Yet he was foremost in the battle, and fought with splendid valor. James took care to keep beyond reach of the lusty blows and viewed the fight from the top of a neighboring hill. His own Irish soldiers were so disgusted with his cowardice that they cried out after their defeat, "Change kings with us and we'll fight you over again!" James waited only long enough to see that the day was lost, when he galloped off, denouncing his Irish army, and, reaching the coast, sailed for France, where he was safe from harm. The conquest of Ireland was ended, and peace came with the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, when a large body of Irish soldiers who had fought under James were allowed to leave the country for France.

The terms of the treaty were shamefully violated by the Protestants, who hunted down the Catholics like so many rabid dogs, and seemed never sated with the vengeance they were able to inflict for James's foolish and unfortunate Act of Attainder and to this day the fight between them continues.

When William went to Ireland, the French in concert with the Jacobites struck a blow at England and won a naval engagement off Beachy Head. In 1692, while William was absent on the Continent, another French invasion took place, but England demonstrated her claim of being mistress of the seas when, with the Dutch fleets, she decisively defeated the French fleet in the Channel and, chasing the ships to the Bay of La Hogue, burned them there. The land struggle against the French king was carried on chiefly in the Netherlands, where William led his troops in person. Louis was finally exhausted by the seemingly endless wars, and consented, in 1697, to the Treaty of Ryswick, which acknowledged the prince of Orange as king of Great Britain.

Queen Mary died at the close of 1694 from smallpox, a fearful disease of the times, against which the physicians were powerless until the discovery of vaccination a century later. In February 1702, while the king was riding at Hampton Court, his horse stumbled over a molehill and he was thrown with such violence that his collarbone was broken. He was not able to survive the shock, which resulted in his death on the eighth of March, when in his fifty-second year.

Since Queen Mary left no children, the crown went to Anne, her younger sister, who had married George of Denmark, and who was as Protestant as Mary. She was a meek soul, without any force of character, who meant well, but had not enough intelligence and experience to know the best thing to do. Though a fervent upholder of the Church of England, she was as resolute as her be-



Queen Anne, 1702-4. Younger daughter of James II and Anne Hyde. She succeeded to the throne in 1702 on the death of her sister's husband, William III, and was the last reigning sovereign of the Stuart Dynasty. In 1683, she married Prince George of Denmark; none of their offspring survived childhood.

Prince George of Denmark



headed grandfather in the belief of the divine right of kings to rule. The *London Gazette* of March 12, 1712, had an official notice that on certain days the queen would "touch" for the cure of "king's evil," or, *scrofula*, which was divine healing. Thousands were foolish enough to try the "sovereign remedy," and no doubt some fancied they received benefit from it.

The peace of Ryswick had brought humiliation to King William, for the Commons compelled him to send away his favorite Dutch troops and disband most of the army. He had given nearly all of the forfeited lands in Ireland to his friends, but he was now forced to assent to an act which annulled these Irish grants and applied the forfeiture monies to public service in the government.

William took alarm in 1700 when, on the death of Charles, king of Spain, it was found that he had be-



Great seal of Anne (before the union with Scotland)

queathed all his dominions to Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. There were grounds for fear in this tremendous increase of the power of his great rival. In the following year James II died, and, disregarding the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis recognized the Pretender, son of James as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The angry Parliament requested William to make no peace with Louis until this insult was repaired. It was at this time that William met his death as a result of the stumbling of his horse, and the quarrel descended to Anne, who had hardly come to the throne when hostilities broke out with France, the war which became known as the Spanish Succession.

It was the recognition of the Pretender by Louis XIV that roused the English to the fighting point, for, should he gain the throne, it meant the restoration of the realm to the Catholic church. But there was much more involved, for it was necessary to defend Protestant Holland, now a valuable ally of England, and to protect the English colonies on the other side of the Atlantic from France, who was actively extending her settlements in America. It was, in fact, the opening of that gigantic struggle for supremacy in the New World which reached its culmination more than half a century later.

In the war that now broke out England had the services of two of the greatest military leaders of the age. These were John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, who commanded the English and Dutch forces, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who led the German armies. Those allies supported the claims of the archduke Charles of Austria to the Spanish crown. Marlborough was conscienceless and treacherous, but no one could deny his masterly ability. James II had leaned on him, but he deserted to William, and then opened a secret correspondence with James. But Marlborough was a soldier of consummate genius, and earned the compliment of Voltaire, who remarked that the duke never besieged a fortress which he did not take, nor fought a battle which he did not win.

Eugene of Savoy was another kind of man. He was born in Paris, and was intended for the church, but his liking for a military life led him into the army. Being refused a regiment by Louis XIV, he volunteered under the emperor against the Turks, where his bravery and



Arms of Anne

Great seal of Queen Anne (after the union of England and Scotland)



ANNE

Signature of Queen Anne

Halfpenny piece of Queen Anne



skill quickly won him the command of a regiment of dragoons. Afterward he was placed at the head of the army of Hungary. By this time Louis had discovered his genius, and offered him a marshal's staff, a pension, and the government of Champagne, but the prince could not forget the earlier slight, and indignantly refused the offer.

In 1704, by superb strategy, Marlborough shifted the scene of war from the Netherlands to Bavaria, and there, at the village of Blenheim, he and Prince Eugene won a crushing victory over the French. Marlborough, dismounting, led his troops to the attack, in person. The battle saved Germany from falling into the hands of Louis. England was so grateful to the duke that she presented him with the ancient park of Woodstock and built for him the Palace of Blenheim, near Oxford, where his descendants still live.

The war against France was prosecuted in Spain as well as in Germany. The rock and fortress of Gibraltar were taken by Admiral Sir George Rooke, yet on the whole, the allied arms were not successful in the Spanish Peninsula.

But, there was no checking the momentum. In 1706, the duke of Marlborough riding gloriously at the head of his charging troops, won the battle of Ramillies, in the Netherlands, thereby recovering the whole of that country from the French. Two years later the French armies came back to the Netherlands determined to regain the territory they had lost. Marlborough defeated them at Oudenarde, and the next year pushed the war into northern France, where he fought his last battle and won the victory of Malplaquet. He effectually broke the power of poor old King Louis, who had kept all Europe in a tremor for so many years.

Marlborough, for all his many vices, was the most devoted of husbands, and adored his wife, Sarah Jennings, duchess of Marlborough, to whom he wrote: "I would rather face twenty thousand men than meet a frown on your brow." She and Queen Anne were for years the most intimate of friends, corresponding almost daily under the names of Mrs. Morley, for the queen, and Mrs. Freeman, for the duchess. The latter was mentally the superior of the queen, and for a long time dominated her. But the time came when even the meek, stupid Anne rebelled at the domineering manner and methods of her mistress of the robes. They quarreled, and she was superseded by a Mrs. Masham, who speedily gained as complete control of the queen as had been held by the duchess. She brought about the abandonment of the Whig policy, made her cousin a prime minister, and secured the recall of Marlborough in disgrace.

The Tories, or peace party, having triumphed, negotiations were opened for bringing the tiresome war to a close. This was finally accomplished in 1713, at the city of Utrecht in Holland, where the treaty signed by all the nations interested bound Louis XIV to acknowledge the Protestant succession in England, to expel the Pretender

from France, to renounce the union of the crowns of France and Spain, and to surrender to England all claims to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the immense territory long known as the Hudson Bay Company's Possessions. On the part of Spain she agreed to yield her Netherlands to Austria and to allow the Dutch a line of forts to defend their frontier against France, while England was to have a monopoly of the slave trade for thirty-three years with the Spanish-American colonies.

From the time of James I, England and Scotland had been governed by one sovereign, but each country had its own parliament and religion. In 1707 the countries were united under the name of Great Britain, and the national flag, which had been ordered by James I but which had fallen into disuse, was "appointed" for the English, Scottish, and Welsh. In 1801, when Ireland was joined to Great Britain, the red cross of Saint Patrick was added to the flag, which united the cross of Saint George, the patron saint of England, and Saint Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland. The name "Jack," as applied to the flag, comes from *Jacques*, French for James.

A violent quarrel between the bitter rivals, Oxford and Bolingbroke in the presence of Queen Anne, hastened her death, which took place from apoplexy a week later, August 1, 1714. Seventeen children had been born to her, but all had died young. As prescribed by the Act of Settlement, the crown went to George, elector of Hanover, a Protestant descendant of James I of England. Thus in the death of Anne the Stuart line came to an end and that of the Brunswick line began.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

George I (1714-27) was a little, stupid Dutchman, fifty-four years old, fond of his long clay pipe and beer. He did not know and did not wish to know much about England, honestly preferring to live a country gentleman's life amid his homely German court. But he was persuaded that he would have to make a move; so, after waiting for six weeks, he took an extra swig from his

George I, 1714-27



Sophia Dorothea of Zell,
wife of George I



mug, grunted, rose to his feet, and leaving his wife shut up in a castle, started with his eldest son for Greenwich. The loyal English people received him for the great argument he represented: Protestantism, with religious and civic liberty. But it was impossible for anyone to feel enthusiasm over the coarse, awkward fellow, who had to be taught a few Latin sentences to repeat by rote at his coronation.

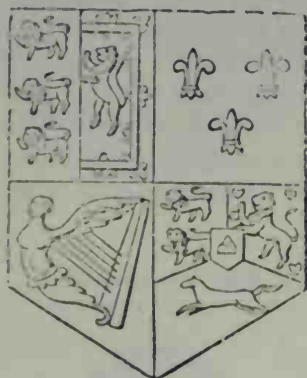
Although unable to speak a word of English, and having no English friends, this king did institute much of the form of government that is used there today. Instead of selecting a cabinet from his supporters, as did his predecessors, he chose one man for prime minister, who picked the cabinet from his own party. Thus, since Anne, no sovereign has been present at a cabinet council or refused assent to any Act of Parliament.

George I

Signature of George I



Great seal of George I



Arms of George I

Crown piece of George I



The king understood that the Whigs were his friends, so he gave them the control of affairs, with the able Sir Robert Walpole at their head. Walpole was the first official prime minister of England. This marked a friendship for the Whigs, offended the Tories, but did not disturb the king, since his pet indulgences continued unmolested.

The Jacobites in Scotland, having a secret understanding with a considerable number of influential malcontents in England, rose in 1715 with the object of placing James Edward Stuart, son of James II, known as the Chevalier, or Pretender, on the throne. John, earl of Mar, shrewd in court intrigues, but without military talent, led the revolt, and an indecisive battle was fought at Sheriffmuir, in Perthshire, Scotland. Mar counted on a Jacobite uprising in the west of England, but prompt measures on the part of the government crushed it, and a number of the leaders were arrested. On the same day of the fight at Sheriffmuir, a party of Scots surrendered at Preston, Lancashire, without offering resistance. The earl of Mar fled and escaped to the Continent, but almost all of his more important followers were surprised, captured, and were sentenced to death for treason. A few escaped, but some thirty persons taken with arms in their hands were executed, while many of the common soldiery were sold as slaves to English colonists. Soon after the defeat of his friends, the Pretender visited Scotland, but he did not stay long.

This, however, was not the last to be seen of him. The king of Sweden, in revenge for George's purchase of the duchies of Bremen and Verden from Denmark and their annexation to Hanover, planned an invasion of Scotland, where he was invited by a number of Jacobites. But the conspiracy was discovered in 1717 and crushed.

George I left England for his beloved Hanover in the summer of 1727, but was stricken with apoplexy while in his carriage on the road to Osnabruck, and died on the night of the tenth of June. He left only one son, George Augustus, Prince of Wales, with whom the crusty old Dutchman was on bad terms. Before his death the Septennial Act was passed, which lengthened to seven years the term for which a Parliament might last, thus preventing the danger of dissensions and riots from frequent elections.

George II (1727-60) was forty-four years of age when he became king, and he had one advantage over his father: he knew how to speak English. Like his father, he was on poor terms with his son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who possessed very little ability, but was popular because of his father's unpopularity. The king was miserly, stubborn, of ugly temper, and fond of war. He was restrained, however, from plunging the country into disaster. A wise and able woman shared his throne, and without appearance of mastery discreetly guided her husband. The queen trusted Sir Robert Walpole, and retained him as prime minister, though the king disliked



George II, 1727-60



Queen Caroline

Signature of George II

Great seal of George II



him. Thus, guided by the minister's wisdom, the government continued to prosper. Nevertheless, at the end of twelve years a war did break out with Spain, and it was all on account of a man's ear!

A Captain Jenkins, an English navigator, was cruising in the West Indies—and most likely smuggling—when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Angered because they believed him to be violating the law, they clipped off one of his ears, which he wrapped in paper and thrust into his pocket. When he reached London, boiling with fury, he strode into the House of Commons, unwrapped the ear, and holding it up so all might see, demanded that something be done to revenge the outrage.

England had long been vexed with Spain because she interfered in her contraband trade with the South American colonies. Captain Jenkins's shriveled ear brought matters to an issue. Walpole could not stem the tide, and was forced to declare war (1739), the step being received with ringing of bells and shouts of rejoicing. "Ah," said Walpole, "ring the cords of all your bells today, but how long before you will wring your hands!"

The prime minister was right, for the English suffered

severe losses in their expedition against Carthage. The capture of Porto Bello was about the only substantial English success of the war.

Walpole's opposition to this war, in which it is charged he was influenced not so much by his wish of peace for his country as peace for his administration, made him so unpopular that he was forced to resign in 1742, when he was created earl of Orford, with a pension of \$20,000 a year. Charges of corruption were made against him but were dropped in the end, and he died three years later at the age of sixty-eight.

It is said in the history of Germany and of Austria, that when Charles VI, who was of the House of Austria and emperor of Germany, died in 1740, his daughter, Maria Theresa, succeeded to the Austrian dominions. This was one of those occasions when one hears so much about the "balance of power" being endangered, as France, Prussia, and other nations united to upset the balance to secure some of the Austrian possessions for themselves. It was to the interest of England and Holland to hold Austria as a check against the aggressions of their old rival and enemy, France, and they, in company with Austria, declared war in 1741. The sweetest perfume to the nostrils of George II was the smell of gunpowder. Hurrying to Germany, he joined his army and, leaping out of his saddle, fought on foot—the last time an English sovereign appeared in battle. He proved himself the fine soldier he was, too, doing more than any one else to win the battle of Dettingen, in 1743.

In 1745, however, the French, under Marshal Saxe, defeated the allies at Fontenoy, in the Netherlands. Crossing the ravine which protected Fontenoy, the English advanced as though on parade. Each major, having a small cane in his hand, rested it lightly on the muskets of the soldiers to regulate their fire. The fusillade was fatal to the French guard. Saxe begged Louis XV to retreat. "I stay where I am," said Louis. Fortunately for the proud Frenchman, he had in his service the Irish brigade, composed of Jacobite exiles. These charged furiously on the English, overwhelmed them, and won the day for France. In 1748 a peace was arranged at Aix-la-Chapelle.

And now the time had arrived for the Stuarts' last effort to regain loyalty. The War of the Austrian Succession led the French to encourage Charles Edward, grandson of James II, known as the Young Pretender, to make an attempt for the English crown. An expedition to invade England put to sea in 1744, but was shattered by a storm. The following year Charles landed on the northern coast of Scotland with seven comrades.

Being joined by a considerable number of followers, the Young Pretender defeated the British at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh, his Highlanders sweeping away their opponents in one tremendous and successful charge. Greatly enspirited by his success, he advanced into Derbyshire, on his way to London, his army



Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender

Crown piece of George II



amounting to about four thousand men. The capital was thrown into consternation and Charles was grievously disappointed by the failure of the people to rise in his favor, as he had been sure they would do. The English "Jacobites" were discontented with the government, but had not reached open rebellion. Charles held an earnest conference with his officers, who insisted that it was folly to go on, and only one course remained to them: that was to leave England without delay. Charles sorrowfully obeyed, and withdrew into Scotland, where he gained a victory at Falkirk, but was routed at Culloden, April 16, 1746, by William, duke of Cumberland, son of the king. The slaughter of the wounded men and the atrocities perpetrated in the neighborhood made a foul blot upon English arms and earned for the duke the name of the Butcher.

Charles never could have escaped after Culloden but for the devoted loyalty of the Highlanders. Hundreds of them knew where he was hiding, and though the people

were in the depth of poverty and could have earned more than a hundred thousand dollars by betraying him, not a man dropped a hint of where he was hidden under cover, with the English beating the bushes and wood, hunting for him as if he were royal game, as in truth it may be said he was. However, he escaped, and finally reached France, never returning to Scotland. He died in 1788 at Rome, a miserable drunkard, and thus the house of Stuart vanished from the troublous stage of action, though the younger brother of the Pretender, Henry Benedict, Cardinal York, did not pass away until 1807.

Terrible punishment was administered to the leaders of this revolt, of whom some eighty were put to death. Among them were the earl of Kilmarnock, Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Charles Radcliffe, a brother of the late earl of Derwentwater. The uprising itself, on account of the year in which it took place, is called by the Scots the Forty-Five.

George II died of heart disease at Kensington on October 25, 1760. His eldest son having passed away nine years before, he was succeeded by his grandson, George William Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was born in 1738 and was of English birth.

GEORGE III AND THE STRUGGLE WITH NAPOLEON

George III was king for sixty years (1760–1820), and his long reign saw greater events and more important changes for England than perhaps any other period of equal length. He came to the throne several years after the breaking out of the French and Indian War in America. This was the supreme struggle between England and France for the mastery of the North American continent.

The first few years of the French and Indian War went against the British, because the French were better organized and were wise enough to win the support of most of the fierce Indian tribes. Then, under the splendid guidance of William Pitt, who became prime minister of England, a great change was wrought. The best officers



George III, 1760–1820



William Henry (afterwards Duke of Clarence)
George, Prince of Wales
Ernest Augustus

GEORGE III
Frederick (afterwards Duke of York)
Augustus Frederick

QUEEN CHARLOTTE
Princess Augusta
Augustus Frederick

Princess Mary
Princess Elizabeth

George III and his family, 1775



*Attempted assassination of
George III on his way to the
House of Lords*

were sent across the ocean, and they were given enough troops to organize and carry out decisive campaigns. The crowning victory was won by General Montcalm Wolfe at Quebec in 1759. Spain then ceded Florida to Great Britain, and, when peace was made in 1763, the Union Jack waved over the eastern half of the continent, and France was left with scarcely a foothold between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

The next important war in which Great Britain became engaged was with her thirteen American colonies, the war of which we speak as the "Revolution." Opening in 1775, it was pressed with the greatest valor under General George Washington, and through cold,

heat, sufferings, and starvation, was brought to a successful conclusion in October 1781, by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia. The final treaty by which England recognized the independence of the United States was signed September 3, 1783, and the last of the English forces in the United States left New York on November 25.

In 1782 Ireland secured the independence of her Parliament, though she remained subject to the kingdom of Great Britain. Rebellions were put down with crushing severity, and through the most flagrant bribery of members of the Irish Parliament, Ireland was, on January 1, 1800, united to Great Britain under the title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

England had to fight a long time in India to maintain her supremacy. The first governor general, Warren Hastings (1774), through his great ability, extended England's power there while it was losing in other quarters. But he was as unscrupulous in many respects as the duke of Marlborough, and, in 1786, was impeached by the Commons for injustice, oppression, and extortion. The English dominion was extended later, and in 1815 Ceylon was annexed to Great Britain. The exposure of the corruption of the East Indian Company caused it to be broken up, and, in 1784, a Board of Control was created for the administration of Indian affairs. A formidable rebellion broke out under Tippoo Saib, an Indian prince whose capital was at Seringapatam. He led his army in several open battles against the English, but finally his capital was stormed and he himself slain (1799). India was absorbed into the regular system of English government.

George III was a man of excellent character, conscientious but stubborn to the last degree. When he had made up his mind to follow a certain cause, argument was wasted upon him: he was ready at any time to walk straight to the scaffold for conscience's sake. But for this immovable obstinacy there would have been no American Revolution, for the best men in his kingdom opposed coercing the colonies into submission to the tyrannous acts of the king.

In September 1761 he married the princess Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Charles, duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the two were the parents of fifteen children. He suffered strokes several times—in 1764, in 1788, in 1801, and in 1804. In 1810, his final total incapacitation occurred. He was so provoked by the marriages of two of his brothers that he secured the passage of the Royal Marriage Act in 1772, by which the descendants of George II, excepting the issues of princesses married into foreign families, were not allowed to marry under the age of twenty-five without the consent of the sovereign. After that age marriages were contracted upon due notice, unless both houses of Parliament express their opposition. The enormous debts and the scandalous dissipation of his eldest son, who became George IV, the young

man's private marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Roman Catholic widow of two husbands, and the scandals of his public marriage with his cousin, Caroline of Brunswick, proved that even a marriage bill cannot cure all the domestic miseries of a sovereign.

During this period England's long and glorious struggle against Napoleon occurred. The war began as early as 1793, the new and amazingly vigorous French Republic having included England in the number of her foes in that defiant declaration of war against all Europe. The early land operations brought England no honor, but she at once established her superiority at sea. The French ships were defeated and driven out of the English Channel. British fleets controlled the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Spain and Holland, the great sea powers, allied themselves with France. England crushed them both in two famous naval battles in 1797.

The Spaniards were defeated off Cape St. Vincent in the Atlantic. It was this battle that first centered attention on England's greatest naval hero, Nelson. He had already risen to the rank of commodore, and, although not nominally in command, he bore the brunt of the fighting at St. Vincent. He led his men on board a huge Spanish ship with the cry, "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" meaning that if he failed he would, by a glorious death, earn a burial place in the great abbey where England enshrines her heroic dead.

Tippo Saib



Tipu Saib leading his troops to the defense of Seringapatam

The Dutch were soon afterward defeated off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan. They made a sturdy and gallant fight, but almost their entire fleet was either sunk or captured. It was in the same year of 1797, in fact, in the interval between the two great sea fights.

In 1798, Napoleon, having risen to the head of French affairs, undertook his expedition to Egypt. Nelson, now admiral, was in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and gained worldwide fame by attacking Napoleon's ships at Aboukir, in the mouth of the River Nile, defeating and almost wholly destroying them. By the "Battle of the Nile" the French conqueror and his entire army became practically prisoners in Egypt. Napoleon got back to France by a daring flight through the British blockade, but his army could not follow him, until a treaty of peace with England allowed them to be carried home by the very ships that had held them in exile.

The powers of the North—Russia, Sweden, and Denmark—next formed a naval league against England. Denmark's strong fleet was defeated by Nelson off Copenhagen in 1801. So determinedly did the Danish fleet and shore batteries return the English fire that the nominal commander (over Nelson) had enough of the cannonade and hoisted a signal for the Britons to retreat. Nelson, white with the rage of the battle, raised his telescope to one eye, the sight of which had been destroyed in a previous battle. "I really cannot see any such signal," he said to his men. "We will have to go on fighting." And they did—and won.

The short-lived peace between England and France was followed in 1803 by deeper and more deadly war, a war that ceased only with Napoleon's downfall. Its sudden announcement found over ten thousand Englishmen in France. Napoleon promptly arrested them, and they remained prisoners for eleven years.

During all these years, Napoleon conquered all of central Europe, but England conquered all the waters of the earth. Her fleet was victorious over Frenchman, Spaniard, Hollander, and Dane. Now, in the greatest triumph of all, Nelson defeated the French and Spanish

navies combined, and perished in the hour of his most glorious victory.

This celebrated battle of Trafalgar was fought because of Napoleon's attempt to invade England. All his forces were gathered at Boulogne to cross the Channel, but first he must be rid of the enemy's fleet. So his admirals were ordered to deceive Nelson by pretended flight, and as he pursued them, they were to evade him on the ocean and return to Boulogne. "If I can be master of the Channel for only twelve hours," said the great conqueror, "England is ended."

Nelson pursued the fleeing ships with scorn. Some of them escaped him, and were returning; but off Cape Finisterre, on the Spanish coast, he had a small English squadron under Admiral Calder meet them. Calder checked them, and drove them to seek shelter in the harbor of Cadiz.

This battle of Finisterre may have saved England. At any rate, Napoleon abandoned his camp at Boulogne, and found another use for his armies. Meanwhile, all the French and Spanish men-of-war gathered at Cadiz, and there Nelson, still following in pursuit, found them. They outranked his ships in both size and number, and sailed out of the harbor to attack him off Cape Trafalgar.

Nelson hoisted from his flagship the stern and simple signal, "England expects every man to do his duty!" and the battle began. It raged for four hours, and resulted in the complete defeat of the Spaniards and the French. The great admiral was shot in the height of the contest and, though mortally wounded, remained listening with joy to the cheers of his men as one of the enemy's ships surrendered after the other. He died just at the close of the battle.

England, unmolested at sea, sought to meet her mighty foe on land, supporting each nation that revolted under Napoleon's oppression. Most important of these struggles was that known as the Peninsular War, which broke out in Spain in 1808.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterward the duke of Wellington, who had already gained fame in India, was sent by England to the aid of the Spanish patriots. He won an important battle at Vimiero and then was given the chief command. He drove the French from Portugal without a battle, and defeated them in Spain at Talavera, for which he was made Lord Wellington. It was not, however, until 1812 that Wellington felt himself sufficiently strong to make an aggressive campaign. He defeated the French in a great battle at Salamanca, and again at Vittoria, in 1813.

By this time Napoleon was in the toils of his Russian disaster, and the weakened forces that he left in Spain were easily swept back into their own land. The last battle of the Peninsular War was fought in 1814, at Toulouse, on the soil of France itself. At that moment the Prussian and allied forces were already masters of Paris.



England with historical detail, 1800-1900

When Napoleon, escaping from Elba, made one more bid for power, he knew well that England and Prussia were his chief opponents. They were once more first in the field against him, and it was they who under Wellington's command defeated him at Waterloo. All day long in that last great battle the squares of English infantry resisted the assaults of France's bravest veterans. At length, when it seemed as if human flesh and blood could endure no longer, the Prussian reinforcements arrived. Wellington, who had been anxiously studying the field with his spyglass, closed it. "Let the whole line advance!" he said; and the Britons rolled in one huge wave over the despairing foe.

Napoleon fled to a British frigate. This big war was over, the French emperor an exile, and Wellington the

hero of all the world. Alas! that Nelson had not lived to share the glory!

Let us look back, to speak of what was to England but a side issue in this tremendous struggle. Her arrogance and oppression upon the ocean proved unendurable to the United States; and the War of 1812 resulted. America had no fleet to match England's, but neither could England spare her entire fleet. And ship for ship U.S. sailors taught her that there were seafighters as good, perhaps better, than hers. The English statesmen were loud in the complaints of the child they had reared to strike at them; and the peace treaty of 1815 left a still smoldering fire of ill will between the kindred nations, which it took over a half a century to obliterate.

Turn now to the puppet king, who, during all these great events sat immovable upon England's throne. In 1810, Princess Amelia, the youngest and most loved child of King George, died. His heart was broken by the blow, and his insanity returned. The remaining ten years of his life were brightened only by flashes of lucidity. Because of his condition, his eldest son was appointed regent, and acted as such from 1811 until his father's death, in 1820.

Sovereigns of England, 1689-1910

	Victoria	
Anne	Edward VII	William IV
George I	Mary II	George IV
George II	George III	William III



GEORGE IV

George IV was fifty-seven years old when he came to the throne. While Prince of Wales, his income had been more than half a million dollars; but he was always swamped by debt. By 1795 his debts had become so mountainous that Parliament undertook to wipe them out by an appropriation of 3 million dollars. But soon he was as deeply involved as before, and had not help been given him again by the taxpayers, he would have been hopelessly bankrupt.

When he became king, matters grew worse than before. The nation paid more than a million dollars for his coronation. The jewels in which he appeared were borrowed, and he stole them, for his neglect to return them amounted to nothing less than that, and Parliament, as meek as ever, paid for them. Added to his incredible extravagance, he did all he could to oppose reforms.

The marriage of the Prince of Wales with his cousin, Caroline, was entered into by him on the demand of his father, because it offered a prospect of his debts being paid. She was a coarse woman, from whom the prince soon separated. Shortly after he became king, a bill was brought into Parliament to divorce her for criminal misconduct. The examination of witnesses before the House of Lords disclosed such baseness in the king that the bill was dropped. His wife had the sympathy of the people, but the king was resolute that she should not be crowned as his consort. She appeared on the morning of the coronation before the doors of Westminster Abbey only to be turned away. She died shortly after.

Three important reforms were made law during the reign of George IV. The first was the repeal of the Corporation Act, which had excluded Dissenters from all town or corporate offices; the second was the repeal of the Test Act, passed under Charles II to keep Catholics and Dissenters out of government offices, whether civil or military. The third and most important reform was the passage in 1829 of the Catholic Emancipation Act. This was bitterly opposed by the duke of Wellington, who was Prime Minister, and by the king; but it went through in spite of them. It gave the Catholics the right to sit in Parliament, a privilege which had been denied them for more than a century. Daniel O'Connell, an honorable Irish gentleman, possessing great ability, became the leader of the Catholics. He succeeded after much difficulty in securing his seat in the House of Commons.

The most popular thing done by George IV during his reign occurred at Windsor Castle, June 26, 1830, when he stopped living. Since the dead king had left no direct heir, his brother, William Henry, duke of Clarence, succeeded to the throne. He had certainly reached the age of discretion, for he was in his sixty-sixth year. He had spent his early life in the navy, was a bluff, hearty fellow, with a contempt for pomp and ceremony, and was well liked by the people, who called him the Sailor King. He



King George IV, 1820-30

George IV. "A Voluptuary under the horrors of digestion," colored etching by J. Gillray (National Portrait Gallery)



King William IV, 1830-37



Adelaide, queen consort of William IV



was the first William of Hanover, the second William of Ireland, the third William of Scotland, and the fourth William of England.

Simon de Montfort, in the reign of Henry III, labored to give the people a share in the making of the laws, and he sent two men from every town and borough in England to speak and act for the people who lived in them. That was the way the House of Commons came into existence six hundred years before the time of William IV. Many of the old towns had decayed and vanished since the time of Montfort, and new ones, like Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Glasgow and grown into big cities. But there had been no change in the system of representation. Thus many large cities were totally unrepresented. After William IV came to the throne Lord John Russell, on March 1, 1831, brought in a Reform Bill, which was so sweeping that it roused violent opposition. The Ministry was defeated, and persuaded the king to dissolve Parliament. Then a new House of Commons was elected under the battle cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The measure was sent to the House of Lords, who rejected it. It was not until a third Reform Bill had been brought in by the Ministry and passed by the Commons that the Peers yielded, and it became a law, June 7, 1832. Even this would not have been accomplished had not the king, in obedience to the pressure put upon him, notified the House of Lords that if they refused their assent he would create a sufficient number of Whig lords to carry the measure.

This Reform Bill, one of the most important measures ever passed by Parliament, abolished the "rotten boroughs," gave a vote to every householder who paid a rent of fifty dollars.

Many of the Tories were sure that this reform meant the ruin of England. Even the brave old duke of Wellington wrote: "I don't generally take a gloomy view of things, but I confess that, knowing all that I do, I cannot see what is to save the Church, or property, or colonies, or union with Ireland, or eventually monarchy, if the Reform Bill passes."

With the coming of the new Parliament the Whigs began to take the name of Liberals and the Tories of Conservatives.

Although the slave trade had been extinguished wherever the English power reached, slavery still existed in the colonies. In 1833, in the face of the king's opposition, a bill was passed by Parliament, which set free all black slaves in British colonies. There were also thousands of white slaves in England at that time—women and children who toiled in the factories and in the mines.

William IV passed away at Windsor Castle, June 20, 1837. His two daughters by his wife, Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, died in infancy. This left as the heir to the throne Princess Alexandrina Victoria, the only child of his brother, Edward, duke of Kent. Victoria was living with her widowed mother at the time, and was

only eighteen years old. She was a religious girl, conscientious to the last degree, and destined to become one of the noblest queens who ever lived. Early that bright summer morning in 1837 she was suddenly awakened and told, much to her amazement, that she was queen of Great Britain.

THE VICTORIAN PERIOD (1837–1901)

No sovereign could have received a more enthusiastic welcome than Queen Victoria, and this loyalty and affection increased until her death, after the longest reign of any sovereign over Great Britain.

On February 10, 1840, the queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. The marriage was what is almost unknown among royal couples—a genuine love match, and the two lived ideally happy lives until the death of the prince consort, in December 1861.

The king or queen of England has much less power than the president of the United States. If a measure after passing both houses of Congress is submitted to the President, and he dislikes it, he sends it back with a statement of the reasons why he disapproves, and it then requires a two-thirds vote to pass it over his veto. It is in his power to defeat a measure that is preferred by a majority of Congress, and he frequently does so. Again, the president chooses his own members of the cabinet. True, he sends the names to the Senate for confirmation, but the political situation must be very remarkable when the Senate is discourteous enough to refuse its approval. Moreover, the president has unlimited power in removing any member of his cabinet. When Victoria became queen, she accepted the principle that she could not remove the minister or his cabinet without the consent of the House of Commons, nor would she venture to keep a Ministry which that body refused to support.

Another custom has acquired the force of law: the sovereign has no veto power whatever. The king or queen, as it may be, must approve every bill passed by Parliament. As has been said, if the two houses should agree upon the king's own death warrant and send it to him, he must sign it or abdicate.

The Opium War in which England engaged in 1839, was disgraceful to that country. In the year named the Chinese emperor forbade the importation of the poisonous drug into China. England was largely engaged in cultivating opium in India for the Chinese market, and forbade the emperor to interfere. War followed, with the result that the Chinese were compelled to allow the drug which destroyed the bodies and souls of countless of Chinese people, to be brought into their country as before, while the opium planters of India and the British traders reaped a golden harvest in thus violating the



On the night that King William IV died in 1837, Victoria was aroused from her sleep to be told she was the queen of England. Her retort was: "My Lord Archbishop, pray for me."



Queen Victoria, 1837–1901, at the time of her coronation (from a portrait—painter unknown—in Westminster Abbey)

The marriage of Queen Victoria, in the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace





His Royal Highness Prince Albert

sacred rights of a heathen people. Great Britain compelled the opening of Hong Kong and several important ports to British trade, with subsequent wars adding others.

It seems to be the decree of perverse fate that Turkey was the bone of contention among the leading powers. Any disturbance of her government or boundaries must threaten the "balance of power," as it is termed, and the mutual jealousy of those powers will not permit that. Turkey, therefore, was the intolerable nuisance among nations. She was corrupt, treacherous, and cruel to the last degree, her most cherished amusement being that of massacring Christians. Gladstone well named the sultan the Great Assassin. Nicholas, czar of Russia, who had long cast covetous eyes upon Constantinople (Istanbul), thought the time had come, in 1852, for him to take a step toward acquiring that city. His pretext was the restrictions laid by the sultan upon Christians in Palestine. He demanded that he should be made the protector of Christianity throughout Turkey, and the scheme he proposed would have made St. Petersburg (Leningrad) the real capital of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey declared war against Russia in 1853, and soon after England and France joined as allies of Turkey. The British campaign was marked by the worst blunders conceivable. While ships laden with provisions and clothing, enough for ten times as many troops, lay within sight of Sebastopol, thousands of the soldiers starved and froze to death in their rags. Hardly one out of ten of

those who were sent to the hospitals lived to come out again. To Florence Nightingale and her assistants is due the credit of redeeming the unpardonable failure of the nation.

The allied armies triumphed in the end. Russia was forced to give up her demands, and suffered the humiliation of being shut out from the waters of her own Black Sea.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 was one of the most terrible uprisings in British history. It was due to several factors, the principal being the belief of the fanatical population that the British were trying to undermine their religion. The native Indian troops were ordered to use cartridges lubricated with hog's grease, and they had at times to hold the cartridges in their teeth. Now everything connected with hog-eating is an unspeakable abomination to the Mussulman and the Hindu, who are ready at all times to face death for the sake of their faith. The revolt broke out at Meerut in June 1857, and ran like a prairie fire. The native troops, or sepoy, were good soldiers, but they turned against their British officers and cut them down without mercy. The mind can conceive of no more horrifying ferocities than were committed by these fiends upon the helpless women and children, nor can England be blamed for inflicting upon some of them the only punishment they dreaded—that of being blown to pieces at the cannon's mouth, since that made it impossible to give the remains proper religious burial.

After the crushing of the revolt all political power was withdrawn from the East India Company, and the country was brought under the direct rule of the British crown. The governor-general became viceroy, with a council, and the supreme power of India was subject to the secretary of state in England. In 1876, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India.

Let us finish our glance at that part of the world by saying that after many revolts and much strife, England succeeded in placing a friendly ruler at the head of affairs in Afghanistan, and kept him there until his recent death, by the payment of a yearly allowance of six hundred thousand dollars. In January 1886, the king of Burma, who had misused British traders, was ousted and Upper Burma was annexed to India. In 1887, Russia, which was very jealous of England's growing power in that region, agreed upon a new boundary between Russian territory and Afghanistan, with a view of preserving peace, which had been threatened more than once.

Theodore, king of Abyssinia, barbarously abused two representatives of England and refused to give satisfaction for just claims against him. War was declared, and, in the autumn of 1867, an army of ten thousand men, under the command of Sir Robert Napier, landed at Massouah. Magdala was conquered the following April, and the death of King Theodore followed. The repairing of the wrong done her two representatives cost England \$44,895,000.



*The death of King Theodore
of Abyssinia*

In the spring of 1861 the American War for the Union, the most tremendous struggle of modern times, broke out and lasted four years. Napoleon, emperor of France, was one of the most malignant enemies of the Union, and Queen Victoria was one of its warmest friends.

Honorable Abram Hewitt, formerly mayor of New York, has publicly stated that in 1862, while on a confidential mission for our government to England and France, Minister Dayton asked him to leave for London at once to notify Minister Adams that Napoleon III had proposed to the British government to recognize the Southern Confederacy. There was imminent danger that England would join in such recognition, and Hewitt made all haste to London. Lord John Russell was so evasive that Minister Adams demanded the privilege of seeing the queen, for it was evident to him that something of the most momentous importance was afoot. It was an unusual privilege that was asked, but Minister Adams went to Windsor, where he saw the queen personally. He laid the case before her and appealed against so monstrous a wrong, declaring that it would produce universal war, for the United States would fight the whole world rather than give up the Union. In the presence of Prince Albert the queen said:

"Mr. Adams, give yourself no concern; my government will not recognize the Confederacy."

"The queen was the friend of peace," said Mr. Hewitt; "she was the friend of the United States; and it is a debt of gratitude, which can never be discharged by any amount of homage which we Americans can bring and offer upon the tomb of this great sovereign and this good woman."

Down to 1858 the Jews were shut out from Parliament by the provision that they should make oath "on the faith of a Christian." This law was so changed that Baron Rothschild, the famous Jewish banker, was able to take his seat among the legislators of the country. Disraeli, leader of the Conservative party, carried through a Reform Bill in 1867 that gave the right to vote to every householder who paid a tax for the support of

the poor, and to all lodgers paying a rental of fifty dollars yearly. In 1886, under the Liberal ministry of Gladstone, a third Reform Bill gave all the residents of counties in the United Kingdom the right to vote.

The Second Irish Land Act was carried through by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, and was popularly known as the Three F's—Fair rent, Fixity of tenure, and Free sale. It gave the tenant the right to appeal to a board of land commissioners, appointed to fix the rate of his rent, when the demands of the landlord were unreasonable. Provided he paid the rate fixed, he was allowed to hold the land for fifteen years, during which the rent could not be increased, nor could the tenant be evicted, except for violation of the agreement or continued neglect of the land. Finally, he was at liberty to sell his tenancy whenever he chose.

After the Second Land Act had become law, Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary of Ireland, and Mr. Burke, a leading government official, were assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin, after which the members of different secret societies made use of the fearful explosive, dynamite, in perpetrating outrages in London and elsewhere. These crimes were denounced by the chiefs of the Irish National party, who demanded home rule, under the lead of Charles S. Parnell, "the uncrowned king of Ireland," a member of Parliament. In 1886, Gladstone brought in a bill for the establishment of an Irish Parliament, but it was defeated. On his return to power, in 1893, he introduced a similar measure, which was carried through the Commons, but all his masterful eloquence could not save it from defeat in the House of Lords.

When Queen Victoria was born in the apartments of her father, the duke of Kent, in Kensington Palace, her godfathers were the emperor Alexander of Russia and her uncle, the prince regent, who was afterward George IV. Her father seemed to believe from the first that she would come to the throne of England, and wished her to be named Elizabeth, probably because he hoped her reign would rival in splendor that of the great queen. The prince regent wanted her to be called Georgianna, and when the archbishop of Canterbury asked him at the font what the child's name was to be he replied, "Alexandrina"—the feminine form of the czar's name. The duke of Kent begged that some other name might be added, whereupon his eldest brother said: "Then give her the name of her mother also, but it may not precede that of the emperor." Thus it was that she received the name of Alexandrina Victoria.

Her father died from pneumonia before she was a year old, and she was raised by her mother, the duchess of Kent, who lived to see her become queen and the mother of a large family. She was educated with the utmost care, and grew to be one of the most admired of women. From the very beginning of her reign the court life of England underwent a radical change. Referring to the purer and

higher tone that prevailed in royal circles under Victoria, the *London Times* said:

"It is hard to overstate, for example, the effect of such a purification of the court as her reign has witnessed: one may perhaps measure it by imagining what would have happened to England had the reign of Carlton House (George IV) lasted for sixty years."

There was an early assassination attempt. The young queen and her husband were riding in an open carriage up Constitution Hill, accompanied by their usual attendants, when a young man suddenly aimed a pistol at her and pulled the trigger, but missed. Before he could be stopped, he drew a second weapon, fired, and again missed. At this juncture he was seized, disarmed, and handed over to the police. He made no resistance, and at the police station identified himself as Edward Oxford, a barman. He was sentenced to imprisonment "during the queen's reign," but it appearing afterward that he was insane, he was released and went to Australia.

The first child born to the queen, November 13, 1840, was the princess royal, Victoria Adelaide, who became the wife of the emperor Frederick of Germany. Four days less than a year later Albert Edward, who was to become Edward VII, was born. The remaining children were Alice Maud Mary, grand duchess of Hesse (1843); Alfred, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, duke of Edinburgh (1844); Helena, princess Christian (1846); Louise, duchess of Argyll (1848), Arthur, duke of Connaught (1850); Leopold, duke of Albany (1853); Beatrice Mary Victoria Feodore (1857).

There was great rejoicing over the birth of the prince of Wales. The queen directed that the convicts who were on good behavior should have their sentences commuted, and she issued a "patent" creating the month-old baby prince of Wales and earl of Chester. He was already duke of Saxony, duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, earl of Carrick, baron of Renfrew, lord of the Isles, and great steward of Scotland. The principal guest at the young prince's christening was the king of Prussia, who stood as sponsor. The prince married Princess Alexandra of Denmark, on March 10, 1863.

In 1842, there was rioting in the mining districts and fear of an uprising. The queen opened Parliament in person and read the speech from the throne. To relieve the distress in London, she gave a great fancy ball, hoping thereby to stimulate trade. It was famous as the Plantagenet ball, the queen appearing as Philippa, consort of Edward III, and the prince consort as Edward III.

About this time two further attempts were made on the queen's life. As she was driving down Constitution Hill a man named John Francis fired a pistol at her, but the weapon was grabbed by a policeman who saw it drawn. Her Majesty and her husband, as in the former instance, remained cool, and appeared at the opera that night. Francis was tried for high treason and sentenced



The royal family: the queen; the Prince of Wales (Edward VII); Empress Frederick (Victoria Adelaide), and her son, William II; and other children and grandchildren of the queen

Queen Victoria and her signature



Victoria R

to death. The queen made the mistake, committed by more than one sovereign, of reprieving the assassin. She was rewarded the following Sunday by a similar attempt by William Bean, a druggist's assistant, but his pistol misfired. It seems to take sovereigns a lot longer to learn that leniency in such cases encourages anarchists and seekers of notoriety. A bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel, which became law, made all attempts on the queen's life high misdemeanors, punishable only by seven years of imprisonment, and "the culprit to be whipped publicly or privately not more than three times."

The queen made her first visit to Scotland in 1842 and was greeted everywhere with great enthusiasm. Later she and the prince consort went to France and were received with much ceremony by King Louis-Philippe. It was the first time that an English monarch had gone there since the Field of the Cloth of Gold, when Henry VIII met the French sovereign.

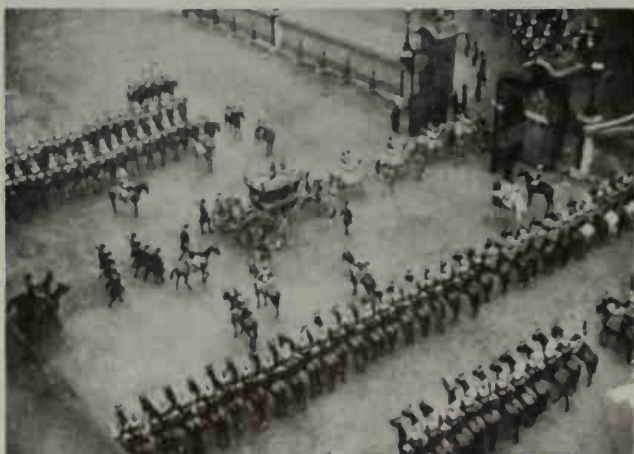
In 1848, Louis-Philippe, who had received the queen with so much pomp and splendor, presented himself in England under the name of plain "John Smith," being a fugitive from the uprising in his own country, and Victoria was most hospitable to the exiled king and queen.

In May 1848, William Hamilton fired a pistol at the queen, but missed. He narrowly escaped lynching. He was tried and sentenced to seven years. The same year saw the queen's first visit to Ireland. She and her husband were greeted with wild enthusiasm by the people of Dublin.

In 1850, soon after the birth of Prince Arthur, a Lieutenant Pate struck at the queen with his cane as she was leaving Cambridge House. Her face was bruised, but her big bonnet saved her from serious injury. As usual, the plea of insanity was set up and all the punishment he received was the regulation seven years.

The principal domestic event of 1851 was the opening of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, which proved the beginning of the world's fairs that have been held so many times in different countries.

Queen's Jubilee, Queen Victoria leaving palace



The court reception during Victoria's Diamond Jubilee

Prince Albert, who had been in poor health for some time, died December 14, 1861. Everyone sympathized with the sovereign, left a widow at the age of forty-two.

In 1887, there occurred the jubilee of the queen's accession to the throne. London swarmed with visitors, and many princes took part in the procession to Westminster Abbey. Ten years later, the celebration of her Diamond Jubilee was still more imposing. On June 21, a Sunday—the queen went to St. Paul's church in great state to return thanks on the completion of the sixtieth year of her reign. Later she held a state reception at Buckingham Palace surrounded by all the great dignitaries of the realm. Before she left the palace she telegraphed the message to all parts of the empire: "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless you."

The dearest wish of Victoria was that her closing years should not be disturbed by war, but her prayer was not to be granted. The conflict in South Africa came. She was strongly opposed to it, but could not stay the sentiment in its favor. It depressed and made her melancholy, and her sadness continued till her death, which took place January 22, 1901. Her reign was the longest in English history.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After Queen Victoria's death there was a succession of kings and queens in her stead but the monarch was never again a strong ruler, more a figurehead. There followed her son, Edward VII (1901–10); and his son, George V (1910–36); and his son, Edward VIII, who reigned for only a matter of days in 1936—a period limited by his country's displeasure with his love for a commoner, a divorced American woman; and his brother, George VI (1936–52) next in line. Upon his death in 1952, George VI's older child, Queen Elizabeth II, succeeded him.

Queen Elizabeth was born on April 21, 1926; married Prince Philip, the duke of Edinburgh, on November 20, 1947; acceded to the throne on February 6, 1952; and

was crowned on June 2, 1953. She celebrated her Silver Jubilee (the twenty-fifth anniversary of her accession to the throne) during 1977. Her title in Britain is: Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her Other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith. The queen's eldest son—Charles, Prince of Wales—is the heir to the throne. Next in line of succession are, in order: Prince Andrew, Prince Edward, Princess Anne, and her son, Peter.



King Edward VII, 1901–10. Albert, in his sixtieth year, became king at his mother's death and was proclaimed as such with the ancient formal ceremonies in London and throughout the United Kingdom, on November 24, 1901. The more solemn ceremony of coronation was subsequently appointed to take place on June 26, 1902; but a serious illness of the king, developed a few days before that date, and requiring an immediate surgical operation, caused it to be postponed until the ninth of August following, when the health of the sovereign had been nearly restored.

The new occupant of the throne chose to be known in his regal office as Edward VII, rather than Albert I, saying that he wished the name of his father, who had been called Albert the Good, to stand alone. His firstborn son, Albert Victor, who was duke of Clarence, died in 1892. The only son living, George-Frederick, duke of York, born in 1865, was made Prince of Wales, heir to the crown.



Alexandra, 1844–1925, queen consort of Edward VII. Daughter of Christian IX, king of Denmark. Born at Copenhagen. Married the Prince of Wales, at Windsor, 1863. Her matchless grace of form and manner reflected a lasting youthfulness of heart and soul that won her the love of the English people.

As the head of state, the queen is informed and consulted on every aspect of national life. On the advice of her ministers she performs certain important acts of government. She is the center of much of the nation's ceremonial. Royal duties include visiting many parts of Britain each year to inaugurate scientific, industrial, artistic, and charitable works of national importance; paying state visits to foreign countries; and undertaking tours of other countries in the Commonwealth, of which the Queen is recognized as the head.



The wedding of Edward VII to the princess Alexandra



Coronation of King Edward VII—procession passing arch





Windsor Castle at the turn of the century

Funeral of King Edward, who died May 5, 1910



King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra opening Parliament, 1901



King George V, 1910-36


There were nine kings at Windsor Castle for the funeral of Edward VII on May 10, 1910. Standing, left to right, Haakon VII of Norway, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Emanuel of Portugal, William II of Germany, George I of Greece, Albert of Belgium. Seated, left to right: Alfonso XIII of Spain, George V, Frederik VII of Denmark.





Their Gracious Majesties King George V and Queen Mary in their coronation robes

The waiting crowds outside the Sandringham Palace saw a solitary figure walk across the courtyard, remove one notice, and replace it with another. A man read it and removed his hat. One of the best-loved monarchs in the world was dead.


 SANDRINGHAM, NORFOLK.

 DEATH CAME PEACEFULLY TO THE KING
 AT 11.55 P.M. TONIGHT, IN THE PRESENCE
 OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, THE PRINCE OF
 WALES, THE DUKE OF YORK, THE PRINCESS
 ROYAL, AND THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF KENT.

 (Signed) Frederic Millars,
 Stanley Hewett,
 Dawson of Penn.

 20th January, 1936.

The family of Prince George (later King George V) and Princess Mary at Abergeldie in 1906. The baby, Prince John, died in 1919. The other children, left to right, are Princess Mary, Prince Henry, Prince George, Prince Edward, and Prince Albert.



Great crowds of silent people watched the brief procession, shorn of almost every semblance of state in its simple majesty, which accompanied the king's body to Westminster. The imperial crown, the wreaths, and the royal standard on the coffin were the only touches of color; mounted police and Guardsmen the sole escort.



Her Majesty Queen Mary



His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the robes he wore at his investiture at Carnarvon





The Prince of Wales and General John H. Pershing, USA, review troops at the French front.

The young prince's vacations were spent on the Continent in travel. Here he is pictured skiing in Norway.



The photograph used for the proposed coinage of King Edward VIII



The duchess of Windsor, ironically, was never allowed in Windsor Castle. Her hair styles and clothing led the fashion world. She was first married to U.S. Naval Lieutenant E. Winfield Spencer, and then, after a divorce, to Ernest Simpson, an English broker. The Simpsons moved to London from New York City in 1928, and it was then that she met the duke of Windsor on many occasions in the circle of society's parties that included the duke.

Proposed coinage



In his first radio speech, on March 10, 1936, King Edward VIII addressed his listeners as "my fellow men" and not as "my subjects," as the previous kings of England had spoken to the people.





The duke and duchess of Windsor on their wedding day, June 3, 1937, at the Château de Condé, France (photograph by Sir Cecil Beaton)

The baby princess Elizabeth, born 1926, with Queen Mary



King George VI, 1936-52. The king and queen with Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret



Canadian postage stamp commemorating the coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in 1937.



His Majesty King George VI



"Conversation piece at the royal lodge, Windsor" (National Portrait Gallery)





The royal family at Sandringham in 1951. Standing, left to right: the Duke of Kent, Princess Margaret, Princess Alexandra, Princess Marina, the duke of Gloucester, Princess Elizabeth, Prince Philip, the duchess of Gloucester. Seated, left to right: Queen Mary, King George, Princess Anne, Prince Charles, Queen Elizabeth. Seated on the floor, left to right: Prince Richard of Gloucester, Prince Michael of Kent, Prince William of Gloucester.



Funeral of King George VI (photograph by the author)

Princess Margaret, left and her husband Lord Snowdon, third from the left, visit with Prince Ranier and Princess Grace in Monaco in May, 1966.



Queen Elizabeth II, whose reign began in 1952

An early formal pose of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip in Buckingham Palace.





Queen Elizabeth II in the royal carriage on the return from her coronation.



This first day cover commemorates the royal wedding of Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips. The ceremony took place on November 14, 1973.

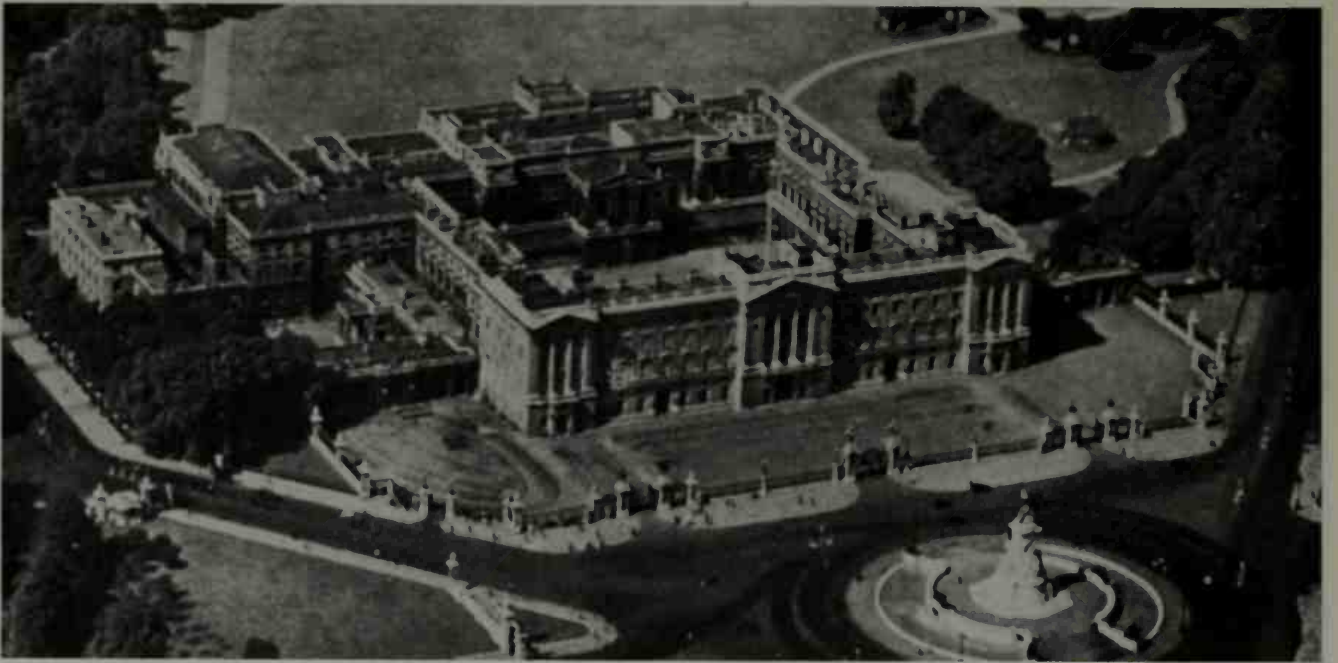
The queen and Prince Philip on a royal visit to the Bahamas, February 27 and 28, 1966. First day cover, February 4, 1966



Coming ashore from the royal barge

Prince Charles in Washington, D.C., with the President, Ronald W. Reagan, and the First Lady, Nancy. The photograph was taken on May 2, 1981, when the Crown Prince was entertained for dinner at the White House in the U.S. capital.





Buckingham Palace, the royal residence of over 600 rooms, is a self-contained community of its own. The Victoria Memorial is in the foreground.



Queen Elizabeth II stamps commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of her coronation.

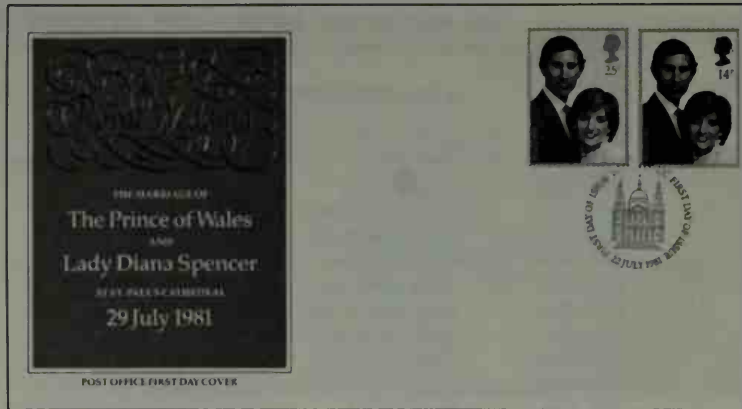
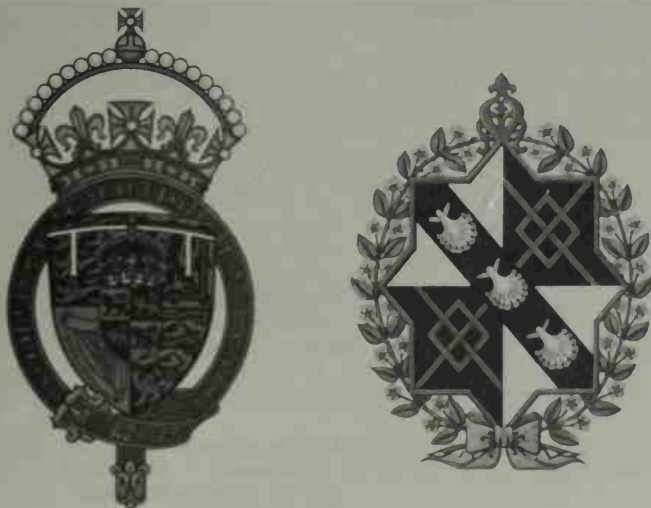
A number of Canadian postage stamps were issued to commemorate events in Queen Elizabeth's reign including her visits there with Prince Philip from 1951 to 1973.





The Prince of Wales and his bride-to-be, Lady Diana Spencer, on the grounds of Buckingham Palace at the time of the announcement of their engagement. The couple were married in St. Paul's Cathedral in London on July 29, 1981, at which time Lady Diana became Princess Diana. The royal couple make their home in Highgrove House in Gloucestershire.

(The Arms of Charles and Diana)



The first day cover for the wedding

The Royal Wedding

at Althorp for a short. Prince Charles proposed to Lady Diana at the beginning of February and gave her a sapphire and diamond engagement ring. After the wedding they intend to live at The Prince's home Highgrove in Gloucestershire and in London.

His Royal Highness The Prince Charles, eldest son of The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh, was born at Buckingham Palace on 14 November 1948, in the twelfth year of the reign of his grandfather King George VI. When, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1952, he became heir apparent to the throne, Prince Charles automatically became Duke of Cornwall. His creation as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester—a matter for the Sovereign's pleasure—came when he was nine years old. The investiture of His Royal Highness as Prince of Wales took place in his twenty-first year on 1 July 1969.

Diana Frances Spencer was born on 1 July 1961 at Park House on The Queen's estate at Sandringham, the daughter of the then Lord and Lady Althorp. Her father became the eighth Earl Spencer in 1975. A former Captain in the Royal Scots Greys, he was Equerry to the late King George VI from 1960-1982, and to The Queen from 1982-1994. The family home of Althorp, near Northampton, is a great and stately house which dates from 15th century and contains one of the finest art collections in Britain. Lady Diana's mother, whose marriage to the future Earl Spencer was dissolved in 1969, was born the Hon.

Frances Roche, the daughter of the fourth Baron Fermoy. Her grandmother, Ruth, Lady Fermoy, has been a Woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother since 1960.

Prince Charles and Lady Diana share many interests, including music and outdoor activities, and they both have the same sense of humour.

After her marriage to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales at St. Paul's Cathedral on 29 July 1981, Lady Diana will be known as Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales.

Written by Cherry Braxall
The stamps were designed by Jeffrey Matthews FSIAD
The photograph was specially taken by Sotiriodon
The stamps were printed in photogravure on a specially marked, phosphor coated paper
by Harrison & Sons (High Wycombe) Limited
Format vertical: size 30mm x 41mm
perforations 14 x 15, number per sheet 100
The first day cover was designed by Jeffrey Matthews
Further details about British postage stamps and philatelic facilities can be obtained from the British Post Office Philatelic Bureau, Lothian House, 124 Lothian Road, EDINBURGH EH3 9BB.

The official description of the wedding



"The Royal Wedding (The Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer)"

 THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

ANGLO-SAXON LINE

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Ruler</i>
828-839	King Egbert
839-858	King Ethelwulf
858-860	King Ethelbald
860-866	King Ethelbert
866-871	King Ethelred I
871-901	King Alfred the Great
901-925	King Edward the Elder
925-940	King Ethelstan
940-946	King Edmund I, the Magnificent
946-955	King Edred
955-958	King Edwy
959-975	King Edgar the Pacific
975-979	King Edward the Martyr
979-1016	King Ethelred II, the Unready
1016-1016	King Edmund II, Ironsides

DANISH LINE

1013-1014	King Sweyn I, the Splitbeard
1014-1035	King Canute (Cnut)
1035-1040	King Harold I Harefoot
1040-1042	King Harthacnut

SAXON LINE RESTORED

1042-1066	King Edward the Confessor (or Christian)
1066-1066	King Harold II

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
NORMANDY LINE						
1066-1087	King	William I, the Conqueror	1027	1087	Son of Robert, duke of Normandy	Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders
1087-1100	King	William II Rufus	1056	1100	Brother of William II	Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland Adelicia, daughter of the duke of Louvain
1100-1135	King	Henry I Beauclerc	1070	1135		
1135-1154	King	Stephen	1101	1154	Son of Stephen, count of Blois	Mathilde, daughter of the count of Boulogne
HOUSE OF ANJOU (later called PLANTAGENET LINE)						
1154-1189	King	Henry II	1133	1189	Son of Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou	Eleanor of Poitou
1189-1199	King	Richard I, Coeur de Lion	1157	1199	Eldest surviving son of Henry II	Berangaria, daughter of Sancho IV of Navarre
1199-1216	King	John Lackland	1166	1216	Brother of Richard I	Hadwisa, heiress of the earl Gloucester Isabelle, daughter of the count d'Angouleme
1216-1272	King	Henry III	1207	1272	Eldest son of John	Eleanor of Provence
1272-1307	King	Edward I Longshanks	1239	1307	Eldest son of Henry III	Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III of Castille Marguerite, daughter of Philip III of France
1307-1327	King	Edward II	1284	1327	Son of Edward I	Isabelle, daughter of Philip IV of France
1327-1377	King	Edward III, the Black Prince	1312	1377	Son of Edward II	Philippa of Hainaut
1377-1399	King	Richard II	1367	1400	Son of Edward III, the Black Prince	Anne, daughter of Charles IV of Bohemia Isabelle, daughter of Charles VI of France

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
LANCASTER LINE						
1399-1413	King	Henry IV of Bolingbroke	1367	1413	Son of John of Gaunt and grandson of Edward III	Mary, daughter of the earl Hereford Jeanne, daughter of Charles II of Navarre
1413-1422	King	Henry V	1387	1422	Son of Henry IV	Catherine, daughter of Charles VI of France
1422-1461	King	Henry VI	1421	1471	Son of Henry V	Margaret of Anjou
YORK LINE						
1461-1483	King	Edward IV	1442	1483	Eldest surviving son of Richard, duke of York	Elizabeth Woodville
1483-1483	King	Edward V	1470	1483	Son of Edward IV	
1483-1485	King	Richard III	1452	1485	Brother of Edward IV	Anne, daughter of the earl of Warwick
HOUSE OF TUDOR						
1485-1509	King	Henry VII	1457	1509	Son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret, daughter of the duke of Somerset	Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV
1509-1547	King	Henry VIII	1491	1547	Son of Henry VII	Catherine of Aragon Anne Boleyn Jane Seymour Anne of Cleves Catherine Howard Catherine Parr
1547-1553	King	Edward VI	1537	1553	Son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour	
1553-1558	Queen	Mary I (Tudor)	1516	1558	Daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon	Philip, who became King Philip II of Spain
1558-1603	Queen	Elizabeth I	1533	1603	Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn	
HOUSE OF STUART						
1603-1625	King	James I	1566	1625	Son of Mary, Queen of Scots	Anne, daughter of Fredrick II of Denmark
1625-1649	King	Charles I	1600	1649	Son of James I	Henriette Marie, daughter of Henry IV of France
1649-1660	—The Commonwealth Charles II was proclaimed king in Scotland, 1649, later in Ireland. The Commons voted the House of Lords and the office of the king abolished. Cromwell was declared lord protector, 1653. Lord Cromwell died 1658.					
1660-1685	King	Charles II	1630	1685	Son of Charles I	Catherine of Braganza, daughter of John IV of Portugal
1685-1688	King	James II	1630	1701	Brother of Charles II	Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon Mary d'Este, sister of the duke of Modena
HOUSE OF ORANGE AND STUART						
1689-1702	King Queen	William III Mary II	1650	1702 1694	Son of William of Orange Daughter of James II	
HOUSE OF STUART						
1702-1714	Queen	Anne	1665	1714	Daughter of James II	Prince George of Denmark
HANOVER LINE (also called HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK)						
1714-1727	King	George I	1660	1727	Son of electress Sophia, the daughter of James I	Sophia Dorothea of Zell
1727-1760	King	George II	1683	1760	Son of George I	Caroline of Anspach
1760-1820	King	George III	1738	1820	Son of Frederick, prince of Wales, and grandson of George II	Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>
1820-1830	King	George IV	1762	1830	Son of George III	Caroline of Brunswick
1830-1837	King	William IV	1765	1837	Brother of George IV	Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen
1837-1901	Queen	Victoria (empress of India, 1877)	1819	1901	Only daughter of duke of Kent, fourth son of George III	Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg
HOSUE OF SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA						
1901-1910	King	Edward VII	1841	1910	Son of Queen Victoria	Alexandra of Denmark
HOUSE OF WINDSOR						
1910-1936	King	George V	1865	1936	Son of Edward VII	Mary of Teck
1936-1936	King	Edward VIII	1894		Son of George V	Mrs. Wallis Warfield
1936-1952	King	George VI	1895	1952	Brother of Edward VIII	Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon
1952-	Queen	Elizabeth II	1926		Daughter of George VI	Philip Mountbatten, duke of York



4

Imperial Germany, the Holy Roman Empire, and Prussia

The German lands lay in the paths of early invaders from the east and came to occupy a mediating position between classical Western civilization and semibarbarous cultures of the east and north. After a period during the Middle Ages when German kings were the most powerful monarchs in Europe, political fragmentation weakened Germany, leaving it vulnerable to papal intervention and French incursions.

Religious struggles affected several centuries of German life. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the controversy over state versus church authority brought more chaos and further weakened secular authority. The issue was partially settled in 1122 by a compromise that granted the church the right to bestow spiritual authority on the clergy and permitted nobles to invest political authority on clerics.

Martin Luther rekindled the religious debate in the early 1500s by criticizing church conditions and prac-

tices and papal authority. Dissension followed for more than one hundred years and left Germany not only divided into a predominantly Protestant north and Roman Catholic south but weakened politically and economically.

As Prussian influence grew in the seventeenth century under Hohenzollern rule, its absolutist regime spread throughout Germany. By the time of Frederick the Great, in the mid-eighteenth century, Prussia was strong enough to challenge Austria for hegemony among the more than two hundred German sovereignties, but it was still unable to develop a unified nation-state. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century, under Otto von Bismarck's vigorous leadership, was the country united in the North German Confederation and was able to match its western neighbors politically and economically through national unification and industrial development.

THE ANCIENT PERIOD TO A.D. 800

During the second century B.C., as Roman authority was extended throughout the Mediterranean area and into western Europe, Germanic tribes began to move westward and southward from central Europe and collided with Roman forces, inaugurating several centuries of hostilities between the so-called barbarians and the Romans. Eventually, the Rhine and Danube rivers constituted the frontier beyond which Roman power did not extend. Rome fortified the frontier and, after a severe defeat of three Roman legions east of the Rhine in A.D. 9, was content to defend the frontier rather than try to extend it into German territory. Until the final collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., Roman forces generally fought off the incessant incursions of Germanic raiders. At the same

time, however, many thousands of German settlers crossed the frontier and lived peacefully under Roman rule. During the fifth century, Roman power was so weakened that German marauders and other invaders crossed the frontiers at will, and before the end of the century the Roman Empire in the west had disintegrated.

Gradually, as the power of the Romans declined, a group of closely related Germanic tribes known as Franks became the dominant power in the Rhine River area and, under King Clovis I, expanded their territory through military conquests and became the successor to the Roman Empire in much of western Europe. Under Clovis, who converted to Christianity in 496, the expansion of Frankish temporal power was accompanied by the spread of the Roman religion and the establishment of new monasteries and churches. At the time of his death in 511, Clovis's Merovingian Dynasty was firmly entrenched in the former Roman province of Gaul, but



Arminius (Hermann) who lived from 18 B.C. to A.D. 21 was considered by historians of old to be the first German chieftain. He was the liberator of the Germans over the dominion of the Romans.



Attila the Hun, also surnamed the Scourge of God and the Sword of Mars, is probably the best heralded in history of the early European rulers. He was king of the Huns from A.D. 434 to 453. In 451 he invaded Gaul and besieged Orleans but was defeated at Chalons-sur-Marne by the Roman army under Aetius and the Visigoths under Theodoric. In the next year (452) he invaded northern Italy where he and his savages murdered every man and ravished the women caught in their route. He laid siege to Rome and Pope Leo I met with him in a truce and spiritual "interview" during which the savage Hun chieftain gained religion, granted the Romans a "Truce of Hostilities" and Attila retired to Pannonia, where he died in 453. He was buried in the middle of the night and the prisoners who dug his grave were executed in order to keep the burial place from ever becoming a shrine or memorial to this Hitler type of character.



Thusnelda, the wife of Hermann, was the daughter of Segestus and therein lies the tale of the angry father-in-law. Arminius carried off Thusnelda and married her over her father's objections. She soon became Arminius's chief counselor in his role of the leader of the rebellion of A.D. 9. This was humiliating to Segestus, for he was the Roman-appointed governor of his native Germany.



An allegory of the "interview" between Attila the Hun and Pope Leo I



Clovis I, 481-511, is recorded in history as the first king of Germany. He became the king of the Salian Franks, succeeding his father Childeric in 481. Known as the Constantine of France, he held his court in Paris and was married to the beautiful Christian princess Clotilda (Saint). He defeated the Romans and Gauls at Soissons in 486 and personally killed Alaric, king of the Visigoths, at Poitiers in 507. Clovis I was the founder of the Merovingian line of Frankish kings, leaving four sons to carry on the throne.

he had little success in subjugating the Germanic peoples east of the Rhine.

After Clovis a series of weak Merovingian kings dissipated Frankish power, but the dynasty survived for two centuries until Charles Martel, a councilor to the king, led a Frankish army to an important victory by halting invading Muslims at Poitiers in 732. Martel subsequently became the most powerful leader in the kingdom, although he did not take the throne. His son, Pepin the Short, finally deposed the last Merovingian king and became the first ruler in the new Carolingian Dynasty. Once again the Franks were united under a powerful ruler and began to expand when Pepin's son Carl (Charlemagne) succeeded to the throne in 768.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Charlemagne succeeded through relentless military and missionary campaigns in bringing the areas of present-day Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, northern Italy, and the Low Countries within a precariously unified administration. His coronation as emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, marked the emergence of a successor in western and central Europe to the defunct Western Roman Empire, which could protect the papacy and assume equality with the Byzantine successor of the empire in the east. Charlemagne's empire remained, however, essentially a Frankish kingdom having its center in Aachen. The centrifugal forces of such Germanic tribes as the Saxons and Bavarians were too strong to permit more than a tenuous and uneasy unity. The death of Charlemagne in 814 was followed by the rapid dissolution of the empire. One or two generations of Frankish administration had been insufficient to fashion a cohesive political tradition centering on royal authority in the comparatively newly conquered regions of Germany as it had in France. The lack of a clear rule of succession led to the division of the empire among rival heirs of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. In 843 the three chief claimants signed the Treaty of Verdun, which divided the empire into three strips running north to south: the westernmost constituting roughly medieval France, the easternmost roughly the German lands east of the Rhine, and a central strip of territory stretching from the North Sea to the city of Rome.

In 855 the ruler of the Middle Kingdom died, and within a few years that territory had been divided between the remaining two, making boundaries similar to those of modern France and modern Germany. The two regions quickly developed different solutions to the problem of rule. In the German area, where both rulership and individual free status had retained greater vitality, feudalism came later than it did in France. Power devolved upon those Carolingian administrators who stood



Clovis I standing beside his throne with crown, scepter, and battleaxe

An allegory of Clovis's triumph over the Romans. Clovis died young, in 511, and was replaced by Theodoric I, 511-34. It should be pointed out that Clovis left his domain to his four sons, but it is a difficult and sordid story to tell. Clovis's sons and grandsons fought each other, and father and son fought on occasion for control of the throne. Maybe they weren't far enough removed from their heritage. Clovis's grandfather, Merovaeus, often told him the legend that the Merovingian line was derived from another Merovaeus, a reptilelike man with webbed hands and feet who lived in the Rhine river banks many, many centuries back.





King Clothaire I (Clotar), who reigned from 558 to 562. He was the fourth son of Clovis I. He usurped the "right" to the throne in 558.



Depicted in this early woodcut is the ceremony in which Radegonde, the wife of Clothaire, receives the robes of a saint from Saint Medard.



Queen Brynhild (575-613), the wife of former King Siegbert, reigned by terror, which included arranging the death of her husband. She is shown in this sketch "meeting her maker" at the bidding of Clothaire II. She was tied to the hooves of a wild horse and met her death in this fashion in 613. Clothaire's remark at the time is believed to be the origin of the saying: "You live by the dagger (sword) and you die by the sword."



King Charles Martel leading his men at the Battle of Poitiers and Tours in 732.

Saint Boniface declaring Pepin the Short king of Germany in 751



Pepin le Bref (the Short) was king of Germany from 751 to 768. He was the son of Charles Martel and he founded the Carolingian Kingdom. The pope (Stephen II) visited with him in Germany in an atmosphere of complete reverence on the part of Pepin, so it was no wonder that the fugitive pope conferred on him the title of Patricius Romanorum.

Charlemagne, who ruled Germany as king from 771 to 800, and then as emperor from 800 to 814, was considered by future historians as the greatest European ruler of all time. Even Napoleon and Kaiser Wilhelm admitted that they "dreamed of being another Charlemagne." He had not been formally schooled but he was a great educator of his people. In fact, he taught classes, as seen in this painting. He also changed the names of the days of the week and the wind directions to establish more order in the realm of things. In early life he disciplined himself to learn to read Latin and Greek, but he never thought it important to learn to write. Because he was crowned emperor in 800 by Pope Leo III, he is considered by many scholars as the father of the Holy Roman Empire.

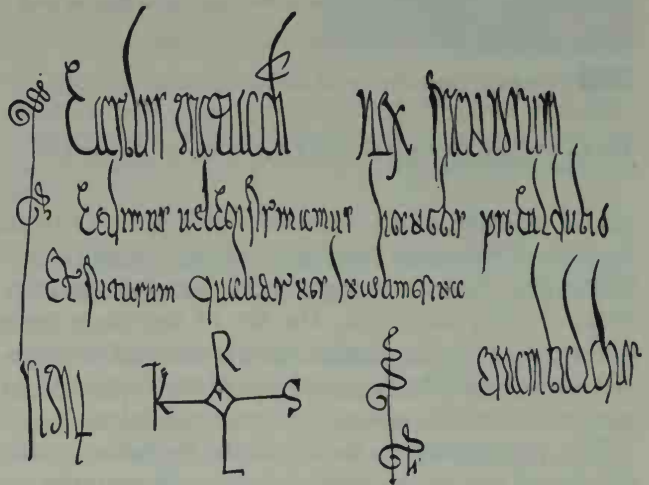
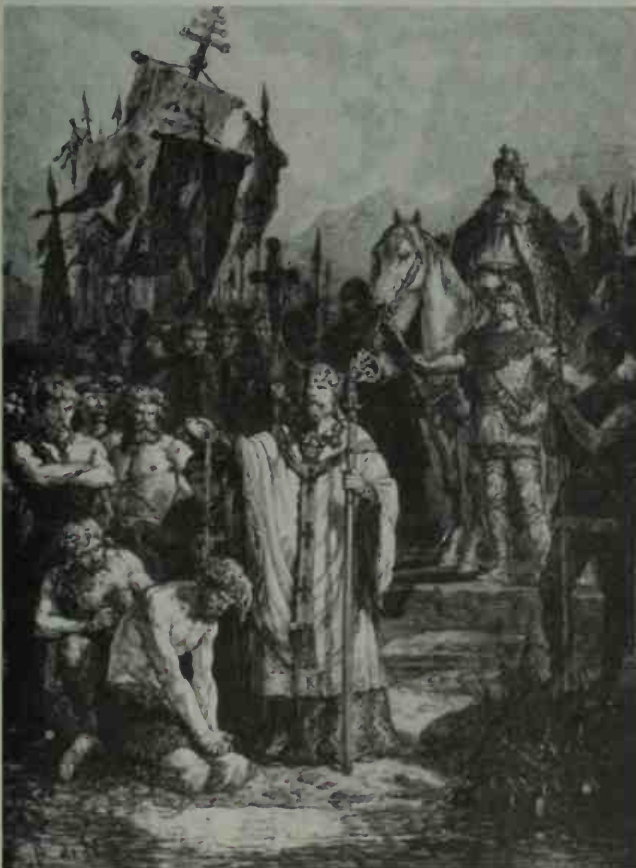


In 773, Charlemagne led his Frankish soldiers across the Alps into Lombard and captured it for the German people in his plan for the expansion of territory for Germany.



An allegorical painting of Pope Leo III crowning Charlemagne at Rome as the emperor of German territory in 800

Charlemagne imposing baptism on the Saxons



A manuscript prepared by Charlemagne that contains his signature, which is in the lower part and consists of a cross with the letters K,L,R,S at the ends of the bars.

Charlemagne was buried in the Aachen Cathedral in 814, but with his death his domain, which was the old Western Roman Empire territories, went back into the "dark ages."





..... Farthest eastward extension of the Carolingian Empire (843)

— Boundary lines fixed by Treaty of Verdun (843)

■ The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation

The Carolingian Empire (843) and the Holy Roman Empire (1097)

out as effective military leaders. Five great German duchies—Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony, and Thuringia—evolved and gradually assumed the trappings of petty kingdoms. The ties of legitimacy were broken when the Carolingian line died out, and the imperial crown faced the continuing problem of asserting its power successfully against the territorial dukes.

Two great dynasties, the Saxon and the Salian, which dominated during the tenth and eleventh centuries reversed the particularist trend. The Saxon homeland was the Schleswig-Holstein area of present-day Germany, and the Salian center was the Rhineland. The territorial dukes were circumvented by a monarchy that succeeded, during the tenth century, in governing with major assistance from a German church subservient not to the dukes but to the crown, and during the eleventh century through a developing Salian imperial administration. Strong central authority went far toward eliminating regional peculiarities and loyalties, and rising trade and cultural advances introduced a new sense of kinship among the German provinces. At the same time, however, absorption in the conflict with the dukes caused the monarchy to ignore the classes of freemen and aristocracy—neither of them bound as yet by feudal hierarchical ties—which were developing a political consciousness that would later cause trouble for the empire.

The Saxon kings, who ruled from 919 to 1024, revived the idea of an "empire." Inheriting a tradition of kingship and monarchical rights from the Carolingians, the Saxon Empire was, nevertheless, far different from the Frankish Kingdom. Lacking the ecumenical motive of



Conrad was elected king of Germany in 911 in hopes that he could bring the German lands back together again. But alas, his counts, Arnulf, Berthold, and Erchanger rebelled, desiring to rule as independent princes. And Hungary twice attacked his security, so on his deathbed he asked his weakling brother, Eberhard, to bear the crown and scepter to Henry of Saxon, whom he thought to be the strongest prince in Europe.

Charlemagne and superseding old tribal loyalties, it became under the forceful leadership of the Saxon kings a truly German empire. The Saxon kings established the hereditary principle of succession, increased the crown lands, important as a basis of power, and extended their influence in several directions.

One great enterprise during this period was the conquest of eastern territories, accompanied by limited settlement. The church moved along in the wake of conquest, ostensibly to convert the pagans, but it was motivated at least as much by a chance to increase holdings and gain an economic advantage. The severe treatment accorded the conquered Slavs aroused their hostility and stimulated the political cohesion of Poles and Bohemians. As they gained strength they successfully prevented further German expansion at the end of the tenth century.

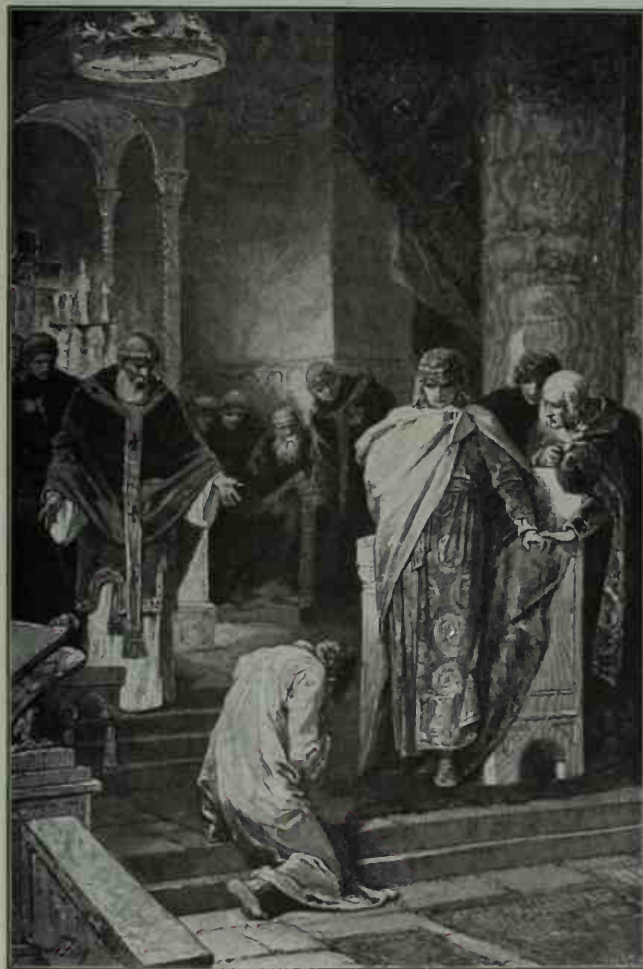
The formal revival of the Holy Roman Empire dates from 962, when Otto I (the Great) received the title *Imperator et Augustus* in Rome. The Saxon kings turned their attention southward toward Burgundy and, even more, toward Italy, which was a wealthy but weak neighbor. Their aims in Italy were limited, whereas the legacy of the imperial tradition greatly strengthened the crown in its northern home. The German hold on Italy waned in the eleventh century.

The Salian rulers, inheriting the accomplishments of the Saxon Dynasty, were the most powerful kings in Europe during the eleventh century. At this time Germany was well ahead of both France and England in the modernity of its political and governmental conceptions.



Otto I, who was the king of Saxony from 936 to 962, became the first Holy Roman emperor in 962 and ruled until his death in 973. Under Otto I, the Great, Germany became the greatest nation in Europe in the tenth century. But Otto the Great was not without his challenges to the throne. His older half-brother, Thankmar, waged war for the crown but lost. Wounded in battle, he sought refuge in a church but died of his wounds on the steps of the altar. Otto is seen here viewing the remains.

Otto the Great pardons his brother Henry for starting a rebellion with Eberhard to take the throne. This scene took place in the Frankfort Cathedral after Eberhard was killed and Henry captured.



Otto II, who succeeded his father Otto the Great in 973, is seen in this ivory plaque of the time in Christ's hands along with his wife, Theophano, who was the daughter of Romanus II. Otto II had a reign of continuous warfare. Among his victories was a defeat of King Harold Blaaland of Denmark.



Otto III, called the Wonder of the World, was as religious as his father Otto II, but he had a bent for the mystic. He ruled from 983 to 1002. In this miniature, which is from a personal collection of his in the Munich Museum of Art, he is seen with his priests and knights advising him on the throne.

Under Conrad II, Henry III, and Henry IV, from 1024 to 1106, the constructive features of monarchy reached fruition.

The most obvious of the Salian accomplishments was the development of a permanent administrative system based not on personal or dynastic relations but on a class of *ministeriales*, officials of the crown. The Salian administrative machinery proved effective, though not as directly influential on the people as in feudal France. The monarchy was challenged unsuccessfully in 1075 by an uprising of the peasantry, which sided with the nobility in opposing the administrative burdens imposed by the monarchy.

A more compelling challenge, the Investiture Contest, which endangered the throne itself, came to a climax in 1077. The controversy was a clash between church and state, between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV, that pitched Germany into disorder for a generation. Essentially it was a struggle for the German church, which recognized the emperor as its head and was, hence, largely outside papal authority. Gregory insisted that Henry IV give up his rights over the church, eventually extending his argument to an outright attack on divine right of kings and hereditary monarchy. The pope was joined by large elements of the German aristocracy whose motives were not reform of the church but release from imperial control. Henry IV was eventually forced to submit to the personal humiliation of his famous journey to Canossa to conciliate the pope and outwit the German opposition. But he did not renounce his impe-



Otto III was carried back to Germany for burial by Henry II after dying in Rome at the tender age of twenty-three. He had served as king for twenty years, coming to the throne when he was but three years of age.



Henry II was called Henry the Saint because he greatly supported the clergy during his reign (1003-24). Although he was known as the Saxony Saint, he was not Saxon, for his father was the outcast Henry, brother of Otto the Great. As there was no other heir to the throne, the Germans finally accepted him.

Henry II was crowned in the great Cathedral of Aix in 1003.





Henry II's consort, Empress Cunegund, was given the "ordeal by fire" to test her innocence of a "crime." She walked barefoot, miraculously, on red-hot plowshares, and survived the ordeal. The Church in Rome made both of them saints.



Henry III, the Black, who ruled from 1039 to 1056 as king of Germany, was the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1046 to 1056. He started the fight to subordinate the papacy.



The emperor Henry III had two popes die out from under him, but in the case of the third, he selected his cousin Bruno to be pope. Bruno was celebrated as Leo IX. Henry III set out to reform the Church in the empire. The priests at that time owned about 50 percent of the land. While Henry the emperor was busy with his reform, the king of France, Henry I, invaded Burgundy and Lorraine. In this sketch the emperor Henry can be seen during a meeting in 1056 at Ivois with King Henry, throwing down his glove in a challenge to the French monarch to a personal duel. King Henry declined and hastily left Ivois and German territory to return nevermore.

rial role as head of the German church, and the struggle was prolonged beyond the deaths of both opponents.

The contest was accompanied by rampant civil war, devastation of religious establishments, and general loss of central control. The disorder lasted, to some degree at least, until the middle of the twelfth century and the rise of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty. The crown had become dependent upon the aristocratic factions. Its control over Italy was lost; its control over Germany was so impaired that the governing edifice built up over two centuries by Saxon and Salian kings was scarcely viable when Frederick I, also known as Friedrich Barbarossa, began to restore the empire in 1152.

Exploiting their opportunity fully, the aristocracy took over administration and organized it around increasing numbers of castles, which came to form the visible expression of territorial fragmentation and a particularism that was to influence eight centuries of German history. Feudalism advanced rapidly, making vast inroads on the class of freemen. A full-fledged German feudal order eventuated, lacking only the capstone of the hierarchy; the monarchy had lost, at least for the time being, its preeminence in the German lands.

During the century of Hohenstaufen rule over the empire, the reigns of Frederick I (1152–90) and Henry

VI (1190–97) constituted a period of brilliance and were followed by a period of decline. Frederick I's accession in 1152 was welcomed as a remedy for the disorder that had characterized the empire for more than a generation. The loyalty that he engendered, even among dukes and clergy, was proof against further interference by the papacy in imperial affairs. By combining favorable conditions and a firm but circumspect policy he was able to refurbish and extend the empire. Through his efforts the crown was restored to its position of preeminence in the feudal organization; concessions to the feudal aristocrats as well as gains to the crown were implied in the policy.

His son, Henry VI, continued the vigorous Hohenstaufen policies, though more recklessly than Frederick. His addition of Sicily to the empire as a result of marriage, although constituting a further check on anti-imperial papal ambitions, was to prove fateful for Germany, for later Hohenstaufens would ignore Germany in favor of Italy, where they felt more at home.

What the first two Hohenstaufen emperors gained, however, their successors either lost or neglected. The decay of the empire as a genuine political force—it remained a compelling idea for centuries—left Germany thoroughly disunited and subject to the desires of territorial interests. The decline, however, coincided with a

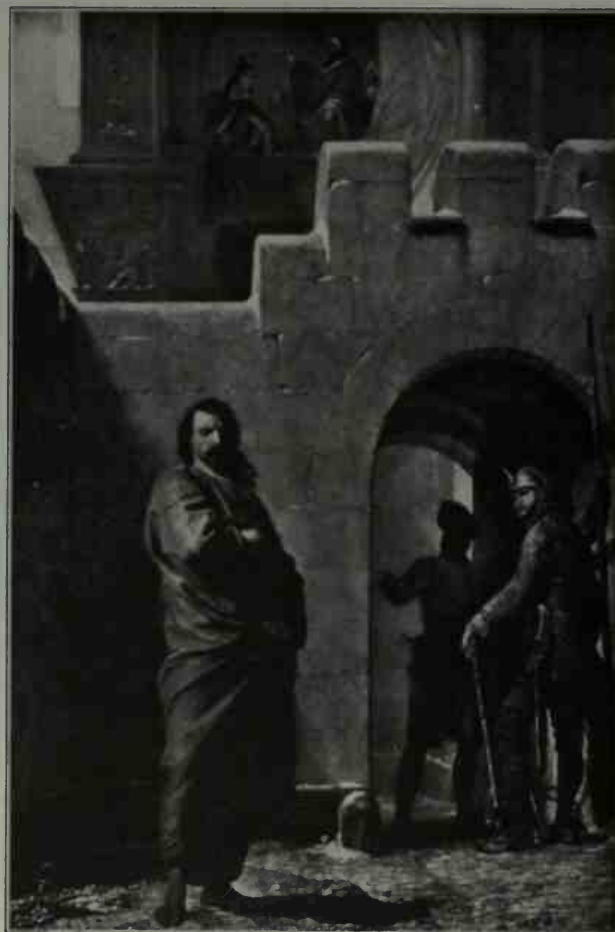
Henry IV (1056–1106) vowing to drag the pope, Gregory VII, from his throne in Rome





After the Pope outmaneuvered and overpowered Henry IV, the emperor sought the help of the abbot Hugh of Cluny and the countess of Tuscany—Matilda, to intercede for him with the pope.

Henry IV doing his penance of three days of walking in the snow at the Castle of Canossa



period of cultural enlightenment; the towns gained in economic strength; German literature was introduced; architecture developed rapidly; and German influence moved steadily eastward with the colonizers. For most of the thirteenth century, as a contrast, Germany was relatively powerless in European politics, while both France and England had developed viable central monarchies and political institutions.

The early thirteenth century was a transitional period in German history. The empire, neglected in favor of Italy, was allowed by the Hohenstaufens to decay at the center. With the passing of the Hohenstaufens the empire entered a period of decline. The houses of Luxembourg, Wittelsbach, and Habsburg succeeded each other, and the Habsburgs retained the imperial throne from the mid-fifteenth century until the end of the empire at the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1806.

Beginning in the fourteenth century, the ruling houses based their strength upon dynastic holdings rather than upon imperial claims or prerogatives; consequently, their policies were dynastic rather than imperialistic in character, and specifically German interests were usually ignored by the crown. The Luxembourgs had established Bohemia as their dynastic center, and it was under their

tutelage that Prague became a cultural and educational center. Charles IV founded the first German university in Prague in 1348 on the pattern of Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, setting in motion an educational movement of profound importance for the future of Germany. The universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt were founded within the century. In 1356 Charles promulgated the Golden Bull, which accepted the reduction of imperial power by establishing the elective principle of monarchy, granting the territorial princes virtually regal powers in such matters as coinage and foreign policy and setting up the seven electors as the keys to imperial stability. The Golden Bull, by tacit exclusion of the papacy from any role in the election, also brought to an end the extended and, for Germany, destructive history of papal intervention in imperial affairs. This compromise in favor of the status quo left effective power securely in the hands of the princes, and German political history developed, henceforth, in the principalities.

The territorial state, which thus succeeded the personal bonds of the feudal order as the chief agency of government in the territories, became the carrier of political developments leading to the emergence of the nation-state. But that process, which was proceeding so



Henry V (emperor, 1106–25), almost as if in defense of his father's humiliation before an earlier pope, challenges Pope Pascal II's proclamation that the clergy give up their worldly riches in return for the "right of investiture." Both the churchmen and the knights objected to this philosophy and in 1111 the emperor Henry V had his knights seize the pope and all of his cardinals, and kept them in prison until the pope gave in to all of Henry's demands.



Lothair was the emperor of Saxon (Saxony) from 1125 to 1137. He was the first of eight emperors to hold that title. This costume is typical wear of the emperor of the time.



A coin of Frederick I, or Barbarossa (1152–90). He was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle on March 9, 1152, and by the pope in Rome as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire on June 18, 1155. The emperor was the son of Frederick the One-eyed, the duke of Swabia, and Judith, daughter of Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria, thus in him was united the blood of two longtime rival families.

It was the custom in Berlin to pay homage to the ruler on religious holy days. Frederick I and his family accept these tributes in this sketch.



·RVDOLFVS·I·



Rudolf I of Habsburg (1273–91) was the first of a number of emperors from various houses who ruled from 1273 until 1438, when the House of Habsburg started a continuous reign until the Holy Roman Empire ended in 1806.

vigorously in France and England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was late in developing in Germany for several reasons. All but the most vigorous territorial sovereignties in Germany were limited by their fragmentary nature and their lack of land, wealth, and military power; they were also challenged by the counterclaims of cities and emerging commercial classes for political power. The result, in the west at least, was that the German states became pawns in great power rivalries, suffering particularly from French incursions along the western frontier, which were a constant feature of French policy from the time of Philip the Bold at the end of the thirteenth century through Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV to Napoleon. In the long run, however, the course of events in the east was to be more decisive.

Albert I of Austria (1298–1308), the son of Rudolf I, was “voiced” against the pope, Boniface VIII, but when the pope recognized him as king of Germany in order to gain an ally against King Philip of France, Albert I recanted his stance against the pope. But the aspirations of greater control escaped Albert when King Philip took Boniface VIII captive and the pope died a prisoner in 1303. Just five years later Albert I was murdered under very bizarre circumstances.

·ALBERTVS·I·



Colonization had been moving eastward ever since the organization of marches for defensive purposes by Charlemagne. It had been especially intense in the region later comprising Austria, but by the Hohenstaufen period the emphasis was in the northeast. As the German center of power shifted to the east, the princes were increasingly freed from imperial control by basing their power on holdings beyond the imperial frontiers. In general, colonization was carried out with little bloodshed or racial animosity. The Slavs often welcomed and profited from the methods introduced by German settlers and worked with them in developing the areas east of the Elbe River.



The official seal of Albert I

Not only did this movement lay the foundations for later development of Prussian and Austrian domains; it also provided impetus for the spreading of German influence along the Baltic area. An example was the colonization of East Prussia and Livonia by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Teutonic Order’s rule—despite its demise after its defeat at Tannenberg in 1410 by the rising Polish state—resulted in the effective germanization of East Prussia and the establishment of German cities along the Baltic, such as Danzig, Riga, Dorpat, and Reval.



For most of the individual German colonizers the eastward move meant an opportunity to obtain their own land and to enjoy comparative freedom. Many of the later Prussian landowners, the Junkers, were descended from the colonizers who had amassed large holdings. Another major element in the extension of German influence eastward was the commercial league known as the Hanse, a group of cities generally dominated by Lübeck, of paramount importance to Baltic trade from about 1350 to 1500. Like the colonization of the east, the Hanse developed on private initiative without reference to, or significant assistance from, the empire. Comprising at its peak some seventy north German cities, plus Novgorod and other non-German trade centers, the Hanse not only carried on its lucrative trade operations, it even maintained its own foreign policy and fought a war with Denmark over trade privileges. Only toward the end of

Charles IV of Luxemburg was emperor from 1347 to 1378. He became the king of Germany in 1347 and the emperor, crowned at Rome in 1355. This print is an exact likeness of the emperor made in a print in 1356 at the Golden Bull, which was a document, one of the most important in history, in which regulations were made for the election of a king, the duties of the elected princes, and for the public order of peace. The Golden Bull remained in effect for 450 years. The preamble to it reads: “Every kingdom which is at odds with itself will fall. For its princes are the companion of robbers; and, therefore, God hath removed the light from their minds. They have become the blind leading the blind; and with blinded thoughts they commit misdeeds.”



Sigismund of Hungary was the last of the separate emperors, having ruled from 1410 to 1437. After that reign, the House of Habsburg began a long period of rule beginning with Albert II in 1438.

Albert II, the king of Germany, is credited by most historians as the first ruler of the House of Habsburg.

·ALBERTVS·II·



·FRIDERICVS·



Frederick III, crowned in a coronation in Rome in 1452, was also known as Frederick IV, king of Germany. He served in one of the longest reigns as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire—from 1440 to 1493.

Joachim I, 1499–1535



Frederick I, 1417–40



Frederick II, 1440–71



Albert Achilles, 1471–86



John Cicero, 1486–99

the fifteenth century did Hanse dominance over northern trade decline because of national competition from Holland and England. The fall of the Teutonic Order contributed to the loss of Hanse power, as did the lack of agreement among the cities, the closing of Novgorod by the Russians in 1494, and the absorption of many of the cities in the expanding territorial German states.

The German cities, although not as advanced as those of northern Italy or Flanders, had long been in the center of a developing commercial bourgeois culture. With the protection granted by the crown and despite opposition from territorial princes and clerical authorities, the cities flourished as commercial centers and developed a distinctive order characterized by the commercial law that was to form the basis for city law, by guilds of artisans, and by bourgeois freedom contrasting markedly to the dependent condition of the peasantry. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some of the trading cities formed leagues for the protection of their special privileges against the territorial princes. But these centers fell prey to the rising power of the princes at a time when the empire was powerless to protect them. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, only Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg remained as members of the Hanse diet.

At the end of the medieval period no single political force represented anything that could be called a German interest. The Habsburg Dynasty, which kept the empire alive, was concerned with its Austrian base and with its status in Spain; Germany figured in dynastic policy only as a possible tool in its rivalry with France. The princes pursued particularist interests without refer-

MAXIMILIANVS



Emperor Maximilian I, who lived from 1459 to 1519, was called the Penniless but in reality was a very wealthy ruler. He is best known for joining Henry VII of England in the invasion of France. He fought against Charles VIII and Louis XII of France. His only goal in later life was to see to it that his grandson Charles V succeeded him. He succeeded him (from a woodcut of the time).



Emperor Maximilian I, son of Frederick III, served as ruler from 1493 to 1519. This portrait is by Albrecht Dürer.



Maximilian I posing for a painting by Albrecht Dürer



The emperor Maximilian I and his family

ence to the whole of Germany, and the middle class, having risen during the commercial revolution, had no channel through which to become a unified or unifying force.

THE REFORMATION

The Reformation was an attempt at readjustment between religious and secular forces. It also involved a reconciliation between the hierarchical social organization of feudalism and a new emphasis upon the individual arising out of Renaissance humanistic thought.

Martin Luther (1483–1546), an Augustinian monk and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, was one of the purifiers who tried from within church polity and discipline to reform ecclesiastical practices. In objecting to such abuses as the sale of indulgences, Luther was a loyal cleric striving for reform. From the outset Luther's ideas contained a fundamental challenge to the Roman Catholic hierarchy—the belief in justification by faith that lay at the center of his teaching. In this respect, Luther was a heretic.

The ground had been prepared for Luther's deviation by the influence of the Renaissance; by the teachings of humanists such as Erasmus; by a popular, mystical religious revivalism growing out of frustration with the religious examples offered the people by the church; and by social and economic grievances. Not least among the factors accounting for the success of the Reformation was the spread of printing, which enabled the reformer's message to reach the masses.

Luther's strong personality and leadership catalyzed conditions that were ripe for revolution. His famous ninety-five theses, nailed to a church door in Wittenberg in 1517, included criticism of conditions within the church, several teachings that contradicted official dogma, and an attack on the assumption of papal authority to grant indulgences. Within a short time the theses were known throughout Germany, and Luther was called before the papal legate, where he refused to renounce his position. In 1520 Luther published his three great reformist pamphlets. They called for the destruc-



Charles V reigned from 1519 to 1566. He was the duke of Brabant; count of Flanders and Holland; king of Spain, Sicily, and Naples; and the Holy Roman emperor. It was during his reign that Martin Luther's time had come.



Martin Luther as he appeared in 1520



Martin Luther defends himself before Charles V at Worms
Joachim II, the Hector John George, 1571-98

Charles V meets with Francis I in the Church of the Royal Families in St. Denis, France, to discuss their differences in January 1540.



Joachim Frederick, 1598-1608



John Sigismund, 1608-19



Ferdinand II, in an illustration from an engraving of the time. He is pictured in his royal dress (state robes) wearing the crown of Charlemagne



Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37)



tion of papal power by the German princes and the rejection of the orthodox system of the seven sacraments and stated the conviction that every man is his own priest, requiring gospel and faith but not priestly intercession.

In 1521 Luther again refused to recant before the emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms. The emperor was opposed Luther's teachings, but Luther had the support of most of the princes and the people. Charles outlawed Luther and his teachings, but the reformer was given sanctuary by one of the imperial electors, Frederick the Wise of Saxony.

Despite Luther's strong language in condemning princely misrule, he stated that a Christian must obey the ruler even if his commands are unjust. The peasants, however, had read into his religious teachings a message of social reform and were stimulated to revolt. The Peasant War of 1524–1525 testified to their depressed condition but was crushed by the princes and nobility, with the support of Luther, who relied essentially on upper-class support to effectuate his religious revolution.

Nevertheless, the Reformation was important for Germany because it involved all elements of the population. Princely support was based on resistance to papal authority over churches in their domains; popular support, on grievances against clerical abuses of power in both temporal and spiritual realms; and intellectual support, on the congruence of Lutheran teaching along with the contemporary trend toward individualistic emphasis in science and thought.

The political working out of the implications of the Reformation occupied the remainder of the sixteenth century and culminated early in the next century in the Thirty Years War (1618–48). External pressure from the Turks, defeated near Vienna in 1529, and the repeated wars of Charles V against France preoccupied the emperor and permitted the ideas of the Reformation to spread without arousing overt violence. A legal solution

to the growing religious disunity was the Augsburg Religious Peace in 1555, which enunciated the doctrine *cuius regio, eius religio*, meaning that the religion of subjects was determined by that of the prince.

But this formula did not quiet religious dissension, which was further stimulated by the Counter-Reformation under Jesuit leadership and by disagreement among Protestants of Lutheran, Calvinist, and sectarian persuasion. The Counter-Reformation had great success in the south and west of Germany, as well as in Poland and France; and by the early 1600s Germany was sharply divided, the Catholic League led by Bavaria in opposition to the Protestant Union led by the Palatinate. The Protestant churches had by this time become territorial institutions and served ultimately to reinforce the princely regimes. But the religious passions engendered by the Reformation remained much in evidence as contributing factors to the devastating series of battles and depredations known as the Thirty Years War.

The several sets of opposing forces active during the years from 1618 to 1648 included Roman Catholic imperial Austria-Spain under the Habsburgs against the Protestant countries; the empire against the estates (classes) represented in the Reichstag; and the Habsburgs against France. Furthermore, Sweden found itself having an opportunity to extend its power in the German areas of northern Europe in the absence of a unified national power that could prevent its incursions on the Continent.

Most of the wars that resulted were fought on German soil. The devastation was enormous; thousands of towns, villages, and castles were destroyed. The economy received a setback that was not reversed until the nineteenth century. The population was reduced by perhaps one-third, and the general level of culture fell markedly as life became a simple struggle for survival. Except for Johann Sebastian Bach and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, the renewal of a flourishing German culture had to wait for the age of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.

Despite the brilliant exploits of the emperor's military leaders, Albrecht von Wallenstein and Johann Tserclaes Tilly, the Counter-Reformation as embodied in the Habsburg forces registered no gains in the series of wars. The mixture of religious discord and national rivalry dictated the outcome as incorporated in the Peace of Westphalia ending the war in 1648. It did not end religious strife, but it established a workable formula for the German territories, essentially a reaffirmation of the Augsburg principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* and; therefore, a confirmation of German fragmentation.

Political atomization was also enhanced by ensuring the sovereign status of each principality. This meant the final nullification of the empire as a political force and the establishment of numerous incipient German nation-states too weak to compete with the modern European powers. France and Sweden were left in a position to

Ferdinand II refusing to sign the writ of the Protestant insurgents, June 11, 1619.



interfere at will in German affairs. Among the German states only Brandenburg emerged from the wars with a foundation for growth. But in European perspective it, too, remained a second-rate power for another century. More than ever, Germany was a mere geographical expression. The consciousness of national purpose and identity, awakened at times in the past by external threats to the empire, was stultified in the atmosphere of petty absolutism that followed the Thirty Years War. The German people, except for the few bureaucrats and professional men employed by the system, ceased to count as a political factor, becoming merely an object of exploitation. Popular endorsement was neither granted to nor sought by the princes.

ABSOLUTISM AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

After papal interference had been largely eliminated, the urban middle class ruined, and imperial power shunted to the sidelines, the principal force the princes had to appease after 1648 was that of the aristocratic landowners. This they did by extensive grants of privilege and authority.

Modeling their courts and conduct of state affairs on the resplendent example of Versailles, the principalities required efficient bureaucracies and some semblance of military strength, but most of all they needed abundant financial resources to support what was more often extravagant display than constructive state activity. To secure the resources, the courts imposed crushing taxation upon the peasantry.

Owing to the decay of the commercial bourgeoisie and the deterioration of the status of the peasantry, the older commercial centers declined; new cities grew around local courts, and in the rural areas landholdings were markedly consolidated in the hands of wealthy landowners. It was the period when the Junkers, the landed aristocracy, developed as an independent, conservative political power in the east, while the middle class was being increasingly subordinated to the state. Large-scale appeasement of the Junkers in the form of privileges of rule over their domains often secured their acquiescence in the destruction of the remaining organs of parliamentary expression. Moreover, the ruling class had such a monopoly of power that it could, in its petty concern for self-protection, bring about a rigidity of social stratification hitherto unknown. The era of absolutism was, for the most part, only a system of preserving privilege, unrelieved by major cultural advance or renewal.

In the late seventeenth century Prussia appeared as a new political power, although it was not until a century after the Peace of Westphalia that it emerged as a great European power under the strong rule of the Hohenzollerns. The erection of a powerful Prussian state did not



Charles VI (1711-40) was another warrior emperor. He was in battle with Spain and claimed its throne, and was also the king of Bohemia and Hungary. Also, Charles played a big role in helping fight the Turks, giving assistance to Venice and Russia.

George William, 1619-40



Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1640-88



alter the repressive, socially and politically rigid pattern of absolutism; on the contrary, the reactionary order was strengthened by the expansion of Prussian influence throughout Germany. And the very success of Prussia as a European power made its illiberal social organization seem justified as a prop of effective state policy.

In 1618 the Hohenzollern rulers of Brandenburg inherited the Polish fief of Prussia, as they had, in equally passive fashion, acquired possessions on the Rhine a decade earlier. But Frederick Wilhelm, who became elector in 1640, began to pursue a more active policy of expansion. Known as the Great Elector because of his vigorous fostering of Brandenburg's interests, he pressed the Hohenzollern claim to Pomerania during the settlement after the Thirty Years War and acquired the eastern portion of it despite Sweden's conflicting claims. The victory over Sweden at Fehrbellin in 1675 confirmed the state as a power in the Baltic area. In 1701 Frederick William's successor took the title of king of Prussia and was crowned at Königsberg. The new title indicated clearly the eastern outlook of the leading German Protestant state.

The Hohenzollerns were distinguished from other German ruling houses by their concept of duty to the state. The regime of austerity established in Brandenburg by Frederick William was designed to stabilize the finances of the state while permitting it to undertake

mainly military projects that would make it a power to be reckoned with. And because the ruling house followed the same spartan regimen, it was able to awaken a sense of loyalty among its subjects that had no particular relation to their economic well-being. The Hohenzollern rulers, sparing neither themselves nor their subjects in a century of building, were able to establish Prussia's power and its tacit claims to German leadership.

The extent of Brandenburg-Prussian territory, coupled with its lack of internal cohesion and shared tradition, required an efficient administrative apparatus for its management. Its internal problems had to be solved before it could presume to genuine great power status. Along with centralizing the administration, Frederick William had to impose his terms on the still viable estates, especially the landholders and their parochial and selfish interests. Although conceding to the Junkers their right to keep the peasants in virtual serfdom, Frederick William succeeded in forcing the Junkers to accept the

burden of maintaining a standing army, which he had concluded was required to meet the political needs of the state. The well-trained permanent professional Prussian army may be dated from 1655.

Frederick William I (who bore the same name as the Great Elector of Brandenburg) ruled Prussia from 1713 to 1740 and devoted himself largely to the army and to inculcating the population with the idea of unconditional obedience. At the end of his reign he had an army of eighty thousand, half recruited at home from a population of roughly 2 million. His financial austerity enabled him to leave a surplus in the treasury, which was increased by his successor, while maintaining the army out of Prussian resources without the foreign subsidies that rendered many other German states so vulnerable. The army, like the administration, was rigidly hierarchical; the officers stemmed exclusively from the nobility and enjoyed enormous social prestige. The army was probably the best drilled army in Europe, but it constituted an

Frederick William I became the king of Prussia in 1713. During the twenty-seven years he reigned, Frederick William built a well-trained large army and kept them intact by not allowing the country to go to war.

King Frederick William I was an enthusiastic amateur painter. This is a self-portrait.



The coat of arms of Frederick I



Frederick II, the Great, became the king of Prussia at the young age of twenty-eight when in May 1740, Frederick William I passed away. The new king said that in his reign the king "would make all of the decisions of state and that the prime minister had nothing to do but to issue these to the cabinet, without ever being consulted upon the subjects." The makings of a great king.

Frederick the Great leading his soldiers to victory in the Battle of Kolin in 1757

The royal palace in Berlin, 1733





Frederick the Great (1740–86) surprises the enemy Austrian officers at the Castle of Lissa the evening after the Battle of Leuthen, December 5, 1757. Having ridden ahead faster than his frontline soldiers could move, he came across the Austrians when he was looking for a night's lodging. The calm, collected king of Prussia simply said, "Can a tired, victorious general find a room here for the night?"

enormous burden on the taxpayers because it consumed two-thirds of the state budget. As the landholders were largely tax exempt, the peasants and the middle class assumed most of the tax burden.

Under the stern rule of Frederick the Great (1740–86), Prussia emerged clearly as a European power and as the counterweight to Austria among the more than two hundred parochial sovereignties that had formed the crazy-quilt German map since the Peace of Westphalia. Internally Frederick continued to build on the foundation of the earlier Hohenzollerns. Keeping administrative authority completely in his own hands, he devoted himself wholly to efficiency, frugality, and absolutism. He was not despotic toward his subjects in the sense of needless repression, but the peasants were kept above the threshold of starvation mainly so that the Prussian state might continue to enjoy tax revenues and the supply of soldiers.

Frederick's devotion to the Enlightenment, symbolized by his friendship with Voltaire, was a matter of private indulgence more than a policy of state, for nothing mitigated the stern Prussian doctrine of service to the state. Frederick called himself the first servant of the state.

Externally, during Frederick's reign Prussia acquired territory that made it an extended but continuous area spreading across northeastern Europe from the original Brandenburg province to East Prussia; Silesia stretched southeastward along the Oder River; and there were scattered possessions in the western areas. Frederick's major acquisitions were Silesia, separated from Austria in 1742 in a major test of strength, and West Prussia, Prussia's portion resulting from the first partition of Poland in 1772.

Emperor Joseph II (1765–90) was erudite, speaking fluently and intelligently in French and Italian as well as his native tongue. He is considered as the best of the Habsburg-Lorraine administrators as far as political power is concerned, even better than Maria Theresa.



Leopold II was the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1790 to 1792. He was the third son of Maria Theresa and was forty-three years old when he replaced Joseph II on the throne. Leopold was a wise and able administrator as the archduke of Tuscany, from 1765 to 1790.

The growth of Prussian territory was of secondary importance compared to the profound implications of Frederick's reign in terms of power. Prussia became a power to be reckoned with in European perspectives, and before the end of Frederick's reign it had become the leading German power, supplanting a weakened Austria, which was increasingly absorbed in its multinational empire in Italy and the Balkans. Foreign influence was not diminished; on the contrary, the inability of either Prussia or Austria to gain clear hegemony enabled other powers—chiefly France and the Russia of Catherine the Great—to assume the function of arbiter in Germany. But Prussian power ended Germany's role as a mere pawn in great power manipulations.

After twenty years of pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, which kept Prussia almost constantly at war, Frederick spent the last half of his reign maintaining a balance of power in Europe. Prussia needed time to recover from the devastating effects of the Seven Years War (1756–63) and time to solidify its economic base. To this end Frederick was instrumental in founding the League of German Princes, including the rulers of Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and other smaller states, to oppose Austrian attempts to upset the power balance. Because neither side expressed a genuinely German policy, the league cannot be regarded as foreshadowing a unified German state. It was not until Napoleon and the ideas of the French Revolution were introduced that the pioneers of German nationalism and patriotism were awakened.

Under strong leadership the Prussian system had proved itself a capable defender of its own interests within the absolutist state pattern of the eighteenth century. Frederick's successors, however, were not strong

leaders. And, more important, at the turn of the century Prussia and all of Germany were confronted with a new set of ideas introduced in the wake of Napoleon's national army. Prussia withdrew from the Rhine as early as 1793 to avoid a conflict with the volunteer army of the French Revolution and devoted itself exclusively to interests in the east. When Austria also, after resisting somewhat more resolutely, gave way before the French, Napoleon had a free hand to reconstitute the entire pattern of German politics in the west.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT

In the absence of any spirit of nationalism in Germany until the early nineteenth century, the country's cultural and intellectual life was dominated by a cosmopolitan spirit that rose above the petty concerns of the principalities.

The House of Hohenzollern—the kings of modern Prussia and Germany: Left, top to bottom: Frederick William II (1786–97), Frederick William IV (1840–61), and Frederick II, the Great (1740–86). Center, top to bottom: the Great Elector (Frederick William of Brandenburg, 1640–88); Frederick I (1701–13); William II (1888–1918) and William I (1861–88); and Frederick William III (1797–1840), Frederick III (1888), and Frederick William I (1713–40).



ties. This spirit set an example for all of Europe in its breadth of vision and universal appeal.

The intellectual ferment of the early nineteenth century was confined to a small segment of the population. But as these ideas filtered into popular thought throughout the century, the cosmopolitanism and humanism of the Enlightenment were buried under the statist and nationalistic attitudes stimulated, at least in part, by the imposition of Napoleonic rule over large areas of Germany. The War of Liberation that followed represented a genuine awakening of national consciousness within the limited sphere of effective public opinion. At the same time, there is little evidence that the reaction against foreign domination reached very far down into the masses of the people. Particularly in the western portions of Germany, French examples proved highly durable; even the educated statesmen and intellectual leaders often preferred French to Prussian models. Throughout Germany the peasantry remained essentially indifferent to the struggle against Napoleon.

Napoleon dominated the early nineteenth century in Germany. The welcome accorded him displayed a lack of national feeling. The French Revolution had aroused intellectual enthusiasm in Germany, and Napoleon was described by Goethe as the "expression of all that was reasonable, legitimate, and European in the revolutionary movement." Beethoven originally dedicated his *Eroica* Symphony to him, although growing evidence of despotism caused the composer to withdraw that homage. More important than the intellectuals, however, were the German princes who flocked to Napoleon's camp in preference to Prussian or Austrian hegemony.

Napoleon's policy in Germany was to isolate the two principal powers, Prussia and Austria, and to erect a third force, the Confederation of the Rhine, which would

King Frederick William III ruled from 1797 to 1840 and was married twice, to Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Augusta von Harrach.



The beautiful Queen Louisa of Prussia

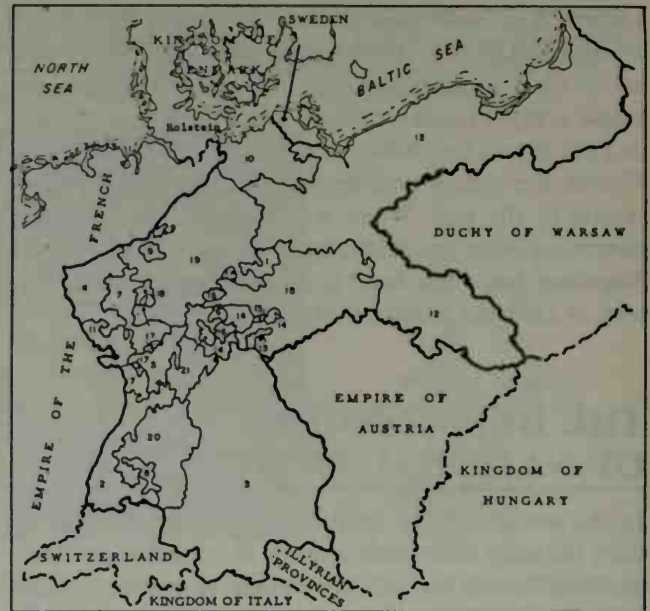


The world-famous meeting of Queen Louisa, consort of Frederick William III, with Napoleon at Tilsit before the peace terms were signed that directed severe losses to Germany. Napoleon wanted to meet privately with the beautiful queen, but it never quite came off the way he expected it to, and in the end neither made any concessions.

be dependent on him. Prussia's failure to act against this move meant the technical end of the Holy Roman Empire. Prussian neutrality after 1795 gave Napoleon a free hand to defeat Austria in the field and strengthen his alliance on the Rhine by rewarding the princes of Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt generously for their support. With Prussia's influence sharply delimited within its own borders, Frederick William III roused himself and his armies to fight the French less than a year after Napoleon's victory over the Austro-Russian forces at Austerlitz (1805). The Prussian army was routed at Jena in October 1806, and presently the French troops were "sharpening their swords on the statue of Frederick the Great" in Berlin. Prussian humiliation was emphasized by the maintenance of French garrisons in Prussia until 1813.

The Holy Roman Empire was formally dissolved in 1806. The Confederation of the Rhine, including all German states but Austria and Prussia, took its place under French protection. Napoleon's principal allies gained lands, and the electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg were elevated to kingly status. The number of sovereign entities was reduced from about eighteen hundred to fewer than forty.

Some of the direct reforms that Napoleon brought to Germany, as to his other domains, survived the restoration that followed the Congress of Vienna. He abolished the lingering feudalism that had prevented the growth of a class of peasant proprietors, as well as the anachronistic ecclesiastical states. The Napoleonic Code was intro-



- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Anhalt, Principality of | 11 Nassau, Duchy of |
| 2 Baden, Grand Duchy of | 12 Prussia, Kingdom of |
| 3 Bavaria, Kingdom of | 13 Reuss, Principalities of |
| 4 Berg, Grand Duchy of | 14 Saxon Duchies |
| 5 Frankfurt, Grand Duchy of | 15 Saxony, Kingdom of |
| 6 French Territory | 16 Schwarzburg, Principality of |
| 7 Hesse, Grand Duchy of | 17 Senzberg, Principality of |
| 8 Hohenzollern, Principality of | 18 Waldeck, Principality of |
| 9 Lippe, Principality of | 19 Westphalia, Kingdom of |
| 10 Mecklenburg, Duchy of | 20 Württemberg, Kingdom of |
| 21 Würzburg, Grand Duchy of | |

Germany in the Napoleonic period (1812)

duced in western Germany and, thereafter, remained the basis of law in that area. Napoleon removed the legal disabilities affecting the Jews and inaugurated freedom of worship. His influence was also visible in the spread of a decimal system of coinage and the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures.

Although Napoleon desired a unified Europe contiguous with the area of his conquests, his measures elicited national responses making him at least the godfather of the discrete nation-state pattern of Europe. He also released forces of secularism, middle-class political awareness, and commercial striving. The first evidence of a German counteraction to Napoleon's system was the reform movement in Prussia. Reform of the military system was undertaken by Frederick William III's military leaders Gerhard von Scharnhorst, Karl von Clausewitz, and August von Gneisenau. Their program was to build an army of patriots on the French model, eliminating the earlier dependence of mercenaries and the exclusion of all but nobles from the officer ranks.

Like the military regeneration, administrative reforms were stimulated by French example and carried through by men such as Heinrich vom und zum Stein and Prince Karl von Hardenberg, who had entered Prussian service from other states.

The remnants of feudal obligation were eliminated and the status of serfdom abolished, although the landowners were generally confirmed in their manorial privileges, local manorial police power surviving until 1872.

In 1812 Napoleon's forces were in retreat from Mos-

cow. Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine dissolved as he fled westward, and the states joined a resurgent Prussia in the alliance with England and Russia against their former patron in return for the preservation of their territory and sovereignty. The Congress of Vienna had begun its deliberations when Napoleon returned in 1815, calling forth another coalition against him. His second defeat at the hands of the English and Prussian forces resulted in the second Paris peace treaty, which gave Prussia additional territories along the Rhine but left France in the position of a great power.

The Congress of Vienna, designed to reestablish the shattered European order, awarded Prussia, as one of the victors, the remainder of Pomerania, the northern half of Saxony, part of Westphalia, and the Rhenish province. Prussia thus became a westward-looking country and, at England's behest, a bulwark against French ambition along the Rhine. Conservatism predominated at Vienna and was further mirrored in the Holy Alliance advocated by the Russian czar; Russia, Austria, and Prussia were the exponents of a return to the prerevolutionary order and combined their forces in protection of absolute monarchy. This backward-looking policy was initiated by the representative of Habsburg Austria, Clemens von Metternich, whose leadership Prussia accepted. It also characterized the constitutional arrangement devised for Germany.

Reform agitation grew for a constitutional order and German unification. A desire for German nationalism was growing but lacked large-scale support. It was a time of frustration for liberals and reformers. By 1820 five states had constitutions that granted the people representation in parliamentary government, but sovereign authority remained in the hands of the monarch.

In 1848 discontent was stimulated by revolutionary events in France. The ideas and social forces contributing to the unrest were mixed. In the southwest of Germany the uprising was particularly influenced by liberal ideals and republican goals of opening politics to popular participation. In the Rhineland Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were involved. Proletarian agitation occurred in Berlin and Leipzig. Extensive pamphleteering among the workers injected social and economic demands into the struggle for political change. The unrest included strains that were primarily nationalistic rather than liberal and even some peasant discontent that was essentially reactionary and often anti-Semitic. The central issues of the movement consisted of middle-class demands for a political role.

Uprisings in Vienna and Berlin in 1848 elicited from the Prussian monarch a promise of aid in achieving German unification. On the basis of general elections a German national assembly convened in May 1848 in Frankfurt, although the assembly was powerless against state authorities. It substituted a central authority for the Confederation diet and adopted the Declaration of Fun-

damental Rights, modeled on the French Declaration of Rights of Man and the United States Declaration of Independence. The Revolution of 1848 failed, but the document on fundamental rights assumed importance as an indigenous liberal tradition after both world wars when new political forms were being sought.



Queen Louisa with two of her nine children. These two became kings of Prussia as Frederick William IV and William I.



King Frederick William IV (1840–61) of Prussia was an advocate of unlimited power for the crown. In 1849 he was offered the imperial crown of Germany but refused, attempting to assert Prussian hegemony.

Ludwig II was the most famous of the Bavarian kings. He reigned over Bavaria from 1864 to 1886 when he was found drowned along with an "alien" friend, Dr. Bernhard von Gudden, the doctor who had gathered the evidence against which Ludwig was officially declared insane. The king, who was known to be bisexual, led a gay life during his time on the throne.





The Dream King built the Linderhof Palace in the image of the French Versailles.

King Ludwig II's most beautiful Castle Neuschwanstein in Bavaria is now known as the "dream castle of the mad King Ludwig" (German Information Service, New York City).





A close-up of the Castle Neuschwanstein

The constitutional problem revealed division within the assemble over the question of including Austria in a unified Germany. Opponents of inclusion, who also wished to enthrone the Prussian monarch, won. Effectuation of the constitution, however, depended on the willingness of the Prussian King to accept the proffered crown, but Frederick William IV refused the crown unless offered by his peers, the sovereign princes of the states, thus reasserting monarchical authority.

The actual failure of the Revolution of 1848 often obscures its importance in German history. The partial realization and partial frustration of the ideas and aims expressed by the Frankfurt assembly form the substance of German history up to World War I. That liberalism largely gave way before nationalism is only partly attributable to the failure of the revolution, although the subsequent repression drove some of liberalism's best spokesmen into exile.

BISMARCK AND UNIFICATION

The prerevolutionary lack of a broad middle-class economic base and parliamentary governments was resolved in the 1850s. Not only was there a burst of economic energy, but commercial interests were encouraged by the state. Although parliaments were restricted, they existed in Germany before unification. Another significant change before unification was the transformation of political thought; much of the liberal tradition in Germany had been diluted.

In this setting Otto von Bismarck was named chief minister of Prussia. He was a conservative Prussian Junker who believed that Germany would profit from anything that was good for Prussia. His objective on assuming office was to strengthen the power of the crown over military matters and to defeat the attempts of the Prussian diet to infringe upon the authoritarian nature of the Prussian state. Public opposition to him mounted as he ignored the diet in some matters, restricted the press, and limited the actions of some local governments that criticized his policies.

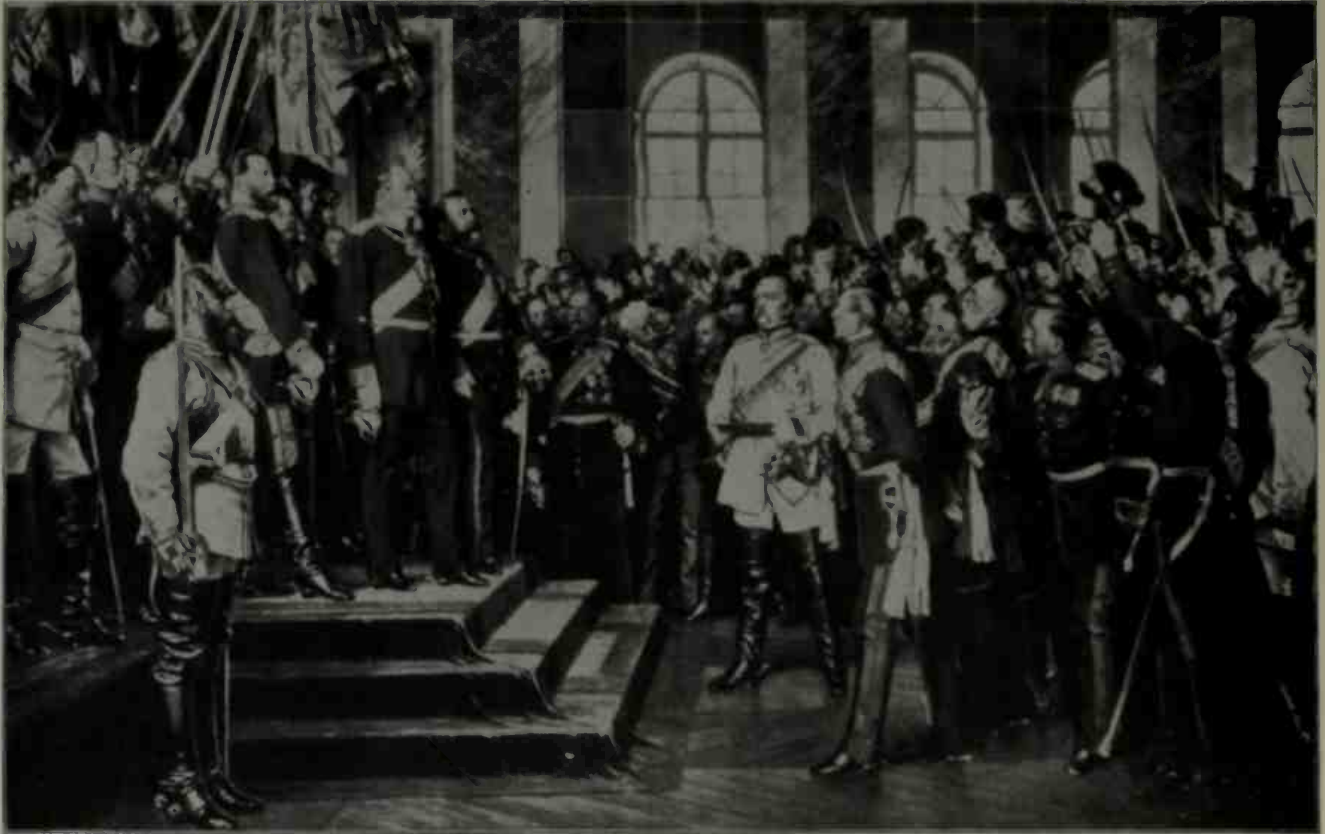
Prince Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck-Schoenhausen, the great Prussian statesman, who was known as the Iron Chancellor.



William I (1861–88) became the first German emperor in 1871, after his successes in the Franco-Prussian war. He was made the king of Prussia in 1861 after having been the regent on behalf of his brother, Frederick William IV, since 1858.

The coronation of William I in 1861





Proclamation making William I the German emperor was made by the Bavarian king, Ludwig II, in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles on January 18, 1871.

Bismarck resorted to war, and this action silenced some liberal opposition. The wars of 1864 to 1866 proved decisive not only for Bismarck's policy but also for Prussia's position within Germany. Bismarck collaborated with Austria, the enemy of German unity, to wrest Schleswig from the Danes and to resolve the question of the rule of Schleswig-Holstein. The German campaign was successful, and the two powers agreed that Austria would manage Holstein and that Prussia would administer Schleswig.

Difficulties over the joint governance of the northern provinces gave Bismarck a pretext to initiate war with Austria in 1866. The Prussian forces defeated Austria in less than one month, and the Treaty of Prague confirmed the end of the German Confederation and Austria's role in German affairs.

The North German Confederation was established in 1867 under the presidency of the Prussian king, and Bismarck served as chancellor and the only responsible minister. Bismarck supplied a constitution that stipulated equal, direct, and secret elections to the Reichstag (Lower House), which was empowered to participate in legislation and budget approval.

Bismarck remained occupied primarily with foreign affairs. He was convinced that war with France was inevitable, and the question of possible Hohenzollern

succession to the Spanish throne served as provocation. The outbreak of war in 1870 received popular approval in both Germany and France, but by January 1871 the German victory had stemmed French enthusiasm.

The Germans immediately proclaimed the new German Empire—the Second Reich—and William I was crowned emperor. Bismarck had united Germany and had obtained the nearly unanimous support of the people while maintaining the predominance of the Prussian state. Elections took place for a Reichstag genuinely representative of all Germany. The Reichstag adopted the Constitution of 1871.

Bismarck found it difficult to preserve the balance he desired, and beginning in 1871 he had to shuffle alliances to stave off war. Conflict over political strategy developed between Bismarck and the last German emperor, William II. Bismarck's forced resignation in 1890 left European nations with no one to restrain the power that had developed during the previous twenty years. The degeneration of Bismarck's system eventually led Europe, which was in an age of national self-assertion, into World War I, which nobody wanted but nobody knew how to avoid.

Bismarck was equally skilled in the maneuvers of domestic politics, the consequences of which were as far reaching for Germany as World War I and directly at-



King William I with his lead generals on the way to meet with Napoleon III at Sedan



William I reentering Berlin in a blaze of glory after becoming the emperor of Germany

tributable to Bismarckian fallacies. He was bent on preserving the authority of the crown and thwarting the people from actively participating in the governing processes. This was at a time when the people were strong enough to contribute to national solidarity and to modify the narrow official orientation to consideration of state power alone, which prevented Germany from undergoing a further state of modernization in responsible political operation. Bismarck's frustration of republican and democratic tendencies was probably the most damaging part of his legacy to Germany.

Bismarck was faced with a basic division in German society and economy. Western Germany was modern and industrialized, and eastern Germany was agrarian, semifeudal, and autocratic. Makeshift measures and superficial constitutionalism could not abolish this split. In fact, the reactionary policy of Prussia intensified the splintering of Germany into incompatible segments by treating all opposition as a force hostile to the state. Political parties thus came to represent not competing

interests or programs but incompatible ideologies, each of which wished to eliminate the others. Parliament, without effective power either to direct or restrain the government, became a debating society in which the opposed ideologies were aired to no particular purpose. Bismarck used it largely as a tribunal for berating and bullying the members and for conveying his messages to the public.

Opposition to Bismarck was futile, as the emperor remained the actual power in Germany, having a veto over all legislation through his power to appoint or dismiss the chancellor. The parties and the parliament had to wait until the Weimar Republic to obtain real authority.

The conflict with the Roman Catholic church, the so-called *Kulturkampf* of 1872 to 1878, originated in Bismarck's belief that the Roman Catholic church and the Center party were potential threats to German unity under the crown. The Center party was antagonistic toward a secular Prussian monarchy, protective of its own religious schools, and it advocated federalism and social harmony. In order to restrain the party, laws were passed to reduce the authority of the bishops, ease apostasy, and interfere with the educational prerogatives of the church. Yet the Center party continued to increase its parliamentary strength in each election, and the church adopted an effective passive resistance to restrictive measures. Conservative Lutherans, who feared Bismarck might include them in his anticlerical moves, supported the Center party. By 1878 Bismarck wanted to seek a way out of the impasse, and some of the anticlerical measures were repealed. Bismarck's defeat on the religious issues made a popular party of the Center party.

Germany became economically prominent among the industrial nations of Europe under the Second Reich. By 1870 its iron, steel, and textile industries were highly developed; rail and canal transportation facilities were being expanded rapidly; and banks and joint-stock companies were flourishing in support of the capitalist boom. After unification the government gradually became responsive to the needs of the national economy, and by 1897 agricultural opposition to high tariffs diminished enough to allow tariff protection for new industries. By World War I Germany had become Europe's foremost iron and steel producer. Governmental policy was closely related to economic interest by this time, and the state was deeply involved in the economy through ownership of many public utilities and transportation facilities.

Bismarck began to look for means of suppressing socialism. By exploiting an attempt on the emperor's life as a socialist plot, Bismarck secured passage of the Socialist Law, giving the government power to suppress labor organizations and publications. The party was forced underground and became more radical. It contin-



Four generations are shown in this picture: Emperor William I with his son, grandson, and great-grandson.



The crown prince Frederick William (III) was married to Princess Victoria in Windsor Castle in January 1858.



Emperor William I in a portrait done in the year of his death, 1888



Princess Victoria, the namesake of her mother, the queen of England (1857)



Emperor Frederick III was the emperor of Germany but a short period of time in 1888. He died in that year shortly after becoming the emperor at the age of fifty-seven.



Frederick III on his deathbed, June 16, 1888. A heavy tobacco smoker, he became the first famous person in history who died of cancer of the throat attributed to his smoking habits.

Crown Prince Frederick (III) and King William (I) on a trip to the Balmoral Castle in Scotland in 1864. The father and son were close friends all their lives. Both eventually became emperors of Germany.





Empress Frederick (Victoria Adelaide) with her mother, Queen Victoria of England, consoling each other over the death of Frederick III, who served but ninety-nine days in his reign in 1888

Prince William as he looked in 1886, sketched on a hunting trip



Dowager Empress Victoria, consort of Frederick III, as she appeared in 1888. Their son, the reckless and audacious William II, became the emperor of Germany at the age of twenty-nine.



Kaiser William II announces that he is demanding the resignation of Bismarck. The great chancellor resigned on March 18, 1890.



"Dropping the pilot" was the caption given to this political cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in the Punch magazine published in London, March 20, 1890. It refers to William II firing Bismarck. Among other things, they disagreed on Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern's being named the king of Spain. Bismarck had failed to notify the king of his decision and nomination of the prince for the position. As it turned out, the prince declined the offer.



Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern



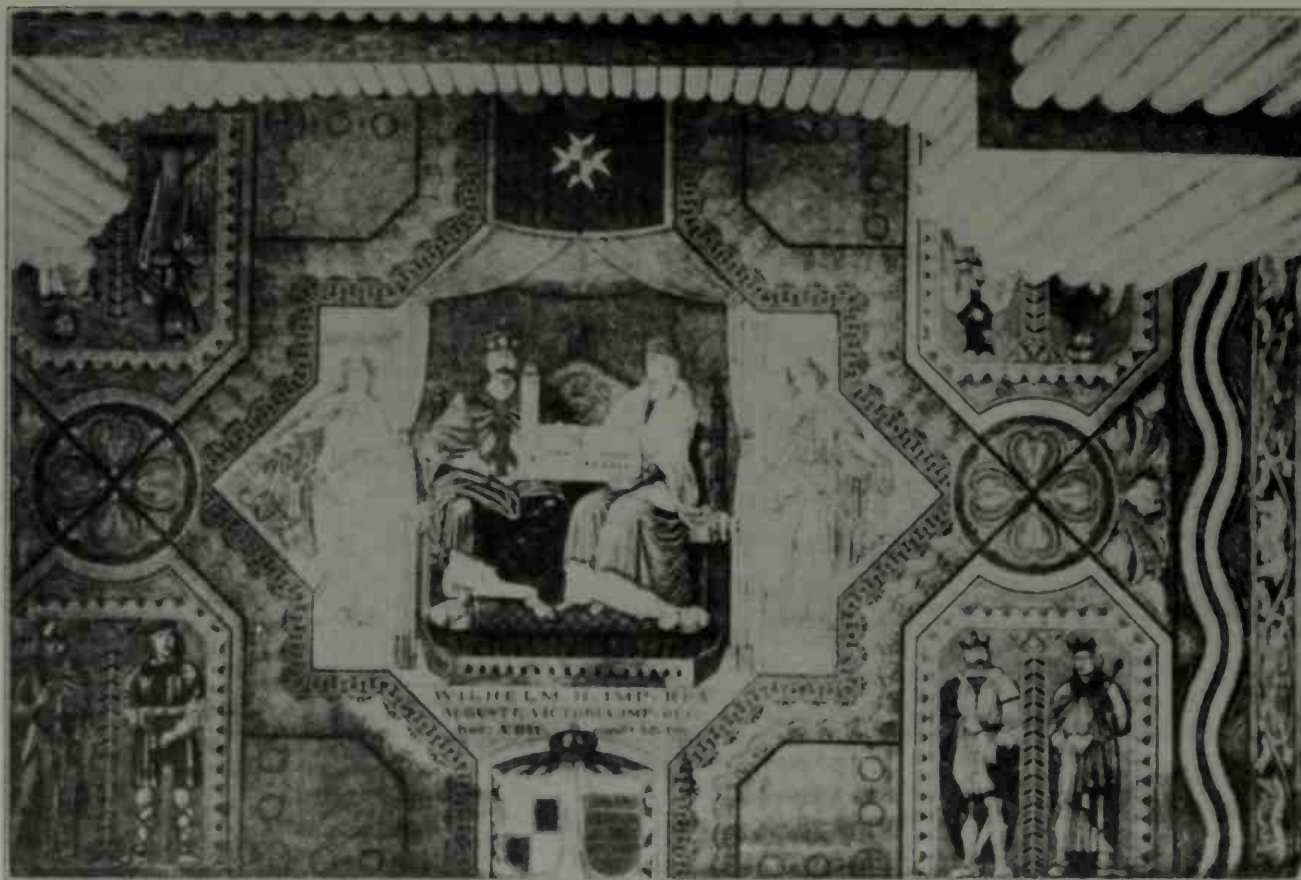
Prince William (II) at the age of four in a sailor suit



The Princess Augusta Victoria in a portrait painted in 1880, a year before her marriage to William II



William II. On February 27, 1881, Prince Frederick William of Prussia married Princess Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg. They began their reign as emperor and empress in 1888.



As the result of a visit made in 1898 by William II and Augusta to Palestine, while the guests of the sultan of Turkey, a decoration honoring them was painted on the ceiling of the German Protestant Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem.



A 1918 photograph of William II and his empress. Emperor William was the last royal ruler of Germany.

used to register electoral gains until Bismarck's dismissal and its reconstitution as a legal party in 1890. The more radical party program of 1890 bore the imprint of the new leader Karl Kautsky and followed the main tenets of Marxist ideology.

In one major respect the reign of William II (1888–1918) departed from the Germany of Bismarck. The emperor cloaked his uncertainty in brash and intemperate displays of power. The resulting tendency toward national assertiveness and imperialism supported a new trend in foreign policy. The desire for a commanding role in world affairs was rooted in the conviction held by many German leaders at the time that Germany had been denied its place in history because of the predominance of France and England. The historian Ludwig Dehio observed that Germany entered upon an imperial course having no motive other than national self-assertion, a mission that could not secure allies in its undertaking. Germany, striving for colonies and for a commanding naval position, brought its policy into conflict with every major power except Austria.

With the possible exception of England, all of the top nations were intoxicated with national power during the late 1800s and early 1900s and were determined to advance their political goals at all costs. Rivalries were exacerbated by the rising nationalism of eastern Europe. The diplomatic record shows an even distribution of responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1914. Ger-

many's responsibility, however, is determined by the reckless spirit of its policy and its determination to overthrow rules of diplomacy, if necessary, to achieve its objectives. Because these objectives were conditioned by an exaggerated estimate of German military strength, the country was led into war against superior powers.

Germany entered the war in a jubilant mood. Its generals were confident of the superiority of the German military forces, and its people were convinced of the rightness of their cause.

The army failed in the opening phase of the war to achieve the lightning victory in the west that German strategists intended. The war soon settled into a slogging campaign in the trenches, and only the news of brilliant victories in the east under the leadership of Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff compensated the civil population for its patriotic sacrifices. By 1916 this team of generals had taken over the civil government as well as the conduct of the war. Ludendorff, the more dynamic individual, became, in effect, a military dictator.

The breakdown of the final German offensive in March 1918 and the defection of Germany's allies persuaded Ludendorff that the military cause was hopeless. With unrest at home bordering on revolution and with mutiny in the navy, there remained only the Ludendorff



Germany in the nineteenth century

decision to turn command over to a broadly constituted government under the liberal prince Max of Baden. This government, including Majority Socialists, Centrists, and Progressives, presided during October and November 1918 over the liquidation of the empire, the abdication of the emperor, and the initiation of peace negotiations. This marked the end of the royal reign for Germany.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF IMPERIAL GERMANY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND PRUSSIA

Reign	Title	Ruler	Birth	Death	Relationship
IMPERIAL GERMANY					
MEROVINGIAN KINGS					
481-511	King	Clovis I (Chlodwig)	467	511	
511-534	King	Theodoric I (Thierry)		534	
558-562	King	Clothaire I (Clotar)	500	562	
562-575	King	Siegbert (Sigibert) (Sigbert)	535	575	
575-613	Queen	Brynhild (Wife of Siegbert) (Brunehaut)		613	
613-628	King	Clothaire II (Clotar)	584	628	
628-637	King	Dagobert	602	637	
MAYORS OF THE PALACE					
628-639	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin of Landen (Pepin) (was the royal steward of Clothaire II)		640	
656-681	Mayor of the Palace	Grimoald		681	
687-714	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin (Pepin d'Heuristal) (Pipin)		714	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
714-741	Mayor of the Palace	Charles Martel	689	741	
741-751	Mayor of the Palace	Pepin the Short	714	768	
CAROLINGIAN KINGS					
751-768	King	Pepin III, the Short Carloman (Son of Charles Martel)		754	
768-771	King	Charles			
771-800	King	Charlemagne	742	814	
768-771	King	Carloman (Son of Pepin)	751	771	
CAROLINGIAN EMPERORS					
800-814	Emperor	Charlemagne	742	814	
814-840	Emperor	Louis the Pious (Ludwig)	778	840	
840-855	Emperor	Lothair I		855	
CAROLINGIAN KINGS					
843-876	King	Ludwig II, the German (Louis)	804	876	
876-881	King	Charles the Fat	839	888	
881-899	King	Arnulf	850	899	
899-911	King	Ludwig III, the Child	893	911	
FRANCONIAN KING					
911-918	King	Conrad		918	
SAXON KINGS					
919-936	King	Henry I, the City-Builder (Fowler)	876	936	
936-962	King	Otto I	912	973	Son of Henry I
962-	Holy Roman Empire commences				
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE					
SAXON EMPERORS					
962-973	King/ Emperor	Otto I, the Great			
973-983	King/ Emperor	Otto II	954	983	Son of Otto I
983-1002	King/ Emperor	Otto III	980	1002	Son of Otto II
1003-1024	King/ Emperor	Henry II, the Saint	973	1024	Great-grandson of Otto I, the Great
HOUSE OF FRANCONIAN (SALIAN)					
1024-1039	King/ Emperor	Conrad II	990	1039	Descendant of Otto the Great
1039-1056	King/ Emperor	Henry III, the Black	1017	1056	Son of Conrad II
1056-1106	King/ Emperor	Henry IV	1050	1106	Son of Henry III
1106-1125	King/ Emperor	Henry V	1081	1125	Son of Henry IV
EMPEROR OF SAXONY					
1125-1137	King/ Emperor	Lothair II	1070	1137	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN					
1138–1152	Emperor	Conrad III	1093	1152	Grandson of Henry IV
1152–1190	Emperor	Frederick I (Barbarossa)	1122	1190	Nephew of Conrad III
1190–1197	Emperor	Henry VI	1165	1197	Son of Frederick I
1197–1208	Emperor	Philip of Swabia	1177	1208	Brother of Henry VI
1208–1215	Emperor	Otto IV of Saxony	1182	1218	Son of Henry the Lion
1215–1250	Emperor	Frederick II	1194	1250	Son of Henry VI
1250–1254	Emperor	Conrad IV	1228	1254	Son of Frederick II
1248–1256	Emperor	William of Holland		1256	
1256–1271	King of the Romans	Richard, earl of Cornwall	1209	1272	Son of King John
1254–1273	—The Great Interregnum (nominal emperors)				
1257–1273	Emperor	Rudolf of Habsburg	1218	1291	Son of Albert IV of Habsburg
1257–1273	Emperor	Alfonso of Castile			
SEPARATE EMPERORS					
1273–1291	Emperor	Rudolf I of Habsburg			
1292–1298	Emperor	Adolf of Nassau	1255	1298	Son of Walfram II
1298–1308	Emperor	Albert I of Austria	1250	1308	Son of Rudolf I
1308–1313	Emperor	Henry VII of Luxemburg	1269	1313	
1314–1325	Rival King	Frederick III of Austria	1286	1330	Son of Albert I
1314–1347	Emperor	Ludwig IV of Bavaria	1287	1347	
HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG					
1347–1378	Emperor	Charles IV of Luxemburg	1316	1378	Son of John of Luxemburg
1378–1400	Emperor	Wenceslaus (Wenzel) of Bohemia	1361	1419	Son of Charles IV
1400–1410	Emperor	Rupert of the Palatinate	1352	1410	
1410–1410	Emperor	Jossus of Moravia			Nephew of Charles IV
1410–1437	Emperor	Sigismund of Hungary	1368	1437	Brother of Wenceslaus
HOUSE OF HABSBURG					
1438–1439	Emperor	Albert II of Habsburg	1397	1439	
1440–1493	Emperor	Frederick III	1415	1493	Great-great-grandson of Albert I
1493–1519	Emperor	Maximilian I	1459	1519	Son of Frederick III
1519–1556	Emperor	Charles V	1500	1558	Grandson of Maximilian I
1556–1564	Emperor	Ferdinand I	1503	1564	Brother of Charles V, abdicated 1555
1564–1576	Emperor	Maximilian II	1527	1576	Son of Ferdinand I
1576–1612	Emperor	Rudolf II	1552	1612	Son of Maximilian II
1612–1619	Emperor	Matthias	1557	1619	Son of Maximilian II
1619–1637	Emperor	Ferdinand II	1578	1637	Nephew of Maximilian II
1637–1658	Emperor	Ferdinand III	1608	1658	Son of Ferdinand II
1658–1705	Emperor	Leopold I	1640	1705	Son of Ferdinand III
1705–1711	Emperor	Joseph I	1678	1711	Son of Leopold I
1711–1740	Emperor	Charles VI	1685	1740	Son of Leopold I
BAVARIAN EMPEROR					
1742–1745	Emperor	Charles VII	1697	1745	Son of Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria
HOUSE OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE					
1745–1765	Emperor	Francis I	1708	1765	Son of Leopold, duke of Lorraine and consort of Maria Theresa
1765–1790	Emperor	Joseph II	1741	1790	Son of Francis I and Maria Theresa
1790–1792	Emperor	Leopold II	1747	1792	Brother of Joseph II
1792–1806	Emperor	Francis II (abdicated 1806) (Emperor of Austria as Francis I from 1804–1835)	1768	1835	Son of Leopold II

The Holy Roman Empire was formally abolished under France's Napoleon.

1806—Francis II declares Holy Roman Empire end.

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
GERMAN AND PRUSSIAN RULERS—HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN					
KINGS OF PRUSSIA					
1701–1713	King	Frederick I	1657	1713	Son of Frederick William the Great Elector of Brandenburg
1713–1740	King	Frederick William I	1688	1740	Son of Frederick I and Sophia Charlotte
1740–1786	King	Frederick II, the Great	1712	1786	Son of Frederick William I
1786–1797	King	Frederick William II	1744	1797	Grandson of Frederick William I
1797–1840	King	Frederick William III	1770	1840	Son of Frederick William II and Frederica Louisa
1840–1861	King	Frederick William IV	1795	1861	Son of Frederick William III and Louisa
1861–1888	King/ Emperor	William I	1797	1888	Son of Frederick William III and Louisa
1888–1888	King/ Emperor	Frederick III	1831	1888	Son of William I
1888–1918	King/ Emperor	William II	1859	1941	Son of Frederick III
GERMAN BAVARIA (BAYERN)					
1806–1825	King	Maximilian I Joseph			
1825–1848	King	Ludwig I	1786	1868	Son of elector Maximilian
1848–1864	King	Maximilian II Joseph	1811	1864	Son of Ludwig I
1864–1886	King	Ludwig II	1845	1886	Son of Maximilian II
1886–1912	King	Otto	1848	1916	Brother of Ludwig II
1886–1912	Regent (Prince)	Luitpold	1821	1912	Brother of Maximilian II
1912–1913	Regent (Prince)	Ludwig III	1845	1921	Son of Prince Luitpold
1913–1918	King	Ludwig III			
GERMAN SAXONY (SAXON)					
1806–1827	King	Frederick Augustus I, the Just	1750	1827	
1827–1836	King	Anthony	1755	1836	Brother of Frederick Augustus I
1854–1873	King	John	1801	1873	Brother of Frederick Augustus II
1873–1902	King	Albert	1828	1902	Son of John
1902–1904	King	George	1832	1904	Son of John
1904–1918	King	Frederick Augustus III	1865	1932	Son of George



5

The Empires of Austria



The old empires of Austria and Germany

The land encompassed by the borders of modern Austria experienced great tribal migrations from the earliest appearance of man in Europe, many thousands of years before the time of Christ. The Venus of Willendorf, a small sandstone statuette of an apparently pregnant woman, was carved, according to archaeologists, by a Stone Age sculptor who inhabited the Danube River valley some 15,000 or more years B.C. In a later epoch a thriving culture existed in the Salzkammergut region

near the present-day village of Hallstatt, which gave its name to the early Iron Age culture that existed in much of western and central Europe for several centuries of the first millennium B.C.

The Celts, who had displaced or absorbed earlier Illyrian inhabitants, established a kingdom known as Noricum about the middle of the first millennium B.C., which included much of the area of the present-day provinces of Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Styria, Ca-



Austria today

rinthia, and Salzburg, plus a part of Bavaria. The small area east of ancient Noricum that would fall within the borders of present-day Austria—the Vienna basin and Burgenland—was peopled by Illyrians. In the western part of the area—present-day Tirol and Vorarlberg—a confederation of tribes known as Raetian-Illyrians had managed to maintain their ethnic identity. By 15 B.C., however, the Romans had conquered the entire region and eventually created the Roman provinces of Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia.

For the first one hundred-fifty years of the Christian era, Roman power maintained relative peace in the area and kept the Teutonic tribes at bay beyond the Danube River. The Romans developed the country by constructing roads and camps and by exploiting the natural resources, particularly iron. The Roman camps eventually grew into settlements and towns and the Celtic and Illyrian inhabitants were romanized.

In the late second century A.D. the Marcomanni and the Quadi—Teutonic tribes—perhaps pressured by other peoples to the north, invaded the Roman Empire, initiating several years of warfare. The Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius finally succeeded in driving back the barbarian invaders, but his apparent desire to expand his realm beyond the Danube had been thwarted, and he died at Vindobona (Vienna) a short time later. The security that had been known under the Roman Empire was

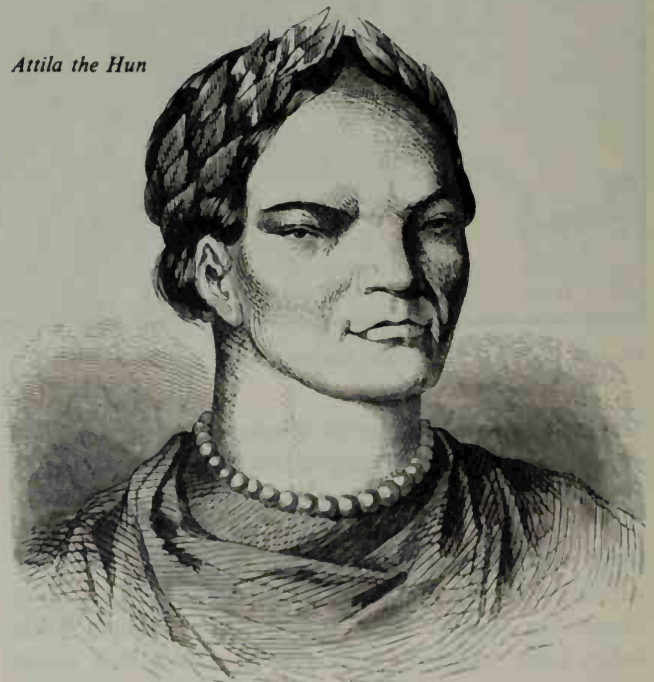
never fully regained as the barbarians to the north and east remained a constant threat until the final collapse of the Western Empire in the fifth century A.D.

In the approximately three centuries between the death of Marcus Aurelius and the final demise of the empire, Christianity was introduced into the lands that later became Austria, and the centuries-old movement of peoples continued as various Teutonic, Slavic, and Asian tribes tested Roman power. By the year A.D. 400 the Romans had lost control of the Vienna basin. Visigoths, Marcomanni, Quadi, Huns, and Avars all pressed into the area at various times, disrupting the life of the inhabitants and eventually eliminating Roman hegemony.

In the sixth century A.D. a branch of the Marcomanni known as Bayuvarians entered the area from the north and west at the same time that the Avars—nomadic Asian horsemen—entered from the east. The Avars were eventually destroyed by the Frankish emperor Charlemagne, but the Bayuvarians—sedentary tillers of the soil—settled in the area and provided the main ethnic roots of the modern Austrians and Bavarians. Invasions and migrations did not cease with the arrival and settlement of the Bayuvarians; Slavic tribes had entered Carinthia, Styria, and Lower Austria; and Magyar tribes had occupied Pannonia, from which they launched constant forays into the western countries until their disastrous defeat at the hands of the Saxon king Otto I (the Great) at Lechfeld in A.D. 955.

After defeating the Magyars, Otto I attempted to restore the Carolingian Empire and, toward that goal, designated the area east of the Enns River as a *mark* (frontier zone) to provide security against further attacks from the east. Later, in 976, Leopold of Babenberg (in

Attila the Hun





During the fifth and sixth centuries, after Attila and his Tatars vacated the Danube River area that is now Austria, there sprang up from among the northland people who came into the area two leaders of their tribes known as the Sclavs. These two were the Prophetess Libussa and the first king Premysl. Here Libussa is shown telling her chief councilor and followers to allow her unmounted horse to wander until Fate stops him at the feet of their future king.

The horse stops at Premysl and paws the ground. Premysl is brought back to Libussa and crowned King Premysl. The shoes he wore when he was found plowing in a field were used in the coronation ceremony of the kings of Bohemia for the next 500 to 600 years. Today there is a statue of Premysl on the site where the horse found him. But there is no evidence to verify the legend.



King Ottokar Premysl, king of Bohemia and the former "king" of Austria from 1253 to 1276, spent the rest of his life (two more years) fighting Rudolf, trying to regain his throne in Austria.





Rudolf I. There was a period of exactly 300 years from 976 to 1276 during which various margraves and dukes ruled the Austrian area, starting with Margrave Leopold I (976–94) and ending with Duke (King) Ottokar II of Bohemia (1253–76). Then the Habsburg reigns began with Duke Rudolf I in 1276.

the German duchy of Franconia) was named margrave, that is, commander in chief of the mark, thus beginning the political history of Austria. The Babenberg Dynasty lasted for two-hundred and seventy years, expanding the territory and forging a powerful political entity by means of military conquests or threats as well as by judicious marriages. In 1156, the *Mark* was designated a duchy, and the Babenberg margrave (Henry II) became a duke with all the attendant trappings of the new rank.

All during the Babenberg period the missionary activity of the Church of Rome continued, spreading Christianity throughout the area, establishing bishoprics in the important centers of culture and commerce, and building monasteries in the hinterlands at an amazing rate. Beginning late in the tenth century, the area was referred to as Ostarichi, which eventually became Österreich. Because it was a crossroads country, it benefited economically during the Crusades and established trade links that remained important. The court life of Vienna reflected a cultured and prosperous society: the Babenberg dukes became patrons of the arts and furthered the early cultural development of the area. Two of the greatest epic poems in the German language, *Nibelungenlied* and *Gudrun*, attest to the artistic achievements of the court at Vienna, and Walther von der Vogelweide, one of the greatest lyric poets of the Middle Ages, gave credit

Emperor Rudolf I crosses into Austria and takes possession.



to the Babenberg court as his mentor and inspiration. The Babenberg Dynasty, which had reached the apex of its power and prestige in the early years of the thirteenth century, ended in 1246 with the death of Duke Frederick II (Frederick the Fighter), who was killed in battle against the Magyars and left no heirs.

HABSBURG AUSTRIA (1276–1918)

Fighting among the Babenbergs, Magyars, and Bohemians had been frequent. After Duke Frederick was killed by Magyars, the ensuing struggle for succession was settled when the Austrian nobility elected Przemysl Ottokar, the future King of Bohemia, as duke in 1251. He extended Austria by adding Styria, which had been previously lost in battle; Carinthia; and part of Carniola (in present-day Yugoslavia).

The land, however, changed hands again in the 1270s. Count Rudolf of Habsburg, the strongest ruler in southwest Germany, in 1276 fought and defeated Ottokar, who had refused to recognize his authority. Thus began the Habsburg rule over the duchies of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia that would last six-hundred and forty years. Rudolf established the lands as hereditary possessions.

The coronation of Rudolf as the king of Austria in 1276



From the thirteenth-century victory of Rudolf until 1918, the history of Austria is to a large degree only part of the history of the Habsburg family. The territories that compose most of present-day Austria were but a small part of the Habsburg domains, which expanded until, under Charles V in the sixteenth century, they included large parts of North and South America, the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and all of Spain. In 1556 Charles V divided his realms with his son, Philip II of Spain, and his younger brother, Ferdinand, who succeeded him as Holy Roman emperor in 1558.

Until the dissolution in 1806 of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, as the loose German confederation came to be called, the Austrian Habsburgs were concerned with internal German affairs and with the problems raised by the Reformation, the rising power of France, the almost constant Turkish threat, and the necessity for reorganizing and developing an administrative system for their territories. Austria itself was merely a headquarters for their activities. Usually a Habsburg was chosen Holy Roman emperor by the electors of the empire.

The Habsburgs opposed the Reformation and made every attempt to destroy it; in the territory of Austria they were almost completely successful in preventing the new movement from gaining a foothold. In the political struggle with France the Habsburgs were less successful, and the conclusion of the Thirty Years War in 1648, in which France had intervened against them, produced a considerable weakening of the imperial power. As a result the Habsburgs tended to concentrate more attention on the expansion and consolidation of the immediate territories. The chief expansion was at the expense of the Turks. For about a century after the end of the Thirty Years War, Austria's major thrust in international affairs was against the Turks. After the two-month Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 was broken, the Turks were pushed out of Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia. The process of expanding at the expense of the Ottoman Empire ended only with the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908.

Internally, as the Habsburgs consolidated their rule and reestablished the supremacy of the Roman Catholic church, the country experienced one of its greatest periods of artistic and architectural achievement. This era in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, known as Austrian baroque, saw the building of some of Europe's most magnificent churches and palaces as well as high levels of achievement in painting, sculpture, and music. The court in Vienna took on a truly international flavor as Austrian noblemen were joined by Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, and even by Scots and Irishmen, all of whom pledged loyalty to the Habsburg monarch.

The administrative system necessary to govern the German, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and other territories acquired through marriage and conquest was developed



Rudolf I receives the news that he has been elected emperor of Germany (1273). His rise from obscurity was so rapid that the bishop of Salzburg said: "Lord God, sit fast upon Thy throne or Rudolf will have that, too."

The Austrian emperors of Germany. Left, top to bottom: Matthias (1612–19), Francis II (Francis I, 1792–1835), and Maximilian II (1564–76). Center, top to bottom: Maria Theresa (1717–80), Charles V (1519–56), and Maximilian I (1493–1519). Right, top to bottom: Ferdinand II (1619–37), Joseph II (1765–90), and Ferdinand I (1556–64).

in the eighteenth century by Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II and given a form that still survives to a large extent in the modern bureaucracy. Laws were codified during this period, and educational programs were established that required communities to provide elementary schooling. Programs for secondary schools were also set up, but education was not mandatory at this level. To oversee the educational establishment a forerunner of a modern ministry for education was established.

In international affairs Maria Theresa participated with Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia in the first partition of Poland, in which Austria received Galicia and other Polish territories containing about 2.7 million people. The peaceful development of Habsburg rule was interrupted at the end of the eighteenth century by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and by the subsequent wars which, under Napoleon Bonaparte, destroyed much of the structure of old Europe.

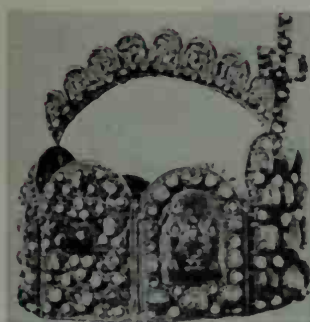




Duke Rudolph IV, the Silent, had all of the markings of being a great leader, but he died in 1365 at an early age—twenty-six. He was also called the Founder because he created the University of Vienna.



Emperor of Austria (1493–1519), Maximilian I, as he appeared at the Diet of Augsburg in 1519, the year of his death. The painting is by Albrecht Dürer.



The crown of the Holy Roman Empire made in Germany for the coronation of Otto I in 962. It has an enameled front plate on which King David and King Solomon are shown on the right and left hand of God. It is kept in the Treasury of the Hofburg at Vienna.

Announcement of the marriage-to-be of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy





Emperor Maximilian I and his family: Maximilian, Archduke Ferdinand, Archduke Charles, Philip the Handsome, Mary of Burgundy, and Prince Lajos of Hungary.

Emperor Charles V painted by Titian at the Diet of Augsburg in 1548. He reigned from 1519 to 1522 as the emperor of Austria.



The youthful archduke Ferdinand, who became Emperor Ferdinand I and had a long reign—from 1519 to 1564

Emperor Maximilian II (1564–76), the son of Ferdinand I, and his family, painted in 1553 by Giuseppe Arcimboldo. The queen is his consort, Maria, daughter of Charles V. Left to right: the children, Anna, who became the wife of King Philip of Spain; Rudolf, who succeeded his father as Emperor Rudolf II; and Archduke Ernst.

The church solemnizes the engagement contract of the grandchildren of Emperor Maximilian I in the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, July 22, 1515. "Bella gerant fortes: tu felix Austria nube; Nam que Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus" is the old saying that applies to Maximilian more than any other Habsburg ruler: interroyal marriage adds to the crown. In this arrangement the marriage between his grandchildren, Ferdinand and Mary, was set with Louis and Anne, children of Ladislas, king of Bohemia and Hungary.





Rudolf II, the Holy Roman emperor, was quite mad but, upon his death in 1612, his court scientist, John Kepler, dedicated his (Kepler's) astronomical tables to the emperor calling them the Rudolphine Tables. A mad emperor receives a memorial that will outlast matter itself and of the "important" emperors of the Holy Roman Empire we have little to bear tribute destined to carry into the twenty-first century.



Emperor Ferdinand II, the nephew of Maximilian II, served as ruler of Austria from 1619 to 1637.



Matthias I replaced his brother Rudolf II on the throne when the electors feared that Rudolf was insane. Matthias ruled from 1612 to 1619.



Emperor Ferdinand III succeeded his father, Ferdinand II, and ruled Austria from 1637 to 1658.



Leopold I (1658–1705) was called the little man in the Red Stockings. The great writer Savous said of Leopold: "In him were united and intensified all of the faults of his ancestors and none of their greatness." Leopold fled Vienna when the infidel, Kara Mustapha, laid siege to the city. Pope Innocent XI implored the great Polish king John Sobieski to fight against the Turks by leading the armies of the allies of Austria. On September 12, 1683, the Polish king attacked the Turkish forces on the heights of Kahlenberg and defeated them, inflicting over 20,000 fatalities among their masses. But the returning Leopold was more jealous than grateful. He ordered the city commandant to fire upon the Poles if they came into the city looking for provisions for themselves and their horses. King John described the condition in his letter to his wife, Maria Kazimira: "We should be less miserable if they constructed a bridge across the Danube and allowed us to go and live among our enemies."



The Polish king John Sobieski after having raised the siege of Vienna by the Turks met with the commandant of the city and asked for provisions for his men and their horses. There were great stores of grain in the city but they were not made available to the Polish forces. The emperor Leopold I had the concurrence of the city fathers to save the stores in the event the Turks ever returned.

Archduchess Maria Theresa (right) was in fact the empress of Austria from 1740 to 1780 when she placed her son Joseph II on the throne. She was an outstanding horsewoman, as seen in this painting, reviewing the troops with ease and professionalism.

Archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Maria Theresa, born May 13, 1717, is seen in this painting as she appeared in her premarriage days. In 1723, she was declared the sole heir of the House of Habsburg by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713.



Emperor Charles VI, Emperor of Austria from 1711 to 1740, invariably dressed for formal occasions in the attire of the royal Spanish style in memory of the lost Spanish throne.



In 1741, France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony invaded Austria. Maria Theresa fled Vienna with Joseph, her son, and galloped like the wind to Presburg, where the Hungarian nobles were meeting. They crowned her with the crown of Saint Stephen, and after she addressed them in Latin with a stirring speech, they shouted; "Moriatur pro rege nostro," which translates, "Let us die for our sovereign." Austria then also rallied behind her and the two armies planted themselves between Vienna and the invaders, who soon turned their conquest toward Bohemia, whose capital they entered, proclaiming Charles Albert as king.





In a drawing by Archduchess Marie Christine, a scene in the private lives of Maria Theresa and Francis is captured. The occasion is Christmas Day morning when three of their younger children have examined what Saint Nicholas has left them in their shoes. The little girl Marie-Antoinette (later queen of France) is seen with a doll, and the boy on the floor munching on sweetmeats (candy cakes) is Maximilian (who became the archbishop of Cologne and the benefactor of Beethoven). The boy on the left, crying, is the future archduke Ferdinand who apparently was a bad boy, for he received a shoe full of switches.

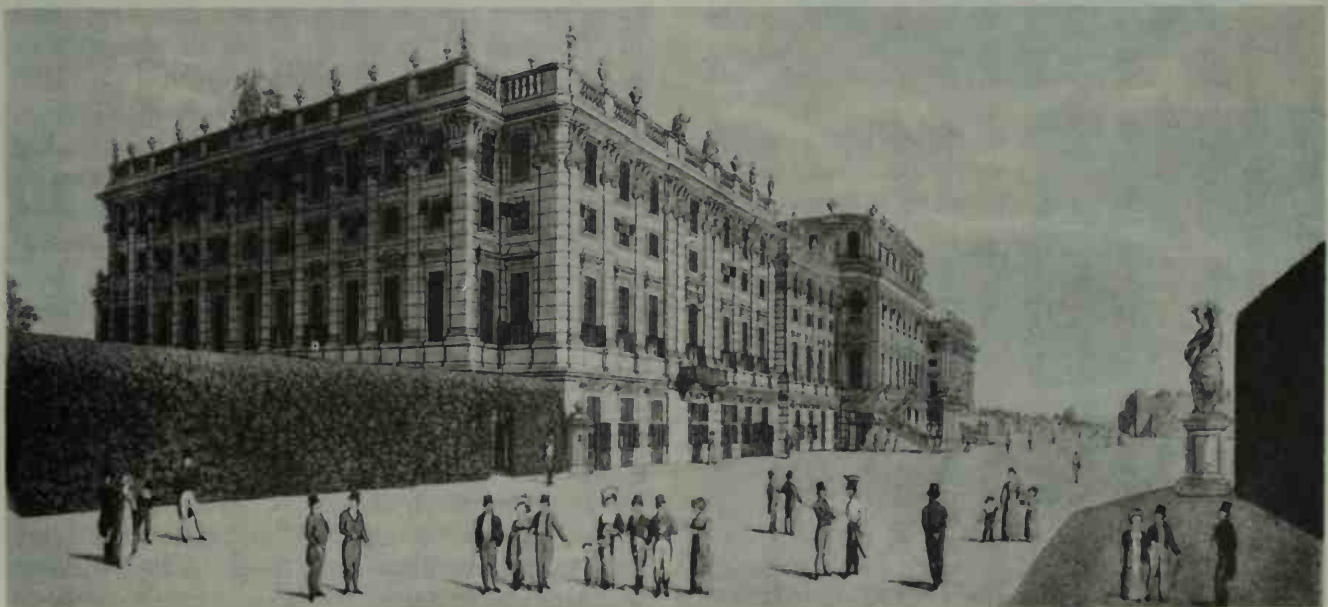


The brother emperors, Leopold, left, and Joseph. Emperor Joseph II reigned first from 1765 to 1790. The majority of the people were not ready for the ideas of liberalism and religious tolerance fostered by this sovereign, and he must have realized their sentiments, for he wrote the following for the epitaph on his tomb: "Here lies a prince whose intentions were pure, but who was unfortunate in all of his undertakings." He died in 1790 and his younger brother became Leopold II and served but two years before he died. In his two years he did more for the people and the nobles than his brother had done in twenty-five years. Historians in the field of economics credit him with being the first in the modern world to open a nation's borders to free import of foreign goods.



The Palace of Schonbrunn in the eighteenth century.

It was built on the outskirts of Vienna by Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, beginning in 1744. Situated on 500 acres of gardened grounds, it contained 1,441 rooms and 139 kitchens in its 100-by-660-foot building of four stories.





Francis I (1804–35). Francis II, who had been the Holy Roman emperor since 1792, became the emperor of Austria in 1804 and reigned until his death in 1835. When he took over the reign of Austria, he did so as Francis I. Austria renounced her connection with Germany on August 6, 1806, and Emperor Francis II abdicated the throne of Germany but remained the emperor of Austria as Francis I. The official consummation of the severance took place with the Peace of Schonbrunn on October 14, 1809.



Emperor Francis and his family

Empress Maria Ludovica, the third wife of Francis I



Francis I of Austria seated on his throne as Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE (1804–67)

The Holy Roman emperor Francis II, assumed the title Francis I, emperor of Austria in 1804, two years before the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. The Habsburgs tried to rule their domains as a unit. From 1815 (the Congress of Vienna) until 1866 (the Austro-Prussian War) they tried to control the German Confederation, which had replaced the old Holy Roman Empire. For a time they were successful in both enterprises, and during the period industrialization began to have an effect on the economy. Railroads and communications were developed as Austria began to enter the industrial age.

In 1847 an economic decline engendered more dissatisfaction with the government, and in the next year a February revolt in Paris sparked the March 1848 revolt in Vienna, a revolt that had been smoldering for years. Students, the bourgeoisie, and workers rose against the government, but the revolution foundered because of lack of organization. There were, however, some short-term effects, such as freedom of the press and Austria's first elected parliament. Furthermore, Prince Klemens von Metternich, Austria's chancellor and the leading



Emperor Francis I took his fourth wife, the empress Caroline Augusta, for a carriage ride around the Schonbrunn Palace every morning, weather permitting. He was the first emperor of Austria and served from 1804 to 1835.

European statesman of the first half of the nineteenth century, was forced out of office and into exile. By October of 1848 the revolution had ended. Ferdinand I, who had ruled since 1835, abdicated in December, and the eighteen-year-old archduke Francis took the throne and the name Francis Joseph I. The new emperor ruled over Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, as well as parts of Italy, Poland, and the Balkans.

The empire of Austria might have succumbed to the revolutionary forces of the mid-nineteenth century if it had not been for Russian military assistance against Magyar revolutionaries. Until 1867 the empire was held together only by force. In the German Confederation, Austria was faced with growing Prussian strength and the pan-German ambitions of the famed "Iron Chancellor," Otto von Bismarck. Finally, Austria was defeated by the Prussians in a brief war in 1866.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE (1867-1918)

In order to preserve his empire, Emperor Francis Joseph made a deal in 1867 with the Hungarians, who were the strongest of the empire's non-German ethnic groups. The Compromise of 1867 (Ausgleich) established a mode of relationship between the Habsburgs and their Hungarian subjects, after which the empire of Austria was reorganized as the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, that is, the empire of Austria and the kingdom of Hungary. The compromise set forth the details of control over matters of common concern, such as defense, finance, and foreign affairs. Failure to act in concert on these common matters during the turbulent year of 1848



The Austrian Empire in 1815



Archduchess Sophie of Bavaria was the wife of Emperor Ferdinand I's brother, Francis Charles Joseph. This first of four boys turned out to be the emperor Francis Joseph I (1848-1916). Their second son became the king of Mexico—Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph.

Francis Joseph I in the first official painting prepared after his enthronement in 1848



Empress Elizabeth's portrait by F. X. Winterhalter

Emperor Francis Joseph and Empress Elizabeth early in their reign





At the Battle of Solferino, June 23, 1859, Francis Joseph was outfoxed by Napoleon III and badly defeated. The Austrian emperor is seen here urging his soldiers on to battle.



Francis Joseph was the emperor of Austria from 1848 until his death in 1916. This sketch shows him in early life.



The royal family in 1860. Left to right: Francis Joseph, Archduke Maximilian, Empress Elizabeth with Rudolf and Gisela, Archduchess Charlotte, Archduchess Sophia, Archduke Louis-Victor, Archduke Francis-Charles, and Archduke Charles-Louis.

The body of the executed Mexican emperor Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, being brought home to Trieste on a "royal" funeral barge (1867).

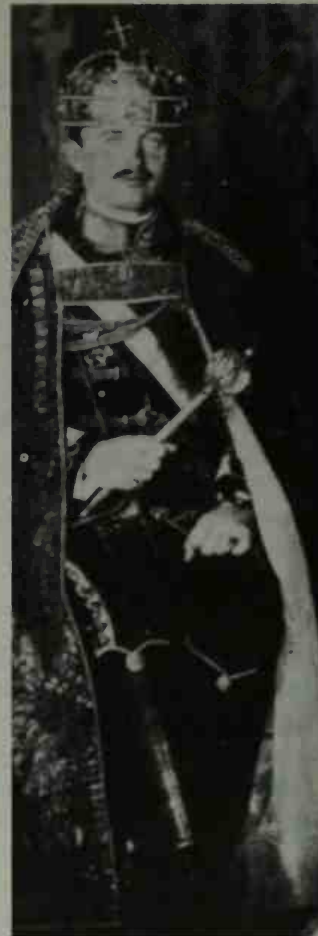


Maximilian, who was the emperor of Mexico





*Empress Charlotte,
wife of Maximilian*



Emperor Charles I, the last of the Austrian emperors, was first crowned the king of Hungary in December, then later as the emperor of Austria.

Crown Prince Rudolf, the only son of Francis Joseph, committed suicide in 1889.



Empress Zita, wife of Charles I



After a long life of personal tragedy but a reign of great historical significance, Emperor-King Francis Joseph died on November 21, 1916, at the age of eighty-six. This is one of the last photographs taken of the emperor.

Emperor Charles I, the last of the Habsburg monarchs. He reigned from 1916 to 1918 as the emperor of Austria and king of Hungary.





Austrian-Hungarian Empire, 1867-1918



A comparison map to show how the empire was broken up into Austria and successor states

had aroused suspicions in the Habsburg court that the Hungarians were seeking complete independence. The compromise established the legal link between the two countries that was necessary for concerted action.

The common monarch and the obligation to render support on matters of general concern were accepted by both parties to the 1867 agreement. Parliamentary bodies were to function in both states, and any suggestion of a general legislature was abandoned as an affront to Hungarian autonomy. The ministers who were concerned with matters of defense, finance, and foreign affairs were responsible to equal delegations from the two parliaments sitting alternately in Vienna and Pest (after 1872, Budapest). The delegations decided what part of the budgets were allocated for matters of joint concern, and a special committee periodically determined the relative financial contributions of the two countries. Arrangements concerning commerce and the customs were made subject to periodic review every ten years.

Seeing the Hungarians achieve a measure of independence, several other ethnic groups that had been chafing under Habsburg rule increased their demands for national recognition, but further concessions to the principle of national autonomy were disdained by Emperor Francis Joseph. Particularly adamant in the demand for national recognition were the Czechs, who agitated for a Bohemian kingdom that would have a status similar to that of Hungary with Francis Joseph as the common monarch. Prime Minister Eduard von Taaffe placated the Czechs and other ethnic groups by granting minor concessions but refusing actual autonomy. Von Taaffe's goal, in his own words, was "to keep all the nationalities in a balanced state of mild dissatisfaction" and thus avoid major upheaval. For several years during the 1880s and early 1890s von Taaffe was successful in keeping a lid on the more extreme expressions of nationalism, but

after his resignation in 1893 the voices of dissent became more shrill.

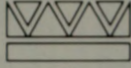
By the time of the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, it had become obvious that the Austro-Hungarian Empire could not survive military defeat. From the Austrian point of view the declaration of war on Serbia following the assassination of the archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne, had been necessary in order to stamp out the dangerous nationalistic movement supported from outside the Dual Monarchy. Ironically, Francis Ferdinand (who had a Czech wife) had been sympathetic to the idea of a Habsburg state organized with full recognition of national differences. As the war progressed, Czech, Romanian, Polish, and South Slav demands for the division of the Dual Monarchy into new national states became increasingly strong.

Some attempts were made by Charles I, the last Habsburg ruler, to make concessions to nationalism that might have held his realms together, but they were too late. The collapse of the Central Powers in 1918 meant the loss of Czech, Slovak, Romanian, Polish, and Balkan territories. The tie with Hungary was broken. An "Austria" was left as a sort of German residue of the Habsburg rule.

Although present-day Austria is only a part of the old Habsburg realm, the Habsburg rule is not forgotten. Austrians look back to the long reign of Francis Joseph I (1848-1916) as a sort of golden age. They like to recall the eighteenth-century reigns of Maria Theresa and her son the reforming emperor Joseph II, who is even now referred to affectionately as the People's Kaiser. Heroes of the Habsburg rule such as Prince Eugene of Savoy, the great eighteenth-century general, are still heroes in Austria. All these memories, however, belong to a past that was terminated by complete collapse in 1918 of Habsburg Austria-Hungary.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE EMPIRES OF AUSTRIA

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
976-994	Margrave	Leopold I			
994-1018	Margrave	Henry I			Son of Leopold I
1018-1055	Margrave	Adalbert			Son of Leopold I
1055-1075	Margrave	Ernst			Son of Adalbert
1075-1096	Margrave	Leopold II			Son of Ernst
1096-1136	Margrave	Leopold III, the Pious			Son of Leopold II
1136-1141	Margrave	Leopold IV			Son of Leopold III
1141-1156	Margrave	Henry II	1114	1177	Brother of Leopold IV
1156-1177	Duke	Henry II			Grandfather of Leopold VI
1177-1194	Duke	Leopold V			Son of Henry II
1194-1198	Duke	Frederick I			Son of Leopold V
1198-1230	Duke	Leopold VI, the Glorious	1176	1230	Brother of Frederick I
1230-1246	Duke	Frederick II, the Fighter			Brother of Leopold VI
1246-1248	—To the empire				
1248-1250	Duke	Herman von Baden			Nephew-in-law of Frederick II
1250-1253	—Anarchy: several claimants				
1253-1276	King	Ottokar II of Bohemia	1230	1278	
HABSBURG DYNASTY					
1276-1282	Duke	Rudolf I	1218	1291	Son of Albert IV of Habsburg
1282-1308	Duke	Albert I	1250	1308	Son of Rudolf I
1308-1330	Duke	Frederick	1286	1330	Son of Albert I
1308-1326	Coregent	Leopold I	1290	1326	Son of Albert I
1330-1358	Duke	Albert II			Son of Albert I
1330-1339	Coregent	Otto			Son of Albert I
1358-1365	Duke	Rudolf			Son of Albert II
1358-1397	Duke	Albert III			Son of Albert II
1365-1379	Coregent	Leopold III	1351	1386	Son of Albert II
HOUSE OF ALBERT					
1379-1395	Duke	Albert III			
1397-1404	Duke	Albert IV			Son of Albert III
1404-1439	Duke	Albert V	1397	1439	Son of Albert IV; Holy Roman emperor Albert II, 1438
1440-1457	Duke	Ladislaus			Son of Albert V
HOUSE OF LEOPOLD					
1379-1386	Duke	Leopold III			
1386-1406	Duke	William			Son of Leopold III
1386-1411	Duke	Leopold IV			Son of Leopold III
1406-1424	Duke	Ernst			Son of Leopold III
1457-1463	Duke	Albert VI			Brother of Frederick
1457-1493	Archduke	Frederick V	1415	1493	Cousin of Ladislaus; Holy Roman emperor Frederick III, 1440
1493-1519	Archduke	Maximilian	1459	1519	Son of Frederick V
1519-1522	Archduke	Charles	1500	1558	Grandson of Maximilian I, Holy Roman emperor, 1519
1519-1564	Archduke	Ferdinand	1503	1564	Brother of Charles V; Holy Roman emperor, 1556
(See Holy Roman Empire for the periods 1564-1740; 1780-1804.)					
1740-1780	Archduchess	Maria Theresa	1717	1780	Daughter of Charles VI
1804-1835	Emperor	Francis I	1768	1835	Son of Leopold II of Habsburg-Lorraine; Holy Roman emperor, 1792
1835-1848	Emperor	Ferdinand I	1793	1875	Son of Francis I; abdicated 1848
1848-1916	Emperor	Francis Joseph I	1830	1916	Nephew of Ferdinand I
1916-1918	Emperor	Charles I	1887	1922	Grandnephew of Francis Joseph
1918	—Austria became a republic.				



6

The Kingdom of Hungary



An early map of Hungary (then spelled Hongrie). It includes Transylvania and other parts of Hungary that have since become parts of other countries. The Treaty of Trianon attempted to limit Hungary to the part of its territory occupied by the Hungarian, or Magyar, people. Thus, a great part of the traditional kingdom of Hungary was divided among neighboring countries and its population was reduced by nearly 40 per cent.

For long periods in their history the Hungarians have been an oppressed people trying to escape imperial power and foreign control. On the other hand, their efforts to control the Carpathian Basin have expressed a determination to impose a type of Hungarian imperial control. The Hungarians have been ethnically and linguistically isolated in a region coveted by more powerful peoples, often in conflict with one another.

Ever since the Hungarians came from the east to the Carpathian Basin roughly eleven hundred years ago, some tension has existed between the original Eastern cultural heritage and the new Western cultural accretions.

The problem of national groups or minorities has been a recurrent factor, especially since the latter part of the nineteenth century. During much of the past, other peoples had been assimilated into Magyar culture, but in recent decades the ambition of the Magyars to continue this process in the face of competing nationalisms had been labeled "chauvinism" or "irredentism."

Long periods of the nation's history have been marked by religious conflict. The politics of the very early period revolved around the conflict of the original paganism and the acquired Christianity. Paganism was defeated, but its remnants were preserved in local culture. Later, after the emergence of Protestantism during the Reformation, a conflict between the Roman Catholic church and the new, more national Christianity also developed. The struggle quickly took on political implications.

EARLY HISTORY

The Hungarians, or Magyars, arrived in the Carpathian Basin, that is, the general area of modern Hungary, at the end of the ninth century A.D. The date usually ascribed by historians to this migration is 896, but it is likely that Magyar raiding parties were already familiar with the region from previous incursions. Before moving into the area that eventually became their new homeland, the Magyars had lived in the Khazar state, north of the Black Sea, to which they had earlier migrated, probably from the region between the great bend of the Volga River and the Ural Mountains. Little is known about the Magyars before they began the migration that took them south to the Black Sea and eventually west to the middle Danube River. Their language, which became modern Hungarian, is of the Finno-Ugric language group and has strong influences from the Turkic languages with which it came in contact during the Magyars' indeterminate stay in the Black Sea area. These early Magyars were a seminomadic pastoral people, who associated in a loose tribal confederation for offense as well as defense.

The Finno-Ugric family of languages had over 19 million speakers in 1970, the majority of whom—over 13



Hungary as it appears today

million—were Hungarian. Although Finnish is a very distant relative of Hungarian, the two languages are not mutually understandable; neither are the nearest Ugric relatives, such as Vogul (Mansi) and Ostyak (Khanty), which are spoken by a few thousand herdsmen and fishermen living in Siberia. During the migrations of the early Magyars, their language was influenced by contacts with Turkic peoples and later incorporated loanwords from the Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages.

The Magyars were merely one among many of the warlike, nomadic hordes that swept into Europe from the East, bent on conquest and plunder. Their warriors were as competent at fighting from horseback as were the Huns who preceded them or the Mongols who came later; but the Magyars were not as numerous as these other hordes, nor, it would seem, did their leaders entertain the grandiose schemes of conquest that motivated such men as Attila the Hun or Genghis Khan. The seven

Hungarians of today are descended from fierce, cruel warriors who were constantly raiding their neighbors and confiscating or destroying nearly everything in their path. These Magyars, as they were called, adopted religion (Christianity) in Saint Stephen's time, about A.D. 1000, and proved to be the most mature people in the Austrian Empire.



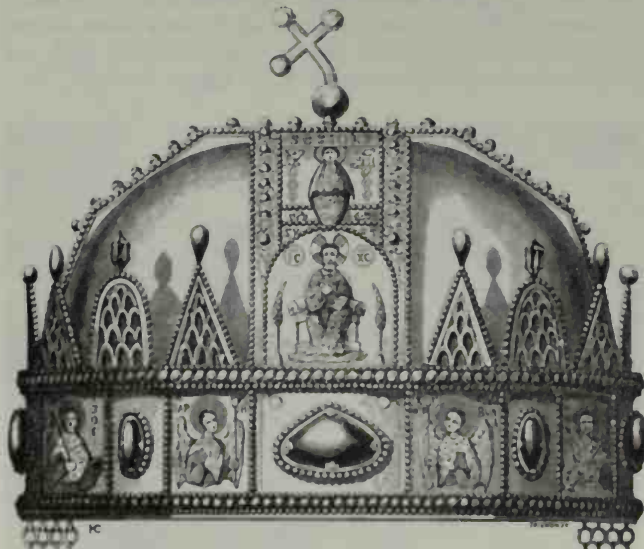


Arpad was the first chieftain of Hungary (875–907).



King Stephen I on his throne with orb and scepter. He ruled from 997 to 1038. The Catholic Church canonized him in 1087, and he is to this day the patron saint of Hungary. Pope Sylvester III gave him the title of Apostolic King of Hungary and all following kings of Hungary used the title.

Tradition holds that Pope Sylvester II gave the crown of Saint Stephen to Hungary's first Christian king in the year 1000. It came to symbolize the essence of the Hungarian people and as such played a central role in the course of Hungarian history. At the end of World War II, the custodial guard gave over the treasure without condition to elements of the U.S. Army. This is a detailed sketch of the crown.



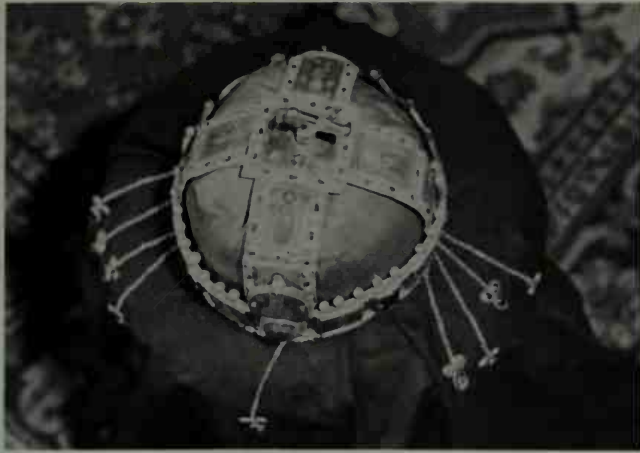
The crown of Hungary, the one first used by Saint Stephen, has had a stormy career since it rested on the head of the saint. The first recorded time that it was "removed" from Hungary was when Countess Helen Kottanner stole it so that Albert II's son, born after his death in 1439, could be crowned king of Hungary on the day of his birth. Albert's queen performed the rite but the Hungarians refused to be governed by a baby, so they elected Ladislaus, the king of Poland, as their king. (In 1444, he lost his head to the top of a lance after losing a battle with the Turks.) Hunyaadi, the great Hungarian general who survived that very battle, had been named "governor" of Hungary by the people and officials of Hungary, but in Austria the boy, "Ladislaus of Austria," was elected king of Hungary, invested by the stolen crown.



Two 1938 postage stamps of Hungary honor Saint Stephen (wearing the crown) and the crown itself

tribes that easily and rapidly defeated the Slavs and other peoples living around the middle course of the Danube River in A.D. 896 were led by Arpad, an elected chieftain. Although Arpad was a tribal chieftain rather than a king, his successors later became kings of Hungary, and the Arpad Dynasty lasted until the male line died out at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

For the first few decades after settling along the Danube, the Hungarian tribes seemed to consider the area more as a base of operations than a new homeland. The majority of the people maintained the seminomadic existence they had known in the East—moving with their herds from mountain pastures in summer to milder lowlands in winter. In the meantime, marauding armies of the tribes swept from Constantinople to the North Sea and from southern Italy to the Pyrenees, returning with booty and slaves but instilling fear and incurring wrath in the countries they invaded. Finally, the Hungarians



The crown as it appeared in 1945 when it was turned over to the U.S. Seventh Army for safe-keeping. The crown was returned to Hungary in 1977.



A contemporary portrait of King Stephen on the back of the coronation cloak currently stored in the Hungarian National Museum



Another important crown is the ancient one from earlier rulers of Hungary, the Monomachos crown, which is kept in the Hungarian National Museum.

suffered a catastrophic defeat by a coalition of forces of the Holy Roman Empire. The defeat at Augsburg proved to be a turning point in Hungarian history as the tribes ceased their depredations and became more sedentary along the waterways of the Carpathian Basin. After giving up their incursions into the territories of other peoples, the Hungarians themselves endured centuries of invasions and incursions as their adopted land proved to be a crossroads for Eastern hordes moving into Europe as well as for Germanic forces raiding the Balkans.

In A.D. 972 Prince Geza, great-grandson of Arpad, became the leader of the entire Hungarian confederation and succeeded in curbing the power of the individual tribal chieftains. Geza, recognizing that a pagan nation surrounded by the Eastern and Western forms of Christianity would be in constant danger and fearing domination from the East, admitted missionaries from the West and permitted his son, Stephen Istvan, to be baptized a

Roman Catholic. Stephen's later marriage to a Bavarian princess, the conversion to Roman Catholicism of the Hungarian people, and the development of a Latin alphabet for the Magyar language solidified the Western orientation of the country.

When Geza died, Stephen became ruling chieftain and worked strenuously to erase paganism among his people, to convert them to Roman Catholicism, and to resist any encroachment by the Eastern Orthodox church. As a reward Stephen received a crown from the pope (a story doubted by some modern historians but indelibly inscribed in Hungarian tradition) and, about the year A.D. 1000, became the first king of Hungary. Stephen was later canonized by the Roman Catholic church and, as Saint Stephen, became the most famous king in Hungarian history. Stephen's crown was revered as the symbol of Hungarian nationhood until World War II.

King Stephen asserted the unity of the state, the supremacy of the royal authority, and the need for the unquestioning obedience of the people. Under Stephen much of the country became crown land, personal domains of the monarch from which he could derive revenue as well as manpower for military service. The crown lands remained a foundation of power for many of Stephen's successors. It was also during Stephen's reign that the vast territory of Transylvania was brought under Hungarian hegemony.

In addition to the vast domains he already possessed, Stephen occupied large tracts of uninhabited territories lying between existing settlements and added land to the royal domain. In these areas, he fortified strategic points



Saint Stephen was succeeded by his son-in-law, Peter Orseolo in 1038. King Peter served until 1041.

King Ladislaus I (1077-95) was a Christian first and a Christian king second. He closely aligned himself and Hungary with Pope Gregory VII toward the goal of enhancing the prestige of both royal power and the church. It was through his efforts that Stephen was canonized and soon after Ladislaus's death he was canonized. This is a reliquary of King Ladislaus.



A fifteenth-century woodcut depicting King Ladislaus rescuing a fair maiden from a Kumanian knight who was trying to abduct her. The woodcut is based on an old legend about the king.



Margaret of France and her husband, King Bela III (1173-96) see the Crusaders off to the Holy Land.



The seal of King Andrew II (1205-35). This golden seal was issued in 1222 as an official decree of the Golden Bull, which was a proclamation of importance in Hungarian history. It provided that reduced taxes would be levied against certain citizens and that there would be restrained ecclesiastic exploitation.

and, in time, towns grew up around the fortresses. The king appointed administrators to guide the affairs of the fortified areas and towns, which were embryos of future counties, thus facilitating the development of the medieval state.

In the three centuries from the coronation of Stephen until the death of the last Arpad King in 1301, the kingdom acquired vast new territories and assumed a multinational, multilingual character. In addition to the indigenous peoples who were brought under Hungarian control, foreign colonists were invited in great numbers to occupy the uninhabited lands of the kingdom. Many of the peoples, particularly those from the East, were absorbed and became completely magyarized. Others, such as the Germans (called Saxons) who colonized Transylvania for the Arpads in the early thirteenth cen-



In 1242, the Tatars crossed the Danube in hope of capturing or killing the king of Hungary, Bela IV. They knew they couldn't occupy the country because they didn't have the organization to do it, as they were in the throes of the disintegration of the Mongol (Tatar) Empire and too far from home bases. This old museum miniature shows the Tatars pursuing the king. They never caught him, even though there were some anxious moments. The result was that Bela IV reviewed the country's defenses and was able to take remedial actions that safeguarded the borders for centuries.



In this sketch, Mary of Hungary is seen being rescued by Venetians. She and her mother, the widow of Louis of Anjou, were captured by dissidents who wanted someone else on the throne. Her mother was tortured and strangled before her eyes. When Louis the Great (of Anjou) died in 1382 he left no male heir to the throne of Hungary; except for Mary there was no other available ruler. She found so many would-be kings that she could not cope with the situation. At that time, Hungary extended to the Adriatic Sea, hence the Venetians held their former queen in dear favor. During her captivity, when her husband Sigismund was elected King of Hungary, the Venetians, having put down the Hungarian nobles who were laying claim to the throne, came in and rescued their queen.



Mary, queen of Hungary from 1382 to 1387, was also known as King Mary. The daughter of Louis the Great, who was the king of Poland and Hungary, Queen Mary was the first queen to rule a major country in Europe. The future female monarchs based their claim on their thrones against the precedence of King Mary's reign.



King Louis I, son of Charles I, was the king of Hungary from 1342 to 1382. He was also the king of Poland.

ture, retained their own cultures and languages and never were assimilated.

One of the most important developments in Hungarian constitutional history occurred in 1222 when the people compelled the king to sign the Golden Bull. The Golden Bull has often been compared to the English Magna Charta in that both documents placed limitations upon the crown. The Golden Bull, unlike the Magna Charta, however, was realized through the pressures of small landholders, the so-called freemen, rather than barons. The Golden Bull set limits on the king, but it also had the unfortunate effect of further isolating the landless peasants, as they had no voice in its establishment.

Despite the Golden Bull, the thirteenth century was a century of trouble for the country. In 1241 the Mongols invaded Hungary, eventually gaining control of territory

Louis I's royal palace, the Château de O-Zolyom



to the east and north of the Danube. This was Hungary's first experience as a buffer state between East and West, but it was a costly experience in that the Western monarchs allowed the Hungarians to bear the brunt of the Mongol onslaught, which actually endangered all of Europe. Hungary stood alone, and her forces were not equal to the task presented by the overpowering Golden Horde of the Mongols. Although the Mongol invasion lasted only until 1242, the country was devastated and depopulated. The Mongols withdrew to the Russian steppes, from which they still presented a threat. Twice during the next twenty years the Mongols offered to join the Hungarians as allies, but both offers were refused as Hungary chose to retain its strongly developed Western orientation.

The death of Andrew III, the last Arpad in the direct male line, initiated a period of crisis that lasted for over two hundred years. The crises were created by growing Turkish pressure upon Europe, in which Hungary again became a buffer between East and West; the Habsburg ambition to absorb Hungary into its empire; the political and social power of the great nobles who placed their personal welfare before that of the kingdom; and the periodic lack of effective rulers. Hungarian feudalism reached its fullest development during this period, and the serfs suffered as the nobles gained power.

During the more than two centuries from the end of the Arpad Dynasty until the Turkish conquest, Hungary suffered from a seemingly endless power struggle, during which various royal houses of Europe vied for the crown of Saint Stephen. A Bohemian King rapidly gave way to a Bavarian who, in turn, was succeeded by Charles Rob-

ert of the House of Anjou. Charles Robert gradually brought some stability to the court while maintaining peace and a measure of prosperity in the country. Under his son, Louis the Great, Hungary extended its influence into the Balkans and into Poland (the throne of which Louis also held).

A tight rein was maintained on the nobility. A new military system was organized in which royal forces were supported by the militia of the magnates (leading nobles) and the county forces for the lesser nobility. Financial reforms, through which the state treasury became independent of the large estates, were accomplished. The maintenance of the royal fortified areas was based on the crown lands and the original counties, which became autonomous under officials appointed by the king. New sources of revenue were tapped in the form of customs duties, direct taxes, and a monopoly on precious metals.

Commercial transactions with other countries were improved, and by the end of the fourteenth century the country had achieved an enviable measure of prosperity. As a result of a growing number of villages and towns, a viable economy, and a flourishing of the arts and sciences, Louis enjoyed a successful reign; moreover, his reissuing of the Golden Bull in 1351 helped to stabilize the social order.

Sigismund of Luxemburg followed the Anjous on the

Hungarian peasants bearing gifts of food to the king Sigismund, as was the custom at Easter



Sigismund was already king of Hungary (1387-1437) when he was elected German king and Holy Roman emperor in 1410.





The Ville de Presburg, royal castle of Ladislaus V, King of Hungary. He was king from 1444 to 1457 and built the ville in 1453.



King Hunyadi, historically known as Matthias Corvinus (1458–90). He is shown here in an allegory depicting the life of his court.

The Hungarian Diet and the Church combine to name Matthias their king. He was crowned in 1458 when he was fifteen years of age.



A 1971 stamp commemorating the 450th anniversary of the death of Prince Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia

Hungarian throne but, because he also became the Holy Roman emperor, his interests were diffused to the detriment of Hungary. At the same time, the Ottoman Turks were becoming more menacing around the fringes of the vast Hungarian domains. Janos Hunyadi, one of Hungary's greatest heroes, came to power as a regent and initiated a long overdue policy of defense against the Turks. He defeated them decisively at Belgrade in 1456, delaying their advance into Europe for seventy years. After Hunyadi's death, his son Matthias was elected king and brought to the country significant talents for administration, social justice, cultural development, and military operations at a time of great need.

Matthias Corvinus (Matyas Hunyadi), ruling from 1458 until 1490, gave Hungary a period of prosperity and national glory. He fought the country's enemies and established a standing army of mercenaries, which he used as quickly against dissenting magnates as against foreign enemies. Matthias restored the public finance and improved the system of taxation so that the nobility's traditional exemption was eliminated, and he reduced the power of masters over serfs. In foreign affairs he succeeded in becoming ruler of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Lower Austria, and other principalities. He maintained defenses against the Turks but also recognized the fundamental nature of the struggle with the growing power of the Habsburgs. Matthias also found time to become a great patron of the arts and of learning in general.

After the sudden death of Matthias, the inevitable power struggle eventually culminated in the election of a weak king, whom the magnates could manipulate. Many of the foreign territories that Matthias had incorporated broke away immediately and, internally, most of the curbs that he had effected against the nobles were cast aside. New law codes widened the cleavage between the nobility and the peasantry and weakened the power of the monarchy. Internal conditions deteriorated to the point that, in 1514, a serious serf uprising occurred. The uprising was suppressed with great loss of life and bloodshed, but the reprisals that followed were even more debilitating to the country as a whole. Tens of thousands



Coins commemorating King Matthias Corvinus



King Louis II (1516–26) was the last of the kings of Hungary, the end of the native kings. In 1526, Hungary was divided between Turkey and Austria. After 1526, the only native sovereigns were the princes of Transylvania, and they came under outside control in 1711, when Hungary came under Austria, and remained so until their independence in 1919.



King Louis II was killed on August 29, 1526, at the Battle of Mohács when a small, badly organized Hungarian army was heavily defeated by superior numbers of Turks.

John Zapolya, the first voivode (prince) of Transylvania



The voivode's wife, Princess Isabelle Zapolya



The Mohács Disaster (1526). Both the internal and the external position of Hungary worsened during the reign of Louis II. The double marriage contract of 1515, by which Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg married Ladislaus's daughter and Louis married Ferdinand's sister Maria, finalized the country's association with the Habsburgs. This contract was made on the eve of the fight between the Habsburgs and the Turks for the hegemony of the Mediterranean basin and central Europe. In 1519 Charles Habsburg became the German emperor, but his preoccupations in the west and the internal anarchy of the German Empire prevented him from using his immense power to help Hungary against the Turks. Nándorfehérvár (today Belgrade) fell in 1521.

of serfs were executed because of their participation in the rebellion, and the conditions against which the serfs had rebelled became more burdensome than ever before. Twelve years later, the Turkish and Hungarian armies met in the Battle of Mohács, which proved to be utterly disastrous for the Hungarians and which initiated 150 years of Turkish rule. Hungary never regained unqualified control of the Carpathian Basin homeland that the original Magyars had secured over six centuries earlier.

After the defeat at Mohács and a period of internecine strife, Hungary was partitioned; the western and northern section was drawn into the Habsburg domains, the central area was under direct Turkish control, and Transylvania was governed by Hungarian princes under Turkish suzerainty. The three-way partition lasted for almost 150 years and finally ended in Habsburg domination rather than in independence. Hungarian nationalists were active at all times during the long occupation; various leaders arose to champion the cause of self-determination and, although they fought valiantly against Turks and Austrians alike, the Hungarians could not match the power of the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. When the Turks were finally forced to withdraw from Hungary, the Habsburgs were in control and forced the Hungarians to accept Austrian succession to the Hungarian crown.

The area of western and northern Hungary, ruled by the Habsburgs during most of the Turkish period, witnessed the original outbreak of the conflict between the



The prince of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory, was also the king of Poland.



Stephen Bocskai, prince of Transylvania (1605–06), with his Haiduks. The Haiduks were the bands of homeless Hungarian warriors who had fled from the Turkish destruction and the despotism of the landlords. Prince Stephen solved the problem of the roaming bands of Haiduks by allotting land to 10,000 of them and making them nobles in reward for their military service.

Habsburg loyalists and the Hungarian nationalists, although the Nationalists later became associated with Transylvania. As a result of the Habsburg success, the kingdom of Hungary began to experience a type of absolutism that came to stand for foreign interference or intervention.

The feudal bases of the nobility's position were becoming weaker, and their ability to resist was weakened as well. The Hungarian administrative apparatus declined, and the chief organs of government were almost totally staffed by non-Hungarians. Public finance, foreign affairs, and defense of the kingdom were made subordinate to those of Austria. Foreign troops were stationed in the country, and their commanders were always foreigners. The diet was ineffectual and was largely reduced to registering protests.

The chief aim of Turkish officials had been to take as much as possible from the country in the shortest possible time. The Hungarian population was sharply re-



Commemorative stamps, 1975. Top to bottom: Michael in the Battle of Calugareni, Michael the Bold, and Ottoman messengers bringing gifts to Michael.



Protestantism had taken deep root in Hungary by the end of the sixteenth century. With the Emperor Rudolf II being very anti-Protestant in policy, his brother Matthias, a strong Protestant, gathered an army and was able to force his views on the emperor. Here the emperor Rudolf II is conferring the crown of Hungary on Matthias in 1605. Matthias took over the control of affairs in Hungary.



Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613–29) was one of the finest horse generals of all Europe at the time. He proved his prowess as a cavalryman by invading Hungary proper, but in the end he made peace with Ferdinand II of Germany.



George Rakoczy II was the prince of Transylvania from 1648 to 1660. He operated on an anti-Habsburg policy and his master plan was to conquer Poland, which he attempted with the help of Sweden. However, because he had poorly prepared for the campaign, he was soundly defeated in 1657. The Turks, standing by for decades hoping to destroy the independence of Transylvania, invaded Transylvania and in that war the prince was killed (1660). The country was laid waste and the Voivodes were never again a serious threat to the Habsburgs. This coin is reported to have a near likeness to the prince.



Michael Apafi, although listed as a prince of Transylvania, was in reality the Turkish governor and he reigned longer than any other ruler of Transylvania (1661–90). He was succeeded by his son Michael Apafi II (1690–99). Michael II abdicated in 1699 when the rule was taken over by Habsburg Hungary.

duced, and the people who survived were in a condition of servitude. For defense purposes many left their individual farms and joined large cooperative farms, which incorporated the lands of outlying farms and villages and formed the basis of new kinds of towns. Many of the former towns almost disappeared. The people in outlying regions often paid taxes not only to Turkish authorities but also to Hungarian nobles.

Transylvania was able to maintain a semi-independent status, usually balancing the power of the Turkish sultan against that of the Habsburg emperor. The maintenance of Hungarian culture and national independence was promoted by a line of able princes and statesmen, such as Gabriel Bethlen and George Martinuzzi. Their internal policies brought about a measure of religious tolerance that was unique in Europe at that time. The Transylvanian princes also broadened the base of the privileged classes, but they did not go as far as to eliminate serfdom. Probably the Turks did not take over the principality because the gold coming from it—the richest source of the precious metal in Europe—was important to them, and they no doubt believed that its uninterrupted production and receipt by the sultan's government were more certain under conditions of semi-independence than under absolute control. Transylvania remained as a symbol of the survival of the Hungarian potential for independence, of both the Turks and Habsburgs, as well as the ideal of east-central European cooperation.

THE HABSBURG ERA

The final expulsion of the Turks and the confirmation of Habsburg rule initiated a long struggle between the absolutist empire and a reviving country. In 1711 conditions were desperate. In the central areas, depopulated under Turkish rule, the Austrian government introduced



Prince Francis Rakoczy (1704–11) was an instigator of the Insurrection of 1703, which was a peasant revolt. The Habsburgs offered Francis Rakoczy the crown rather than take a chance on the revolt spreading into Austria.

alien and more docile groups to weaken the unruly Magyar element. Much of the land was parceled out to foreign beneficiaries of the monarch's favor, who were recipients of political and social power, and some parts of the country were exempted from the jurisdiction of the diet, especially the military frontier district of the south. The state apparatus on the whole was Hungarian, although for long periods the sovereign ruled by executive fiat rather than through traditional constitutional procedures. A discriminatory tariff policy was used to keep the country economically repressed in order to maintain it as a source of cheap raw materials and food supplies. Peasants lived miserably, and the agricultural enterprise of the countryside was hampered by outmoded systems of land tenure.

Nevertheless, the Hungarian will to independence survived, and forces of national revival emerged. Their origin was essentially the persistence and determination at this time of the lesser nobility and small farmers in defending the traditional rights of Hungary and Hungarians. Their activities were effective mainly on the level of county government, where many officials continued to be locally elected and within whose assemblies national interest could be maintained. At this level the effectiveness of the lesser nobility and a measure of democracy could be maintained.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century a national renaissance, notably in general literature and political theory, began in Hungary. Much influenced by the French, the movement opposed intolerance and fostered the nobility's opposition to the Austrian monarchy. A significant aspect of the literature was its nativistic emphasis upon the contribution of the pagan Magyars to the mainstream of Hungarian culture. More importantly, a large group of academicians, lawyers, writers, and other professionals strove for the abolition of feudal privileges and emphasized the peasantry as the founda-



The princess Rakoczy was often pictured carrying a musket rifle because she said in the barbarian state of Hungary a woman always had to be prepared for the worst. The former princess of Hesse-Rheinsfeld is recorded in history as possessing "heroic courage" in the revolt.

tion of the nation. The group's activities culminated in a conspiracy in 1795; the conspiracy was discovered, and many of those involved were executed or imprisoned. The development, however, became evidence of the need for reform. Also at this time the issue of the right of the Hungarian people to employ their own language, especially in contact with officialdom, was expanding in importance.

During the reigns of Charles III and Maria Theresa the Habsburgs had such a diversity of interests that it was important for them to preserve peace in the east. Under Charles III a permanent army was stationed in Hungary, administered by a war council and supported by a general war tax. Although Hungarian troops served in the army, no Hungarian could reach the higher ranks. The Royal Court Chancery and the Hungarian Deputy Council were entirely dependent on the king. The Austrians often retained control over the subordinate nationalities, and under this administration Transylvania and Croatia were administered separately.

After a long period of political quiescence, Hungarians again opposed Austrian absolutism, and a great reform movement began about 1830. Count Istvan Szechenyi, a wealthy aristocrat, became a leader of the second Hungarian renaissance and led the forces of the lesser nobility supporting evolutionary reform. More importantly, he became, in effect, a national educator defining the situation and necessities of Hungary. Szechenyi, filled with religious devotion and sensitive to the forces moving about him, called especially for the nation to turn its attentions to its own weaknesses. He analyzed the faults of the nobility, attacked their special privileges, and strove to incite them to enthusiasm for national reform. Some of his followers were conservative and evolutionary in their thinking and willing to work under the authority of the Habsburgs, but he also inspired those who believed that reform could be accomplished only by a disestablishment of the existing political regime, an idea to which he was opposed. Szechenyi called for cultural, economic, and social reforms under the rule of the Habsburgs rather than a revolution to overthrow the alien rule.

Whereas Szechenyi counseled economic and social improvement, Lajos Kossuth, a landless noble, advocated political revolution and independence. Szechenyi called for a revolution from the top, but Kossuth wanted an uprising of the common people. The one desired the mass educated; the other, the mass unleashed. The one counseled looking inward for the assessment of the nation's problems; the other prescribed looking abroad for the national enemy and found him in Vienna. The one's sternest lesson was hard, critical realism; the other's message was nationalist idealism. Szechenyi's evolutionary approach was enhanced by his great respect for Great Britain and its culture and civilization. Kossuth's revolutionary position was the product of a more active

French influence. In effect, these two leaders became opposite poles of the Hungarian response to the revolutionary influences of the nineteenth century.

Repression followed every demand for reform, and each repression made each future demand more violent. Szechenyi's reform plans, which would have preserved the legal framework of evolutionary change, were not enough. Kossuth assumed leadership; his prestige was only enhanced by imprisonment between 1837 and 1840 for the political offense, among others, of publishing the proceedings of the county assemblies. Greatly influenced by French literary and political figures and French and American revolutionary events, Kossuth transformed a journalistic career into a career of national political leadership and gained renown through his slogans calling for a free people and a free fatherland.

The diet, which opened in November 1847, was presented a program of conservative reform proposing the establishment of responsible government in Hungary (as opposed to Vienna) and an elected legislature, a system of uniform and general taxation, freedom of the press, and reinclusion of Transylvania in Hungary. Kossuth, however, soon demonstrated his control over the diet, which went through a period of unproductive controversy until news of the revolution in Paris was received. Realizing the opportunity to initiate events and force change, Kossuth demanded the abolition of serfdom, popular representation, and the replacement of control from Vienna by control in a Hungarian government. These demands were presented to King Ferdinand, who responded favorably by appointing Count Lajos Batthyany as president of a Hungarian council.

Following the model of the Belgian constitution, the king was to exercise his power and prerogative through responsible ministers, whose countersignatures were required to give validity to his acts. The diet, established as a bicameral legislature (the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Magnates), was to be elected for three years. Representation was related to the payment of taxes, educational qualifications, and knowledge of the Hungarian language. Several aspects of the new constitutional laws revealed the implicit radical Hungarian assumption, found also among the conservatives, that the ethnic minorities could be included within the Hungarian state without regard to their own national aspirations.

Certain aspects of relations with Austria remained vague, and control over such matters of common concern as public finance, defense, and foreign affairs was left in doubt. Austrian reactionaries and Hungarian counterrevolutionaries tried to undo what had been accomplished; in 1848 they contrived to set the national minorities against the Hungarians, at first covertly and then openly. King Ferdinand, who had granted the concessions in March 1848, was forced to abdicate in favor of Francis Joseph, who stated that he was not

bound by the concessions made by his predecessor. The Austrians then moved with direct military force against the Hungarians; in 1849, when their efforts fell short, the Austrians asked the Russians for military assistance. The national minorities aroused to anti-Hungarian activity were Croats, Serbs, Romanians, Ruthenians, and Slovaks. The sporadic outbreaks of violence in Transylvania between Romanians and Hungarians in 1848 and 1849 were especially bloody.

Despite the bravery and skill of the Hungarians, the imperial Austrian and Russian forces defeated them. This defeat was hastened by internecine strife, and the head of the revolutionary government, Kossuth, was not above reproach in his role in such internal controversy. The Declaration of Independence of April 14, 1849, which had been insisted upon by Kossuth, proved to be a tactical blunder. It confirmed the worst suspicions of the Vienna reactionaries—that Kossuth was intellectually unprepared to remain in a moderate position. It created difficulties for the national forces in that it required a violation of the oath of loyalty to the king. The declaration made even more determined the efforts of the imperial and Russian armies to put down the Hungarian revolution, just as it doubtless increased the fears of the British and the French. Although they generally supported the development of constitutional monarchy, the British and the French could not but be alarmed at the prospect of the dissolution of the Habsburgs, whom they considered necessary to the European balance of power.

The decision of the government in Vienna was to make use of Hungary's defeat to destroy it as a state and to incorporate it into the empire as a province; some of its historic lands, such as Croatia and Transylvania, were separated from it in order to reduce its unity and strength. The new emperor, Francis Joseph I, had assumed the direction of the monarchy upon the abdication of Ferdinand. The first seventeen years of his rule were characterized by the last attempt at absolute rule under the monarchy. The national minorities, which had been used against the Hungarians during the revolution, fared equally badly during the period of reaction and came to detest Austria as much as did the Hungarians.

Although the regime was soon changed from a military into a civil administration, no amelioration of the situation took place. A gigantic and corrupt state bureaucracy and system of political police imposed persecution and repression at great expense. For years it was controlled by Alexander von Bach, minister of internal affairs and revolutionary agitator turned tool of absolutism. Austrian, Galician, and Czech officials dominated the Hungarian administration, through which the emperor ruled by decree—entirely without reference to a constitution. Kossuth was forced into exile.

The general reaction was the development of a more intense national patriotism accompanied, at least among

moderate and radical groups, by a hatred of everything German or Austrian. Many significant groups—their educational function for the time neglected—retired into political inactivity. Formal education itself declined in quality; much of it remained adequate only to train those who could fit into the bureaucracy.

The remaining political groups were all united in the view that historic Hungary had not lost its continuity and rejected the Austrian view that by reason of rebellion the Hungarians had forfeited the right to independence. They nevertheless were divided with respect to the type of reform they supported. The old conservatives called for a return to the constitutional arrangement of 1847, which presupposed Hungarian autonomy under a general monarchy. They also desired the reestablishment of county autonomy. In addition to desiring the maintenance of traditional relations with Austria, this group strove for some modernization. They were more politically passive than some other groups, but they became more active in general cultural affairs.

Another general group followed the leadership of Ferenc Deak, a conservative reformer, in demanding a return to the laws of April 1848, which the group declared

to have an organic relationship with the traditional constitution. A third group, made up primarily of émigrés who had fled the country, insisted upon the principles of the April 1849 Declaration of Independence. The leader of the group was Kossuth, who over decades of exile never wavered from the position. On two occasions during the period they were able to continue the fight against the Habsburgs: the Italo-French War against Austria in 1859, as a result of which Austria lost Lombardy; and the war with Prussia in 1866, which removed Austria from any pretense of control in Germany.

The group led by Deak proved to have a compromise solution between the unitary concept of the Habsburgs and the complete independence of the radicals. Defeat in war and diplomatic isolation, especially from Russia, whose ambitions in the Balkans were causing a breach with that power, stimulated the emperor to choose the compromise position. His decision was supported by the official British desire to see the monarchy maintained as a bulwark against the Russian drive toward the Balkans and the Dardanelles.

Before the compromise advocated by Deak and his followers was passed by the diet and accepted by Francis Joseph, Count Gyula Andrassy had been appointed as the responsible head of a Hungarian ministry, and Transylvania was brought again into union with Hungary. Thus, although the Revolution of 1848 had proved abortive, it in effect produced the compromise establishing the Dual Monarchy, finally adopted in 1867, which provided a workable arrangement between Austria and Hungary for fifty years.

THE DUAL MONARCHY

The Compromise of 1867 established a mode of relationship with Austria and the Habsburgs. It set forth the details of control over matters of common concern to the two countries—defense, finance, and foreign affairs. Failure to deal with them in 1848 had aroused the suspicions of court circles that the Hungarians were seeking complete independence. The arrangement of 1867 established a legal link between the two states.

A common monarch and the obligation to render mutual support on matters of general concern were accepted. Parliamentary bodies were to function in both states, and any suggestion of a general legislature was abandoned as an affront to Hungarian autonomy. The ministers involved with the matters of common concern were responsible to equal delegations from the two parliaments sitting alternately in the two capitals. The delegations fixed the budget for the matters of common concern, and a special committee periodically determined the relative financial contributions of the two countries. The army was made subject to the king with respect to its leadership and internal organization and to



1943–1945 Hungarian stamps honoring her heritage. Top, left to right: Arpad, King Ladislaus I, and Miklos Toldi; second row, left to right: Janos Hunyadi, Paul Kinizsi, and Count Miklos Zrinyi; third row, left to right: Franz Rakoczy II, Count Andrew Hadik, and Arthur Georgei; bottom row: Virgin Mary, Patroness of Hungary, and the crown of Saint Stephen.

the Hungarian parliament on matters of the draft, recruitment, and the general system of defense. Agreements concerning commerce and the customs were made subject to periodic review every ten years.

The politics of the period from the compromise to World War I were almost entirely dominated by the issue of relations with Austria. Every Hungarian government was caught between unpopularity at home and an obstructive Austrian officialdom that remained adamant about the idea of a centralized monarchy, although Emperor Francis Joseph was consistently loyal to the 1867 arrangement. The dominating role of the question of public law tended to prevent concentration by the government upon the solution of social and economic problems.

The problem of minorities loomed ever larger. The one involving the Croats was the most critical and, perhaps, the most revealing. The Croats received considerable autonomy, especially in local administration, education, and justice. It was provided that their language would be employed in matters connected with civil administration and justice and in education below the higher levels. They were made responsible to the Hungarian government through the governor and were empowered to send forty deputies to the Hungarian parliament. Despite such concessions, the Croats and other ethnic groups were no more satisfied with their status than were the Hungarians with dualism.

At the outbreak of World War I, after the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the Hungarian government faced a dilemma. If the Hungarians failed to support the imperial government, minorities in the empire and the governments of peoples of similar ethnic background would exert pressure for the independence of those minorities on the assumption that the Dual Monarchy could not survive. On the other hand, a victory for the Central Powers might result in the inclusion of a larger number of Slavs in the Dual Monarchy. The situation forced the Hungarian leaders to accept the decision already taken. The Hungarian decision was made easier by the fact that the killing of the wife of the archduke had turned political assassination into an even more heinous type of murder. The war policy could be supported, or rationalized as necessary, in order to withstand Russian imperial aggression. On this basis most parties in the country, including the Social Democratic party, were able to bring some enthusiasm to the prosecution of the war.

Before Emperor Francis Joseph died in the fall of 1916, he recognized the need for peace if the Dual Monarchy was to be preserved. The Serbs were the only minority that had actively attempted to obstruct entry into the war, but it became increasingly difficult to use troop units made up of minorities at critical points on the war front; more and more the strain on Hungarian contingents became disproportionate to their number. Eco-

omic conditions deteriorated; hunger and privation became widespread. Despite the relatively large production of foodstuffs in the country, the drain imposed by the requirements of the Central Powers found production unequal to demand.

The successive failures of Russian military campaigns and the subsequent appearance of revolution in Russia encouraged Germany and Austria-Hungary to believe that they could win the war. The decision of the German high command to carry through offensives on the western front made it difficult to entertain the idea of a negotiated peace. Moreover, Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare raised an issue that ruled out any result except the unquestionable victory of one side or the other. Finally, the entry of the United States into the war made the Hungarians believe that their Hungarian national state could be preserved only if they persisted in the fight long enough to make unreasonably high the price the Allies would have to pay to destroy it. At the same time the minorities became more confident of an independent future, and the chance that conciliation could make them accept a status within the Hungarian state became more remote.

In October 1918 Count Mihaly Karolyi, a leader of the left wing of the Party of Independence, was appointed premier and formed a cabinet made up of Social Democrats, radicals, and members of his own group. In November this government declared Hungary a republic. Karolyi believed that a new policy of toleration toward the minorities and an orientation toward the Triple Entente could preserve a larger Hungary. The Allies, however, accepted Italian, South Slav, Romanian, and Czech demands. Serbian, Romanian, and Czech army units then established areas of occupation on Hungarian territory.

Gradually, the Karolyi government was infiltrated at all levels and at key points by Communists, who had in many cases returned from Russian prisoner-of-war camps where they had been influenced by the followers of Lenin. The Hungarian military forces on their return from the front had been disarmed before the security of the state had been established, and the Social Democrats proved incapable of withstanding pressure from the left. In March 1919 the leftist group formed a bloc with the Communists. After Karolyi's resignation the Communist leader, Bela Kun, formed a cabinet and, although technically not the head of government, reserved to himself full powers, including those over foreign affairs. A reign of terror was conducted by Bela Kun; its memory was a powerful factor in Hungarian resistance to communism and Russian influence. Bela Kun defended the country against the Czechs but, defeated by the Romanians, was forced to resign after five months in power.

The leader of the new counterrevolutionary regime was Admiral Miklos Horthy, commander in chief of the armed forces that entered Budapest in November 1919.

In the absence of any possibility of a return of the Habsburgs, Admiral Horthy was elected regent of Hungary by the parliament in 1920. The government he headed was one of reaction and initially one of terror, and it carried out stringent reprisals against many who could be identified with the Bela Kun and Karolyi regimes, especially Jews.

The National Assembly on March 1, 1920, confirmed the selection of Horthy as regent. It also abolished the legislation of 1867 that had established the Dual Monarchy arrangement, but it did not settle finally whether the Habsburgs retained the right of succession. Even after two attempts by Charles I to resume the throne in 1921 caused pressure to be applied on the legislature to declare the Habsburg succession revoked, there remained a division in Hungarian political thought on this subject. Horthy was most instrumental in bringing about the

Regent Miklos Horthy of Nagybanya was the principal royal person who served as the head of state in the kingless monarchy that existed in Hungary between World War I and World War II.



expulsion of Charles from Hungary. Charles I's removal eliminated the last remnant of a royal family who could possibly rule Hungary in the form of a monarchy.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
875-907	(Chieftain)	Arpad		907	
972-997	Duke	Geza			Great-grandson of Arpad
997-1038	King	Stephen I (Saint Stephen) (Istvan)	975	1038	Son of Geza
1038-1041	King	Peter Orseolo	1011	1050	Son-in-law of Stephen I
1041-1044	King	Aba Samuel			Brother-in-law of Stephen I
1044-1046	King	Peter Orseolo			
1046-1060	King	Andrew I		1060	Cousin of Peter Orseolo
1060-1063	King	Bela I			Brother of Andrew I
1063-1074	King	Salomon			Son of Andrew I
1074-1077	King	Geza I			Son of Bela I
1077-1095	King	Ladislaus I (Saint Laszlo)	1040	1095	Son of Bela I
1095-1116	King	Salomon (Coleman Beauclerc)	1070	1116	Nephew of Ladislaus I
1116-1131	King	Stephen II (abdicated 1131)	1100	1131	
1131-1141	King	Bela II			Grandson of Bela I
1141-1161	King	Geza II			Son of Bela II
1161-1162	King	Stephen III, the Lightning		1164	Son of Geza II
1162-1163	King	Ladislaus II	1134	1163	Son of Bela II
1163-1165	King	Stephen IV		1166	Son of Bela II
1161-1173	King	Stephen III			
1173-1196	King	Bela III		1196	Grandson of Bela II
1196-1204	King	Emeric			Son of Bela III
1204-1205	King	Ladislaus III	1179	1205	Son of Emeric
1205-1235	King	Andrew II	1175	1235	Son of Bela III
1235-1270	King	Bela IV	1206	1270	Son of Andrew II
1270-1272	King	Stephen V	1239	1272	Son of Bela IV
1272-1290	King	Ladislaus IV	1262	1290	
1290-1301	King	Andrew III		1301	Grandson of Andrew II
1301-1305	King	Wenceslaus Wenzel of Bohemia	1289	1306	
1305-1307	King	Otto of Bavaria		1312	
1308-1342	King	Charles I	1298	1342	Grand-nephew of Ladislaus IV
1342-1382	King	Louis the Great	1326	1382	Son of Charles I
1382-1387	Queen	Mary	1370	1395	Daughter of Louis the Great
1387-1437	King	Sigismund	1368	1437	Husband of Mary
1437-1439	King	Albert	1397	1439	Son-in-law of Sigismund
1439-1440	Queen	Elizabeth		1443	Wife of Albert
1440-1444	King	Ladislaus I of Poland	1424	1444	Grandson of Mary
1444-1457	King	Ladislaus V	1440	1457	Son of Albert
1458-1490	King	Matthias Corvinus	1440	1490	
1490-1516	King	Ladislas of Bohemia	1456	1516	Nephew of Ladislaus V
1516-1526	King	Louis II	1506	1526	Son of Ladislas V of Bohemia

1526—Hungary was divided after 1526 between Turkey and Austria.

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
TRANSYLVANIA (1344-1711)					
1344-1376—Six members of the Lackfy family ruled (beginning of formal rule).					
1415-1438	Prince	Vice-voivode Lorand Lapes			
1441-1456	Prince	Iancu of Hunedoara		1456	
Sixteenth century—Under control of the Turkish government					
1526-1540	Prince	John Zaoolya	1487	1540	
1540-1571	Prince	John Sigismund	1520	1571	
1571-1572	Prince	Gaspar Bekesy		1572	
1571-1576	King	Stephen Bathory (king of Poland)	1533	1586	
1576-1581	Prince	Christopher Bathory	1530	1581	
1581-1598	Prince	Sigismund	1572	1613	
1599-1600	Prince	Andrew	1562	1600	
1600-1601	Prince	Michael the Brave			
1602-1603	Prince	Moyses Szekely			
1602-1605	Emperor	Rudolph II			
1605-1606	Prince	Stephen Bocskai	1557	1606	
1607-1608	Prince	Sigismund Rakoczi	1544	1608	
1608-1613	Prince	Gabriel Bathory	1589	1613	
1613-1629	Prince	Gabriel Bethlen	1580	1629	
1630-1630	Prince	Stephen Bethlen			
1630-1648	Prince	George Rakoczy I	1591	1648	
1648-1660	Prince	George Rakoczy II	1621	1660	
1658-1660	Prince	Achatius Bocskai			
1661-1662	Prince	Johann Kemeny			
1682-1699	Prince	Emerich Tokoli			
1661-1690	Prince	Michael Apafi	1632	1690	
1690-1699	Prince	Michael II Apafi	1680	1713	
1699-1821—Habsburg authority in Transylvania					
1704-1711	Prince	Francis Rakoczy	1676	1735	
1711-1918—Hungary under Austria					
1919—Kingless monarchy established					
1919	Regent	Joseph of Austria	1872		
1920-1944	Regent	Miklos Horthy of Nagybanya	1868	1957	
1944-1945	Regent	Ferenc Szalasi	1897	1946	
1944-1945	Regent	Bela Miklos	1890	1948	
1946—Hungary became a republic.					



7

The Yugoslav Kingdoms



Geographic position of Yugoslavia in Europe today

The South Slav groups in present-day Yugoslavia became linguistically and culturally differentiated after they entered the Balkan Peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Their subjection to various non-Slav powers occupying the Balkan area during the next twelve centuries fostered even greater variations among them in religion, language, culture, and political development. For some six hundred years before 1914, Croats and Slovenes were subordinated to the Germanic and Roman Catholic Habsburg Empire. The Eastern Orthodox Serbs, Macedonians, and Islamized Slavs were under the rule of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire for much of the period between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Centuries of foreign rule, however, did not prevent the development of a strong sense of ethnic identity within each of the South Slav groups. Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, and Macedonians sought to maintain separate character and identities. Serbia's successful struggle to regain independence in the early nineteenth century stimulated the other groups to strive for independence.

During the nineteenth century, some Slovene, Croat, and Serb intellectuals began to advocate the creation of a united and independent Yugoslav state. By 1914 the sentiment for a union of the South Slavs was widespread and, at the end of World War I, the Western Allies agreed to the concept of a Yugoslav kingdom to be formed by uniting the South Slav territories of the defeated Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy (the former Habsburg Empire) with Serbia, Montenegro, and northern Macedonia. (Until 1929 the new state was known as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.)

In 1915 exiled Slav leaders from Austro-Hungarian regions had formed a Yugoslav Committee, based in London. It gained broad support among the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs. In July 1917 Ante Trumbic, president of the committee, signed an agreement with Serb premier Nikola Pasic at Corfu, providing for the creation of a South Slav kingdom under Alexander Karadjordjevic (1921-34). The new state was to be "a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy" based on the equality of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, the Slovene and Serbo-Croat languages, and the Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Islamic religions were to be given equal recognition. Parliamentary representatives and local government officials were to be elected through universal manhood suffrage.

After formation of the kingdom, the sense of separateness that was the legacy of the past continued to exert a significant influence on each group. Forces of unity and cohesion were counterbalanced by the influences of ethnic extremism. Threats to the internal order of the state by ethnically based political extremist groups led to the establishment of a dictatorship in 1929, a situation that continued until the outbreak of World War II and the

occupation of Yugoslavia by the Axis powers.

THE PRE-SLAV PERIOD

The earliest recorded inhabitants of the area now included in Yugoslavia consisted of two obscure groups of tribes known collectively as the Illyrians and the Thracians. The Illyrians occupied much of the region west of the Vardar River and north of what is now Greece, including the area of present-day Albania. Thracian tribes occupied the regions to the east of the Illyrians, an area that included much of the territory that later was a part of the Serbian Kingdom.

At the beginning of the Christian Era, the western portion on the Balkan Peninsula came under the control of the Roman Empire. Much of this territory was incorporated into the Roman province of Illyricum, with an administrative center at Salona, the present-day city of Split, on the Dalmatian coast. When the Roman Empire was divided into the Eastern and Western empires in A.D. 395, the region east of the Drina River became part of the Eastern Empire. The border between the two empires cut through Bosnia and Hercegovina.

During the fifth century the area was subjected to waves of raiding tribes of Visigoths, Huns, and Ostrogoths. In the sixth century the Slavs began their incursions into the Balkan Peninsula and gradually assimilated the remnants of the Illyrians and Thracians, except for small Illyrian groups that retreated into the mountainous regions along the Adriatic coast—the ancestors of the present-day Albanians.

THE COMING OF THE SLAVS

The Slavic peoples who entered during the course of approximately one hundred years eventually developed into five main groups, differentiated in language and customs: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, and Macedonians. The area came to be divided not only between the two Roman empires, but also between rival branches of the Christian church. The religious estrangement between Rome and Constantinople began in the fifth century, and the schism dividing the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox faiths came in the eleventh century.

Generally, the boundary separating the Eastern and Western churches coincided with that which divided the empires. For several centuries both empires and churches contested control over the Slavs. Thus were introduced the diverse political and cultural influences that were to continue for more than a thousand years and which were to cause divisions among the South Slavs even after political unification in 1918.

SOUTH SLAV HISTORY TO WORLD WAR I

THE SLOVENES

Slovene tribes began to settle in the northwest corner of the Balkan Peninsula in the sixth century. By the eighth century they had submitted to the domination of the Franks. Under Charlemagne, German Catholic missionaries had converted them to Christianity and introduced German culture. With the increase of German influence, the Slovene peasants became serfs under the German feudal nobility. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Slovene lands were divided into the marches (borderlands) of Carniola, Carantania (the name given in the eighth century to the region known more recently as Carinthia), and Styria.

Throughout the next two centuries the Slovenes were ruled by a variety of petty princes until the region came under the control of the Habsburgs in the late thirteenth century. From then until 1918 the Slovene lands were an integral part of the Habsburg domains.

During the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Slovenes, like the Slav groups to the south, were repeatedly subjected to Turkish raids. In the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation had considerable influence among the Slovenes, but the severity of the Counter-Reformation, combined with the efforts of the Austrian nobility to retain power, served to reinforce both the feudal system and the discipline of the church over the peasant population. The centralization policy of the Habsburg rulers during the seventeenth century resulted in an even greater degree of germanization. German was made the official language for all government affairs as well as for education, but Slovene national consciousness remained strong, and the masses continued to speak the Slovene language.

French troops came into the Slovene regions during Napoleon's campaign against Austria and, in 1809, the Treaty of Vienna brought most of the Slovene lands and Croatia under the control of France. These areas, along with Dalmatia, the coastal region along the Adriatic Sea, were formed into the Illyrian provinces under a French proconsul. During the brief period of French control, there was substantial improvement in the material conditions of the Slovenes. Additional schools were established, and the Slovene language was given renewed status.

With the defeat of Napoleon's forces in the Russian campaign, the 1815 agreements of the Congress of Vienna restored the Slovene lands, as well as Dalmatia and part of Croatia, to the Austrian Empire. Although Slovenes were again subjected to German control, Slovene national consciousness continued to grow, and sentiments developed favoring not only Slovene unity and independence but the union of all the South Slavs as well.

THE CROATS

During the sixth and early seventh centuries Croat tribes migrated from the Dnieper River region (Ukraine) into the area between the Sava and Drava rivers (Slavonia), the land directly south of the Slovene area (Croatia), and into the northern Adriatic coastal region (Dalmatia). In the seventh century these tribes were converted to Christianity.

Largely in response to military pressure from both the Eastern and Western Roman empires, organization on a family and tribal basis evolved into broader units during the eighth century. Two principal Croat units developed, Dalmatian Croatia along the Adriatic, and Pannonian Croatia to the north, centering in the valley of the Sava. During the first quarter of the ninth century, the northern Croats were brought under the hegemony of the Franks, and Dalmatian Croatia came under the nominal control of the Eastern Empire. Because of their relative isolation from the two power centers, the Croatian groups were eventually able to shake off foreign domination and by the early tenth century had begun to develop a sense of common identity.

About 924 a powerful *zupan* (tribal leader), Tomislav, from Nin, a city on the Adriatic, united the Pannonian and Dalmatian Croats and was recognized by the pope as king. He extended the borders of his territory inland to include part of Bosnia and established a kingdom that continued for nearly two hundred years.

During this time the original tribal structure of Croat society was gradually replaced by feudalism. A class system developed, based on landholdings. The leaders of the more powerful clans assumed the status of a hereditary nobility; the royal family and the church accumulated extensive properties formerly held as a common tribal land, and the peasants were reduced to serfdom.

In the late eleventh century the increasing strength of the nobility limited the authority of the king, and his power began to wane. When the throne became vacant in 1089, a long struggle ensued between rival Croat claimants. In 1102, with no leader strong enough to unite

King Tomislav, about the year 924, emerged as a powerful tribal leader (zupan) having united the Pannonian and Dalmatian Croats. The pope recognized him by crowning him king. This Yugoslavian postage stamp shows him on the throne.



the Croat lands, the Croat nobles offered the crown—with the blessing of Pope Paschal II—to the king of Hungary. Although at times the Croatians enjoyed a special status, during most of the ensuing eight hundred years (until 1918) Croatia remained tied to Hungary.

In the late fourteenth century the Turks began their incursions into the more northern regions of the Balkan Peninsula; and, after Bosnia fell to Turkish forces in 1463, the sultan's armies pushed into Croat lands. For sixty years both the Croats and Hungarians sought to resist the periodic raiding of the Turks, but in 1526 the Hungarian army was defeated in a disastrous encounter, their king was killed, and Hungarian resistance ended. The next year Croatian nobles opted to submit to the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand, who that same year had become ruler of most of Hungary. The Turks continued to press northward and by the end of the sixteenth century had absorbed much of Croatia and almost all of Slavonia.

In 1578 the Habsburg emperor established a "military frontier province" in the depopulated southern borderland of what remained of Croatia and Slavonia. Expropriated from Croat nobles, these lands were subject directly to the emperor, who granted them to soldier-peasants, free from feudal obligations, in return for military service.

In 1699, when the Habsburgs recovered all of Croatia and Slavonia from the Turks, the military frontier province was extended to include the southern half of Croatia, Slavonia, and the Vojvodina—the southern part of the Hungarian Danubian plain, directly east of Slavonia. The land was settled not only by Croat peasants but by Germans and a large number of Serbs who had migrated into the area to escape Ottoman oppression. The descendants of these Serb immigrants later became a controversial factor in the nineteenth-century issue of Croatian nationalism.

The Croat feudal nobility opposed the efforts of the emperor to retain the frontier lands under his direct control, but the system was continued until the late nineteenth century. The frontier soldier-peasants became the most loyal of the emperor's subjects; as late as World War I, these frontier elements resisted Croat nationalist sentiment in favor of the emperor.

The Dalmatian coastal area of the medieval Croat state was the object of three hundred years of conflict between Hungary and the growing power of Venice. Some of the Dalmatian cities changed hands repeatedly. From the fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, most of the coastal area was subordinate to Venice and shared in its art, commerce, and wealth. The Republic of Ragusa, present-day Dubrovnik, however, remained independent of foreign control throughout most of the period and developed its own high level of economic prosperity and culture. By the eighteenth century, the commercial power of Venice and Ragusa had passed to

other European states, and the Dalmatian cities were in a state of decay.

Like the Slovene lands, part of Croatia was incorporated into the Illyrian provinces by Napoleon in the early years of the nineteenth century. During the four years of French control, schools were established; the first Croat-language newspaper appeared; commerce was stimulated; and Croat nationalist sentiment was fomented.

After Napoleon's defeat, Slovenia, Dalmatia, and the Croatian military-frontier province were restored to Austria; the rest of Croatia went to Hungary within the Habsburg Empire. Feudalism was formally ended by the Habsburg emperor, and the Slovene and Croat peasants were permitted to buy their land from their former feudal lords.

THE SERBS

Serb tribes settled in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula south and east of the Croat lands during the seventh century. Throughout these early years clans engaged each other in a continual struggle for dominance. During most of the period from the eighth through the eleventh centuries the Serbs were under the control of either Bulgar or Byzantine rulers. In the latter half of the ninth century, Byzantine monks—the most important of whom were Methodius and Cyril—converted the Serbs to Christianity and introduced Byzantine culture into the area.

Byzantine control was weak, however, and by the twelfth century strong tribal leaders were able to unite the Serbs into two independent Serb states: Zeta, in the mountainous region of present-day Montenegro and Hercegovina; and Raska, in Serbia proper. Shortly before 1170, Stephen Nemanja became the grand *zupan* of Raska. He shook off Byzantine hegemony, united the two states into a Serb kingdom, and founded a dynasty that in the next two hundred years made Serbia the strongest state in the Balkans.

The Serb rulers enlisted the Eastern Orthodox church in their efforts to unite the dissident tribes. In 1196 Nemanja abdicated the throne and with his son helped found the great Serb Orthodox Monastery of Hilander on Mount Athos in present-day Greece. The younger Nemanja later gained recognition from the Byzantine patriarch for an independent Serbian archbishopric, and in 1219 (under the name of Sava) he became the first Serb archbishop. The Serb rulers developed a fierce loyalty to the church among their people.

The Serbian Empire reached its zenith under its last emperor, Czar Stephen Dusan (1331–35). Guided by Dusan's genius, Serbian economy and arts were greatly developed. In 1349 he promulgated an important legal code, known as the Dusanov Zakonik, which fused Byzantine law and Serbian custom into a formal legal and political system. Dusan expanded the empire to include all of modern Albania, Macedonia, Epirus, and Thes-

saly. With Dusan's death, however, rebellion by subordinate nobles brought about the disintegration of the empire.

Encouraged by the disunity of the Serb state, the Ottoman Turks, who had expanded into the southern Balkans in the middle of the fourteenth century, advanced against the Serbs. In 1389 the Turks met and defeated the Serbian armies at Kosovo in what was to become the most legendary battle of Serbian history.

Turkish power in the Balkans steadily increased, and after the second great defeat of the Serbs at Smederevo in 1459 the Serb lands were placed under Turkish military occupation and so remained for more than three hundred and fifty years. Bosnia fell to the Turks in 1463, Hercegovina in 1483. Only the most inaccessible mountainous Serb area north of Lake Scutari—present-day Montenegro—was able to resist Turkish domination.

When the Ottoman Turks overran Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia, the Slav nobles of Serbia and Macedonia were killed or forced to flee to the mountains or into Hungary. The Turkish sultan granted large landholdings to *spahis* (Muslim cavalry officers), who subjected the Christian *raja* (serfs) to a new, oppressive feudal system. The Serbs continued to be tied to their land and forced to pay heavy taxes in kind to the *spahis* and other Turkish administrators. In addition, every four years they had to submit to the seizure of a portion of the healthiest and most gifted boys in each village, whom the *spahis* sent to Constantinople to be educated as Muslims and trained as part of the sultan's elite military corps, the Janissary. Many came to occupy high positions in the Ottoman government.

During the first two hundred years of Turkish occupation, when the Ottoman Empire was expanding and the newly conquered lands were able to support the increasing numbers of Muslim aristocrats, their rule was not intolerably oppressive. As long as the Christian serfs paid their taxes, they were permitted to live according to Serb customs and to govern their own local affairs without direct interference from the Turkish administration. They could not be removed from their land, which continued to be treated as private family property. The Turks were tolerant of the Christian religion, although they impoverished the Serbian Orthodox church by seizing most of its lands and its richest buildings.

The Serbs reverted to the egalitarian rural society that had characterized their social structure before the rise of feudalism. They avoided town living, and towns were inhabited solely by the Turkish nobility and administrators, along with the non-Slav craftsmen and traders who supplied them. The Serb villagers retained a high degree of autonomy under the administration of village councils elected by the head of each Serb family. In the absence of a native nobility, the members of the church hierarchy were recognized by the Serbs as their leaders, and the Serbian Orthodox church became the major perpetuator

of the Serb tradition and national consciousness.

During the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, the Serb peasants supported several vain attempts by the Habsburg armies to force the Turks out of Serbia. Brutal reprisals by the Ottoman administrators triggered a mass migration of thirty thousand to forty thousand Serb families, who moved northward in 1691 and settled in Habsburg-controlled Vojvodina. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Constantinople lost most of its control over its officials in Serbia, who then entered a period of unrestrained oppression and plundering of the defenseless Serb peasants. As the power of the Ottoman Empire declined, Habsburg Austria and Czarist Russia attempted to extend their hegemony over the Balkans. During the late eighteenth century the two powers joined together to oust the Turks, but their efforts were indecisive until the expansion of Napoleon's empire began to threaten Turkish territories.

With the sultan's forces under pressure from Napoleon in the Mediterranean area, Russia moved to occupy Turkish provinces in the eastern region of the Balkans. In 1804, sensing that the time was ripe for revolt, a Serbian peasant, Djordje Petrovic—known to his followers as Karadjordje (Black George), led the Serbs in an uprising against their Turkish rulers. The revolution was successful for a time, and Karadjordje established a short-lived government in Belgrade. When Napoleon's forces attacked Russia in 1812, Russian troops were withdrawn from the Balkan area, and Turkey took advantage of the situation to move against the Serbs. By October 1813 the Serbs were defeated and Karadjordje fled to Austria.

In 1817 a second revolt, led by the peasant Milos Obrenovic, forced the Turks to grant the Serbs a considerable degree of autonomy. The mysterious murder of Karadjordje that same year began a blood feud between his descendants and those of Obrenovic that affected Serbian politics until the early twentieth century.

Although Serbia remained nominally a province of Turkey after 1817, the Serbs were virtually independent. By 1830, with the support of Russia, they were able to force Constantinople to establish Serbia as an autonomous principality. Russia took the new state under its protection, but it was not until 1878 that complete freedom from Turkish domination was achieved with the signing of the Treaty of Berlin. In 1882 the Serbian ruler took the title of king.

Unlike the development in Croatia, where nationalist sentiment was fostered by an intellectual minority, Serbian independence was created by the peasant masses. Milos Obrenovic gained additional support among the peasants by dividing the confiscated Turk properties among them. Under the Turkish landlords the peasant class had been given no opportunities for education, and almost none, including the leaders, were literate. Much



Yugoslavian lands divided between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires in the early nineteenth century.

of the leadership in the government established in 1817 was provided by educated Serb immigrants from Vojvodina. These introduced into Serbia a romantic nationalist passion for the native language and folkways that strengthened the people's self-consciousness as a nation.

In 1839, after much dissension over the autocratic nature of Milos Obrenovic's rule, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Milan. Milan died of illness after reigning only twenty-five days and was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old brother, Michael. The sultan named a group of advisers and, in 1842, the advisers, some of whom belonged to a group called the Defenders of the Constitution (Ustavobranitelji), forced out the Obrenovic prince and installed Alexander Karadjordjevic, son of the first Karadjordje, on the throne. Internal conflicts were aided by Russian and Austrian influences

who used the Serbian rivalries as a means of keeping Serbia weak. Serbia remained neutral in the Crimean War and accepted the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1856, which ended Russia's position as exclusive protector of the Serbs and placed Serbia under the protection of Austria, Great Britain, France, and Turkey. Amidst complex internal dissensions, the Serb Parliament (Skupstina) deposed Alexander in 1858 in favor of the return of the Obrenovic Dynasty.

Milos Obrenovic again became prince of Serbia for a brief, autocratic period. Upon his death in 1860, he was succeeded by his son Michael, also ruling for a second time. In 1868 Michael was assassinated, and for the next twenty years Serbia was ruled by his cousin Milan Obrenovic, whose scandalous private life and inattention to state affairs led to widespread unrest. In 1889 Milan,



Milos Obrenovic, the prince of Serbia, was driven from reign by the Revolution of 1839 but was recalled. After his death his son Michael was appointed to replace him.



The postage stamp showing Prince Milan (Obrenovic IV)

who had been recognized by that time as the king of Serbia, attempted to regain popular support by promulgating a new liberal constitution, but in 1893 his successor Alexander set the constitution aside and instituted an oppressive oligarchic rule. Disorders and plots multiplied toward the end of the century.

Serbian political parties developed during the reign of Milan. By the 1880s, two larger parties, the Liberals and the Radicals, had emerged, as well as an embryonic Socialist party. The Liberal party advocated the centralization of government authority, whereas the Radicals were distinguished by their passionate nationalism and advocacy of local government.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a period

of international unrest throughout the Balkans. Serbia declared war on Turkey in support of the Bosnian peasant uprisings in 1876 and was rewarded by the Congress of Berlin, which recognized its complete independence from the Ottoman Empire. Serbia's internal weakness, however, enabled Austria to gain considerable influence over Serbian foreign affairs and trade. In 1882 Serbia was declared a kingdom, but neither its international prestige nor its internal affairs improved. Austrian influence increased to the point where, by 1905, 90 percent of Serbian exports and 60 percent of its imports were controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy.

In 1903 opposition to Obrenovic rule culminated in the brutal assassination of Alexander and his wife. The Parliament elected Peter Karadjordjevic to the throne. An intelligent ruler, he revived and further liberalized the Constitution of 1889. He reorganized the country's finances and reasserted Serbian independence of action from Austria. In 1905 the Serbs began trade negotiations with Bulgaria and planned to shift Serbian munitions orders from Austria to France. The Austrians tried to bring the Serbs to heel by placing a prohibitive tariff on all Serbian livestock. The so-called pig war of 1906 threatened disaster, for pigs were Serbia's main export. The Serbs succeeded in finding other markets, but the pig war reinforced hostility toward the Habsburg Empire among Serbian peasants.

This hostility had its counterpart in Austrian fear and mistrust of Serbia's expansionist policies. The foreign policy of the Radical party governments, which ruled Serbia under the constitutional Karadjordjevic monarchy after 1903, was based on the slogan "Serbia must expand or die." Expansionist efforts were directed toward the south into Macedonia and west toward the Adriatic through Bosnia and Hercegovina. These aims brought Serbia into direct conflict with the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Bulgaria. The Austrians were particularly anxious because of the rapprochement that took place just after the turn of the century between Serbia and Habsburg-controlled Croatia.

A serious crisis was created in October 1908 when the Austrian government annexed Bosnia and Hercegovina, ostensibly to frustrate Serbian plans to move into the two provinces. This unilateral move produced intense resentment in both Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia received encouragement—but no military support—from Russia. The British government also supported Serbia's diplomatic protests. Germany staunchly defended Austria's right to the territory. Thus were drawn the major outlines of the competing alliances that were to evolve into World War I.

Deprived of Bosnia and access to the Adriatic, Serbian hopes for expansion came to center on Macedonia, then part of the Ottoman Empire. In the 1890s a number of anti-Turk secret societies developed in Macedonia, chief of which was the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary

Organization (Vatreshna Makedonska Revolutsionna Organizatsa), whose slogan was "Macedonia for the Macedonians." Violent pressure groups representing Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian interests also proliferated and kept the region in constant turmoil. From 1911 to 1912 various alliances were formed between Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro, marking a temporary triumph over centuries of disunion and distrust. In 1912 the quick victory of the Balkan allies over Turkey, in the first Balkan War, led to a dispute between Serbia and Bulgaria over the sharing of Macedonia, which the war had freed from Ottoman rule. During June and July of 1913, supported by Greece, Montenegro, and Romania, Serbia defeated the Bulgarians. By the subsequent Treaty of Bucharest, the Serbs acquired a much larger share of Macedonia—extending almost to the southern boundary granted the new state of Yugoslavia after World War I. The simultaneous creation of the independent state of Albania, however, frustrated Serbia's plans to reach the Adriatic.

Serbian successes in the Balkan wars acted as an impetus for the other Slavic peoples within the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, and the Austrian government decided to eliminate the Serbian threat. Therefore, when Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, was assassinated in Sarajevo (Bosnia) in June 1914 by a member of a secret pro-Serb terrorist group, the Austrian government presented Serbia with an ultimatum whose terms were so harsh as to preclude acceptance by the Serbs. The Serbian government suggested international arbitration of the question, but Austria declared war on July 28, 1914. Within a week Germany had aligned with Austria, while Great Britain, France, and Russia came to Serbia's defense. The war was destined to end Habsburg hegemony over the Balkans and to forge a Yugoslav state.

BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Serb groups settled the region of Bosnia and Hercegovina during the seventh century, but the area was separated from Serbia in the tenth century and experienced a different history. Bosnia or Bosna (from the Bosna River) appears to have originated as a small principality in the mountainous region of the upper reaches of the Bosna and Vreba rivers. The name Hercegovina originated in the fifteenth century when a powerful Bosnian noble, Stephen Vukscic, gained control of lands in the southern part of Bosnia and took the title of Herzog, the German equivalent of duke, from which came the name of the region.

Situated on the dividing line between the areas of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox religious influence, Bosnia and Hercegovina suffered from constant internal turmoil from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries. This situation was complicated by the introduction from Bulgaria of an ascetic heretical Christian cult—Bogomil-



Francis Ferdinand, nephew of Francis Joseph, Austria, the heir apparent after the suicide of Crown Prince Rudolf, did not fare much better, for he was assassinated along with his wife in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, in what history records as the "opening shot of the Great World War." His wife was Sophie, the countess of Chotek and the duchess of Hohenberg.



Archduke Francis Ferdinand in his royal naval uniform

The archduke in an official royal photograph with the duchess Sophie and their children



ism—during the twelfth century. It gained widespread popular adherence as a protest against the proselytism of both existing major religions. Many Bosnian nobles and a large portion of the peasantry persisted in the heresy despite repeated attempts by both the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches to extirpate the cult. The chaos caused by this religious struggle laid the country open to the Ottoman Turks after their defeat of the Serbs in 1459. By 1463 the Turks controlled Bosnia and, twenty years later, gained control of Hercegovina; many Bogomil nobles and peasants accepted the Islamic religion of their conquerors.

The Islamized nobles were allowed to retain their lands and their feudal privileges, and the peasants who



Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife about to enter their official car moments before their assassination

accepted Islam were granted land free from feudal obligations. The Christian nobles were killed and Christian peasants subjected to the same oppressive rule—but by the converted nobility—as their Serbian counterparts. The Bosnians became the most conservative Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, opposing every attempt by the sultan to modernize the empire through secularization of the administration and to moderate the oppressive subordination of non-Muslim subjects.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Christian peasants revolted against the Islamic nobility in a series of uprisings, which were bloodily suppressed. In 1850 the Turkish government itself put down the Bosnian aristocracy and established a centrally controlled Turkish administration. The Christian serfs continued to rebel against the new administration, and by 1875 both Bosnia and Hercegovina were in a state of general revolt. The following year Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in support of the insurrection. In 1877 Russia entered the war against Turkey in order to increase its influence among the Balkan Slavs. The Russian army defeated the Turks in January 1878, and the Treaty of San Stefano, which the Russians dictated in March 1878, provided for the recognition of an autonomous government in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The Habsburg and British governments, fearing the growing influence of Russia in the Balkans, called the Congress of Berlin in July 1878, which revised the basic

terms of the Treaty of San Stefano. The congress placed Bosnia and Hercegovina temporarily under the administration of Austria-Hungary, and in 1908 the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy unilaterally annexed the two provinces.

Under Austro-Hungarian control, the Bosnians were not permitted any degree of self-rule. Individuals from other parts of the Dual Monarchy were brought in to administer the area. Material conditions in Bosnia and Hercegovina improved considerably, but the peasants were still subject to the basic features of the old feudal system. Nationalist tendencies developed among the population as a result of influences from neighboring Serbia and Croatia. In 1914 the population was divided: the Catholics, many of whom wished to retain their ties with the monarchy; the Eastern Orthodox Serbs who wanted to unite with Serbia; and the Muslims who were divided on the issue, some fearing both proposals. Revolutionary sentiments were widespread, particularly among the youth, and it was a young Bosnian, Gavrilo Princip, who on June 28, 1914, assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his consort the duchess of Hohenberg, during their visit to Sarajevo.

THE MONTENEGRINS

In medieval times the area north of Lake Scutari was known as Duklja, or Zeta. In the twelfth century it came under the rule of Stephen Nemanja of Serbia, but after



King Alexander I of Serbia (1889–1903) and Queen Draga. Both were assassinated in 1903.

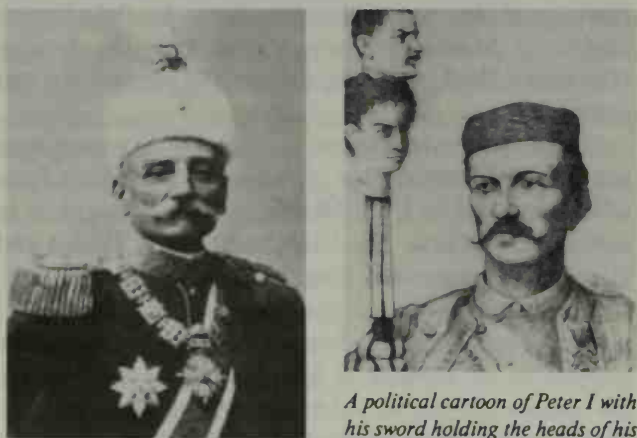


The first prince-bishop of Montenegro was Danilo Petrovic (1697–1737).

King Nicholas I of Montenegro (1910–18) first served as the prince of Montenegro for fifty years, from 1860 to 1910.



The wedding picture of King Alexander and Queen Draga



Peter I of Serbia (1903–21). King Peter I united the three kingdoms of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia.

A political cartoon of Peter I with his sword holding the heads of his assassinated predecessors, King Alexander and Queen Draga.



King Peter I Karadjordjevic. This postage stamp shows him as he appeared later in life.

his death Serbian power dwindled, and the region was ruled by a succession of local rulers.

After the Turkish victory over Serbia in the late fourteenth century the region, which had come to be known as *Montenegro*, the Venetian variant of the Italian word for “black mountain,” became a refuge for Serbs who refused to live under the Islamic Ottomans. Although Montenegro repeatedly suffered attacks by Turkish and other external forces over a period of some four centuries, it was never fully subdued. The constant struggles of the Montenegrins, particularly those with raiding Turks and Albanians, resulted in the development of the Montenegrin reputation for bellicosity.

In the early sixteenth century Montenegro became a type of theocracy with *vladike* (Eastern Orthodox bishops) exercising both temporal and spiritual control. The *vladike* were elected by local assemblies until 1697 when succession was restricted to the family of Danilo Petrovic Njegus. Since the *vladike* were celibates, the line passed from uncle to nephew. The Njegus family ruled Montenegro as bishop-princes for more than one hundred and fifty years. Under the successive *vladike* the territory was doubled in size.

In 1851 the offices of bishop and prince were separated, but the Njegus family continued to rule. Nicholas I became the prince in 1860 and remained the ruler of Montenegro until the outbreak of World War I.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) greatly increased the size of Montenegro and granted formal recognition of the country as a principedom. Nicholas I established a parliamentary constitution in 1905 and took the title of king in 1910. At the outbreak of World War I, in 1914, he went into exile. An opposition political movement, known as the Montenegrin Committee, was formed in Geneva and began to press for the incorporation of Montenegro into a union of all South Slavs. In 1918 Nicholas's rule was ended, and Montenegro became part of the Yugoslav Kingdom.

THE MACEDONIANS

Long an area of contention and competition between the powers that figured prominently in the history of the Balkans, the territory covered by the historical-geographic term *Macedonia* has been divided among the states of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. Strategically located and ethnographically complex, Macedonia typifies the Balkan problem of conflicting interests and rival peoples.

Slav tribes settled in the region, an area considerably larger than Yugoslavia's Macedonian Republic, in the seventh century, at which time the territory was under the control of the Eastern Empire. During the ninth century much of Macedonia was incorporated by the Bulgars (also South Slavs) into the first Bulgarian Empire. In the latter half of the tenth century the region again came under Byzantine domination, which was troubled by repeated uprisings of the Macedonian Slavs.

During the fourteenth century most of Macedonia was conquered by the Serbian ruler Stephen Dusan, who set up his capital at Skopje. After the death of Dusan the Serbian Empire disintegrated and, following the historic battle of Kosovo in 1389, the major part of Macedonia again came under Turkish control and remained so until the twentieth century.

As Bulgarian nationalism developed in the nineteenth century, the Bulgarians, after much controversy, were successful in gaining Turkish approval for a separate Bulgarian Orthodox church (the Exarchate). Since the authority of the Exarchate covered most of Macedonia and part of Serbia as well as Bulgaria, the church became a means of extending Bulgar influence, a fact particularly resented by the Serbs.

Rivalry between Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks, and Turks was increased in the late nineteenth century. Russian troops invaded Turkey in 1877 and dictated terms of the Treaty of San Stefano (1878), providing for a greatly enlarged, autonomous Bulgaria that was to include most of Macedonia. Opposed by the Austro-Hungarian and British governments, the Treaty of San Stefano was quickly nullified by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), which was to prove a great disappointment to almost all elements of the Balkan population. The Treaty of Berlin returned Macedonia to Turkey, established an independent but greatly reduced Bulgaria, and allowed Austrian forces to occupy Bosnia and Hercegovina. Along with renewed Turkish control of Macedonia, the Austrian presence in Bosnia and Hercegovina came as a bitter blow to Serbian aspirations. The end result was to increase Serbian and Bulgarian rivalry in Macedonia, and Bulgaria continued to use the Treaty of San Stefano as a basis for its claims to the area.

Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek organizations launched intensive propaganda campaigns in Macedonia to strengthen their particular claims. Even Romania entered the contest, basing its claim on the Vlach popula-

tion scattered throughout the Macedonian area. In 1896 an underground independence movement, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, was organized within Macedonia. Torn between the competing forces, the Macedonian peasants responded to the organization's slogan "Macedonia for the Macedonians."

Competition over Macedonia eventually led to the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria joined together in a successful campaign to drive the Turks from Macedonia. Once this goal was achieved, however, the victors were unable to reach agreement on the division of the territory, and Bulgaria attacked the Greek and Serbian forces in Macedonia. Montenegro, Romania, and Turkey joined with Greece and Serbia to defeat Bulgaria. A peace treaty, signed in Bucharest in 1913, ceded north and central Macedonia to Serbia, granted the southern region to Greece, and provided for a small extension of the Montenegrin frontiers. Bulgaria retained a small portion of eastern Macedonia. The areas of old Macedonia that came under Serbian control in 1913 were included within the Serb territory under the Yugoslav Kingdom, then were given the status of a republic in post-World War II Yugoslavia.

ROOTS OF THE YUGOSLAV MOVEMENT

The movement for the unification of all South Slavs into an independent Yugoslav state originated during the brief period of French control of Slovenia and Dalmatia early in the nineteenth century. The ideal of South Slav unity first gained momentum among linguists and poets and, until the early years of the twentieth century, the unity movement was restricted to the literary intelligentsia. The small part of the population that took an interest in politics tended to be primarily focused on local patriotism, and the most powerful political parties

Yugoslavia, Slovene lands before 1918





South Slav territories are formed into the Yugoslav state (1918).

in both Serbia and Croatia developed in support of these particularist sentiments. The repression by Croatia of a Serb minority—comprising about 25 percent of the total population of Croatia after 1881—and rival Serb-Croat interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina dimmed the prospects for unity among the Yugoslavs during the last years of the nineteenth century.

After the turn of the twentieth century, however, a new generation of political leaders emerged, inspired with the ideal of South Slav unity. In 1903 the leader of the nationalistic Croat Peasant party hailed the newly crowned Serbian king, Peter, with “Long live the King of Yugoslavia.” In 1905 forty deputies from Dalmatia to the Imperial Diet in Vienna demanded a union between Dalmatia and Croatia and the granting, by the Hungarian government, of political freedoms to Croatia. Serbian political leaders seconded this demand and proposed joint political action between Croats and Serbs. In 1908 the Austrian government put a number of Serbs on trial, using fabricated treason charges in an attempt to discredit Serbia by allegedly proving its complicity in a plot to absorb Croatia. The trial served, rather, to draw the two Slav peoples closer together. Serbian successes in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 aroused enthusiastic demonstrations among the Croats, Slovenes, and the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When World War I began, even Montenegro, which was independent and in some ways a rival to Serb expansionist aims, was officially considering unity with Serbia.

By 1914 every Slav province within the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy had at least one major political party that supported Yugoslav unity. The Serb Radical party, which had been a proponent of a Greater Serbia, split shortly after the war started, and its younger faction shifted its support to a democratic Yugoslav state.

WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS

World War I found Slavs fighting on both sides. The Serbian army strongly resisted repeated Austrian invasions, but Bulgaria's entry into the war on the side of the Austrians tipped the balance. By the end of 1915 a joint German-Austrian-Bulgarian attack forced the Serbian government and army to retreat across Albania whence, with Allied help, it reached the island of Corfu, and Serbia became divided administratively between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary. The Serbian army regrouped on Corfu and was transported to the Salonika front. By 1918 it was able, with French, British, and Italian forces, to march up the Vardar River valley from Salonika back into Serbia. By the beginning of November 1918 the Serbs had cleared most of their homeland of enemy occupation.

In the independent kingdom of Montenegro, the people rebelled, in October 1918, against the wartime Austrian occupation and set up a national assembly that deposed the anti-Serbian king and declared for union with Serbia. In November 1918 the Croatian nationalists voted in the Zagreb council for immediate union with Serbia and Montenegro, without waiting to establish any agreement on the terms of the union, and invited the Serbian prince, Alexander, to assume regency over the new nation. Only Croat Peasant party leader Stephen Radic dissented, demanding guarantees of the integrity of Croatia in the new union. On December 4, 1918, the various Slavic groups declared Alexander head of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

THE YUGOSLAV KINGDOM

The kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was constituted of seven disparate elements: the independent kingdom of Serbia, including part of Macedonia; the independent kingdom of Montenegro; Croatia-Slavonia, formerly somewhat of a home rule area under Hungary; Vojvodina, plus two small districts between Slovenia and Hungary, formerly integral parts of Hungary; the Slovene lands, long Austrian provinces; Dalmatia, an Austrian province of Serbo-Croatian inhabitants; and Bosnia and Herzegovina, formerly administered jointly by Austria and Hungary.

The kingdom comprised several ethnic groups speaking a variety of languages and adhering to three major religions. About 74 percent of the 12 million inhabitants spoke Serbo-Croatian, 8.5 percent spoke Slovene, and several other languages were represented. About 46 percent of the population was Eastern Orthodox, 39 percent Roman Catholic, and over 11 percent Muslim. Most Croats and Slovenes were Roman Catholic, and almost all the Serbs were Eastern Orthodox. Economically, the state was largely rural: 80 percent of the population was supported directly by agriculture, and only three towns

had populations of over one hundred thousand. Much of the area had been depopulated by war. A long history of foreign rule by non-Slavs uninterested in the economic or cultural development of the area was reflected in poverty and a high illiteracy rate.

The overwhelmingly rural character of the population as well as its ethnic and cultural heterogeneity had a marked effect on developments during the interwar period. The peasant had a deep-seated mistrust of city dwellers, large absentee landowners, and representatives of foreign governments. After independence the peasants remained aloof and suspicious of the complex political and economic ideas originating in the cities. Thus, only a small minority of the population, particularly special-interest groups, were represented in the government. Autocratic government and ethnic nationalist groups characterized the country's political life.

THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT (1919–29)

Border disputes delayed efforts to settle the internal order of the new state until November 1920. The disputes involved borders with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy, and Albania. The dispute with Italy continued until 1924, but boundaries with Yugoslavia's other neighbors were settled more amicably, for the most part on the basis of ethnographic distribution of population.

Before elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in November 1920, the kingdom was administered by the king, assisted by the Serbian Parliament. The Parliament, however, had last been elected in 1911 and after the war represented neither Yugoslav nor even Serbian public opinion. The self-appointed provisional governments of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia, established during the last days of the war, had difficulty functioning.

Political party activity, however, was not lacking. The conservative Serbian Radical party, led by Nikola Pasic, was the strongest single party, representing the new ruling group of the remnants of the former large landholders and some of the emerging urban professional and business class. The more liberal Democratic party, formed by a union of the dissident Radicals, the former Serb-Croat coalition of Zagreb, and the Slovene Liberals, also appealed to the urban middle class. Stephen Radic had formed a Peasant party in Croatia before the war and continued after the creation of the Yugoslav state to lead the only major party that claimed to represent the peasants. His program, however, made few concessions to the peasants but stressed rather his political aims for a federated, republican state.

Social Democratic parties had gained support among peasants and workers during the 1890s in Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. In 1919 the Serbian Social Democrats took the lead in fusing the three parties into a new Socialist Worker's party (Communist) of Yugoslavia,

which affiliated with the Communist International (Comintern). This revolutionary party basically followed a Greater Serbia policy in regard to the nationalities problem.

No party gained an absolute majority in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, and a coalition of the Radicals and Democrats, which had dominated the Parliament since the war, held the power to formulate the new constitution. King Alexander swore allegiance to the constitution on Saint Vitus Day, a Serbian national holiday, in June 1921, and it was thenceforth known as the Vidovdan (Saint Vitus Day) Constitution.

After the assassination of the newly appointed minister of the interior, Milorad Draskovic, by a Bosnian Communist terrorist, the Parliament, as one of its first acts, outlawed the Communist party. Communist deputies were forced to vacate the 58 seats that they had won in the 419-seat Parliament, largely as a result of a protest vote against the Radical policies. From then until 1941 the Communist party operated underground.

Pasic, who had become premier, followed an essentially Serbian program that alienated the Slovenes and Croats. In 1924 Pasic dissolved the Croat Peasant party and imprisoned its leader, Radic, for denouncing his regime and demanding semiautonomy for Croatia. Radic gained his freedom by abandoning his demands, reforming his program, and entering into an alliance with Pasic. It was short-lived, however, for Pasic died in 1926, and Radic reversed himself, moving back into the opposition. In June 1928 Radic was assassinated on the floor of the Parliament by a fanatical Montenegrin and was succeeded as leader of the Croat Peasant party by Vlatko Macek, who continued Radic's intransigent support for Croat autonomy.

During this entire period neither the Radical party nor the Croat Peasant party was strong enough to govern by itself, and neither was able to form a durable coalition with the other parties. Twenty-four governments succeeded each other in rapid succession between 1919 and 1929. Serbian hegemony remained predominant, and Croatian resentment increased markedly. By January



*King Alexander I
of Yugoslavia (1921–34)*

1929 the parliamentary system had broken down, and King Alexander decided to step in. He dissolved the Parliament, abolished the Vidovdan Constitution, and assumed all governing authority.

Despite the unstable political situation, economic progress had not been seriously impaired during the first ten years of Yugoslavia's existence. Agriculture was encouraged, and a series of good harvests permitted the export of an agricultural surplus. Railroad communication and a sizable Yugoslav merchant marine were developed.

In 1921 Yugoslavia entered into bilateral treaties with Czechoslovakia and Romania to guarantee mutual defense against any possible aggression by Hungary and Bulgaria. This Little Entente was supported and financed after 1924 by France.

THE PERIOD OF THE DICTATORSHIP (1929-34)

King Alexander declared his assumption of power to be temporary, to last only until the abuses of the previous party regimes could be overcome. Initially, the king's move was well received by most segments of the population, and many looked to Alexander's personal rule for relief from the country's political tensions.

During the first two years, however, King Alexander issued a series of decrees that greatly restricted individual rights and strengthened the monarchy. The death penalty or a long prison sentence was imposed for all acts of terrorism, sedition, or dissemination of Communist propaganda. Political parties based on a regional or religious character were declared illegal, and freedom of the press was eliminated. All municipal and departmental councils were abolished. The crown assumed the power to remove judges, and the Council of Ministers was made responsible solely to the king.

Alexander I of Yugoslavia was the second son of Peter I of Serbia. He changed the name of his kingdom to Yugoslavia in 1929. He is seen here in 1922 at the wedding ceremony with Princess Maria of Romania, his future queen of Yugoslavia.



Queen Marie-Mignon



Queen Marie-Mignon with the newborn son, Crown Prince Peter



King Alexander and his son, Crown Prince Peter



Kings Tomislav and Alexander in a 1929 stamp

Many of these measures were directed toward unification of the divided country. In October 1929 Alexander changed the name of the state to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and replaced the former provinces with nine regions (*banovine*), in many cases disregarding ethnic and historical boundaries. Despite the fact that Croatia proper was left almost intact, the Croats interpreted these measures as simply a means of preserving Serbian hegemony. A number of Croat leaders fled the country. Some sought assistance from Bulgaria, Italy, and Hungary; others began a press campaign in western Europe, propounding the justice of Croatian claims for autonomy. Within and without the country extremist Croat nationalists formed a political movement—the Ustasi—which developed into a Fascist organization. The exiled Ustasi leader, Ante Pavelic, was given refuge in Italy and had the support of the Mussolini government.

Faced by growing discontent in Croatia, as well as among the Serbs, and feeling the need to gain the confidence of foreign governments, particularly of France, Alexander decided to revive the parliamentary system. In September 1931 he promulgated a new constitution, but all the legal restrictions declared in the preceding two years remained in effect. An upper house was created, its members partly elected and partly appointed by the king, to share power with the previously established Parliament (*Skupstina*). The new constitution gave legal sanction to Alexander's strict personal control.



King Alexander with the French foreign minister, Louis Barthou, in Marseilles, France, moments before they are assassinated on October 9, 1934



The assassination scene. The murderer, Vlada Georguiev, has struck and the king is dead. His military escort, Lieutenant Colonel Piollet, can be seen beating the murderer's head with his sword.

The economic depression that had swept the United States and western Europe also had a major effect on Yugoslavia. The collapse of agricultural prices and a run on the banks in 1931 were followed by the loss of foreign credits and a serious shortage of foreign exchange. A severe winter added to the difficulties by sharply reducing the exportable agricultural products.

The combination of King Alexander's strong personal rule and a catastrophic deterioration in Yugoslavia's economic position lent additional impetus to the growth of extremist groups. The Ustasi movement gained rapidly. The University of Belgrade became a center of political intrigue and student disorders. Secret terrorist organizations began to be active throughout the country, but the underground Communist party lacked strong leadership and remained largely ineffective. Demands by opposition political leaders for a return to constitutional monarchy and for the protection of the rights of the various national groups led to large-scale arrests, including that of Vlatko Macek.

To seek outside support for his weakening government King Alexander sought a rapprochement with Bulgaria in 1933. The next year he was instrumental in the creation of a Balkan entente between Yugoslavia, Romania, Turkey, and Greece. During the same year he sailed to France to strengthen the ties between France and the states of the Little Entente (Yugoslavia, Romania, and Czechoslovakia), and in October he was assassinated in Marseilles by Ustasi terrorists, reportedly aided and financed by Italy and Hungary, both under Fascist control. Although the majority of Yugoslavs had disapproved of Alexander's dictatorial policies, he had been personally liked and had been a symbol of Yugoslav unity and independence. His assassination brought an outburst of grief and rage from all but the most radical among the Croat extremists.

THE REGENCY PERIOD (1934-41)

Alexander's son, Peter Karadjordjevic, was eleven years old at the time of his father's death. In his will, Alexander had named his cousin, Prince Paul, to act as regent until Peter reached his maturity. After assuming the regency, Prince Paul did not take advantage of the mood of conciliation and hope that greeted the new king, but continued Alexander's controversial policies. Although Macek was released from prison, opposition parties still were forbidden to operate. In May the first general elections to the Parliament in eight years were held. Opposition candidates were not allowed to campaign on party programs, but they won more than 1 million out of 2.8 million votes. Nevertheless, the complex electoral system allowed the government party to attain 301 seats, with 67 going to the opposition.

The opposition deputies boycotted the Parliament and met in a counter-Parliament in Zagreb. As leader of the major Croat political movement, Macek was able to come to an agreement with the Serbian Democratic and Agrarian party leaders concerning their goals. This marked the beginning of a Serb-Croat rapprochement in opposition to the authoritarian government.



Alexander's son became Peter II after the death of his father. He was but eleven years old at the time, so Alexander's will was followed and his (Alexander's) cousin Paul was named regent until Peter reached his majority.

Peter II
(1940)





Princes Tomislav and Andrei, brothers of King Peter II (1936)

In June 1935 Prince Paul appointed a young Radical party businessman, Milan Stojadinovic, as premier. Although the premier promised a democratic government and a wide measure of autonomy for Croatia, no progress was made in either direction, and opposition to Stojadinovic quickly developed among Croats, as well as among Serbs within the Radical party. In December 1936 Prince Paul reopened negotiations with Macek toward the granting of semiautonomy to Croatia within a federalist state. Negotiations became stalemated, however, over the disposition of Bosnia—whether it should be included in the Croatian autonomous region, be tied to Serbia, or become autonomous.

Paul's foreign policy added to the internal political tensions. As France's power to guarantee Yugoslavia's security system based on the Little Entente weakened, Paul felt constrained to seek security in closer relations with the rising German and Italian states. Yugoslavia became economically dependent on Germany. In 1936 and 1937 Paul concluded agreements with Bulgaria and Italy that strained Yugoslav relations with France and the Little Entente.

In the midst of the growing international tensions in the period immediately preceding World War II, Prince Paul apparently recognized the urgency of reaching a settlement in the Serb-Croat problem before the Ustasi and other extremist national groups hopelessly divided the country. After several months of negotiations between Dragisa Cvetkovic, who was then premier, and Prince Paul on the one hand, and Macek, leader of the Croat Peasant party, on the other, a *sporazum* (agreement) was reached that allowed the Croatian people to establish a local assembly (diet) of their own and have a measure of autonomy. At the same time Macek became vice premier of the Yugoslav government. The *sporazum* satisfied most of the Croats but was denounced by the Slovenes and the Serbs whose regions were still under the direct control of Belgrade.

EVENTS LEADING TO WORLD WAR II

Faced by the growing threat of German and Italian aggression, Yugoslavia tried to maintain its neutrality. When the Yugoslav leaders became aware of the ultimate Nazi and Fascist intentions, the country had neither internal strength nor foreign support to oppose them effectively. Although Yugoslav public opinion was incensed against Berlin and Rome, the government re-



Prince Paul ruled as regent from 1934 until he was ousted by the revolution of March 27, 1941. His downfall came after he met with Hitler at Berchtesgaden, Germany, in March 1941 and agreed to have Yugoslavia join Bulgaria and Turkey in the Tripartite Pact with Germany, Italy, and Japan. Peter II then took over but by April 15, 1941 had to flee to London in exile.

Hitler, the dictator who controlled Germany during World War II, talked Prince Paul into having Yugoslavia join in an alliance with Germany.



On March 27, 1941, the British government recognized King Peter II as the head of the Yugoslavian government (in exile). This was the first postage stamp the exiled government issued from London.

Peter II takes the Oath of Accession on March 28, 1941, with Patriarch Gavrilo officiating at the Dedinye Palace, and becomes king of Yugoslavia.



mained diplomatically neutral when Italy attacked Greece and Germany invaded Romania in mid-1940.

Early in 1941 Premier Cvetkovic was summoned to Berchtesgaden, where Hitler suggested that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey join the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. By the beginning of March Bulgaria had agreed, and Prince Paul flew secretly to Berchtesgaden to negotiate with Hitler. By March 20 he was resigned to the necessity of signing the pact but still hoped that Yugoslavia would be guaranteed its territorial integrity and spared the demand for troops. Under orders from Prince Paul, Cvetkovic went to Vienna and on March 25 agreed to German terms.

On his return two days later Cvetkovic found Belgrade in an uproar. The news of his secret mission had reached the public. That night a group of Serbian army and air force officers led a coup d'etat against Prince Paul, who was forced to resign as regent and seek exile. King Peter assumed the throne before reaching his majority, Cvetkovic and other members of his government were arrested, and a new government headed by General of the Army Dusan Simovic was formed with Macek as a vice premier.

Although Simovic assured the Germans that the Vienna agreement would be honored, the new govern-

ment was greeted with wild enthusiasm throughout the country as a defiance of Hitler. The Russians, British, and Americans congratulated the government, and Churchill said that in the coup d'etat "Yugoslavia found her soul."

On April 6, without a declaration of war, the German air force began the bombing of Belgrade—which Simovic had declared an open city—and the German army crossed the border into Yugoslavia. The bulk of the invading forces came from Bulgaria; other armies entered from Hungary, Romania, and Albania with the support of Hungarian and Italian troops.

Germany and the Soviet Union were still bound by the Molotov-Ribbentrop nonaggression pact, and the Yugoslav Communists saw in the defeat of Yugoslavia their opportunity to come to power. The animosity of the Croats toward the Serb-dominated Yugoslav government and their desire for a fully independent Croatia led many to welcome the German invasion. These factors, along with poor equipment, inadequate communications, and problems with troop disposition, made early defeat inevitable. By April 15, 1941, King Peter and the government had fled—first to Palestine and ultimately to London, England, thus ending the monarchy form of government for Yugoslavia.



King Peter visits with the president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the White House in Washington, D.C. in 1942.

Joseph Broz Tito became president of Yugoslavia in 1953. He is seen here, center, on a state visit to Greece in 1954. King Paul and Queen Frederica were his host and hostess.



Peter II's wedding. Standing, left to right: duke of Gloucester; duchess of Kent; King George VI; King Peter II; King Haakon VII (Norway); the bride and queen, Princess Alexandra of Greece; Princess Aspasia of Greece; King George II of Greece; and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. Seated, left to right: Queen Elizabeth; Prince Thomas, brother of Peter II; and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. The wedding took place in London, England, on March 20, 1944.

King Peter II as he appeared in England during World War II.

When the British government backed Tito as the leader of postwar Yugoslavia, King Peter moved to Paris. He moved to Monte Carlo in the 1950s and, after several visits to the United States, made his permanent residence in New York and California. He died in Denver, Colorado, on November 4, 1970, and was buried at the Serbian Monastery in Libertyville, Illinois.



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE YUGOSLAV KINGDOMS

SERBIA

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
600—Serbia established by emigrants from the Carpathian Mountains					
1459—1829—Serbia ruled by Turkey					
1804—1813	National leader	Karadjordje (George Petrovic)	1766	1817	
1817—1839	Prince	Milos Obrenovic	1780	1860	
1839	Prince	Milan	1819	1839	Son of Milos Obrenovic
1839—1842	Prince	Michael	1823	1868	Son of Milos Obrenovic
1842—1858	Prince	Alexander Karadjordjevic	1806	1885	Son of Karadjordje
1858—1860	Prince	Milos Obrenovic			
1860—1868	Prince	Michael			Son of Milos Obrenovic
1868—1882	Prince	Milan	1854	1901	Grand-nephew of Milos Obrenovic
1882—1889	King	Milan I			
1889—1903	King	Alexander I	1876	1903	Son of Milan I
1903—1921	King	Peter I Karadjordjevic	1844	1921	Son of Alexander
1915—1918—Occupied by Austria					
1918—Serbia part of Yugoslavia					

CROATIA

1091—Under Hungary					
1526—Under Turkey					
1809—1813—Part of France; under Austria-Hungary when it became part of Yugoslavia					
1813—1918—Croatia declared independent 1941					
1944—Kingdom created by Italians					
1941—1943	King	Aimone of Spoleto			
1943—1945—Croatia under Germans					
1945—Reunited with Yugoslavia after World War II					

MONTENEGRO

1697—1737	Prince-Bishop	Danilo Petrovic	1677	1737	
1737—1756	Prince-Bishop	Sava		1782	
1756—1766	Prince-Bishop	Vasili		1766	
1766—1774	Prince-Bishop	Stephen the Little		1774	
1774—1782	Prince-Bishop	Sava			
1782—1830	Prince-Bishop	Peter I	1760	1830	Nephew of Sava
1830—1851	Prince-Bishop	Peter II	1812	1851	Nephew of Peter I
1851—1860	Lord	Danilo II	1826	1860	
1860—1910	Prince	Nicholas I	1841	1921	Nephew of Danilo
1910—1918	King	Nicholas I			

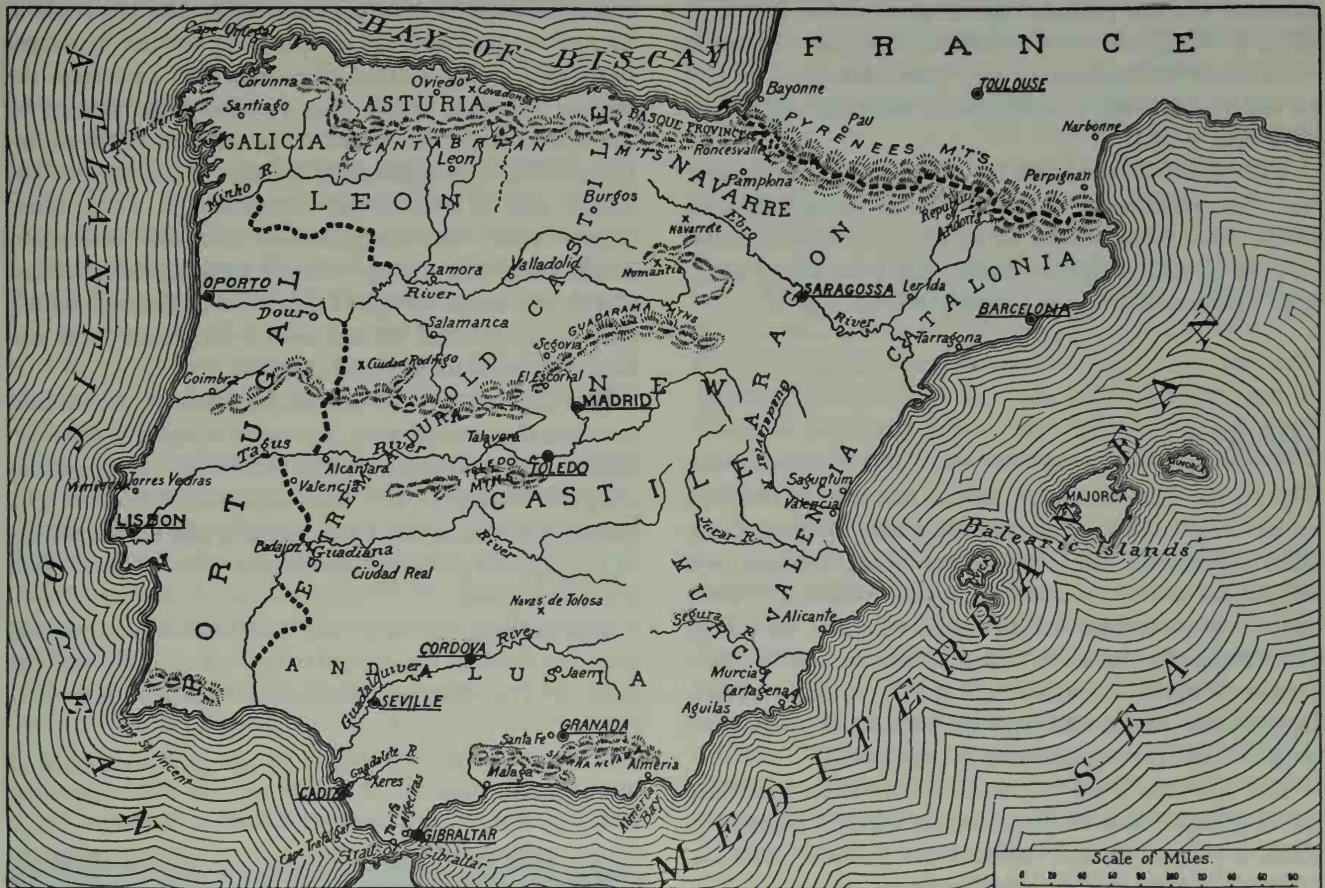
YUGOSLAVIA

1918—Kingdom proclaimed					
1919—1921	King	Peter I (of Serbia)	1844	1921	
1918—1921	Regent	Alexander	1888	1934	Son of Peter I
1921—1934	King	Alexander I			
1934—1941	Regent	Paul	1893	—	Cousin of Alexander I
1934—1945	King	Peter II	1923	—	Son of Alexander I
1945—Yugoslavia becomes a Communist republican regime.					



8

The Kingdoms of Spain



The ancient kingdoms of Spain

An important and productive region in the Roman Empire, Spain's national history can be dated from the fifth century A.D., when a Germanic successor state was established in the former Roman diocese of Hispania. Although it lacked internal political unity throughout the Middle Ages, Spain is nevertheless one of the oldest nation-states in Europe. It acquired its present-day borders and was united under a personal union of crowns by Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in the late

fifteenth century. For a period in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portugal was also part of that Iberian federation.

Spain was deeply involved in European affairs from the sixteenth into the eighteenth century and in the sixteenth century was the foremost European power. Spain's kings ruled provinces scattered across Europe. The Spanish Empire was global, and the impress of Spanish culture was so pervasive, especially in the Amer-

icas, that in 1975 Spanish was the native tongue of 200 million people outside Spain.

Modern Spanish history has been marked by recurrent political instability, military intervention into politics, frequent breakdown of civil order, and periods of repressive government. Spain possessed the constitutional framework in the nineteenth century for parliamentary government not unlike that of Great Britain and France but was unable to develop institutions capable of surviving the social, economic, and ideological stresses of Spanish society. The hopes placed in the Second Republic after 1931 by advocates of liberal parliamentary democracy in Spain and throughout Europe were never realized.

The Spanish civil war (1936–39), which claimed more than half a million lives, was a recapitulation on a larger scale and in an infinitely more brutal context of conflicts that had erupted periodically for generations. Not only did it divide Spain, but it polarized European opinion as well, tested the idealism of the Western democracies, and served as a proving ground for the weapons and tactics of World War II.

After the civil war Spain became identified worldwide with Generalissimo Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, the leader of the Nationalists. Although indebted to the Axis powers for their support during the civil war, Franco kept Spain nonbelligerent during World War II.

IBERIA

The people who were later named Iberians, or dwellers along the Ebro, by the Greeks, migrated to Spain in the third millennium B.C. The origin of the Iberians is a subject for debate, but archaeological evidence of their metallurgical and agricultural skills supports the theory that they came from the eastern Mediterranean. Other peoples of Mediterranean origin settled on the coast during the same period and together with the Iberians fused with the diverse autochthonous inhabitants.

The Iberians lived in small, tightly knit, sedentary tribal groups, isolated from one another by geography. Each developed distinct regional and political identities. Intertribal warfare was endemic.

Celts crossed the Pyrenees into Spain in two major waves of migration in the ninth and seventh centuries B.C. Celtic settlement was concentrated north of the River Duero and the River Ebro where the Celts fused with the Iberians to form distinct groups, called Celtiberians. They were farmers and herders, who also excelled in the metalworking crafts, which the Celts had brought with them from their Danubian homeland by way of Italy and southern France. Celtic cultural influence was dominant, and the Celtiberians appear to have had no social or political organization larger than their

matriarchal, collective, and tenaciously independent clans.

Another distinct ethnic group in the western Pyrenees, the Euskera or Basques, predated the arrival of the Iberians. Their pre-Indo-European language has no links with any other language, and attempts to identify it with pre-Latin Iberian have not been convincing. The name Vascones, from which Basque is derived, was given them by the Romans.

The Iberians shared in the Bronze Age revival (ca. 1900–1600 B.C.) common to the Mediterranean basin. In the east and south urban settlements were established, possibly through the amalgamation of tribal units that developed into a system of city-states. Their governments followed the older tribal pattern and were despotic, governed by warrior and priestly castes. A sophisticated urban society emerged with an economy based on the export of gold and silver and the trade in tin and copper, plentiful in Spain, for bronze. The most important of the Iberian city-states was Tartessos, the biblical Tarshish, which, after a period of domination by the Phoenicians, flourished in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The Greek historian Herodotus mentioned Tartessos, and a later Greek commentator, Phylarchus, related with some exaggeration that the Tartessians drank water "though they are the wealthiest of mankind (for they possess very great quantities of silver and gold) and . . . they never eat but once a day from thrift and wear the most magnificent clothes."

The Iberian towns were the beneficiaries of cultural currents that moved with commerce across the Mediterranean from Greece and the Near East. The Iberians adopted alphabets for their non-Indo-European language from Greek and Punic sources, and a wide variety of inscriptions indicate that literacy was not confined to a cultural elite.

Phoenicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians competed with the Iberians for control of Spain's coastline and the sources of the interior. Merchants from Tyre may have

The Iberians were driven as slaves in the days of Roman conquest. In this allegorical illustration the Roman emperors Julius Caesar and Augustus are seen holding court over their subjects in Spain.



established their outpost at Cadiz, "the walled enclosure" (Punic, Gadir; Greek, Gades), as early as 1100 B.C. as the westernmost link in what became a chain of Punic cities and outposts lining the southern coast. If the accepted date of its founding is accurate, Cadiz is the oldest city in western Europe and older than Carthage, the greatest of the Punic colonies. From Cadiz, Phoenician seamen explored the west coast of Africa as far as Senegal and reputedly ventured far out on the Atlantic.

Greek pioneers from Rhodes landed in Spain in the eighth century B.C., and later Colaeus, a merchant from the Greek island of Samos, returned home with a cargo of silver after having sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Greek colony at Massilia (later Marseilles) maintained commercial ties with the Celtiberians in what is now Catalonia. In the sixth century B.C. Massilians founded a polis at Ampurias, the first of several established on the Mediterranean coast of the peninsula.

HISPANIA

After its defeat by the Romans in the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.), Carthage compensated for the loss of Sicily by rebuilding a commercial empire in Spain. From Cartagena (Carthago Novo), three generations of the Barcid Dynasty directed Carthaginian expansion, establishing new towns and subduing the Iberians in the interior. Spain became the staging ground for Hannibal's epic invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.).

Roman armies also invaded Spain, using it as a training ground for officers and a proving ground for tactics during the campaigns against the Carthaginians and Iberians. Resistance from the Iberians was fierce and prolonged, and it was not until 19 B.C. that the Roman emperor, Augustus, was able to complete the conquest of Spain.

Romanization of the Iberians proceeded quickly upon conquest. Called Hispania by the Romans, Spain was not a political entity but was originally divided into three provinces (nine by the fourth century A.D.), each governed separately. More important, Spain was for more than four hundred years part of a cosmopolitan world empire bound together by law, language, and the Roman road. From every part of the empire men of many races, united in a common Roman identity, came to Spain as government officials, as merchants and, in the greatest numbers, as soldiers who settled on Spanish land, often with native wives, after their long terms of service. In addition Iberian soldiers, employed as mercenaries for several centuries by the Carthaginians, enlisted in large numbers in the Roman army. Emperor Hadrian, who ruled from A.D. 117 to 138, used tough Iberian legionnaires to man his wall across Britain.

Tribal leaders and urban oligarchs were admitted into

the aristocratic class and played a part in governing Spain and the empire. The *latifundia*, extensive estates controlled by powerful magnates, were superimposed without difficulty on the landholding system already operative among the Iberians.

The Romans laid out the new cities of Zaragoza, Mérida, and Valencia and improved existing ones. They provided amenities found throughout the empire—theaters, arenas, baths fed by aqueducts, and the forum, focal point of every Roman city. The local administrative division was the *civitas*, which often corresponded to an Iberian tribal area but always centered on a city or town. The economy expanded under Roman tutelage as part of the imperial system. With North Africa, Spain served as a granary for the Roman market, and its harbors exported gold, wool, olive oil, and wine. Agricultural production was extended by the introduction of irrigation projects, some of which remain in use. The Hispano-Romans—the romanized Iberians and the Iberian-born descendants of Roman soldiers and colonists—had all achieved the status of full Roman citizenship by the end of the first century A.D. The emperors Trajan (reigned 98–117), Hadrian (117–38), and Marcus Aurelius (161–80) were born in Spain.

The Vulgar Latin developed into a distinct provincial usage, which in turn evolved into Spanish regional dialects. Spain remained in the mainstream of Hellenistic culture throughout the Roman period and produced its share of Silver Age writers, among them the Stoic philosopher Seneca (5 B.C.–A.D. 65), who was born in Cordova. Some authorities read Seneca's Spanish background (his mother is thought to have been an Iberian) into his Stoicism.

Christianity was introduced into Spain in the first century and had become popular in the cities by the second century. Little headway was made in the countryside, however, until the late fourth century, by which time Christianity was the officially recognized religion of the Roman Empire. The major heresies of the early church were in evidence, but the Spanish church remained orthodox. Orosius, a Spanish bishop, was the author of the creed formulated at the Council of Nicaea (325) to refute Arianism. Bishops, who had official civil as well as ecclesiastical status in the late empire, continued to exercise their authority to maintain order when civil government had broken down in Spain in the fifth century, and the Council of Bishops, which met at Toledo, became an important instrument of stability during the Visigothic ascendancy.

In 405 the Vandals and Suevi crossed the Rhine, ravaging Gaul until driven by another Germanic tribe, the Visigoths, into Spain. The Suevi established a kingdom in the remote northwestern corner of the peninsula. The hardier Vandals, never more numerous than eighty thousand, occupied the region that bears their name—Andalusia.

Because large parts of Spain were outside his control, the Western emperor, Honorius (395–423), commissioned the willing Visigoths under their king, Ataulphus, and his Roman consort, the emperor's sister, Galla Placida, to restore order, giving them the right as *foederati* to settle in and govern Spain in return for defending it. The Visigoths were among the most highly romanized of the Germanic peoples. The Visigoths subdued the Suevi and compelled the Vandals to sail for North Africa. In 484 they established Toledo as the capital of their Spanish monarchy. The Visigothic occupation was in no sense a barbarian invasion. Successive Visigothic kings ruled Spain as patricians holding imperial commissions to govern in the name of the Roman emperor. Though the authority of the emperor in Constantinople was nominal there, Spain remained in theory a part of the Roman Empire.

The Germanic peoples in Spain numbered no more than three hundred thousand in a population of 4 million, and their overall influence on Spanish history is generally seen as minimal. They were a privileged warrior elite, though many of them lived as herders and farmers in the valley of the River Tajó and on the central plateau. Hispano-Romans continued to run the civil administration, and Latin remained the language of government and commerce. The two peoples retained separate and distinct legal codes, though the distinctions over the years tended to be blurred.

Religion was the most persistent source of friction between the Catholic Hispano-Romans and their Arian Visigoth overlords. At times it invited open rebellion and was exploited by restive factions within the Visigothic aristocracy to weaken the monarchy. In 589 Recared renounced his Arianism before the Council of Bishops at Toledo, accepting Catholicism and assuring an alliance between the Visigothic monarchy and the Hispano-Romans, who proved themselves more reliable than his own rebellious chieftains.

The Visigothic monarchy was elective. A new king was nominated from the royal family, according to Germanic tradition, on the basis of the candidate's "throne-worthiness." In Spain after Recared's conversion the Council of Bishops functioned as a legislative assembly to ratify royal elections and to confer on the king the charismatic character of a theocratic monarch. This was symbolized in the rite of coronation, which Spain's Visigothic monarchs were the first among the Germanic rulers of the successor states to use and which was modeled on the forms used by the Christian Roman emperors. The kings also were entitled to intervene in the administrative affairs of the church, inaugurating a royal prerogative that persists in Spain.

Court ceremonials from Constantinople that proclaimed the imperial sovereignty and unity of the Visigothic state were introduced at Toledo. In fact warlords and great landholders had assumed wide discretionary

powers. Bloody family feuds went unchecked. Civil war, royal assassinations, and usurpation were commonplace. The Visigoths had acquired and cultivated the apparatus of the Roman state but not the ability to make it operate to their advantage. Without a well-defined hereditary succession to the throne, rival factions encouraged foreign intervention by the Greeks, Franks, and finally the Muslims in domestic disputes and royal elections.

AL-ANDALUS

Early in the eighth century armies from North Africa began probing the Visigothic defenses of Spain, initiating the centuries-long Moorish epoch. The people who became known to western Europeans as Moors were the Arabs who had swept across North Africa from their Middle Eastern homeland and the Berbers, inhabitants of Morocco whom the Arabs had conquered and converted to Islam.

In 711 Tarik ibn Ziad, a Berber and the governor of Tangier, crossed into Spain with an army of twelve thousand (landing at a promontory that later bore his name, Gib al-Tarik or Gibraltar). They came at the invitation of a Visigothic clan to assist it in rising against King Roderic, who died in battle, leaving Spain leaderless. Having decided the outcome of an internal Spanish feud, Tarik returned to Morocco, but the next year Musa ibn Nusair, the Muslim governor in North Africa, led the best of his Arab troops to Spain, intent on staying. In



In July 711, Amir Tarik led the Goths in an invasion of Spain, which lasted with their presence and rule until 1492.



The first Moorish amir, Tarik



A native princess brought before Amir Abderraman (730–32) for his approval. The Moorish amirs had an eye for Spanish women.

three years he subdued all but the mountainous region in the extreme north and initiated forays into France, which were stemmed at Poitiers in 732.

Al-Andalus, as Islamic Spain was called, was organized under the civil and religious leadership of the caliph of Damascus. Governors in Spain were generally Syrians whose political frame of reference was deeply influenced by Byzantine practices. The largest contingent of Moors in Spain, however, were the North African Berbers, recent converts to Islam, hostile to the sophisticated Arab governors and bureaucrats, and given to a religious enthusiasm and fundamentalism that were to set the standard for the Islamic community. Berber settlers fanned out through the country and made up as much as 20 percent of the population of the occupied territory. The Arabs constituted an aristocracy in the revived cities of Spain and on the latifundia, which they had inherited from the Romans and Visigoths.

Most of the Gothic nobility converted to Islam and retained their privileged position in the new society. The countryside, only nominally Christian, was also successfully Islamized. An Hispano-Roman Christian community survived in the cities. Jews, who constituted more than 5 percent of the population, continued to fill an important place in commerce, scholarship, and the professions.

The term *Mozarabs* (Arablike), used to identify the Christians in al-Andalus, indicates the impact of the new cultural influences on the country. Social customs and mores, dress, food, and artistic styles were significantly influenced. The native Romance dialect was regularly written in Arabic characters, and in some cities use of Arabic had become so widespread among Mozarabs that it was used in the Christian liturgy.

The Arab-dominated Umayyad Dynasty at Damascus was overthrown in 756 by the Abbasides, who moved the caliphate to Baghdad. One Umayyad prince fled to Spain and, as Abder-Rahman I (756–88), founded a politically independent emirate with its capital at Cordova in what was then the farthest extremity of the Islamic world. His

line flourished for two hundred and fifty years. Nothing in Europe compared with the wealth, power, and sheer brilliance of al-Andalus during the Cordovan period.

In 929 Abder-Rahman III, who was half European as were many of the ruling caste, elevated the emirate to the status of a caliphate, cutting Spain's last ties with Baghdad and establishing that thereafter al-Andalus's rulers would enjoy complete religious as well as political sovereignty. A similar process attended the breakdown of Arab hegemony throughout the Islamic world in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Hisham II, grandson of Abder-Rahman III, inherited the throne in 976 at age twelve. The royal vizier, Ibn Abi Amir (al-Mansur), became regent and established himself as virtual dictator. For the next twenty-six years the legitimate caliph was no more than a figurehead, and al-Mansur was the actual ruler. Al-Mansur wanted the caliphate to symbolize the ideal of religious and political unity as insurance against any renewal of civil strife. He reinforced this by insisting on strict conformity with religious orthodoxy and by creating a professional army personally loyal to the vizier to replace the unreliable regional forces under local lords. Notwithstanding the fact that al-Mansur employed Christian mercenaries, he preached *jihad*, or "holy war," against the Christian states on the frontier, undertaking annual summer campaigns against them, which served not only to unite Spanish Muslims in a common cause but also to extend Muslim control in the north temporarily.

The Cordovan caliphate did not long survive al-Mansur's dictatorship. With his firm and often cruel grip off the reins of government, the caliphate was torn apart by rival claimants to the throne, local aristocrats, and army commanders who staked out *taifas*, independent regional city-states. Some of them, such as Seville, Granada, Valencia, and Zaragoza, became strong emirates, but all were subject to frequent political upheavals, warring among themselves and making long-term accommodations with the emerging Christian states.

In the ninth century Cordovan Mozarabs, led by their bishop, invited martyrdom by denouncing Mohammed in public, but physical violence remained the exception until the eleventh century, when the Christian states became a serious threat to the security of al-Andalus and Mozarabs there were harassed. Many Mozarabs fled to the Christian north, where their artistic talent and technical skill, the product of two cultures, had a fructifying effect.

CASTILE AND ARAGON

Active resistance to the Muslim invasion in the eighth century had been limited to small groups of Visigoth warriors. They took refuge in the mountains of Asturias in the old Suevian Kingdom, the least romanized and



Pelayo, the first Christian king of Asturias (and León), the son of Favila, the duke of Cantabria, is seen presiding over his council in this sketch.



King Ordoño III of León (950–55) was the first Spanish king to be buried at León.



King of Aragon, James I, the Conqueror (1213–76), saying goodbye to his wife before departing for the Balearic Islands

least Christianized region in Spain. According to tradition Pelayo (d. 737), a king of Oviedo, first rallied the natives to defend themselves, then urged them to take the offensive beginning the seven-hundred-year-long Reconquest (Reconquista), which became the dominant theme in medieval Spanish history. What began as a matter of survival in Asturias became a crusade to rid Spain of the Muslims and an imperial mission to reconstruct a united monarchy in Spain. The two ideals were inextricably bound together.

The kings of León, as Pelayo's successors were styled as they extended Christian control southward from Asturias, tore away bits of territory, which were depopulated and fortified against the Muslims and then resettled as the frontier was pushed forward. The kingdom's center of political gravity always moved in the direction of the military frontier.

In the tenth century, strongholds were built as a buffer for León along the upper Ebro in the area that became known as Castile, the "land of castles."

In 981 Castile became an independent county and in 1004 was raised to the dignity of a kingdom by the Sanchez Dynasty. Castile and León were reunited periodically through royal marriages, but their kings had no better plan than to divide their lands again among their heirs. The two kingdoms were permanently joined as a single state in 1230 by Saint Ferdinand III of Castile (d. 1252).

Under Frankish tutelage a barrier of pocket states was constructed along the range of the Pyrenees and on the Catalonian coast to hold the frontier of France against Islamic Spain. Out of this Spanish march emerged the kingdom of Aragon and the counties of Catalonia, which expanded, as did León-Castile, at the expense of the Muslims. (Andorra is the last independent survivor of the march states.)

The counts of Barcelona were descended from Wilfrid the Hairy, who at the end of the ninth century declared his fief free of the French crown and monopolized lay and ecclesiastical offices on both sides of the Pyrenees, dividing them, according to Frankish custom, among members of the family. By 1100 Barcelona had dominion over all of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Aragon and the Catalan counties were federated through a personal union after the marriage of Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, and Petronilla, heiress to the Aragonese throne, in 1137. He assumed the title king of Aragon but continued to rule as count in Catalonia. Berenguer and his successors thus ruled over several realms, each with its own government, legal code, currency, and political orientation.

Valencia, seized from its Muslim emir, became federated with Aragon and Catalonia in the thirteenth century. With the union of the three crowns, Aragon (the term most commonly used to describe the federation) rivaled Venice and Genoa for control of Mediterranean

trade. Aragonese commercial interests extended to the Black Sea, and the ports of Barcelona and Valencia prospered from the traffic in textiles, drugs, spices, and slaves.

Weakened by their disunity, the eleventh-century *taifas* fell piecemeal to the Castilians, who had reason to anticipate the completion of the Reconquest. When Toledo was lost in 1085, the alarmed emirs appealed for aid to the Almoravids, a militant Berber party of strict Muslims, who in a few years had won control of the Maghreb (northwest Africa). The Almoravids turned back the Christian advance and incorporated all of al-Andalus, except Zaragoza, into their North African Empire. They attempted to stimulate a religious revival based on their own evangelical brand of Islam, but in Spain the movement soon conformed with the religious attitudes of the *taifas*. The Almoravid state fell apart by the mid-twelfth century under pressure from another religious group, the Almohads, who extended their control from Morocco to Spain and made Seville their capital. The Almohads shared the crusading instincts of the Almoravids and posed an even greater military threat to the Christian states, but their expansion was stopped decisively in the epic battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), a watershed in the history of the Reconquest. Muslim strength ebbed thereafter. Ferdinand III took Seville in 1248, reducing al-Andalus to the emirate of Granada, which had bought its safety by betraying the Almohads' Spanish capital. Granada remained a Muslim state but as a dependency of Castile.

Aragon's territorial aims were fulfilled in the thirteenth century when it annexed Valencia. The Catalans, however, looked for further expansion abroad, and their economic views prevailed over those of the parochial Aragonese nobility, who were not enthusiastic about foreign entanglements. Pedro III, king of Aragon from 1276 until 1285, had been elected to the throne of Sicily when the French Angevins (House of Anjou) were expelled from the island kingdom during the uprising in 1282. Sicily and later Naples became part of the federation of crowns, and Aragon was brought into the center of Italian politics, where Spanish interests remained embroiled into the eighteenth century.

Catalan expansionism was not limited to the actions of the legitimate authorities. The Grand Catalan Company, a corporation of *almogávors* (light infantry troops), freebooting mercenaries sometimes in the service of the Byzantine emperor, carved out an independent duchy of Athens in Greece and governed it throughout most of the fourteenth century. The Catalan economy was controlled by the independent, highly individualistic, and often ruthlessly competitive entrepreneurs of the urban oligarchy. The Catalan nobility competed with the merchants and bankers of Barcelona for a share in the commercial market.

Feudalism, which bound nobles to the king-counts

Queen Berengaria, wife of Richard I of England, became the regent in 1217 for her son Ferdinand III, the Saint.



King Ferdinand III, the Saint

King Pedro III, the Great (1276–85), monarch of Aragon and Catalonia, watches from a mountaintop as the French flee Spain.



Pedro I, the Cruel, was the king of León and Castile from 1350 to 1369. For which of his crimes he received his nickname is not certain, but ranking high would be the imprisonment and murder of his wife, Queen Blanche of Bourbon.





Henry II of Castile (1369–79) was known in history as the count of Trastamara. He was, in character, nearly as cruel as Pedro the Cruel; as loose in morals and only slightly inferior as a tyrant. His was the reign with the rivalry of Pope Urban VI and the antipope Clement, so he withheld the customary contribution to the Holy See. Henry also recovered the vast amounts of gold and other fortunes of Pedro's and this very money today represents the wealth of the royal family.



Henry IV in a portrait from life by Camarauz

King Henry IV of Castile (1454–74) was called Henry the Impotent because after he married Blanche of Navarre in 1440, he failed to produce an heir. Blanche, after thirteen years of marriage, "complained that the 'debitum conjugale' was not paid," and as damages received an annulment in 1453.

economically and socially as tenants to landlords, had been introduced into Aragon and Catalonia from France. It produced a more clearly stratified social structure than Castile's and consequently greater tension among classes. Castilian society was less competitive, more cohesive, and more egalitarian. The labor-free production of wool left far fewer occasions for class struggle than did the labor-intensive commerce and industry of Barcelona and racially diverse Valencia. Castile attempted to compensate through political means, however, for the binding feudal arrangements between crown and nobility that it lacked. The guiding theory behind the Castilian monarchy was one of political centralism to be won at the expense of local *fueros*, but the kings of Castile never succeeded in creating a unitary state. Aragon-Catalonia accepted and developed, not without conflict, the federal principle, and no concerted attempt was made to establish a political union of the Spanish and Italian principalities outside of their personal union under the Aragonese crown. Beyond conflicting local loyalties, therefore, the principal regions of Spain were divided in their political, economic, and social orientations. Catalonia particularly stood apart from the rest of the country.

Both Castile and Aragon suffered from political instability in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Castile the Trastamaras, who took the throne in 1369, created a new aristocracy to whom significant authority was granted. Castilian kings were often dominated by their *validos* (court favorites) and, because the kings were weak, nobles competed for control of the government.

Aragon, where another branch of the Trastamaras succeeded to the throne in 1416, was affected by the social disruption and decay of institutions common to much of Europe in the late Middle Ages. For long periods the overextended Aragonese kings resided in Naples, leaving their Spanish realms with weak, vulnerable governments. The economic dislocation caused by plague and the commercial decline of Catalonia was the occasion for repeated revolts by regional nobility, town corporations, peasants and, in Barcelona, the urban proletariat.

THE GOLDEN AGE

Stability was brought to both kingdoms in 1469 through the marriage of royal cousins, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) and Isabella of Castile (1451–1504). Ferdinand had grown up in the midst of civil war, and Isabella's succession had been bloodily disputed by her niece Juana in a conflict in which rival claimants had been given assistance by outside powers—Isabella by Aragon and Juana by the king of Portugal, who was her suitor. The direction in which Iberian unification would proceed, linking Castile with Aragon, was determined by the outcome of that struggle, concluded in 1478. Ferdinand succeeded his father in Aragon the next year. Both Isabella and Ferdinand understood the importance of unity: she, in terms of ideological uniformity, and he, as part of a political process. Together they effected institutional reform in Castile and left Spain one of the best administered countries in Europe.



John II on a medallion of the time

King Don Juan II (John) of León and Castile (1406–54). John II was the weakest and most despicable of the princes that ever ruled in Spain.

Blanche the Tattler, as she was known, became the “Heiress of Navarre” upon the death of her brother Charles in 1461. But her male competition for the throne of Navarre led to her imprisonment in the Castle Orthez in Béarn, where she was under continual sexual assault and torture for two years, until her captors poisoned her in 1464. Her death paved the way for that ancient kingdom to be partitioned between France and Spain.



In 1469, Ferdinand of Aragon, son of King John II, married Isabella of Castile, which united the two countries into one Spain.



The leading sovereigns of Spain from 1474 to 1886. Left, top to bottom: Isabella II (1833–68), Isabella I (1474–1504), and Philip I (1504–6). Center, top to bottom: Charles I (V, 1519–56), Alfonso XII (1874–86), and Philip V (1701–24). And right, top to bottom: Maria Cristina (1886), Ferdinand V (1506–16), and Philip II (1556–98).

Even with the personal union of the Castilian and Aragonese crowns, Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia remained constitutionally distinct political entities and retained their separate councils of state and parliaments. Ferdinand, who had received his political education in federalist Aragon, brought a new emphasis on constitutionalism, consultation with the estates, and respect for local *fueros* to Castile, where he was king consort (1479–1504) and remained as regent after Isabella’s death in 1504. Greatly admired by Machiavelli, Ferdinand was one of the most skillful diplomats in an age of great diplomats and assigned to Castile its predominant role in the Dual Monarchy.

Ferdinand and Isabella resumed the Reconquest, dormant for more than two hundred years, and in 1492 captured Granada and earned for themselves the title Catholic kings. After the long history of Islamic Spain was brought to an end, attention turned to the internal threat posed by a Muslim population increased by sev-



Queen Isabella as a child



The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand in 1469



An authentic sketch of Queen Isabella's crown



The queen in her youth, from an original print of the time



Isabella and Ferdinand receive the keys to Granada from Abou Abdilehi (Boabdil), Moorish king of Granada (1482-92) on January 2, 1492. The place still bears a plaque with the inscription "El ultimo suspiro del moro," which translates as "The last sigh of the Moor."



The queen's armor as it has been preserved

During his coreign, Ferdinand was known as Ferdinand the Catholic.



A portrait of Isabella I, the Catholic





A famous painting of The Education of Boabdil, the last King of Granada



Isabella and Ferdinand welcoming Columbus on his return from the Americas



Christopher Columbus explaining his forthcoming trip to the Americas to Isabella and Ferdinand in a famous painting by Vacslav Brozik



Tomb of Prince Juan, son of Isabella and Ferdinand, located in the Church of St. Thomas in Avila

eral hundred thousand by the incorporation of Granada. "Spanish society drove itself," J. H. Elliott writes, "on a ruthless ultimately self-defeating quest for an unattainable purity."

Everywhere in sixteenth-century Europe it was assumed that religious unity was a necessary ingredient of political unity. Insistence on religious conformity was therefore not unique to Spain, but there was a greater sense of urgency in enforcing it. Spain's population was

more heterogeneous than that of any other European nation and contained significantly large non-Christian communities. In Granada especially they constituted a conquered majority of doubtful loyalty. *Moriscos* (Granadan Muslims) were given the choice of voluntary exile or conversion to Christianity. There was a precedent for Jewish conversion, and *Conversos* (Jewish converts to Christianity) had filled important government and ecclesiastical posts in Castile and Aragon for more



Spain in the fifteenth century

than one hundred years. Many had married or purchased their way into the nobility. Muslims in reconquered territory, Mudejars, also had lived quietly for generations as peasant farmers and skilled craftsmen. Valencia retained a Mudejar majority in 1500.

After 1525 all residents of Spain were *officially* Christian, but forced conversion and nominal orthodoxy were not sufficient for complete integration into Spanish society. Purity of blood (*pureza de sangre*) regulations were imposed on candidates for positions in the government and the church, not only to prevent Moriscos from becoming a force again in Spain but to eliminate participation by Conversos as well, though their families might have been Christian for generations. There was a scramble to reconstruct family trees in many of Spain's oldest and finest families.

The task of enforcing uniformity of religious practice was put in the hands of the Inquisition, a state-controlled Castilian tribunal authorized by papal bull in 1478 and soon extended throughout Spain. It was originally intended to investigate the sincerity of Conversos, especially those in the clergy, who had been accused of being crypto-Jews.

For years laws were laxly enforced, particularly in Aragon, and nominally Christian Jews and Moriscos continued to observe their religions in private. In 1568 a serious rebellion broke out among the Moriscos of Andalusia, who sealed their fate by appealing to the Turks for aid. The incident led to mass expulsions throughout Spain and the eventual exodus of hundreds of thousands of Conversos and Moriscos, some apparently devout Christians. The last of them was expelled in 1609. "Wherever we are, we weep for Spain," laments a Morisco in *Don Quixote*, "for after all, there we were born, and it is our natural fatherland."

In the fifteenth century Portuguese mariners were opening a route around Africa to the East and, together with the Castilians, they had planted colonies in the Azores and the Canaries, the latter islands assigned to



Queen Juana and Philip I reigned from 1504 to 1506, when Philip died and the queen grieved herself into insanity. Here she is shown in a vigil at Philip's gravesite.



The church in an attempt to exorcise Queen Juana



The tomb in Granada of King Philip and Queen Juana, the parents of Charles I

The birth of Charles I in 1500. He was king of Spain from 1519 to 1556. He also reigned as Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.





Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg

The triumphant entry of Charles V and Pope Clement VII into Bologna for Charles's coronation in 1530



*Queen Isabella of Portugal,
the consort of Charles V*

Spain by papal decree. The conquest of Granada allowed the Catholic kings to divert their attention to exploration but, though blessed by Isabella, Christopher Columbus's first voyage in 1492 was financed by foreign bankers. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, a Catalan) sanctioned the division of the unexplored world between Spain and Portugal. The Treaty of Tordesillas signed by Spain and Portugal one year later moved the line of division westward and allowed Portugal to claim Brazil.

In the exploration and exploitation of the New World, Spain found an outlet for the crusading energies stimulated by the war against the Muslims. New discoveries and conquests came in quick succession. Vasco Núñez de Balboa reached the Pacific in 1513, and the survivors of Ferdinand Magellan's expedition completed the circumnavigation of the globe in 1522. In 1519 the conquistador Hernando Cortés subdued the Aztecs in Mexico with a handful of followers, and between 1531 and 1533 Francisco Pizarro overthrew the Inca Empire and established Spanish dominion over Peru.

In 1493, when Columbus brought fifteen hundred colonists with him on his second voyage, a royal administrator had already been appointed for the Indies. The Council of the Indies (established in 1524) acted as an advisory board to the crown on colonial affairs, and trade with the colonies was regulated by the House of Trade (Casa de Contratación). The newly established colonies were not Spanish but Castilian. They were administered as appendages of Castile, and the Aragonese were prohibited from trading or settling there.

Ferdinand and Isabella were the last of the Trastamaras, and Spain was not again ruled by a native dynasty. When their sole male heir, John, who was to have inherited all his parents' crowns, died in 1497, the succession passed to his sister Juana (a younger sister was Catherine of Aragon, first wife of Henry VIII). Juana had become the wife of Philip the Handsome, heir through his father, Emperor Maximilian I, to the Habsburg patrimony and through his mother to the Burgundian domains, which included the Netherlands and Franche-Comté. Their son, Charles of Gaunt (Ghent), was recognized as lord in the Netherlands provinces on Philip's death in 1506. On Ferdinand's death in 1516, Charles inherited Spain and its colonies and Naples (Juana, called the Mad, lived until 1555 but was judged incompetent to rule) and, when Maximilian I died in 1519, the Habsburg domains in Germany. Shortly after-



Charles I loved the sport of bullfighting from horseback.



Philip II, king of Spain, was born in 1527, the only son of Emperor Charles V (of the Holy Roman Empire). He was known as the Demon of the South. He had no equal among Spanish monarchs, for he was invested with the duchy of Milan, 1540; married Maria of Portugal, 1543; succeeded to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, 1554; married Mary Tudor of England, 1554; succeeded to the lordship of the Netherlands, 1555; became king of Spain on abdication of his father, 1556; married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II, of France, 1557; proclaimed himself king of America, 1565; married Anne of Austria, the former betrothed of his son Don Carlos, 1572; and acquired the throne of Portugal in 1580.

ward he was selected Holy Roman emperor to succeed his grandfather. In such a way the most diverse empire since Rome's, stretching around the globe, was brought together in a matter of a few years under Charles V—Charles I of Spain.

Charles's closest attachments were to his birthplace, Flanders, and he surrounded himself with Flemish advisers who were not appreciated in Spain. The town corporations (*comunidades*) of Castile and León rose in revolt against their absentee king in 1520 and 1521. His duties as Holy Roman emperor and king of Spain never allowed him to rest too long in one place. As the years of this long reign passed, Charles drew closer to Spain, which because of its manpower and the wealth of its colonies was increasingly called upon to maintain the Habsburg Empire.

When he abdicated in 1556 to retire to a Spanish monastery, Charles divided his empire. His son, Philip II (reigned 1556–98), inherited Spain, the Italian possessions, and the Netherlands (the industrial heartland of Europe in the mid-sixteenth century). For a brief period (1554–58) Philip was king of England as Mary Tudor's husband. In 1580 Philip was acknowledged king of Portugal through succession from his mother, and the Iberian Peninsula had a single monarch for the next sixty years.

Philip II was a Castilian by education and temperament. He was seldom out of Spain and knew no other language but Spanish. He governed his scattered dominions through a system of councils, such as the Council of the Indies, staffed by professional civil servants, whose activities were coordinated by a council of state responsible to Philip. Its function was advisory only. Every decision was Philip's, every question required his answer, every document his signature. His father had been a peripatetic emperor, but Philip, a royal bureaucrat, administered every detail of his empire from the Escorial,



Philip II, as a young man (photograph, duke of Wellington estate)



Mariana of Austria, the second wife of Philip II (by Velasquez)



In 1651, a daughter was born to Philip II and Mariana and named Margaret Maria. In the christening scene by Velasquez, the "Infanta" is seen, center, with her godmother, Infanta Maria Theresa, left.

the forbidding palace-monastery-mausoleum begun in 1563 on the barren plain outside Madrid.

By marrying Ferdinand, Isabella had united Spain, but she had also inevitably involved Castile in Aragon's wars in Italy against France, hitherto Castile's ally. The motivation in each of their children's marriages had been to circle France with Spanish allies—Habsburg, Burgundian, and English. The succession of the Habsburg Dynasty with its broader Continental interests and commitments drew Spain onto the center stage of European dynastic wars for two hundred years.

Well into the seventeenth century music, art, literature, theater, dress, and manners from the Golden Age were admired and imitated, setting a standard by which the rest of Europe measured its culture. Spain was also Europe's preeminent military power and had occasion to exercise its strength on many fronts—on land in Italy, Germany, North Africa, and the Netherlands and at sea against the Dutch, French, Turks, and English. Spain was the military, diplomatic, and spiritual standard-

Philip II suffered from gout. He is seen here receiving a delegation from Holland with his foot propped up on a chair. Philip said that he would prefer living with his inflamed big toe to giving up drinking.

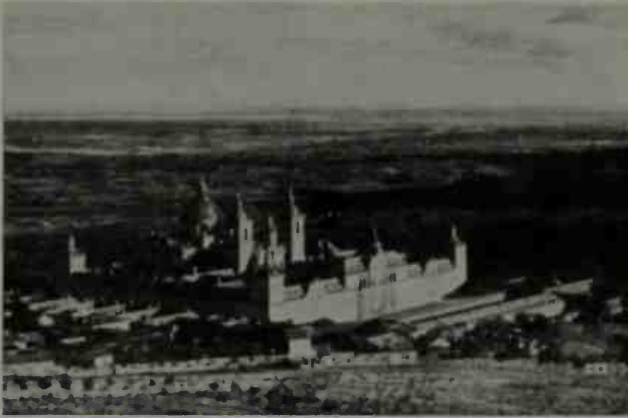
Elizabeth of Valois, queen of Spain, the third wife of Philip II



Philip II with the royal architect and engineer at the site planning the building of the Escorial Royal Palace, which Philip wanted to be the biggest in the world.

Anne of Austria, the young bride promised to Don Carlos, ended up the fourth wife of Philip II.





The Escorial (Escorial) built by Philip II in memory of his father, Charles I, is the former residence (near Madrid) of many kings of Spain. It is a massive palace, monastery, and church that contains royal tombs and a priceless collection of rare paintings.



Spain in its European setting in the sixteenth century

Philip II in later years



Philip III (1598–1621). He is recorded in history for his helplessness, imbecility, dissipation, and idleness.



The last of the Moorish people being expelled from Spain by Philip III



A painting of Philip IV (1621–65) by the famous artist Velasquez

bearer of the Counter-Reformation. Spanish fleets defeated the Turks at Malta (1565) and at Lepanto (1572)—events celebrated even in hostile England—preventing the Mediterranean from becoming an Ottoman lake. The defeat of the Grand Armada in 1588 averted the planned invasion of England but was not a permanent setback for the Spanish fleet. It recovered and remained an effective naval force in European waters.

Sixteenth-century Spain was ultimately the victim of its own wealth. Military expenditure did not stimulate domestic production. Bullion from American mines passed through Spain as through a sieve to pay for troops in the Netherlands and Italy, to maintain the emperor's forces in Germany, for ships at sea, and to satisfy conspicuous consumption at home. Dutch commercial interests, for instance, so prospered from supplying the Spanish army that they resisted concluding the war in the Netherlands.

The seventeenth century was a period of unremitting political, military, economic, and social decline. Neither Philip III (1598–1621) nor Philip IV (1621–65) was competent to give the kind of clear direction of which Philip II in his prime had been capable. Responsibility passed

to aristocratic advisers, as it had to the *validos* of Castile in the fifteenth century. Gaspar de Guzman, count-duke of Olivares, attempted and failed to establish the centralized administration that his famous contemporary Cardinal Richelieu introduced in France. In reaction to his bureaucratic absolutism, Catalonia revolted and was virtually annexed by France. Portugal, with English aid, reasserted its independence in 1640, and an attempt was made to separate Andalusia from Spain. In 1648 at the Peace of Westphalia, Spain assented to the emperor's accommodation with the German Protestants and in 1654 recognized the independence of the northern Netherlands.

During the long regency for Charles II (1665–1701), the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, Spain's treasury was milked by *validos*, and its government operated principally as a dispenser of patronage. The country was wasted by plague, famine, floods, drought, and renewed war with France. The Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) ended fifty years of warfare with France, but Louis XIV, the young king of that expansionist country, found the temptation to exploit Spain during its enfeeblement too great. As part of the peace settlement the Spanish infanta Marie-Therese had become the wife of Louis XIV. On the pretext (technically a valid one) that Spain had not paid her dowry, Louis instigated a war of devolution to recover the debt, in territory, in the Spanish Netherlands. Most of the European powers were ultimately involved in Louis's wars in the Low Countries.

BOURBON SPAIN

Charles II was the unfortunate product of generations of inbreeding. He was unable to rule and remained childless. The line of Spanish Habsburgs came to an end at his death. Habsburg partisans argued for allocating succession within the dynasty to its Austrian branch, but in one of his last official acts Charles II left Spain to his nephew, Philip of Anjou, a Bourbon and the grandson of Louis XIV. This solution appealed to Castilian legitimists, as it complied with the principle of succession to the next in the bloodline. Spanish officials had been concerned with providing for the succession in such a way as to guarantee an integral, independent Spanish state that, along with its possessions in the Netherlands and Italy, would not become part of either a pan-Bourbon or a pan-Habsburg Empire. "The Pyrenees are no more," Louis XIV rejoiced at his grandson's accession, but it was the prospect of the Spanish Netherlands falling into French hands that alarmed England and the Dutch estates-general.

The acceptance of the Spanish crown by Philip V (1701–46) in the face of counterclaims by Archduke Charles of Austria, who was supported by England and the Netherlands, was the proximate cause of the War of

the Spanish Succession (1702–14), the first world war fought by European powers. In 1705 an Anglo-Austrian force landed in Spain. Its advance on Madrid was halted by a Franco-Castilian army, but the invaders occupied Catalonia.

The Bourbon Dynasty had been received enthusiastically in Castile but was opposed by the Catalans not so much out of loyalty to the Habsburgs as in defense of their *fueros* against the feared imposition of French-style centralization by a Castilian regime. The war, fought on a global scale, was also a Spanish civil war. England agreed to a separate peace with France, and the allies withdrew from Catalonia, but the Catalans continued their resistance under the banner "Privilegis o Mort" (Liberty or Death). Catalonia was devastated, and Barcelona fell to Philip V after a prolonged siege (1713–14).

The main European theaters of operation were in Germany and the Low Countries, where the allied coalition, led by Randolph Churchill, duke of Marlborough, had won a military advantage over the French. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which brought the war to a close, recognized the Bourbon succession in Spain on the condition that Spain and France *never be united under the same crown*. The Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and Spain's Italian possessions, however, reverted to the Austrian Habsburgs. England retained Gibraltar and Minorca, seized during the war, and was granted trade concessions in Spanish America.



Philip V reigned from 1701 to 1724.



Charles II, king of Spain (1665–1701). In the thirty-six years of his reign he was credited with little but debited with much. He was utterly destitute of discernment, energy, and skill. Sickly and hypochondriacal, it is surprising that he lived to be thirty-nine years of age.



Philip V built the Orientè Palace for himself in Madrid but did not live to see its completion.

Spain emerged from the war with its internal unity and colonial empire intact but its political position in Europe weakened. The Bourbon succession, which ended the interminable wars that had pitted Spain against France since the fifteenth century, called for a basic reorientation of foreign policy. The two Bourbon monarchies were linked diplomatically by a series of family pacts, which were as much an expression of common national interests as of dynastic solidarity. Spain conducted an aggressive campaign to recover the lost Italian possessions and regained a measure of prestige under the protection of the French alliance.

Philip V also undertook to rationalize Spanish government through his French and Italian advisers. Centralized government was institutionalized, local *fueros* were abrogated, regional parliaments abolished, and the independent influence of the aristocracy on the councils of state destroyed.

The Bourbon regime had its ideological foundation in regalism, a concept of statism that went beyond administrative centralization to attack all autonomous bodies that in the past had placed limitations on the authority of the monarchy and were therefore viewed by its advocates as obstacles to progress. The church and its religious orders were the most important of these bodies. In effect regalism combined an absolute monarchy with bureaucratic dictatorship.



Charles III was the king of Spain from 1759 to 1788.

Charles III (1759–88), Spain's enlightened despot par excellence, served his royal apprenticeship as king of Naples. He was one of Europe's most active patrons of the Enlightenment, which had as its goal the reform of society through the application of reason to political, social, and economic problems. Charles promised a generation of happiness and more efficient collection of taxes. Despite the attempt to restructure the economy on a rational basis, the impact of the Enlightenment was essentially negative. Anticlericalism was an integral part of Enlightenment ideology but, because of government sponsorship, it was carried to greater lengths in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Considered antisocial because they were thought to discourage initiative, public charities financed by the church were abolished. Monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated by the state. The Jesuits, outspoken opponents of regalism, were expelled, virtually crippling higher education in Spain. The teachings of medieval philosophers and of the sixteenth-century Jesuit political theorists who had argued for the "divine right of the people" over their kings were banned. Even the plays of Pedro Calderón de la Barca were prohibited from performance, reputedly because of their "jesuitical" bias. The Inquisition was employed by the government to discipline antiregalist clerics.

Economic recovery was noticeable, and government efficiency greatly improved at the higher levels during Charles III's reign. The Bourbon reforms, however, made no basic changes in the pattern of property holding. Neither land reform nor an increase of land in use was accomplished. Creation of a middle-class movement was hindered by the rudimentary nature of bourgeois class consciousness in Spain. Despite the development of a national bureaucracy in Madrid, government programs foundered because of the lethargy and passive resistance of administrators at lower levels as well as by a rural population that remained wedded to aristocratic ideals. The reform movement could not be sustained without the patronage of Charles III and did not survive him. Reform in general was cast in a suspicious light after the outbreak of the French Revolution and was seen as for-



Manuel de Godoy, the lover of Queen Maria Louisa and a close "friend" of King Charles IV (1788–1808). He was appointed Spanish premier in 1792. The queen had hoped to have Godoy made king on the death of Charles III, who objected, but she could not overcome the royal line of succession.

eign innovation hostile to Spanish traditions. The chaos of the next generation seemed to traditionalists to prove the point.

Spain joined France in aiding the fledgling United States and declared war on Great Britain in 1779. A two-year siege of Gibraltar failed, and the natural fortress remained in British hands. In the Treaty of Paris (1783), however, Spain recovered Florida, lost in 1763, and Minorca.

Charles IV (1788–1808) retained the trappings of his father's enlightened despotism but was dominated by his wife's favorite, a guards officer, Manuel de Godoy, who at the age of twenty-five was chief minister and virtual dictator of Spain. When in 1792 the French National Assembly demanded Spain's compliance with the family pacts, Godoy rode the popular wave of reaction building in Spain against the French Revolution and joined the coalition against France. Spanish arms suffered repeated setbacks, and in 1796 Godoy shifted allies and joined the French against Great Britain. Promised half of Portugal as his personal reward, Godoy became Napoleon Bonaparte's willing puppet. Louisiana, Spanish since 1763, was restored to France. A regular subsidy was paid to France from the Spanish treasury, and fifteen thousand Spanish troops were assigned to garrisons in northern Europe. Spain lost Trinidad to the British, saw its fleet destroyed at Trafalgar (1805), and failed in another attempt to seize Gibraltar.

With Godoy discredited, Napoleon in 1807 demanded Charles IV's abdication and forced his son and heir, Ferdinand, to renounce his claim to the throne. Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was named king of Spain, and a large French army was moved in to support the new government and to invade Great Britain's ally, Portugal, from Spanish soil. The Bonapartist regime was welcomed by the *afrancesados*, a small but influential group of Spaniards who favored reconstructing their country on the French model.

In a move to ingratiate himself with the *afrancesados*, Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed the dissolution of religious houses. Defense of the Roman Catholic church, long attacked by successive Spanish governments, now became the test of Spanish patriotism and the cause around which resistance to the French rallied. The War of Independence (1808–14), as the Iberian phase of the Napoleonic wars is known in Spanish historiography, attained the status of a popular crusade that united all classes, parties, and regions in a common struggle. It was a war fought without rules or regular battlelines. The brutality practiced on both sides was made vivid by the Spanish painter Goya.

A British expeditionary force, originally intended to occupy part of Spanish America, was dispatched to the peninsula in 1808, followed the next year by a larger contingent under Arthur Wellesley, later duke of Wellington. Elements of the Spanish army held Cadiz, the



Charles IV reigned from 1788 to 1808. He preferred hunting to ruling.



Queen Maria Louisa, wife of Charles IV, was described by Napoleon: "Maria Louisa has her past and her character written on her face and it surpasses anything you dare imagine." The queen had pronounced masculine features.

Charles IV presiding over his court in 1804





The older brother of Napoleon, Joseph Bonaparte, was made king of Spain under the name of King Jose I and reigned from 1808 to 1814.

Joseph Bonaparte's triumphant entry into Madrid in 1808



only major city not taken by the French, but the countryside belonged to the guerrillas, who held down 250,000 of Napoleon's best troops under Marshal Nicolas Soult while Wellington waited to launch the offensive that was to cause the defeat of the French at Vitoria (1813).

THE LIBERAL ASCENDANCY

A central junta sat in Cadiz. It had little actual authority, except as surrogate for the absent royal government, but it did succeed in calling together representatives from local juntas in 1810, with the vague notion of creating the Cortes of All the Spains, so called because it would be the single legislative body for the empire and its colonies. Many of the overseas provinces had by that time already declared their independence. Some saw the Cortes at Cadiz as an interim government until the Desired One, as Ferdinand VII was called by his supporters, could return to the throne. Many regalists could not admit that a parliamentary body could legislate in the absence of a king. The two parties most in evidence at Cadiz, the Medievalists and the Liberals, favored the continuance of parliamentary government as provided for by a written constitution and the restoration of the monarchy—but for very different reasons. The Medievalists, who

formed the majority in 1810, favored the Cortes, with its medieval origins, as a vehicle for returning Spain to the traditions it had cast away in the previous century. They proposed, in effect, wiping out the eighteenth century and restoring in a constitution the liberties of regional, economic, and social associations that would prevent any one of them or the monarchy from becoming too strong. The restoration of the liberties of the church and the return of its property were other important aspects of the Medievalist program.

The Constitution of 1812 provided for a limited monarchy, a centralized administration, and a parliament to which the government would be responsible. Suffrage was limited by property qualifications favoring constituencies where liberal sentiment was strongest. Individual liberties, the right to the free use of property among them, were guaranteed. By Spanish standards it was a revolutionary document.

Ferdinand VII (reigned 1808, 1814–33) dismissed the Cadiz Cortes when he reassumed the throne, refusing to recognize the constitution drawn up by it. He was determined instead, to rule as an absolute monarch.

Spain's American colonies took advantage of the post-war chaos to proclaim their independence, and most had established republican governments. By 1825 only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under the Spanish flag in the New World. When Ferdinand was restored to Madrid, he expended wealth and manpower in a vain effort to reassert control over the colonies.

In 1820 Major Rafael del Riego led a revolt among troops quartered in Cadiz while awaiting embarkation to America. Garrison mutinies were not unusual, but Riego issued a *pronunciamento* (declaration of principles) to the troops, which was directed against the government and called for the army to support adoption of the Constitution of 1812. Support for Riego spread from garrison to garrison, toppling the regalist government and forcing Ferdinand to accept the liberal constitution. The *pronunciamento*, distributed by barracks politicians among underpaid members of an overstuffed officer corps, became a regular feature of Spanish politics.



Ferdinand VII, who reigned in 1808 and then after Joseph Napoleon, from 1814 to 1833, made a most unusual proclamation on March 29, 1830, to the effect that the Salic Law of 1713 instituted by Philip V be abolished. This action reestablished that women had the right to inherit the throne of Spain.

Army support was required for any government to survive and, if a pronunciamiento received sufficient backing, the government was well advised to defer to it. This "referendum in blood" was considered within the army to be the purest form of election because the soldiers supporting a pronunciamiento were expressing their willingness to shed blood to make their point—at least in theory. In fact it was judged to have succeeded only if the government gave in to it without a fight. If it did not represent a consensus within the army and resistance to it was offered, the pronunciamiento was considered a failure, and the officers who had proposed it dutifully went into exile.

The three years of liberal government under the Constitution of 1812, called the Constitutional Triennium (1820–23), were brought to an abrupt close by French intervention ordered by Louis XVIII on an appeal from Ferdinand and with the assent of his conservative officers. The arrival of the French was welcomed in many sectors. Ferdinand was restored as absolute monarch and chose his ministers from the ranks of the old *afancesados*.

Ferdinand VII, a widower, was childless, and Don Carlos, his popular, traditionalist brother, was heir presumptive. In 1829, however, Ferdinand married his Neapolitan cousin Maria Cristina, who gave birth to a daughter, an event followed closely by the revocation of provisions prohibiting female succession. Ferdinand died in 1833, leaving Maria Cristina as regent for their daughter, Isabella II (1833–68).

Don Carlos contested his niece's succession and won the fanatical support of the traditionalists of Aragon and of Basque Navarre. The Carlists held that legitimate succession was possible only through the male line. Agrarians, regionalists, and Catholics, they also opposed the middle-class, centralist, anticlerical Liberals who flocked to support the regency. The Carlists fielded an army that held off government attempts to suppress them for six years (1833–39), during which time Maria Cristina received aid in arms and volunteers from Great Britain. A Carlist offensive against Madrid in 1837 failed, but in the mountains the Basques continued to resist until a compromise peace in 1839 recognized their ancient *fueros*. Sentiment remained strong in Navarre for Don Carlos and his successors, and the Carlists continued as a political force to be reckoned with. Carlist uprisings occurred in 1847 and from 1872 to 1876.

The regency had come to depend on liberal support within the army during the first Carlist war, but after the end of the war against the traditionalists both the Liberals and the army tired of Maria Cristina. She was forced to resign in 1840, and responsibility for the regency was taken over by a series of Liberal ministries.

The Liberals were a narrowly based elite. Their abstract idealism and concern for individual liberties contrasted sharply with the paternalistic attitudes of Spain's



Queen Isabella II as she appeared on assuming the throne of Spain. She was ruler from 1833 to 1868. She followed the path of her father, Ferdinand, one of pursuing an administrative policy of military despotism and ranged to clerical absolutism. The queen was of loose morals and her children's legitimacy was in doubt. She even had a serious attempt made on her life in 1852 by a priest named Merino. Her life was saved in the stabbing attempt by the whalebones in her corsets. She had the priest "garroted and his body burned."



The marriage procession at the wedding of Isabella II. She married her cousin Francis de Asis.

Queen Maria Christina, the wife of Ferdinand VII, after the king's death turned to England and France, and the Quadruple Alliance of April 22, 1834, to conclude with these states and Portugal that her daughter Isabella II would be the ruler of Spain.



Queen Isabella with her son, Don Alfonso, from a portrait by Winterhalter in the royal palace

rural society. There was no monolithic Liberal movement in Spain, but all factions were unified by their anticlericalism, the touchstone of liberalism. Like the regalists of the previous century, nineteenth-century Liberals held that no one within the state could exercise authority independent of it, and hence no aspect of national life could be excluded from political concern. The state, they assumed, was the sum of the individuals living within it and could recognize and protect only the rights of individuals, not of corporate institutions, such as the church or universities, nor of the regions as separate entities with distinct customs and interests. Because individuals were subject to the law, only individuals could hold title to land. As nothing should impede the development of the individual, so nothing should impede the state in guaranteeing the rights of the individual.

Liberals also agreed on the necessity for a written constitution, a parliamentary government, and a centralized administration, as well as the need for laissez-faire economics. All factions found a voice in the army and drew leadership from its ranks. All had confidence that progress would follow naturally from the application of Liberal principles. They differed, however, on the methods to be used in applying them.

The Moderates saw economic development within a free market as the cure for political revolution. They argued for a strong constitution that would spell out guaranteed liberties. The Progressives, like the Moderates, were members of the upper and middle classes, but they drew support from the urban masses and favored creation of a more broadly based electorate. They argued that greater participation in the political process would ensure economic development and an equitable distribution of its fruits. Both factions were constitutional monarchists. The more radical Democrats, however, countered that political freedom and economic liberalism could only be achieved in a republic.

The Moderates, who dominated the new regency in coalition with supporters of Isabella's succession, were backed by the army and assured parliamentary majorities by caciques, local political leaders who regularly



Marshal Juan Prim rallied the patriots against the reactionary party and the queen. This effort by the Spanish Liberals resulted in the dethronement and flight of Isabella and her family in 1868. Prim led a successful revolution but fell victim to assassins in 1874.



The queen Isabella in later life. She was expelled to France in 1868 and died in 1904.

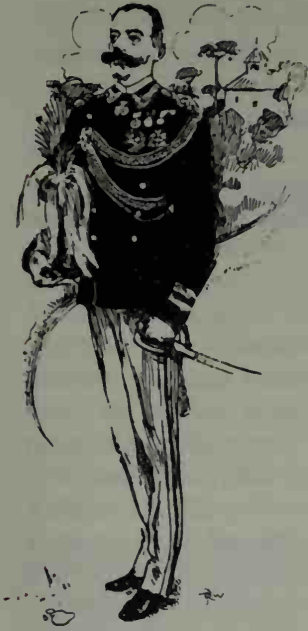


Amadeo, the duke of Aosta, second son of Italy's Vittorio Emanuele II, was offered the throne of Spain and after accepting was given a tumultuous welcome when he arrived in Madrid.

delivered the vote for government candidates in return for patronage. The Progressives courted the Democrats enough to be assured of regular inclusion in the government. Relations with the church remained the most sensitive issue confronting the government and the most divisive issue throughout the country. Despite their anticlericalism, the Moderates concluded a rapprochement with the church, which agreed to surrender its claim to confiscated property in return for official recognition by the state and a role in education. They looked in vain, however, to reconciliation with the church as a means of winning conservative rural support.

In 1868 Don Juan Prim, an army hero and popular Progressive leader, was brought to power by an army revolt led by exiled officers determined to force Isabella from the throne. Her abdication inaugurated a period of experimentation with a liberal monarchy, a federal republic, and finally a military dictatorship.

As prime minister, Prim canvassed Europe for a ruler to replace Isabella. A tentative offer made to a Hohenzollern prince was sufficient spark to set off the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71). Prim found a likely royal candidate in Amadeo of Savoy, son of Victor Emmanuel II, king of Italy. Prim was assassinated shortly after Amadeo's arrival in Spain, leaving the new king without



Amadeo (Amadeus) I, king of Spain, 1871 to 1873, followed Isabella II to the throne. (There was a provisional government from 1868 to 1871.) A serious attempt on his life was made in 1872, and he abdicated in 1873. He lived until 1890.



King Alfonso XII was proclaimed king of Spain on December 29, 1874, by General Martínez Campos, the top military leader, who was an adherent of the overturned Bourbon Dynasty. At the time, Alfonso was living in Paris with his mother, the ex-queen Isabella II. Alfonso XII arrived in Madrid on January 14, 1875, at the head of the government troops, and although not yet eighteen years of age, he took over the reins of government.

Alfonso XII brought the unrest of Spain to an end by 1876. He married twice. His first wife was his cousin, Marie de las Mercedes, daughter of the Duke de Montpensier; and his second wife, Maria Christina, archduchess of Austria, was the mother of Alfonso XIII.



a mentor and at the mercy of hostile politicians. The constitution bequeathed to the new monarchy did not leave Amadeo sufficient powers to supervise the formation of a stable government and, mistrustful of Prim's foreign prince, factional leaders refused to cooperate with or advise him. Deserted finally by the army, Amadeo abdicated, leaving a rump parliament to proclaim Spain a federal republic.

The constitution of the First Republic (1873–74) provided for internally self-governing provinces bound to the federal government by voluntary agreement. Jurisdiction over foreign and colonial affairs and defense was reserved for Madrid. The federal Republic had four presidents in its eight-month lifespan, none of whom could find a prime minister to form a stable cabinet. The government could not decentralize quickly enough to satisfy local radicals. Cities and provinces made unilateral declarations of autonomy in imitation of the Paris Commune. Madrid lost control of the country, and once again the army stepped in to rescue the "national honor." A national government taking the form of a unitary republic briefly served as the transparent disguise for an interim military dictatorship.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

It required no more than a brigadier's pronunciamiento to restore the Bourbon monarchy, calling Isabella's son, the able, British-educated Alfonso XII to the throne (1874–86). Alfonso identified himself as "Spaniard, Catholic, and Liberal," and his succession was greeted with a degree of relief even by supporters of the Republic. He cultivated good relations with the army (Alfonso was a cadet at Sandhurst when summoned to Spain), which removed itself from politics, content that a stable, popular civilian government was being provided. Alfonso insisted that the church be confirmed constitutionally in its official status, thus assuring the restored monarchy of conservative support.

Alfonso XII in the robes of the Order of the Golden Fleece





King Alfonso XIII and his queen visit the royal family in Belgium. Standing, left to right: Prince Leopold and King Albert of Belgium, and King Alfonso. Seated, left to right: the queens of Spain and Belgium.



Queen Regent Maria Christina (1886-1902) and Alfonso XIII

Queen Maria Christina



The birth of Alfonso XIII is announced to the awaiting statesmen. His father having died in 1885, Alfonso XIII became king at birth.



The royal palace in Madrid where the queen lived with the young king Alfonso XIII

King Alfonso XIII in his first royal military uniform



The young king Alfonso XIII horseback riding—his favorite sport

In its political provisions the new constitution was consciously modeled on British practices. The new government used electoral manipulation to construct and maintain a two-party system in parliament, but the result was more a parody than an imitation. Conservatives and Liberals exchanged control of government at regular intervals after general elections. Once again the elections were controlled at the constituency level by caciques who delivered the vote to one party or the other as directed in return for the assurance of patronage from whichever was scheduled to win. Considering Spain's turbulent political history through the first three-quarters of the century, it was a remarkable example of compromise and restraint.

Alfonso XIII (1886–1931) was the posthumous son of Alfonso XII. His mother, another Maria Cristina, acted as regent until her son came officially of age in 1902. (Alfonso XIII abdicated in 1931.)

Emigration to Cuba from Spain was heavy in the nineteenth century, and the Cuban middle class, among whom ties to the mother country were strong, favored keeping Cuba Spanish. Cuba had experienced periodic uprisings by independence movements since 1868. Successive governments in Madrid were committed to maintaining whatever armed forces were necessary to combat insurgency. Hostilities were renewed in 1895, supported clandestinely from the United States, and required Spain's sending substantial reinforcements under General Valerio Weyler. Public opinion in the United States was stirred by reports of his suppression of the independence movement, and the mysterious explosion of the battleship U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor led to a declaration of war by the United States in April 1898. Antiquated Spanish naval units were destroyed at Santiago de Cuba and in Manila Bay. Despite a pledge by Madrid to defend Cuba "to the last peseta," the Spanish army surrendered after a few weeks of hostilities against an American expeditionary force. At Paris in September Spain gave up Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

The suddenness and the totality of Spain's defeat and the realization of its lack of support during the war with the United States (only Germany had offered diplomatic backing) threw the country into despair.

The traumatic events of 1898 and the inability of the government to deal with them prompted political reevaluation. Solutions were sought by a plethora of new personalist parties, most of them short-lived, and by regional groupings on both the left and the right that broke the hegemony of the two-party system and ultimately left the parliamentary structure in disarray. By 1915 it was virtually impossible to form a coalition government that could command the support of a parliamentary majority.

Spain was neutral in World War I, but the Spanish army was constantly engaged from 1909 to 1926 against Abd al-Krim's Riff Berbers in Morocco, where Spain



The coronation of King Alfonso XIII



Alfonso XIII with his queen riding in a carriage in spite of the many threats of assassination plots to kill him during this exposure to all elements of the public. Note the miniature royal crown on the queen's head.



King Alfonso XIII as he appeared later in life



Queen Victoria Eugenia, the consort of King Alfonso XIII, was the grandmother of King Juan Carlos I.



An early picture of Don Juan, the third son of King Alfonso XIII. In 1969, when Franco designated Juan Carlos as his successor, the senior pretender, Don Juan, had not yet given up his claim to the throne.

had joined France in proclaiming a protectorate. Successive civilian governments in Spain allowed the war to continue but refused to supply the army with the means to win it. Spanish losses were heavy to an enemy that was fierce, skillful, and equipped with superior weapons. Riots against conscription for the African war spread disorder throughout the country, and opposition to the war was often expressed in church burning. Officers, who often had served in Morocco, formed juntas to register complaints that were just short of pronunciamientos against wartime inflation, low-fixed salaries for the military, alleged civilian corruption, and inadequate and scarce equipment.

Conditions in Morocco, increased anarchist and Communist terrorism, industrial unrest, and the effects of the postwar economic slump prompted the pronunciamiento that brought a general officer, Miguel Primo de Rivera, to power in 1923. His authoritarian regime originally enjoyed wide support in much of the country, and he had the confidence of the king and the loyalty of the army, but the regime was without an ideological foundation. Its mandate was based on the general disillusionment with the parliamentary government and the divisiveness caused by partisan party politics.

Primo de Rivera's government sponsored public works to curb unemployment. Protectionism and state control of the economy led to a temporary economic recovery. A better led and better supplied army brought the African war to a successful conclusion in 1926.

The precipitous economic decline in 1930 undercut support for the government from special-interest groups. For seven years Primo de Rivera had remained a man on horseback. He had established no new system of government to replace parliamentary government. Criticism from academics mounted. Bankers expressed disappointment at the state loans that his government had tried to float. An attempt to reform the promotion system cost him the support of the army—which, in turn, lost him the support of the king. Primo de Rivera resigned and died shortly after in exile.

REPUBLICAN SPAIN

Antimonarchist parties won a substantial vote in the 1931 municipal elections. Alfonso XIII interpreted the elections and the riots that had acclaimed their results as an indication of imminent civil war, and he left the country with his family, appealing to the army for support in upholding the monarchy. When General José Sanjurjo, army chief of staff, replied that the armed forces would not support the king against the will of the people, Alfonso abdicated.

A multiparty coalition in which regional parties held the balance met at a constitutional convention at San Sebastian, the summer capital, to proclaim the Second Republic. The convention set as the goals of the new Republic to reform the army, to grant regional autonomy, to carry through social reform and economic redistribution, to separate church and state, and to deprive the church of a role in education. Niceto Alcalá Zamora, a nonparty conservative, was named president and called elections for June.

The first general election of the Second Republic gave a majority to a coalition of Left Republicans, middle-class Radicals led by Manuel Azaña, who became prime minister, and labor leader Francisco Largo Caballero's Socialists, backed by the UGT. Azaña's government was pledged to the gradual introduction of socialism through the democratic process. His gradualism alienated the political left; his socialism, the right.

Azaña's greatest difficulties derived from doctrinal differences within the government between his non-Marxist, bourgeois Republicans and the Socialists, who after an initial period of cooperation obstructed Azaña at every step. Attempts at labor legislation were blocked by opposition from the UGT. The Socialists complained that Azaña's reforms were inadequate to produce meaningful social changes, though there was no parliamentary majority that would have approved Largo Caballero's proposals. If Azaña's legislative program did not satisfy his ally, it did rally moderate and conservative opinion against the coalition on the eve of the second general election in November 1932.

Azaña's principal parliamentary opposition came from the two largest parties that could claim a national constituency, Lerroux's moderate, middle-class Radical Republicans and the right-wing Catholic organization, the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas—CEDA). Lerroux, who had grown more conservative and tolerant than in his days as an antimonarchist firebrand, capitalized on the left's failure to reach a compromise with the church or to deal with industrial unrest and the extragovernmental power of the UGT and CNT. President Zamora was hostile to CEDA and urged Lerroux to head a minority government, which he did for

more than a year before entering into a parliamentary alliance with CEDA. The center-right coalition was not welcomed by Lerroux, but it was the only means by which a parliamentary majority that included his party could be obtained. Gil Robles was appointed minister for war, with a role in maintaining public order, in the new government.

The unions used the strike as a political weapon much as the army used the pronunciamiento. Industrial disorder climaxed in the miners' strike in Asturias, which Azaña openly and actively supported. The miners were crushed by the police and army commanded by Francisco Franco. The strike confirmed to the right that the left could not be trusted to abide by constitutional processes, and the suppression of the strike proved to the left that the right was "Fascist." Azaña accused Gil Robles of using Republican institutions to destroy the Republic.

The Lerroux-Gil Robles government had as its first priority the restoration of order, although its existence was the chief excuse for the disorder. Action on labor's legitimate grievances was postponed until order was restored. The most controversial of Gil Robles' programs, however, was finding the means to effect a reconciliation with the church. Within the context of the coalition with Lerroux, he also attempted to expand his political base by courting the support of anti-Republican elements. The government resigned in November 1935 over a minor issue. Zamora refused to sanction the formation of a new government by CEDA, without whose cooperation no moderate government could be put together. On the advice of the left, Zamora called a new general election for February.

In polarizing public opinion the Asturian miners' strike had consolidated the parties on the left from Azaña's Republicans to the Communist Party of Spain (Partido Comunista de España). The Socialists had been increasingly "bolshevized," and it was difficult for a Social Democrat such as Largo Caballero to control his party in its leftward drift. In 1935 Stalin had sanctioned Communist participation in popular front governments with bourgeois and Democratic Socialist parties. The success of Léon Blum, the French Socialist leader, in bringing the Popular Front to power in France had conferred respectability on the project. The Left Republicans, the Socialists, the Catalan Left (Esquerra Catalana), the Communists, a number of smaller regional and left-wing parties, and the Anarchists, who had boycotted previous elections as a matter of principle, joined to present a single leftist slate to the electorate.

In contrast to Blum's experiment in France, however, the Spanish Popular Front was to be an electoral coalition only. Its goal was not to form a government but to defeat the right. Largo Caballero made it clear that the Socialists would not cooperate in any government that did not adopt their program for nationalization, a policy as much guaranteed to break Spain in two and provoke

a civil war as the appointment of the CEDA-dominated government that Zamora had worked to prevent.

The general election produced a number of irregularities that led the left, right, and center to claim voting fraud on a massive scale. Two subsequent runoff votes, recounts, and an electoral commission controlled by the left provided the Popular Front with an impressive number of parliamentary seats. Azaña formed his minority government, but the front's victory was taken as the signal for the start of the left's long-awaited revolution, already anticipated by street riots, church burnings, and strikes. Parallel governments were set up by workers' councils, which undertook to circumvent the slow-grinding wheels of the constitutional process. Zamora was removed from office on the grounds that he had gone beyond his constitutional authority in calling the general election. Azaña was named to replace him, depriving the Left Republicans of his strong leadership.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Gil Robles' influence waned as a spokesman for the right in the new parliament. CEDA's role was assumed by the National Block, a smaller coalition of monarchists and Fascists led by José Calvo Sotelo, who had sought the army's cooperation in restoring Alfonso XIII. Calvo Sotelo, who had been eloquent in opposition in the opening sessions of the new parliament, was murdered in July 1936, supposedly in retaliation for the killing of a police officer by Fascists. Calvo Sotelo's death was a signal to the army to act, on the pretext that the civilian government had allowed the country to fall into disorder, which on the face of it was true. A pronunciamiento was issued. A coup was expected, however, and revolts by army garrisons in Madrid and Barcelona were beaten down by the urban police and workers' militia loyal to the government. Navy crews spontaneously purged their ships of officers. The eleventh-hour efforts of Indalecio Prieto, who had succeeded Azaña as prime minister, to arrive at a compromise were rejected both by the army and by the left.

The army was most successful in the north. Old Castile, Leon, and the Carlist strongholds in Navarre and Aragon rallied to the army. In Morocco elite units seized control under Franco, Spain's youngest general and a hero of the Riff campaigns, where he had commanded the Foreign Legion. Franco's African army, including Moorish auxiliaries, were ferried to Andalusia on transport supplied by Germany and Italy. Franco occupied the major cities in the south before turning toward Madrid to link up with Mola, who was advancing from Burgos. The relief of the army garrison besieged in the Alcazar at Toledo, however, delayed the attack on Madrid and allowed time for a preparation of the defense of the capital. Army units penetrated the city limits but



The dictator, Francisco Franco

were driven back on the grounds of the University of Madrid.

A junta of generals, Franco included, formed a government at Burgos that was immediately recognized by Germany and Italy. Sanjurjo, who had been expected to lead the army movement, was killed in a plane crash during the first days of the uprising. In October 1936 Franco was named head of state, with the rank of generalissimo and the title *el caudillo* (the leader).

Franco, who did not have a reputation as a political soldier, had opposed Sanjurjo in 1932, but Azaña had considered him unreliable and made him captain general of the Canaries, virtual exile for an ambitious officer. Though by nature a conservative, Franco was not wedded to any political creed. He set about reconciling all right-wing, anti-Republican groups in one Nationalist organization. The catalyst was provided by the Falange, a Fascist party founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the dictator's son. The Carlists, revived after 1931, merged with the Falange in 1937, but the association was never harmonious. José Antonio's execution by the Republicans provided the Falange with a martyr. The more radical of the early Falange programs were pushed aside, and the syndicalism adopted by the Nationalists was only a shadow of what José Antonio had intended, but the Nationalist organization kept its Fascist facade. Franco's strength, however, lay in the army.

Nationalist strategy called for separating Madrid from Catalonia, which was firmly Republican, and from Valencia and Murcia, which the Republic also controlled. The Republicans stabilized the front around Madrid, defending it against the Nationalists for three years. Isolated Asturias and Vizcaya, where the newly organized Basque Republic fought to defend its autonomy without assistance from Madrid, fell to Franco in October 1937. Otherwise the battlelines were static until July 1938, when Nationalist forces broke through to the Mediterranean Sea south of Barcelona. Throughout the civil war the industrial areas, Asturias and the Basque provinces excepted, remained in Republican hands while the chief food-producing areas were under Nationalist control.

The Republic lacked a regular trained army, though

a number of armed forces cadres had remained loyal, especially in the air force and navy. Many officers who were loyal were either purged or not trusted to hold command positions. The brunt of the fighting in the early months of the civil war was borne by the workers' militia and independently organized armed political units like those of the Trotskyite Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—POUM), described by George Orwell in *Homage to Catalonia*. The army garrison in Barcelona, for instance, had been crushed by the anarchist UGT militia and the Assault Guards, the urban police corps established by the Republic to counterbalance the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil), the paramilitary rural police, generally considered reactionary. Advisers, logistics experts, and some field-grade officers were provided by Moscow. Foreign volunteers, including more than two thousand from the United States, formed the International Brigade. The Communists pressed for and won approval for the creation of a national, conscript Republican army.

Nationalist strength was based on the regular army, which included large contingents of Moroccan troops and the battalions of the Foreign Legion, which Franco had commanded in Africa. The Carlists, who had always maintained a clandestine military organization (*requetés*) and some of whom had received training in Italy, were among Franco's most effective troops and were employed with the Moroccans as a shock corps. More than fifty thousand Italian "volunteers," most of them army conscripts, were dispatched to Spain by Mussolini, along with air and naval units. The German Condor Legion, made infamous by the bombing of Guernica, provided air support for the Nationalists and tested the tactics and equipment used a few years later by the Luftwaffe.

A nonintervention commission, including representatives from France, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy, was established at the Lyon Conference in 1936 to stem the flow of supplies to both sides. France and Great Britain were concerned that escalating foreign intervention not turn Spain's civil war into a European war.

Largo Caballero, who became prime minister in September 1936, had the support of the Socialists and of the Communists, who were becoming the most important political factor in the Republican government. The Communists, after successfully arguing for a national conscript army that could be directed by the government, pressed for elimination of the militia units. They also argued for postponing the revolution until the Fascists had been defeated and encouraged greater participation by the bourgeois parties in the Popular Front. The UGT, increasingly under Communist influence, was brought into the government, and the more militant elements within it were purged. POUM, which had resisted disbanding its independent military units and merging with the Communist-controlled national army, was ruthlessly

suppressed as the Communists undertook to eliminate competing leftist organizations. Anarchists were dealt with in similar fashion, and in Catalonia a civil war was fought within a civil war.

Fearing the growth of Soviet influence in Spain, Largo Caballero attempted to negotiate a compromise that would end the civil war. He was removed from office and replaced by Juan Negrin López, a pro-Communist Socialist with little previous political experience.

The Republican army, its attention diverted by internal political battles, brave but often poorly led, was never able to mount a sustained counteroffensive or to exploit a breakthrough such as that on the Ebro in 1938. Negrin López realized that the war could not be won by Spaniards in Spain, but he hoped to prolong the fighting until the outbreak of a European war, which he thought imminent.

Barcelona fell to the Nationalists in January 1939, and Valencia, the temporary capital, in March. When factional fighting broke out in Madrid among its defenders, the Republican army commander seized control of what remained of the government and surrendered to the Nationalists on the last day of March, thus ending the civil

FRANCO'S SPAIN

Although Franco made no secret of his Axis sympathies in the early years of World War II and was a signatory of the Anti-Comintern Pact, he kept Spain neutral. Hitler attempted to encourage more active cooperation from Franco at their one meeting at Hendaye on the French border in 1941, but Franco was determined to make no commitments.

Juan Carlos was always a very popular person with the Spanish people. He is seen here arriving in Madrid in 1955 for a royalist demonstration.



Franco prepared for the likelihood of postwar criticism of his regime by reinstating the Cortes in 1943, though not as an elected legislature, and by providing a constitution in 1945.

Stalin proposed an attack against Spain, the last Fascist stronghold, after Germany's defeat, but his suggestions were rejected by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt. At the conclusion of World War II the United Nations bound its members to observe diplomatic and economic sanctions against Spain, and for several years Spain was ostracized by the world community.

The United States resumed the exchange of ambassadors with Madrid in 1951, and an agreement calling for the establishment of American air and naval bases in Spain was concluded in 1953. Efforts to include Spain in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were vetoed by the Western European members, whose official attitudes toward Spain remain cool.

THE MONARCHY RETURNS

Spain was proclaimed a monarchy without a king in 1957. Don Juan de Borbón y Battenberg, the heir of



Juan Carlos Víctor María de Borbón y Borbón was born at 1:05 p.m. on January 5, 1938, at the Anglo-American Hospital in Rome. He was the first son of Don Juan de Borbón y Battenberg and Doña María de las Mercedes de Borbón y Orleans, and consequently the grandson of King Alfonso XIII and Queen Victoria Eugenie—the granddaughter of Queen Victoria of England—on his father's side, and of the Infante Don Carlos de Borbón and the Infanta Dona Luisa de Orleans on his mother's side.

The two dynastic branches that had been separate since the death of Ferdinand VII have come together once more in his person, "through the design of Providence," as Juan Carlos himself was to proclaim on July 23, 1969, at the ceremony of his oath-taking as successor to the office of head of state as king.

A few hours after his birth, he was baptized in the church of the Master's Palace of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, by the then secretary of state of the Vatican, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, who a year later was to become pope under the name of Pius XII.

Finally, by virtue of the Law of Succession dated July 26, 1947, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón was designated successor as king on July 22, 1969, with a view to his ascending the throne in due course. This actually took place on November 22, 1975.

Alfonso XIII, was considered too liberal and was removed from the line of succession, but in 1969 his son, Don Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, groomed by Franco to assume the monarchy, was named to succeed to the throne. Prince Juan Carlos, upon being named heir to the throne, swore to uphold the principles of the National movement, Franco's umbrella political organization. Franco had taken an active interest in the prince's education, making certain that Juan Carlos attended the three military academies—army, navy, and air force—as well as the University of Madrid. After formal schooling the prince was assigned at various times to positions in the different ministries in order to learn government operation firsthand.

Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, a longtime confidant of Franco's, replaced the aging dictator as head of government in 1973 and was considered to be Franco's hand-picked political successor. Carrero Blanco was assassinated in 1974 by Basque terrorists. In the cabinet reshuffle that followed the appointment of his successor, former security chief Carlos Arias Navarro, Opus Dei ministers were dropped. During Franco's illness in the summer of 1974 and the fall of 1975, Prince Juan Carlos assumed temporarily the duties of the head of state. Franco died November 20, 1975, and Prince Juan Carlos became the king of Spain, returning the monarchy to control of the country.



King Juan Carlos I is commemorated on many stamps in his country and its possessions.



On September 13, 1961, Juan Carlos's engagement to Princess Sophia, the daughter of King Paul I and Queen Fredericka of Greece was announced. She was born on November 2, 1938, in Athens, and in her family tree there are two German emperors, eight kings of Denmark, five kings of Sweden, seven czars of Russia, one king and one queen of Norway, one queen of England, and five kings of Greece.

The wedding took place in Athens on May 14, 1962. The marriage, for which the Latin Catholic rite was used, took place at the Catholic church of Saint Dionysius, and was followed by an Orthodox ceremony at the Metropolitan Church for civil purposes. More than a half-million people cheered the bride and groom through the streets of the Greek capital. The marriage ceremony was attended by 137 kings and princesses from different countries.



In May 1962 Prince Juan Carlos married Princess Sophia of Greece. In this photograph of the ceremony King Paul of Greece (1947–64), the father of the bride, appears to the left, and behind Sophia is her brother Constantine, who became the king of Greece (1964–73).



Up to the present time, the king and queen of Spain have had three children:

The Infanta Doña Elena. She was born on December 20, 1963, at the Nuestra Señora de Loreto Hospital in Madrid. The christening took place at the Zarzuela Palace on December 27. The godparents were the countess of Barcelona and the Infante Don Alfonso of Orleans.

The Infanta Doña Cristina. She was born at the same hospital as her sister, on June 13, 1965, and was also christened at the Zarzuela Palace, on June 21. Her godparents were the Infanta Maria Cristina, countess of Marone; and Don Alfonso de Borbón Dampierre.

The Infante Don Felipe. He was born on January 30, 1968, at the same hospital as his sisters. The king and queen's first son, Felipe Juan Pablo Alfonso de Todos los Santos Borbón Schleswig-Holstein Bourbon Sonderburg-Glücksburg, is the rightful heir to all his father's titles of nobility and will eventually succeed him as head of state and king. At his christening, which took place on February 8, his godparents were Don Juan de Borbón, count of Barcelona; and Queen Victoria Eugenia, who, after thirty-one years' absence, had set foot on Spanish soil once more for this purpose.



A stamp honoring the crown prince Felipe (Philip) and future king of Spain

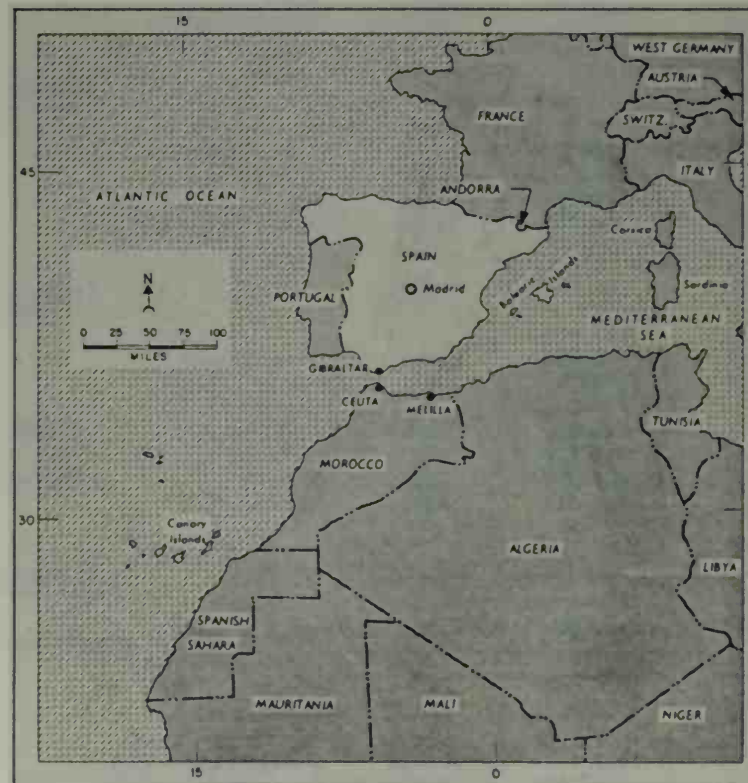


Recent rulers of Spain commemorated in a special series of stamps. Left, top to bottom: Philip V (1701-24), Charles IV (1788-1808), and Alfonso XIII (1874-86). Center, top to bottom: Luis I (1724), Ferdinand VI (1746-59), Ferdinand VII (1808), and Alfonso XIII (1886-1931). And right, top to bottom: Charles III (1759-88), Isabella II (1833-68), and Juan Carlos I (1975-).



In 1976, the king and queen visited the United Nations headquarters in New York City. Left to right: Mrs. Kurt Waldheim, King Juan Carlos, Secretary-General Waldheim, and Queen Sophia.

Spain in its geographic setting today



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOMS OF SPAIN

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
206 B.C.—A.D. 411		—Under control of Romans			
411—		—Spain conquered by Visigoths			

VISIGOTHIC RULE

412–415	King	Ataulphus (Atauf) (Ataulfo)		415	
415–417	King	Wallia		417	
417–451	King	Theodoric		451	
451–456	King	Theodoric II		456	
466–484	King	Euric (Eurico)		484	
484–507	King	Alaric (Alarico)		507	
508–531	King	Amalaric (Amalarico)		531	
531–554	King	Theudes		554	
554–567	King	Athanagild (Athanagildo)		567	
567–571	King	Theodimir		571	
571–572	King	Leuva		572	
572–586	King	Leuvigild (Leovigildo)		586	
586–601	King	Recared (Recaredo) (Reccaredo)		601	
601–612	King	Sisebut (Sisebert)		612	
612–621	King	Recared II (Recaredo) (Reccaredo)		621	
621–631	King	Swintilla (Suintila)		631	
631–640	King	Sisenando		640	
640–642	King	Tulga		642	
642–653	King	Chindaswind (Cindasuinto)		653	
653–672	King	Recceswinth (Recesuinto)		672	
672–680	King	Wamba		680	
680–687	King	Euric (Ervigius)		687	
687–702	King	Ergica		702	
702–709	King	Witiza		709	
709–711	King	Roderic (Rodrigo)		711	

MOORISH AMIRATE

711–714	Amir	Tarik and Musa			
714–717	Amir	Abdelaziz		717	
718–719	Amir	Alhor		719	
730–732	Amir	Abderraman of Gafeki		732	

AMIRS OF CORDOVA

756–788	Amir	Abder Rahman I	731	788	
788–799	Amir	Hisham I	742	799	Son of Abder Rahman I
799–822	Amir	Hakam I	760	822	Son of Hisham I
822–852	Amir	Abder Rahman II	788	852	Son of Hakam I
852–886	Amir	Mohammed I	816	886	Son of Abder Rahman II
886–888	Amir	Mondhir	844	888	Son of Mohammed I
888–912	Amir	Abdallah	868	912	Son of Mondhir

CALIPHS OF CORDOVA

912–961	Caliph	Abder Rahman III (Abderraman)	891	961	Grandson of Abdallah
961–976	Caliph	Hakam II (Alhaken)	913	976	Son of Abder Rahman III
976–1008	Caliph	Hisham II (Hixen)	975	1016	Son of Hakam II
1008–1008	Caliph	Mohammed II	976	1008	
1009–1009	Caliph	Suleyman	980	1017	
1010–1012	Caliph	Hisham II (rethroned)		1016	
1012–1017	Caliph	Suleyman (rethroned)	980	1017	
1017–1021	Caliph	Ali bin Hamoud		1021	
1021–1022	Caliph	Abder Rahman IV		1022	
1022–1022	Caliph	Alcasim		1022	
1022–1023	Caliph	Abder Rahman V		1023	
1023–1024	Caliph	Mohammed III		1024	
1024–1027	Caliph	Yahya bin Ali		1027	
1027–1031	Caliph	Hisham III		1031	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
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SULTANS OF ALMORAVIDE

1067-1107	Sultan	Yousouf bin Teshonfin		1107	
1107-1144	Sultan	Ali bin Yousouf		1144	
1144-1147	Sultan	Teshoufin bin Ali		1147	

SULTANS OF ALMOHADE

1147-1163	Sultan	Abd el-Moulmin		1163	
1163-1178	Sultan	Yousouf abou Yacoub		1178	
1178-1199	Sultan	Yacoub bin Yousouf		1199	
1199-1213	Sultan	Mohammed bin Yacoub		1213	
1213-1223	Sultan	Abou Yacoub		1223	
1223-1225	Sultan	Abou Malik		1225	
1225-1238	Sultan	Mamoun		1238	

KINGS OF GRANADA

1238-1273	King	Mahommed I			
1273-1303	King	Mahommed II			
1303-1309	King	Mahommed III			
1309-1312	King	Nazar			
1312-1325	King	Ismail I			
1325-1333	King	Mahommed IV			
1333-1354	King	Youcef I			
1354-1359	King	Mahommed V			
1359-1361	King	Ismail II			
1361-1361	King	Abou-Said			
1361-1391	King	Mahommed V (rethroned)			
1391-1396	King	Youcef II			
1396-1408	King	Mahommed VI			
1408-1425	King	Youcef III			
1425-1427	King	Mahommed VII			
1427-1427	King	Mahommed VIII			
1427-1431	King	Mahommed VII (rethroned)			
1431-1431	King	Ebn Alhamar			
1432-1445	King	Mahommed VII (rethroned)			
1445-1454	King	Ebn Ostman			
1454-1456	King	Ebn Ismail			
1456-1482	King	Moulay Hacen			
1482-1492	King	Abou Abdilehi (Boabdil)			

CHRISTIAN KINGSKINGS OF ASTURIAS

718-737	King	Pelayo			
737-739	King	Favila			
739-757	King	Alfonso I, the Catholic			
757-768	King	Fruela I			
768-774	King	Aurelio (Aurelius)			
774-783	King	Silo			
783-788	King	Mauregato the Usurper			
788-791	King	Bermudo I, the Deacon (Veremund)			
791-842	King	Alfonso II, the Chaste		842	
842-850	King	Ramiro I		850	Son of Bermudo I
850-866	King	Ordono I		866	Son of Ramiro I
866-910	King	Alfonso III, the Great	848	912	

KINGS OF LEÓN

910-914	King	Garcia		914	
914-924	King	Ordono II		924	Son of Alfonso III
924-925	King	Fruela II		925	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
925-930	King	Alfonso IV, the Monk		930	
930-950	King	Ramiro II		950	
950-956	King	Ordono III		956	Son of Ramiro II
956-967	King	Sancho I, the Fat		967	Brother of Ordono III
967-982	King	Ramiro III		982	Son of Sancho I
982-999	King	Bermudo II		999	Son of Ordono III
999-1027	King	Alfonso V, the Noble		1027	
1027-1037	King	Bermudo III		1037	

KINGS OF LEÓN AND CASTILE

1037-1065	King	Ferdinand I, the Great		1065	Son of Sancho III of Castile
1065-1072	King	Sancho II		1072	Son of Ferdinand I
1072-1109	King	Alfonso VI	1030	1109	Son of Sancho II
1109-1126	Queen	Urraca	1081	1126	Daughter of Alfonso VI
1126-1157	King	Alfonso VII, the Emperor	1106	1157	Son of Urraca

KINGS OF LEÓN

1157-1188	King	Ferdinand II		1188	Son of Alfonso VII
1188-1230	King	Alfonso IX		1230	Son of Ferdinand II

KINGS OF CASTILE

1157-1158	King	Sancho III		1158	Son of Alfonso VII
1158-1214	King	Alfonso VIII	1155	1214	Son of Sancho III
1214-1217	King	Henry I	1202	1217	Son of Alfonso VIII
1217-1217	Queen	Berangaria			Mother of Ferdinand III
1217-1252	King	Ferdinand III, the Saint	1199	1252	Son of Alfonso IX of León
1252-1284	King	Alfonso X, the Wise	1225	1284	Son of Ferdinand III
1284-1295	King	Sancho IV	1258	1295	Son of Alfonso X
1295-1312	King	Ferdinand IV	1285	1312	Son of Sancho IV
1312-1350	King	Alfonso XI	1310	1350	Son of Ferdinand IV
1350-1369	King	Pedro I, the Cruel	1334	1369	Son of Alfonso XI
1369-1379	King	Henry II	1333	1379	Brother of Pedro I
1379-1390	King	John I	1358	1390	Son of Henry II
1390-1406	King	Henry III	1379	1406	Son of John I
1406-1454	King	John II	1405	1454	Son of Henry III
1454-1474	King	Henry IV	1425	1474	Son of John II

KINGS OF NAVARRE

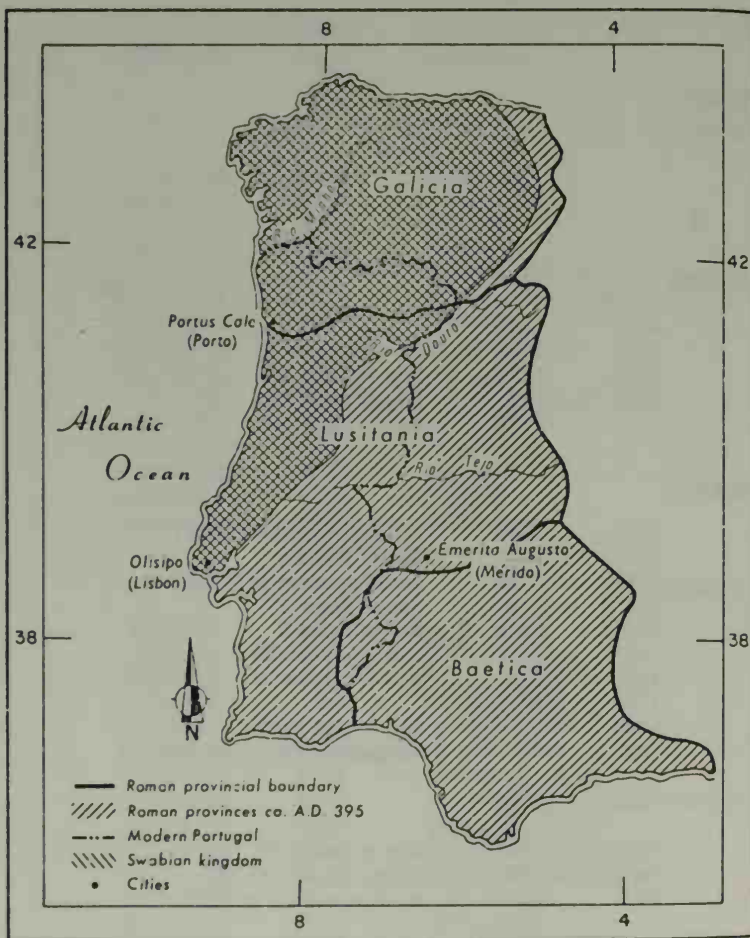
840-851	King	Inigo Arista			
905-925	King	Sancho Garces			
925-970	King	Garcia Sanchez I			
970-994	King	Sancho Abarca			
994-1000	King	Garcia Sanchez II			
1000-1035	King	Sancho the Great			
1035-1054	King	Garcia Sanchez III		1054	
1076-1094	King	Sancho III Ramirez (Sancho I of Aragon)		1094	
1134-1150	King	Garcia Ramirez IV		1150	
1150-1194	King	Sancho V, the Wise		1194	
1194-1234	King	Sancho VI, the Strong		1234	
1234-1253	King	Teobaldo I		1253	
1253-1270	King	Teobaldo II		1270	
1270-1274	King	Henry I		1274	
1274-1305	Queen	Juana I		1305	
1305-1316	King	Luis Hutfn		1316	
1316-1322	King	Philip		1322	
1322-1328	King	Charles I		1328	
1328-1349	Queen	Juana II		1349	
1349-1387	King	Charles II, the Bad		1387	
1387-1425	King	Charles III, the Noble		1425	
1425-1479	Queen	Blanca and			
	King	Don John			
1479-1479	Queen	Leonor		1479	
1479-1481	King	Francisco Febo		1481	
1481-1512	Queen	Catalina (and Don John of Aragon)			
1512-	Joined with Castile and Aragon				

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
KINGS OF ARAGON					
1035-1065	King	Ramiro I		1065	
1065-1094	King	Sancho Ramirez		1094	
1094-1104	King	Pedro I		1104	
1104-1134	King	Alfonso I, the Fighter		1034	
1134-1137	King	Ramiro II, the Monk		1137	Brother of Alfonso I
1137-1162	Queen	Petronilla		1162	
1162-1196	King	Alfonso II		1196	Son of Ramon Berenguer IV
1196-1213	King	Pedro II		1213	Son of Alfonso II
1213-1276	King	James I, the Conqueror		1236	Son of Pedro II
1276-1285	King	Pedro III, the Great		1285	Son of James I
1285-1291	King	Alfonso III		1291	Son of Pedro III
1291-1327	King	James II		1327	Brother of Alfonso III
1327-1336	King	Alfonso IV		1336	
1336-1387	King	Pedro IV, the Ceremonious		1387	Son of Alfonso IV
1387-1395	King	John I		1395	Son of Pedro IV
1395-1410	King	Martin I, the Humane		1410	Brother of John I
1412-1416	King	Ferdinand I		1416	Brother of John II of Castile
1416-1458	King	Alfonso V, the Magnanimous		1458	Son of Ferdinand I
1458-1479	King	John II		1479	
1479-1516	King	Ferdinand II	1452	1516	
KINGS OF SPAIN					
1474-1504	Queen	Isabella and Ferdinand V			
1504-1506	King	Philip I and Queen Juana (Joanne)			
1506-1516	Regent	Ferdinand V			
1516-1517	Regent	Cardinal Cisneros			
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA					
1519-1556	King	Charles I (Emperor Charles V)	1500	1558	
1556-1598	King	Philip II	1527	1598	Son of Charles I
1598-1621	King	Philip III	1578	1621	Son of Philip II
1621-1665	King	Philip IV	1605	1665	Son of Philip III
1665-1701	King	Charles II	1661	1701	Son of Philip IV
HOUSE OF BOURBON					
1701-1724	King	Philip V	1683	1746	Great-grandson of Philip IV
1724-1724	King	Luis I	1701	1724	Son of Philip V
1724-1746	King	Philip V (rethroned)	1683	1746	Great-grandson of Philip IV
1746-1759	King	Ferdinand VI	1713	1759	Son of Philip V
1759-1788	King	Charles III	1716	1788	Son of Philip V
1788-1808	King	Charles IV	1748	1819	Son of Charles III
1808-1808	King	Ferdinand VII	1784	1833	Son of Charles IV
1808-1814	King	Joseph Bonaparte	1768	1844	
1814-1833	King	Ferdinand VII (again)	1784	1833	Son of Charles IV
1833-1868	Queen	Isabella II	1830	1904	Daughter of Ferdinand VII
1868-1871	Provisional Government				
1871-1873	King	Amadeo I of Savoy	1845	1890	
1873-1874	First Republic				
1874-1886	King	Alfonso XII	1857	1886	Son of Isabella II
1886-1886	Regent	Maria Cristina (Christina)	1858	1929	Widow of Alfonso XII
1886-1931	King	Alfonso XIII	1886	1941	Posthumous son of Alfonso XII
1931	Second Republic				
1975-	King	Juan Carlos I	1938		Grandson of Alfonso XIII



9

The Portuguese Monarchy



The ancient Portugal—Roman Lusitania and the Swabian Kingdom

Portugal derives its name from the medieval Latin term *Portugalense*, which designated the country surrounding the Roman town *Portus Cale* (modern Porto), roughly the northwestern region between the River Douro and the River Minho. First mentioned in the ninth century A.D., the *Portugalense* was an administrative area on the frontier of the Christian Kingdom of León, without tra-

ditional borders or a previous history as a separate political unit. The Douro-Minho core had been part of larger regions—the tribal lands of the Lusitanians and the Swabian kingdom that had left it with a legacy of isolation and separateness—but until the twelfth century its history was indistinguishable from that of Spain. It was from this core area, however, that the Portuguese state emerged and before the end of the thirteenth century had extended southward to the borders it retains in the twentieth century.

Many historians, Portuguese and Spanish alike, have considered it an accident that Portugal, exposed and peripheral, developed as an independent entity. The country has no distinctive natural borders. Apart from the western littoral its several regions are geographical extensions of larger ones in Spain. In its origins Portugal lacked ethnic cohesion. Its language had a common root with that of the dialects spoken by the people of Galicia, which has never ceased to be a part of Spain. Historians have seen the maintenance of Portuguese independence as resulting from the early development of a colonial empire, an extraordinary political and economic relationship with England, and Spain's untimely preoccupation with matters more urgent than Iberian unification.

Clearly a Portuguese government existed before a Portuguese nation. Nationality developed around allegiance to the king during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and from that grew political and cultural unity and a common Portuguese existence for all the king's subjects. The selection of Lisbon as the national capital tied Portugal's future to the Atlantic, making the Portuguese, in the words of the Spanish writer Salvador de Madariaga, "a Spaniard with his back to Castile." Portugal was the first European nation to establish a sea-borne overseas empire. Its dominion and civilization were extended to parts of Africa, Asia, and America. Small, poor, and marginal in a European context, Portugal ensured its continued existence in large measure by its ability to exploit far-flung colonies, and developments in the colo-

nies often had a decisive effect on domestic Portuguese affairs. Throughout its history as a separate state Portugal has had an ambiguous relationship with Spain. It was an imperative of Portuguese policy to resist absorption and the loss of national identity, but nonetheless the history of inter-Iberian relations was marked by repeated efforts by Portugal and Castile to achieve dynastic union. Ironically, in order to maintain the integrity of its empire and its independence from Spain, Portugal became an economic dependency of England.

In the absence of an easily defined national character it is impossible to determine which of the distinct regional characters is authentically Portuguese. Family oriented, generally apolitical, basically conservative and individualistic, the Portuguese are intensely patriotic but not public spirited. Forgetting whatever in it has been unpleasant, they are given to nostalgia for an idealized past. They tend to be phlegmatic but not practical in their political attitudes. Foreign influences are often rejected because they come from a mentality too different from their own to be assimilated.

Contemporary Portuguese historians have been reluctant to study the unstable and weak governments of the early twentieth century. Although proud and boastful of their country's past achievements, they have been embarrassed by the failure of liberal democratic government to take root in Portugal and by the easy resort to authoritarian alternatives.

LUSITANIA

The west flank of the Iberian Peninsula has known human habitation for many thousands of years; however, the prehistory of the area is even more obscure than that of most parts of Europe, and the origin of those earliest inhabitants as well as the origins of subsequent waves of migrants who each in turn absorbed their predecessors is a matter of scholarly debate. Archaeological finds in southern Portugal are similar to those excavated in sites stretching across North Africa to the Middle East and are evidence of participation in a common southern Mediterranean Paleolithic culture that had its roots in the African continent. Although later Mesolithic settlers and megalith builders, active before 3000 B.C., probably came into the region from the north, all prehistoric cultures there appear to bear the impress of African cultural influence. Compared with adjacent areas, however, the territory lying within the geographic confines of modern Portugal was an isolated backwater in prehistoric times.

IBERIANS

During the course of the third millennium B.C. the Iberians spread over the peninsula that came to bear their name. They provided the genetic base for the populations of both Portugal and Spain. Archaeological evi-

dence has been variously interpreted as indicating an African or an eastern Mediterranean origin, the weight of opinion leaning to the latter, but it is likely that the Iberians who emerged into recorded history after 2000 B.C. were an amalgam of several groups of migrants and still earlier inhabitants who after generations of mingling came to share a number of cultural traits and adopt similar modes of social organization. They differed greatly among themselves, however. In some areas a sophisticated urban society emerged based on trade with the Aegean in tin and copper—the components of bronze—and supported by a prosperous agriculture. By contrast the Iberians who settled in the region bounded by the River Tejo and the River Minho were primitive. Called Lusitanians, they were described by the classical geographers Polybius and Strabo as a loose, quarrelsome federation of tribes, living behind the walls of fortified villages in the hills, engaging in banditry as their primary occupation, and carrying on incessant tribal warfare.

The Lusitanians were marked by their contact with the Celtic herders and metalworkers who moved across the Pyrenees in several waves after 900 B.C. to settle in the northern half of the peninsula. The heaviest concentration of Celts was north of the River Douro in Galicia, where they easily adapted to the damp, relatively cool climate similar to that of their Danubian homeland. The Celtic settlers soon were fused racially and culturally with the native Iberians among whom they lived. The degree to which there was a Celtic genetic intrusion south of the Douro is a matter of discussion, but the Lusitanians would seem to have been Iberians who assimilated Celtic culture rather than a racial admixture of Celts and Iberians. Similar though they were in many ways, even in their language, there was nonetheless a clear dividing line at the Douro between the patriarchal bandits of Lusitania and the matriarchal pastoralists of Galicia.

From about 1200 B.C. the Phoenicians, later their Carthaginian colonists, and by 800 B.C. the Greeks moved up the western Iberian coast to Galicia and beyond in search of trade, but the Lusitanian coast held no interest for them. Although they established colonies elsewhere in Iberia, there were no substantial settlements in what later became Portuguese territory, apart from several Phoenician and Carthaginian trading stations exploiting the salt basins and fig groves of the Algarve, at the southern extreme of modern Portugal. The Carthaginians, however, did hire the bellicose Lusitanians as mercenaries, some probably serving under Hannibal during his Italian campaign in the late third century B.C.

ROMANS

Roman armies invaded Iberia in 212 B.C. to cut Hannibal off from his source of supplies and reinforcement. Resistance by the Iberians was fierce and prolonged, and it was not until 19 B.C. that the Roman emperor Augustus

was able to complete the conquest of the peninsula, which the Romans renamed Hispania. The people south of the River Tejo, Mediterranean in outlook, were docile in the face of the Roman advance, but it took seventy years to subdue the Lusitanians. Their banditry had a barbarizing effect on areas far beyond their own tribal territory and compelled the Romans to launch repeated expeditions against them. Native chieftains such as Viriato, leading light cavalry skilled in hit-and-run tactics, harried army after army and occasionally decimated them. Viriato, the first of the Hispanic world's caudillos, or popular military leaders, remains one of Portugal's folk heroes.

Once subdued, however, the Lusitanians were quickly and thoroughly romanized. Their fortifications were dismantled, and the tribes moved down from the hills to the more fertile lowlands, where they were introduced to agriculture. So complete was the process of pacification that no troops were permanently garrisoned in Lusitania. Eventually the territory included in modern Portugal was divided into three Roman provinces, but none was coterminous with subsequent Portuguese borders. The capital of Roman Lusitania was at Emerita Augusta, the site of present-day Mérida in Spain. Roman towns of some size were laid out at Baracara Augusta (Braga), Portus Cale (Porto), Pax Julia (Beja), and Olisipo (Lisbon), which according to legend had been founded by Ulysses. Settlers from Italy were few in the north, but large estates or latifundia were staked out in the Alentejo and the Algarve, where the names of Roman villas survive in Portuguese villages.

Unlike other parts of Hispania, Lusitania played no significant part in the history of the Roman Empire. It was neither populous nor prosperous, produced no luminaries of Roman political life or Latin culture, and was without strategic significance. It was for five hundred years, however, part of a cosmopolitan world empire, bound together by the Roman road, sharing a common language and legal system, and its people, at peace, united in a common Roman identity and citizenship.

Christianity was introduced in the second century A.D., later than in the rest of Hispania, but an ecclesiastical hierarchy active in church councils had been established by the next century. Despite severe persecution Christianity was popular in provincial towns and cities but made little progress in the Lusitanian countryside until the late fourth century, by which time it had become the officially recognized religion of the Roman Empire. Bishops, who had civil as well as ecclesiastical status, maintained order after government had broken down in that part of the empire in the fifth century.

SWABIANS

In A.D. 409 the Vandals and the Swabians (Suevi), driven by other Germanic tribes, crossed the Pyrenees into Hispania. The Swabians, never more numerous than sixty

thousand settled eventually in Galicia and Lusitania. Before the migration they had been peaceful farmers in Saxony and Thuringia, where they had benefited from several centuries of contact with romanized Celts in Helvetia (Switzerland), and they attempted to recreate their former patterns of life in the kingdom that they established in Hispania. In contrast to the nucleated villages and large estates that survived in the south, the Swabian farms, tilled with heavy quadrangular plows brought from the upper Rhine, were dispersed, single small holdings to be divided among heirs in smaller portions from one generation to the next. They bequeathed few place-names to the land, but they set a pattern for landholding and agricultural technology that persisted in the Douro-Minho area over the centuries.

With large parts of Hispania outside his control, the emperor Honorius in 415 commissioned the Visigoths, the most highly romanized of the Germanic peoples, to restore order there. They compelled the Vandals to sail for North Africa and asserted hegemony over the Swabians, who retained autonomy under their own kings, managing a well-organized government with its seat at Braga, an old Roman provincial capital. The Swabian kings and their Visigothic overlords held commissions to govern in the name of the Roman emperor and, although the emperor's authority was nominal, their kingdoms remained in theory a part of the Roman Empire. The Swabians tilled the land and left the towns to the Luso-Romans. Some towns, such as Coimbra, remained entirely outside Swabian control. Elsewhere Luso-Romans continued to operate the civil administration for the Swabian farmer-warrior elite, and Latin remained the language of government and commerce. By the middle of the fifth century the royal house and most of the Swabians had accepted Christianity.

The Swabians lost their autonomous status within the greater Visigothic state at the end of the sixth century, but by that time they had come to identify their interests entirely with those of the Visigoths. The Swabian Kingdom retained its territorial integrity, however, as a viceroyalty traditionally reserved for the heir to the Visigothic throne, but geography served to isolate it from the turmoil of Visigothic politics, of which civil war, usurpation, and assassination were commonplace instruments.

MOORS

In A.D. 711 an army of Moors (Arabs and the Moroccan Berbers whom they had conquered and converted to Islam) crossed to Spain as allies of Visigothic nobles who had rebelled against Roderic, their king. Having killed the king in battle and decided the issue against the monarchy, the Moors returned home; but the next year Musa ibn Nusair, Muslim governor of North Africa, led the best of his troops back to a Spain bereft of leadership, intent on annexing it to the expanding domains of the caliph of Damascus. By 715 all but the mountainous

region of Asturias in the extreme north of the peninsula had been subdued and was in the process of being reorganized as al-Andalus, the name by which Islamic Spain, including its western provinces, was known.

In Lusitania land was apportioned among the Moorish troops. Bad crops, rebellion against their Arab overlords, and dislike for an inhospitable climate put an end to the short-lived Berber colonization along the River Douro. The Moors preferred the familiar dry country below the River Tejo, especially in the Algarve (from the Arabic *al-Gharb*, "the west"), an area where the Moorish stamp remained the strongest. An Arab aristocracy assumed ownership of the latifundia or gravitated toward the towns, where they revived lagging urban life. The Berber majority fanned out across the countryside as small farmers. For native rustics the transition from Visigothic to Moorish domination posed no problems. Only superficially Christianized, they readily became Muslims although remaining a caste distinct from Arabs and Berbers. Some Visigothic nobles who held to their Christian faith were reconfirmed by the Moors as local governors, but many others converted to Islam and achieved status in the new society. Jews, who were always an important element in the urban population, continued to exercise a significant role in commerce and scholarship and as artisans. The Christian Luso-Roman urban and landholding classes retained freedom to practice their religion and remained largely self-governing under separate laws and institutions. Called Mozarabs (Arablike people), they were, however, profoundly affected by Islamic culture and adopted Arab social customs, dress, language, and artistic styles. In almost every respect except that of religion they were integrated into Moorish society.

For two hundred fifty years a united al-Andalus flourished under the emirs (later caliphs) who had their capital at Cordova. Nothing in Europe approached Cordova's wealth, power, culture, or the brilliance of its court. But, as the strength of the local nobles increased at the expense of a divided royal house, it became more difficult to hold the state together. The caliphate was torn apart in the eleventh century as rival claimants to the throne, military commanders, and opportunistic aristocrats staked out *taifas* (independent regional city-states), among them the emirates of Badajoz, Mérida, Lisbon, Evora, and a number of lesser states that warred among themselves and made accommodations with the emerging Christian state to the north.

The divided and leaderless Visigothic state had crumbled before the initial Moorish onslaught. Active resistance was limited to small groups of Visigothic warriors who took refuge in the mountain fastness of Asturias in the old Swabian Kingdom. There they halted the Moorish advance and, according to tradition, were rallied by the Visigothic chieftain Pelayo (d. 737) to take the offensive, beginning the seven hundred-year-long Reconquest

that became the dominant theme in Portuguese as well as Spanish history.

Within fifty years of the Moorish conquest the Christian kings of Asturias-León, who claimed succession from the Visigothic monarchs, had retaken Braga, Porto, Viseu, and Guimarães in the Douro-Minho area, and peasants and craftsmen had gathered for protection around their strongholds. For two hundred years the region was a buffer zone across which the frontier shifted back and forth with the ebb and flow of Moorish attacks and Christian counterattacks.

THE EMERGENCE OF PORTUGAL

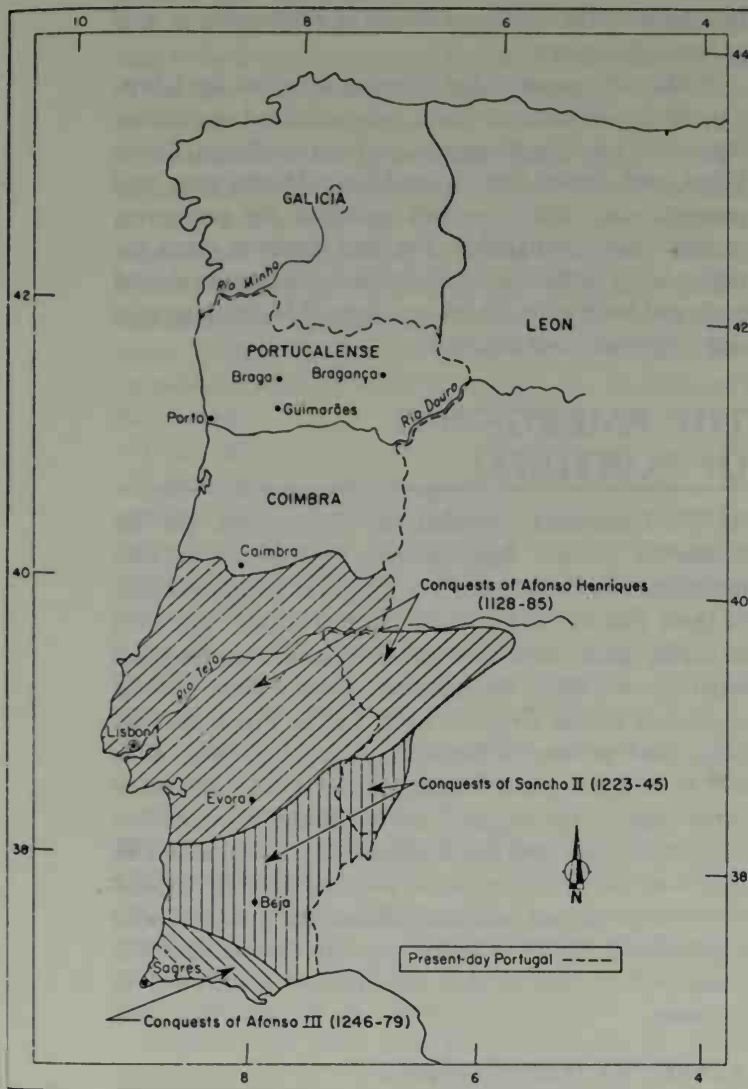
As the Christians extended the Reconquest, life for Mozarabs in the Muslim-controlled south became precarious. In the late ninth century A.D. a large number of them fled to the north, arriving at a time when the so-called desert zone between Galicia and the Moorish territory was being reorganized, under counts (*comes*) appointed by the kings of León, as the Provincia Portucalense (Province of Portugal), a term first recorded in 883 to designate the Douro-Minho region. Separated from León by the rugged Trás-os-Montes province and called on to deal with the Muslims and Viking raiders by their own devices, the counts, who had their stronghold at Porto, developed local connections and governed with a substantial degree of autonomy. By the mid-eleventh century they had carried the frontier southward to Coimbra.

ALFONSO HENRIQUES

In 1096 King Alfonso VI of Castile-León gave hereditary title to the counties of Portugal and Coimbra as a dowry to the crusader Henry of Burgundy on his marriage to the king's illegitimate but favorite daughter, Theresa. Henry was to be sovereign there, but it was recognized by all parties that he held the counties as a

Count Henry of Burgundy became the first king of Portugal. He founded the royal reigning House of Burgundy (1094-1383), and King Henry was the first sovereign of it, ruling until 1112.





Portugal as it was reconquered by Alfonso Henriques (1128-85) and Sancho II (1223-45)

vassal of the Castilian king. When Henry died in 1112, Theresa was left as regent for their son, Alfonso Henriques. Theresa alienated the Portuguese barons and townsmen by appearing too willing to sacrifice their hard-won liberties and immunities to the designs of her kinsmen in Castile. They turned to Alfonso Henriques, whom they encouraged to oust his mother and claim his hereditary right to Portugal.

Alfonso Henriques (reigned 1128-85) made war on the Moorish *taifas* to the south, decisively defeating them at Ourique (ca. 1139), a battle acclaimed in legend but its site lost and even its date obscure. Ourique remains an event of great significance in Portuguese national mythology, in which Alfonso Henriques, like Constantine, experienced a vision of the labarum, a sign of the cross in the heavens, and so gained assurance of victory on the field of battle.

Backed by his nobles, Alfonso Henriques assumed the

title of king of Portugal by virtue of his independent conquest of Muslim territory and his direct descent from Alfonso VI. When his cousin Alfonso VII of Castile demanded his homage as a vassal, he refused. Alfonso Henriques' assertion of royal dignity and his defiance of Alfonso VII coincided with a renewed Moorish offensive that absorbed Castile's energy and limited the king's ability to chastise a recalcitrant vassal. Although later Alfonso Henriques reluctantly performed his act of homage, his royal title and Portugal's separate national identity were well established. He assured recognition of Portuguese political independence by swearing fealty to the pope, he and his successors holding Portugal thereafter as a fief of the papacy rather than of Castile.

Portugal benefited from one hundred fifty years of wise and strong leadership by the line of unusual kings descended from Alfonso Henriques, who in his long reign of fifty-seven years laid a firm foundation for subsequent state building. He left a compact kingdom, which grew from a core area—the Douro-Minho—that had a tradition of independence and separateness dating from the Lusitanians and Swabians and a corps of lay and ecclesiastical lords who were tied by allegiance directly to the crown. Using their entrenched royal power his successors founded towns, compiled the law, and carried forward the distinctly Portuguese Reconquest that Alfonso Henriques had begun on the field of Ourique.

THE RECONQUEST

To the Moors the Portuguese were the "bravest of the Christians," but the Portuguese Reconquest regularly relied on the aid of Crusaders and adventurers from abroad. A papal bull in 1100 called on European chivalry to assist the Hispanic kingdoms in a great western crusade. In 1147, when he succeeded in taking Lisbon, and during an earlier, unsuccessful siege of the city, Alfonso Henriques counted as many as fifteen thousand English, French, Flemish, Rhenish, and Danish Crusaders at his side. Many returned home enriched by the booty they had taken during the Crusade, and others went on to Palestine after the fall of Lisbon, but some of the Crusaders remained as settlers on the land they had helped to conquer. Large tracts in the new territory were given to the knights of military orders to gain their support for future efforts in the Reconquest.

The Alentejo was occupied after 1225 by Sancho II (1223-1245), the weak and divided *taifas* there preferring the Christian Portuguese to the Muslim Berbers who had asserted hegemony over what remained of al-Andalus. The Algarve fell in 1249 to Alfonso III (1245-1279), completing the Portuguese phase of the Reconquest. Although the Portuguese were continually called upon to defend the country against the Castilians, they also fought beside them against the Moors. Portuguese knights had served with distinction at Las Navas

de Tolosa (1212), a turning point in the Reconquest, where a Castilian chronicler reported that they had "rushed into battle as if at a feast."

Lisbon became Portugal's capital in 1298, finally bringing to rest a peripatetic royal government that had made its seat at Braga, Guimarães, Coimbra, and other points along the road south during the Reconquest. A predominantly Christian city, even under Moorish rule, with an excellent sheltered harbor in the River Tejo, Lisbon was already the economic, social, and cultural center of Portugal before it was chosen as its political center. It enjoyed a good climate and a scenic location, and one Crusader had described its buildings as "*artissime coriglobata*" (crowded together with great skill). The prominence of Lisbon ensured Portugal's future orientation toward the Atlantic, but the city, surrounded by the country's most productive area—favored by both Romans and Moors—grew at the expense of the countryside. It was not part of the Portuguese heartland and remained remote from it.

THE MEDIEVAL MONARCHY

King Diniz (1279–1325) introduced Portuguese as the official language of the realm in place of Latin and imposed its use on the south. Called *O Lavrador* (the Farmer), he encouraged his nobles to bring their wastelands into cultivation and to take an active interest in agricultural development. It was not an easy step for a warrior aristocracy to settle down as estate managers, and Diniz found it necessary to reassure them that "no baron shall lose caste by dedicating himself to the soil." The new lands in the south, whose development he supervised, provided an abundance of fruits, olives, wine, almonds, and grain that was turned for the first time toward stimulating Portugal's export trade but, despite increased production, Portugal remained a poor country even by medieval standards.

Portugal's kings were fruitful in their children, legitimate and illegitimate. Favors granted by doting royal fathers to their numerous bastard offspring, those of Diniz more plentiful than most, frequently provoked rebellions by legitimate heirs. The daughters of prolific Portuguese monarchs were married well, however, extending Portugal's political contacts to England, Flanders, Burgundy, France, and Denmark, as well as cementing dynastic connections with other Hispanic states.

The Portuguese monarchy had fewer constitutional limitations placed on its authority than those imposed by custom and law on other medieval kingdoms. The king's government was administered by a centralized bureaucracy. The *forais* (charter rights) defined the relationship of individual subjects and communities to the king both directly and through intermediate lords or town corporations. In return for immunities and privileges on their

own lands nobles were obliged to provide for the defense of a sector of the country. Rural collectives were encouraged by grants of tax relief and local self-government to farm the poor soil of Trás-os-Montes. The Portuguese Cortes (parliament), composed of representatives of three estates—the church, the nobility, and the towns—had a continuous history beginning in 1254.

Early medieval monarchs were expected to be self-sufficient and to operate the government out of their own resources but, as government became more complex and expensive, they were forced to call on the resources of their subjects as well. In return for a vote of subsidies to the royal government, the estates, through their representatives in the Cortes, compelled the king to listen to their grievances, seek advice, and get their consent for the projects for which the revenues that they granted were intended. The stronger the king, the more willing was the Cortes to provide the funds that he requested; the weaker the king, the more demands were made on him by the estates.

Though feudal terminology was used in charters and deeds in Portugal for lack of a more specific vocabulary, feudalism (that is, hereditary title to the use of land and to legal jurisdiction on that land in return for personal allegiance and service to the donor) did not exist *de jure* in any developed form in medieval Portugal; in practice, however, situations very much like it did occur. According to Portuguese custom landholders were limited to economic control of the property they held. Legal jurisdiction on that property might be granted, but it was separate from title to the use of the land. All governmental and judicial power was vested ultimately in the crown, but in time it was delegated to landlords acting as the king's agents on their property. As the origin of grants of jurisdiction was obscured by the years, lords assumed that they exercised it as a right, and the crown had to review grants and titles to land continually in order to reclaim and reallocate its own property and authority.

Portugal's borders with Castile were stabilized after 1295. But the threat of war with the stronger Spanish Kingdom was a constant concern to a succession of kings in the fourteenth century. To keep the tenuous peace, Alfonso IV (1325–57) had ordered the murder of Inês de Castro, heroine of a romance with his heir, Dom Pedro, on suspicion that she was involving Portugal in Castilian politics. When Dom Pedro became king as Pedro I (1357–67), *O Justiceiro* (the Judge)—as he was called because he punished the wicked indiscriminately regardless of rank—proclaimed Inês his queen and forced his court to do homage to her corpse, clothed for the occasion in the robes of state. When he died, Pedro was buried with Inês at the abbey of Alcobaça, where his tomb was embellished with the scene in stone of her murderers in hell. Their son, John, became grand master of the military Order of Aviz.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The social and economic structure of medieval Portugal differed radically from region to region. A frontier society developed in the north that persisted after the region ceased to be a frontier. Liberties had been granted to soldier yeomen who were willing to take responsibility for defending their holdings. A petty nobility or gentry had risen among those who had succeeded in consolidating their holdings and those of their dependents, as had a caste of commoner knights (*cavaleiros vilãos*) who were granted land to defray their military expenses. But the dominant pattern in much of the north remained that of the small-holding yeoman farmer who, according to the Germanic landholding system inherited from the Swabians, divided his land among all his heirs in plots that shrank in size with each generation. For the man who possessed it, his land was as much an heirloom as it was a piece of potentially productive property.

Peasants in the Douro-Minho as well as in Trás-os-Montes formed collective associations (*pactos de bemfeitoria*) to pay rent on fields and pastures that went toward the support of the military aristocracy, which also agreed in the bargain to defend them. Originally they retained full freedom to negotiate contracts with their protector and if unsatisfied to choose a new lord. As the frontier was pushed forward, however, peasants were usually tied to one lord. The crown, particularly after Diniz, encouraged family and collective farming by alienating aristocratic and ecclesiastical land to peasant proprietors.

Above them all was a small number of interrelated great families, relatively poor in liquid income. From the

crown they regularly received subsidies that allowed them to meet their obligations and that also tied them tightly to the crown.

In the central regions and on the lands in the south added in the thirteenth century, the military and monastic orders, the hierarchy, and military aristocrats had been vested with vast latifundia to support their services to the crown and church. The land was tilled by sharecroppers, by peasants contracted to the land (though dependent serfdom appears to have been rare) and, most numerous, by wretched masses of itinerant rural laborers who worked without the protection of a lord or a manorial contract that would have regulated their status and assured them of minimal rights.

The Sesmarias Decree (1375) brought about government regulation of agriculture and served to stimulate a stagnating economy. It ordered that all arable land be put under the plow and allowed seizure by the crown of underproductive estates.

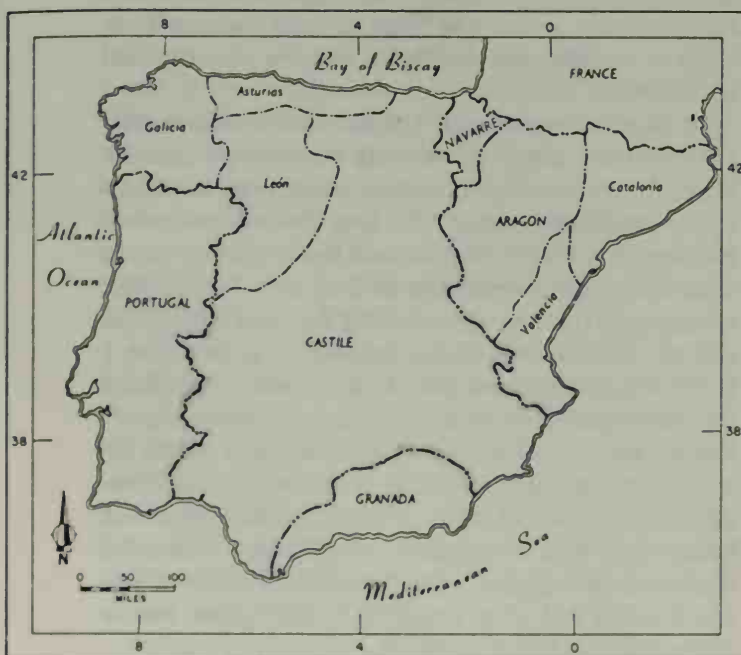
The hierarchy and many religious houses grew enormously wealthy by Portuguese standards from the lands granted them during the Reconquest, and their wealth often implied great political power as well, which engaged the crown in a running dispute with the church over title to land.

THE HOUSE OF AVIZ

Ferdinand (1367–83), last of the House of Burgundy, left no male heir, but his daughter was the wife of John I of Castile, and it was intended that their offspring should inherit Portugal. Until issue was forthcoming, however, Portugal was to be governed under the regency of Ferdinand's unpopular widow, Leonor Teles. John, grand master of Aviz, expelled the regent and was proclaimed king as John I (reigned 1385–1433), by a Cortes called at Coimbra in 1385. In response a Castilian army invaded Portugal to uphold the rights of an as yet unborn Castilian heir to the Portuguese throne. What had taken place was a dynastic revolution that had provoked foreign intervention, but the struggle that followed was also a Portuguese civil war. The traditionalist north supported John of Castile and the cause of legitimacy; the towns and the south where the Order of Aviz was one of the great landholders, backed their John. The future of the House of Aviz and, from the perspective of John's followers, the independence of Portugal were decided at the epic battle of Aljubarrota near Lisbon. Fewer than seven thousand Portuguese on foot, under Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Constable, and a contingent of English longbowmen faced an opposing army of ten thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry, the cream of Castilian chivalry. As the Constable's men held their positions, the longbowmen shattered the enemy's heavily armored cavalry and won the day for John of Aviz.

English aid to the Aviz Dynasty set the stage for the

Portugal, the Hispanic Kingdoms (1212–1492)





King John I (1385–1433) had a long reign—forty-eight years—during which he achieved much in the way of creating administrative and organizational order for the cities of Portugal and was called the Great because he invested the money in sea exploration, and was responsible for the settling of the island of Madeira in 1418. His was the first reign of the House of Aviz (1385–1580).



The first Independence Issue of postage stamps in 1926 honored Alfonso I, the Conqueror, son of Count/King Henry. Most Portuguese historians claim Alfonso as their first official king.

A stamp honoring King John I issued in 1948



cooperation with England that would be the cornerstone of Portuguese foreign policy for more than five hundred years. In 1386 the Treaty of Windsor confirmed the alliance born at Aljubarrota with a pact of perpetual friendship between the two countries. The next year John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III and father of Henry IV, landed in Galicia with an expeditionary force to press his claim to the Castilian throne with Portuguese aid. He failed to win the support of the Castilian nobility and returned to England with a cash compensation from the rival claimant, but the war with Castile continued for Portugal until 1411.

John of Gaunt left behind his intelligent and cultured daughter, Philippa of Lancaster, as the wife of John I to seal the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. She introduced an English element at court—an “icy influx,” according to the Portuguese, that reformed the morals of their court

and imposed uncomfortably rigid standards of behavior on them. More important, Philippa provided royal patronage for English commercial interests that sought to meet the Portuguese desire for cod and cloth in return for wine, cork, salt, and oil through the English-run warehouses at Porto. Philippa also became the mother of an extraordinary line of royal princes who led Portugal into its Golden Age. For the poet Luís de Camões they were the “marvelous generation,” the brothers Durate the king, Pedro the regent, António the Crusader, John, and Dom Henrique—Prince Henry the Navigator.

John I distrusted the old aristocracy that had opposed his rise to power. He promoted the growth of a lower nobility attached to the crown and rewarded the urban commercial oligarchy with position and influence in the realm in return for its support of Aviz. He surrounded himself with skilled bureaucrats who professionalized royal administration and extended royal jurisdiction at the expense of the old aristocracy. A strong and confident monarch, John nonetheless summoned the Cortes biennially to approve his legislation and lend legitimacy to the title that he had seized by force. The future of the Aviz Dynasty seemed assured by the presence of John’s five legitimate sons, but the king also provided for his illegitimate children as he had been provided for by his father. John conferred on his bastard son Alfonso the hereditary title of duke of Braganza and endowed him with lands and jurisdiction that amounted to creation of a state within a state supported by a huge reserve of armed retainers. The House of Braganza accumulated wealth to rival that of the crown and assumed leadership of the old aristocracy in opposition to Aviz.

THE EXPANSION OF PORTUGAL

In 1415 the Portuguese seized Ceuta in Morocco, the western depot for the spice trade, and began a campaign that by the end of the century had put them in control of most of Morocco’s western coastline. From strongholds on the coast the Portuguese manipulated satellite Muslim states in the interior and provided cover for settlers who had carved out estates in North Africa but derived most of their income from raiding along the frontier between Portuguese and Muslim-held territory. Portuguese efforts throughout most of the fifteenth century were focused on Morocco rather than on exploration by sea and colonization of unknown territory.

HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), to whom much credit for early Portuguese exploration has gone, was not himself a scientist, nor was he well traveled, but he possessed intellectual curiosity and surrounded himself with skillful and imaginative minds at his retreat, the Vila do Infante, on the promontory of Sagres. As master

of the Order of Christ, one of the crusading orders, he commanded a permanent military force and had access to substantial resources. His order paid for fitting out expeditions of which the risks outweighed the expectations of profit, and it bore the cost of their failures. Henry prodded his mariners to explore beyond Cape Bojador on the west coast of Africa, a psychological as well as physical barrier that was thought to be the outer boundary of the knowable world. In 1420 Portuguese seamen reached Madeira and by 1427 the Azores. In 1434 Gil Eanes rounded Cape Bojador and reported back to Henry that it was not the end of the world.

Although Henry's motives were obviously many, he saw exploration primarily in terms of outflanking the Moors and contributing to the success of the conquest of Morocco. His attitudes matured over forty years, however, as his knowledge increased and he began to recognize the separate advantages of overseas expansion. The expeditions he sponsored were better planned and organized, and they began to turn a profit in gold and slaves. By midcentury Portuguese mariners had mapped twenty degrees of latitude south from Cape Bojador and had perceived the curve of the African continent.

ROYAL PATRONAGE

A conflict over priorities continued to brew between the factions: the old aristocracy, led by the duke of Braganza and demanding expansion in Morocco, and commercial interests in the towns and among the lower nobility, favoring expanded trade overseas and looking to Prince Henry's older brother Dom Pedro for leadership. Pedro was made regent for his young nephew, Alfonso V (1438–81). A scholar and collector of maps, the regent saw the Moroccan wars as a wasted effort and emphasized commercial expansion. In the practical matter of securing profit from exploration Pedro was more effective than his brother Henry. But Pedro's attempts to pull back from Morocco led to armed conflict within Portugal in which the regent died in 1449. An aristocratic reaction took place during the reign of Alfonso V, and for a decade after Pedro's fall no further expeditions set sail, but interests revived as even the duke of Braganza saw profit in the importation of slaves from Africa. In fact the renewed wars in Morocco, championed by him, had the desired effect of rechanneling the Sudan gold trade away from North Africa to the Guinea coast, where the gold was picked up by Portuguese ships and conveyed to Europe.

Official patronage of exploration and trade was renewed under John II (1481–95), and to him belongs credit for the first comprehensive plan for overseas expansion and the idea of rounding Africa to open a new trade route to India. The crown would thereafter take its "royal fifth," or share of the profit, on all chartered commercial ventures, assume direct management of trade, and reap most of the benefits.

THE PASSAGE TO INDIA

The Portuguese conducted their expeditions in greatest secrecy. Foreign investment, except by the Genoese merchants living in Portugal, was discouraged. The advantages that Portugal derived from advanced ship design and navigational devices and maps, charts, and reports from earlier voyages were carefully guarded. In 1484 Christopher Columbus's recommendation for a westward approach to the Indies was rejected; the Portuguese had an accurate measure of the earth's circumference that had confirmed them in their commitment to finding an eastward route.

To head off conflict between Portugal and Spain after Columbus's initial discoveries in America, the Pope's Line of 1493 was devised by Alexander VI, a Spaniard, to divide the world between the two countries, Spain having title west of a line passing near the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal to the east of it. The next year the line was redrawn in the Treaty of Tordesillas and moved more than one thousand miles westward.

RENAISSANCE PORTUGAL

John II, called the Perfect Prince, was a ruthlessly efficient royal bureaucrat of the kind described by Niccolò Machiavelli. Commercial expansion overseas had altered the political balance of power within Portugal and allowed John and his successor, Emanuel I (1495–1521), enriched by trade, to live on their own without need to seek subsidies or to require advice and consent from the Cortes in order to operate the government. They humbled the long-troublesome old aristocracy, which would survive only as a court-bound nobility, dependent on the

Dom Antonio in 1580 declared himself king. He was the illegitimate Pretender to the throne in that King Henry (1578–80) did not have a male heir. Antonio raised an army from his followers but was defeated by the infamous duke of Alva.



crown and incapable of challenging its authority. In addition to being an astute politician Emanuel was a man of taste and refinement who used Portugal's new wealth to embellish his court—art and literature, theater and architecture flourishing under his patronage within its narrow circle.

Sebastian (1557–78) was the sole surviving heir of John III (1521–57), whom he succeeded at the age of three. Unintelligent and fanatical in his maturity, he launched a campaign in Morocco, where Moorish counterattacks had reduced Portuguese holdings. His fourteen thousand ill-equipped troops were overwhelmed at Alcázarquivir and destroyed. Sebastian was presumed killed in battle with large numbers of the nobility. More were captured and held for ransom, draining noble households of their substance and of potential investment capital. The natural leadership was depleted, the treasury emptied, and the government at a standstill during the brief interim reign of Sebastian's uncle, the aged Cardinal Henry (1578–80).

HABSBURG PORTUGAL

The royal House of Aviz died with Henry. Philip II of Spain (reigned 1580–96 in Portugal as Philip I) had a better claim to Portugal than any of the several other possible candidates. His first wife and his mother were daughters of kings of Portugal. The master of the greatest military machine and naval power in Europe, he was also the strongest candidate in terms of enforcing his claim. Resistance was slight, and Philip's title was duly recognized by the Portuguese Cortes.

The succession of a Spanish Habsburg king had been anticipated for some years since it became obvious that Sebastian lacked the inclination to perpetuate his dynasty. The union of the Hispanic crowns—Portugal, Castile, and Aragon—had been promoted for generations by dynastic marriages. For a few years at the end of the fifteenth century Portugal and Spain had shared an heir apparent. A carefully negotiated scheme to link Castile with Portugal by the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Alfonso V (1438–81) had been wrecked when she chose instead his rival, Ferdinand of Aragon, and set the course of modern Spanish history.

Philip II inherited several crowns in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands from his father, the Holy Roman emperor Charles V, and the addition of Portugal fit comfortably into the federal structure of the Spanish Habsburg Empire, in which several kingdoms, each retaining its own separate institutions, recognized one king. Contrary to the opinion put forth in some nationalist histories, Portugal was not annexed to Spain and did not lose its independence, nor was it an occupied country during sixty years (1580–1640) under three Habsburg kings. In Portugal Philip II and his successors ruled as kings of Portugal. The government and the Cortes,

courts, laws, local customs, and currency remained Portuguese. Taxes were collected by Portuguese for use in Portugal. Portuguese troops manned the garrisons. The colonies were under Portuguese administration, the church under Portuguese bishops. Indeed Portuguese held positions throughout the Habsburg Empire out of proportion to their numbers. The Council of Portugal sat in regular attendance on the Habsburg kings wherever they made their capital to advise on Portuguese affairs. For two years (1581–83) Philip II made Lisbon his capital, and in later years it was not Spanish oppression that his Portuguese subjects complained of but rather neglect by a distant king.

There was a current of resistance among the masses in the countryside that took form in a messianic cult of the "hidden prince," Sebastian, who they believed did not die in battle but would return again and somehow right all wrongs. Practically Sebastianism has been explained as symptomatic of deep-seated social unrest among tenants exploited by landholders who approved of the Habsburgs and as a demonstration of hostility directed at all forms of authority. Several so-called false Sebastians surfaced in Portugal to claim the throne with the backing of this popular sentiment. Some scholars have seen the origin of the cult in New Christian fears of persecution by the Inquisition. Others have pointed out that nostalgic longing for the unattainable is at the basis of much of Portuguese art and literature or have seen it as a continuing feature of Portuguese political life.

More concrete political and economic causes for the dissolution of the dynastic union can be found in the demands made on Portugal as part of the larger Habsburg Empire deeply engaged in European religious and dynastic wars. Portugal was inevitably involved in these wars, for which the Portuguese had little sympathy, and its colonies were exposed to attack by Spain's enemies. The Dutch pounced on Portuguese holdings throughout the East: Ceylon, Malacca, and numerous East Indian islands fell to them, as did the depots in Angola and a

John IV (1640–56) was the first king of Portugal to reign under the House of Braganza (1640–1910).



large part of Brazil. The Habsburg kings of Portugal were helpless to defend the Portuguese Empire.

With Spain at war across Europe and the burden borne almost entirely by Castile, the count-duke of Olivares, chief minister to Philip IV (reigned 1621–40 in Portugal as Philip III), contrived in the 1630s to give greater direction to the Hispanic states, pooling their resources, integrating their administration, and exploiting untapped manpower. Catalonia rebelled in protest in 1640, and Portugal followed suit when required to assist Philip IV against the Catalans.

John IV (1640–56), duke of Braganza and nominal commander of the Portuguese forces ordered to Catalonia, reluctantly placed himself at the disposal of his country when called upon by some of the nobility to be king. The move was popular in the countryside, in Brazil, and in the urban merchant community. John IV also had the powerful backing of the Jesuits, who offset the influence of the pro-Habsburg hierarchy. The break with Spain was, however, as much a civil war as it was a revolution.

It was argued that throwing off the Spanish connection would mean peace with Spain's enemies and save the Portuguese Empire from destruction at their hands. In fact the Dutch returned nothing they had taken but took more territory after 1640 and demanded concessions in return for support against Spain. Spain did not have the resources to press its cause against the Portuguese, who rated low among Spain's priorities, but neither could the Braganzas force recognition of their claim on the Habsburgs. Only in 1668 was peace made between them.

Portugal for its part had chosen to protect its overseas empire rather than participate in a common Hispanic nationhood. Some historians have argued that the choice condemned Portugal to be a small, underdeveloped country dependent on England for survival.

THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA (SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

The House of Braganza was an illegitimate line of the royal family of Aviz and dated from the early fifteenth century. Its dukes had been leaders of the Portuguese aristocracy, and their wealth and holdings in land equaled those of the crown. John IV, who was essentially a businessman in outlook, had profitable interests in the Azores and Brazil and at one point had considered selling Portugal back to the king of Spain. His son Alfonso VI (1656–67) was a degenerate whose brother, Pedro II (1683–1706), seized control of the government and imprisoned Alfonso in 1667 with the aid of the king's wife. He ruled as regent until Alfonso's death and then in his own right. Pedro introduced absolutist rule into Portu-

gal after the pattern set by Louis XIV in France, and the Cortes ceased to meet after 1697.

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS

John IV had renewed the Anglo-Portuguese alliance during the long stalemate with Spain, and Oliver Cromwell had exacted trade concessions as the price for England's support. The marriage of a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, to the English king Charles II in 1661 added prestige to the fledgling royal house, and English troops served in Portugal against the Spanish, participating at the decisive battle of Vila Viçosa in 1665. England sheltered the rich but vulnerable Portuguese Empire but took in return a mortgage on its economy.

Portugal's domestic economy had been static since the fifteenth century. Crop production never kept pace with the increase in population and, though an agricultural country, Portugal was an importer of grain. No serious attempt was made to organize domestic industries until 1670, when one of the periodic depressions in colonial trade deprived Portugal of the means to pay for manufactured imports. The first effort at industrial development lapsed when colonial trade perked up after 1690.

It was Brazil's apparently bottomless wealth in gold and later in diamonds that assured Portugal of the means to pay for imports and destroyed for several generations the initiative for development at home. Brazilian gold also encouraged England to update its commercial relations with Portugal.

POMBAL

Eighteenth-century Portuguese government was a highly centralized bureaucracy managed by ministers responsible to the king and exercising as much power as he saw fit to allow them. John V (1706–50) had been an energetic king until the last years of his reign when he sank into melancholy and turned over his government to ecclesiastical advisers who were not up to the task. His successor, Joseph Emanuel (1750–77), was indolent, eager to reign but not to bear the burden of ruling his country and empire. He put direction of his government in the hands of a diplomat, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), later marquis of Pombal, a man of genius and energy at once remarkable for his accomplishments and controversial for the methods he used to achieve them. Pombal became the veritable dictator of Portugal, using the absolute authority of the crown without check and operating the most authoritarian regime known in eighteenth-century Europe.

On November 1, 1755, the feast of All Saints, Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake, followed by fire and a tidal wave, that killed sixty thousand and shook the confidence of "Enlightened" Europe. The direction that Pombal gave in the aftermath of the disaster—"Bury the dead and relieve the living"—brought him to prominence.



King John VI, after acting as regent for his mother, Queen Maria I, succeeded to the throne in 1816. As a result of the Rebellion of 1820, he agreed to a constitution limiting the power of the crown.

Pombal took charge of rebuilding the city. He also undertook the restructuring of state administration to deal with Portugal's recurrent economic problems, stimulating industry—in the face of British opposition—to overcome another trade slump and regulating the export of gold and the production of wine to keep up price levels. Portugal paid a price for the rational government that Pombal sought to give through enlightened despotism. Opponents of his regime were arrested, tortured, and some executed. It was a token of his confidence in his own power that Pombal turned to challenge the position of the church, which had retained a degree of independence from state control and which Pombal despised for its opposition to his reforms. He initiated official anticlericalism in Portugal, intervening in ecclesiastical affairs, confiscating church property, and expelling the Jesuits.

With King Joseph's death Pombal's dictatorship was dismantled as quickly as it had been built. The restrictive monopolies that he had sponsored were suspended, allowing the growth of a class of independent merchants who brought relative prosperity to the country at the end of the century and permitted the old regime in Portugal to pass through the revolutionary 1790s unscathed.

THE PENINSULAR WAR

Portugal resisted participating in the continental blockade imposed in 1804 by Napoleon Bonaparte against importation of British goods. For a short time in 1807 Portugal was occupied by French troops, Napoleon claiming that he had sent an army to liberate the Portuguese people from British economic domination. The royal family—Maria I (1777–1816) and her son John VI (1816–26), who acted as regent during her long mental illness that began in 1799—took refuge in Brazil, where a government-in-exile was established under British protection. A British expeditionary force under Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington, compelled a French withdrawal from Portugal and repelled two subsequent invasions. Wellington used Portugal as a base of operations for the offensive that drove the French from Spain in

1813. The Portuguese army was reorganized during the war under British tutelage and put under the command of William Carr Beresford, one of Wellington's officers, who remained in Portugal as regent in the absence of the royal family.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY (1822–1910)

The war passed from Portugal, but the royal family stayed in Brazil, which in 1815 was the political center of the so-called United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarve. In 1816 John VI succeeded to the Portuguese throne—in Rio de Janeiro.

In Portugal itself discontent at Beresford's regency, the absence of the king, and the country's diminished status in the empire was expressed by the small middle-class intelligentsia and commercial oligarchy, who were identified as liberals and called for constitutional government. The officer corps, which had gained self-esteem during the war, also demanded a larger role in national life. Both groups had confidence that a constitution and a responsible parliamentary government were the remedies needed for curing the country's economic and social ills. Although they wanted to emulate Great Britain's political example, they chafed at the influence exerted by the British in Brazil. It was the army, however, that took the lead in 1820 by demanding the reestablishment of the Cortes and the writing of a constitution. What followed were years of experimentation with constitutions, a succession of attempts to provide stable government, and repeated foreign intervention in Portuguese affairs.

The 1822 Constitution, written by a Cortes composed mainly of civil servants, academics, and army officers, called for strong central government, a limited monarchy, and ministerial responsibility to a unicameral legis-

Queen Maria II reigned from 1826 to 1828, and from 1834 to 1853.



King (Regent) Miguel became the regent of Portugal for his niece Maria in 1828. But in 1834 Queen Maria recovered the throne from the self-proclaimed king and he had to flee to Italy.

lature elected by literate males. John VI, accepting his status as a constitutional monarch in Portugal, returned from Brazil, leaving his heir Dom Pedro behind as co-king. The Cortes was willing to accept representatives from Brazil but would not concede autonomous status within an imperial framework. Having won the fight for a parliament vested with executive authority, the Portuguese liberals did not believe that they could relinquish any sovereignty without compromising the sum of it. More representative of commercial interests than its predecessor, the first Cortes elected under the new constitution attempted to reassert Lisbon's economic control over Brazil. With British support Pedro declared Brazil an independent state and took the title of emperor, but he remained heir to the Portuguese throne.

Opinion was polarized in Portugal in reaction to the loss of Brazil. Politically aware moderates were caught between those who gravitated toward the militantly anticlerical radicals, who demanded a continuing political revolution, and the traditionalists, who were allied with the church and hostile to the drift in affairs under the rule of an urban, middle-class Cortes. Traditionalist juntas, supported by smallholders and peasants, were formed in the north to protect the communal liberties threatened by the liberal central government. Calling for a return to absolutism, the traditionalists found a champion in Dom Miguel, younger son of John VI, who was seen to exult in martial, rural, and Catholic virtues.

If the new emperor of Brazil chose to remain in America, his brother Miguel would succeed their father in Portugal, and there was no doubt that Pedro preferred Brazil. When John VI died in 1826, Pedro reluctantly returned to Portugal, pressured by the British to leave his prosperous Brazilian Empire for an impoverished country with an unstable constitutional regime. Backed by the army, which was easily disenchanted by civilian rule, Pedro demanded an accommodation from the liberal Cortes in the form of the compromise Charter of 1826, which replaced the 1822 Constitution and remained substantially in force until 1910. The charter returned executive authority to the king, who governed through a ministry responsible to him. It provided for a bicameral Cortes, consisting of the Chamber of Deputies, elected indirectly by a reduced electorate, and an upper house appointed by the crown.

After the charter was adopted, Pedro returned to Brazil, leaving title to the Portuguese throne to his young daughter Maria da Gloria, later Maria II (1834–53). Miguel was to act as regent on condition that he accept the new constitution. Miguel duly swore to abide by the settlement, was given command of the army, and promptly seized power, abolished the charter, and appointed an absolutist government that offered him the Portuguese crown.

There had been little resistance to Miguel, but Pedro abdicated his Brazilian throne and recrossed the Atlantic

determined to restore the charter and remain in Portugal as constitutional monarch. Leading an expeditionary force from the Azores, where he had established a provisional government, Pedro landed near Porto in 1832 and defeated Miguel with substantial British assistance in a two-year-long civil war that pitted liberals against traditionalists.

The church had overwhelmingly supported Miguel. The government under Mosinho da Silveira, which carried on the regency for Maria II after her father died, purged the hierarchy and abolished the religious orders, about one-third of Portugal's thirty thousand clergy. In 1834 the government ordered the expropriation of church property. Intended to raise funds to pay the debt of the civil war, the lands and buildings of five hundred religious houses were sold at auction at prices below their market value to approximately six hundred new owners who used government credits to make their purchases. The sale of church property resulted in a shift in the ownership of more than one-fourth of all land and created a new class—wealthy landholders who were drawn from the ranks of the liberal political oligarchy and were indebted to the policies of the constitutional monarchy for their position. This group had the dominant influence in the political life of the country throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.

THE LIBERAL OLIGARCHY

Anticlericalism, economic freedom achieved through unregulated trade, and an overweening confidence that national honor could be restored through constitutional government were the chief tenets of Portuguese liberalism in the nineteenth century. In reality the governments that it supported came to office through manipulated elections. Revolts by an activist army divided in its polit-

King Pedro V (1853–61) left his mark as the poorest administrator to sit on the throne. He is blamed for the neglect of sanitary conditions in the cities, which brought on devastating epidemics of yellow fever and cholera in Portugal. The king and his brothers, John and Ferdinand, died of cholera.



ical sympathies were regular occurrences. British and French intervention was required to forestall civil war and protect investments. Despite anticlerical legislation the country remained officially Roman Catholic, and royal patronage in nominating bishops was confirmed in a succession of concordats with Rome. The Cortes was representative of a social and economic elite, middle class in its origins, that was determined to retain its position by restricting suffrage. One percent of the population was enfranchised. Property qualifications for candidates limited to forty-five hundred the number eligible to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. From the Senate, or upper house of the Cortes, a new bourgeois aristocracy emerged, the product of an inflation of titles to encompass the wealthiest of the elite.

Parliamentary politics consisted of working out personal rivalries within the liberal oligarchy. Large working majorities set the stage for arbitrary government by successive liberal ministries that interpreted constitutional guarantees very flexibly. Opposition to the oligarchy was centered in Porto, where the demand for a broader electorate and decentralization was strongest from the industrial—as distinct from commercial and landholding—sector of middle-class opinion. By 1836 a national movement known as the Septembrists had developed around the issue and had entered into loose and unruly coalitions with both radicals and traditionalists, as the disparate extremes of the political spectrum challenged—ineffectively—the entrenched and static center.

An artificial two-party system developed in the Cortes by midcentury. The parties—the Regenerators somewhat the more conservative, the Progressives somewhat the more liberal—agreed on policies and political tactics. Shared patronage was the most cohesive force in keeping the party system functioning. After 1856 the practice of

alternating parties in power at regular intervals, called rotativism in Portugal, was all but institutionalized. Because political power was concentrated in so small a group of like-minded men, compromises were easily struck, and reformist factions were quickly absorbed by the established parties. Rotativism produced relatively stable governments that nonetheless failed to come to grips with Portugal's underlying social and economic problems. On the whole, successive governments introduced constructive programs that failed in execution.

JOÃO FRANCO

The year 1890 was a watershed in Portuguese political history. It marked the beginning of a growth in political awareness that contributed to the downfall of the monarchy twenty years later. The government's retreat in the face of the British ultimatum was denounced roundly by the Republicans, who were organized as a political party in 1878. The Republicans' strongest appeal was to nationalism. Portugal, they argued, would never be honored in the world as once it had been until an outworn constitutional monarchy was replaced by a modern democratic republic. Republican propaganda played on fears of Portugal's becoming a British colony or a province of Spain.

The government reacted to the drive for broader suffrage by revising the electoral law in 1896 in order to eliminate minor parties from the Cortes. The king's hand was also strengthened to permit him greater latitude in appointing ministers and dissolving the parliament, but King Carlos (1889–1908), an artist and a distinguished scientist, refused to rule by decree as his advisers insisted.

In 1900 João Franco, a conservative reformist in the Cortes, led a minority of Regenerator delegates with him out of the parliamentary party. Working to reinvigorate parliamentary institutions, Franco appealed for electoral reform directly to the people—a new and unsettling phenomenon in a depoliticized society. In 1906, although Franco had only a small following in the Cortes, Carlos summoned him to form a coalition government with the Progressives. The unwillingness of one wing of the Progressives to cooperate in the coalition splintered that party just as Franco's defection had broken the Regenerators.

The Republicans were the immediate beneficiaries of Franco's program as prime minister to encourage greater participation in political debate. They turned on the well-meaning king, blaming him for the corruption of the political parties that rotativism had made inevitable. Demands were made for a parliamentary investigation of royal finances, as the monarchy was made the symbol of all that was perceived to be wrong in the country.

The established parties had become so badly splintered that no alternative could be found to Franco's



King Carlos I (1889–1908) was the last important king of Portugal to reign. His son, Emanuel II, reigned for two years upon the death of Carlos but had to abdicate in 1910 when Portugal became a republic.



Emanuel II as he appears on postage stamps in 1910

minority government, nor could the prime minister win approval of his legislative program. The parliamentary process had ceased to function when in 1907 Carlos dissolved the Cortes and granted Franco authority to rule by decree. An attempted military coup backed by the Republicans in January 1908 led to the cancellation of elections for a new Cortes and a crackdown against opposition. In February Carlos and his heir were assassinated in Lisbon, leaving the eighteen-year-old Emanuel II (1908–10) as king. Emanuel could rely only on Franco, against whom all parties were ranged. In an effort to save the young king, Franco called for an election and stepped down as prime minister.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC

The Republicans became the party of urban, middle-class radicalism, nationalistic, libertarian, and intensely anticlerical in temper. Their active ranks included a high proportion of journalists, and the publicity received by the party in the press was out of proportion to its actual size. Republican candidates in the 1908 and 1910 parliamentary elections got a small vote—and that localized in Lisbon—but factionalism prevented the established monarchist parties from forming a stable government capable of resisting them. (Six governments fell during the period between the two elections.)

In October 1910 troops in Lisbon refused to put down a mutiny aboard two warships, and some went over to the dissidents. With no one in a position of authority willing to take charge of the situation and his appeals for advice left unanswered, Emanuel II fled with the royal family to exile in England.

Portugal in its European setting today



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHY

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
-1094—Portugal under control of Romans and Moors					
1094—Portugal becomes an independent state					
HOUSE OF BURGUNDY					
1094–1112	Count/ King	Henry of Burgundy	1057	1112	Grandson of Robert I of Burgundy; consort, Theresa of Castile
1128–1185	King	Alfonso I	1112	1185	Son of Henry of Burgundy
1112–1140	Regent	Theresa			
1140—Portugal became an independent monarchy.					
1185–1211	King	Sancho I	1154	1211	Son of Alfonso I
1211–1223	King	Alfonso II, the Fat	1186	1223	Son of Sancho I
1223–1245	King	Sancho II	1209	1248	Son of Alfonso II
1245–1279	King	Alfonso III	1210	1279	Son of Alfonso II
1279–1325	King	Diniz	1261	1325	Son of Alfonso III
1325–1357	King	Alfonso IV	1291	1357	Son of Diniz
1357–1367	King	Pedro I	1320	1367	Son of Alfonso IV
1367–1383	King	Ferdinand I	1345	1383	Son of Pedro I
HOUSE OF AVIZ					
1385–1433	King	John I	1358	1433	Son of Pedro I
1433–1438	King	Edward I	1391	1438	Son of John I
1438–1481	King	Alfonso V (Africano)	1432	1481	Son of Edward I

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1481-1495	King	John II	1455	1495	Son of Alfonso V
1495-1521	King	Emanuel I	1469	1521	Grandson of Alfonso V
1521-1557	King	John III	1502	1557	Son of Emanuel I
1557-1578	King	Sebastian	1554	1578	Grandson of John III
1578-1580	King	Henry	1512	1580	Brother of John III
1580-1580	King	Antonio	1531	1595	Nephew of Henry
1580-1640—Controlled by King Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal).					

HOUSE OF BRAGANZA

1640-1656	King	John IV	1604	1656	Descendant of John I
1656-1667	King	Alfonso VI	1643	1683	Son of John IV
1667-1683	Regent	Pedro II	1648	1706	Son of John IV
1683-1706	King	Pedro II			
1706-1750	King	John V	1689	1750	Son of Pedro II
1750-1777	King	Joseph Emanuel	1714	1777	Son of John V
1777-1816	Queen	Maria I	1734	1816	Daughter of Joseph Emanuel
1777-1786	Joint Ruler	Pedro III	1717	1786	Son of John V, husband of Maria I
1799-1816	Regent	John	1767	1826	Son of Maria I
1816-1826	King	John VI			
1826-1826	King	Pedro IV	1798	1834	Son of John VI
1826-1828	Queen	Maria II	1819	1853	Daughter of Pedro IV
1828-1834	King	Miguel	1802	1866	Uncle of Maria II
1834-1853	Queen	Maria II			(Rethroned)
1853-1861	King	Pedro V	1837	1861	Son of Maria II
1861-1889	King	Louis I	1838	1889	Son of Maria II
1889-1908	King	Carlos I	1863	1908	Son of Louis I; (assassinated)
1908-1910	King	Emanuel II	1888	1932	Son of Carlos I; abdicated 1910
1910—Portugal became a Republic.					



10

The Kingdom of Belgium



Map of Belgium today

Historically, the country now known as Belgium was, at one time or another, the property of many other European powers, including the Romans, the French, the Spanish, the Austrians, and the Dutch. It achieved its independence from the Netherlands in 1830 after many centuries of foreign domination.

When the country was liberated in 1830, the people yearned for total independence, although necessity dictated a certain degree of dependence on other European states. Moreover, neutrality was forced upon Belgium by the other European powers. This neutrality was maintained for over one hundred years, but just before World War II Belgium proclaimed a policy of "armed neutrality," indicating that it no longer wanted to be dependent militarily on others. After World War I and particularly after World War II, Belgium developed strong economic and military ties with its European neighbors and North America.

Internally, the country's history has been marked by

ethnic problems, principally between the Flemings—who live in the northern areas and speak Flemish—and the Walloons—who live in the southern section and speak French. The linguistic and cultural differences between these two groups can be traced back to their earliest association.

Strained relations between the Flemings and Walloons, which the government of Belgium has tried to solve in a variety of ways, profoundly affect the education of Belgian children, politics, economic affairs, and religion. Until after World War II, the major political parties—apart from the Belgian Socialist party (BSP—PSB for Dutch and French designations)—were the Belgian Catholic party, which was supported for the most part by the Flemings, and the Belgian Liberal party, which was generally supported by the Walloons.

In this country that contains such great differences of opinion and culture, the two ostensible unifying forces are the church and the institution of the monarchy. The Roman Catholic church encompasses the vast majority of Belgians. There are great differences, however, between the generally devout Flemings and the frequently anticlerical Walloons. The monarchy—despite the fact that Belgium has one of the world's more democratic constitutions—is another force for unity in that the king brings antagonistic elements together under his rule. As one authority on the country has written: "Monarchy in Belgium is indispensable to national unity in that the King stands above conflict so that through him alone can Fleming and Walloon, Catholic and anticlerical identify himself as Belgian."

EARLY HISTORY

In his *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*, Julius Caesar referred to the Belgae as "the most courageous" of the peoples his legions had encountered in their conquest of Gaul. The Belgae were a Celtic people who had migrated earlier from middle Europe and had settled in the area



A Belgian stamp commemorating Caesar crossing the Rubicon

Ambiorix, chief of the Eburones and the last warrior to fight Julius Caesar's occupation of Gaul, depicted in a statue near the location in Belgium where the action took place.

that later became known as the Low Countries—modern Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg. After being conquered by Caesar's forces in the first century B.C., the Belgae adopted the language of the conquerors and began to assimilate Roman culture. By the second century A.D. the Belgic tribes began accepting the Christian religion, which was spreading through the Roman Empire of which they were a part, but paganism remained strong among them. During the early Roman period the Belgae retained contact with, and were influenced by, the Greek Mediterranean settlements, particularly the one at Massilia (Marseilles).

In the third century A.D., Germanic tribes—the Franks—moved into northern Gaul, pushing the Belgae toward the general area of modern Belgium. The Flemish-Walloon ethnic troubles that still persist in the 1980s had their origins in the differences between the Franks and the Belgae in the third century. The modern Flemings of northern Belgium are descended from the Germanic Franks, and the Walloons of the south are the descendants of the Celtic Belgae.

Over the next few centuries as the power of Rome declined, Frankish kings challenged Roman hegemony in northern Gaul and eventually incorporated the land into their empires. Under Clovis in the late fifth and early sixth centuries A.D., the Belgians were re-Christianized, having lapsed back into paganism after their earlier conversion. Although the veneer of Christianity remained thin, this time the new religion took root, and Christianity eventually flourished among the people of the Low Countries. Both Clovis and Charlemagne established powerful empires, but both were followed by weak rulers who could not avert long periods of strife and turmoil. Clovis's Merovingian Empire plunged into two centuries of troubles after his death in the early sixth century, and it was not until the Carolingian Dynasty was established that some semblance of stability was restored. After Charlemagne, the greatest Carolingian

leader and head of the Holy Roman Empire until his death in A.D. 814, the empire was divided into three kingdoms and subjected to civil war as well as to disastrous raids by the Norsemen. The weakness of the later Carolingian emperors brought on a proliferation of powerful nobles, who fortified their castles and walled their cities as protection against the Norse raiders; in the process these nobles assumed prerogatives that had been exercised by the emperors, thus giving rise to a fractionated society.

Before the Norsemen were finally defeated at the end of the ninth century A.D., the Middle Kingdom had already disappeared; the territory of the Low Countries had been divided between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire; and feudalism had been established throughout the area. The feudal system, which was essentially rural, lasted for about three centuries; during that period the Belgian area developed as a center of industry and trade. Belgian textile and metalworking industries became famous throughout Europe, and Belgium's location on the North Sea made it a crossroads of maritime trade and travel. The easy access to the interior by way of navigable waterways and the old Roman roads also made the Low Countries the terminus of much overland commerce.

The growth of industry and trade conflicted with the agrarian feudal system as merchants and manufacturers established themselves as a class of freemen between the feudal overlords and the serfs. The new industrial and commercial centers attracted serfs from the rural areas. The serfs became freemen, but a rigid class distinction evolved between them and the merchant class. As towns grew, powerful merchant guilds secured charters from



Baldwin and Queen Judith. Important to the recording of the royal history of Belgium is the mention of the counts and countesses of Flanders, for Flanders, the main province of Belgium, was ruled by them from the time of Charlemagne's demise to 1384 when the country came under Burgundy. History records the first count of Flanders as Baldwin, the Flemish chieftain, who started the reign in 862. In 864, Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France, and the widow of Ethelwulf, king of England, "attached herself" to Baldwin. The king, after many attempts to break up the union, finally, upon the advice of the pope, who feared a lack of recognition by France would turn Baldwin to the Normans, conferred the title of count of Flanders on Baldwin I.



Baldwin II, the second count of Flanders (878-918)

Arnuff I, the third count of Flanders (918-50; 961-64)



Baldwin III, the fourth count of Flanders (950-61)

Arnuff I, the Elder, the fifth count of Flanders (961-64).



Arnuff II, the sixth count of Flanders (964-89)

Baldwin IV, the seventh count of Flanders (989-1035)



Baldwin V, the eighth count of Flanders (1035-67)

Baldwin VI, the ninth count of Flanders (1067-70)



Arnuff III, the tenth count of Flanders (1070-71)

Robert I, the eleventh count of Flanders (1071-93)



Robert I and his son Robert II, who became the twelfth count of Flanders (1093-1111)



Baldwin VII, the thirteenth count of Flanders (1111-19)



feudal overlords for the establishment of law and municipal institutions. The charters usually granted rights to merchants that were denied to workers, and the class system that emerged severely inhibited upward mobility. In the thirteenth century, dissatisfaction on the part of the workers led to a series of uprisings that, toward the end of the century, became virtual revolution. The upper classes, terrified by the worker uprisings, called on the French king for help in putting down the unrest. England, fearing undue French influence in the area, also intervened.

The history of the Low Countries for the next several centuries was one of foreign intervention and domination, dynastic struggles, worker unrest, and rising and falling economic fortunes.

In the late fourteenth century the Low Countries came under the political hegemony of the dukes of Burgundy, who initiated a reign during which the economy flourished and the area experienced a golden age of scholarship, culture, and commerce.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Burgundian period had ended, and the Spanish had gained control over the Low Countries. Philip II of Spain tried to reduce the autonomy of the prosperous cities and towns and, in so doing, unleashed almost a century of warfare that finally resulted in the independence of the Netherlands but left the Belgian provinces under Spanish rule. From that point on, Belgium was a pawn in the power struggles and the religious conflicts of the great European nations, passing from the Spanish Habsburgs to the Austrian Habsburgs to the French to the Dutch and often serving as a battleground for the contesting armies of the major European powers. As a result of the religious strife of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, great numbers of Protestants from the Belgian provinces migrated to England, America, and Scandinavia, taking with them their skills in commerce and industry.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the linguistic differences of the Flemings and the Walloons became more intense. Under the later Burgundian dukes, all oaths of office in the northern provinces had been taken in the Flemish language. Under Philip II, however, French became the administrative language of the entire area. During the years of the Spanish Inquisition when Protestants fled northward, the language frontier—between the Flemish speakers in the north and the French speakers in the south—was again reinforced. When the area was ceded to Austria in 1713, the language of administration for the entire area was again French.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Belgians had little or no control over the international events that shaped their destiny. They had no voice in the councils that decided on war or peace in Europe, even though Belgium was often the battleground, nor were they consulted on the peace treaties that ended the



Charles the Good, the fourteenth count of Flanders (1119–1127)

William Clito of Normandy, the fifteenth count of Flanders (1127–28)



Dirk of Alsace, the sixteenth count of Flanders (1128–57)



Philip of Alsace, the seventeenth count of Flanders (1157–91)



Baldwin VIII, the eighteenth count of Flanders united the countships of Flanders and Hainaut (1191–95)



Countess Margareta of Constantinople, the eighteenth count(ess) of Flanders (1191–94)



Margareta in later life, just before her death in 1194



Baldwin IX (1195–1206), the nineteenth count of Flanders (1195–1206)



Joanna of Constantinople, the twentieth count(ess) of Flanders, was the daughter of Baldwin IX.



Ferdinand of Portugal, the twentieth count of Flanders, was the husband of Joanna (coregent with her from 1212 to 1233).



Thomas of Savoy was the second husband of Joanna and served as coregent with her from 1237 to 1244. He was considered the twenty-first count of Flanders.

many wars and often changed their territorial borders. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years War, recognized Holland as an independent country and, with a subsequent treaty in 1661, confirmed the closing of the Schelde estuary and thus strangled the port of Antwerp. From 1609 to 1715 the Belgian provinces were known as the Spanish Netherlands and suffered heavily from wars fought by Spain, France, England, and Holland. In the early part of the eighteenth century, once again by treaties engineered by the major powers, the Belgian provinces became the Austrian Netherlands.

Under Austrian rule during most of the eighteenth century, the Belgian provinces made great progress in both agriculture and industry. A great deal of effort was put into the building of roads and canals. Despite Austrian efforts during their period of rule, the port of Antwerp continued to languish as Belgian ships were denied use of the Schelde estuary. In another area of conflict with the Dutch, however, the Austrians were successful. This involved the barrier fortresses—a series of military garrisons in Belgian towns—that the Dutch maintained and forced the Belgians to pay for. The Austrian emperor, Joseph II, finally forced the Dutch to abandon the forts and leave Belgium. The Austrian efforts to weaken Dutch influence in the area were appreciated by the Belgians, but efforts to impose autocratic rule by the Austrians met stiff resistance. The French Revolution of 1789 spurred the Belgians to action, and they declared independence; but powerful Austrian armies quickly ended the life of the United States of Belgium.

In the early 1790s the French revolutionary armies invaded Belgium and, eventually, drove out the Austrians. By 1795 the Belgian provinces had been annexed by France. French rule, however, was short-lived. Napoleon's disaster in Russia and his final defeat at Waterloo (a few miles south of Brussels) ended the twenty-year period of French hegemony in the area. The major European powers, meeting in the Congress of Vienna, decided that the Low Countries should be united and

Countess Margaret (1244–80), daughter of Joanna, is honored on a Belgian commemorative stamp.



Guy de Dampierre, the twenty-second count of Flanders (1280–1305)





Robert III of Bethune, the twenty-third count of Flanders (1305–22)



Louis I of Newers, the twenty-fourth count of Flanders (1322–37)



Louis II de Male, the twenty-fifth count of Flanders (1345–84), was secretly murdered by his son-in-law's brother, the duke of Berri. The son-in-law, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, then had his wife Margaret, the daughter of Louis II, placed in reign (1384–1405).

created the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, which combined Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg under William of Orange, the Dutch king. The new kingdom prospered and, because Antwerp was reopened, Belgian trade again became important.

For a time it seemed as though the United Kingdom of the Netherlands might succeed in spite of ethnic and religious differences, but old problems and old enmities were never far beneath the surface. Before long the Belgians believed that they were being treated as second-class citizens in the new arrangement. The Belgians were bothered by edicts that directed them to assume half the national debt even though Holland had entered the union with an indebtedness many times larger than Belgium's. In addition, seats in the legislature were divided equally despite the fact that Belgium's population outnumbered the Dutch by more than 1 million. Finally, both the Flemings and Walloons of Belgium were intensely Roman Catholic and were concerned about being ruled by a Dutch Calvinist. Tensions mounted until the summer of 1830, when the Belgians successfully revolted and declared their independence.

THE NEW KINGDOM

William of Orange sent armies to the Belgian provinces to prevent their secession, but the Belgians were deter-

mined to win their freedom. The great powers—Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia—intervened to impose a cease-fire and, eventually, to approve of an independent Belgium. The bulk of the fighting in the revolution had fallen on the urban workers and the peasants but, ironically, the bourgeoisie, many of whom had not favored independence, acquired political power in the new state. A provisional government was established and soon declared independence and arranged for elections to the Belgian National Congress. The great powers had advocated that the Belgians accept a son of the Dutch king as the new king of Belgium, but the congress voted to exclude the House of Orange from the throne of Belgium. Once the constitution was drafted in February 1831, a search was undertaken to select an appropriate king. The throne was first offered to the duke of Nemours, who was the son of Louis-Philippe of France; the British were opposed to this choice, and it was abandoned. It was then offered to Leopold of the House of Saxe-Coburg.

The constitution, which was liberal in most respects, guaranteed not only freedom of the press but also freedom of association, education, and worship. It assured citizens of the inviolability of the home, the right of petition, and equality under the law. The constitution allowed for little future change, however. In fact it has been amended only three times since 1831.

One of the essential features of the constitution was the concept of the monarchy. The monarchy was to be hereditary, and women were excluded from succession to the throne. The king was to have the power to dissolve the National Congress, appoint ministers and judges, issue currency, and make war and peace; he was also to be commander of the armed forces.

Leopold had been in the Russian army that fought Napoleon and had been married to the heiress to the English throne. Since his first wife had died, he was free to marry the daughter of the French ruler Louis-Philippe. In fact, one of the primary motives for choosing Leopold was that he had relationships with Belgium's allies. He was Protestant but relatively objective in religious matters; in addition, according to Belgian law, his children would be raised in the Roman Catholic church.

Leopold accepted the throne on the condition that the great powers ratify Belgium's proposed Treaty of Eighteen Articles, which would allow Belgium to retain Limburg and Luxemburg. After Leopold had taken the throne in July 1831, the Dutch began another march against Belgium, and Leopold asked for and received the aid of French troops. At this point, the London Conference drew up an amended version of the original treaty, which was called the Treaty of Twenty-four Articles. Although the treaty guaranteed international protection to Belgium and recognized its independence, parts of both Limburg and Luxemburg were lost.



The first king of the Belgians, Leopold I. The crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and on June 4, 1832, he was proclaimed king of the Belgians.



Princess Charlotte. Leopold I had two children. Prince Philip died in 1905. Princess Charlotte married Maximilian of Austria, who became for a short period of time the emperor of Mexico. His firstborn, the crown prince Leopold, succeeded him to the throne in 1865.

The liberation of Belgium tended to intensify the Flemish-Walloon dispute. The revolution not only dissolved the political union with the Dutch but also weakened any sense of community with them. The political leaders of the revolution in Belgium, both Fleming and Walloon, had long admired the French—not only for their politics but also for their language and culture. As one authority has written, the Liberal party regarded the Flemings as set apart from the entire revolution: “In their [the Liberals’] eyes the Flemish masses had been dangerously cut off, through their ignorance of the French language, from the ideals of the French Revolution which had so deeply influenced Belgium’s constitution.” Once the independence of the country had been achieved, French became the official language of the country, but the Flemish masses continued to speak their own tongue. In fact, the full impact of Flemish-Walloon differences was severely felt at precisely the moment when the two ethnic groups were forged into one country.

Religion and politics, inextricably intertwined in Belgium, continued to be sources of dispute. The Constitu-

Princess Charlotte and Maximilian in their official engagement photograph



This satirical print was published in 1833 when constitutional conflict was disturbing several countries whose sovereigns were of tender age. Isabella of Spain, right, was only three when her proclamation as queen led to the first Carlist war. In Portugal, Dom Miguel claimed the crown of Maria II, aged fourteen. Otto, left, shown as a boy of twelve, was king of a newly independent Greece; and the imperial crown of Brazil overweighs the head of Pedro II, five years old.



tion of 1831 had—in an attempt to satisfy both the Catholic and Liberal parties—guaranteed complete freedom of worship. The Roman Catholic clergy, however, were subsidized by the state.

Belgium was one of the few European countries that did not undergo the turmoils of the 1848 revolutions. Leopold’s chief goals were to fend off the Dutch, in the early years, and to keep the French and the Prussians from absorbing the country. At the time of independence Prussia had been opposed to a free and independent Belgium. Later, however, the Prussians tried to entice the Belgians into a customs union (Zollverein). Although Belgium signed treaties with Prussia in 1844 and 1852, it refused to enter the proposed union.

The French had not been eager to see a totally independent Belgium, principally because they hoped to annex the country again. Between 1838 and 1843 the French, like the Prussians, made various proposals for an economic union, which Belgium again refused. A simple commercial treaty was, however, signed with France in 1845. Relations with France deteriorated when, in the latter part of the century, it was learned that

the French had submitted a secret draft treaty to Prussia in which France proposed that both Belgium and Luxemburg be annexed to France. This plan was never carried out, largely because of Great Britain's pledge of protection to Belgium.

THE BELGIAN CONGO

In the late 1860s King Leopold II, who succeeded Leopold I in 1865, became interested in expanding his territory overseas, although the Belgian population was indifferent to his aims. In 1876 Leopold II convened a conference of European explorers in Brussels and set up a committee called the International African Association (Association Internationale Africaine—AIA); Leopold was its first president. By 1879, with the assistance of the famous explorer, Henry M. Stanley, Leopold laid plans for a free state in the Congo. While Stanley was founding Leopoldville—named after the Belgian king—the French were also ceded certain territories in the Congo. By 1882, however, Leopold created the International Association of the Congo (Association Internationale du Congo—AIC) and persuaded the United States and Germany to accept the association's territorial status.

By 1884 the Berlin Conference, which had been convened to mediate the claims of European powers to African territory, recognized the new state of the Congo. One year later, in May 1885, a royal decree proclaimed the establishment of the Congo Free State with Leopold II as its ruler. Five years after the proclamation, Leopold persuaded the leading European powers to allow the Congo to impose customs duties. Shortly thereafter the boundaries of the free state—which itself was wealthy in rubber and ivory—were expanded to include the province of Katanga, which was extremely rich in copper.

Because the native population of the country was exploited, while Leopold II was draining its wealth, other countries—most notably Great Britain—began to pro-

King Leopold II (1865–1909). His greatest claim to fame was the founding in West Africa of the Congo state (Belgian Congo), with the help of the famous explorer, Sir Henry Stanley. King Leopold died in December 1909.



Prince Albert enters Brussels in 1909 after the death of King Leopold II



test. Even within Belgium itself, the Catholic party joined with the Socialists in opposition to Leopold's activities in the Congo. By 1890 Leopold had decided, despite the reactions of his Belgian citizens, to leave the Congo to Belgium in his will. After long struggles and opposition, a bill of annexation was passed by the government in 1908, one year before Leopold died.

WORLD WAR I

In the years before the outbreak of World War I, Belgium's industry, banking, and railroads boomed; the country was one of Europe's leading exporters. Poverty, however, existed on a large scale. Conditions for workers were dismal—urban conditions were poor, and wages were low. Education did not become compulsory until 1914; approximately one-fourth of all workers were illiterate. Therefore, the domestic situation was difficult when the war began.

Because Belgium was a passageway to France, it was crucial to German strategy in the war. On August 2, 1914, the Germans crossed the frontier of Luxemburg, which like Belgium was a neutral state. Two days later the Germans marched on Belgium. In two weeks the city of Liège fell to Germany; the Germans entered Brussels on August 20. The Belgians under the leadership of King Albert, who had assumed the throne in 1909, attempted to resist German incursions at Antwerp. When the Belgians were driven from the city in October 1914, they located themselves in a narrow strip of the country west of the IJssel River, where they remained for four years.

The German strategy was based on a dual plan: to encourage the Flemish movement, thereby dividing the country internally, and to make a separate peace with Albert. Although both plans met with what appeared to be success, neither plan succeeded completely. The Flemings were still frustrated by the government at the beginning of the war; an extremist group of Flemings, known as the Activists, wanted complete separation from the Belgian state. In 1916 the German governor general agreed to split the Ministry of Arts and Science into separate Flemish and Walloon sections; at the same time he reopened the University of Gent as a totally Flemish institution. In 1917, two hundred Activists met in Brussels and formed the Council of Flanders. They demanded that the country be completely divided into two administrative units, with Brussels as the capital of Flanders and Namur as the capital of Wallonia.

The other aspect of the German plan was also partially successful. Albert, much like the Activists, was interested not in aiding and abetting the German cause but in restoring a free and independent country. The Germans first approached Albert on the basis of a separate peace in October 1915; he was definitely opposed to their plan at that time. By 1916, however, he appeared to be more responsive. Although Albert sought peace for the



Albert I (1875–1934), king of Belgium (1909–34). Second son of Prince Philip Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Princess Marie of Hohenzollern, he married (1900) Elizabeth, duchess of Bavaria. Their children were Prince Leopold (who succeeded his father as Leopold III), Prince Charles, and Princess Marie-José, who married (1930) Prince Umberto of Italy.



Queen Elizabeth, wife of King Albert, 1876–1965, honored on a Belgian birth centenary stamp. She was born on July 25, 1876, at Possenhoven, in Bavaria, the daughter of Carl Theodore, duke of Bavaria, and Marie-José of Braganza, princess of Portugal.

On October 2, 1900, she married Prince Albert in Munich, nephew of the then-reigning monarch of Belgium, Leopold II.

King Leopold II died without an heir and Prince Albert became king of the Belgians on December 22, 1909. From the time of her arrival in Belgium, Her Majesty showed interest in the cultural life of her new country. She encouraged young artists by visiting exhibitions of painters and attending concerts, and was a gracious hostess of artists in all fields.

Three children were born of her marriage to King Albert of the Belgians: Prince Leopold, who reigned in Belgium after his father's death in 1934, under the name of King Leopold III; Prince Charles, who was regent of the kingdom immediately after World War II until 1952; Princess Marie-José, who married King Umberto of Italy.



The heroic defense of the Belgians in 1914, during World War I, gave Britain and France time to complete mobilization and prepare for the battle of the Marne. Albert remained in the field at the head of his troops throughout the war. He died in a mountain-climbing mishap.

sake of his country, there was no real opportunity to negotiate with the Germans because of the basic hostility of Albert's cabinet, the overall attitude of the Belgian people, and the opposition of the Allies.

When the war ended and the armistice was signed in November 1918, Albert returned to Brussels with Belgian and Allied troops. He found his country in a better political situation than before the war, but it had been devastated by human and material damage. From the



On October 25, 1918, King Albert I, Queen Elizabeth, and the crown prince Leopold make their state return to Bruges, Belgium, after the Germans were defeated.

war there emerged—despite the collaboration of the Activists—a new spirit of national unity that continued to prevail in peacetime.

THE INTERWAR YEARS

During the period between 1918 and the beginning of World War II, Belgium was in a state of constant flux. Out of the turmoil of war, a sense of national identity emerged for the first time since independence in 1830. Although Belgium was excluded from the inner circle of the Versailles conference and treaty, it attempted to demand the revision of the Treaty of Twenty-four Articles, written in 1831, which would return Limburg and Luxembourg to Belgium. This demand was rejected by the Versailles conference.

In other postwar negotiations, however, Belgium gained a certain amount of ground. It was given 2,500 million gold francs and promised a thirty-year indemnity from Germany through the Treaty of Versailles. The same treaty ensured that Belgium's historic neutrality clause—dating back to the 1830s—would be abandoned. Through this renunciation of neutrality, Belgium was able to safeguard its territory by means of military alliances as was true of any other sovereign state. Belgium also made a slight territorial gain in the previously German-held territory near Liège.

Domestic politics also went through a period of change and upheaval. Albert continued as ruler until his death in 1934, at which point he was succeeded by his son Leopold III. The political parties passed through a number of changes.

By 1935, a year after the death of Albert, a three-party coalition took power under the leadership of a Catholic party member, Paul van Zeeland. Eventually, despite a series of economic reforms designed to reduce unemployment and taxes, his government fell, and leadership passed to Paul-Henri Spaak.



A photograph of King Albert taken to make an engraving for a postage stamp



Crown Prince Leopold



Crown Prince Leopold, left; the Prince of Wales, center; and King Albert during a state visit by the prince to Belgium



The Prince of Wales, left, with the crown prince Leopold

A royal group photograph taken during the visit of the Prince of Wales. Sitting, left to right: Princess Marie-José, Queen Elizabeth, the Prince of Wales, and King Albert. Standing, left, Crown Prince Leopold and Prince Charles, the count of Flanders.



The various crises that the country had undergone in this period of turmoil assisted the development of the Rexist movement. The Rexist—who took their name from *Christus Rex* (Christ the King)—were a quasi-Fascist organization, led by Léon Degrelle, a former student at the University of Louvain. Most of his supporters were from the capital of the country and the south. The organization had its roots in the nazism of Hitler and the fascism of Mussolini. In the elections of 1936 the Rexist achieved great success at the polls, gaining twenty-two seats. Because of Hitler's actions in Europe, by 1937 the country began to turn against the Rexist; by 1939 the Rexist party had only four deputies left in Parliament. The Rexist were at one point closely related to extremists of the Flemish population, such as the Flemish National party (*Vlaamsch National Verbond—VNV*), which was formed in 1925 and campaigned for Flemish autonomy from the state of Belgium in 1935.

The frustrations of the Flemish population during this period—which were exacerbated by the Belgian alliance with France after the war—came to a head in the 1930s. By 1935 the VNV began to make demands on the government on purely Flemish grounds. By 1939 seventeen VNV deputies were sent to Parliament; they were determined to do away with the Belgian state. The cry of the Flemish extremists at that time was "*Weg met België*" (Away with Belgium).

In 1936 a new expansionist Germany was again appearing on the European scene. King Leopold III withdrew Belgium from the Locarno Treaty and advocated a policy of armed neutrality. By 1937 Belgium's independence from the pact was recognized by Great Britain and France, although they continued to offer assistance if it should be needed. Leopold's armed neutrality policy reflected a desire on the part of Belgium to stand aside from the disputes of Europe and to defend its own territories. This desire had been provoked and aggravated by Belgium's awareness of the significance of Hitler's invasion of Austria; the Czechoslovakian crisis; and the Munich agreement between Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain. On September 3, 1939, Belgium formally

King Ferdinand of Romania, left, with King Albert during a royal visit to Belgium





King Albert birth centenary stamps (1875-1934)



King Leopold III and Queen Astrid in a wedding pose



On August 29, 1935, the beautiful queen Astrid, consort of the young king Leopold III, was killed in a motoring accident in Switzerland. Queen Astrid, who was thirty years old and a niece of the king of Sweden, is seen here with her children, left to right, Princess Josephine-Charlotte, Prince Albert, and the crown prince Baudouin.



Deep sympathy was felt for King Leopold, who less than two years previously had lost his father as the result of a mountaineering accident. King Leopold, who was driving the car when it crashed into a stone parapet near Kusnacht, a resort on Lake Zurich, was himself injured and appeared at the funeral with his arm in a sling.

The king's palace in Brussels



declared its neutrality to the world, but Europe was engulfed in another war.

WORLD WAR II

In September 1939 Germany invaded Poland; two days after the invasion, France and Great Britain declared war on Germany. At the same time that Belgium renounced its neutrality, it began to mobilize. In accord with Belgium's new policy of independence, it refused to allow British and French troops to be stationed on Belgian soil during the first months of the war.

On May 10, 1940, Germany attacked Belgium. With an abrupt about-face, Belgium called on the British and French for military aid. The Germans began to bomb the country and issued a statement declaring that Germany was forced to occupy Belgium in order to forestall invasions by the British and the French. Germany successfully cut off the Allied armies in the area and encircled the country. Belgian refugees fled in panic, and the British and French were forced to retreat. By June 1940 the Germans had occupied Belgium. Leopold III decided to remain in Belgium against the wishes of his cabinet, which moved the government to England. Disapproval of his decision was based on the belief that the king's presence in the country could be used to the advantage of the Germans. In fact Leopold eventually became a German prisoner and was severely condemned for his conduct during the war.

Criticism of the king grew even as the war was winding to a close. During the last year of the war, Leopold III had been transferred first to Germany and later to Austria. On May 7, 1945, he was freed by American troops. Belgium was liberated on September 3, 1944, by General Bernard Montgomery's forces. Although the war was officially over for Belgium, German bombs continued to fall through the winter, damaging both Liège and Antwerp. Eventually, in the spring of 1945, all fighting ceased in Belgium, and peace was restored to Europe.

THE POSTWAR YEARS

The years between World War II and the early 1970s were characterized by five major themes. The first theme was Belgium's desire for a role in international politics. The second major issue was the resolution of the Congo crisis. The third issue was the conflict between clerical and secular forces in education. This was exacerbated by the fourth problem, the increasing tensions between the Flemings and the Walloons. The most severe initial problem, however, in the postwar years was the so-called royal issue regarding Leopold's right to the throne.

In 1945 the Catholic party became the Christian Social party (CVP-PSC). In the elections of 1946 this party obtained a large number of seats in Parliament, gaining

mostly from the loss of VNV and Rexist representatives. Eventually, a coalition was formed of Socialists, Liberals, and Communists, all of whom were overtly hostile to the continuation of Leopold III as king of the Belgians.

At approximately the same time, the Flemish-Walloon situation was aggravated by a language census taken in 1947. The results were shattering to the Walloons. The census showed that 51.3 percent of the country spoke Dutch; 32.9 percent spoke French; 1 percent spoke German; and the remaining 15.7 percent, who were located in Brussels, spoke both French and Dutch. The Walloons not only were shocked by these statistics but also felt that the government favored the Flemings.

The issue of Leopold's retention of the throne was the focal point for political, religious, and ethnic grievances. Because of Leopold's alleged collaboration with the Germans during the war, he had been for the most part repudiated by his fellow countrymen. Generally, however, the Roman Catholic Flemings hoped to see Leopold return to the throne, but the more anticlerical Walloons did not. Achille van Acker, the first cabinet leader in the postwar years, felt that the king would unite the two antagonistic groups by sheer force of the monarchy.

Meanwhile, the Socialists and the Communists demanded Leopold's abdication in favor of his older son, Prince Baudouin. The CVP-PSC, which was initially in favor of Leopold's retention of the throne, now also objected. At this point, the more liberal coalition asked for a popular vote on the issue. In the elections of 1947 the CVP-PSC gained another thirteen seats, and a new coalition was formed between the CVP-PSC and the Liberals.

A vote was taken in 1950 regarding the king. Of the total vote, 57 percent favored Leopold's retention of the throne. There were, however, regional and ethnic differences: 72 percent of the Flemish provinces voted in favor of Leopold, whereas only 42 percent of Wallonia and 48 percent of the residents of Brussels voted similarly.

In the same elections of 1950, the CVP-PSC won an absolute majority. When Leopold III was returned to the throne, approximately 1.5 million Communists and Socialists went on strike in Wallonia, crying "Hang Leopold." The continuing strikes and destruction of property forced the government to recognize that the only way to prevent a civil war was for Leopold to abdicate. Even members of the CVP-PSC, who had previously favored Leopold, were opposed to his leadership when they realized the destruction that his return had caused. By August 1950 the government had announced that Leopold would be replaced by Prince Baudouin, who took the title of prince royal. In July 1951 Leopold III turned over all power to Baudouin, who assumed the title of king. The struggle, however, went far deeper than

politics. The basic cleavage between the Flemings and the Walloons had been intensified through the royal issue.

The domestic situation in Belgium during the 1950s was still volatile, and foreign relations became increasingly troubled by the situation in the Congo. When Baudouin assumed the throne in 1951, social agitation was momentarily quieted. The CVP-PSC still retained power, although its popularity dropped to some extent, primarily because of controversial school legislation in the 1950s. By 1954 the CVP-PSC vote had dropped significantly. A sentiment of anticlericalism, which had pervaded certain elements of politics since 1830, led to the formation of a coalition of Socialists and Liberals.

By the 1960s, although most of Belgium's foreign problems had been resolved, the domestic situation was fraught with difficulties. The essential problems revolved around Flemish-Walloon relations, which in turn impinged to a great extent on the country's educational system. Other major issues were the economic and political situation, the question of constitutional reform, and the proposal of federalism as the form of government best suited to the needs of the country.



King Baudouin paid a visit to the United Nations headquarters in New York City in 1959. He is seen here, left, with UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld at the podium in the General Assembly Hall.



Their Majesties King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola. They were married in Brussels on December 15, 1960.



King Baudouin, king of the Belgians, is a constitutional monarch, the country's fifth sovereign since Belgium acquired its independence in 1830. Together with the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, he exercises the legislative power. In addition, he possesses, with the assistance and under the responsibility of his cabinet ministers, the sole executive power. The king reigns, he does not govern, but it is an unwritten rule of the Belgian political system that as an arbiter standing above the parties, the king does, through persuasion and the prestige of his office, guide the decisions of his government. He is, thus, far from being just a figurehead, and may even be in times of stress the cornerstone of the political edifice.

The king's youth was marred by tragedy: the death in a mountaineering accident of his grandfather, King Albert (1934), and the death of his mother, Queen Astrid (who was a Swedish princess), victim of an automobile accident in Switzerland (1935). Later, the invasion of Belgium in May 1940 forced him to seek refuge and safety first in France and finally at San Sebastian, Spain. He returned to Laeken in September 1940 and spent two years at the Castle of Ciergnon. In June 1944, the royal family was deported to Germany after the landing of the Allies in Normandy, and the king became one of Hitler's youngest political prisoners. The royal family was first interned in a decrepit medieval castle, Hirschstein near Heimar, where comfort was at a minimum. After the final Allied breakthrough in March 1945, the royal family was transferred by the Germans to Strobl in Austria. On the way, the party was caught in a severe air attack on Munich and forced to take refuge under a railroad bridge while comparatively safe shelters were available at a short distance.

The royal family was freed by a detachment of the Seventh American Army on May 7, 1945; Prince Baudouin knew freedom again after five years. He resumed his studies in Geneva, where King Leopold and the royal family lived temporarily pending the settlement of what became known as the question royale. He then returned to Brussels with King Leopold in the summer of 1950.

After his return to Belgium in July 1950, Prince Baudouin first acted as ruler of the kingdom under the title of prince royal; he acceded to the throne in July 1951 as king of the Belgians, following his father's abdication.

King Baudouin was born in Brussels, September 7, 1930, the son of King Leopold III, born November 3, 1901 (son of King Albert and Queen Elizabeth) and of Queen Astrid (daughter of Prince Karl and Princess Ingeborg of Sweden). Besides King Leopold, his wife Princess Liliane, and Queen Elizabeth, the royal family consists of: Princess Josephine-Charlotte, born October 11, 1927, married to the grand-duke Jean of Luxembourg; Prince Albert, born June 6, 1934, president of the Red Cross of Belgium, who visited the USA in 1955; Prince Alexander, born July 18, 1942; Princess Marie-Christine, born February 6, 1951; Princess Marie-Esmeralda, born September 30, 1956.

Prince Alexander and the Princesses Marie-Christine and Marie-Esmeralda are the children of King Leopold's marriage to Princess Liliane, born in London, November 28, 1916, and married to King Leopold in 1941. Prince Charles, who was regent of the kingdom from 1945 to 1950, is the king's uncle.



A close-up of Queen Fabiola



Queen Fabiola in a formal appearance at a theatrical performance

The king and queen in an informal pose on the grounds in front of the royal palace in Laeken



THE POLITICAL PARTIES

In 1961 a coalition government—formed of Christian Socialists and Socialists—came to power. By the late 1960s there were three major political parties and two relatively ineffectual ones. The major party of the 1960s was the Christian Social party (CVP-PSC), formerly known as the Belgian Catholic party. Its support came primarily from the Roman Catholic church, the Roman Catholic-allied trade unions, the business community, and the Flemish workers and farmers. The second strongest political party at that time was the Belgian Socialist party (BSP-PSB). It was supported principally by Wallonian industrial workers but also gained some support from businessmen and some of the population in Flemish industrialized areas. The third major political party was the Party of Liberty and Progress (PVV-PLP), formerly known as the Belgian Liberal party. It was the most conservative of the three and had roughly equal strength in the Flemish and Walloon areas. The Belgian Communist party and the Flemish People's Union—an extreme Flemish group—were the minority parties.

ETHNIC RELATIONS

In 1965 the Commission for Institutional Reform met to discuss the Flemish-Walloon problem. It favored the establishment of cultural councils, one for the French-speaking and one for the Flemish-speaking population. There was also to be a cultural council for the small German-speaking segment of the population. Each council would promote and supervise the spreading of its particular culture within its own area. Ministers of the government would submit legislation to the cultural councils on such matters as the use of a particular language; education in general; literature, libraries, and museums; mass education; youth activities; radio and television; and cultural relations with foreign countries.

Meanwhile, the Flemings remained dissatisfied with the educational situation. The country's bishops were opposed to the idea of a completely autonomous Flemish section that the Flemings proposed at the University of Louvain—a traditionally Roman Catholic and originally French-speaking university—and refused to tolerate the idea. In 1965 and 1966 there were widespread riots by Flemish students. Rioting in Antwerp by the Flemings also occurred during the same period.

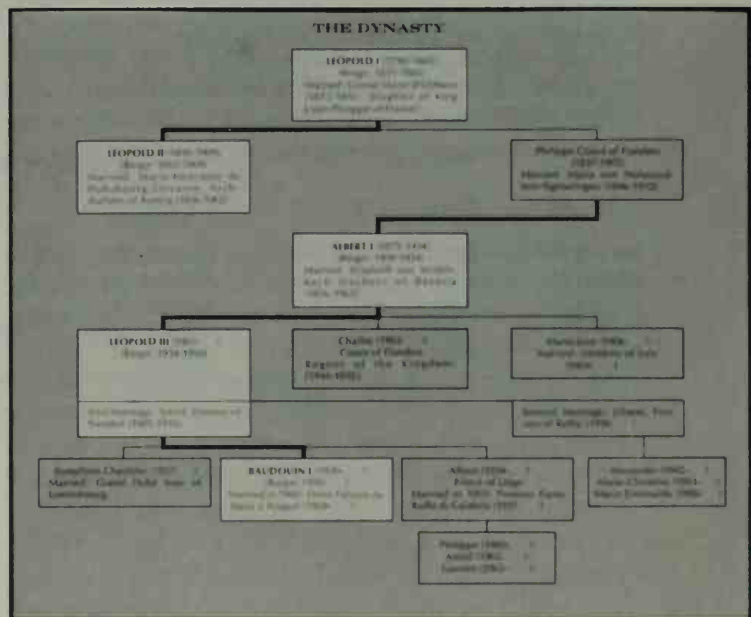
In 1967 the bishops declared in a rather ambiguous way that the Flemish department of the University of Louvain would be autonomous, although the university was still to be united. By 1968 the French faculties of the university were so overcrowded that it was proposed that the university expand to an area between Leuven and

Brussels. This proposal was deeply disliked by the Flemings, who felt that all French-speaking faculties should be transferred to Wallonia rather than to another Flemish area.

In 1968 street riots broke out throughout Flanders. When eight members of the PSC, who were members of the cabinet under Paul Vanden Boeynants, resigned en masse over the issue, the government fell, and Vanden Boeynants was succeeded by Paul-Henri Spaak. After the government fell from power, the new coalition government acceded to the demands of the Flemings and agreed to move the French-speaking faculties to Wallonia. Since that time the crown has been relegated to a very respected position of trust by the populace.



The principal members of the Belgian royal family. Left to right: Princess Paola, Prince Albert, Queen Fabiola, and King Baudouin



The House of Saxe-Coburg—the Dynasty

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
862-878	Count of Flanders	Baldwin I, the Iron Hand		879	
878-918	Count of Flanders	Baldwin II		918	Son of Baldwin I
918-950	Count of Flanders	Arnuff I (Arnold) (Arnulf)		964	Son of Baldwin II
950-961	Count of Flanders	Baldwin III		961	Son of Arnuff I
961-964	Count of Flanders	Arnuff I, the Elder		964	Son of Baldwin II
964-989	Count of Flanders	Arnuff II, the Younger		989	
989-1035	Count of Flanders	Baldwin IV, of the Handsome Beard		1035	
1035-1067	Count of Flanders	Baldwin V, the Debonnaire		1067	Son of Baldwin IV
1067-1070	Count of Flanders	Baldwin VI of Mons		1073	Son of Baldwin V
1070-1071	Count of Flanders	Arnuff III		1071	Brother of Baldwin VI
1071-1093	Count of Flanders	Robert I	1013	1093	Brother of Baldwin VI
1093-1111	Count of Flanders	Robert II	1039	1111	Son of Robert I
1111-1119	Count of Flanders	Baldwin VII	1058	1119	Son of Robert II
1119-1127	Count of Flanders	Charles the Good	1084	1127	Cousin of Baldwin VII
1127-1128	Count of Flanders	William Clito of Normandy		1128	Grandson of William I of England
1128-1157	Count of Flanders	Dirk (Didrik) of Alsace		1177	Grandson of Robert I
1157-1191	Count of Flanders	Philip I		1191	Son of Dirk
1191-1195	Count of Flanders	Baldwin VIII of Hainaut	1150	1195	
1191-1194	Countess of Flanders	Margareta			Wife of Baldwin VIII and sister of Philip I
1195-1206	Count of Flanders	Baldwin IX (emperor of Constantinople, 1204)	1171	1206	
1206-1244	Countess of Flanders	Joanna		1244	Daughter of Baldwin IX
1212-1233	Count of Flanders	Ferdinand of Portugal		1233	Husband of Joanna
1237-1244	Count of Flanders	Thomas of Savoy			Husband of Joanna
1244-1280	Countess of Flanders	Margaret	1201	1280	Daughter of Joanna
1280-1305	Count of Flanders	Guy de Dampierre		1305	Son of Margareta
1305-1322	Count of Flanders	Robert III of Bethune	1240	1322	Son of Guy de Dampierre
1322-1337	Count of Flanders	Louis I of Nevers (Creçy)	1304	1346	Grandson of Robert III
1337-1345	Governor of Flanders	Jacob van Artevelde	1290	1345	
1345-1384	Count of Flanders	Louis II de Male	1330	1384	Son of Louis I
1384-1405	Countess of Flanders	Margaret	1350	1405	Wife of Philip of Burgundy; daughter of Louis II
1384-1405	Count of Flanders	Philip the Bold of Burgundy			Husband of Margaret; son of King John II of France
1384-1477—Under the control of Burgundy					
1477-1795—Under the control of the Habsburgs					
1795-1814—Under the control of France					
1814-1830—United with Holland (the Netherlands)					
1830—Independence as a monarchy					

HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG

1831-1865	King	Leopold I	1790	1865	Son of Francis Frederick, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld
1865-1909	King	Leopold II	1835	1909	Son of Leopold I
1909-1934	King	Albert I	1875	1934	Son of Leopold II
1934-1951	King	Leopold III	1901		Son of Albert I
1944-1951	Regent	Charles, count of Flanders	1903		Son of Albert I
1951-	King	Baudouin I	1930		Son of Leopold III



II

The Kingdom of the Netherlands



The medieval provinces of the Netherlands

Caesar gives us our earliest glimpse at these Netherlanders. He found the district occupied by tribes partly Gallic, partly German, the fiercest fighters he had anywhere encountered. The southern more Gallic region having been longer snatched from the sea, was covered with a vast, dense forest, amid whose twilight deeps he fought ferocious tribes. Among them were the Nervii, who saw resistance hopeless yet refused all submission and were

well nigh exterminated; and the Belgae, whose name became a general term for the entire region, hence our modern Belgium.

Farther north Caesar found the Batavians or people of the *bet-auw* (good meadow land) the group of islands formed by the diverging mouths of the Rhine. From them *Holland* (hole-land, hollow-land) was long called the Batavian Republic. These Batavians in their impenetrable swamps were never really mastered by the Romans. They became allies of the great conquerors, famous as the dashing "Batavian cavalry." From them was drawn the trusted body guard of Augustus.

Beyond the Rhine, the strange half-land, half-water region was occupied by the Frisians, a wild Germanic race who, like the Batavians, became the dependent allies but never the defeated slaves of Rome. Indeed, the Romans relied much upon these friendly tribes in the attempt to conquer Germany. Batavia was the gathering place of the Roman troops and ships against the German national hero, Arminius.

The name of the Roman general Drusus, or Germanicus, as his countrymen entitled him, is the first that can be distinctly associated with the development of the Netherlands. Drusus built embankments or dikes to protect his armies from the sudden tides, and he dug canals that his ships might pass from river to river without venturing on the dangerous North Sea, for whose terrors Tacitus cannot find words, declaring it inhabited by strange monsters and frightful water birds.

Drusus also began the apportioning of the land west of the Rhine into regular provinces. The Netherlands and the region just south of them were thereafter known as *Germania Inferior* or Lower Germany. Cities sprang up, Cologne and Nymwegen. Civilization progressed rapidly even among the slow Batavians, who were ridiculed by the poet Martial for being as stupid as they were sturdy, as foolish as fierce.

The knowledge of these people and of their day closes abruptly with the last fragment of Tacitus. He tells with

full detail of the revolt of Germania Inferior during the confusion caused by the fall of Nero (A.D. 68). Claudius Civilis, a Batavian leader, whose services had made him a general under Rome, urged his people to rebel. In a famous speech he cried out that the Romans no longer treated the Batavians as allies, but ground them down as slaves. A prophetess called Veleda, deeply revered by the Germanic race, lent Civilis her aid. The Belgae and other Gauls joined him, and the Roman legions were defeated and wholly driven out of the region (A.D. 69). A year later, they returned. The Gauls were subdued; Batavia was ravaged, but the Batavians and some Germans from beyond the Rhine continued the struggle, roused to frenzy by the impassioned prophecies of Veleda. Civilis made a determined and skillful resistance, and after several battles, a conference between him and the Roman general was arranged to take place upon a bridge over the River Yssel. The center of the bridge was purposely broken away; Civilis advanced upon the ruin from one shore, the Roman from the other—and there our only manuscript of Tacitus breaks off and leaves them standing. What became of Civilis and the prophetess, we do not know.

Vaguely from other sources, we gather a general impression that the Batavians thereafter were treated with greater wisdom and justice. They remained loyal to the empire even in the days of its decline, and their race was almost exterminated in the constant strife with the hordes of Franks, Burgundians, and other Germans who in the fourth and fifth centuries surged over the feeble barrier of the Rhine and swept into Gaul. In the confused maelstrom of seething, wandering tribes that followed the downfall of Rome, the people of the Low Countries must have become widely scattered over Gaul. The Frisians, indeed, remained upon their barren coasts, which no one coveted. But the Batavians disappeared as a separate race, and their "good meadow land" became the chief home of the Salian Franks.

These Salians gradually extended their power southward, over the ancient land of the Belgae, and finally Clovis, the leader of the Salian Franks, rose to be the first king of France. Most of the Franks moved southward in the wake of Clovis, and by degrees portions of the Frisians occupied the land thus left almost vacant. Hence, the Hollanders of today are the descendants of the Frisians with some small admixture of Batavians and Franks. The race, therefore, is almost wholly Teutonic, though with traces of the Roman and the Gaul. The Belgians are Franks and ancient Belgae with a fuller Roman tint, half Teuton and half Gaul.

THE FEUDAL AGE

Batavia, the "good meadow" in the delta of the Rhine, remained for centuries a doubtful border district between Frisians and Franks. The Frisians were heathen

and wholly barbarian; the Franks adopted Christianity and assimilated something of the culture of the Roman world they had overrun. One Frankish king, Dagobert I, a descendant of Clovis, made a determined effort to convince the Frisians of the force and reasonableness of Christianity. He marched an army into their unprotected land and in 622 erected a church at Utrecht. But the sand dunes and the mists and marshes soon grew wearisome to Dagobert, so he marched home again. The Frisians came to examine his church, and it disappeared. After that the Frankish kings grew feeble, and the defense of the Batavian border was left to the local chiefs. We find the Pepins, who were to supersede the family of Clovis on the Frankish throne, first rising into prominence in this valiant strife. Both of the royal races which supplied the early sovereigns to France and Germany had thus their origin in the Netherlands, which today belong to neither country.

Pepin of Landen, the earliest distinguishable ancestor of the mighty Charlemagne, was lord of Brabant, the frontier land along the Maas River, which he held against the Frisians. His grandson, Pepin d'Heurista, defeated Radbod, king of the Frisians, and compelled him to diminish his title to that of duke, as a subject of the Franks. This Pepin was the real chief of the Franks, "mayor of the palace" to a sluggard king. Yet despite Pepin's power his son, Charles Martel, had to fight Radbod again, and later was obliged to defeat Radbod's son before the resolute Frisians would yield him even a nominal sovereignty.

Charles Martel refounded Dagobert's vanished church at Utrecht and made the Irish Saxon Willibrod, the first bishop of the northern Netherlands. Willibrod's labors extended from 692 to 739 and under him such small portion of the Frisians as accepted the Frankish yoke began the practice of a sort of hybrid faith, mingling their ancient superstitions and barbarous rites with fragments of the Christian ritual, little understood. Willibrod was followed in his episcopate by Winfred or Boniface, an English Saxon, the celebrated converter of the Germans. Boniface, dissatisfied with the debased and debasing worship of his Utrecht flock, insisted upon fuller conformity with the teachings of the church, and met a martyr's death, welcoming his slayers with open arms (775).

The first real conqueror of the Frisians was Charlemagne himself. He was probably born in one of his family's ancestral homes in Belgium near Liège and gained his earliest warlike training in strife with these wild pagans of the marshland. During his first Saxon wars, the Frisians aided their Saxon kinsmen; but by degrees the mingled kindness and sternness of Charlemagne won them to his side. Half of them, however, were slain before his result was achieved, or they were transported by the resolute monarch to other portions of his domains.

By wisdom rather than by force Charlemagne attached the remainder to his empire. They were confirmed in the proud title by which they called themselves, the Free Frisians. Thus reassured, they were induced to look with some favor upon Christianity, hitherto sternly rejected as being a mark of submission to the Franks. Charlemagne gave them a written constitution guaranteeing their ancient laws. "The Frisians," so runs the wording, probably far older than the date when it was written down, "shall be free so long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands."

The bright promise of Charlemagne's reign faded, as we know, in every portion of his broad empire. His son and grandsons exhausted in civil war the lives and resources of their people. The Northmen plundered the coasts almost with impunity.

Then ensued a period of direst tragedy. The North Sea coast was of all lands the most exposed to the Norse raids, and it was harried without mercy. Utrecht, the bishop's city, was plundered as early as 834. Soon all Friesland lay wholly in the invaders' power. They came there year after year and established permanent camps to avoid the necessity of returning home between expeditions. Ghent was seized by them in 851. They learned to use horses instead of ships, and rode unopposed over all the Netherlands.

What portion of the original inhabitants remained in the conquered lands, it would be difficult to say. Those who survived were ruled by Norse dukes, Heriold, Roruk, and Godfrey. The last named is even called king of Friesland. He extended his ravages beyond Cologne, and his men stabled their horses in its cathedral built by Charlemagne. The feeble Carolingian emperor made Godfrey duke of the regions he had plundered (882); the inhabitants were little better than his slaves. During his reign every "free Frisian" was compelled to go about with a halter looped around his neck.

But the relief of the peasantry was near. Duke Godfrey enlarged his demands. His territories, he said, produced no wine, therefore he must have lands higher up the Rhine. He interfered in the civil wars of the Carolingians, and was slain (885). A few years later, the German emperor Arnulf completely broke the power of the Netherlands Norsemen in the great battle of Louvain (891).

After Louvain, the Netherlands were left to themselves. The emperors were too desperately beset elsewhere to give much attention to this impoverished portion of their domains; the influx of the Norse sea robbers had exhausted itself. Dukes, counts and bishops, acknowledging some vague allegiance to emperor or pope or to the king of France, bore such rule as to themselves seemed good, over such regions as they could master. Most prominent of the lordships that thus developed, were those of the counts of Holland and of Flanders, the dukes of Lorraine and of Brabant, and the bishops of Utrecht and of Liège.

Flanders was the district west of the Scheldt, that is the most Gallic portion of the Netherlands, adjoining France and partly belonging to it, though the inhabitants, the Flemings, were mainly Germanic and regarded themselves as a race wholly separate from the French. The first remembered count of Flanders was Baldwin of the Iron Hand, who ruled from 862-878. He had been a chief forester in the service of the emperor Charles the Bald, and managed after the reckless fashion of the time to wed his master's daughter, Judith. The lady had already been queen of England, was widow, indeed, of two successive English kings, Ethelwulf and Ethelbald, when Baldwin carried her off from her villa at Senlis and made her his bride. The Northmen were not the only robbers of the age. The emperor after much show of empty wrath, finding that Judith herself seemed not overly angry, made peace with Baldwin and confirmed the marriage, was glad to make such peace perhaps, for along all that coast the iron-armed Fleming stood alone as a bulwark against the Norsemen.

The sons and grandsons of Baldwin and his queen inherited the fame and the rank of their sire, and upheld them well. They acted as independent monarchs, not hesitating to war against the king of France or even the emperor when occasion came. Indeed Baldwin IV, of the Handsome Beard, defeated both emperor and king and extorted additions to his territory from both Germany and France. His son, Baldwin V, was count of Flanders when William the Conqueror won England and William wedded the Fleming's daughter after having been twice repulsed by the haughty lady. Baldwin VII was known as Baldwin of the Axe. Armed with his favorite weapon, an iron axe, he established peace and insisted on its preservation throughout the land. Many a robber baron fell beneath the axe or was seized and executed at the complaint of the peasantry. Another Baldwin, the ninth, headed a crusade and made himself emperor of Constantinople (1204) rather neglecting his government at home for the sake of his glory abroad, and leaving Flanders to much internal disaster and civil war.

Farther north the counts of Holland emerge from obscurity when a certain Count Dirk of Kennemerland, having shown himself a gallant warrior against the Northmen, was by Charles the Simple entrusted with the defense of the entire region around him and given the title of Dirk I of Holland. He was followed by a long line known among their people as Dirk (Dietrich, Theodoric) or Floris (Florence) several of whom rose to prominence and extended their sway over Friesland and Zeeland, as well as over their own smaller province among the Rhine morasses to which the name Holland was at first confined.

These counts were at constant war with their rivals, the bishops of Utrecht. The German emperors, dreading the ever-increasing influence of the Holland counts over the wild Frisians, sought to weaken the rebellious noble-



The first ruler of the Netherlands was Count Dirk, appointed by Charles IV (the Simple) of France.

men by conferring their fiefs upon the more loyal bishops. But not even to the emperor would the sturdy Dirks yield an inch of territory. So between Utrecht and Holland there was constant strife. One war specially memorable began in 1058, when Holland was invaded by the warlike bishop William I, at the head of his own troops, a large number of neighboring allies and also a great force sent in the name of the Franconian child emperor, Henry IV. Count Floris I of Holland met the overwhelming masses of his enemies at Dordrecht, entrapped their cavalry in pits, and then scattered their infantry. The chronicles of the time with their usual prodigality of numbers, assert that sixty thousand of the allied troops were slain.

Undiscouraged by the disaster, Bishop William, the mightiest prelate of his age, raised a second army of invasion. This Floris also repelled; but exhausted by his personal efforts in the battle, he, rather imprudently it would seem, lay down beneath a tree to sleep. There he was found by some of the enemy who, having killed him, attacked and slew the larger portion of his men (1060).

The defeat seemed to portend the total extinction of the county of Holland; for Dirk, the little son of Floris, was but a child. Bishop William took possession of the helpless land; whereupon the desperate widow of Floris sought aid from the Flemings and married Robert, a son of their great count Baldwin V. Robert fought so valiantly for Holland that the emperor, Bishop William's protector, sent to the scene and imperial army under Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lorraine (1071). Robert was driven back upon the coast lands, forced to take refuge among the marshes and the dunes. "Count of the waters" he is dubbed by the jesting chroniclers.

For a time Godfrey and Bishop William held all Holland and Friesland in their hands. This, however, was the period of the first great strife between emperor and pope. The young emperor Henry IV had not yet bowed to Pope Gregory at Canossa; instead he was upheld and encouraged in his defiance of the papal power by both Duke Godfrey and Bishop William, the two most powerful of his subjects. So long as they lived the emperor was

triumphant. It was William who led the council of Worms in passing the resolution to depose the "perfidious monk on the papal throne"; and from his great cathedral at Utrecht, William preached to the imperial court a most fiery sermon against the pope. On the very day of his preaching, according to the story, lightning blasted his cathedral. That same year he died (1076); Godfrey of Lorraine perished also, assassinated in the city of Delft, which he himself had built to be the capital of his new possessions in Holland. The sudden death of these, the two strongest supporters of the emperor, was very generally regarded as an evidence of the wickedness of upholding him against the pope.

In the civil war that broke out everywhere against Henry, little Dirk of Holland recovered his possessions, the more readily since his stepfather Robert had now become count of Flanders, and the new duke of Lorraine was that Godfrey of Bouillon who headed the first Crusade.

The strife of emperors and popes continued. In 1248, the pope having declared the emperor Frederick II deposed, Count William II of Holland was chosen as the emperor's successor and solemnly inaugurated. Soon however, he was compelled to hurry home to suppress a formidable revolt among the Frisians. It was winter, and the marshmen lured him onward over the frozen shallows until he and his heavily armored horse broke through the ice. He could neither fight nor flee, and the peasants slew him in triumph (1256).

Holland was thus plunged again into turmoil; and indeed all Germany suffered for twenty years from the Great Interregnum, during which there was no emperor, and every locality, every little town, had to depend upon itself for defense against the swarms of robber bands, which reveled in the universal anarchy. In the tumult and disaster Friesland almost disappears from our view, but we know that in 1282, a great storm of the water swept away the protecting sand dunes, and the ocean flooded much of the ancient land. The broad Zuyder Zee, or "sea" was formed where before had been only a lake. Towns and villages were destroyed, and fifteen thousand people drowned despite boats and dykes and every other aid. The whole face of the land was changed. Friesland was cut in two. What little was left of the province south of the Zuyder Zee was easily annexed by Holland. The isolated northern portion became practically independent, a republic of the poor, a dangerous, far-off wilderness which no army would dare to penetrate, where no noble would care to live.

RISE OF THE GREAT CITIES

But by the year 1300, the Low Country cities had grown greater than their lords. In this land and in this alone of all Europe, do the citizens stand out during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, as holding a more promi-

ment place than either the nobility or kings.

It is worth noting that there had never been any real monarchs of the Low Countries. The Romans accepted the Batavians as allies. Even Charlemagne left the Free Frisians their own laws. The shadowy Norse king endured but for a moment. France never claimed supremacy except over part of Flanders; and the German emperors were constrained to exercise their feeble authority over the Netherlands by deputy through its own local rulers, bishops of Utrecht or Liège, or dukes of Lorraine. The counts of Flanders or of Holland might indeed be regarded as independent kings of their domains, especially after the Great Interregnum, during which young Dirk of Flanders completely humbled Utrecht. Both of these semiregal houses, however, waned in power, while the cities of the land grew strong and, recognizing their strength at last, asserted their supremacy.

How was it that these cities had so advanced in wealth, in population and intelligence? The story is not clear, though much study has been expended on it and argument has waxed hot. Dimly we know that the great Flemish municipalities, Ghent and Bruges, came down from Roman times and were never wholly destroyed. Utrecht and Liège grew up as bishop's courts, then turned upon their feeble masters. The other more northern cities were of later growth. Wealth came to all of them through industry and trade. The Flemings were the cloth weavers of Europe; the towns of Holland held control of the fisheries at a time when all Catholic Europe dined on fish during the long periods of abstinence commanded by the church. The Netherlanders, like the Frisians of old, were bold travelers by both land and sea, shrewd traffickers, and sturdy holders of their own. They became the merchants of Europe. As to their liberties, these had been granted inch after inch by generations of Dutch and Flemish counts who, cautious bargainers themselves, had seen that there was much more to be gained by a steady income of taxation from prosperous merchants than could be secured by a single complete plundering, which would leave the victims without means to continue their profitable toil. So the Dirks and Baldwins, the Godfreys of Lorraine and the Johns of Brabant had encouraged trade.

Various Netherland cities seem to have had charters or some sort of grant which made them partly self-governing, as early as 1060. Belgium celebrates its civic independence as originating in a document conferred on the municipalities of Flanders by Baldwin VI. Then comes a more definite event. In 1127, when Charles the Good was count of Flanders, there was a famine in Bruges. A few of the leading merchants and lesser nobles gathered all the grain into their barns and held it for famine prices. Despite their protests, Charles ordered the granaries thrown open to the people. A conspiracy was formed against him by the disappointed speculators, and

he was slain. Then the people rose in their fury against the murderers, besieged them in their castles and mansions and killed them all, those who were captured being tortured to death.

Following on this grim tragedy and grim reprisal, the men of Bruges and other places took oath to one another (1128) that they would acknowledge no prince who did not rule the country honestly and well. From this period we may fairly date the beginning of the supremacy of the cities or, as they and their people are sometimes called, the communes. These did not yet assert independence, but they began to recognize their own strength, to trust in themselves. Their era of wealth and splendor also commenced. A writer of the times asserts that in 1184, Ghent sent twenty thousand armed men to aid the king of France, and Bruges sent many thousands more. We need not accept the numbers as exact, but it is certain that at this time Flanders held over forty cities, Brabant had twelve, Hainaut seven, Liège six. By the year 1240, the preponderance of the cities was so established that Count Guy of Flanders was aided in his government by an advisory council, consisting of the head magistrates of the five principal communes.

In the north the cities were slower to develop. In all of what we now call Holland, there were at the close of the twelfth century not more than seven or eight chartered cities, and it was not until 1296, that the northern towns imitated their neighbors of the south by combining in opposition to the nobles. The occasion was similar to that which had roused the Flemings against the murderers of Charles the Good. Floris V of Holland had been shifting his alliance between England and France. Moreover, his nobles were jealous of his great popularity among the common people; they distrusted his designs. So a dark conspiracy was formed, which certainly involved the king of England, and perhaps other foreign rulers as well, though all the secret windings of the treachery may never be unveiled. Floris was decoyed to Utrecht and there separated from his personal attendants during a hawking party. Deep in the woodlands, he was seized by some of his own nobles, who until the last moment had remained fawning on him with false pledges. Bound hand and foot, he was hurried to the seashore to be sent to England. But news of the seizure had become noised abroad. All along the coasts, the people rose in arms for his rescue; so that the conspirators, unable to escape with their victim by sea, strove to carry him off inland. Again they found themselves encircled by the infuriated people; and in desperation they slew their dangerous prisoner. His sad story has become one of the chief themes of the poetic literature of Holland.

The murder did not save the conspiring nobles. So devotedly had Floris been loved that the people everywhere swore to avenge his death. The false lords who were proved to have been in the plot were executed;

others fled in terror from Holland; and the enfeebled remainder lost much of their authority. The burghers and even the country peasants assumed some voice in governing the land. The line of Floris died out with his weak son John, and there was much war both at home and with the Flemings. Finally whatever dignity still remained attached to the vacant throne of Holland, passed through the female line to the counts of Hainaut.

Meanwhile, the power and splendor of the Flemish cities were reaching to their fullest assertion. Ever since the early days of the partition of Lothair's kingdom (843), the Flemish counts had vaguely acknowledged the king of France as their overlord. But his supremacy remained an idle name until the great battle of Bouvines in 1204. In this decisive contest, the German emperor Otto, backed by all the forces of the Netherlands, was defeated by the French. Thereafter the Flemings were left without German help and could scarcely maintain their independent stand alone. The French king asserted more and more authority over them, until the Flemish counts retained but a shadow of their ancient greatness.

In 1297, Count Guy rebelled against King Philip IV, the Fair, the shrewdest, craftiest, strongest monarch of his time. After four years of wrangling, Philip deposed and imprisoned the count, declared Flanders confiscated, and ruled it through his own officials. With his haughty queen, Jeanne of Navarre, he paid a visit to the great cities there, Lille and Ghent and Bruges. The royal pair were astounded. "I thought I was the only queen here," said Jeanne, "but I find a thousand who can dress as richly as I."

From that time, both Philip and she seemed to set their evil hearts on ruining Flanders, on bringing its proud citizens to the same hideous yoke of slavery that ground French peasants in the dust. The charters and privileges of the cities were ignored; magistrates who protested were cast into prison; taxes were heaped upon taxes; French troops insulted the citizens; French officials laughed at them.

In 1302, rebellion flared up everywhere. The lower classes of Bruges took the first step, as they had in the days of Charles the Good. Issuing suddenly from their city, they attacked and slew the French in the forts around. Then, returning secretly to Bruges by night, they fell upon the Frenchmen there, in the early dawning. The foreigners were caught wholly unprepared, while the townfolk had made thorough plans for the assault. Some portion of each French soldier's equipment had been stolen by his hosts; chains were stretched across the streets to prevent a charge. Even the women took part in the fray, tossing the hated Frenchmen out of the windows, or helping to drag them to the shambles where they were slaughtered like cattle. The *Bruges matins* as it is called, was a massacre rather than a fight.

The old Flemish standard was at once unfurled everywhere in the province. Only Lille and Ghent, whose

strong garrisons were now upon their guard, remained in possession of the French. King Philip hastened to raise a powerful army. All the nobles of his kingdom marched against Bruges. Most of the nobility of Flanders, of Brabant, and Hainaut joined them. Only a few Flemish lords cast in their lot with the commons.

The opposing forces met at Courtrai in the noted Battle of the Spurs (1302). The Flemings are said to have numbered sixty thousand, the French still more. So confident were the latter of success that we are told they brought with them casks of ropes to hang every rebel who had slain a Frenchman. Queen Jeanne with the chivalry of the time, had sent her soldiers a message that when they were killing the Flemish pigs they must not overlook the Flemish sows.

But the French knights quarreled amongst themselves; they sneered at their Netherland allies; and, the spirit of rivalry being thus aroused in many breasts, each faction charged forward blindly to outdo the other. Thus in tumultuous rush they came upon the Brugeois—or rather they came upon a ditch, a small canal that lay as an unseen trap in front of the burgher army. Into this ditch plunged the chivalry of France, so that the burghers had little more to do than beat their enemies' brains out as the victims lay helpless before them. The French were utterly defeated. Twenty thousand were slain. Of gilded spurs, emblems of highest rank, seven hundred, or according to some accounts, four thousand were gathered from the battlefield. The nobility of France was almost exterminated in that fatal charge.

King Philip hastened to raise fresh forces. The Flemings, drunk with pride and self-confidence, began a war of invasion against Holland, in which they were defeated and their fleet destroyed. The cities quarreled among themselves. Fresh battles, less decisive than Courtrai, were fought against the French. Amid all these difficulties the resolution of the sturdy merchants seemed only to increase. Their cities were practically emptied of men, the whole nation took the field. King Philip in despair cried out that it seemed to rain Flemings; and he made peace with them, granting almost all they asked.

From this time forward, the Flemish counts became practically exiles from their own land, mere servants of the French king, warring against the Flemish cities with his aid. United, the cities might have defied all foes, but they were generally quarreling among themselves. Their merchants were rivals for the trade of Europe, and the disasters of one metropolis meant the aggrandizement of others. Only some common danger, imminent and obvious, could ever unite them for a moment.

Ghent was aristocratic in its government and hence was usually to be found in alliance with its count; Bruges was democratic and relied for support upon the smaller towns and countryfolk. Lille soon became separated from the rest of Flanders, fell into the power of the French king, and was united permanently to France. In

1328, twelve thousand Brugeois were defeated at Cassel by their count Louis and his Frenchmen, the Flemings standing up heroically against their foes and fighting till the last man fell. After that, Bruges sued for peace, and Ghent became the chief city of the Netherlands.

In 1335, began the long war, the Hundred Years War between France and England. This had a vast influence upon the fortunes of the Netherlands. In the first place, England was at that time the chief sheep-raising country; and Flanders and the other Belgic provinces, the cloth makers of Europe, imported English wool in vast quantities. This mutually profitable commerce drew England and Flanders into close economic relations. The Flemish count, Louis, after crushing the army of Bruges, grew more and more domineering. He insulted the burghers, and they endured it; he interfered with the English trade, and they rebelled.

At the head of this new rebellion stood the weavers of Ghent, and at the head of the Ghent weavers, chief of their guild, stood Jacob van Artevelde, sometimes called the great Fleming, a far-seeing social reformer and revolutionist, destined to become one of the main economic forces of his age. The Artevelde had long been among the leading families of Ghent, and Jacob, brilliant and eloquent, shrewd and energetic, came naturally to be the chief burgher of the city. As "captain" of Ghent he was the recognized leader of the people's party throughout Flanders and commanded their forces in a battle in which he overthrew the aristocratic adherents of Count Louis.

So strong became the position of Artevelde, that when the war broke out between France and England, the rival monarchs dealt with him as with an independent prince. Each sought his alliance. Philip of France reminded him of his feudal allegiance. Edward came in person to the Netherlands, visited the Ghent captain as an equal, and offered him vast commercial advantages for Flanders. Artevelde saw only too plainly that, whichever side he joined, the Netherlands would become the theater of the war and be exposed to all its miseries. Hence he sought to maintain a middle position between the two contestants. So skillfully did he manage that it was actually agreed by treaty that Flanders, despite her feudal dependence upon France, was to remain neutral throughout the war.

This neutrality did not long continue. Count Louis naturally intrigued to reestablish his shrunken authority. His efforts caused an angry outbreak against him in Bruges. The people sought to make him prisoner; and, barely escaping with his life, he fled to France. When he returned with French troops, Artevelde allied himself openly with England.

The main difficulty in persuading the Flemings to this step was their oath of allegiance to France. Therefore upon the Ghent captain's advice, Edward reasserted an ancient hereditary claim to the French throne. The

burghers were thus relieved of their conscientious scruples, and readily joined this newmade "king of France" in his attacks upon his rival. English and Flemings combined drove the French out of the Netherlands. Flemish marines aided Edward in his great naval victory off Sluys, in which the French navy was destroyed. Into such distress was King Philip driven that he negotiated a separate peace with Flanders, remitting all taxes and making the province practically an independent state under Jacob van Artevelde (1340).

The Ghent captain, or Ruward of Flanders, as he was now called, proceeded to a reorganization of his country, giving the common people power above the aristocracy. The main opposition encountered was in his own city, where the aristocrats had still the upper hand. Artevelde joined the popular brewers' guild, whence he has been called the brewer of Ghent, though he probably knew nothing of the actual trade. There were street battles, a massacre of aristocrats at Bruges, five hundred armed men slain in a strife between the guilds in the public square at Ghent. Finally the commons triumphed everywhere. Artevelde reached the summit of his career.

His influence extended far beyond Flanders. The poor folk throughout Europe heard of this land where the commons ruled. Uprisings were attempted in other countries. The Italian poet Petrarch sang of Artevelde and encouraged the rebellion of Rienzi at Rome. The hideous revolt of the Jacquerie in France is attributed to the Flemish example.

In the end, the Great Fleming fell a victim to the rash forces he had evoked. Edward of England became too friendly with him, visiting him repeatedly in Ghent, calling him "dear comrade." They stood as godfathers to each other's children. All this aroused the suspicion and perhaps the jealousy of Artevelde's fellow citizens, a suspicion which Count Louis of Flanders knew well how to fan into flame. The intrigues of Louis became so dangerous that Artevelde formed the bold project of stripping him of his rank, and creating a new count of Flanders, the young English Edward, Prince of Wales, afterward famous in history as the Black Prince.

This was further than the Flemings would go. They might quarrel with Count Louis, hold him prisoner, slay him even; but they were still loyal to his house, their rulers for uncounted centuries. They accused Artevelde of having sold himself wholly to England. There was a sudden tumult; and the great chieftain was slain in the streets, struck down, torn to pieces almost, by a mob of those commons who had been his most devoted adherents (1345).

Though he could not save himself, Artevelde did not die unavenged. The people recovered from their sudden frenzy and repented of their deed. They accused Count Louis of having fomented the disturbance, and when he came hurrying to reassert his power, they drove him once more out of Flanders. The next year he perished in

the English victory at Crecy and was succeeded by his son Louis de Male, the last of the ancient race.

Meanwhile Flanders, released from Artevelde's restraining hand, fell into anarchy. City fought against city; guild against guild. Louis de Male was able to reassert his dominion, but France was too exhausted by the English war to give him aid. Finally another revolt broke out in Ghent in 1380, and Louis laid siege to the city.

Finding themselves in utmost danger, the men of Ghent went to the house of Artevelde's son Philip, the godson of the English queen. Philip had lived quietly among his neighbors until he was past the age of forty years. Now, despite his protests, he was forced for his father's sake to become the leader of the city; and once aroused, Philip proved not unworthy of his people's faith. At first he counseled submission. Ghent was starving; and Philip, going himself to Louis's camp, pleaded for mercy. The count fiercely demanded that all the citizens should come out to him unarmed and barefoot, with ropes about their necks, to be dealt with as he chose. Philip refused to submit to these grim terms; and the burghers, finding courage in despair, became soldiers again, as their fathers had been under Philip's father.

A famous contest followed. Louis was forced to raise the siege of Ghent; but the merchants of Bruges aided him against their rivals. The lands of Ghent were ravaged. Artevelde with his fleets gathered provisions from distant lands. He captured city after city from the count. Suddenly the troops of Ghent marched upon Bruges and stormed it. Louis and his knights were defeated, and the haughty count had to hide for his life in the house—under the bed, says one narrator—of a poor widow till he found a chance to flee. Bruges was sacked. So were the other cities that upheld the aristocratic cause. Once more an Artevelde of Ghent became undisputed master of Flanders.

For two years Philip defended his land against all the forces of France and Burgundy combined. But at last his troops were defeated by overwhelming numbers and he himself perished, sword in hand, at the battle of Roosebeke (1382). The town of Roosebeke is close to Courtrai, and the French felt that this victory balanced the defeat "of the spurs." In fact Froissart pauses to point out the importance of Roosebeke as checking the vast movement of peasant revolt which was everywhere in progress. The downfall of the Flemish burghers was a calamity to the common folk through all of Europe.

For two years afterward the men of Ghent still heroically defended their city. But the rest of Flanders yielded to Count Louis. He died in 1384, and as he left no direct heirs, the countship passed through his daughter to her husband, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Philip made peace with Ghent. His supremacy was acknowledged, and as he ruled mildly, yet with all the power of Burgundy behind him, his authority was not opposed.

THE BURGUNDIAN PERIOD

Gradually the house of Burgundy obtained possession of the entire Netherlands. Philip the Bold was a son of the French king John, and was given the duchy of Burgundy by his father in recognition of his knightly conduct at Poitiers (1356), where almost alone, he had defended his father and striven to protect him from capture by the English.

How Flanders fell to Philip in 1384, we have seen. His grandson Philip the Good secured Holland, Hainaut, and Brabant. In Holland the ancient line of the Dirks and Florises became extinct (1345), and the sovereignty passed through the female line to what was called the House of Bavaria. There was a long civil war between mother and son, during which the Dutch cities, courted by both sides and taking small part with either, rose to a commercial prosperity rivaling that of the Flemish towns. The north made such giant strides in advance upon the south, that during the early years of the fifteenth century, William VI of Holland shared equally with the Burgundian dukes in the rule over not only the territory but also the wealth of the Netherlands.

William VI of Holland left no sons, only a daughter Jacqueline whose tragic, romantic, pitiable career is celebrated in history. Even the dry chronicles of the time cannot tell Jacqueline's story without lamentation, without bursts of poetry. They describe her as being good as she was beautiful, gentle yet strong, and pure and heroic, a worthy rival of her contemporary, Joan of Arc, who was freeing France from England, while Jacqueline fought for Holland against Burgundy.

Her father laid careful plans that she should succeed him in his rule. To this end he wedded her when but a child of five (1406) to the equally youthful John, second son of the king of France. The marriage was of course only nominal at first, but in 1415 the youthful pair were released from their schoolbooks and formally united. In 1417, John became heir to the French throne, and his father being insane, he set out with his fair young bride to rule over France as regent. The two journeyed southward together in the springtime, but hardly had they entered France when John suddenly died. He had been a weakling all his life, but both the manner and the moment of his death caused a widespread rumor that he had been poisoned.

The youthful widow was hurried home. Her father, who had accompanied her happy entry into France, now hastened her return. He knew how loath the Hollanders were to be governed by an unprotected woman, and he must make new arrangements for her. Before these could be established, he died. In less than two months poor Jacqueline, barely seventeen years old, lost husband and father, both powerful potentates and her natural protectors. The next male heir to Holland was her uncle, the bishop of Liège, called John the Pitiless.

For a moment, misfortune seemed to hesitate at further pursuing the child widow. She made a brave, brilliant progress through her domains and was everywhere received with noisy loyalty. When Bishop John sought to assert his claim to Holland, she rode on horseback at the head of her army and defeated him. John appealed to the German emperor, who, glad of the opportunity to assert himself, declared that the countship of Holland had lapsed to the empire by the failure of male heirs, and that he now conferred the rank upon his faithful and submissive servant, John. The matter being thus put to a plain issue, a general assembly of the Dutch knights and burghers was summoned, and this representative body flatly contradicted the emperor, declaring that Holland was not a fief of the empire, and that Jacqueline was their lawful ruler.

Nevertheless, in order that she might have a man to assert her rights and to settle the dispute decisively, Jacqueline's advisers urged her to wed again and at once. Yielding to their aged wisdom, the poor countess within less than a year of her first husband's death married another John, the third of that name to become prominent in her life. The suitor thus chosen out of the many who sought the honor of wedding the great heiress, was her cousin, the duke of Brabant. He was selected by Jacqueline's advisers as a matter of policy, not only because he was ruler of a neighboring state, but because being a member of the House of Burgundy, he would have the support of its powerful duke.

As the man for the place, John of Brabant proved a failure. He was even younger than his wife, and a feeble, enervated youth, one of those sapless, worthless branches so common to the French royal stock. Jacqueline's first husband had been the same, only his early death leaves his figure less clearly outlined on the historic page. John of Liège, on the other hand, was at least a man. The pope took up his cause and relieved him of his priestly vows that he might found a new family of counts of Holland. Hence he was Bishop John no longer, but only John the Pitiless.

When he and young John of Brabant met in battle or diplomacy the result was a foregone conclusion. John the Pitiless won contest after contest. City after city of Holland declared in his favor, until Jacqueline's feeble husband, abandoning the strife, retreated into Brabant, making a treaty with his rival which left the latter in practical possession of Holland. Naturally Jacqueline protested; but her husband found that bullying her was a far easier and more congenial task than matching himself against John the Pitiless. He ignored her complaints and made her life a misery.

She fled suddenly from his court, from what was really a prison, and escaped to England (1419). There she was received with high honor. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's brother and afterward regent of the kingdom for the child Henry VI, became a suitor for her

hand. Her marriage to her cousin John of Brabant had been performed in opposition to an express command from the pope. Advantage was now taken of this to declare the unhappy union void, and Jacqueline and Humphrey were wed. In 1424 the couple led an English army to Holland to reestablish the bride in her inheritance.

They were partly successful. Humphrey defeated the forces of Brabant; the royal pair were welcomed in Hainaut; and John the Pitiless died, poisoned by one of their adherents. But even in death he avenged himself by willing Holland to John of Brabant. Now this childless and feeble Brabant duke had for heir the mighty Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who, seizing the opportunity, espoused his nephew's cause with all the strength of his powerful domains. England had long been allied with Burgundy against France; and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester was thus placed in a peculiar position, maintaining his wife's cause against his country's ally. He and Philip had hot words and finally agreed to settle their differences in ancient knightly style by personal combat. Before the contest could take place however, Humphrey, doubtless moved by many mingled emotions, abandoned Holland and withdrew to England.

Poor Jacqueline, thus left once more to her own resources, defended herself desperately against the Burgundians, and sent passionate appealing letters to Humphrey. Her moving words were of no avail. Her English husband solaced himself with another lady; her subjects in Holland hesitated between her and her discarded John, and at last, seeking peace most of all, surrendered her to Burgundy. She was imprisoned in the castle of Ghent.

Still, however, the resolute woman refused to yield. Some of her adherents both in England and Holland yet clung to her. Disguised in boy's clothes, she escaped from her confinement and for three years led a wild life of adventure, fighting at the head of such troops as she could raise. She held her castle of Gouda against all comers, and in the field achieved more than one brilliant victory over the Burgundian forces. Duke Humphrey roused himself sufficiently to send a fleet from England to her aid, but it was wholly defeated. John of Brabant died in 1427.

His death brought the great duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, more directly into the struggle against Jacqueline. Philip now claimed Holland as his own, and summoned England as his ally to counsel the countess to peace. On the other hand, Jacqueline, freed from the last traces of her marital chain to John, entreated Duke Humphrey to reestablish their abandoned union. The English duke most ungallantly obeyed Philip, urged his deserted wife to yield, and wedded the English mistress who had been her rival.

In face of these blows, Jacqueline surrendered (1428). It was agreed that she was still to be called countess of



Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy, was sovereign over the Netherlands from 1419 to 1467. He should be credited with being the first to concentrate the administration of all of the Low Countries under one ruler.

Philip of Burgundy riding through the streets of Utrecht with his wife, the countess of Burgundy. He was generally accompanied by his entourage, including the court jesters.



Holland and to receive some part of the revenues of the state; but she made a progress through all her cities in company with Philip, formally releasing them from allegiance and bidding them be obedient to the Burgundians. She also promised not to wed again without Philip's consent. Her claims might still have been dangerous in some strong king's hands.

Here Jacqueline passes out of political history, the tale

of jangling states. But romance was still to be hers, happiness perhaps, after all her sorrows. Philip's governor over Holland was Lord Francis Borselen. The governor's duties threw him much into the company of Jacqueline. Love sprang up between the two. In 1432, they were secretly married. Philip, learning of this, threw Borselen into prison and threatened his death. To save him Jacqueline abandoned everything that remained to her, renounced her empty title, and with her liberated husband retired to a secluded estate, where the two dwelt in peace and apparent devotion until her death in 1436. Lord Francis was then restored to a post of trust, and had what must have been the keen satisfaction of defeating Duke Humphrey of England when the latter, his alliance with Burgundy having failed at last, attacked the Netherlands once again.

Jacqueline's long struggle is important historically. It must be compared to that of the Artevelde in Flanders; for little as the Dutch cities realized it, their liberty was dependent upon her victory. She ruled in the policy of her ancestors who had encouraged them in self-reliance and assertion. Her fall placed her people with Flanders under the House of Burgundy, a race of rulers who guarded the material prosperity of their subjects, but vigorously trampled every liberty underfoot.

With the establishment of the supremacy of Philip the Good, the history of the Netherlands becomes merged for a time in that of Burgundy. Philip, though in name only a duke, was in reality more powerful than any sovereign of his time, imposing his will upon the enfeebled rulers of both France and Germany. At this period only Italy could rival the Low Countries in wealth; and Italy was divided into many petty states; the Netherlands had now been all absorbed into one. Moreover, its military strength while vigorous in Philip's hands, was useless for defense against him, since each city was antagonistic to the others, easily to be brought to Philip's side by some promise of commercial advantage over its rivals.

Hence, playing one metropolis against another, Philip became the despotic master of all. One by one, he took away their ancient privileges. He heaped taxes on them till his was the richest court in Europe. Bruges rebelled (1436), and seized upon the persons of the duke's wife and little son, afterward Charles the Bold. Philip liberated the captives, half by force, half fraud, and blockaded the city until its people starved and surrendered, so trampled down as never to regain their former splendor. Ghent also resented the duke's exactions and was vigorously suppressed.

In return for the liberty he took away, Philip gave the Netherlanders security. The nobles who had preyed upon the country from their strong castles and, arms in hand, exacted toll from what merchandise they could, now become dependents of Philip, mere silk-clothed courtiers idling in his train. Hence the Netherland tra-

desfolk, valuing prosperity and quiet far more than any abstract ideal of self-government, gradually acquiesced in the new order of life. They were in fact the first to give their new ruler the name of the Good, which sounds oddly enough when contrasted with some of his treacheries and usurpations.

Admirers of the beautiful are also wont to speak in highest terms of the period of Burgundian supremacy in the Netherlands. The splendor-loving Philip and his successors encouraged art and literature. The van Eycks, earliest of the great Flemish painters, flourished under Philip. Literature of the most elaborate sort became the amusement of the wealthy citizens. They established "chambers of rhetoric," which held poetic contests called Land jewels. These grew to be national institutions and were accompanied by gorgeous pageants. Lawrence Coster of Haarlem is said to have invented the art of printing in 1440; and though the claim of the German, Gutenberg, is more generally accepted, the new art found immediate and wide support in Holland and the other Low Countries as well. Wealth, splendor, and the gradual stirring of the intellect to deeper thoughts—these are the keynotes of the Burgundian period.

In 1467, Philip, grown very old and feeble, died and was succeeded by his even more widely known son, Charles, whose nickname we have translated into English as the Bold. Really it is *le téméraire*, "the rash; the overbold," a qualification of far different significance. The story of the long struggle of Charles the Overbold against the crafty Louis XI belongs with the tales of France and Burgundy. The Netherlands were to Charles only the storehouse whence he drew supplies of men and money. When the cities rebelled, he chastised them, especially Liège, which he ruined completely, battering down its walls and executing all of its chief citizens. In his brief reign of ten years, he outraged every feeling of his subjects, trampled on their every privilege, and squandered all the enormous wealth his father had accumulated. Then he perished in the Battle of Nancy, falling as much a victim to the disgust and hatred of his own subjects, as to the valor of the Swiss.

This sudden death of Charles the Overbold left his rich domains to his daughter Mary of Burgundy, an heiress whose unhappy career has been made the theme of many comparisons with that of Jacqueline, the countess of Holland, whom Philip, Mary's grandfather, had found in similar plight and so mercilessly despoiled. Much of Mary's inheritance was seized by Louis XI. The Netherlands remained to her, only because they were strong enough to choose a ruler for themselves; and with shrewd merchant craft, the people saw they could make a better bargain with Mary than with Louis or any other.

The States General of Flanders, a body organized under the Burgundians and consisting of the chief nobles and burghers, met to decide the succession to the realm. Its members were joined by deputies from the other



At the Battle of Nancy in 1477, Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, lost the battle and his life, leaving his position to his eighteen-year-old daughter, Mary of Burgundy. Congress met at Ghent on February 11 and gave a formal grant to Mary called the Great Privilege. She is seen here accepting it. But on August 18 of the same year she married Maximilian and, unfortunately, died shortly thereafter.

provinces. They exacted from Mary the Great Privilege (1477), the celebrated document which still stands at the base of all Netherland law and freedom. It was a charter confirming to the people every right they had ever possessed.

For a brief period the cities resumed over the court that control which the Burgundian dukes had wrested from them. So helpless was Mary in the hands of her tyrannical subjects, that they executed two of her chief officials before her very eyes. These men had been detected in treacherous correspondence with Louis XI against Flanders; and though Mary rushed before their judges with disheveled hair and robe and appeared afterward at the place of execution in the same desperate plight to plead for her friends upon her knees, the two courtiers were beheaded in the marketplace of Ghent.

Then came the problem of Mary's marriage, that like Jacqueline she might have "a man to defend her heritage." Her arrogant father had once refused her hand to Maximilian, the son of the impoverished German emperor. Now the rejected suitor was selected by Mary and her Flemish advisers as the most available of the long list of candidates who approached her. Maximilian, afterward emperor and head of the great Austrian house of Habsburg, thus became the bridge by which the Low Countries passed under the dominion of Austria and afterward of Spain, both of which states came under Habsburg rule.

Yet Maximilian was never himself the titular sovereign of the Netherlands; he was only guardian of the provinces for Mary, and when she died five years later, he became guardian for their baby son, Philip. The hatred bred in the Netherlands against Charles the Bold passed down as an inheritance against Maximilian. During Mary's lifetime it did not break into open violence, especially as the Flemings dreaded Louis of France and his dangerous schemes. Maximilian put an end to these by defeating the French in the battle of Guinegate (1479) and Flemish independence of France was again secure. The power of Maximilian seemed to the burghers to become more dangerous with each of his successes; and

on his wife's death, instead of admitting his authority, the States General of Flanders made virtual prisoner of his son Philip and claimed the regency for itself in Philip's name.

Civil war followed between Maximilian and the cities. Step by step the Habsburg lord reestablished his authority. In 1485, he defeated the troops of Ghent and rescued his little son from the hands of the burghers. In 1488, it was their turn. Maximilian was made prisoner in Bruges and confined there for seven months, until he yielded all that his jailors demanded. The French king, not Louis XI but his successor, was made guardian of little Philip; and Maximilian agreed to abandon the Netherlands and return to Germany.

No sooner was he released from confinement, then he repudiated the oaths he had taken under compulsion, and reinvaded the Netherlands at the head of a German army raised for him by his father, the emperor. He was not especially successful, and for four years more the war dragged on. It was no longer conducted by Maximilian, who as heir to the dominions of his aged father had other tasks, but by his German generals. These in 1492 were able to report to him that the Netherlands was once more beaten into subjection. The Great Privilege was abrogated, though not forgotten by the people. And thus in the very year of the discovery of America, the persistent struggle of the Dutch and Flemish people for liberty again met temporary defeat. They sank back into an enforced submission, no longer as a Burgundian but as a Habsburg province.

Maximilian's son, young Philip the Fair, ruled in his own name from 1494. He wedded the half-insane Juana, daughter of the Spanish sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella; and when, through the death of nearer heirs, Juana became ruler of most of Spain, Philip took control of her possessions in her name. He died, and all the domains of his family, Spain, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, gradually gathered to his young son Charles, afterward the celebrated emperor Charles V.

Charles was born in Ghent while his father reigned there (1500) and was practically a Fleming. During his childhood, his grandfather Maximilian was once more regent of the Netherlands; though, being emperor now, Maximilian wisely delegated the protection of Charles's domains to his daughter, Charles's aunt Margaret. She was a capable and vigorous ruler, and despite many difficulties preserved for her young nephew an undiminished power and sovereignty in the Netherlands. In 1515 Charles entered Antwerp in royal procession, and there began his varied and tumultuous experience as a ruler of many nations.

Whatever opinion we may form of the mighty emperor in his dealings with the rest of Europe, it cannot be denied that to the Low Countries he was a wise and upon the whole a popular sovereign. For one thing, he reduced them to a unit. We hear no more of the separate prov-



Charles V entering Antwerp in 1515. He served as ruler from 1506 to 1555.

The signature Charles V used in Holland on documents

inces of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and so on, each acknowledging a different ruler and rushing into war against the others. He attached the entire region firmly to the German Empire, to which before it had sometimes acknowledged, sometimes refused allegiance, but which had never given it military protection or received from it effective military aid.

Moreover, under Charles the burghers were prosperous. A Fleming himself, he knew how to win the merchants' hearts, and he did everything to aid them in their trade. For this he secured bountiful return. In the period of his greatest splendor when his income from all his other vast possessions combined, Germany, Italy, Spain and the golden Indies of America, amounted to 3 million ducats, the little Low Countries by themselves supplied him with 2 million. Ghent was probably at this time the wealthiest and perhaps the largest city in the world. When Charles one year laid a tax of 1,200,000 ducats upon Flanders, he expected Ghent to supply one-third the whole, an exaction which in our day would scarcely be equaled by 20 millions of dollars. At this the burghers of Ghent planned another rebellion, insisting upon laying their own tax in accordance with the Great Privilege.

The outbreak was not even under way when Charles learned of it; and hastening from Spain, he gathered his imperial armies and advanced into the city. For a month, he gave the burghers no warning of what he intended. Then he suddenly declared that the unhappy metropolis had forfeited all its rights and privileges whatsoever. The leaders of the recent movement were seized and ex-

cutted; all the communal property of the city and of the guilds was confiscated; and the tribute demanded of the citizens was heavily increased. The great bell Roland used through all the heroic struggles of Ghent to summon the people hastily together, the palladium of their liberties, was removed from its tower. The people were to assemble for conference no more. Having gone thus far and ruined Ghent, Charles forgave its contemplated rebellion because, as he explained, he had been born there.

It is not, however, to Charles alone that we must attribute the decay of Ghent and the other Flemish cities. Natural causes were at work. The discovery of America was shifting the commercial routes of the world. England had learned to turn her wool into cloth in manufactories of her own. Above all, the Low Countries were, as we have said, still unfinished by the hand of Nature. Gradually the rivers of Flanders were extending their mudbanks into the sea, choking up their own courses with shallow bars. Ships, moreover, were increasing in size. Bruges ceased to be available as a sea-port. Ghent also lost much of its trade. By degrees, instead of Ghent and Bruges, we hear talk of Brussels and Antwerp. Thither the merchants removed with their ships and storehouses; and thither the nobles followed, and the artists, and the kings.

The new cities, upheld by imperial favor, inclined to be far more submissive to Charles than were their more ancient rivals. Yet it was from these new cities and their merchants that sprang up the final, great and celebrated "rebellion of the Netherlands," the heroic story which we now approach.

THE GREAT REBELLION

The era of Charles V was the era of the Reformation, and it was this religious upheaval that led to the great Netherland revolt. Yet the Netherlanders were not as a rule enthusiastic in the support of Luther. The attitude of Erasmus, the Dutch scholar of Rotterdam, the most learned writer of his time, may be taken as typical of that of his countrymen. They desired reform within the church, not a violent breaking away from it. Most of the Dutch and Flemish churchmen were agreed that changes should be made. Even Charles V himself was convinced of this. Lutheranism was robbing him of his power in Germany; he would take no risk of its gaining permanent root in the Netherlands. Hence he introduced there a form of Inquisition conducted by churchmen instead of civilians. This had already crushed out heresy in his Spanish domains; and, as the easygoing Dutch and Flemish prelates seemed to him too mild, he brought Spanish Inquisitors to introduce their sterner judgments and crueler tortures. The Netherlanders were alarmed; they protested; a rigid, uncompromising Spanish priest might easily call every one of them a heretic. Yet they

disapproved actual rebellion against the church; they liked Charles; and so they submitted, though unwillingly. The Inquisitors began work; and though for some years they confined themselves to slaughtering the more extreme reformers, yet the stream of blood expanded into awful volume. Estimates disagree widely as to the number of these executions during the reign of Charles. They have been set as low as a single thousand, and as high as a hundred thousand.

Despite the persecution, the emperor himself, the hearty, good-natured comrade, "one of themselves" as the Flemish burghers called him, retained his popularity in the Netherlands and looked upon the country with a friendly eye. When, worn out with his life of toil, he resolved to abandon all his many thrones, Brussels, which he had made the capital of the Low Countries, was the city he selected for the ceremony of abdication.

As he closed his farewell speech to his "well-beloved subjects," the listening multitude were moved to honest tears, regretted their rebellions, and pledged themselves readily to be loyal to the son of this kindly monarch. That son, a youth of twenty-eight, afterward the celebrated Philip II of Spain, then arose to address the Estates, and, speaking through an interpreter, promised to be even more devoted than his father to the interests of the Netherlands.

Probably no one of all those present suspected the terrible war that was to come. Philip himself, secret and subtle, knowing his own heart, may have seen nearest to the truth; but what Philip did not know was the sturdy spirit of these Netherlanders, whom he counted on crushing into submission to his will. Therein lay Philip's blunder. Unlike his father he had been neither born nor bred in Flanders. He was a Spaniard through and through. His haughtiness took constant offense at the free manners of the Flemings, and he hated as much as he despised them. Charles had ruled them through their own officials; he had even placed some of his trusted Netherland nobles in high position in Spain. Philip, despite his father's warning, reversed this and brought his Spanish associates to govern the unruly lowlands.

For a time all seemed well. The young sovereign promised many reforms. There was a war with France, and a great victory at St. Quentin (1557), due largely to Flemish troops and to the brilliancy of their general, Count Egmont. A year later Egmont and his Flemish cavalry crushed another French army at Gravelines. The enemy was forced to a humiliating peace; and one of the secret articles of the treaty between Philip and the French king was that all the military forces of the latter were to be loaned to Spain, if needed to crush revolt in the Netherlands. Thus did their new sovereign measure and reward the loyalty of his people.

Here enters William, prince of Orange, called William the Silent, the great antagonist of Philip. He ranked at the time with Egmont among the chief nobles of the

Netherlands, and so high was his repute for ability that though only twenty-two at the time of Charles V's abdication, he had already become that monarch's most trusted counselor. Indeed Charles, disappointed in his own son, who constantly opposed and defied him, had made the young Dutch noble a protégé, introduced him to the most secret interviews of state, and trained him in the methods of diplomacy. It was on the shoulders of this youthful counselor already nicknamed the Silent, that Charles leaned as he made his abdication speech; and the loyalty which William had given the father he seemed ready to transfer to the son. Philip, as we know, trusted no one; but the French king, not realizing this and seeing William apparently high in his sovereign's confidence, talked freely to the young man of the secret treaty against the Netherlands. The silent William, true to his name, listened without comment, and so learned of the destruction intended for his country.

In 1558 Philip, leaving the Netherlands for Spain, appointed as regent Margaret of Parma, his half-sister, an illegitimate daughter of his father. The departing sovereign had planned a trap for the States General; he hoped that body, lulled by his professions of goodwill, would resign all its powers to Margaret until his return. Thus through his regent he would be able to rule as an absolute monarch, unrestrained by a protesting assembly. Instead the States General, at William's suggestion, urged Philip to withdraw all the Spanish troops which upon one pretext and another he had quartered upon the country to overawe it.

Philip unprepared as yet to face open revolt, yielded with such grace as he could; but for one moment, as he stepped on shipboard, his wrath flamed out in his celebrated last interview with William. "It is you who have done this," he said, gripping the young prince of Orange by the arm. "Nay, it is the States General," responded William. "No," flashed out Philip, using an untranslatable form of address, insolent and contemptuous, "it is you, you, you!" Keen of insight as always, he knew that if strife came, it was not with a confused and many-headed States General he would have to deal, but with this one composed and self-reliant youth.

From the safe distance of Spain, Philip sent word to the Netherland Inquisitors to increase their severity. He also commanded Margaret, his regent, to ignore the advice of the States General and the charters of the people. A general protest arose and grew more and more determined. Margaret, dreading the consequence, entreated her brother to be more lenient; and at his suggestion Count Egmont, the popular military leader, was sent to Spain to lay the matter more fully before him. The wily sovereign, seeking only delay, listened to Egmont's complaints with seriousness and apparent respect, promised to give heed to his mild advice, and then gave him to bear back to Brussels sealed letters which contained orders for yet greater cruelty (1565).



William I, the Silent, was the stadholder from 1579 to 1584, when he was assassinated. He is looked upon by many Hollanders as the father of the country. He was also called William of Orange.



Anne of Buren was the first of four wives of William the Silent. They married in 1551.



Anna of Saxony was the wife of William the Silent from 1566 to 1575.



The third wife of William the Silent was Charlotte of Bourbon. They were married in 1575.



Princess Louise of Coligny was the fourth wife of William the Silent. They were married but one year before his death.



King Philip II of Spain threatens William the Silent and puts a price on his head (1580).

Open revolt now flared out at last. The magistrates in many places refused to obey the commands of the Inquisitors. A petition protesting against the king's orders was signed by thousands of prominent nobles, citizens, and even priests, and was presented to Margaret by the leaders of a vast procession representing every class of society. Trembling and distraught, the regent promised to do what she could.

"Are you afraid of these beggars?" demanded one of her courtiers, scornfully, referring not only to the rabble but to the lesser nobles among them, impoverished now that their ruler bestowed on them no favors. The sneer was repeated at a banquet held by many of the younger nobles who favored the revolt. Some cried out that they would accept the name thus given them in scorn. Their leader, de Brederode, promptly secured a beggar's bowl and wallet, and passing these around the tumultuous assembly swore to give up everything to the cause. The others joined him in the oath. William of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Horn, another member of the more conservative nobility who were striving to keep peace between the court and the people, happened in upon the banquet and drank the toast that was going round, "Long live the Beggars." From this event (1566) is usually dated the great Revolt of the Netherlands.

There were a few minor contests between small forces of Beggars and Royalists; then William and Egmont succeeded in restoring a temporary peace, Margaret yielding to the demands of the insurgents for religious toleration. The Protestants, thus released from immediate danger, appeared everywhere in great numbers; they seemed suddenly a majority among the people. The "image-breaking" furor swept over the country. Bands of frenzied peasants burst into churches and cathedrals, desecrating and destroying every object of worship and of art. The nobility and the Catholic members of the Beggars sought to punish these excesses; and so dislike and distrust were sown among the various forces of rebellion. King Philip by many treacherous devices increased the mutual suspicion that spread among the Netherlanders; and at the same time he dispatched to the country a Spanish army under his lead general, the duke of Alva.

A united resistance might have held back the invaders; but few of the patriot leaders felt themselves compromised beyond hope of pardon. Count Egmont, having received from Philip letters of personal friendship and approval of his course, declared that he would again trust wholly to the sovereign who had deceived him; he would be loyal to the end, and oppose all rebellion. Count Horn took a similar attitude; and so high was the veneration in which these two were held that their course induced thousands of others to do the same. In vain William of Orange pleaded with Egmont. "You will be the bridge," he told the somewhat pompous general, "over which the Spanish will enter our country." And he

added with characteristic keenness, "Having entered, they will destroy the bridge."

Finding Egmont inflexible, and deeming resistance impossible without him, the prince of Orange and his immediate associates withdrew into Germany. The two leaders parted amid tears, each lamenting what he considered the suicidal decision of the other.

"Farewell, landless prince," said Egmont.

"Farewell, headless count," responded William.

To the common people was also presented the same momentous problem, and while many took Egmont's course, many took William's. A hasty exodus began. Thousands fled to England; other thousands wended their way in long caravans across the German border. The regent Margaret entreated them to stay, she entreated Philip to recall his army. He would find himself ruling, she wrote, over naught but a desert. Finally on Alva's arrival, learning that his authority exceeded hers, she left the Netherlands in despair and retired to a religious life of quietude.

Alva and his army came (1567). The general received Egmont's welcoming speech with ominous scorn. His first public act was to summon the nobles to a general council, at which he arrested not only Egmont, but Horn and every other patriot who had ventured within his grasp, who had trusted Philip's promises. The Inquisition was revived in its most awful form. In addition to this a civil council was created to try the Netherlanders for treason. Its members were tools of Alva, and under his leadership the body soon became known by the frightful name the Council of Blood. It condemned thousands of patriots to the gibbet. It confiscated the estates of those who had fled. As soon as its authority was fully established, it sent Egmont and Horn the way of its other victims. They were beheaded in 1568.

Meanwhile the silent William, seeing his forewarning

No history of the Netherlands would be complete without a mention of the duke of Alva and his infamous Council of Blood. The duke was a very successful Spanish general who was made the governor of the Netherlands. He arrived on May 5, 1567, and left to return to Spain on November 17, 1573. He was a total tyrant who excelled in hangings, beheadings, quartering, and burning at the stake, which were everyday spectacles, for he made the townspeople watch. History records no parallel of horrors.



fulfilled, had resolved upon new effort. All Europe was in protest against the horrors being enacted in the Netherlands. The emperor Maximilian II wrote to Philip, his nephew, warning him that such severity must produce a revolution of despair. William raised an army. In addition to his exiled friends, he found thousands of volunteers, German, French and English, to assist him.

Even before the execution of Egmont, William invaded Brabant, while his brother Louis led a detachment into Friesland. Louis, after one victory, was defeated by Alva; but with William, Alva avoided a contest. There was clever maneuvering on both sides; then William, unable longer to support his army without funds, was obliged to disband it and withdraw. Alva returned unopposed to his executions and his extortions, to his Council of Blood.

Suddenly, not in Brussels but in distant Holland, the turning of the tide had come; the "revolution of despair" began, and even Alva saw that he must halt (1572).

The first success with which the Netherlanders now reopened their desperate war was gained by the "sea beggars." These were a few scattered members of the "beggars" conspiracy who, driven into exile, had become sea robbers, roving vikings like the Norsemen of old. Many a ruined merchant joined them with a ship saved from the destruction of his fortunes; and, urged on by hunger, the wanderers plundered the coasts of the unhappy Netherlands, or seized the treasure ships of Spain, fleeing for shelter to the ports of England or Germany. At length, yielding to King Philip's repeated protests, both the emperor and Elizabeth of England excluded the sea beggars from their ports. This, which seemed to portend the ruin of the sturdy patriot pirates, proved their salvation. They appeared suddenly before the town of Briel in Holland, captured it almost without resistance, and held it in the name of William of Orange. Before his exile William had been governor or stadholder of Holland and Zeeland; he was known to be still trying to raise funds for another army to rescue his people. Now the daring exploit of the sea beggars was like a spark set to the waiting train. All the northern provinces flashed into revolt. City after city expelled its Spanish garrison and declared for Orange. They did not, be it noted, claim independence; those were days when "independence" was still an unknown word in the mouths of common folk. The cities still acknowledged Philip as their overlord; they merely rejected Alva, and declared that, under Philip, William was their rightful governor.

Alva, driven by necessity, made truce with the semirebellious merchants in Brussels and hurried northward to check this vaster outbreak. For seven months Haarlem resisted a Spanish siege. William, enabled to raise another army at last, sought to relieve the city, but in vain. Haarlem surrendered to starvation in the summer of 1573. The city was plundered, and every man of its garrison was slaughtered. The next spring Louis of Nas-

sau, William's brother and chief aid, was slain and the troops under his command totally defeated by Alva. Leyden, besieged in its turn by the advancing Spaniards, held out with desperate heroism through thirteen weary months.

Then came relief. The defense of the northern sections lay in the hands of the assembly of Holland, the largest province. The only successes of the patriots had been on the ocean, where the sea beggars had repeatedly defeated the Spanish ships; and now William urged upon the assembly that the dykes must be opened in order that the ships of the sea beggars might sail over the submerged farms and rescue Leyden. After some dispute and considerable deliberation this course was adopted. The ocean was unchained; its destructive power was made welcome; and, aided by a favoring storm, the ships swept up to the very walls of the despairing city. The Spaniards fled and Leyden was saved (1575).

This was the turning point of the heroic war. The assembly of Holland asked the citizens of Leyden to name their own reward for the service their long resistance had done the common cause; and the burghers, to their glory be it recorded, chose to have a university founded in their town. So rose the University of Leyden, the great center of religious freedom in northern Europe.

Alva had failed. His influence over King Philip was lost and he was recalled. His successor tried to rule by mildness, but it was too late. The sea beggars held the ocean. Trade, driven by taxation from the southern provinces, poured into the north. The men of Holland were triumphant in their success, determined in their resistance. They insisted on retaining William as their leader, and would listen to no terms of agreement which did not include self-taxation and complete religious toleration, terms wholly impossible to Philip's views.

The Spanish soldiers, unpaid for years, broke into open mutiny against their leaders. Instead of marching against Holland, they plundered the submissive southern provinces. The "Spanish fury" swept over many cities, most notably Antwerp, which was seized by the mutineers and ravaged for three days with most hideous accompaniments of outrage and slaughter (1576). Driven by such miseries, the south joined the north in its resistance. The ancient privileges of Flanders and Brabant were once more insisted on, and a treaty of alliance, "the Pacification of Ghent," was arranged among all the "seventeen provinces" of the Netherlands.

In the face of this united opposition even Philip yielded, or at least he postponed the subjugation of the Low Countries to a more convenient period. He was completely bankrupt. He could neither pay his troops nor compel their obedience. No alternative was left him but submission. Another new governor was therefore sent to the Netherlands, Don John, the hero of Lepanto, most famous of the illegitimate children of Charles V. Don John agreed to the "Pacification of Ghent," agreed

to everything. The Spanish soldiers were paid by the southern provinces and marched for home.

Don John endeavored to undermine the prince of Orange. So also did the Flemish nobles, who were jealous of his power. But the common people everywhere learned to cling to him more and more, to see in him the one earnest patriot not to be duped by Spanish trickery, not to be bought by Spanish gold, nor even by promises of an almost imperial dignity. That these were offered him we now know from Spanish sources; but he remained true to his cause and his people. By these he was elected governor of Brabant as well as of the northern provinces; and finally he became the acknowledged leader of the entire Netherlands.

In 1581, the Assembly of Holland finally took the decisive step of declaring Philip deposed for all his misgovernment. Then asserting its own right to select another king, the Assembly offered the nominal rank to the duke of Anjou, while reserving the real authority to William.

So a Frenchman came to be king of the northern Netherlands, while the Spaniards still fought in the south. Soon the French ruler and his courtier followers found they had little real power, and no opening for

The assassination of William the Silent



wealth. They planned a conspiracy of their own, and suddenly attacked the Antwerpers in the street, trying to gain possession of the city. The Frenchmen were soon defeated, and with their feeble chief took refuge in France, where Anjou died.

The Spaniards meanwhile had begun a more subtle warfare. By fair promises they lured many of the prominent patriot leaders to their side. William was declared an outlaw, and a huge price was set upon his head. The church promised to forgive all the sins of any man who could reach and slay him. Five separate times assassins, lured by the promise of earthly gain or spiritual reward, attempted William's life. His friends guarded him jealously, but at last a religious fanatic eluded their every precaution, reached William under pretense of being a messenger from France, and shot him down (1584).

GLORY AND DECAY OF HOLLAND

The way in which William's sudden assassination was met must have gone far to convince all Europe that these Dutch merchants were resolute as any knightly warrior and watchful as any courtly statesman. On the very day of the disaster, the Holland Council of State sent to each of its generals and absent members a grave and noble letter urging all to stand firm, since now the need of the land was greater than before.

The Netherlanders had not yet realized either their own strength or Spain's increasing weakness. They despaired of being able to continue the strife alone, and despite their disastrous experience with the duke of Anjou, they sent ambassadors to both France and England, entreating that the royal houses would supply them with a king. Henry III of France and Elizabeth of England both seemed to look with favor on these appeals; and trusting upon kingly promises, the Netherlanders were slow in preparing for self-defense.

King Philip had at last secured a leader of real genius, Alexander, prince of Parma, son of Margaret, the former regent. Parma took advantage of the momentary lassitude of his foes. He acted while others stood at gaze. By threats and bribery and clever chicane, he detached one southern city after another from what seemed a falling cause. Soon, in all Flanders and Brabant, Antwerp was the only important center which held out against him. This he besieged with rare military skill. The city was headless, a turmoil of confused, excited, and incapable advisers. "It is easily seen," cried he, as he noted the lack of unity and wisdom in the defense, "that the prince of Orange is dead."

Antwerp lies on the bank of the Scheldt, which in its breadth and turbulence is rather an arm of the sea than it is a river. Parma constructed a marvel of engineering skill, a bridge that blockaded the Scheldt and resisted all

the storms and tides of winter. The men of Antwerp sought to destroy the bridge, to blow it up with powder ships. Failing in the effort, they were starved into surrender. The Protestant merchants were compelled to return to Catholicism, or else were given two years to wind up their affairs and leave the country. Most of them departed into exile even before the time appointed. In the southern Netherlands, the region which is Belgium today, the revolt was over. The land became definitely separated from the better defended provinces of the north, and sank back into the grasp of Spain.

King Philip, grown wiser through disaster, encouraged the burghers' feeling of nationality by making their land a semi-independent state. He conferred the sovereignty upon his daughter, Isabella, and her husband, the duke of Austria. The entrance of Isabella into each city of her domain was made a celebration of peace, and hundreds of unhappy political prisoners were given their release. The years that followed are known as the Austrian or Austro-Spanish period of Belgium's history.

Isabella and her husband made the Netherlands their permanent home, and so also did their successors. They encouraged trade, they became patrons of art. Rubens and other famous painters flourished under them. Belgium's prosperity gradually revived. For two hundred years the Spanish Netherlands remained a sort of family estate, conferred by the Habsburg sovereigns of Austria and Spain upon the younger sons and daughters of the house. Its story during this period was uneventful; and upon the whole, for a people who had apparently lost all desire for self-government, the centuries were neither unhappy nor unprosperous.

Meanwhile, in the north, the war continued. Of the "Seven United Provinces" which still defied the might of Spain, Holland was by far the largest; and gradually its name came to be used for the entire land. Henry III of France refused the sovereignty which the rebels offered him; but Queen Elizabeth sent them English troops and an English leader, her favorite, the earl of Leicester. The alliance of England with the Dutch had also much to do with King Philip's despatching the Spanish Armada against England, and Dutch ships took no small part in the succession of naval victories by which the armada was destroyed. Its defeat meant fully as much to Holland as to England.

The prince of Parma, unaided by Spain with either men or money, continued toiling at his impossible task of making armies out of nothing, until he died of despair. Leicester offended the Dutch burghers by his arrogance, and withdrew to England, as dissatisfied with them as they with him. Philip II also died; and his successor, Philip III, inherited the feeble struggle, inherited a bankrupt Spain exhausted of every military resource.

Two men rose to be leaders of Holland. One was John of Olden-Barneveldt, who stands among the purest patriots of any age, a statesman and financial genius. The

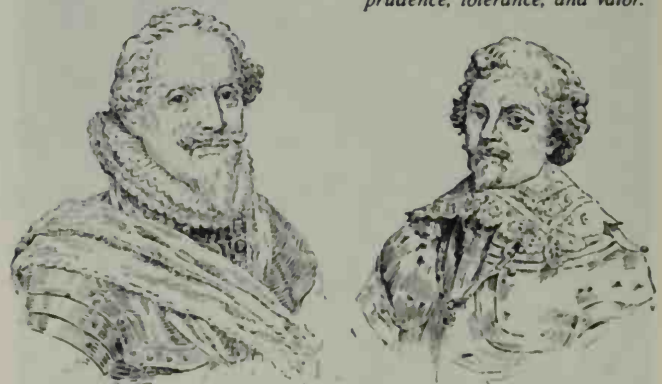
other was Maurice of Nassau, younger son of the martyred William. Maurice became the chief military figure of the war. He originated a new system of siege and defense, by which he gradually forced back the Spaniards upon the frontier, capturing their fortresses one by one. As a general he was greater than his father, but as patriot and statesman he sank far lower. William had repeatedly been offered the kingship of the land, and had refused it. Maurice sought the high rank all his life, he schemed and planned for it, and was refused. His chief opponent was the patriot Barneveldt and at length Maurice so roused the people against their aged protector that Barneveldt was condemned and executed as a traitor (1619).

A reaction followed the excitement, and Maurice found himself farther than ever from his goal. He had long been governor or stadholder of the United Provinces; that was the highest he could rise. Fortune deserted him. The cause of freedom, stripped of the statesmanship and financial wisdom of Barneveldt, sank in the scale. Even those who had supported Maurice began to point at him in horror. He died in 1625 a gloomy, disappointed man.

Still the war continued. From 1609 to 1620 there had been a truce in Europe, but in Asia the fighting was continued. Then the worldwide Thirty Years War of Germany drew both Holland and Spain once more into the vortex of religious strife. Maurice was succeeded as stadholder by his young half-brother Frederick Henry, who upheld the high reputation of his race. In 1628 the Dutch admiral, Piet Heijn, captured the Spanish silver fleet and brought treasure worth millions of dollars into Holland. In 1639, Admiral Tromp attacked and completely destroyed a Spanish fleet of fifty ships in the Battle of the Downs off England's coast. This completed the destruction of the vast navy of Spain, and raised the naval repute of Holland to the highest point.

Prince Maurice of Orange succeeded his father William the Silent and reigned from 1584 until 1625. He was the son of Anna of Saxony.

Frederick Henry, prince of Orange (1625-47). When he died on March 14, 1647, he left behind him a character of unblemished integrity, prudence, tolerance, and valor.



The haughty House of Habsburg, rulers of Spain and of the German Empire, saw their sea power crushed by Holland and their armies exhausted by the Swedes in the German war. So at last the emperor and the king of Spain, another Philip by this time, the fourth of the name, consented to the general peace of 1648, by which the entire independence of Holland was formally acknowledged. She took her place among the great powers of Europe, not as a monarchy but as a republic. The House of Orange retained a very high authority as stadholders, but the burghers had become fully accustomed to self-government. The States General was the acknowledged authority of the land; and its members, dreaming of empire in the East, assumed all the airs of royalty. They officially styled themselves the High and Mighty Lords.

To any far-seeing eye, a business war between the two rivals, both keenly grasping, both superbly self-confident, must have appeared inevitable. The quarrel grew rapidly. At length Admiral Blake in command of an English fleet fired a shot at a Dutch vessel; Admiral Tromp responded with a broadside; the memorable naval war began (1652). There were two years of desperate, deadly, glorious naval fights. On the whole the advantage was with the English, who had the heavier ships. But both Admiral Tromp and Admiral de Ruyter defended the Dutch coast with vigor and success, and won for themselves and their countrymen undying renown.

The man who had led Holland to this height of influence and renown, was John de Witt, chief of the celebrated family of that name. Unfortunately it was he also who brought his country to the very verge of destruction. His attitude and that of the Dutch people in general was construed as an insult by the new "rising sun" in France, the youthful monarch Louis XIV. Or rather, to put it more broadly, the very existence of Holland, a republic, was felt as an insult by every sovereign of Europe. Here were these "mere tradesfolk" assuming airs of equality and even of superiority toward the most eminent royal houses. When in 1672, Louis suddenly proclaimed himself offended and without warning hurled his armies upon Holland, not a voice was raised in its favor. The English mindful of recent injuries rather than more recent treaties, sent their fleet to join France in the attack.



Prince William II, who succeeded his father Frederick Henry, reigned but three years—from 1647 to 1650.

Once more as in their memorable war with Spain, the Dutch stood alone, friendless and apparently overwhelmingly outnumbered. But now their cause seemed even more hopeless than before, because they were wholly unprepared for an attack by land. De Witt had persisted in courting alliance with France, in trusting upon Louis's friendship. No precautions had been taken against attack; the invading Frenchmen found their work at first a mere pleasure trip, a plundering expedition amid a helpless people. The infuriated Dutchmen cried out that de Witt was a traitor, that he had expected, nay invited this disaster. He and his brother Cornelis were slain by a mob in the streets of The Hague, savagely beaten, and trampled almost out of recognition as human forms.

The martyrdom of these two pure and high-souled patriots left the way open for the return to power of the princes of Orange. The young heir of the house, now grown to manhood, was at once made stadholder as William III. In fact it was his partisans who had slain the de Witts, nor was the prince himself ever wholly cleared of complicity in the crime.

His sudden appearance at the head of affairs roused the people from the despair into which they had been thrown by Louis's sudden attack. Half the country was already in French hands; but Amsterdam set example to the remainder by cutting her dykes, flooding her own surrounding fields, and so opposing a barrier of water to the enemy's advance. Yet so desperate seemed the situation that William and the States General, finding every overture for peace rejected, discussed in solemn council the necessity of destroying all the dykes, taking the entire nation on board their ships and sailing away to their empire in the East—leaving a drowned land to an insatiable foe.

Fortunately this extreme of heroism was not demanded of them. The partial flooding of the land by Amsterdam and other cities, sufficed to check Louis's progress. Moreover, on the checkerboard of European politics, the Habsburg rulers of Germany and Spain seeing their rival the French king apparently on the point of subduing Holland, lent their aid to the very land that had broken down their ancient supremacy. William also secured the friendship of England by marrying Mary, the

Prince William III of Orange was the stadholder from 1650 to 1702. This proud, slight man was also the king of England, but he served the two countries differently, in that he was the restorer of liberty from foreign conquest and its staunchest defender in England; however, he served Holland as a vassal state.



king's niece (1677). Against this array, France fell back, baffled. Holland was once more saved by a prince of the House of Orange.

From that time William III devoted his life to his celebrated strife against King Louis. Again and again he managed to draw Europe into an alliance against France. In 1689 he became king of England; and that high office also he employed to defeat Louis. In the end he was successful. At the time of William's death (1702), England, the United Provinces, and the German Empire were attacking Louis in the War of the Spanish Succession; the towering might of France was already crumbling.

William left no nearer heir than a youthful cousin, so the provinces elected no new stadholder to succeed him. Once more the States General took entire charge of the government. Its members resolutely continued William's plans for war with France; and their troops took a prominent part in those great victories of Blenheim, Ramillies and Malplaquet, for which England is so apt to claim entire credit.

Yet the provinces were becoming exhausted both in men and money. These perpetual wars were at last sapping their vitality beyond its power to recuperate. England was crowding them from the ocean; their trade was languishing. When in 1712 the English queen suddenly decided to make peace with France, the provinces had no choice but to acquiesce in the arrangement.

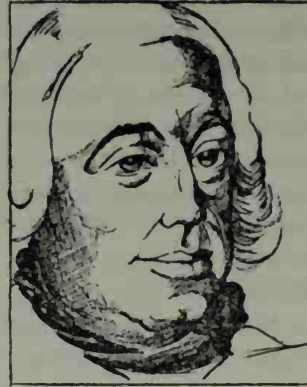
LATER HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The southern portion, the Spanish or as they had come to be called, the Austrian Netherlands, had been the main battleground between Louis XIV and the European coalition. The land lay wasted and desolate. Holland, impoverished and exhausted, was in little better condition. Peace slowly restored both regions to a material prosperity, but not to that high national pride and vigor which had once made them famous.

Holland joined in the war of 1744 against France and lost what little prestige remained to her. The people, in an outbreak of resentment against their feeble government, not only restored the stadholdership to the House of Orange (1747), but declared it a permanent office and hereditary in the family forever. William IV, the stadholder thus appointed, was a nephew of William III; and his patriotism and ability seemed to promise him worthy of the renowned race from which he sprang. But his sudden death in 1751 left his rank to an infant son, William V, so that the difficult duties of the position fell into the hands of regents.

The first of these was the child's mother, Anne, a daughter of King George II of England; and after her death came the duke of Brunswick, who was also inti-

William IV was the stadholder of the Netherlands from 1747 to 1751.



Stadholder William IV Friso (1747-51) was the son of John Friso, a distant relative of William III.

mately allied with the English royal house. The people of Holland felt that their interests were deliberately sacrificed to those of their formidable commercial rival. Dutch ships were openly seized by the British. Dutch colonies were appropriated, and finally in 1780 England, declaring war upon the helpless and wholly unready provinces, seized what was left of their trade and their colonial empire. Only a few small districts in the farthest east remained to remind Holland of the vast regions she had once possessed.

By this time the young stadholder, William V, had grown to manhood; but matters failed to improve under his guidance. The people grew more discontented and rebellious; Prussian troops were loaned to William to strengthen his position; and the chiefs of the opposition or Republican party were compelled to flee from the country. William became practically as absolute a sovereign as any of the little German princes along his borders (1787).

Then came the French Revolution. Already its spirit had invaded Holland. It had inspired the party in rebellion against William V. It roused the Belgians, and in 1789 they engaged in a short but fierce revolt against Austria. This was suppressed the following year, but it is no wonder that neither in Belgium nor Holland was there much desire to resist the advance of the French when the aroused revolutionists burst upon them proclaiming freedom with the sword, reasserting those doctrines of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" which the Netherland burghers themselves had been the first to champion in the face of monarchical Europe.

The Austrians were driven out of Belgium by the French victory at Jemappes (1792), and the land was

annexed to France. Holland resisted longer; yet many Dutchmen fought on the side of the invaders; and, aided by the severity of the winter—the French winter it was called by the Hollanders—General Pichegru took possession of the land in 1795.

William V fled to England. The Republican party among the Dutch formed an alliance with the Frenchmen, welcomed them as liberators, and formed a new government under a new constitution. Holland became the Batavian Republic. The name was an empty form which did not long survive. In reality the land was a mere dependency of France, savagely tyrannized over by the French deputies sent to “advise” its government. In 1806, Napoleon converted it into a kingdom of Holland for his brother Louis; and in 1810 it was formally incorporated, as the southern Netherlands had previously been, in the rapidly expanding empire of France.

The downfall of Napoleon in his Russian campaign found the Dutch common people as eager as the Germans to throw off a yoke which had become intolerable. They bore a valiant part in the struggles of 1813–14, and in the final campaign of Waterloo. The stadholder William V had died in exile; but his son, another William, returned from England to lead his people in their struggle. He was received with a warm affection that forgot former causes of dispute and remembered only his race, the great race of Orange, and its long devotion to the

cause of Holland. The nation had been surfeited with republican forms of government; the stadholdership was abolished; William was eagerly invited to become a king and in March 1814 was solemnly inaugurated as King William I.

In the general rearrangement of European affairs undertaken by the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, it was universally agreed that this new “kingdom of Holland” should not only be accepted but enlarged, so that it might become a real restraint upon France’s northern border. Austria, receiving compensation elsewhere, surrendered its outworn claim upon Belgium; and once more after the lapse of centuries all the low countries were reunited into a single state, the “Kingdom of the Netherlands,” under the sovereignty of William I, no longer prince of Orange, but king of the Netherlands.

This ill-advised union of Belgium and Holland lasted only fifteen years. It had indeed been hopeless from the beginning, a purely geographical alliance which took no account of the differences of religion and race, nor of the even keener antagonisms roused by centuries of alienation and war. Nobody really desired the union except a few purblind diplomats and the ambitious King William. The Dutch accepted it with hesitation. The Belgians were not consulted at all. They felt themselves treated as a conquered and dependent people; and when the French Revolution of 1830 gave them the impulse and opportunity, they rushed immediately to arms and proclaimed their independence.

The Dutch however, had become proud of their superior position in the union; they would not lightly relinquish it. King William, grown old and narrow, was haughty and uncompromising. A Dutch army attacked Brussels and was vigorously resisted by the citizens. There were four days of fighting in the streets. Barricade after barricade was stormed by the Dutch troops, but always there were others beyond, and at length the invaders were compelled to retreat. Belgian independence had been sealed in blood.

Everywhere throughout the country the people rose in arms. The Dutch garrisons were driven out. The most notable struggle was in Antwerp, where the Dutch troops, driven from the streets, took possession of the citadel and bombarded the city they were supposed to be protecting. Both France and England intervened. If Belgium was so determined on independence, the great powers would no longer stand as sponsors for the union they had created. So the Netherlands were again declared divided. Belgium was allowed to select a king of its own from the royal families of Europe, and after negotiation with two or three candidates conferred the dignity upon a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Lines of demarcation between Belgium and Holland were then agreed to by the powers, though naturally the boundaries assigned satisfied neither of the belligerent little disputants. Scarcely indeed had King Leopold entered his new



Prince William V ruled the Netherlands from 1751 until 1795, when he had to flee to England to escape the French. He was the last of the stadholders.

The first king of the Netherlands was Louis Bonaparte, who reigned at the behest of his brother, Napoleon Bonaparte, from 1806 to 1810.



King William I (Willem), who served as the sovereign over both Belgium and Holland after the fall of Napoleon. He ruled until 1840, when he abdicated.



kingdom when an army of nearly eighty thousand Dutch troops poured into it. William of Holland had decided to defy Europe and reassert his sovereignty (1831).

The astonished Belgians were defeated in two slight battles. Leopold appealed to France and England for aid; and a French army entered Belgium, while a British fleet descended upon the coast of Holland. Confronted by such overwhelming odds, King William yielded as ungraciously as possible, disputing every step of the negotiations, which were only finally completed in 1839.

Belgium thus stands as a sort of godchild to the neighboring great powers, fostered by their care. King Leopold proved a model constitutional sovereign, undertaking seriously and successfully the duties of his position. His death in 1865 was deeply mourned by his people, and his son, Leopold II, was enabled to begin his reign under the most favorable auspices. Unfortunately he has devoted himself less to the guidance of his country than to a career of pleasure and the accumulation of enormous wealth.

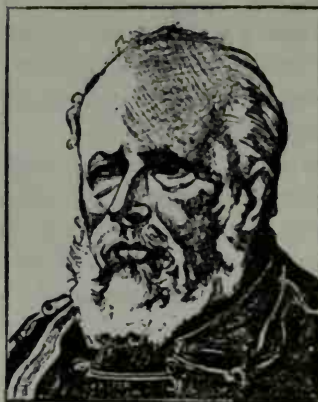
In Holland meanwhile there has been far greater national sentiment, greater unity of feeling; and her course has been one of peace and progress. King William I abdicated in 1840, soon after he had been finally compelled to consent to the formal release of Belgium. His son William II ruled until 1849, when he was succeeded by his son, William III. The revolutions which shook Europe in 1848-49 had their echo among the Dutch, but a truly great statesman appeared to guide the country through the crisis. To Jan Rudolf Thorbecke, Holland owes not only the peaceful solution of the many problems of this difficult era, but also the development of many of her industries and the establishment of her present broad-minded and liberal constitution. Thorbecke died in 1872.

King William III, grown old and feeble-minded, died in 1890 without male heirs, so that the throne passed to his ten-year-old daughter, Wilhelmina. For several years the child's mother ruled as regent, but in 1898 Wilhelmina assumed full sovereignty amid the congratulations of all nations. She soon selected a husband suited to her taste, a dashing young Prussian officer, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg. The choice was approved by her devoted people; Duke Henry was created a general, and also prince of the Netherlands, and in 1901 the happy pair were wedded with splendid ceremonials at The Hague. Rumor has since represented them as proving less congenial to each other than their subjects hoped. A daughter was born to the queen in 1909, and became the heiress of her mother's crown.

Wilhelmina made an excellent ruler; she was devoted to her people, and they to her. During the Boer War in South Africa, Holland showed that she had not forgotten her former sovereignty over those distant climes and people. The queen's offer to mediate between the Boers and England was refused, but the expatriated Boers were



King William II (1840-49) was the son of William I and the leader of the Dutch army against Belgium in its efforts to gain independence. He had conducted himself with valor at Waterloo but didn't make much of an impression on the Belgians. History also records that he had serious deficiencies as a statesman and diplomat.



King William III had a long (1849-90) reign, but it was not noteworthy.

Queen Wilhelmina, who ruled from 1890 to 1948, was considered one of the most able administrators among the sovereigns of Europe. She abdicated in 1948 to allow her daughter Juliana to gain the throne at an early age.



The wedding of Queen Wilhelmina to Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1901



warmly received in Amsterdam and elsewhere. Wilhelmina had also brought her country into note as the seat of the International Peace Conference, which held its first meeting at The Hague in 1899. A second great peace conference was held there in 1907, on which occasion a splendid Palace of Peace, gift of Andrew Carnegie, was erected as a home for the tribunal.

In 1940 German troops invaded the Netherlands and Queen Wilhelmina left the country for England. The period of her exile showed clearly that the link between the Netherlands and the House of Orange is not based merely on the constitutional position of the monarch in the Dutch state. By giving strong personal and spiritual leadership the queen inspired the Dutch people and gave them courage in their resistance to the occupying forces. The Netherlands, like the royal house, is fully aware of the moral value that the monarchy represents in the country.

The queen in exile took a step of historic significance when in 1942 she held out the prospect of a conference between the Netherlands on the one hand and the Dutch East Indies, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles on the other to revise the constitutional links between the several countries.

In 1948 Queen Wilhelmina abdicated, to be succeeded by her daughter Juliana. Queen Juliana too was deeply aware of the heavy responsibility of her office, as is evident from the words with which she defined the importance of the monarchy: "I have been called to a task so difficult that no one who has given it a moment's thought would wish to do it, but also so splendid that I can only say—who am I, to be permitted to perform it?"

For security reasons Queen Juliana and her children spent the war years in Canada. She had four children by her marriage in 1937 with Prince Bernhard: Princess Beatrix (married to Prince Claus), Princess Irene (mar-

ried to Prince Charles Hugo of Bourbon-Parma), Princess Margriet (married to Mr. P. van Vollenhoven), and Princess Christina. In 1949 the queen signed the treaty transferring sovereignty over the former colony of the Dutch East Indies to the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1954 the queen gave the royal assent to the Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands proclaiming the equality of Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and the Netherlands.

The main themes of her speeches at home and abroad were respect for life, international solidarity, and close cooperation in Europe. She also championed the cause of development cooperation and was anxious to keep in touch with the younger generation in the Netherlands and other countries.

As head of state she studied government affairs very carefully indeed and was closely involved in the formation of new governments. She regularly received members of Parliament for exchanges of views which enabled her to keep abreast of the latest developments in society. Every year she opened the session of the States General by reading the speech from the throne. In recognition of her services to society the State University of Groningen conferred upon her an honorary Doctorate in Social Sciences.

Prince Bernhard spent most of his time during the war in England with Queen Wilhelmina. As commander of the Dutch armed forces he was actively involved in the liberation of the Netherlands. Although the prince of the Netherlands has no constitutional function, his activities were manifold. In 1970 his military duties were combined in one function: inspector general of the armed forces. As curator of the Netherlands Economic Institute and the Netherlands School of Economics in Rotterdam the prince was closely involved in the development of the economic sciences.

Immediately after World War II the prince began to take an active part in the work of promoting the economic recovery of the Netherlands. To foster trade relations he traveled widely in South and Central America, the United States, Canada, Africa, and Asia. His interest in cultural matters was reflected in his chairmanship of the international board of the European Cultural Foundation, which promotes cultural cooperation in Europe. He is also the founder and trustee of the Praemium Erasmianum Foundation, a Dutch body that awards money prizes annually to persons or institutions which have made an important contribution to European art, science, or culture in general. In the last few years the prince has done a great deal for nature conservation as president of the World Wild Life Fund.

Since 1954 he has been chairman of the Bilderberg group. A meeting of seventy-five to eighty leading politicians, businessmen, academics, and journalists from Western Europe, the United States, and Canada was held under his chairmanship every year to discuss cur-

Queen Wilhelmina addresses a joint session of the United States Congress on August 22, 1942, to announce that the Netherlands was ceasing its neutrality position.





Prince Bernhard and Princess Juliana meet with the first lady of the White House, Eleanor, the wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1942.

The royal family in 1955



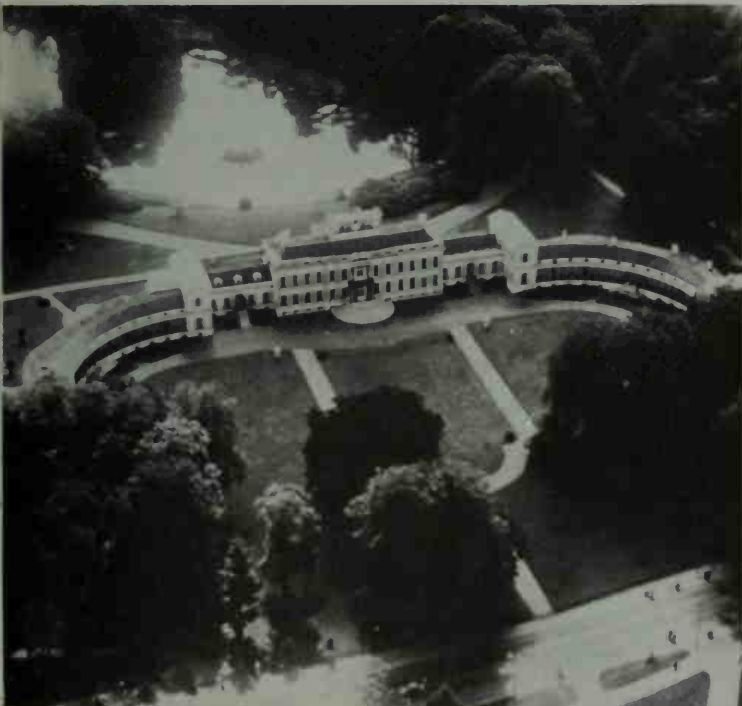


It is September 1948 and Queen Wilhelmina has just abdicated and is greeting her daughter and the people with a cheer, "Long live the Queen!" from the balcony of the royal palace. Prince Bernhard looks on with anticipation as the queen Juliana appears to be stunned by the emotion of the moment.

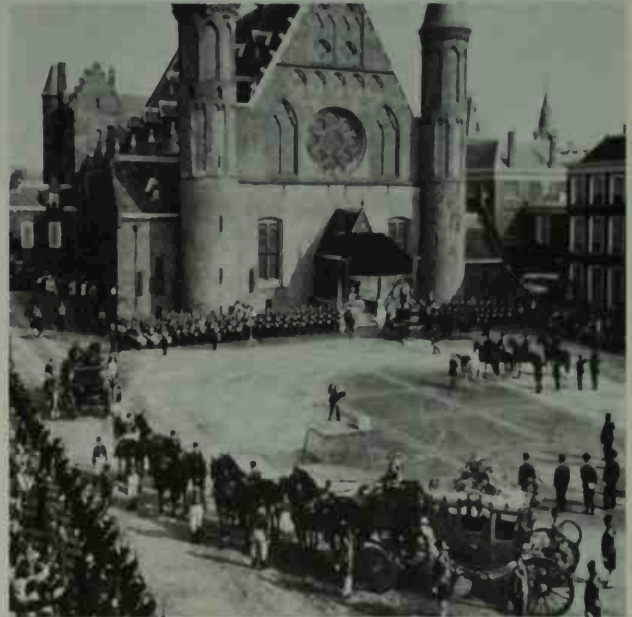


After World War II, Queen Juliana comes to the United States on a state visit and speaks before the joint houses of Congress.

Soestdijk, the palace residence of the royal family



Netherlands arms. The coat of arms of the Netherlands state is also that of Her Majesty the queen. It bears the motto of the princes of Orange: "Je maintiendrai." The arms are surmounted by the royal crown as a symbol of the dignity of the Dutch Commonwealth since 1815, when the monarchy was founded.



The golden coach awaits in the Binnenhof as Queen Juliana delivers the opening address before the Parliament.

Inside Parliament in the Hall of Knights Queen Juliana gives her speech.





Queen Juliana with Queen Elizabeth II of England



Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard visited the United Nations New York headquarters in 1952. Seated (left to right) are Prince Bernhard, the queen, and UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie.



Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrix made an official visit to the United Nations headquarters in 1963. The princess is seen here during the visit conversing with the secretary-general. Left to right: Ambassador Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, permanent representative of Pakistan to the UN, the princess, Secretary-General U Thant, and Ambassador C.W.A. Schurmann, permanent representative of the Netherlands to the UN.



Her Majesty Queen Juliana and His Royal Highness prince of the Netherlands Bernhard.

rent foreign politics and economic and social problems.

Since her mother became queen, Princess Beatrix (born 1938) had been the heiress presumptive to the throne. She had been a member of the Council of State since she was eighteen. She has always shown a great interest in social and cultural matters, both within the kingdom and elsewhere.

Prince Claus has chosen to work in the field of physical planning, concentrating on the environment. In 1967 he was appointed a member of the Advisory Council for Physical Planning. He is also interested in aid to developing countries. His knowledge and experience in this domain led to his appointment as a member of the Netherlands Advisory Council on Development. He is also very much interested in trade and industry.

On April 30, 1980, Queen Juliana abdicated in favor of Princess Beatrix. In six hours of festivities, the abdication and inauguration ceremonies took place at the royal palace and at the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) in Amsterdam's downtown Dam Square. It was Queen Juliana's seventy-first birthday. The queen, upon abdicating, said, "For the sake of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, for the sake of all of us who are Dutch, it is better that my place should be taken by someone new and vigor-

Crown Princess Beatrix (later queen) with Prince Claus and their three sons, left to right: Prince William Alexander, Prince John Friso, and Prince Constantijn.



ous." Orange confetti honoring the House of Orange-Nassau showered down from the buildings in the square as the mother and daughter appeared on the balcony of the palace. They were joined by Queen Beatrix's husband, Prince Claus, and their three sons, including thirteen-year-old Willem Alexander, the first male heir to the throne in ninety-six years. At the inauguration Queen Beatrix wore a twenty-three-foot-long velvet robe lined with ermine which was made in 1840. The crown, however, remained on a table beside the throne, for the Dutch do not crown the sovereigns, reflecting the two centuries of Republican rule that preceded the monarchy.

Under the 1815 constitution, amended slightly on this point in 1922, the monarchy in the Netherlands is hereditary in both the male and female lines. The throne passes to the eldest son or, if there are no sons, to the eldest daughter of the monarch and his or her descendants. If the monarch has no children, the eldest brother or—if there are no brothers—the eldest sister succeeds to the throne. The succession then passes to his or her descendants. Succession like this in the collateral line goes as far as the third line removed. If there is no legitimate successor on the death of a monarch, the two chambers

of the States General meet in joint session to appoint a king or queen.

Members of the royal house who marry without the permission of the States General forfeit their right of succession. No such approval was requested when Princess Irene, Queen Juliana's second daughter, married; so she is excluded from the succession under the relevant clause in the constitution.

Those who are legally entitled to succeed to the throne are not allowed to abjure that right. The succession to the throne is of great Dutch concern and an established duty of the ruling royal house. The country's interests would be prejudiced if possible successors were to alter the succession to the throne by giving up their right to succeed to it. When the monarch dies the heir to the throne succeeds immediately: the rule in the Netherlands is "Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi."

The duties of the monarch are both legislative and executive. No statutory provision can come into force unless one or more ministers are answerable to Parliament for it. They give evidence of their responsibility by countersigning acts and royal decrees. Neither the monarch, nor ministers, nor Parliament can on their own change any act of government.



Queen Juliana appeared on many of her country's postage stamps.



A 1964 postage stamp honoring the BE-NE-LUX countries and their sovereigns. Left to right: King Baudouin of Belgium, Queen Juliana, and Grand-duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg.

The April 30, 1980, stamp commemorating the coronation of Queen Beatrix.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

Reign	Title	Ruler	Birth	Death	Relationship	Consort	Birth	Death
THE COUNTS OF HOLLAND (843-1299)								
-923	Count	Dirk I		923	Appointed by Charles the Simple			
923-988	Count	Dirk II		988	Son of Dirk I			
988-993	Count	Arnold		993	Son of Dirk II			
993-1039	Count	Dirk III		1039	Son of Arnold			
1039-1049	Count	Dirk IV		1049	Son of Dirk III			
1049-1061	Count	Floris I		1061	Brother of Dirk IV			
1061-1091	Count	Dirk V		1091	Son of Floris I			
1091-1121	Count	Floris II, the Fat		1121	Son of Dirk V			
1121-1157	Count	Dirk VI		1157	Son of Floris II			
1157-1187	Count	Floris III		1187	Son of Dirk VI			
1191-1203	Count	Dirk VII		1203	Son of Floris III			
1203-1204	Countess	Ada		1224	Daughter of Dirk VII			
1204-1224	Count	William I		1224	Brother of Dirk VII			

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Consort</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>
1224-1235	Count	Floris IV		1235	Son of William I			
1235-1256	Count	William II		1256	Son of Floris IV			
1248—William II becomes the king of Germany								
1256-1296	Count	Floris V		1296	Son of William II			
1296-1299	Count	John I		1299	Son of Floris V			
1299—Count of Hainaut assumes control as John II								
1300-1356—Under the control of the House of Hainaut								
1356-1435—Under control of independent sovereignties								
1436-1493—Under the control of the Habsburgs and the House of Burgundy								
1494-1506	Count	Philip the Handsome	1478	1506	Son of Maximilian I	"Mad" Juana		1482
1506-1555	Count	Charles V	1500	1558	Son of Philip the Handsome			
1555-1581	Count	Philip II	1527	1598	Son of Charles V			
1579—Dutch Republic								
1579-1584	Stadholder	William I, the Silent, prince of Orange	1533	1584	Son of William the Rich	Anne of Buren Anna of Saxony Charlotte of Bourbon Louise of Coligny	1533 1544 1555	1558 1577 1582 1620
1584-1625	Stadholder	Maurice of Orange	1567	1625	Son of William I			
1625-1647	Stadholder	Frederick Henry	1584	1647	Half-brother of Maurice	Amalia of Solms	1602	1675
1647-1650	Stadholder	William II	1626	1650	Son of Frederick Henry	Maria Stuart	1631	1661
1650-1702	Stadholder	William III of Orange	1650	1702	Son of William II	Mary Stuart	1662	1694
1702-1747—Republic without a stadholder								
1747-1751	Stadholder	William IV Friso	1711	1751	Nephew of William III; son of John Friso	Anne of Hanover	1709	1759
1751-1795	Stadholder	William V	1748	1806	Son of William IV	Wilhelmina of Prussia	1751	1820
1795-1806—France established the Dutch Republic as the Batavian Republic								
1806-1810	King	Louis Bonaparte	1778	1846	Brother of Napoleon Bonaparte			
1810-1813—The Netherlands incorporated into France								
1813-1840	King	William I	1772	1843	Son of William V	Wilhelmina Frederika of Prussia Anna Paulowna of Russia	1774 1795	1837 1865
1840-1849	King	William II	1792	1849	Son of William I	Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont	1858	1934
1849-1890	King	William III	1817	1890	Son of William II	Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	1876	1934
1890-1948	Queen	Wilhelmina	1880	1962	Daughter of William III	Bernhard of Lippe-Biesterfeld	1911	
1948-1980	Queen	Juliana	1909		Daughter of Wilhelmina	Prince Claus of Germany		
1980-	Queen	Beatrix	1938		Daughter of Juliana			



12

The Kingdom of Denmark



This map shows the most significant period in Denmark's history with its relationship to Sweden and Norway, immediately after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Denmark was created at the great junction of the northern seas, in the region of transit between north and south, east and west. The twin pillars of this maritime realm dependent on sea connections for its cohesion, its outward lines of expansion also governed by shipping, were the continental peninsula of Jutland in the west and the island of Zealand together with Scania, the southern part

of the Scandinavian peninsula, in the east. For a long time it was Danish policy to control the foreign bases, markets, and shore stations of the trade routes leading to the west and to the Slav and Arab worlds. This drew Denmark into the struggle for the three seas: the North Sea with the coasts of Britain and western Europe; the Skagerrak with the Norwegian and Swedish coasts; and the Baltic with the states of Germany, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. Denmark became at once a Baltic and an Atlantic power, with all the political, economic, and cultural consequences that that has entailed. She came to occupy a key position at the outlet of the Baltic. In successive combinations she clashed with the English, German princes, and Norwegian and Swedish kings. The period of expansion lasted until about 1600 and was followed by the struggle to preserve the national territory against expanding rivals: Swedish power in Scania; Germany in the border regions of southern Jutland. In the long run Danish foreign policy was dictated by her relations with the western maritime powers on the one hand and the great continental powers on the other.

Migrations and invasions from the Continent flowed across the open borderland of Jutland. By the same route came cultural currents from western Europe and Germany which Denmark received and adapted to her own. But, even in the Iron Age, with its vigorous economic and social development, Danish tribes also trekked across Europe toward Germany and Italy and sailed their vessels to Britain. This first great expansion was followed from about A.D. 500–600 by another, which, along with Norwegian Viking raids to the west and Swedish raids to the east, continued for several centuries and culminated around A.D. 900–1000.

While the Norwegians settled on the Atlantic islands and in parts of Scotland and Ireland, and the Swedes



Odin died in 55 B.C. and was buried at sea in a flaming Viking ship, which was the traditional burial for their leaders.



Odin's first invasion to the south and into Danish territory

made their way along the great Russian rivers to the Black Sea, Danish Vikings overran the Frisian coast and about A.D. 800 swung across the North Sea to England. From the middle of the century one great campaign followed another in an almost unbroken assault, and in 886 the king of Wessex was forced to cede the land north of a line running from London to Chester, where the Danes had settled permanently. It was not until around 900 that Alfred the Great succeeded in checking the expansion.

THE FIRST KINGDOM

At Jelling in 910 King Gorm built a memorial stone. It bore the inscription in letters called runes: King Gorm set up this monument for his queen, Thyri, Denmark's guardian. The queen was given the title because she had brought together workers from all over Denmark to build a wall—the *Danevirke* (Danes' work) as a bulwark to deter their enemies. This tribute of King Gorm to his queen is the first recording of Danish history from the Danes themselves. King Gorm is considered to be the first king of all Denmark—the man with whom Danish history becomes separate from the history of Norway and of Sweden. It was hundreds of years before the three young nations learned to live on peaceful terms with one another. Danish history, like the history of the other two countries, is distressingly full of wars against the rest of



Gorm the Old (883–941) is historically considered to be the first king of Denmark who had an organized government. It was, also, the first government free of political or geographical connection with Sweden and Norway.

Queen Thyri, consort of King Gorm, directing the building of Danevirke. Legend has it that King Godfred built Danevirke but recent discoveries evidenced it to be the work of Queen Thyri. Therefore she has been called the Danebod, "the mender of Denmark."



In the east Jutland township of Jelling are Denmark's oldest royal monumental tombs: the burial mounds—the largest in the country—of Gorm the Old and Queen Thyri with two runic stones. The small one was erected by Gorm to Thyri, and the large one was raised in about A.D. 980 to Gorm and Thyri by their son Harold the Bluetooth.

An early (1591) sketch of Jelling as it appeared in 900. A is the church; B, center, is King Harold's stone with the figure of Christ on it (in that history records as the first-known depiction of Christ in Scandinavia). C and D are a burial mound with a funerary chamber. E is a burial mound without a funerary chamber, and F is a memorial stone.



Scandinavia—and other nations. Harold Blaatand, the Bluetooth, King Gorm's son, who ruled Denmark from 941 to 991, won a place for himself and Denmark by fighting Norway and making their leader, Earl Haakon, his "citizen." King Harold was also the first king of Denmark to be baptized a Christian and he tried to spread the new religion among his subjects and organize the early Danish church. Harold's son, Sweyn I, the Splitbeard (991–1014), was also a great warrior and leader. It was he who, in league with the Swedish king and some of the Norwegian earls, defeated the heroic King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway in the great sea fight (A.D. 1000) that ended with King Olaf leaping with his armor into the sea in an apparent suicide. Then Sweyn took his Viking warriors to Britian to avenge the killing of Danish settlers there and by 1013 was master of all England.

THE MEDIEVAL STATE

By the middle of the tenth century, there were churches in Jutland towns and the monarchy had undertaken to assist the church in winning over the Danes. The church brought to Denmark the culture of medieval Europe. But in organization and doctrine it was foreign to the old community. Its leaders and its loyalty were outside the old organization of the clans. Such were the forces on which the monarchy was building its power, assisted by the Viking wars and the church. It is true that the kings

Denmark's Viking kings played chess, often with fatal results for one of the players. In 1026, Canute the Great and his brother-in-law Ulf Jarl had a match, and Ulf Jarl angrily overturned the board when the king altered a move. The following day Ulf Jarl was murdered.



Roskilde was the first center of church-building in stone. After the murder of Ulf Jarl in Harold the Bluetooth's wooden church, the jarl's widow pulled it down and built a stone church, ca. 1026. A cathedral was erected on the site later, but it was Bishop Absalon who built the present cathedral in the 1170s; one of the first brick structures, it is still the finest, although a conglomerate of various periods, surrounded, for example, by built-on chapels, where Danish kings have been buried for 600 years.



The Danish coat of arms, three blue lions among red hearts on a gold escutcheon, is one of the kingdom's oldest treasures. The picture shows the earliest preserved example of the coat of arms as used in the seal of Canute (Knud) IV dating from about 1080.



The small coat of arms, showing only the three lions and nine hearts, is the oldest Danish arms, having been borne around 1190 by King Canute VI.



The large coat of arms in its composition illustrates the history of Denmark from the Middle Ages, the Viking raids, and their English possession, the Danelaw (Danelagen).

Valdemar II, the Victorious (1202–41) in his crusade against the heathen Estonians. Victory was brought from defeat by the Heavens sending down a "sacred flag" into the midst of the Danes. King Valdemar used it as his banner to gain victory in a crucial battle.



belonged to the old clans and were originally only *primi inter pares* who acquired special authority in war, but the constantly recurring mobilizations of the Viking period, with its discipline, its fleets, and a large system of fortified camps, strengthened the monarchs.

In a serious struggle with the time-honored authority of the clan community the monarchy gained ascendancy. During the twelfth century it obtained further support from the small towns that had arisen as special areas outside the jurisdiction of the old "moots."

When King Sweyn died in 1014, his second son, Canute, became king of England, and four years later succeeded to the throne of Denmark. This was Canute II, the Great (1018–35), who in every way was a greater king than Sweyn. Canute was a mighty warrior. He conquered England all over again when it slipped away after his father's death. Also, before he died he added Norway to his kingdom. What is most remarkable is his idea of how a king should rule—not by force. He did not rule England as a conquered land, but with the same equal rights for the people as in Denmark. He built churches and monasteries, and had welfare programs for the poor. "In his realm," reports a historian, "was so good a peace that no one dared break it." The English people were better off under Denmark than under their own rule.

History records that great kings rarely have great sons to carry on their rule. It happened with Canute as it happened with Alexander the Great and with Charlemagne—his heirs were weak and quarrelsome, and his empire fell apart into confusion and war.

King Sweyn II Estrithson (1047–74), a nephew of Canute the Great, tried to reconquer England, but did not succeed. Another descendant of Canute's, Canute the Holy (1080–86), is worthy of note, for he was made the patron saint of Denmark because he had served the Danish church so well. From 1147 to 1157 the quarrels of the kings and would-be kings kept Denmark continually torn with civil war. And then, out of the confusion, rose another great king—Valdemar the Great (1157–82).

At Valdemar's right hand stood one of Denmark's greatest statesmen, Absalon, who was warrior and archbishop besides. It was he who built the stronghold which later became Denmark's capital—*Copenhagen*, which means "merchants haven." And it was Absalon who counseled Valdemar to carry Christianity to the land of the Wends on the southern shore of the Baltic, overturning their worship of the four-headed idol. In 1169 the Wends were baptized into the Christian faith.

The struggle against German influence was already in full swing. Under the Valdemars (1157–1241) a counter-offensive was gradually launched. They forced the provinces into greater unity and reorganized the military system; at the beginning of the thirteenth century, crown and church succeeded in repelling the great north German commercial town of Lübeck and in conquering Estonia (1219–1346).



An undoubted reminder of the Danish period in Estonia is the Tallin (Reval) coat of arms as it remained down to the Second World War: three blue lions on a yellow escutcheon. Only the red hearts are absent. In a naval engagement against the Hanseatic League, in the Sound in 1427, the Danes won a great victory, but the men of Lübeck succeeded in capturing a Danish ship, from which the Danneborg flag, the oldest to survive into modern times, probably originated. It was found, about the year 1880, by a Danish museum official in the Maria Church at Lübeck, but is thought to have been destroyed in the Second World War. The flag was four and a half meters (14¾ feet) long and shows a white cross on a red ground; in the four quarters are the devices of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Pomerania. The field nearest the staff shows the Virgin and Child and Saint James.



One evening later in life, while hunting, King Valdemar II was kidnaped by the German lord Count Henry and imprisoned in an impenetrable castle for three years during which he suffered the severest of tortures. In this scene, Danish nobles and church figures bargain with Count Henry for his release. The discussions were successful but the price was that the king would have to give up his throne.

The murder of King Eric IV the Plowpenny in 1250 as seen on a fresco in the Ringsted Church



Another Valdemar, called the Victorious, became king in 1202. He, like Canute, was a great conqueror. He made the Baltic nothing more than a Danish lake. Indeed, this "age of the Valdemars" was the highest point of Denmark's power in Europe. There is an interesting legend in the lore of the crown which tells of how the king thought his power came from Heaven. In a battle against the heathen Estonians, as the story goes, the Danes had lost their banner and were near defeat. Then a red banner with a white cross floated down on the battlefield from Heaven above. As the Danes fought under this God-sent flag, the tide turned in their favor. So the white-cross banner—the Dannebrog, has ever since been the national flag of Denmark.

But even before Valdemar the Victorious was dead and buried the proud Danish Empire crumbled away. The unfortunate king was betrayed and taken prisoner in Germany, but he won his freedom by trading his Baltic provinces as part of his ransom. And when he died in 1241, the Danish historians wrote, "the crown fell off the head of the Danes."

In the next century of Danish history kings murdered their ambitious brothers or were murdered by them, bishops and kings struggled for power, and most often the kings lost and were put out of the church. Civil wars raged. The country was broken up, with parts of it coming under the power of the dukes of Schleswig-Holstein.

Denmark became seriously involved in the struggle to maintain her power in the Baltic region; a struggle for over a century, until the north German princes and commercial towns pressed the kings so hard that for a period around 1320 they were forced to abandon the entire country to conquest or mortgage. Meanwhile the aristocratic families had long been endeavoring to suppress the monarchy from within; and in 1282 they forced the king to sign a Great Charter (Handfaestning), establishing an annual parliament to control the king's activities. The only bright spot in an otherwise sad period of time is that charter signed by King Eric V Klipping. It was a constitution that can be compared to the Magna Charta of England. Under the charter, the king agreed to rule with

King Valdemar IV Atterdag (1340-75) and his consort, Queen Helvig, on a fresco in St. Peter's Church in Naestved



a council of nobles, the Council of the Danish Realm (Danmarks Riges Rad), which endured until 1660 when absolute monarchy prevailed over the nobility and Denmark.

The prime task now was to restore the kingdom, an aim which was largely completed by about 1370 under King Valdemar IV, the Restorer (Atterdag) (1340–75).

THE RISE OF AN ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

By 1340, when King Valdemar IV came to the throne, Denmark's state of affairs had sunk into a dismal low. This new king, by his personal bravery and leadership, subdued his enemies at home and abroad, and made Denmark once more a great power in the Baltic. At home he showed himself to be a great organizer. Under his rule the national assembly began to meet every year. Also, he acted as supreme judge in the courts.

The struggle for Denmark and the Baltic thus entered a new phase. Through royal marriage and a general policy of war against the powerful German commercial towns, now combined in the Hanseatic League and dominating the merchant trade of Scandinavia, a new Danish Empire grew up: Norway fell to the royal family by inheritance, and Sweden chose personal union (the Union of Kalmar) under the Danish monarchy in the common struggle against German interests. With Norway came the Atlantic islands, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland; with Sweden, large parts of Finland. This union, in character at once Atlantic and Baltic, was to last in the case of Norway until 1814.

The Danes strove persistently to dominate the union, and Sweden's membership was of short duration. During internal conflicts the union disintegrated in the course of the fifteenth century and in 1525 it broke down altogether in the face of an increasingly powerful Sweden.



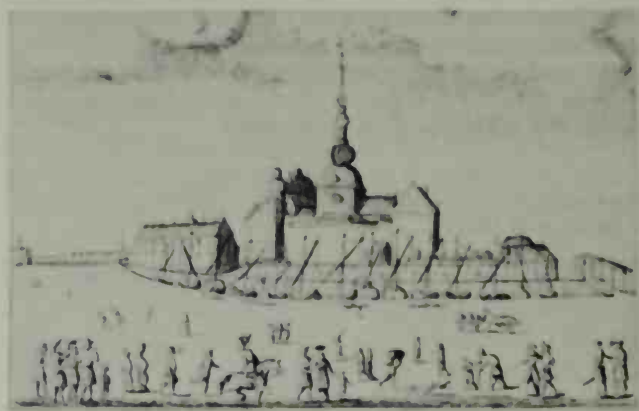
In his resolute policy of restoring the country and strengthening the throne Valdemar Atterdag was generally supported by church and aristocracy. His daughter, Queen Margrethe, however, prohibited private building of castles, and had many old ones demolished. Queen Margrethe united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in the Union of Kalmar, 1397. She died in the plague of 1412, but well into the nineteenth century two schoolboys sang every morning at her tomb in Roskilde Cathedral. The tomb bears the likeness of her in alabaster.



Queen Margrethe I, the sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden from 1387 to 1412



The beaver used to be widespread in Denmark, as witness this tapestry, which shows Eric of Pomerania standing beside a beaver dam. This is one of a series of tapestries, executed about 1580 by the Netherlands artist Hans Knieper to the command of Frederik I for the banqueting hall of Kronborg Castle. Against a historically interesting background of small everyday scenes they show Frederik and his 111 predecessors on the Danish throne.



Copenhagen Castle, or Copenhagen House, was the royal residence from the time of Eric of Pomerania, ca. 1400. Christian IV added the elegant openwork spire to the Blue Tower, little suspecting that his favorite daughter, Leonora Christine, would spend nearly twenty-two years in its prison. Christian VI demolished the castle and in 1733–45 built the first Christiansborg, a magnificent structure that was destroyed by fire in 1794. The second Christiansborg, erected 1820–28, was burned down in 1884, the existing, third Christiansborg being built in 1907–28.

MARGRETHE

Queen Margrethe became the ruler in 1387 and was an even stronger ruler than her father, Valdemar. When she was only ten years old she had been married to King Haakon VI of Norway. As a result, her little son Olaf became heir to both Haakon's throne and Valdemar's. Also, Margrethe claimed that Olaf was the rightful heir to the throne of Sweden, but a German prince was wearing the Swedish crown. In quick succession King Valdemar died in 1375, King Haakon in 1380, and the young King Olaf in 1387. Thus according to the law at that time Olaf should have been succeeded by a male. Instead, the regent Margrethe, who had been ruling for Olaf in a proper balance of cunning, tact, and political genius, was elected queen in her own right, not only of Norway and of Denmark but of Sweden too. She then wore the triple crown of the largest empire in all of Europe. Margrethe groomed her grandnephew, Eric VII of Pomerania, to be king. But in reality she continued to do all of the ruling herself until her death in 1412. She had united the three countries in a formal union called the Kalmar Union in 1397. Without force, she persuaded the nobles to give back some of the wealth and power they had taken from the crown. She ruled wisely and well.

PEASANTS VERSUS KING VERSUS NOBLES

When Margrethe died in 1412 the state of affairs of Denmark began to sour. The fact that Margrethe did not give any control to Eric resulted in his becoming a weak and foolish ruler. He was finally driven by the nobles into exile and removed from the throne for a number of stupid decisions. Legend has it that he became a highwayman and pirate preying on the nobles. The Kalmar Union came to an end in 1448 when Sweden elected a separate king. But Norway remained united with Denmark for nearly four centuries more, even though the Danes took advantage of the union.

The House of Oldenburg came to the throne in 1448 and stayed in power until 1863. This period is a story of the struggle for power between the nobles and the king at the sacrifice of the peasants. The king eventually became an absolute monarch but later lost his power again to the nobles and, then, the nobles had to share it with the people. The truth of the story is that the poor peasants had a rather hard time of it no matter who had the power. But history reveals that the nobles were crueler masters than the kings. The Danish peasants, until 1863, never managed to acquire as many of the democratic freedoms as the peasants of Sweden and Norway.

THE OLDENBURG PERIOD

Christian I (1448–81), the first Oldenburg king, managed to win back Sweden, and he ruled there for seven years (1457–64). But Christian II (1513–23) lost Sweden for-

ever. He succeeded in crushing a rebellion of the brave Sten Sture and Sten's gallant widow Christina. After he was crowned at Stockholm he caused to be murdered in cold blood a hundred or so of Sweden's foremost nobles and citizens, in what is called the Stockholm Massacre. On his way back to Denmark he set up a gallows in every town through which he passed, and in each he hanged all of the leaders of the rebellion his soldiers could find. But, the Swedish peasantry rallied behind their great leader Gustavus Vasa, who had somehow escaped the hangman's noose. The successful rebellion dropped Sweden from the union forever.

But in other ways Christian II was an admirable king. He did great things for the peasants of Denmark, forbidding that they be sold along with the land when nobles sold their property. But his reforms were too sweeping for the proud nobles. They rose against him and the king was soon driven from his throne and spent the last twenty-seven years of his life languishing in prison. The



King Hans (1481–1513) and his three sons in prayer—in a redox rubbing from an old tomb in St. Knud's Church in Odense. Left to right: Prince Frants, Prince Hans, the king, and Prince Christian, who became Christian II.

Christian II had great gifts as a ruler, but his morbidly suspicious nature and hot temper prevented him from applying his talents to lasting advantage. Lacking balanced judgment, he pushed through his reform program with such impetuosity that the nobility rose against him.



For mercantile and other reasons, Christian II married the thirteen-year-old Elizabeth (Isabella) of the Netherlands. Although neglected, she held her husband in warm affection and admiration. She died in 1526 when only twenty-five years old. This excellent portrait of the gentle young queen with the protruding lower lip of the Habsburgs was carved by Claus Berg on the altarpiece of St. Knud's Church in Odense.

The signatures of Christian II
and Queen Elizabeth



Kings from the "later" period of Denmark's history. Left, top to bottom: Christian III (1533–59), Frederik IV (1699–1730), and Christian VII (1766–1808). Center, top to bottom: Frederik III (1648–70), Christian II (1513–23), Christian IX (1863–1906), and Frederik V (1746–66). Right, top to bottom: Christian IV (1588–1648), Christian V (1670–99), and Frederik II (1559–88).

minstrels wrote many ballads about him and the peasants sang them and passed them on to their children. In one he was "the eagle lost in the wilderness who would one day return to protect the peasants from the hawks." But Christian II never returned, and the nobles dominated the peasants and, then, the noble's children ruled the peasant's children.

The struggle for the Baltic between the two leading Scandinavian powers dominated high policy for the next

two centuries. At the same time the Danish kings, especially Hans (1481–1513) and Christian II, endeavored to consolidate the monarchy by means of a more despotic policy toward the aristocratic landowners, assisted by the townspeople, especially in Copenhagen, the capital. These attempts led to a bitter civil war, markedly political and social in character. The revolt at first was a failure. Three-fourths of the land was owned by the lords temporal and spiritual, and in the political struggles and economic troubles of the preceding centuries they had secured control over nearly four-fifths of the peasants. The nobles had further strengthened their position through the development of a closed aristocratic group of about two hundred and fifty families, who monopolized the land as well as national offices and authority.

The nobility, on the whole, emerged victorious from the struggle. The real loser, besides burghers and peasants, was the church. The Lutheran movement had pene-

Frederik II and Prince Christian (King Christian IV) in a tapestry woven for Kronberg (Kronburg) Castle. The castle appears in the tapestry on the left and on the right is Frederiksborg (Frederiksborg) Castle, both royal residences in their time.



Christian IV (1588–1648) was one of the most colorful kings of Denmark. He is seen here on horseback. He was a great warrior as well as an able ruler.



He was also a fashion plate: left, ca. 1625; above, ca. 1640.



King Christian IV knew many ups and downs of fortune, but the thing that made his name famous in Danish story was a deed of heroism when he was already sixty-seven years old. Denmark was once more at war with Sweden, and things had gone so badly that the Swedes held the whole peninsula of Jutland. Then, in February 1644, the king with his fleet of thirty ships met the forty-six Swedish ships in battle. In the midst of the fight a bursting cannonball struck Christian, wounding him in thirteen places. Blinded in one eye, he fell to the deck of his ship, the Trinity. But instantly he was up again, shouting that he still lived and still could fight. In this painting he thanks God for his life and urges the Danes to fight on.

trated to Denmark from Germany through southern Jutland and it soon gained the monarchy's support. When the civil war was over, and the monarchy and temporal nobility restored, the Reformation was carried through. The state took over church lands and the king became supreme head of the new church, with the bishops as his officials.

During the next reign, that of Frederik I (1523–33), Denmark, like the rest of Europe, had to decide the question of the Reformation—whether they should turn Protestant or stay in the Catholic church. When Frederik died the question was answered with a civil war. Not until 1536 was Christian III, the Protestant candi-

date, secure on his throne without internal strife. Then he began reorganizing and strengthening the war-torn country. He made the government more economical and efficient than ever before. He built a large fleet and did all he could to encourage commercial trade.

But the next king, Frederik II (1559–88), fell back into the pattern and tried again to conquer Sweden. However, the Seven Years War which followed brought nothing but debts and devastation to both sides, with Denmark suffering most. But to show that Denmark was still mistress of the northern seas, she required every ship that passed a Danish man-of-war to dip its topsail in a salute. And the Danes had a very strong castle at Elsinore where a toll was taken from all of the ships that passed through The Sound.

From the middle of the sixteenth century Denmark experienced a period of economic prosperity. The landed nobility with their large cattle exports and the monarchy with its Sound dues levied on the rich trade passing through The Sound, recovered their former strength. The Renaissance came in with its handsome Netherlands style. In this flourishing period Christian IV (born 1577; 1588–1648) strove hard for a more modern system of



After a costly and unsuccessful intervention in the Thirty Years War, King Christian IV of Denmark to the best of his ability endeavored to pursue a policy of retrenchment. In 1631 he discontinued the expensive but popular ceremony of the bed at aristocratic weddings. Yet he himself ordered the most extravagant wedding in Denmark. This was the wedding of the crown prince to Magdalena Sibylla, daughter of Johan Georg I, elector of Saxony, and a member of one of the foremost royal families in Europe. The grandeur of the celebrations was therefore related to their political importance. The day preceding the ceremony of the bed began with the appointment of twelve Danish noblemen as Knights of the Elephant. The event, which took place in the royal antechamber at Copenhagen Castle, is illustrated by the court engraver, Simon de Pas, of Cologne. The first of the knights, in the foreground, is kneeling before the king, who with a sword of gold touches his left shoulder three times, as he says: "I appoint thee knight in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Arise, knight!" The appointment was then proclaimed through the open window by the herald, "whereupon drummer and trumpeter in the square commenced to beat and play." The drapery behind the king bears his motto, *Regna Firmat Pietas* (piety fortifies the realm), which also appears on the Order of the Elephant. The procedure is witnessed by the bride-to-be from a balcony, and by the diplomatic corps on the floor.

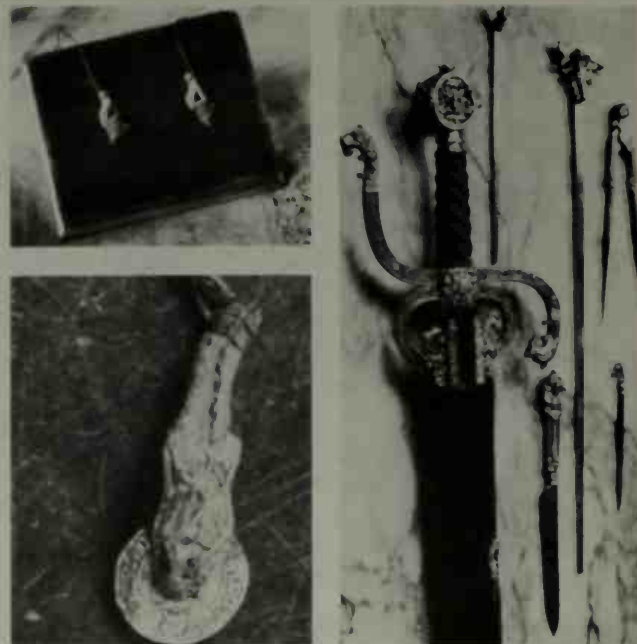


Christian IV was Denmark's great builder-king. Throughout his long reign he was his own director, and occasionally to some extent his own architect, in many, by Danish standards, large projects. In its present form, Frederiksborg Castle in north Zealand is for the most part a reconstruction after a destructive fire in 1859, but the great castle chapel with its Renaissance organ, built by Compenius, the Mint gate, and the buildings surrounding the delightful S-shaped bridge are original. J. C. Jacobsen (1811-87), brewer and art patron, gave large sums for rebuilding Frederiksborg Castle and furnishing it as a museum of national history, the most valuable historical museum of modern times in the country.

trade in a spirit of national mercantilism, and endeavored to strengthen the fighting services for the final struggle for the Baltic and the great international struggles that were to come.

Christian IV was one of Denmark's great kings. He founded towns, built ships from his own designs, fostered trade, and won fame in battle. Two of the castles he designed and built are still standing in Copenhagen. Christian IV did not have the backing of the quarrelsome nobles, and this was the reason his ventures into the Thirty Years War in Germany were disastrous. As a result Denmark lost two Norwegian provinces and two islands in the Baltic in 1645. It was this king's heroism in a hard-fought sea battle that is celebrated in Denmark's national anthem.

In spite of every effort it was too late. There were great internal differences between king and nobles and many mistakes were committed on both sides; in particular Denmark, for all her former leadership in Scandinavia, had gradually exhausted herself in the ceaseless struggle and had been fundamentally incapable of renewing her political or military organizations since the Middle Ages. The leading class, the nobility, in whom the privileges and obligations of the nation were vested, were now for



Outside the ramparts of medieval Copenhagen in 1610-25 Christian IV built a summer house, afterward called Rosenborg, and now a museum of the highest international standard, containing the crown jewels and thousands of other royal treasures. The picture shows the ear pendants that Christian IV's mistress, Vibeke Kruse, had made from the metal fragments that had robbed the king of an eye at the naval battle of Kolberger Heide. She also kept the bloodstained pillowcase from his bunk, unwashed. The scabbard of his admiral's sword held a knife for eating with, a nail file, and a number of gilt instruments, among other uses for measuring guns. Christian IV's charm: one day the king dropped a gold coin, which was seized by a snake, whereupon he cut off its head with his sword.

many reasons less qualified to perform their special duties. Dissension between the classes was once more rapidly increasing. Furthermore, Sweden, in her national revolt against the union with the Danes, had produced a strong and ruthless monarchy which modernized the national organization and relied on fresh resources that, in marketable terms, had greater economic value in the seventeenth century than Danish agricultural goods. The balance of power in Scandinavia was silently and steadily shifting, long before the decisive clash took place within the compass of the Thirty Years War.

The final clash came with the Thirty Years War (1618-48) and the subsequent Danish-Swedish War with European participation (1657-60). Step by step Denmark was pushed back as the Swedes, in a succession of brilliant campaigns, advanced across the Baltic countries and occupied Jutland and later the Danish islands. In 1660, Denmark was obliged to sign a peace treaty limiting her sway to the territory west of The Sound. The richest provinces, those of Scania, Halland, and Bleking, were lost, The Sound now being divided between the two leading Scandinavian powers.

An even worse result was prevented by European interests, as Denmark's ally, the Netherlands, with her



Behind a magnificent iron grating is the chapel of Christian IV, with Thorvaldsen's bronze statue of the king and Marstrand's well-known painting of the Battle of Kolberger Heide, where he lost an eye



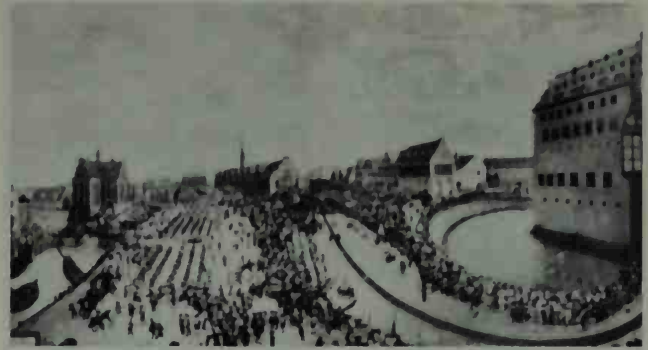
Portrait of Frederik III in the Royal Act, which he signed in 1665, but which was at first kept secret. It set him above the law, but did not grant him the title to the national territory.

vital trading interests in the Baltic, had succeeded in relieving the heroic defenders of Copenhagen and preventing all of The Sound from becoming Swedish.

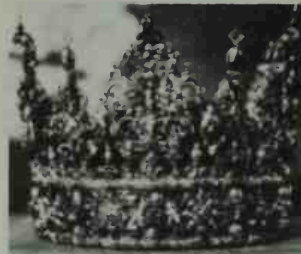
When the next king, Frederik III (1648–70) was crowned, he had to sign away most of his power to the nobles who controlled the wealth. But the nobles did not back him when the king declared war against Sweden at the moment when the Swedes were very busy fighting in Poland. The city of Copenhagen withstood a heroic siege by the Swedes but the nobles deserved small thanks for that either. It was the people who rallied to the king. But the terms of peace lost Denmark more territory.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

The Danish state was now bankrupt and the country laid waste. A political and social settlement in the wake of the war and defeat was inevitable. Relying on enlisted troops and on the townspeople and peasants, Frederik III assumed absolute power for himself and his heirs. Instead of personal despotism, the result was a more highly centralized bureaucracy.



Celebration in front of the castle of Copenhagen on the introduction of hereditary absolute monarchy, October 18, 1660. Painted 1666 by Wolfgang Heimbach. The citizens and the military are lined up on each side of the red runner that goes from the castle gate to the throne. The castle roof, the decks and masts of the vessels and all the windows are full of spectators. In the background Holmens Church and the Exchange, two of the most distinguished buildings of Christian IV.



Frederik III, silent and retiring, was strangely unknown. The coup that made him the first absolutist king, however, reveals determination and single-minded tactical abilities. He also busied himself with contemporary learning, including alchemy, and laid the foundations of Danish museums. Despite national poverty, he redeemed his father, Christian IV's, sumptuous crown, mortgaged in Hamburg, and even lavished enormous sums on new regalia.

Frederik felt that he had the people behind him and was determined to overpower the nobles. The Estates, or national parliament, met in 1660 and forced the nobles to join them in offering the king absolute power. The king was "instructed" that the peace terms were that he was to draft a new constitution. But he never got around to it. Instead, he and his counselor, the great statesman Peder Schumacher, later Count Griffenfeld, drew up the Lex Regia, or Royal Law. The Lex Regia gave the people of Denmark an absolute monarchy. So the common people in this new type of government were taking two steps forward and one step back.

Count Griffenfeld continued to be chancellor under Frederik's successor, Christian V (1670–99) and he con-



The "Estates" give back the coronation charter to Frederik III. Left to right: the king, Peder Reetz, Hans Svane, and Hans Nansen.



The royal crown of absolutism is still used in stylized reproduction by Danish institutions and purveyors to the court.

Christian VI "had no mistresses and waged no wars." Deeply religious, he laid the country under puritan pressure, yet was led by his, and especially Queen Sofie Magdalene's, view of the dignity of the absolutist monarch into very costly building works and to surrounding himself with a magnificent court. But the many splendid apartments were not employed in their time for greater amusement or festivities than were required by representative arrangements, and the already stiff tone ended in sterile abnegation. His son's reign, Ludvig Holberg said, was a "reign of bliss, when everything seemed to gain new life and energies," and despite excesses Frederik V was almost idolized by the public.



tinued to make the government very efficient and tried to keep the country at peace. But the impatient king longed for the heritage of fame in war and overthrew his wise chancellor. He quickly entered into another war with Sweden (1675–79) and lost. Also, there were two more of these disastrous wars with Sweden in the next reign, that of Frederik IV (1699–1730). Besides this the country at this time was inundated by the plague, and crop-damaging floods in Schleswig-Holstein. But Frederik not only won the hearts of the common people by building schools, starting a postal system, and reducing the national debt but by being a very charming person. The people forgave him all of his faults.

The whole machinery of government was modernized. The early period of autocracy (1660–1750) imposed greater national unification in place of the medieval provincial system. Unified systems of legislation, finance, local administration, main roads, and weights and measures were established, and greater equality for all the king's subjects was aimed at as an essential condition for greater national unity.

Royal rule proved of vital importance to modern Denmark in several significant respects. The kingdom became more integrated. The church was already subject to the state and now a standing army was established; new economic enterprise was displayed by the state, and later the first attempts to create a uniform school system were made. The old aristocracy paid the political price of this bloodless revolution. Economically and socially, they had already suffered because of the war. But the peasants also suffered because of the war. They suffered through heavier labor services to the lords of the manors and through military service to the states.

In external affairs, the early absolutist rule refused to accept the peace terms of 1660 as definitive. Several costly wars followed, until, in a new peace treaty of 1720, the settlement had to be reaffirmed. The Scandinavian balance had been maintained.

The people hated the next king—Christian VI (1730–46) because he was as negative in the pious sort of way his father, Frederik IV, was positive as a cheerful person. He let the clergy censor all literature and art, and fined people if they did not go to church. In spite of his strong religious beliefs, which angered the people, Denmark was prosperous and at peace during his reign.

Christian VI's son, Frederik V (1746–66) was a very different sort of king. He was gay and pleasure-loving. He did away with his father's law for compelling people to go to church. But he paid scant attention to the affairs of state. He really didn't need to for he had two wise counselors, Counts Bernstorff and Moltke, who ruled for him and did it well.

From the mid-eighteenth century fresh currents began to assert themselves in the Danish autocracy. Baroque gave place to Rococo, and European enlightened despotism slowly began to manifest itself in freer and more

humane outlooks. They appeared first in agriculture, realizing the need for a radical transformation of the medieval village community through land consolidation. Starting under favorable conditions for agricultural exports in the Europe of the Prussian Seven Years War and subsequent revolutionary wars, it involved another revolution: the emancipation of the Danish peasant from 1788 onward and a gradual transition from copyhold to freehold tenure. Thus in time a free class of peasant proprietors was formed that was to prove of crucial importance to modern Denmark.

Other social reforms followed: the abolition of the slave trade in the few Danish overseas colonies from 1792; the granting of civil rights to Jews from 1814; and the great educational reforms of the same year, with the introduction of general compulsory education. In the economic field, the land reforms were followed by an extremely liberal tariff reform of 1797. With this early liberalization, the autocracy itself sponsored an agrarian revolution while the French Revolution was in progress.

For a long time Denmark derived economic advantage from the European wars which she strove to avoid, but when Napoleon's troops had overrun Europe, the net closed around her.

In 1801 in a fierce naval battle off Copenhagen, the British forced Denmark out of the armed alliance of neutral states; and when the French and Russian emperors had agreed on the continental blockade, the war returned in an even more menacing form. In 1807, the Danish government rejected a British ultimatum to surrender its large navy before Napoleon's troops, marching northward, could seize it. This was the signal for a British attack, and after a devastating bombardment of Copenhagen the Danes were forced to deliver up the fleet, and they later concluded an alliance with Napoleon.

The French Revolution had one good effect on Denmark's people as it had on people elsewhere in Europe and throughout the rest of the world, later. The rights of the common people became apparent. In Denmark the tide turned again to the people—the peasants. The nobles and kings had their times of power. Now the common people as a whole began to desire to have a voice in government.

There was a continuing need for great statesmen during the next reign, that of Christian VII (1766–1808), for this king was mentally weak and vicious as a tyrant. In the end he became insane. For a while a clever German adventurer named Struensee, the king's physician, had control of the government. He advocated democratic ideas of the king that led to the French Revolution, and in line with these beliefs, he instituted all sorts of reforms in favor of the common people. He was watched closely by the nobles and the lords of property and when he took one step too fast in 1772 his enemies had him put to death.



King Christian VII (1766–1808) rides among the peasants with his son, Crown Prince Frederik VI (1808–39).

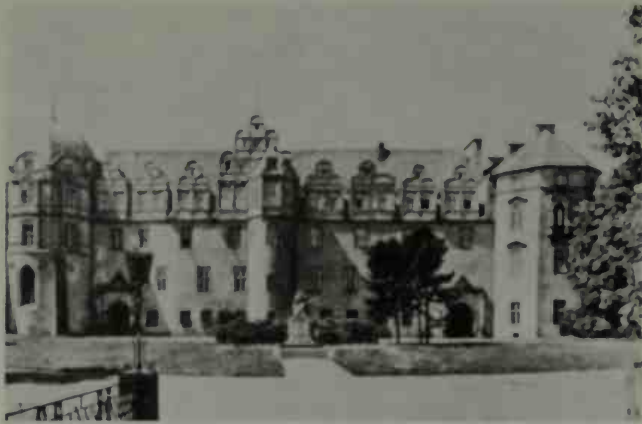


Queen Caroline Matilda

For a short period of time the king's physician, John Struensee, had gained control of the throne of Christian VII. But the nobles and lords tried him and arranged to have him put to death. Before he was beheaded on April 28, 1772, Struensee confessed that the king's consort, Queen Caroline Matilda, was his accomplice and "more."



Queen Matilda faints when required to sign a statement of guilt of conspiracy, which included an automatic divorce from the king and banishment. She was kept at Celle, where her life came to an end on May 10, 1775.



The Celle castle



Frederik VI was the son of Christian VII and succeeded him to the throne.

As prince regent in 1784–1808, Frederik VI was responsible for radical reforms, but in the course of his reign, 1808–39, he became the embodiment of reaction, maintaining the principle “We alone know.” The small, undemonstrative king, in stature and dress more like a lean, bony officer of the squirearchy, was none the less popular as paternal monarch and paterfamilias. Victim of misfortunes in his calling and in private life (he lost several of his children), he became the picture of the elderly man whom time had left standing. His death released long-pent-up forces in society that were soon to bring about its economic, political, and social transformation.



Prince Christian (VIII) married Caroline Amalie of Augustenborg in 1815. The couple, shown at about the time of their wedding, were rightly referred to afterward as the handsomest pair to have occupied the throne of Denmark. As king of Norway for three and one half months in 1814 he was celebrated for having introduced “the most liberal constitution in the world.” As king of Denmark, however, this cultured aesthete, perhaps against his will, became increasingly conservative, faced with the insoluble problem of meeting contemporary demands for a liberal constitution and national self-determination while keeping Danish and German-speaking provinces united.

The crown prince, later Frederik VI (1808–39), firmly took the reins of the crown but was wise enough to call back Count Bernstorff, whom Struensee had dismissed. Frederik VI put through many reforms to replace Struensee’s acts of prerevolution. The most important of these was in 1788 when he ended serfdom for the peasants.

But the train of events outside the nation proved disastrous. Denmark was cut off from Norway, where separatist trends were already perceptible. Sweden formed a wartime alliance with Britain and Russia against Denmark. In 1813 the state went bankrupt, and the following year Frederik VI was forced to make peace and cede Norway to Sweden, Denmark retaining Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands. This was the second division of the Danish realm.

NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND LIBERAL CONSTITUTION

The cession of Norway was a radical solution of a serious national problem that had faced the old dual monarchy. Norway had in fact been governed as a Danish province. As late as in the eighteenth century outstanding Norwegians had served the monarchy without national antipathies, but toward the end of the century a new nationalist trend had developed among townspeople and free peasants. Various local demands were rejected by the royal government, which feared a split in the kingdom. The

war and the peace treaty cut short this growing discord.

The loss of Norway had twofold significance. First, this second great defeat gave many in impoverished Denmark a sense of being left behind in a small, weak kingdom without any prospects; and, second, the Norwegian situation was an ominous reminder that even in the areas still subject to the Danish king new and serious national problems were developing on the southern border fronting the German states. Here were two border duchies, where a nationalistic trend might soon ignite a political powder magazine. The northern duchy, Schleswig, was an ancient Danish borderland; the southern, Holstein, had always been German but had gradually become subject to the Danish kings. The links between the duchies were old and close, and they had grown steadily stronger during the centuries in which kings and their sons had reigned without much discrimination and increasingly under one administration. German culture had penetrated strongly into Schleswig.

As early as 1460, Christian I had been obliged to promise the Holstein nobles that Schleswig and Holstein would remain forever united (*ewich tosamende ungedeelt*). Dynastic and aristocratic ties had caused an even greater integration before the nationalistic winds of the nineteenth century finally ignited the powder.

This flare-up began in earnest about 1830, when the movement for the unification of the German states based on national liberalism began. The political demand was for liberal constitutions, with democratically elected parliaments which would limit the powers of the ruling princes. From that moment the absolute monarchy was confronted with a dangerous dual problem: that of national and liberal opposition in a nationally heterogeneous region within the monarchy's limits. Under growing pressure from increasingly stronger German states such as Prussia, the young liberals in the monarchy were split into pro-German and pro-Danish liberals. King and government were aware that if they yielded to either, the consequence would be the final disruption of the monarchy and the collapse of the autocracy.

In 1834, Frederik VI had tried to grant some of the purely liberal demands by establishing consultative provincial assemblies (*radgivende staenderforsamlinger*), but the only result was to intensify both the liberal and the national demands. The Holstein movement demanded a free and united Schleswig-Holstein as part of the German Confederation. In order to save Schleswig, their liberal Danish opponents demanded a free and united Denmark including Schleswig, but granting Holstein a liberal constitution as a member of the German Confederation was precisely the outcome the king and government had feared. Neither of the two national movements would admit that the Schleswig population was nationally mixed; an attitude which only aggravated the whole problem. A further complication was the threatening international situation, with Prussia and

Russia approaching the great struggle for the control of the Baltic, which the Scandinavian countries had lost. Not only was it to be feared that the Danish monarchy would split, but also that it would, sooner or later, be absorbed by a powerful Germany.

Through the 1840s the internal and external pressures rose swiftly, until the explosion occurred in March 1848, in the trail of the February revolution in France. Knowing in advance that the Danish liberals would prevail over the government in Copenhagen, the Holsteiners revolted against their policy and Denmark was plunged into civil war. This quickly developed into an international struggle when Prussia came to the assistance of the pro-Germans and invaded Jutland. Thanks to international support, principally from Russia, the Prussian troops were forced to withdraw. But the Danish government had to promise the great powers not to make any change in the status of Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein, or link any of them more closely. To insulate the future from the past in this way, however, was impossible, and the first war of 1848-49 was only the portent of the next and greater one.

The Danish liberals eventually obtained the internal revolution they had striven for.

Frederik VI's successor, Christian VIII (1839-48),

Frederik VII (1848-63) and his queen. Frederik VI was the king of soldiers and father of the constitution, loved and acclaimed uncritically, later criticized, and unjustly denigrated. Difficulties and frequent crises arose between the king and his ministers because the new liberal constitution had to be worked out, but in fact he coped gallantly with the teething troubles, at times with lively humor. His relations with Countess Danner (1815-74), a former ballet dancer and milliner, also led to political complications, while consolidating his popularity among commoners who saw her as a guarantee of democracy. The king insisted on signing the constitution on her son's birthday, and he used to say that without her he would long ago have lain "nose up." King of Denmark from 1848, his tyrannous rule in Schleswig-Holstein was bitterly resented, and by his death, in 1863, the main line of the royal house became extinct.



On the death of the Danish king in 1863, the duke of Augustenburg raised claims to the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, but by the War of 1864 these went to Prussia and Austria.

was a king with a liberal mind and heart. The Danish people expected him to let them have their way in this new world government of the common people. But it was his son, Frederik VII (1848–63), last of the Oldenburg line, who turned the trick. In 1849 Frederik cheerfully signed away the absolute monarchy by accepting a very liberal constitution developed by the national assembly. He took for his motto, "The love of my people is my strength." And the free common people of Denmark loved him, until his dying breath.

Since the end of the Oldenburg line, five kings and one queen have reigned—Frederik VII (1848–63), Christian IX (1863–1906), Frederik VIII (1906–12), Christian X (1912–47), Frederik IX (1947–72) and the sovereign queen Margrethe II who replaced her father, Frederik IX. He died January 15, 1972, at the age of seventy-two after a reign of twenty-five years.

Margrethe II was the oldest of three daughters by Princess Ingrid of Sweden. The constitution was amended in 1953 to allow for female succession to the throne in the absence of a male heir. Five centuries earlier when Margrethe I ruled, it was without being

King Christian IX of Denmark (1863–1906) was called Europe's Father-in-law because marriage had formed ties to the thrones of Britain, Greece, and Russia. Frequently the royal family met at Fredensborg Palace, north Zealand, where the painter Lauritz Tuxen (1853–1927) made this group picture, which now hangs in the Royal Reception Room at Christiansborg Palace, Copenhagen, the seat of the Danish government.

Christian IX and Queen Louise are sitting on the sofa. Seated on the left is the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), and behind him are his wife Alexandra and their son the duke of Clarence, Albert Victor. In the center, Czar Alexander III with his wife Empress Dagmar. Crown Princess Louise is on the sofa to the right of the czar. Behind her, King George of the Hellenes and Crown Prince Frederik. Standing, Queen Olga. Behind the king and queen of Denmark are Thyra, duchess of Cumberland, and Prince Valdemar. The two boys near the door are Prince Christian (X) and the later czar Nicholas II. Nearer the gilt fireguard is Prince Carl, later Haakon of Norway.



The coronation parade of Christian IX, 1863. He succeeded to the throne of Denmark on the death of Frederik VII. His eldest daughter, Alexandra, married King Edward VII of Great Britain.



Christian IX. A sketch of the King in his eighty-fourth year at work at his desk.

crowned queen. Margrethe II's sisters are Benedikte, born in 1944, and Anne Marie, who is now the former queen of Greece, born in 1946.

Since 1849, Denmark has been a constitutional monarchy. Legislative power is held jointly by the sovereign and the parliament. The unicameral parliament, called the Folketing, which was authorized by the Constitution of 1953, consists of one hundred seventy-nine members who are elected in general voting every four years. The cabinet is presided over by the sovereign.



Royal family gatherings were the vogue in Europe just prior to World War I. This is a gathering of the Danish clan in the early 1900s. The center of the photograph has the principals. Seated, left to right, are Frederik VIII; Dagmar, Dowager Empress of Russia; Christian IX, and Queen Alexandra. Behind her, standing, is George I of Greece.



Crown Prince Frederik in 1929



Public ovations to King Frederik IX and Queen Ingrid, standing on the balcony of Christianborg Castle on the occasion of their accession to the throne on April 21, 1947. (On May 24, 1935, the crown prince had married Princess Ingrid of Sweden.)



Christian X (1912-47)

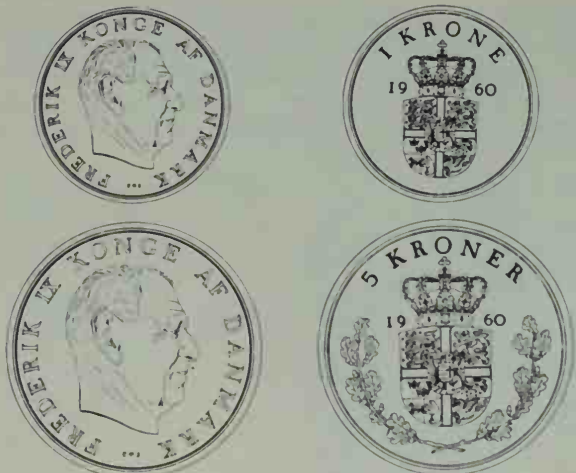


King Christian X in a formal pose with his consort, the Queen Alexandrine



Frederik IX (1947-72)

Greatly cheered by the people, King Christian X takes his daily ride through the streets of Copenhagen during the German occupation in World War II.



Some Danish coins honoring King Frederik IX



Postage stamps of the king were also issued during his lifetime and in commemoration.



The official portrait of King Frederik IX and Queen Ingrid

The royal Danish family photographed in 1964. Left to right: Princess Benedikte; the then Princess Anne Marie (Queen Anne Marie of Greece); King Frederik; Queen Ingrid; and Princess Margrethe, now Queen Margrethe of Denmark.



By a revision of the constitution in 1953, female hereditary succession was introduced in Denmark. Accordingly, the king and queen's eldest daughter, Princess Margrethe, born 1940, became successor to the throne. Having come of age in April 1958, the princess, together with the king, for the first time presided over a cabinet meeting. She is pictured with her father driving in an open coach from the Folketing to the palace (photo: Aue, Copenhagen).



Youngest queen in oldest monarchy. Queen Margrethe II (born April 16, 1940) succeeded her father, King Frederik IX, when he died January 15, 1972. She is married to French-born Prince Henrik (born June 11, 1934) and they have two boys, Crown Prince Frederik (born May 26, 1968) and Prince Joachim (born June 7, 1969).

Having been queen a year she told a press conference, held at one of the royal castles, that the monarch's duties were to her both an obligation and a gift: "I have been privileged to live a very rich life now. Gaining an insight into so many things and people in a manner never experienced before. It has been an immense unexpected thrill."



The official portrait of Queen Margrethe II



A recent stamp honoring Queen Margrethe II



Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik in formal dress



In 1976, Queen Margrethe II spoke at a dinner in her honor at the United Nations headquarters in New York City. She is seen here, second from right, during the visit, with Prince Henrik, Mrs. Kurt Waldheim, and UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.



The Royal Christiansborg Palace. Christiansborg Palace occupies a large part of the islet of Slotsholmen. Of the first great palace only the two pavilions near the Marble Bridge have survived, but this is a considerable baroque monument even by international standards. The only minor alteration is in the southern wing, where Christian VII incorporated a theater, now the Theater Museum. The extensive stables have marble pillars and cribs, and the original royal box has survived in the riding hall. The present palace, the third Christiansborg, is the seat of Parliament (the Folketing), the Supreme Court, and the Foreign Ministry, and here, too, royal audiences and banquets are held.

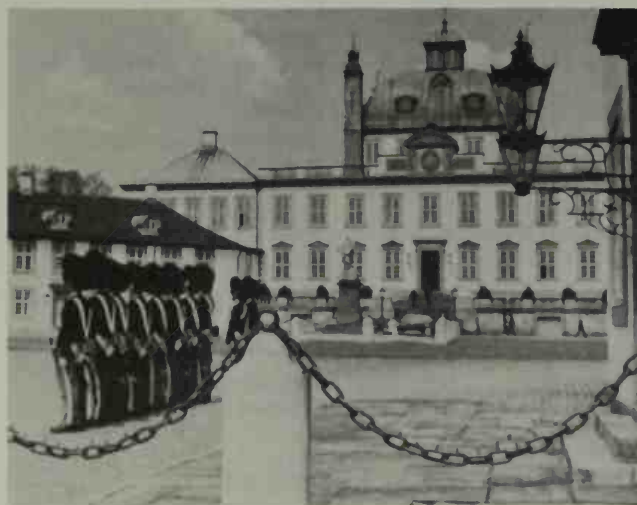


Prince Joachim and Crown Prince Frederik photographed in the park of the Palace Caix in France, August 1976

The throne room at Christiansborg Palace



In the spring and autumn the queen moves their residence to Fredensborg Palace in north Zealand. The oldest parts were built in the 1720s by J. C. Krieger, architect and landscape gardener, as a remarkably high-domed central section with an octagonal forecourt bounded by rather low wings.



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF DENMARK

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
70-55 B.C.	King	Odin of the North		55	
55-40	King	Skiold		40	
40-23	King	Fridlief I		23	
A.D. 23-35	King	Frode I		35	
35-47	King	Fridlief II		47	
47-59	King	Havar		59	
59-87	King	Frode II		87	
87-140	King	Vermund the Sage		140	
140-190	King	Olaf (Olav) the Mild		190	
190-270	King	Dan Mykillati		270	
270-310	King	Frode III, the Pacific		310	
310-324	King	Halfdan I		324	
324-348	King	Fridlief III		348	
348-407	King	Frode IV		407	
407-436	King	Ingild		436	
436-447	King	Halfdan II		447	
447-460	King	Frode V		460	
460-494	King	Helge and Roe		494	
494-510	King	Frode VI		510	
510-522	King	Rolf Krake		522	
522-548	King	Frode VII		548	
548-580	King	Halfdan III		580	
580-588	King	Rorik Slyngebaud		588	
588-647	King	Ivar Vidfadme		647	
647-735	King	Harold Hildetand		735	
735-750	King	Sigurd Ring		750	
750-794	King	Ragnar Lodbrok		794	
794-803	King	Sigurd (Sigfred) Snogoie		803	
803-810	King	Godfred		810	
803-850	King	Harde-Knud (Hardicanute) Canute I		850	
850-854	King	Eric I (Haarik)		854	
854-883	King	Eric II (Haarik)		883	
883-941	King	Gorm the Old		941	
941-991	King	Harold Blaatand, the Bluetooth		991	Son of Gorm the Old
991-1014	King	Sweyn I, the Splitbeard		1014	Son of Harold the Bluetooth
1014-1018	King	Harold		1018	Son of Sweyn I
1018-1035	King	Canute II, the Great	1001	1035	Son of Sweyn I
1035-1042	King	Harthacnut (Canute III)	1018	1044	Son of Canute II
1042-1047	King	Magnus the Good	1015	1047	Son of King Olaf (Norway)
1047-1074	King	Sweyn II Estrithson	1020	1074	Nephew of Canute II
1074-1080	King	Harold Hen	1046	1080	Son of Sweyn II
1080-1086	King	Canute IV, the Holy	1040	1086	Son of Sweyn II
1086-1095	King	Oluf I (Olaf), the Hungry	1042	1095	Son of Sweyn II
1095-1103	King	Eric I, the Evergood	1049	1103	Son of Sweyn II
1103-1134	King	Niels the Elder	1054	1134	Son of Sweyn II
1134-1137	King	Eric II Emune	1071	1137	Son of Eric I
1137-1146	King	Eric III Lam	1112	1146	
1146-1157	King	Sweyn III Grade	1114	1157	Son of Eric II
1157-1157	King	Knud III Magnussen	1135	1157	Son of Magnus Nielsen
1157-1182	King	Valdemar I	1131	1182	Son of Knud Lavard
1182-1202	King	Canute VI	1163	1202	Son of Valdemar I
1202-1241	King	Valdemar II Sejr, the Victorious	1170	1241	Son of Valdemar I
1241-1250	King	Eric IV, the Plowpenny	1216	1250	Son of Valdemar II
1250-1252	King	Abel	1218	1252	Son of Valdemar II
1252-1259	King	Christopher I	1219	1259	Son of Valdemar II
1259-1286	King	Eric V Klipping	1249	1286	Son of Christopher I
1286-1319	King	Eric VI Maendved	1274	1319	Son of Eric V
1319-1332	King	Christopher II	1276	1332	Son of Eric VI
1340-1375	King	Valdemar IV Atterdag	1320	1375	Son of Christopher II
1375-1387	King	Olaf II	1370	1387	Grandson of Valdemar IV; son of Haakon VI of Norway
1387-1412	Queen	Margrethe I	1353	1412	Daughter of Valdemar IV; consort of Haakon VI
1412-1439	King	Eric VII of Pomerania	1382	1459	Grandnephew of Margrethe I
1440-1448	King	Christopher III of Bavaria	1418	1448	Nephew of Eric VII
1448-1481	King	Christian I	1426	1481	Son of Count Dederik of Oldenburg and Deimenhorst
1481-1513	King	Hans	1455	1513	Son of Christian I
1513-1523	King	Christian II	1481	1559	Son of Hans

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1523-1533	King	Frederik I	1471	1533	Son of Christian I
1533-1559	King	Christian III	1503	1559	Son of Frederik I
1559-1588	King	Frederik II	1534	1588	Son of Christian III
1588-1648	King	Christian IV	1577	1648	Son of Frederik II
1648-1670	King	Frederik III	1609	1670	Son of Christian IV
1670-1699	King	Christian V	1646	1699	Son of Frederik III
1699-1730	King	Frederik IV	1671	1730	Son of Christian V
1730-1746	King	Christian VI	1699	1746	Son of Frederik IV
1746-1766	King	Frederik V	1723	1766	Son of Christian VI
1766-1808	King	Christian VII	1749	1808	Son of Frederik V
1808-1839	King	Frederik VI	1768	1839	Son of Christian VII
1839-1848	King	Christian VIII	1786	1848	Cousin of Frederik VI
1848-1863	King	Frederik VII	1808	1863	Son of Christian VIII
1863-1906	King	Christian IX	1818	1906	Son of William, duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderberg-Glucksborg
1906-1912	King	Frederik VIII	1843	1912	Son of Christian IX
1912-1947	King	Christian X	1870	1947	Son of Frederik VIII
1947-1972	King	Frederik IX	1899	1972	Son of Christian X
1972-	Queen	Margrethe II	1940		Daughter of Frederik IX



13

The Kingdom of Norway



A map of the Nordic countries

The history of man in Norway dates back some eight to ten thousand years, possibly more. The most ancient finds have been made along the coast of Finnmark and Møre. From the earliest times people kept to the coastal regions, making their living by hunting and fishing. During the third millennium B.C. (the early Neolithic age) however, agriculture slowly began to make itself evident, and gradually the interior of the country became colonized. From the Bronze Age (about 1500–500 B.C.) comes the first testimony of a social organization in Norway; huge sepulchral mounds tell the story of mighty men commanding the labor of others.

A KINGDOM DEVELOPS

The oldest form of a state government in the country probably dates from about the commencement of our chronological order. During the early centuries A.D. tribal races such as the Heids, Raums, and Ranrikings formed in the east of Norway small kingdoms, founded on common councils and sanctuaries. Somewhat later, the districts surrounding the Trondheimsfjord also apparently united into a single kingdom. During the period of the migration of nations (from about A.D. 400) the Hords and Rygers, coming by sea from the south to the west of Norway, forced the earlier inhabitants into submission. The small kingdoms in the east of the country subsequently met in common council and established commercial intercourse with the kingdoms along the coast.

The name *Norge*, or *Norvegr* (the northern way), signifying the coastal regions from Haalogaland to Vestfold, is encountered in a source more ancient than the political consolidation under Harald Fairhair (Haarfagre), the first recognized king of Norway.

Legend tells us that King Harald, son of Halfdan Svart (the Black), had sent ambassadors with a proposal of marriage to the Princess Gyda. But the fair maiden—so goes the story—turned him down. “Tell your master,” she said, “I, Gyda will not wed a king who has only a few poor territories to rule over. If he wants to win me, let him first rule all of Norway!”

The ambassadors recommended that he should take her by force. But the king, having listened to them quietly, said, “I like this maiden’s spirit. Furthermore, I wonder why I had not thought of this myself.” And he vowed not to cut his hair nor comb it until he became king of all Norway.

So he set out to conquer all the other earls and political rulers in Norway. It took several years and many battles, but finally, in 872, his task was complete. By this time his uncombed hair was such a wild sight that men called

him, Harald the Tousle-headed. He cut and combed it in a token of his victory, and it turned out so beautiful that ever after he was known as Harald Fairhair. And as the legend goes, he married the fair maiden, Princess Gyda.

Harald Fairhair reigned almost until his death in 934. He was a strong king, but the turbulent earls and vassal lords did not take very kindly to the heavy tariffs and taxes he made them pay. Many of them gathered their wealth and vassals and sailed for Iceland or Normandy and other lands where the Vikings were reported to be discovering, ravaging, and settling. In the same period, Harald took his warriors beyond his borders and conquered the Orkney and Shetland islands and the Hebrides. There he established Norwegian earls in control. Rich from the new conquests, the king had a splendid court, with many fine *skalds*, or bards, to sing of his glory.

Long before his death Harald's many sons were fighting among themselves as to who would succeed him. Harald's favorite son had been a fierce young Viking named Eric Bloodaxe, and he won out for he was designated king in Harald's will. The brothers, the landowning earls, and the people hated Eric and equally hated his "wicked" queen, Gunhild. In 934, when Eric's younger brother Haakon finally managed to overthrow the throne, the governing body, the *thing*, or assembly of the citizens, officially crowned him the king.

Eric fled to England and died a few years later. But his queen raised her sons to one day return to Norway and fight for their rightful place on the throne.

For a short time, Norway experienced a time of peace under Haakon the Good (934-61). He was a devout Christian and strove to wipe out heathen ways of his country. But hard as he tried, the people would not give up their ancient gods. Haakon soon gave up. He fell in battle, fighting against tremendous odds when the sons of Gunhild invaded Norway to regain their father's throne.

King Olaf Tryggvason (995-1000) is officially credited with converting Norway to Christianity. When he was a small child, Queen Gunhild had fled with him. Dressed like a beggar she'd traveled with young Olaf from farm to farm and then headed east over the border. But, once in Russia, they were sold into slavery. Many stories, fact and fiction, are told of Olaf's adventures there. He had next sailed long-oared Viking ships on expeditions to England and while there he had become a Christian. Finally he came back to Norway and won his throne from the earl Haakon. Because he was a legend returned, the people looked very kindly on him for he was from the house of Haakon the Good.

The fiery but clever Olaf was made of different stuff than Haakon the Good. He believed in Christianity with the same fierce zeal that later caused men to go on Crusades to fight the Turks in Palestine. The earls and the landowners objected to changing their country's faith

because they thought that Christianity would give the people too much freedom. He told them then to choose between being baptized or sacrificed to their god Odin. When confronted by them, he knocked over their principal statue of Odin with a heavy sword and then challenged them to accept Christ or fight him. None accepted his challenge and all of Norway was "converted" to Christianity. But the earls never forgave Olaf.

The revolting earls joined the Swedes and the Danes against Olaf. And as a result he died after fighting valiantly at the prow of his mighty dragon ship *Long Serpent*. When the battle was lost the king made a choice. Rather than be taken alive, he raised his heavy shield above his head and leaped into the water and, together with his armor, the weight soon sunk him out of sight.

Then for a time Norway was divided between Denmark and Sweden. But, in 1015, King Olaf Haraldson seized the throne.

No sooner was Olaf Tryggvason in his watery grave when Olaf Haraldson (his successor) had to attempt to convert Norway back to Christianity all over again, for the people had largely gone back to their old gods. This Olaf used much the same methods as the earlier Olaf had used, and used them very well indeed. He knew that if the earls and all of the people had the same religion it would make it easier to hold the nation together. Many revolted against him, as they had against the other Olaf. Then, to help them, the mighty King Canute of Denmark, who was also king of England, defeated Olaf and drove him out of Norway. Two years later Olaf came back at the head of a small army. He proved how sincere he was in his battle for "Christ" by sending away hundreds of badly needed soliders because they were not

King Olaf II Haraldson
(1016-30)





This tapestry of King Olaf and the three heathen gods depicts the king bringing Christianity to Norway. He was later canonized and is commonly referred to in history as Saint Olaf.



The wrongness of the law of the times that the sons of the king were to rule in parallel rests in the demise of King Eystein (1142–57), who was assassinated by a brother. This wooden statue of him is located in the Munkeliv monastery in Norway.



At left: The Norwegian kings have always been fond of boating. This allegorical fresco shows Saint Olaf in a race with Harold Hardrade (1047–56).

Christians. So when he fell (1030) in a hopeless battle, his brave death probably did much more to make people think well of him than all his strong-arm missionary work had done. The church made him Saint Olaf.

Misrule by Denmark quickly made the earls change their minds about not wanting Olaf. They invited his son Magnus to come and take his father's throne. Magnus was only ten at this time. He soon matured into a very able ruler and won from his grateful people the title of Magnus the Good (1035–1047). He was so just and

peace-loving that when his uncle Harald Sigurdson demanded half of the kingdom, Magnus let him be joint king to avoid another family brawl. His successor, Harald Hardrade (1047–66), was much more fierce and warlike than Magnus. Men called him Harald Hard-Ruler—but he left Norway stronger than he found it. He fell in battle in England, trying to conquer Harold, last of the Saxon kings.

The national unification under King Harald and his successors was a phase in the enormous expansion that

characterized the Viking period (about 800–1050). A marked increase in population provided the cause presumptive for the Norwegian raids on territories bordering the North Sea and, with them, partly the settlement of Norwegians in west European countries already inhabited (the British Isles and Normandy), and partly the acquisition of uncolonized areas (North Atlantic islands, Iceland, and Greenland). Simultaneously, however, both during and after the Viking period, an extensive settlement took place within Norway's own borders, especially in the inland districts of the east.

The political fusion of the country was by no means concluded under Harald Fairhair. In fact, it might be said that the period of consolidation did not cease until the fall of Olaf Haraldson at Stiklestad in 1030, and his canonization in the following year. Proceeding apace with the political consolidation effected by the previous generation was the Christianization of the people, or, more precisely, of the chieftains. With the death of Olaf,

Christianity emerged officially, and in the course of the eleventh century the church became permanently established throughout the country, gradually coming into possession by gift and purchase of considerable land property. At the same time the royal power was strengthened by alliance with the landowners, and class distinction became steadily more apparent. A minority of aristocrats displaced the freeholders, the majority of whom became leaseholders of the church, crown, or nobility. This vital change in social conditions did not proceed without violent clashes.

For a while there was tranquillity in Norway. During the reign of Olaf the Peaceful (1066–93) Norway had a long period of peace and prosperity.

King Eystein I (1103–22), the grandson of Olaf the Peaceful, was another beloved king. His brother, Sigurd the Crusader (1103–30), ruled with him and after him. Sigurd had been on a Crusade for he was an impetuous and haughty man. The peaceful Eystein was pressed to

King Magnus VI, the Lagabaeter (Lawmender), reigned from 1263 to 1280. He structured the laws of the land into a written code. While this took power from the thing (Storting) and the nobles there, it also created a new status, peasant nobility, by giving more power to wealthy farmers.



When King Haakon IV (1217–63) was a baby, the loyal party of Birchlegs feared that the child would be caught up in the civil war that was raging at the time in Norway (1204), so they spirited him away for safekeeping. He outlived the danger and came back to be one of the finest kings of Norway.

Two stamps commemorating King Magnus VI and the written code of laws



keep on good terms with him. But times were good during his reign and when he died the people mourned him.

It was to be a century and a decade more after his death before Norway was to know peace again. All that time, with only the briefest interruptions, civil wars raged among the royal blood who wanted the throne. The Norse law read that all the sons of a king had equal right to the throne. And it is not difficult to see that only men with much tact could rule jointly as had Olaf the Peaceful and Eystein I.

There arose one great and heroic figure, who in another time might have done much for Norway. This was King Sverre Sigurdson (1184–1202). Sverre's story is one of the most stirring of all the stories told in the old legends. As a youth he came out of the Faroe Islands, friendless and unknown, and put himself at the head of a band of ragamuffin rebels called the Birchlegs. Their name came from the fact that they could not afford anything but birchbark for shoes. For years they lived perilously in the mountains, an outlaw band like Robin Hood's. By amazing feats of heroism and skill, Sverre won every battle against all of his opponents and became king of Norway. He never had a chance to accomplish much with his throne, for bands of rebels kept forming and were forever trying to dethrone him. His enemies lied about him to the Pope until he was excommunicated. Once put out of the church, even the peasants (now Christians) who had been his friends, were pitted against him. The irony of it. The common people, who had raised him to power, were the ones he favored over the chieftains. Norway had become much more democratic under his rule.

Haakon the Old (1217–63), Sverre's grandson, managed at long last to end the century-long civil war. After trying desperately to keep the peace with him, Haakon had to fight one last pretender. He defeated him (1240) and was formally crowned with the blessing of the church. He was especially interested in architecture and put up many fine buildings. He brought the power of Norway among the nations to the highest point it had ever reached before or since. The emperor Frederick II was his devoted friend, and Haakon gave his daughter in marriage to a Spanish prince, Philip of Castile.

During the second half of the twelfth century the temporal aristocracy became a feudal nobility, and in the course of the thirteenth century this form of government was firmly established. The most prominent chieftains (the Royal Council) sided with the king; relations with the church were regulated by means of a concordat (1277); the right of succession to the throne was agreed upon, and a common legal code for the whole country was adopted (about 1270). It was during this period that Iceland and Greenland submitted to Norwegian rule, whereas the Suderoys were lost (1266).

Haakon's son Magnus (1263–80) won the name of

Lawmender by reforming the Norse laws. In a way this was a good deed, but it took away from the *thing's* power to pass on laws and made Norway much less free and democratic—more like the feudal lands to the south. At the same time certain wealthy farmers began to win more and more power till they became a sort of peasant nobility. During this reign Norway lost some of the Scottish islands, and her power among the nations began to wane. During the next two reigns it waned even further, especially because of commercial quarrels with the powerful Hanseatic League of German cities. When Haakon V Longlegs (1299–1319) died, the male line of Harald Fairhair came to an end.

This, as it turned out, meant the end of Norway as a separate independent kingdom for nearly six hundred years.

Already in the eleventh century the church had promoted the development of several towns; others owed their origin and rise to commerce. Among the latter, Bergen was in a class by itself. In the twelfth century the town had become the trading center for the fisheries of north Norway and a haven for merchant ships from many countries. A determining factor in the relations with foreign countries arose in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Norway found herself dependent upon imports for her supplies of grain. Such imports, however, could only take place from states adjoining the Baltic and the sole means of communication with them lay in the hands of the Hanseatic merchants upon whom, as was evident in a war about 1285, Norway had become entirely dependent.

Before 1300 the Hanseatic merchants had secured their most important privileges in the country. A national reaction against this German commercial hegemony during the ensuing decades proved of no avail, with the result that, before the royal line became extinct in 1319 with the death of King Haakon V, and the country merged into Scandinavian unions, the economic foundation necessary for Norway's independence had been weakened. In her need for grain, and in her dependence upon the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic, may be seen the most important premise for the decline of Norway in the latter part of the Middle Ages. The decline was thus due to a particular problem in national life. Grave consequences also ensued when, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the people were afflicted with the black death. The loss of lives was enormous.

THE UNION OF SCANDINAVIA

The most natural person to elect as a successor to the Norwegian throne was the son of Haakon's daughter, King Magnus Eriksson II of Sweden. Then Norway and Sweden, until 1380, had one king between them. In that year Denmark, also, came into the union. Norway had drifted into a union with Denmark which was to bring

them nothing but misfortune. From the first, the formal treaty in 1397 which set up the Kalmar Union had Denmark as the head of it. This was because Queen Margrethe, who created the union, lived in Denmark. After her death, the Danish kings gave little attention to the welfare of Norway. And in 1537 Christian III made Norway into a mere province of Denmark.

So history records the story of the kings and wars and great events of these centuries as the story of Denmark, not that of Norway. And Denmark had a way of paying for her own defeats in war by giving away parts of Norway. In this fashion the last of Norway's foreign possessions slipped away, and parts of Norway proper were passed over to Sweden.

Trade languished and Norway became poorer and poorer. The peasants, used to expressing their ideas fearlessly in the *things*, found foreign officials over them who tried to grind them down as the serfs of the land. And when they appealed to the king, he was too busy with Danish affairs to bother with them. An uprising in 1436 brought a promise of reform, but the promises were not kept. A treaty in 1450 promised a separate Norse legislature, but this promise, too, was not to be kept. When the Protestant revolt against the Catholic church came, Norway was converted to Lutheranism by force, though the new Protestant clergy were at first so few and so ignorant that many of the Catholic priests had to be retained for a while. In the latter half of the 1500s the plague—which had carried off a third of the population two hundred years before—again swept through Norway.

Following the economic decline, political consequences made themselves seriously felt when, toward the end of the fourteenth century, the three northern kingdoms had become united under Queen Margrethe's centralized rule. To an increasing extent alien nobles now became chatelains in Norway, bishoprics were similarly held by foreigners, and state revenues flowed from the country. In 1449 Sweden broke away from the union, but Norway continued with Denmark from 1450, by virtue

of a special treaty of union, drafted in Danish and serving Danish interests. In 1496 the Orkneys and Shetlands were lost to Norway, and when under the leadership of Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektson, the country rose against Danish dominance, the State Council of Denmark resolved that Norway, in the future, should cease to exist as a separate kingdom (1536). It was by a foreign dictate that the Reformation was introduced into Norway, and with the fall of the Catholic episcopacy the last national entrenchment fell, Norway being henceforth a mere vassal of Denmark.

THE RISE OF MODERN NORWAY

The sixteenth century, however, precluded a new era of prosperity for Norway. The forests, which during the Middle Ages had been of minor significance, now became the most important source of national wealth, owing to the increasing demand in west Europe for timber products. Exports increased voluminously during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and until the second half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the most important shippers. In the seventeenth and particularly during the eighteenth century, however, Norway's own shipping grew to displace the foreigners in the transport of goods to and from Norwegian shores. Progress continued, and before the year 1800 Norwegian vessels were even trading between foreign ports.

Gradually, with the razing of forests in the coastal regions of east Norway, the timber had to be floated down from inland areas, with the consequence that exports became confined to fewer places and left in fewer hands. From Ryfylke (Rogaland) to the Swedish frontier this gave rise to the foundation of a number of towns at river mouths, while increasing the importance of the older market towns. A new class of prosperous townspeople, mainly immigrants, acquired the principal profits of the timber trade; they acquired the sawmills and, in addition, frequently engaged in navigation and ship owning, some also amassing wealth as iron founders, an industry which in this period played an important role in the economic life of the country.

In Bergen, which was the main entry of grain for the north of Norway, the Hanseatic merchants maintained their established power longer than elsewhere in northern and western Europe, but here also they were gradually displaced by Norwegian citizens, partly by the naturalization of Germans permanently domiciled and married into Norwegian families.

As in all European countries, the new commercial activity about 1500 had the effect in Denmark-Norway of promoting the power of the state. The increasing customs' revenues benefited the crown, which consequently became less dependent upon the feudal lords. A modern



King Christian II (1513–23) lived to be seventy-eight years of age. This is a contemporary painting of him. He succeeded to the thrones of Norway and Denmark in 1513, and by force of arms also recovered the crown of Sweden.



King Christian V (1670-99) is remembered in history as the Norwegian king who tried to put a stop to superstition and the burning of witches at the stake, but he did much to advance society by putting into motion a new set of modern laws.



King Frederik IV (1699-1730), the Danish king who more than any other caused the people's rebellion against rule by Denmark because he showed his gratitude for the Norwegian warriors (who had defeated the invading Swedes) by selling off their trading rights.



King Christian VI (1730-46) did little or nothing to stop the growing resentment against outside rule.



King Frederik V (1746-66). During his reign the Norwegian peasants rebelled successfully against excess taxes.

bureaucracy took the place of the old feudal system, a development concluded in 1660 by the institution of the Royal Autocracy. A joint central administration for both kingdoms was now created, Denmark and Norway being governed as one state. Nevertheless, contributing to their geographical separation was Denmark's loss of the Skånean provinces about 1660 and Norway's loss of Bohuslän, Jemtland, and Herjedalen, all of which became parts of Sweden. Moreover, the new Norwegian merchant patriciate were, in their activities, little concerned with Denmark, which promoted the interests of Copenhagen at the expense of Norwegian towns.

With the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648) conditions slowly began to improve. This king actually took the trouble to visit Norway and see what was going on there. Mines were opened and new towns were built. Christian's successor, Frederik III (1648-70), gained more power over his nobles, and this worked to the advantage of the common people. The next king, Christian V (1670-99), put in force a new set of laws, some of which still stand.

But it was during this period that part of Norway had been given to Sweden (in 1645 and 1658). And when, in 1715, the Norwegians rose in heroic resistance to the invasion of the impetuous warrior Charles XII, king of Sweden, and defeated him, Frederik IV (1699-1730) gave them little thanks for it. He sold the rights to Norwegian trade and church offices to private parties, and in this way gave the nobles power to oppress the people. During the reign of Frederik V (1746-66) the peasants

Signature of Christian VI as it appeared on official documents

rebelled successfully against excess taxes. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and the ideas of freedom for which Norway had always stood began to be voiced everywhere in the country.

TWO KINGDOMS

The conflicting interests of the two kingdoms became strikingly apparent during the Napoleonic wars. The Danish hostilities with England affected Norway very adversely and brought to a conclusion the period of remarkable prosperity which the country had experienced

from 1793 to 1807. The demand for a separate Norwegian foreign policy was not accordingly raised and was, in fact, met during the years 1809 to 1812, when communication between the two kingdoms was severed by the English-Swedish blockade. The Danish alliance with France led to the dissolution of the Danish-Norwegian union. By the peace treaty of Kiel, January 14, 1814, Norway was ceded to Sweden, whereas the ancient Norwegian tributary countries, Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands, were retained by Denmark.

During the war, in 1813, Charles Frederick, the heir to the Dane-Norwegian throne, arrived in Norway as viceroy. When the peace treaty of Kiel became known in Norway, he contemplated his proclamation as absolute monarch but, acting on the advice of leading Norwegians, he recognized the sovereignty of the people and promised to summon a constituent assembly. The assembly met at Eidsvoll on April 10, 1814, and had concluded its labors by May 17, when the Constitutional Law was signed and Charles Frederick was elected king. The new constitution was based upon a division of power between the royal authority, on the one hand, and the representatives of the people (the Storting), on the other. The work of establishing the constitution had been carried through without disturbance from abroad, but upon the conclusion of the campaign against Napoleon the Swedes demanded the observance of the Kiel treaty. The great powers sided with Sweden, but Norway refused to yield. War accordingly broke out on July 27 but was over by August 14. An armistice was concluded and the Convention of Moss was signed. The convention stipulated the summoning of an extraordinary Storting, in order to pass legislation sanctioning the union of Norway with Sweden; the Constitutional Law of Eidsvoll was to remain in force; but Charles XIII Frederick was to abdicate and leave the country. The union was approved by the Storting on November 4, and in 1815 the relevant conditions were the subject of a separate agreement (Act of Union).

MODERN BUREAUCRACY

Primarily it was due to the bureaucratic class that the work at Eidsvoll was concluded; the resistance made by the civil servants to the union with Sweden was due to the powerful position they held in Norway, and in order to protect its own status, the bureaucratic majority in the Storting, during the years immediately following 1814, rejected all attempts on the part of the king, Charles XIV John (1818-44), to strengthen the royal power and to extend the common interests of the union. A merging of the civil services of the two countries could only have been carried out at the expense of the Norwegian officials.

The depression which began in 1807 made itself strongly felt after 1814. The development of the new state institutions entailed heavy expenditure, and taxa-

tion accordingly became a great burden. The political movement which the French July Revolution occasioned also in Norway led to strong agitation among the farmers against a bureaucratic government, and demands were raised for a reduction in state expenditure, restrictions on departmental management, and for the institution of municipal self-government. The last mentioned was introduced in 1837. In 1833, for the first time, the farmers had a majority in the Storting, but it was not maintained for many years, and with the advent of better times toward the end of the 1830s, their demands for reductions became less acute.

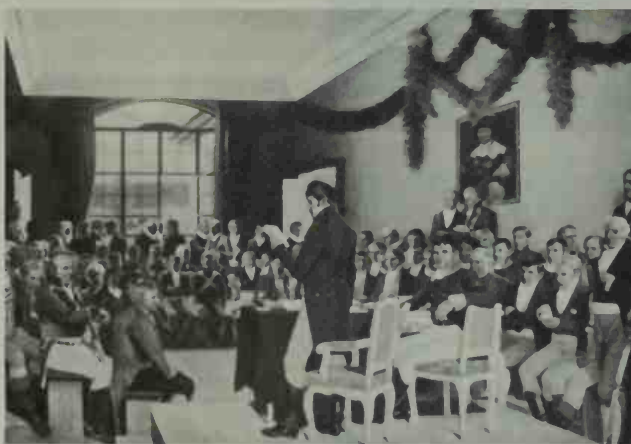
Christian VII's official signature as king

Christian R.



King Frederick VI (1808-14) served as the joint ruler from 1808 and after Norway declared away from Denmark, the king continued to serve as the king of Denmark from 1814 until his death in 1839.

The men of Eidsvoll in a country mansion of that name just north of Oslo, on May 17, 1814, completed the Norwegian constitution. It is one of the most remarkable of modern times. Its first paragraph reads "The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible and inalienable kingdom. Its form of government is a limited and hereditary monarchy."



In Norway, as elsewhere, a movement now set in toward a liberalistic industrial legislation, the foremost spokesman of which was A. M. Schweigaard, and, at the same time, internal communications were being developed under the direction of Father Stang. The economic expansion enhanced class distinction, and the French February Revolution of 1848 produced a Norwegian political labor movement with M. Thrane as its leader. This movement found special support among the rural laborers, but its demand for universal suffrage was rejected by the Storting.

During the second half of the nineteenth century a profound internal political transformation took place and in the Storting two distinctly separate groups came to be formed—one, a conservative party supporting the bureaucratic government in power; the other, an opposition in definite antagonism. The leader of the latter, and larger party was John Sverdrup. A resolution of 1869 for an annual Storting (as against the previous triennial)

contributed to the strengthening of the Storting at the expense of the king and government, and it was attempted to promote this tendency still further by the Storting's Resolution of 1872, regarding the access of ministers of state to the debates of the Storting. The government, believing that this would mean the complete adoption of parliamentarism and the abandonment of the principle of the division of power as laid down in the constitution, procured a refusal of sanction. This was the prelude to a bitter struggle between the two governing bodies, the issue being whether the Storting had the right, constitutionally and of its own accord without the cooperation of the crown, to amend the constitution (the so-called Veto issue). The political conflict culminated in the ruling given by the High Court of the Realm in 1884, whereby the members of the cabinet were deprived of their offices. After a short transitional period the king was obliged, in 1884, to appoint a cabinet with Sverdrup as its head. A change of system had thus taken place: the

Oscar

Oscar I's signature



Oscar II (1872-1905) had closer ties with Sweden, so he discouraged movements toward independence. But in 1905, the Storting announced that the union with Sweden would be dissolved.



The document from the Norwegian Storting is read by King Christian IX, November 20, 1905. It states a desire for independence but offers the throne to the Danish Prince Charles, who would become King Haakon VII of Norway.



King Haakon and Queen Maud as the prince and princess of Denmark



King Haakon VII with the crown prince arrives in Norway.

personal power of the king had come to an end and the Storting had become the decisive governing body.

With the greatest anxiety this development had been followed in Sweden where, with all good reason, a weakening of the union was feared. As early as the 1850s the Storting had claimed equality for Norway, and from then onward to 1905 the attitude to be adopted toward Sweden received steadily increasing prominence in Norwegian politics. Not least of the reasons for the fall of the Sverdrup ministry, in 1888, was its obscure attitude on this question. The Left party (founded in 1884) split in 1887, as a result of its cultural and ecclesiastical polity (the Radical Left and Moderate Left wings).

During the reign of Oscar I (1844–59) Norway won the right to use her own national flag and started to work for separate consuls in foreign countries. In 1905 the Norwegian ministry resigned against the protest of the king, Oscar II (1872–1905), and announced that the union ought to be dissolved altogether.



The official coronation photograph of King Haakon and Queen Maud

The coronation of King Haakon at Trondheim Cathedral. The crown is placed on his head.



It was put to a vote among the Norwegian people; for since 1898 all the grown men among them had had the right to vote. The referendum was counted 368,208 for independence and only 184 against it! The Danish prince Charles was chosen as king, and crowned as Haakon VII. Since then Norway is listed among the independent nations.

Sverdrup's successor was Smil Stang, the organizer of the Conservative party (founded in 1884) as a parliamentary and democratic people's party. The conservative government fell in 1891, on its proposals for a solution of the union conflict, and the Radical Left took office with J. Steen as prime minister. In 1893, upon the refusal of the king to sanction the Storting's resolution in favor of a separate Norwegian consular service, Stang again formed a government. The prominence of a claim for a separate consular service was due to the demands made by the growing Norwegian shipping. A coalition cabinet was formed in 1895 under F. Hagerup, and the Storting resolved to commence negotiations with Sweden with a view to the reorganization of the entire diplomatic and consular service. The negotiations, however, fell through and the Liberals again assumed office under Steen. In 1902 fresh negotiations were commenced for a separate consular service under a joint Foreign Office, and with this as his program, Hagerup in 1903 again formed a coalition government. The proposals put forward by Sweden, however, proved altogether unacceptable and Hagerup had to make way for a coalition government under Christian Michelsen (March 1905).

An act establishing a separate Norwegian consular service was unanimously passed by the Storting but did not meet with royal sanction (May 27). As King Oscar II refused to accept the resignation of the government, the cabinet, on June 7, put their portfolios in the hands of the Storting. The Storting, however, requested the cabinet to retain office and thereupon declared the union with Sweden dissolved.

THE UNION CONFLICT

Concurrent with the union conflict, a mighty economic expansion in the domains of shipping, commerce, industry, agriculture, and breeding fish was taking place. The development of industry considerably attracted the rural population, and agriculture thus became commercialized. Class distinction in the country districts decreased and the number of freeholds increased. In the towns, on the contrary, class distinction became enhanced as a result of the growth of industrial capitalism.

In 1887 industrial workers founded their own party, but they had at an earlier date started to organize in trade unions. The first demand put forward by the Norwegian Labor party was for universal suffrage which, with the assistance of the Liberal party, was granted for men in 1898, but not until 1913 for women.



Queen Maud reads a fairy tale to Olaf, the crown prince.



A commemorative stamp for Queen Maud, who died in 1938. She was the daughter of King Edward VII of England.

The party collaboration seen in 1905 did not continue. With the consolidation of the Liberal party (1906-7) its moderate wing broke away and, in 1909, formed the Independent Liberal party, which until 1927 was conservatively inclined. The Labor party, which in 1905 played no part of importance and was not represented in the Storting until 1903, thereupon grew considerably and became, in 1938, the largest party in the kingdom. Influenced by the events in Russia, the revolutionary wing triumphed in 1918 and it was not before 1921 that the Social Democrats broke away. In 1923 the Labor party severed relations with the Third International and this led the same year to the formation of a separate Communist party. The latter, however, rapidly lost its influence. In 1927 the Social Democrats rejoined the Labor party. In 1920 the Agrarian party was formed, the fourth of the large political fusions in Norway.

For a great part of the time subsequent to 1905, the Liberal party held office or, at all events, determined the political course of the country. The first important issue the party dealt with was foreign capital in respect of the exploration of the natural resources of the country.

THE WORLD WARS

In Norway, the period from 1905 until World War I was characterized by prosperity, increasing industrialism, and rising prices, a tendency which was accelerated during the war. The economic situation during the war led to an enormous rise in shipping revenue. Industry attracted all available labor and the difficult conditions governing imports stimulated agriculture and encouraged the breaking of fresh soil. Under the leadership of Gunnar Knudsen, the Liberal party, supported by a

compact majority in the Storting, carried through a comprehensive regulation of prices and rationing of food-stuffs. To avoid labor conflicts, a law for compulsory mediation was passed in 1916 and, at the same time, social legislation became more comprehensive.

The policy adopted in connection with maintaining neutrality during this critical period entailed a heavy increase in the national debt.

In 1921, with the end of this boom period, there set in, as everywhere else, a marked and prolonged period of depression involving curtailment in industry, permanent unemployment, and numerous labor conflicts.

The international depression after 1929, however, hit Norway less severely than many other countries, due to the relatively marked variation in Norwegian production. Nonetheless, the fall in prices, in conjunction with the monetary fluctuations, had unfortunate consequences in agricultural circles. The situation thus brought about induced, in the spring of 1935, the political alliance between the Agrarians and the Labor party which resulted in the forming of a Labor government.

The most important political task of the government was to combat unemployment, and this resulted in a marked increase in national expenditure. The increased sums that were voted for national defense, which were a result of the international tension prevailing in the late 1930s, had a similar effect. As it turned out, these grants were made too late. Because of a policy of neutrality, which had the support of all parties, the years following World War I in Norway were marked by a far-reaching program of disarmament that was to have tragic conse-

The marriage photograph of Crown Prince Olaf and Princess Martha of Sweden, March 21, 1929. The best man was the duke of York, later to become the king of England.



The Germans invaded Denmark and Norway in April 1940. This is King Haakon and Crown Prince Olaf just prior to leaving for England with the cabinet and their families, a few days before the Germans entered Oslo.





Vidkun Quisling, the World War II prime minister placed in control by the German government during the occupation. On a 1942 stamp.

King Haakon and Crown Prince Olaf in their home near London where they resided during World War II while they led the Norwegian government-in-exile.



King Haakon and the royal family return to Oslo on June 7, 1945.

quences in April 1940. It would thus be wrong to place all the blame for Norway's lack of preparedness on the Labor government, especially when reminded that Norway was entirely dependent on the import of finished munitions of war to be able to carry out her armament program.

On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded Norway. There was fighting in southern Norway until May 5, and in northern Norway until June 7. The king (Haakon VII), the crown prince, and the government left the country with the Storting and continued the fight from England.

After a short period of coalition government in 1945,

the first postwar elections gave the Labor party a majority in the Storting, and during a number of succeeding elections the party continued to poll more than half of the votes cast. In 1961, however, the Labor party obtained only 74 of the 150 mandates to the Storting. After a heated debate in the summer of 1963, chiefly concentrated on questions of industrial policy of the Labor government, this administration was defeated in the Storting, and a coalition government of the four non-Socialist opposition parties, headed by Mr. John Lyng (Conservative), was formed. But barely four weeks later a new Labor government took power.

GOVERNMENT

In the general elections of 1965, the non-Socialist parties won a majority of seats and formed a coalition government, headed by Per Borten (Center party).

The issue of Norwegian membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) contributed to a government crisis that led to the resignation of the cabinet of Prime Minister Per Borten on March 2, 1971, followed by the return of the Labor party to government power. For the same issue the Labor party lost control in September 1972, but in the elections of 1973 and 1977, it became the minority party in charge of government.

The government is dependent upon the majority of the Storting, and it is compelled to carry out its functions by means of the help of the permanent employees of the bureaucracy. The government, however, will still be able to exert considerable influence on the general course of events through its day-to-day operations.

The head of the government is the prime minister, and the next after him in rank is considered to be the foreign minister. The prime minister's primary role is that of coordinating the functions of the cabinet ministers, drawing up the basic policy lines and ensuring that these are followed. In connection with the present-day intense international involvement, he also represents the country to a considerable extent, in addition to the foreign minister. Among other things, the premiers of the Nordic countries meet from time to time to consider questions of common interest. The prime minister is also a central figure in connection with the government's contact with officialdom, in that he, *inter alia*, gives press conferences where he issues statements and where the representatives of the press are able to question him.

The cabinet normally meets in the king's presence every Friday. In addition, there are informal meetings between the government members, preferably a couple of times a week. Matters are discussed at these meetings which, among other things, require interdepartmental cooperation in order to carry them out. Such matters have increased in number during recent years by virtue of the state having assumed heavier tasks and responsi-

bilities, and the various spheres of social life having become more dependent upon each other.

THE KING AND THE ROYAL FAMILY

King Olaf V, born in 1903, has reigned since 1957, when he succeeded his father Haakon VII, who had sat on the throne since 1905. The king symbolizes the unity of the country. He presides over the cabinet, but has otherwise no political function. When necessary he may intervene if the apportionment of elected representatives from the various parties makes it uncertain which of the parties should be called upon to form an administration that would be able to cooperate with the Storting.

King Olaf is the commander in chief of the country's armed forces. Today this is of mere symbolic significance, although the right was actually invoked during World War II. The king can use his right of veto to suspend legislation. He is the head of the Church of Norway, to which he himself and at least half of his cabinet must belong. In law, the king can do no wrong. He cannot be censored or indicted. The throne is hereditary, succession being in direct male descending line.

King Olaf was married to Martha, princess of Sweden, who died in 1954. The marriage resulted in three children, the princesses Ragnhild and Astrid, who are married to Norwegian commoners, and Crown Prince Harold, born 1937 and married in 1968 to a Norwegian commoner, Miss Sonja Haraldsen. Crown Prince Harold and Crown Princess Sonja have two children, Princess Martha Louise, born 1971, and Prince Haakon Magnus, born 1973. Their residence is at Skaugum, some kilometers west of Oslo, while King Olaf remains at the Oslo palace in the center of the capital.

Crown Prince Olav of Norway visits the United Nations building in New York City in 1950 and meets with Secretary-General Trygve Lie, right.



A commemorative stamp for King Haakon VII, 1905-57.



The blessing of the new king in the Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim. In 1958, Prince Olaf succeeded his father, King Haakon VII, to the Norwegian throne.



The official portrait of King Olaf V. The functions of the king are mainly ceremonial, although he has influence as the symbol of national unity. Though the present constitution grants important executive powers to the king, these are almost always exercised by the Council of Ministers in the name of the king (King in Council). The Council of Ministers consists of the prime minister, chosen by the political parties that enjoy the confidence of Parliament, and other ministers.

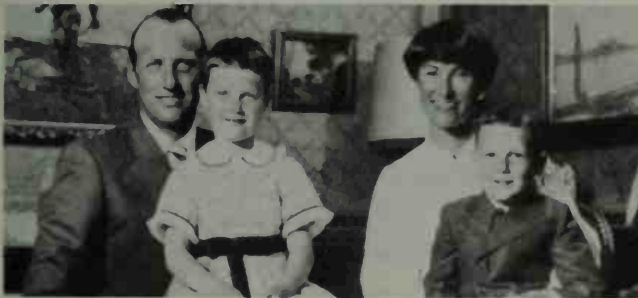
King Olav V leaving the Security Council Chamber with Secretary-General U Thant, right, after a speech made to the General Assembly during a visit to the UN headquarters in 1968.



King Olav V visits the United Nations building again, in 1975, and addresses the General Assembly on an important issue. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is on his left.



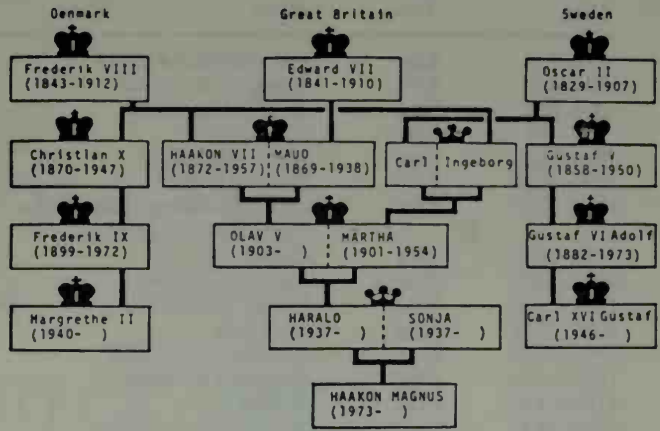
Norwegian stamps honoring King Olav V



Norway's royal family lives at Skaugum, west of Oslo. Here we see Crown Prince Harald, left, with Princess Martha Louise on his knee, and, right, Crown Princess Sonja with Prince Haakon Magnus.



The crown prince Harald and the coat of arms



This genealogy chart shows the interrelationships among the Norwegian and other European royal families.

Norway today



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY

Reign	Title	Ruler	Birth	Death	Relationship
	King	Olaf Traetelia		640	
	King	Halfdan Huitben		700	
	King	Eystein		730	
	King	Halfdan Milde		784	
	King	Gudrod Mikillati		824	
	King	Olaf Geirstada		840	
	King	Halfdan Svart		863	
872-930	King	Harald Fairhair (Harold I)	849	934	Grandson of Harold Goldenbeard, ruler of Sogne

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
930-934	King	Eric I Bloodaxe (Erik)		940	Son of Harold I
934-961	King	Haakon I, the Good	913	961	Son of Harold I
961-977	King	Harold II Graypelt	929	977	Son of Eric I
977-995	King	Earl Haakon	937	995	Son of Haakon I
995-1000	King	Olaf I Tryggvason	969	1000	
1000-1016	Kings	Eric and Sveyn			Sons of Earl Haakon
1016-1030	King	Olaf II Haraldson (Saint Olaf— canonized in 1164)	995	1030	
1030-1035	King	Canute the Great	1001	1035	Son of Sweyn I, the Splitbeard
1035-1047	King	Magnus I, the Good	1015	1047	Son of Saint Olaf
1047-1066	King	Harold III Hardrade	1015	1066	Descendant of Harold I
1055-1066	King	Magnus II	1035	1066	Son of Harold III
1066-1093	King	Olaf III, the Peaceful		1093	Son of Harold III
1093-1103	King	Magnus II Barefoot	1073	1103	Son of Olaf III
1103-1122	King	Eystein I	1089	1122	Son of Magnus II
1103-1130	King	Sigurd I, the Crusader	1090	1130	Son of Magnus II
1130-1135	King	Magnus III, the Blind	1115	1139	Son of Sigurd I
1130-1136	King	Harold IV Gilchrist	1104	1136	
1136-1161	King	Inge I		1161	Son of Harold IV
1136-1161	King	Sigurd II Mund	1134	1155	Son of Harold IV
1142-1157	King	Eystein II		1157	Son of Harold IV
1161-1162	King	Haakon II	1147	1162	Son of Sigurd II
1163-1184	King	Magnus IV	1156	1184	Son of Erling Skakke
1184-1202	King	Sverre	1152	1202	Son of Sigurd II
1204-1204	King	Haakon III Sverreson		1204	
1204-1217	King	Inge Baardson			
1217-1263	King	Haakon IV	1204	1263	Son of Haakon III
1263-1280	King	Magnus VI, the Lawmender	1238	1280	Son of Haakon IV
1280-1299	King	Eric II (Erik)	1268	1299	Son of Magnus VI
1299-1319	King	Haakon V Longlegs	1270	1319	Son of Magnus VI
1319-1355	King	Magnus VII	1316	1374	Grandson of Haakon V
1355-1380	King	Haakon VI	1339	1380	Son of Magnus VII

KINGS OF NORWAY AND DENMARK 1380-1814

1380-1387	King	Olaf IV	1370	1387	Son of Haakon VI
1387-1412	Queen	Margrethe	1353	1412	Mother of Olaf IV; consort of Haakon VI
1389-1442	King	Eric III of Pomerania	1382	1459	Grandnephew of Margrethe
1442-1448	King	Christopher III of Bavaria	1418	1448	Nephew of Eric III
1448-1481	King	Christian I	1426	1481	Son of Dederik, count of Oldenburg
1481-1513	King	Hans I	1455	1513	Son of Christian I
1513-1523	King	Christian II	1481	1559	Son of Hans
1523-1533	King	Frederik I	1471	1533	Son of Christian I
1533-1559	King	Christian III	1503	1559	Son of Frederik I
1559-1588	King	Frederik II	1534	1588	Son of Christian III
1588-1648	King	Christian IV	1577	1648	Son of Frederik II
1648-1670	King	Frederik III	1609	1670	Son of Christian IV
1670-1699	King	Christian V	1646	1699	Son of Frederik III
1699-1730	King	Frederik IV	1671	1730	Son of Christian V
1730-1746	King	Christian VI	1699	1746	Son of Frederik IV
1746-1766	King	Frederik V	1723	1766	Son of Christian VI
1766-1808	King	Christian VII	1749	1808	Son of Frederik V
1808-1814	King	Frederik VI	1768	1839	Son of Christian VII

KINGS OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN 1814-1905

1814-1818	King	Charles XIII (Carl)	1748	1818	Son of Adolphus Frederick
1818-1844	King	Charles XIV John (Bernadotte)	1763	1844	
1844-1859	King	Oscar I	1799	1859	Son of Carl XIV
1859-1872	King	Charles XV	1826	1872	Son of Oscar I
1872-1905	King	Oscar II	1829	1907	Son of Oscar I

1905—Norway became an independent kingdom.

KINGS OF NORWAY

1905-1957	King	Haakon VII	1872	1957	Son of Frederik VIII of Denmark
1957-	King	Olaf V (Olav)	1903		Son of Haakon VII



14

The Kingdom of Sweden



Map of early Sweden and her neighbors

We now know that the southernmost parts of Sweden began to emerge from the Ice Age about 12,000 B.C. This is the oldest date in Swedish history and perhaps the oldest dependable one in the history of the world.

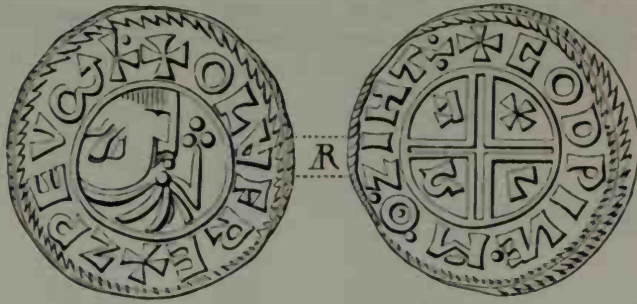
The primitive tribes who followed the ice as it withdrew northward carried on the first and decisive struggle for a settlement on Swedish soil. They were helped by inventions and discoveries which make those of later times fade in importance: fire employed to serve human beings; the art of making tools from flint and bowls from clay; taming of the first domestic animals; cultivation of crops. About 3000 B.C. agriculture was begun. Imposing tombs made with huge blocks of stone enable us to trace the spread of this early peasant culture.

Copper and bronze became known about 1500 B.C.



"Ship-settings" are an impressive feature of certain burial grounds from the Migration Period. The largest ship-setting in Sweden, the Ale Stones (not unlike Stonehenge), is located at Kaseberga on the south coast of the province of Skåne.

The Bronze Age can be studied through the richly decorated weapons of the chieftains as well as in ornaments preserved in the earth, and in the stone carvings that depict fertility rites. Common and extensive use of a metal in this early civilization was not possible until relations with countries to the south had acquainted the northerners with iron, which they learned to extract from bog ore found on the bottom of lakes and marshes; on the other hand, it was impossible for them to work deposits of rock ore. During the first centuries A.D. the provinces around Lake Mälaren and the Suiones, or Svear, residing there began to assume their leading position. The first recorded mention of the Suiones, who were to give the whole country its name, is found in the *Germania* written by the Roman historian Tacitus in A.D. 98. Cultivation of the land was accelerated with the help of iron and because the farmers joined together in village teams that shared the work. These villages are still in existence, and the names they received during those early years are still in use.



Silvermynt coin of King Olaf Skottkonung

King Birger II Magnusson



King John I (Johan) Sverkersson (1216-22)

Noble King Birger II, 1317



Silvermynt coin of King Anund Jacob, 1022-50



A recently uncovered wall painting of King Magnus Ladulas

THE VIKING AGE AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The comparative isolation of Scandinavia was not broken until the Viking age (A.D. 700-1000), when intrepid travelers brought back foreign goods and knowledge, new methods and new thoughts, in short, the contributions of more southerly civilizations. The coastal regions around and north of present-day Stockholm were the base of Viking power and the starting point for great forays and trading expeditions—sometimes involving hundreds of ships—to the east. Whether as plunderers or merchants—and no clear distinction appears to have been made—the Vikings kept up the contact between Sweden and the east (Russia, Constantinople) and Sweden and western Europe, including the British Isles and Ireland. The latter countries were the favorite goals of the men from southern Sweden who joined with Danish and Norwegian Vikings, then their countrymen, in pillage, trade, or conquest.

Calmer centuries followed the Viking expeditions and their tremendous display of energy. Eastern contacts ceased, and Sweden turned instead to the west and the south. Christianity gradually made headway with the aid of missions sent from England and northern Germany. Churches were built, first of wood, then of stone. Several hundreds of the latter from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries still stand. Sweden was incorporated in the huge organization of the Roman Catholic church.

At the same time, the realm became more firmly established; it included Finland and all of modern Sweden, except the provinces of Bohuslän, Blekinge, Halland, and Skåne. Rival dynasties did not succeed in breaking the fundamental unity, definite procedures for electing the rulers were established, and a council, drawn from the foremost families of the country, took its place by the king's side. Villages were expanded and new ones founded; in each century the frontier was pushed a little farther into the wilderness. During the thirteenth century the provincial statutes were compiled in law books which remain unique in their age and clarity. By these

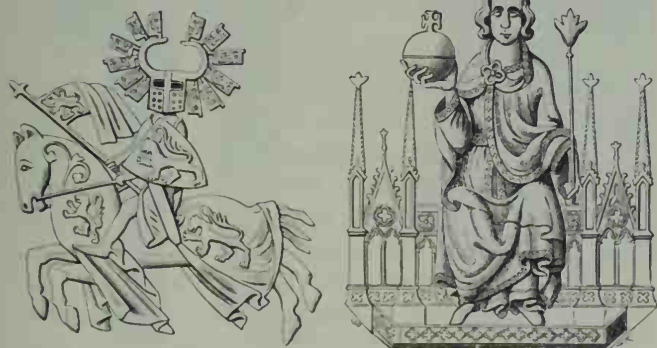


the life of the whole province was regulated in detail from the most elevated aspects to the commonest everyday concerns: "Christ is foremost in our law, next to Him our Christian dogma and all Christians: the King, peasants and all legal residents, bishops, all men of book-learning," but also "if horse rolls or swine roots in grain-field, [owner] pays fine therefore with such grain as was sown in the field, one skeep for every third rolling or every third rooting." Differentiation into social groups took place in this period; in addition to the clergy a class of nobles emerged, the latter composed of estate owners and those high in the service of kings or lords. The nobles were exempt from taxes in exchange for military service in heavy armor.

Eventually this society of farmers and foresters came into contact with the commercial cities of Germany, organized into the famous Hanseatic League. One of the league's foremost trading centers was on Swedish soil, the city of Visby on the island of Gotland. Sweden thereby gained full entry to European trading and obtained an international market for her products, such as copper, iron, butter, and pelts. Even in regard to culture the fourteenth century was a flourishing time: a Swedish chivalric poetry modeled after European prototypes was created, and the first internationally famous Swede appeared in the person of Saint Birgitta, author of remarkable revelations and founder of a new monastic order that included both monks and nuns (Vadstena Monastery). Soon after 1350 a national code was compiled. Based in part on the provincial laws, it aimed above all to safeguard peace and personal security. Acts of violence in church, at the *ting* (tribal courts), personal attacks in another man's house or against a defenseless woman, made a man an outlaw without rights and property. The "law of the land" included a brief constitution in which the powers of the king, the council, and the citizens were delimited. Even in the modern world order the duties of the king could hardly be defined more succinctly than in the old text: "The King shall all justice and truth strengthen, love and preserve, all wrongs and falsehoods destroy, both by law and by his royal power."

King Magnus II Eriksson

King Magnus II Eriksson, 1319



THE KALMAR UNION

The period from 1397 to 1520 was a time of great political experiment in the north. Queen Margrethe of Denmark and Norway succeeded also in becoming ruler of Sweden. This was during a strong, intra-Nordic reaction against the expansionistic efforts of the Germans. An



For many centuries the famous Kalmar Castle on the Baltic served as part-time residence for the royal families. Parts of the castle date back to the twelfth century. It was at the nearby seaport town of Kalmar that Sweden along with Denmark and Norway signed the treaty that set up the Kalmar Union.

King Albert of Mecklenberg and his queen in effigy on their tomb





Seal of Regent Engelbrekt, 1436



King Christian II



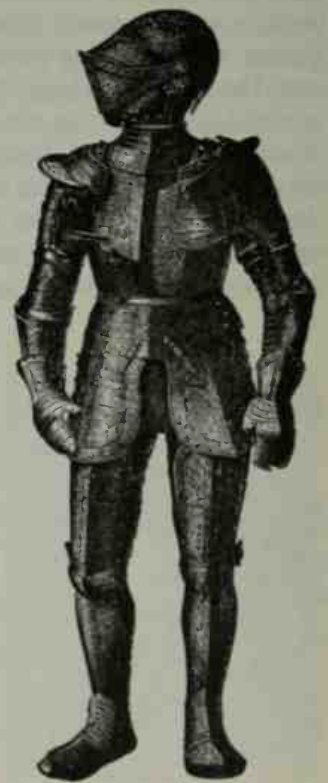
Seal of Regent Karl Knutsson, 1440

Detail from Queen Margrethe's sepulcher in Roskilde Cathedral, Denmark. Whether the noble features of this alabaster sculpture resemble the queen's actual appearance is difficult for posterity to determine.

King Christian II's armor



Sten Sture the Younger wounded in battle at Lake Asunden dies as he is being transported back to Stockholm in his sledge.



enormous kingdom emerged. The Kalmar Union was the name of this alliance (important negotiations regarding it had been held in the Swedish city of Kalmar), and it gave undeniable evidence of a statesmanlike ability to think in broad terms, but after several decades of strife it failed nevertheless. Margrethe's successor in 1412 and nominal king since 1396, Eric of Pomerania, sought to extend the royal power throughout the triple realm and fought the German princes as well as the Hanseatic League while seeking political alliances in England and elsewhere. But Sweden was dependent on the Hanseatic League, especially in respect to a market for her metals; furthermore, the country was little inclined to tolerate increased tyrannical power on the part of the king.

In the mining districts of Bergslagen the people rose in revolt under the leadership of a simple mine owner by the name of Engelbrekt. The nobles, viewing with alarm the king's bid for greater power, made common cause with him. After bitter struggles between Denmark and Sweden the union was dissolved. During these turbulent decades in the fifteenth century a notable innovation was made in the Swedish political system: the *Riksdag*, or Parliament, was instituted, which on behalf of the people made important political decisions. Even the peasants were represented in this new body.

Christian II, King of Denmark since 1513, soon became a new threat to Sweden's independence. Hope of a successful defense against the repeated attacks faded when the Swedish regent, Sten Sture the Younger, fell in one of the losing battles against the Danes in 1520. By the Stockholm Massacre, a mass execution in the conquered capital, Christian attempted to eliminate the leaders of the independence party and with them all opposition. Once more it appeared that a great northern kingdom was in formation, this time by violence. But the king had underestimated the Swedish tradition of freedom.

THE AGE OF GUSTAVUS VASA

A revolt against the Danish king, led by a young, rather unknown relative of the Stures, Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, began in Dalarna in 1520-21. Vasa definitely put an end to the union and made Sweden into a national state of the type which had arisen on the Continent during the late Middle Ages.

Gustavus Vasa placed the stamp of his personality on Sweden's history from 1523, when at the age of twenty-seven he was elected to the throne, until his death in 1560. His first royal concern was the stabilization of the state finances; by resolute measures at the Västerås Parliament in 1527 he created the conditions necessary for the confiscation by the state of all property in the hands of the Roman Catholic church. Since the end of the Middle Ages the church held 21 percent of the Swedish soil, as compared with only 5.6 percent owned by the



When we think of Regent Gustavus Vasa, we like to imagine him looking just like this, with a black beret and white plume, a prominent nose and straight-cropped hair and beard. This painting from 1542 shows Gustavus Vasa at the age of forty-six.

Princess Margarta, sister of Gustavus Vasa





King Gustavus I's helmet



Regent Gustavus Vasa



Queen Margaret Leijonhufvud, second wife of King Gustavus I



King Eric XIV, 1560-68

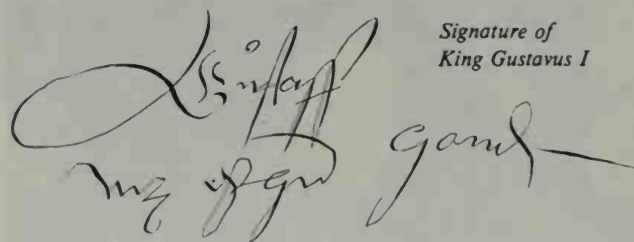


Gustavus Vasa (Gustavus Eriksson) was not content to be king in name alone. He sought to stop the consumption of alcohol by the populace. Here he is seen bursting a barrel of grog with his sword in one of his frequent visits of "temperance" to the taverns.

King Eric XIV, who sought the hand of Queen Elizabeth of England, sent her this portrait showing himself standing in a well-chosen setting, magnificently attired, and with a self-consciously royal bearing (National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm. Photo, P. Jalkman).



Eric XIV, the eldest son of Gustavus Vasa, succeeded his father to the throne but was a weakling and eventually went insane. He imprisoned the famous Sture family in 1567 and, as seen here, in a rage one day while talking to Nils Sture, stabbed him to death.



Signature of King Gustavus I

"Riksdaler" coin of King Gustavus I





Before his insanity, Eric XIV was deposed and imprisoned. Here he is seen at the time of his notification that he was deposed as king. His queen, Karin Mansdatter, stood by his side until his death.



King Sigismund, 1592-99



King John III, 1568-92



King Charles IX, 1604-11

crown; this represented an immense addition to the strength of the state. Gustavus Vasa found a certain amount of justification for this measure in the Lutheran teachings that had begun to spread in the country, with the full approval of the king. Gradually the Swedish church was separated from Rome, became Lutheran in character, and was organized into a state church which survives to this day. The decree of the Västerås Parliament established the new religious phase with the goodly statement that "the plain and true word of God shall be preached in the realm." Simultaneously with the great

confiscation of church property, the king and his men reorganized the government administration and developed unprecedented efficiency. Various provinces, such as Dalarna and Småland, objected strenuously to having their local interests set aside for the common good. When they rebelled against the king, they were severely castigated. Foundations for modern literature were also laid during the reign of Gustavus Vasa with a complete translation of the Bible, and in the hymns and theological writings of Olaus Petri, Swedish reformer.

For half a century after the death of Gustavus Vasa his sons, Eric XIV, John III, and Charles IX ruled Sweden in the order named. All three were interesting, talented, but contradictory men, engrossed in the confusing international relations of the day. From the south, Denmark plotted against Sweden, while the Swedes repeatedly waged war against Lübeck, Poland, and Russia. One of their more consistent efforts was to gain control over Russia's foreign trade in the Baltic Sea, to which she had no direct access. When Estonia became Swedish (1561, 1595), this objective was partly attained, for Sweden thereby obtained considerable strength in the Baltic area and control over some of the important trade routes to Russia.

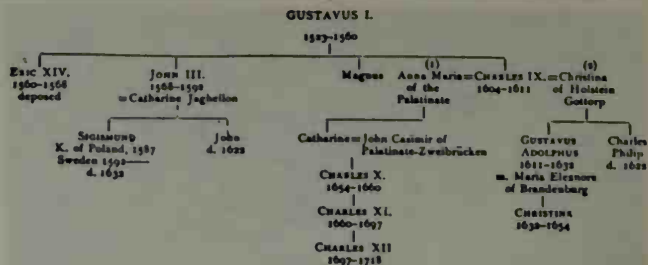
A new attempt at a north European union was made by Sigismund, son of John III, who through his mother first became king of Poland, then in 1592 succeeded his father on the throne of Sweden. His Catholicism and prolonged absences in Poland caused great opposition in Sweden and paved the way for his uncle, Charles, to depose him in 1599. The only consequence of Sigismund's abortive enterprise was that acute enmity replaced the former alliance between the two countries. Charles remained protector of the realm and did not assume the title of King Charles IX until 1604. During the last years before his death in 1611 Sweden was waging a losing struggle against Denmark, Poland, and Russia.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Sweden's greatest expansion grew out of the ensuing struggle for existence. If Gustavus Vasa was the dominating figure in Sweden during the sixteenth century, the most important role in the first part of the seventeenth century was played by his brilliant grandson, Gustavus II Adolphus, son of Charles IX. His enormous task was to liberate Sweden from the paralyzing grip in which she was held by her neighbors and into which she had, to some extent, voluntarily entered in her long-range plans for expansion. He succeeded in this task, and he expanded the empire in the east by conquests at the Russian border and by annexing the previously Polish Livonia to the Swedish possession, Estonia. But this did not suffice: he gradually added to his program a battle against the political expansion of the Catholic Counter-



King Gustavus II Adolphus



The House of Vasa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

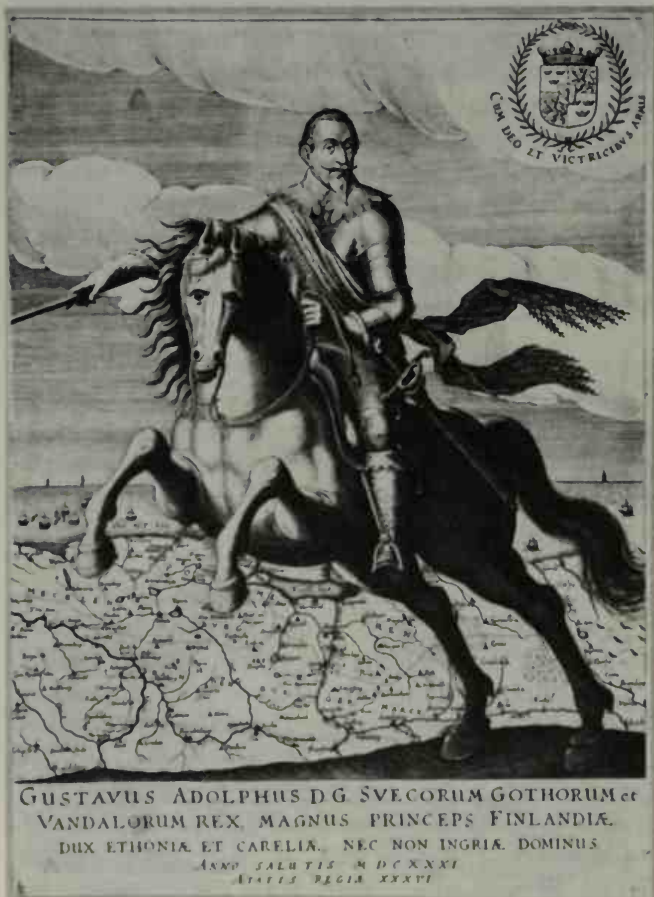
King Gustavus II Adolphus about 1629 wearing armor



King Gustavus II Adolphus on horseback (engraving by Crispin van der Passe)



King Gustavus II entering Elbing, Germany, in 1626, on his conquests to the south



Seal of Gustavus II Adolphus

Medal of Gustavus II Adolphus coronation, 1617





Painting of King Gustavus II Adolphus, 1641 (Vandyke)

King Gustavus II Adolphus in a royal "Polish coat"



Queen Maria Eleonora, wife of King Gustavus II



Gustavus Adolphus the Great, original drawing by L. Strauch, dating from 1632 and recently discovered in the schoolhouse in Madenhäusen, Bavaria

Reformation. Even Charles IX's campaigns against Sigismund and Poland had acquired that character, but the new conflict spread to include all of Europe in the Thirty Years War. The House of Habsburg was in the process of crushing the Protestant princes in Germany and advanced toward the Baltic with the intent of becoming a great power also in northern Europe. Gustavus Adolphus decided to participate in the historic struggle. He first launched an attack against Poland, and seized the most important towns in eastern Prussia, which were vital to Poland's commerce. Then he led his army into Germany against Habsburg and the Catholic League, received support from France, and in 1631 routed the famous General Tilly in the Battle of Breitenfeld (near Leipzig) in Saxony. The next winter he held court in Mainz and Frankfurt on the Main, marched through Bavaria in the summer of 1632, and on November 6 that year encountered Wallenstein, the emperor's chief commander, at Lützen, not far from Breitenfeld. Wallenstein was forced to retreat, but Gustavus Adolphus fell in battle.

An almost inevitable question presents itself as these extensive campaigns are reviewed: how could a small country like Sweden, modest in its resources, generate and maintain such military power?

Throughout the war the king had the people's approval. Parliament, including nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants, had been in full accord with him on the necessity of entering the war in Germany. In presenting and justifying his plans and actions before the representatives of the people the king was indefatigable. His armies were largely composed of Swedish farmers, their sons and farmhands. A source of financial support was the copper mine at Falun, whose exports were then in great demand throughout Europe. The political genius of Gustavus II Adolphus, his talent for military organization, and his advanced ideas on strategy and tactics were important contributory factors in the success of his campaigns. In addition, the king possessed outstanding administrative ability.

When Gustavus Adolphus fell, his heir and only child, Christina, was six years old. The regency was placed in the hands of a group from the upper nobility, headed by Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, Sweden's greatest statesman. For sixteen more years the war in Germany continued. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) gave to Sweden a number of important possessions on the southern shore of the Baltic and on the North Sea, but the Polish ports had to be relinquished; in addition, the Catholic German states were to pay reparations.

Sweden's strategic position was entirely changed. Queen Christina abdicated in 1654 and was succeeded by her cousin, Charles X Gustavus, who was waging war in Poland when Denmark joined Sweden's enemies. He then departed from Poland with his army in 1658, marched through Schleswig-Holstein, and forced the

A minnespinning (medal) depicting the death of Gustavus Adolphus





The tomb of Gustavus in the Riddarholm Church

King Gustavus Adolphus and the child Christina in a painting showing Christina as a small girl together with her father. There is probably no question of likeness, yet the picture gives some idea of Christina's boyish appearance when young.



Queen Christina (1632-54) in her youth

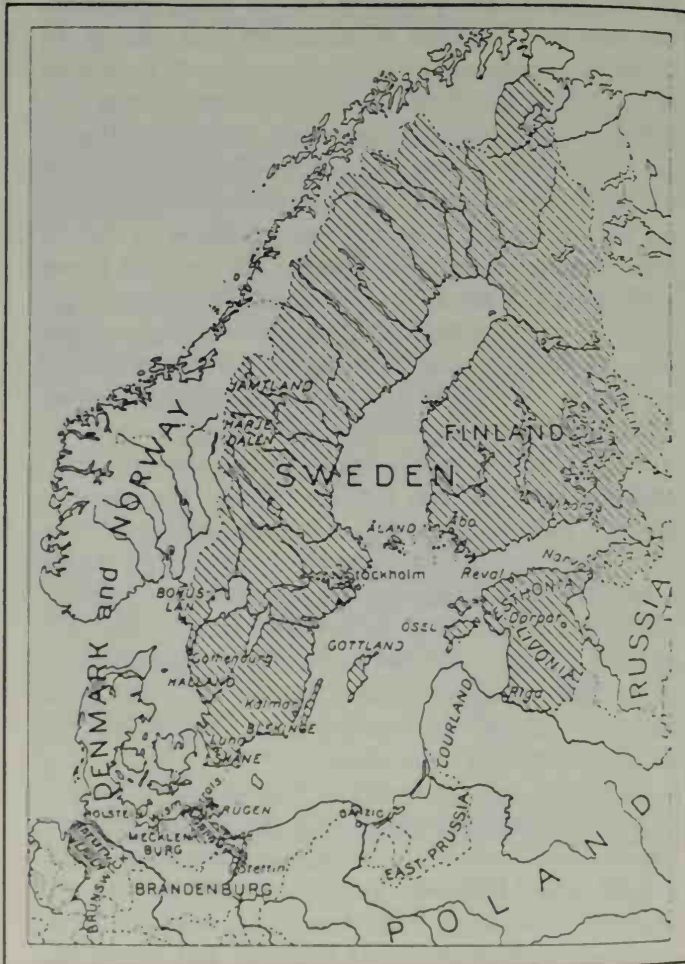


By most narrators and artists, King Charles Gustavus is represented as fat and bloated, but as a young man he made a different impression. This portrait from the early 1640s gives an idea of how he looked to Christina, his enamored playmate and cousin, up till 1645, when her personal liking for him suddenly ceased.



Portrait of Queen Christina, painted 1650, the year of her coronation

Map of the Swedish Empire after the death of Gustavus in 1660

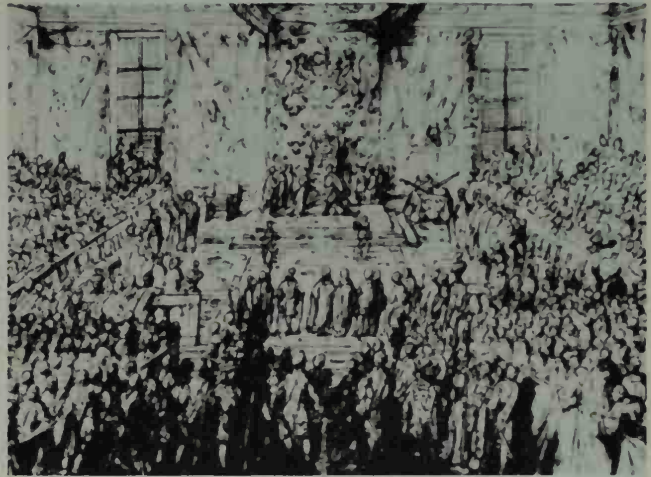


Queen Christina loved horseback riding.





Stockholm Castle in the middle of the seventeenth century



On June 6, 1654, Queen Christina officially renounced the Swedish crown at a solemn ceremony in Uppsala Castle.



Queen Christina in a portrait painted during her reign



Queen Christina in 1670

Danes to transfer to Sweden the provinces of Blekinge, Skåne, Halland, and Bohuslän. In a surprise move the king had led his army over the newly frozen Belts—one of history's most daring exploits—and Denmark had to relinquish her control over The Sound, main inlet to the Baltic Sea.

SOCIAL CRISIS—CHARLES XI'S FINANCIAL REORGANIZATION

Since that time the southern provinces have remained Swedish and represent the lasting gain from the period of power politics. However, this policy also had a very negative aspect. A large portion of the monies and much of the support needed for the wars had been secured through the transfer or sale of crown lands or tax concessions to the nobility. In a country still having an economy largely operating in kind, it was necessary to resort to such means. European power politics could not, after all, be financed with taxes paid in butter and grain. The result was that the nobles ended up with the possession of about 72 percent of Sweden's soil, while the crown and the independent farmers had to be satisfied with the remaining 28 percent. Those farmers who had become subject to nobles and paid their taxes to them obviously had difficulty in maintaining any measure of independence, especially since the lords in question had acquired on the Continent a purely feudal attitude toward subordinates.

Sweden's Vasa kings had not always seen eye to eye with the nobles. Gustavus Vasa's three sons had severe clashes and sanguinary reckonings with them. Gustavus II Adolphus had maintained good cooperation with the great men of the realm, but for his daughter, Christina, the situation was more difficult. To curb the nobles, restore order in the state finances after the wars, and assist the peasants in the struggle for their ancient freedoms combined into an immense task, even for as talented a woman ruler as Christina. Furthermore, her personal position was changed when she secretly became a convert to Catholicism. She found herself in a complex quandary of conscience and decided to abdicate, but not until she had secured the throne for her cousin Charles Gustavus, and forestalled his being faced with increased power on the part of the nobility. The almost constant wars and his early death (1660) at the age of thirty-eight prevented Charles X Gustavus, too, from solving the great internal problems. During the long regency for his minor son, Charles XI, the influence of the nobles grew even more. Early in Charles XI's own reign, which began in 1672, he had to lead a bitter struggle against Denmark for the retention of the southern provinces. When peace was concluded in 1679, the king began a gigantic task of reorganization reminiscent of Gustavus Vasa's a century and a half earlier. This is customarily referred to as



King Charles X Gustavus

King Charles XI



Charles XI's reduction; that is, by vote of Parliament the nobles were "reduced" as the crown repossessed a large part of the estates they had obtained for themselves. At the end of this reorganization the property distribution was once more radically changed; the crown now held 35.6 percent of the soil, the nobles only 32.9 percent, and the independent farmers 31.5 percent. In accordance with a detailed plan, the king used the income from state properties to cover all expenses of the crown, such as military and civil service payrolls. An important by-product of the reorganization was that the status of the freeholders was restored and secured. The nobles retained their extensive privileges, but their rule was replaced by that of an absolute monarch.

A few years of peace quickened the economic life of the nation. Copper had declined in importance, but iron exports had increased, and wood tar also became a major item in the shipments abroad at the time. This peaceful period gave Charles XI an opportunity to carry out his sometimes harsh but generally beneficial reforms. They affected every phase of Swedish life: commerce, finances, defenses, legal procedures, the church, and education.

A note signed by King Charles XI on August 20, 1664

För Preceptor,
 I dag äro lögråd
 till gifvare lagf rår
 Lef båd för och rår
 imildagrn, faxar
 Carolus

CHARLES XII

Nearly two decades of peace under Charles XI were followed by the last major war period in Sweden's history. Under Charles XI an absolute monarchy had developed, and the importance of the king's council and of the Parliament had begun to diminish. The autocracy was taken over by the young Charles XII, who has become a classic figure in the character gallery of world history as a man of his word and a spartan warrior-king.

The first task of Charles XII was to defend Sweden against a new encirclement from three directions.



This painting of King Charles XII, 1697–1718, below, provides the generally accepted image of the young warrior-king in his classical Carolinian uniform. The portrait reflects the ascetic simplicity that was typical of the king throughout his life, depicting him as remote and dignified, an autocratic monarch by the grace of God.



King Charles XII



A portrait of King Charles XII



Charles XII as he appeared in 1707



Queen Ulrica Eleonora

Charles XII hunting bear



Charles XII handing the quill to a hesitant recruit for his army



First meeting of King Charles XII of Sweden and Stanislaus I of Poland





Drottningholm Castle at Stockholm was built in the period 1662 to 1686 for Queen Hedvig Eleonora. In Swedish drottning means "queen."

Queen Eleonora's bedroom



Charles XII was killed in battle in Norway, struck in the head by a cannonball. He is shown here being borne back to Sweden by his personal officers.



The queen in later life

Russia, Poland-Saxony, and Denmark, after careful preparations, began an attack in the year 1700, and Sweden's situation seemed as difficult as it had been a hundred years earlier. In brilliant victories—the most famous in 1700 at Narva against Russian forces five times as great—Charles crossed the plans of the hostile coalition, eliminated Denmark, gave the czar a setback at Narva, pursued the Polish king Augustus through Poland, and forced the Peace of Altranstädt in 1706.

A bold expedition against Russia's heart in 1709 anticipated the trail of both Napoleon and Hitler; in each case the outcome was about the same. It led to Charles's defeat at Poltava, the capitulation of his army, and his

own flight to Turkey. There he was virtually interned for years, during which he was partly successful in persuading the Turks to attack Russia. The home country held out against the extended coalition which now included Russia, Poland-Saxony, Denmark, Hanover-England, and Prussia. In 1715 the king managed to return to Sweden.

Charles pinned his hopes on the Anglo-Russian rivalry, but in the midst of complicated diplomatic maneuvers he was killed as he besieged the Norwegian fortress of Fredriksten (near Fredrikshald) in 1718. Sweden then had to conclude a series of peace treaties which left her with few of her far-flung possessions, except most of Finland and a couple of small holdings on the south shore of the Baltic. Again Sweden's situation was completely changed.

ERA OF LIBERTY— INTRODUCTION OF PARLIAMENTARISM

A total but almost bloodless revolution to establish a new constitution was the first internal move after the collapse. This document gave by far the greatest authority to Parliament, whose wishes were carried out by the king and his council. In the council the king had only two votes.

The Era of Liberty, as the next fifty-three years are called, has been severely criticized for its partisan animosity and political befuddlement. But it has become increasingly clear that this era was of great significance in shaping the Swedish heritage of freedom. A real parliamentary system was gradually developed, which to be sure labored under very heavy and cumbersome juridically formulated procedures. Nevertheless, it is of great interest in many respects and a notable parallel to the English system.

Two parties, the Hats and the Caps, came into being and contended for political power. In their theories of national economy the Hats were strictly mercantilistic. Their foreign policy aimed at an alliance with France whereby they hoped to regain the foreign possessions recently lost; this led to badly prepared wars and correspondingly unfortunate outcomes.

The Caps were more restrained in respect to state subsidies in the national economy, and their foreign policy strove for rapprochement with England and Russia. Toward the end of the era the Caps also gathered into their ranks the commoners in opposition to the prerogatives of the nobles.

Alternately in power—the Hats being at the helm somewhat longer—the two parties developed far-reaching assumptions regarding the authority of Parliament. "The idea that the Estates (of Parliament) may err is contrary to the fundamental law of the realm" is a sam-

*Frederick of Hesse
(later to become Frederick I)*



Frederick I



*King Adolphus Frederick's
signature*

Adolphus Frederick



*Queen Louisa Ulrika,
wife of Adolphus Frederick*

ple of their claims; if the king refused to sign the council decisions, it was not unheard of that a facsimile stamp of the royal signature was used. During these years of acrid party feuds, however, a truly significant political development took place which proved of great importance to the subsequent evolution of the Swedish constitution. Considerable economic and cultural progress also characterized the era. Land reforms came under discussion, there was an interest in the advancement of the frontiers of science, and the Swedish press was born. Carl von Linné (Linnaeus) created his botanical classification system and Emanuel Swedenborg his unique philosophy of religion.

Violent struggles over the prerogatives of the nobility flared up during the last years of the Era of Liberty. The foreign policy of the Hats had cost Sweden part of Finland. A certain weariness with the constant tug-of-war between the two parties was in evidence. All in all, a number of circumstances paved the way for a new coup d'état.

THE GUSTAVIAN PERIOD

Gustavus III, a nephew of Prussia's Frederick the Great, ascended the throne in 1771. The following year he placed himself at the head of the forces opposed to the status quo, and the ensuing revolution took place without bloodshed. A new constitution accorded the king greater power, but parliamentary opposition, especially on the part of the politically powerful nobility, was not to be downed. Consequently, in the midst of a provoked and ill-conducted war with Russia, Gustavus III put over a second coup which increased the royal prerogatives to such an extent that the next twenty years (1789–1809) are referred to as the Gustavian Absolutism. Gustavus III himself was assassinated three years later (1792) by a fanatic group of young noblemen in the opposition. A patron of literature and the arts, endowed

with brilliant personal qualities, Gustavus III remains one of the most captivating and colorful figures in the whole succession of Swedish rulers. During his reign, literature and art flourished. Gustavus III founded the Swedish Academy after the French pattern and he wrote a large number of dramatic works himself.

This period brought certain important reforms, among them an equalization of civil rights and a fundamental land act, but the external events became predominant. Sweden was drawn into the struggle against Napoleon and soon found herself in an extremely precarious situation. In 1805 Gustavus IV Adolphus, son and heir of Gustavus III, had chosen to side with Britain in the contest for supremacy among the great powers. The king took this step with an eye to Britain's great importance for Sweden's foreign trade and stood firm in spite of Napoleon's overwhelming success. The outcome was something resembling a catastrophe.

In the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Napoleon gave his new ally, Alexander I of Russia, a free hand to proceed against Sweden, hoping to force her into the camp of Britain's enemies. The aim was to make the Continental Blockade against Britain wholly effective. As Gustavus IV Adolphus remained loyal to his ally, Russia fell upon Finland, which was lost in her entirety (1809). Gustavus

King Gustavus III



Portrait of King Gustavus III painted to commemorate the coup d'état of 1772



King Gustavus III receiving surgical aid after the attempt on his life in 1792. After two weeks the king died of his wounds.



Gustavus III's Haga Pavilion, built for the king in 1787–90 by Olaf Tempelman and originally intended as a temporary residence during the construction of Desprez' much larger Haga Palace, which was never completed. (Photo: P. Jalkman)

Charles XIII, 1809–18



King Gustavus IV Adolphus



IV Adolphus's ability was by no means great enough to meet the crisis, and his temperament further emphasized the absolute nature of his office. In the eyes of the public officials, the military, and all liberty-professing citizens he became the scapegoat for the unhappy outcome and was removed in a new revolution (also in 1809), again without bloodshed. A new constitution was adopted, which in its fundamental features is still in effect, and the deposed king's uncle became ruler as Charles XIII.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Since 1521 Sweden had undergone six major dynastic or constitutional readjustments, the last four without bloodshed. Within the same three hundred years she went through three sweeping changes of a social nature, for the most part peacefully. Gustavus Vasa's confiscation of church property and Charles XI's repossession of crown lands have already been traced; the third social change spanned the years 1719–1809 and may be described as a gradual and more equitable redistribution of rights and privileges.

What the French Revolution achieved by means of numerous violent upheavals came about undramatically but quite effectively in Sweden. For example, the farmers obtained the right to purchase clear title to crown lands. Commoners could own exempt land and were admitted even to high government posts previously held only by nobles. Several of these innovations were made by Gustavus III despite the fact that he, in principle, befriended the nobles. Some archaic elements remained in the constitution and the social structure, however, and the political struggles of the nineteenth century pivoted to a large extent around them.

In the Constitution of 1809 the attempt was made to profit from previous experience in achieving a balance among the various authorities: king, cabinet, Parliament, and government officials. The success of this attempt depended in part on the leaders involved.

Charles XIII was childless, and a successor had to be found outside the dynasty.

CHARLES XIV JOHN (1818–44)

In July of 1810 the French marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte was chosen in the midst of great enthusiasm by Parliament (Riksdag) to be crown prince of Sweden. Behind him Bernadotte had a brilliant career as a soldier and official in the France of Napoleon. In 1780, when Bernadotte was seventeen years of age, he enlisted as a soldier. Twelve years later he became an officer, and in 1794 general of a division. In 1804 he became marshal of France and alone commanded the forces in northern Germany. He became known for his humane treatment of occupied peoples. On returning to their native country, captured Swedish officers praised his civility.

Eventually Bernadotte came into serious conflict with



Coronation of Charles XIV John

Marshal Bernadotte. This engraving by P. M. Alix was shown to the Parliament in 1810 and contributed greatly to the choice of Bernadotte as successor to the throne.

the despotic emperor. He was in a very difficult situation at the time he was chosen as Swedish crown prince.

It was a difficult time for Sweden too. The country had just suffered a major defeat at the hands of Russia. In the peace, Finland had been torn from the realm and become a Russian grand duchy. The Swedes believed that Bernadotte enjoyed high favor with Napoleon and that, with French assistance, he would help them to revenge themselves upon Russia and regain Finland. Bernadotte chose a completely different path. He entered into an alliance with Russia and the other major European powers. He participated in the struggle against Napoleon and exploited the alliance to win compensation for Finland by conquering Norway from Denmark.

In 1818 the French marshal ascended the ancient throne of Sweden. As king he assumed the name of Charles XIV John. For a long time he experienced difficulty in adjusting to "the winterland." The marshal, who had spent most of his life in the open air, stayed indoors as king. He never learned to understand the Swedish language and was long suspicious of the people whom he ruled. He had reason for suspicion. How badly the Swedes had treated their rulers before he came to the country! Gustavus III had been shot, and his son Gustavus IV Adolphus had been driven into exile. The same year that he came to Sweden, the leading nobleman of the country, Count Axel von Fersen, had been beaten to death by a mob in the Old Town, while the troops stood at ease. Charles John was fearful of a new revolution.

Charles John had a need to be popular, but his fear of revolution and proclivity toward secret agents and intrigue repelled many. It is easy to understand his suspiciousness. He had grown up during the bloody French Revolution when the monarchy was overthrown. He had seen Napoleon's military dictatorship replaced by the Holy Alliance of the reaction and now heard the ham-

merstrokes of new popular movements. As quickly as the world was changing, he considered it better to be over-cautious than overtaken. He was without illusion about people.

Charles John could feel somewhat more secure after his first grandson was born in 1826 and the future of the dynasty was assured. The founder of the new dynasty showed his increasing self-assurance a year later when he gave the name Gustavus—a traditional name for Swedish kings—to the second son of the crown prince.

Charles John attempted to understand the Swedes by studying Swedish history diligently. The Caroline fulfillment of duty, the simplicity, and the moderation during the final phase of Sweden's era as a great power appealed to him. Finally he discovered a Swedish characteristic that he understood. He approved of such popular movements as the temperance movement, which he supported in every way, and he often aided poor, struggling young students.

Thus it was all the more tragic that despite all his splendid talents and his worldliness, he did not understand the new liberal movements in his time. During the final ten years of his life, he was to clash violently with both the Riksdag and the press. He saw sedition all about him. Opposition became, for him, synonymous with conspiracy. Yet he still had the ability to convince people by means of his charm and chivalry.

Though the relationship between Charles John and the Swedish people was not free from suspicions, it has been easier for later generations to understand the greatness in the kingly deeds of the first Bernadotte. By means of the union with Norway he reestablished the self-confidence of the country after the catastrophes in Finland. During his continued consistent peace policy he laid the foundation for a splendid development in the business and cultural life of the country. For the first time in centuries, Sweden's relations with Russia were stabilized by means of a friendship policy on the basis of equality.



King Charles XIV John, 1818–44

King Charles XIV John
and his queen, Desiree



THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

At the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars Sweden, in common with other Nordic lands, was hard hit by the economic slump which lasted up to 1830 and which was characterized by stagnation and great economic difficulties, manifested by abortive attempts by the state to redress the value of the currency. After devaluation in 1834 the value of the currency was stabilized.

Charles XIV John pursued a strictly conservative policy. The king's power, invested in him by the constitution, was exploited to the limit, and the ministers were recruited from his courtiers and others dependent on royal favor without regard to the wishes of Parliament. In accordance with an amendment to the law on the freedom of the press implemented in 1812, the government had the right to censor newspapers without having first to institute legal proceedings. The amendment which was originally instituted to enable the government to guide public opinion when the country's foreign policy was altered, was still being exploited after 1815 by Charles John to control the growing opposition against his conservative policy. In the 1820s the liberal opposition raised steadily increasing demands for reforms, and 1830 was for Sweden, as for the rest of Europe, the year in which the liberal currents made a breakthrough. In Sweden this was indicated by, amongst other things, the establishment of a newspaper *Aftonbladet*, which with L. J. Hierta as editor became the leading organ of the liberal opposition. Simultaneously, the king's one-man rule, which was exercised through his powerful favorite Magnus Brahe, became even more pronounced. The struggle against the growing liberal opposition which reached its climax at the end of the 1830s was conducted on the one side by actions involving restrictions on freedom of the press and arrests for high treason, and on the other side by sharp criticism, demonstrations, and street riots.

The pressure of the opposition, however, at last forced the king to yield and the Parliament of 1840 in which the liberal opposition had the majority, forced through the so-called Departmental Reform, which meant in fact that the ministers actually became the heads of their own ministries, each responsible for his own definite part of the administration and not, as formerly, merely the king's advisers. The stronger position which the ministers had won was the first step toward a more parliamentary form of government. Another reform of great significance for the future was the introduction of compulsory school education in 1842.

OSCAR I (1844–59)

After the death of Charles John in 1844, his only son, Oscar I, ascended the throne. He had received a very careful Swedish upbringing. He was talented and possessed good comprehension of the affairs of the day.



King Oscar I, 1844-59



King Oscar I of Norway and Sweden. The son of Charles XIV, he succeeded to the dual throne of Norway and Sweden.



King Oscar's queen, Crown Princess Josefina, 1848

Aside from extensive artistic and literary talents, he had thorough insight into social problems. His general viewpoint was that of an occidental liberal, and he was highly interested in reforms. In a booklet entitled "On Punishment and Penal Laws," which he published anonymously in the 1830s, he urged the adoption of more just laws and more humane treatment of the prisoners.

The relationship between the liberal Oscar and his strictly conservative father had been strained. Charles John considered his son so liberal-minded that he would not permit him to attain any greater influence. Oscar's ascent to the throne was greeted with enthusiasm by the opposition. Oscar immediately selected a moderately liberal-minded government and accomplished a series of moderate reforms within the economic life, legislation, and education. The king himself played a major role in domestic politics. He made a thorough study of every question.

Despite his devotion to duty and conscientiousness,

Oscar never became as popular as Charles John. He lacked his father's charm. He was colorless and stood so firmly upon his royal dignity that he was unjustly considered stiff and lacking in temperament. The long period as heir apparent under a dominating father had repressed his own personality and robbed him of the ability to show spontaneity and enthusiasm.

Oscar wanted to be his own minister for foreign affairs. During the German-Danish War of 1848-49, he conducted a wise and cautious policy. His position was more criticized during the Crimean War, during which he was exposed to severe pressures from the western side to participate in the war against Russia. Like the liberals of the opposition, Oscar was anti-Russian, and dreamed of playing a leading role in the north by snatching Finland away from Russia. The peace in Paris came as a hard surprise for him, and the relations between Sweden and Russia were long cool.

The disappointments during the Crimean War contributed to the deterioration of the king's constitution. During the summer of 1857 he was forced to surrender the governmental power to his oldest son, Charles. For two long years he lay paralyzed. He was forgotten by his people, and died in the summer of 1859 shortly after reaching the age of sixty.

During his illness, Oscar was cared for by his self-sacrificing queen, Josephine, the daughter of Napoleon's stepson Eugène de Beauharnais. Josephine was both beautiful and wise, one of the most intellectual of the Swedish queens. Under very trying conditions, she maintained her Catholic faith in arch-Protestant Sweden. As time passed, she became generally appreciated for her great fortitude and her extensive charity work. In his marriage to Josephine, Oscar I had five children. Two of the sons—Charles and Oscar—were to ascend the throne.

When Charles XIV John died, he was succeeded by Oscar I, the liberal reform period which was characteristic of Sweden in the middle of the nineteenth century was already underway.

Amongst the most important of the reforms was the introduction in 1846 of free enterprise, which meant abolition of the guilds which had formerly held the monopoly of trade and industry. They were now replaced by free industrial and trade associations. Simultaneously, the monopoly of trade which the towns had held since the Middle Ages was also abolished. Finally a statute passed in 1864 established complete freedom of enterprise in trade and industry. The lifting of almost all bans on exports and imports in 1847 together with a reduction in customs duties were the first steps toward free trade, though it was the tariff charges of 1857 and the trade agreement with France in 1864 which caused the real breakthrough in free trade. A number of other liberal reforms were introduced: equal right of inheritance for men and women (1845); single women's rights (1858); a

more humane penal code through a number of reforms (1855–64); religious freedom (1860); and local self-government (1862). Another step of importance for the future was the decision in 1854 that the state should be responsible for the building of mainline railways and that they should be run by the state.

Oscar I, who himself took the initiative in many of these reforms, became more conservative after the disturbances in Stockholm in the revolutionary year of 1848. By the time he was succeeded by his son Charles XV (1859–72) the substance of the power had gradually passed into the hands of the Privy Council who, under the leadership of the minister of finance, J. A. Gripenstedt, and the minister of justice, Louis de Geer, completed the process of reform.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the most important of the liberal demands had been for a reform of the old form of representation. It was not until 1865–66, during Charles XV's reign, that agreement was reached on a proposal by Louis de Geer to replace the old Parliament with its four estates—nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasantry—with a Parliament consisting of two chambers with equal rights, the members of the first chosen by indirect vote and with such a high eligibility qualification that it bore the stamp of an upper chamber representing great landowners and magnates of commerce and industry, while the members of the second were chosen by direct vote, which was limited, however, by a property qualification and which therefore put the farmers in a strong position.

The reform of the representative system can be said to round off the liberal reform period (1840–66). During the following twenty years Swedish politics were dominated by two issues: the demand for an abolition of the land tax which had been levied from ancient times, and the defense question where the demand was for an abolition of the military system termed *indelningsverket*, that is, an army organization where the soldiers were given small holdings to live on. The defense system was to be modernized by, among other things, an increase in conscription. However, the First Chamber's demand for a rearmament of the armed forces was impossible to combine with the Second Chamber's demand for an abolition of the land tax. These issues had been linked together by the so-called Compromise of 1873 and it was not until 1892 that they were resolved, at which time it was decided to abolish the land tax and to replace the old army organization with a larger and better-trained National Service army. The latter reform was completed through the Defense Reform (1901), which introduced a purely conscriptive army with a call-up period of two hundred and forty days.

With the appearance of the Social Democrats in 1889, Liberals in 1900, and Conservatives in 1904 there came into being around the turn of the century the parties which today still dominate Swedish politics.

FROM ALLIANCE TO NEUTRALITY

Up to the end of the nineteenth century foreign policy was still regarded as the monarch's personal province. Already as crown prince, Charles John had concluded an alliance with Russia against an almost unanimous opposition, and by so doing, initiated the pro-Russian policy which was characteristic of the whole of his reign. Oscar I's succession to the throne in 1844 indicated no immediate alteration. The only deviation lay in his somewhat cautiously demonstrated sympathy for the growing Scandinavianism. When the German nationals rebelled against the Danish king in 1848, Oscar I aligned himself with Frederik VII and contributed, together with the czar, to a cease-fire and armistice.

During the negotiations on Scheswig-Holstein, Oscar I, still on the side of Czar Nicholas, ranged more or less against radical nationalism in Germany; but in reality he endeavored to extricate Sweden from the conservative pro-Russian line which Charles John had initiated in 1812. The opportunity came during the Crimean War when the conflict on Turkey and control of the Bosphorus led to war between the western powers and Russia in 1853. From the beginning Oscar I adopted a friendly attitude to the western powers and, among other things, opened Swedish harbors to British and French warships. By articles in British and French newspapers Oscar I prepared the way for Sweden's entry in the war and with the promise of help from Swedish troops tried to induce the western powers to attack St. Petersburg. With this intention he signed a pact with the western powers in 1855, the so-called November Pact. However, the peace treaty which was concluded in Paris shortly afterward put an end to the hopes cherished in Sweden of winning Finland, or at least Åland back again. All that was gained was the Åland Convention which forbade Russia to build fortifications or have other installations of a military nature on Åland.

CHARLES XV (1859–72)

Scarcely any Swedish king has been so popular as was Oscar's son Charles XV. He was the first Bernadotte born in Sweden and had Swedish as his native language. With his stately appearance and natural manner, he won devotion wherever he went.

Charles XV was a practical individual. He was a man of action. He liked to drill soldiers and wanted to share their hardships during maneuvers. But the faults in Charles's character were serious and conspicuous to those close to him. He was impulsive and was easily swayed by the spirit of the moment. He lacked endurance and the inclination toward the dutiful, intellectual, everyday work.



King Charles XV, 1859–72

As far as domestic affairs were concerned, the reign of Charles XV was a period of major liberal reforms. Sweden acquired greater religious freedom, total freedom of trade, and a completely new form of popular representation with a bicameral Riksdag and municipal self-government. To the common man, the king appeared to be the driving force behind these reforms, and this further increased his popularity. Actually, most of the reforms were accomplished against his will. He himself had a generally conservative viewpoint.

As far as foreign policy was concerned, the king was still able to assert his personal authority, and here he attempted to have his revenge for failures on the domestic front. Nevertheless, he experienced his greatest defeat in this area. As a firm adherent of Scandinavianism he wanted to assist Denmark in its struggle over Schleswig on the German border. He hoped for a dynastic union, with himself as king of all three countries. On several occasions he promised liberal military aid to the Danes in case of a German attack upon Schleswig. His government advised caution, and when the Danish-German war broke out in 1864, they forced him to retreat. The treaty of alliance was disregarded for the time being, and only volunteers came from Sweden and Norway to the aid of Denmark.

Scandinavianism disintegrated; and the king, who lacked the strength of will to put up a fight, was highly compromised. At the same time he was at variance with his younger, pro-Danish brother, Oscar. After this failure, Charles withdrew more and more from the business of government. Due to his great love of France, he experienced the Franco-German War of 1870–71 as a great disappointment. He died in the fall of 1872.

OSCAR II (1872–1907)

When Oscar II in 1872 succeeded his brother Charles XV as the king of Sweden and Norway, he was little known and scarcely popular. He was considered to be haughty and to stand upon his dignity. No one who knew him, however, could deny his strong ambition and con-



King Oscar II, 1872–1907

siderable ability to accomplish the tasks entrusted to him.

Oscar was widely read and interested in many subjects. When he ascended the throne he was considered, with some justification, to be the most scholarly and enlightened monarch in Europe. He was the first of the Bernadottes to receive training with the Fleet. He wrote several books which illustrated his command of naval matters and also wrote poems about the fleet and the sea that were highly appreciated in his time.

His contemporaries often had difficulty in understanding the king's conscious effort to smooth out and reconcile opposites, to be in favor with everyone. The memoirs he started to write immediately after his ascent to the throne are, however, an excellent source of understanding of the king's political viewpoint and actions. They have, until now, been lying sealed in tin boxes in the Bernadotte family archive in the palace in Stockholm. The remarkable thing about these reminiscences is that they were written in stages, shortly after the events described.

When fifty years had passed after Oscar's death, Gustav VI Adolf in 1957 gave his permission that the memoirs could be published.

Oscar had great aspirations. He wished to reestablish the power of the monarchy as it had been exercised by his grandfather and father. He wished to be a modern king and had great ambitions of influencing the formation of public opinion and leading the people. He also had good qualifications: he was talented and receptive and possessed great charm and ability to adjust. Oscar wanted to arouse confidence and win approval, but he had difficulty in being appreciated by the common man. Queen Josephine is reported as having once said of her sons, "Oscar does everything to be popular, without success; whereas Charles does everything to injure his popularity, without success." Nevertheless he honestly meant well and possessed a strong sense of responsibility for the realm. In his memoirs he describes a conservative, monarchical program. He was a completely constitutional king but did not approve of parliamentarism, which he

considered to be demoralizing to the executive power.

The king also had an eye for Norrland's growing economic and military importance. He took action personally and carried through the bill on the establishment of a fortress in Boden as a base of support for the country in the north. In 1897 Oscar could celebrate his 25-year jubilee as king of the union. During the same year a large exhibition was arranged in Stockholm, which testified to the growth of Swedish industry. Despite the fact that the king had by no means accomplished all that he himself had hoped for during the first years of his reign, he could, at any rate, look back upon his achievements with a certain quiet satisfaction.

Oscar II also took advantage of those opportunities offered him to act in matters of foreign policy. Only in the middle of the 1880s was the power of the monarchy forced to give way to that of the prime minister in that area as well. He was an active driving power in that change in foreign policy which, in the middle of the 1870s, resulted in a rapprochement with Germany. There were several reasons for this step. The German Empire was making strong progress economically and industrially, and it was therefore a sound economic policy for the young industrial country of Sweden to seek contacts to the south. In addition, there was concern for the defense situation. According to the opinion of the king and his advisers, Russia constituted a constant threat against the existence of Sweden and Norway, and in the German Empire they saw support against Russian aggression. Toward the end of his life, the king also exhibited a strong interest in England. He hoped for English support against Russia, and also had a feeling of monarchic solidarity with the king of England.

Despite his close cooperation with Germany, the king wished to maintain neutrality. The king was clearly conscious of the fact that the power of the monarchy was the unifying factor in the Swedish-Norwegian union. Preserving the union was also the central idea of his policy. Oscar was well educated for his task as king of the union. He spoke both Swedish and Norwegian and had a thor-

ough knowledge of Norwegian economic and cultural conditions. He liked being in Norway.

The growing nationalism was the most dangerous enemy of the union: in Sweden it became conservative, in Norway radical. Oscar considered it his most important task to act as mediator between the conflicting parties. During his efforts to smooth out the differences, the king assumed a position—to use a rather pointed expression—to the left of the Swedish right and to the right of the Norwegian left, and thus lost support for his policy in both camps.

After the breach of the union in 1905, Oscar II was a broken man. He died two years later, both tragically misunderstood and himself unable to comprehend the course of events. He had a faithful adviser in his firm and wise queen Sophia of Nassau. She was affected by the strivings of the day toward peace. It was her cautions and propitiatory advice that prevailed when the question of the union was finally solved.

Oscar II had four sons. The oldest of them, Gustavus, succeeded him on the throne. Oscar, who married a Swedish noblewoman, renounced his right to succession and other royal prerogatives. He adopted the title of Prince Bernadotte and devoted himself to extensive religious and welfare activity. Charles chose a military career. His greatest contribution was his forty-year chairmanship of the Swedish Red Cross. The youngest son, Eugene, devoted his life to painting and, as an interpreter of the Stockholm countryside, he became one of the most noted artists of his day. His extensive artistic patronage was centered in his home at Valdemarsudde, Djurgården.

THE SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN UNION

The union with Norway was a factor which played a central role in Swedish politics during the whole of the nineteenth century. Relations between Sweden and Norway during the period 1814–1905 were colored by re-



A sketch of Oscar II in later life in a sea setting that he loved so much

Gustavus V as he appeared when crown prince of Sweden and Norway



peated and progressively sharper conflicts. From the very advent of the union there was dissension due, as later, to conflicting interpretations of Sweden's and Norway's joint position in the union: on the one hand Sweden attempted to assert her hegemony, strengthen the bands of the union and in the end accomplish a coalescence of the two peoples, while Norway, on the other hand, demanded equality of status with Sweden and a completely independent position in the union.

From the Swedish viewpoint the union with Norway was a disappointment. Instead of a coalescence of the two countries as hoped for, the incompatibilities grew and the union remained a personal union, on the whole confined to a joint monarchy and foreign policy. One of the few positive results of the union was the statute of 1825 which abolished or greatly reduced customs duties between the countries. The union question furthermore had an important influence on Sweden's domestic affairs; Norway served as a model for the Swedish radicals who demanded parliamentarism and increased democracy. Thus the government exploited the conflict on the governor-general question to strengthen its position against the king and the demand for control by Parliament over the government was further strengthened when parliamentarism won its decisive victory in Norway in 1884.

As the union king usually resided in Sweden, he was represented in Norway by a governor-general. When Charles XV as crown prince was viceroy in Norway, he had promised the Norwegians that on his succession to the throne he would abolish the governor-generalship, which in Norway was regarded as a sign of the country's subordinate position in the union. This was a relatively unimportant issue, as the governor generalship had not been occupied by a Swede since 1829 and had in fact been vacant since 1855. However, when Charles XV succeeded to the throne and in accordance with his pledge tried to sanction in his Norwegian government the Norwegian Parliament's resolution to abolish the post, the Swedish Parliament together with the government headed by the powerful minister of finance, J. A. Gripenstedt, opposed the resolution. Their argument was that the issue concerned a union provision and could not, therefore, be decided by the Norwegian government alone but required a decision in a joint council of ministers. When the Norwegians declined to accept this view, the Swedish government threatened to resign and won strong support in Parliament. The king was forced to give way and withdraw his support for the abolition of the post. From a Swedish point of view this implied that the government, with support from Parliament, had strengthened its position against the king. The governor-general question, one might say, was the beginning of the tug-of-war for power between the king and Parliament which was characteristic of Sweden's internal political history during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

One of the problems raised by the king's interference

in the governor-general question (which was not resolved until 1873 at which time Sweden had yielded to the most essential of Norway's demands) was that in Norway the king was regarded as purely Swedish and his right to nominate the government in Norway was considered a danger to the country's autonomy. The conflict revolved around the question of the Parliament's confidence in the government. Matters came to a head during the reign of Oscar II when a conservative government in Norway refused to pass a bill which Parliament had three times accepted. After a trial before the Court of Impeachment (*riksretten*) the government was forced to resign in 1844. Parliament and not the king had herewith acquired the decisive influence on the government, and Norway became the first country in Scandinavia to be governed by parliamentary means.

Although Norway had won full self-government on the domestic front, the union was represented externally by the Swedish-Norwegian king and the country's foreign policy was conducted by the Swedish foreign minister. From the 1880s, therefore, there was an increasing demand for an independent Norwegian foreign minister. In 1891 the left won an impressive majority at the polls with the foreign minister question, amongst other things, on its program. In spite of this, the left government headed by Johannes Steen, which the king had had to appoint in Norway after the election, did not take the question up but put forward instead the rather more limited demand for a Norwegian consular service. Even this, however, was flatly refused in 1892 by the Swedes. When Parliament subsequently attempted to carry out this reform independently, they were forced under threat of military action to negotiate with Sweden on a revision of the whole question of the union. Although Sweden soon indicated her desire to be most compliant, the incompatibilities had become so marked that there was no real chance of a compromise. On the collapse of the negotiations in 1898 when Norway at the same time demonstrated her independence by, inter alia, abolishing the so-called union emblem on her merchant flag—and this in spite of the king's veto—new negotiations were opened in an attempt to solve the more limited problem of an independent consular service. When even these negotiations did not lead to any result, Norway took the matter into her own hands, and a decision was taken in Parliament to pass a bill establishing Norway's own consular service. When the king refused to sanction the bill, the Norwegian government resigned, and the Norwegian Parliament declared on June 7, 1905, "the Union with Sweden dissolved as a result of the King ceasing to function as Norwegian King."

The Swedish Parliament refused, in the meantime, to accept this unilateral Norwegian decision. Under threat of military action and the partial mobilization of both countries, Norway was forced to give way and enter into negotiations with Sweden on conditions for the dissolu-

tion of the union. In Karlstad in September 1905, a settlement was reached which embodied concessions from both sides. The Swedish-Norwegian union was herewith legally dissolved.

GUSTAVUS V (1907–50)

During the final years of King Oscar's life, Gustavus was his best assistant and adviser in political questions. At the time of the dissolution of the union in the summer of 1905, the crown prince proposed a radical line of action. When all roads were closed for continued union, he considered that Sweden should take the initiative for an amicable separation.

He lacked the Bernadotte vivacity. He was shy, reserved and reflective. A trip to England, which he made in 1879, meant a great deal for the spiritual development of the twenty-year-old. At the same time that the English appreciated his innate sense of tact and his simple and natural manner, he drank in strong impressions of the country. He freed himself from the influence of his mother, and became self-assured and independent. He devoted himself to the ideal of the English gentleman, which he himself later was to embody during his many travels abroad as the tennis-playing "Mr. G.," and sharpened his awareness of international relationships.

In 1907 Gustavus V ascended the Swedish throne. His first decade as king was stormy. The forces of parliamentarism were advancing, and Gustavus, who adhered to the old balance of power between king and Riksdag, came into conflict with them. The struggle developed especially over the requirements of the armed forces. Whereas the king wished to build up defenses, the forces of the left, with Liberal leader Karl Staaf at the helm, demanded general suffrage and social reforms.

The conflict increased due to the fact that the king listened all too much to his queen, the strong-willed Victoria of Baden. As a child of the Germany of William, she believed in the power of the monarchy and detested

parliamentarism. She considered every concession to its forces to be treachery. In the political activity of the queen were certain elements of fanaticism and hysteria, and during World War I it appeared that she felt more like a German princess than the Swedish queen. She lacked adaptability and an understanding of psychology, but it cannot be denied that she fought for her outdated, traditionalistic principles with great consistency and loyalty.

The domestic tension within the country became an open breach in February 1914—a few months before the outbreak of World War I. It occurred when a farmers' demonstration to the king, consisting of thirty thousand participants, marched to the courtyard of the palace in Stockholm. In his acknowledgment the king said that he intended to support immediate accomplishment of the military armament program which his Liberal government only wished to carry out in stages. The speech brought about a political crisis. The Staaff government resigned, whereupon Province Governor Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, father of Dag Hammarskjöld, was called upon to form a new government. The outbreak of the war could be seen as a confirmation of the fact that a defense reform was necessary.

During the final years of the war the king worked intensely for common Nordic neutrality, which was evident in the meetings of the three Scandinavian monarchs. In his speech at the meeting of the monarchs in Kristiana in November of 1917, he did away with the remaining distrust between Sweden and Norway. After the end of the war, he continued this policy of Nordic unity, which had its main expression in the declaration of neutrality issued jointly by the heads of state of the four Nordic countries at their meeting in Stockholm in October of 1939 after the outbreak of World War II.

Great changes in Swedish domestic policy came about in 1918. The fall of the German and Austrian dynasties also caused repercussions in Sweden, where the risk of a revolution appeared imminent. A government of Liber-



*Gustavus V became
king of Sweden in 1907*

*King Gustavus V in
World War II*



als and Social Democrats presented a proposal on universal suffrage. The proposal, however, was met by strong Conservative opposition in the Upper Chamber. Then the king and the crown prince intervened to support the government and succeeded in breaking down the opposition, after which a solution could be reached on good terms. In the future, as well, the king complied with public opinion, and cooperated very well with radical politicians. The relationship between him and the Social Democratic prime ministers Hjalmar Branting and Per Albin Hansson was congenial.

The king followed questions of foreign policy and defense with special interest. With his long experience and unerring sense of tact, he could act as a wise and knowledgeable "adviser to his advisers" on these matters. During World War II he undertook several personal actions to clarify Sweden's position and resources.

During the long reign of Gustavus V—without doubt the longest in the history of Sweden—the opposition between "power of the monarchy" and "power of the people" was wiped out. The king became the first citizen of a parliament-governed land. At the time of his death in 1950, he had long been an institution in political life.

Queen Victoria died in 1930. After World War I, when all she had hoped for crumbled to dust, she devoted herself mainly to social aid work. King Gustavus and Queen Victoria had three sons: Gustavus Adolf, who succeeded his father on the throne; William, who devoted himself to an extensive authorship; and Erik, who died young.

THE ROAD TO PARLIAMENTARISM AND DEMOCRACY

In the nineteenth century Sweden was a poor country in which about eighty percent of the population still earned their living from agriculture, and which together with Ireland and Norway had proportionally the largest number of emigrants among the European countries. Swedish industry did not expand to any great extent until late in the 1890s and around the turn of the century. A prerequisite for the quick industrialization which followed was the great influx of capital. Up to World War I Swedish railways and Swedish industry were largely built with the support of foreign capital.

The turning point in Swedish economy came during and immediately after World War I. Sweden suddenly became a rich country. There was a worldwide demand for Swedish commodities such as steel and pulp, matches and ball bearings, Aga light-houses and separators, telephones and vacuum cleaners. The economic progress which started in the first decades of this century laid the foundations for internal developments in Sweden during the twentieth century. Industrialization led to a rapid

growth in the numbers of factory workers and the towns grew correspondingly. The composition of the population underwent a decisive change; Sweden was transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial society of the most modern kind where more than 50 percent of the inhabitants lived in urban areas.

The political consequences of the economic development were that around the turn of the century there was greatly increased pressure for a universal and equal franchise. No sooner had the union question been settled in 1905, than the dominating question in Swedish politics became the demand for universal and equal suffrage. The issue was solved by a compromise submitted by a Conservative government under the leadership of Arvid Lindman. The motion embraced universal and equal franchise to the Second Chamber, a certain democratization of the First Chamber, and proportional representation to both chambers of Parliament. The reform was implemented by a parliamentary motion in 1909. The election to the Second Chamber in 1911, on which occasion the new provisions were adapted for the first time, was a landslide for the Liberal party and as Lindman, in view of this, resigned, Gustavus V (1907–50) was forced to request Karl Staaff to form a Liberal government. Although the king hereby acted in accordance with the rules of parliamentarism, he had by no means accepted parliamentarism, and still regarded the members of the government as the representatives of the king and not of Parliament.

On the outbreak of war, Sweden issued a declaration of neutrality. The neutral policy which the country carried out under the leadership of Hammarskjöld was, however, doctrinaire which meant, inter alia, that Sweden attempted to assert her right to trade freely with the belligerent countries. As the blockade was used by Britain as an important weapon in the war, Sweden's insistence on free trade favored Germany exclusively. The result was that the Allies intensified their control and stopped a major part of Sweden's trade. This, however, not only hit Sweden's exports to Germany but from 1916 caused a severe shortage of supplies and strict rationing. The situation, which was further exacerbated by unrestricted submarine warfare and America's entry into the war in 1917, gave rise to intense dissatisfaction in the country and Hammarskjöld and his government were forced to resign in 1917. A new foreign policy was thereafter introduced and in May 1918 an agreement was reached with Britain and the United States which allowed Sweden again to import products from the west on condition that she limited her exports to Germany and placed a major share of her merchant fleet at the disposal of the Allies.

In the general elections of 1917 the left-wing parties, that is, the Social Democrats and Liberals, gained a victory which further increased their majority in the Second Chamber of Parliament. As a consequence of the

defeat the Conservative government resigned; up to this time they had held office with the support of the king and the Conservative majority in the First Chamber. Now the king was obliged to designate a government based upon a majority of the Second Chamber. With the Liberal-Social Democratic government of Nils Edén, parliamentarism had obtained definite recognition in Sweden.

One of the first measures of the new government was to propose a constitutional amendment. The main issues were female suffrage and the abolition of the forty-degree scale in local elections, meaning the introduction of a universal and equal franchise which would also cover election to the First Chamber. As expected, the Conservative majority in the First Chamber rejected the bill. However, when the government in November 1918—under the pressure caused by the news of Germany's defeat and the consequent clamorous demands from the workers for democracy and with the republic—reintroducing the bill which now embodied measures designed to democratize the Second Chamber still further, then the First Chamber was forced to acquiesce. The Constitutional Reform which was carried through between 1918 and 1920 signified the introduction of democracy in Sweden.

FROM MINORITY PARLIAMENTARISM TO MAJORITY RULE

It was the demand for parliamentarism and for the introduction of democracy that had above all constituted the basis for cooperation between the Liberal and the Social Democratic parties. When these demands had been realized, the two parties went their separate ways. Led by a young and radical phalanx within the party, the Social Democrats now demanded nationalization of the natural resources of the country and socialization of the means of production, or that they should at least be placed under the control of society. Confronted by these demands, the Liberal party defended private property and free enterprise. Up to 1918 the great dividing line in Swedish politics was drawn between the right and the left, between those who wanted to retain a class society and those who demanded democracy and equal rights for all citizens. From 1920 onward the main line was drawn between the Socialist parties on one side and the Liberals and Conservatives on the other. This grouping has remained in being since 1920.

The regrouping of the parties in Swedish politics did not produce new, fixed combinations. The break between the Social Democrats and the Liberals meant that the basis of Edén's left-wing government was gone. But the regrouping did not bring about a union of the right-wing parties, that is of the Conservatives, the Liberals, and a growing group representing agricultural interests who

had formed their own party, *Bondeförbundet*, "the Farmers' party." It was only in their opposition to the move toward socialization that these three right-wing parties were really united. On most other questions they disagreed in one way or other. Consequently there was no basis for any long-term cooperation between the parties. As a result it was impossible to form a majority government and thus, paradoxically enough, one of the consequences of the recognition of parliamentarism and the breakthrough of democracy in Sweden was that it became almost impossible to create in Parliament any firm basis for a government. In the years from 1920 to 1932 the parties held power alternately, but no government—whether Social Democratic, Liberal, or Conservative—had any chance of gaining firm support for its policy in Parliament. It became impossible for any one party to carry through its individual policy. From a political point of view the 1920s were a period of stagnation.

From an economic point of view, however, the picture was quite different. Once the depression that followed the war had been overcome, the 1920s were marked by steadily improving trade conditions, and in this period Sweden was one of the countries that prospered exceedingly from the boom. Swedish timber products and pulp, steel, and manufactured goods were exported and sold all over the world.

Like the rest of the western European countries, Sweden suffered severely during the depression in the early 1930s. Unemployment rose, and simultaneously reductions in wages caused a series of harsh labor conflicts. This was the state of affairs when the Swedish people went to the polls in the autumn of 1932. The result was a considerable advance for the Social Democratic party and to some extent for the Farmers' party as well. Even so, the Social Democrats did not obtain a majority in Parliament. The election did lead, however, to the resignation of the Liberal government, which was replaced by a Social Democratic administration under the leadership of Per Albin Hansson.

The steps taken by the Social Democrats to fight the crisis in Sweden were built on the theory of an active market policy, an idea which was later theoretically worked out by J. M. Keynes. The most important point on the Swedish program was the starting of great public works, where the wages were to be the same as in the rest of the labor market and which, for the most part, were to be financed by state loans. Alone, the Social Democrats had little chance of carrying through this program, which was received with scathing criticism by the right-wing parties. It was under these circumstances, and after the program had been amended with various moves in support of agriculture, that an agreement was reached with the Farmers' party in 1933, enabling the program to be realized.

The economic crisis of the 1930s was overcome in

Sweden more rapidly than in most other countries. As early as 1936 wages had reached the same level as before the crisis and by the end of the decade unemployment had become insignificant. Business was characterized by steadily improving trade conditions. Swedish industry once again enjoyed a period of rapid expansion.

From a political point of view the 1930s were in fact a time of preparation. A series of bills for radical reforms were worked out in that decade covering many fields: fiscal policy, old-age pensions, social services, medical care, education, and so on. All these reform bills aimed at a leveling of class divisions, at a higher degree of social security for all citizens; and at equal opportunities for everyone. The whole program could be summarized in the term *folkhemmet*, society viewed as a home for the people, taking care of their needs in unemployment, sickness, and old age. From an ideological point of view this program meant that the idea of nationalization had been weakened and even abandoned. The main interest was shifting toward a policy of social welfare which, while it would certainly give the state a considerable increase in influence, did not necessarily mean that the state had to nationalize the means of production to achieve it.

But during the 1930s themselves, only a few rather moderate reforms were realized. When the war came in 1939, it placed a great economic strain even on a neutral country like Sweden and consequently the reforms had to be postponed. The first consideration was to secure the country's defenses and, when trade with the western world was cut off after April 9, 1940, to deal with economic questions connected with the provision of food and other essential raw materials. From the domestic point of view the most important change during the war was the increase of power given to the state: it was found necessary to demand not only rationing but also detailed planning of the use of the resources of the country. Strict regulations were therefore introduced immediately after the outbreak of war. By this means the government obtained practically complete control over business and industry. The planned economy which had been the desideratum of the Social Democrats during the 1930s was carried through during the war as a matter of necessity and with the support of all parties.

NEUTRALITY AND SOLIDARITY

The two factors which above all others dominated Sweden's foreign policy during both the interwar years and the Second World War were, the Soviet Union's attempt to gain a stronger position in the Baltic area, and the threat from Germany in the south.

When the First World War ended, both Russia and Germany belonged to the conquered nations and for a period remained greatly weakened. Sweden's security during the 1920s, therefore, was unusually sound and in 1925 a new defense agreement was reached which em-

bodied a drastic reduction in the country's defenses. External affairs during the 1920s were confined partly to Sweden's application for membership to the newly formed League of Nations, which was granted in 1920, and partly the country's relationship with Finland.

The news of Finland's Declaration of Independence on December 6, 1917, was received with pleasure in Sweden. During the civil war which broke out shortly afterward in Finland an active right-wing group in Sweden desired Swedish intervention on the White government's side, while the majority within the right-wing parties would have been satisfied with support in the form of armaments and so forth. Within the left wing the Social Democrats viewed the civil war as a class struggle in which their sympathies lay with the Reds and where Sweden ought to follow a strict policy of nonintervention. Although the Liberals had greater sympathy with the White government, they were forced by the Social Democrats to conduct a neutral policy.

When the civil war ended the question of Åland became acute. The inhabitants of the Åland islands were purely Swedish speaking, had from ancient times an affinity with Sweden, and had on many occasions expressed a desire for affiliation with Sweden. In November 1918 application was made to the victorious powers to consider these wishes at the approaching peace negotiations. When the question was not dealt with at Versailles it was referred to the League of Nations. In spite of a plebiscite that revealed an almost unanimous desire from the population of Åland for affiliation with Sweden, the League of Nations decided in 1921 to award Finland the sovereignty of the islands, certain conditions being attached, however, pertaining to internal self-government and limiting the right to fortify or otherwise utilize the islands for military purposes. The decision aroused bitterness in Sweden and for a short period was the cause of friction between the two countries.

When Hitler came to power and Germany commenced rearmament Sweden's security deteriorated. This led to a reexamination of defense policy, and in 1936 a new defense ordinance was implemented which resulted in a strengthening of the country's defense. Concerning foreign policy, Sweden followed a strictly neutral course in close collaboration with the other Scandinavian countries plus Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. Consequently Hitler's proposal of a nonaggression pact in the spring of 1939 was rejected. The feelers put out by Sweden at this time for a Nordic defense union or, when that could not be realized, Swedish-Finnish collaboration on defense came to nothing, due mainly to the objections raised by the Soviet Union.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

During the Second World War Sweden was placed in a difficult and delicate position. Already in the years im-

mediately preceding the outbreak of war the friction between Germany and the Soviet Union in the Baltic area had proved an insuperable obstacle to the Swedish plans for a Nordic-oriented security policy.

When the war came in September 1939, Sweden in concurrence with the other northern countries issued a declaration of neutrality which was put to the test almost immediately during the Finno-Russian war in the winter of 1939-40. A strong political popular movement in favor of Finland's cause then made itself felt but did not result in any official participation in the conflict. On the other hand, a number of volunteers joined the Finnish forces, and Sweden placed extensive material aid at Finland's disposal. When later the Allies, primarily Britain, wished to send troops through Sweden to aid Finland (March 1940), the request was refused. This was motivated by the government's desire to avoid having the country drawn into the conflict between the Great Powers. Toward the end of the "winter war" Sweden undertook the role of mediator between the two belligerents.

Close on the heels of the Finno-Russian armistice came the German occupation of Denmark and the attack on Norway (April 9, 1940). German plans to attack Sweden as well were known to exist; Sweden's rearmament was not completed and her strategic situation was extremely difficult. It became a serious problem to resist the German demands for permission to send military transports over Swedish territory against the defenders of Norway. Such demands were repeatedly turned down in April and May 1940, and only Red Cross transports to northern Norway were permitted. But in June, "when the hostilities in Norway had ceased," the government felt constrained to permit transit of military equipment and personnel on leave between Norway and Germany via Sweden. Both the government and the High Command were convinced at the time that a hopeless war with Germany would be unavoidable if the demands were refused. In many quarters the reaction of public opinion was very strong. A popular movement on behalf of Norway's cause gathered numerous supporters in the months that followed.

The government was forced to make one more major concession. In connection with the German attack on Russia in June 1941, the transfer of a German division from Norway to Finland over Swedish territory was permitted. Further requests of that nature were refused.

The Swedish people had to realize that they were living on an almost entirely isolated and threatened, but still independent isle in the north European sphere of German conquest. It was a year of poor harvests and only with great difficulty was it possible to tide the nation over the shortages, as extensive rationing was put into effect and a speedy conversion of the industries undertaken. Ships given safe conduct by both belligerent sides maintained some contact with the outside world, and a certain amount of trade was carried on with Germany.

On April 9, 1940, about one-half of the Swedish merchant marine was in foreign waters outside the German blockade; this tonnage was chartered to Britain and the United States.

An intensive debate on foreign policy was conducted during this period by both the Swedish press and the general public. Frequently the question was whether the concessions made to the peremptory requests of the Germans had been necessary and whether still more refusals could have been risked, for many of their demands had been firmly declined time and again. These discussions repeatedly led to a stream of coarse invective heaped upon Sweden by the Nazi press.

During the final stages of the war Sweden became increasingly active in humanitarian work. Much had, of course, been done since the outbreak of hostilities; thus in 1939-40 during the "winter war" many Finnish children were received and cared for in Swedish homes. When the Germans attacked Norway, a stream of refugees began to flow into Sweden and finally totaled about fifty thousand.

When the Nazi persecution of Danish Jews began, approximately seventy-five hundred found asylum in Sweden. Large numbers of refugees from the Baltic countries to the east were also admitted during the war years. King Gustavus V addressed a profound personal plea to the Nazi "government" in Budapest, asking for and obtaining humane treatment of the Hungarian Jews. After long and intricate negotiations with the Germans it became possible to extend further aid in an unexpected manner. Count Folke Bernadotte, a nephew of the king, organized in the spring of 1945 the removal of the Danes and Norwegians—and later prisoners of other nationalities—from the German concentration camps and their transportation to Sweden.

THE WELFARE STATE

Toward the end of the war expectations ran high within the Social Democratic party; their hopes seemed about to be realized as the chances of a Socialist success were undeniably good. Since the election in 1940 the Social Democratic party had had an absolute majority in both chambers of Parliament. The increase of governmental power and the planned economy that had been introduced during the war had made it possible to control business and industry to a far greater extent than ever before. Finally, after long discussions, the great reform bills worked out by the planners during the 1930s were now ready to be carried out.

The coalition government with representatives of the four democratic parties which was formed in 1939 was replaced shortly after the end of the war in 1945 by a purely Social Democratic government under the leadership of Per Albin Hansson. After his death in 1946 Tage Erlander became prime minister, a post which he held

continuously until his resignation in 1969 from the chairmanship of the Social Democratic party and therewith also as prime minister. He was succeeded by Olof Palme who took over the leadership of the government without any other changes being made in its composition.

The period 1946–50 may justly be called the Great Period of Reform during which new comprehensive laws were adopted: on old-age pensions, child allowances, health insurance, rent allowances, educational reforms, and the expansion of universities and other institutions of higher education and research. The welfare society planned in the 1930s has thus largely been realized. Those parts of the Social Democrats' postwar program that aimed at the nationalization of certain branches of industry were not, however, carried through. In this respect the Social Democratic government contented itself with preserving a good deal of the control over manufacturing and service industries which had been obtained during the war. By redistributing taxation they tried at the same time to achieve an economic leveling. Political discussion centered more and more on these two items. Thus the Conservative opposition demanded the abolition of economic regulations and attacked such items as rent and housing control. The income tax policy was, however, the subject of the most vehement debate. The great social reforms, especially the sharp rise in old-age pensions and the introduction of child allowances, were very costly. In order that the rise in taxes necessary for the reforms should not fall upon low incomes, a new steeply graduated scale of taxation was introduced in 1947. The result was tax relief for low incomes and an increase in taxation on middle and high incomes.

What characterizes the early fifties is the absence of proposals for important reforms. There was good reason for this pause. It was not only the rise in old-age pensions and child allowances that were expensive for the state. There was the introduction of a general health insurance, which required an increase in medical resources; educational reform similarly required a radical enlargement of



King Gustavus VI Adolf

King Gustavus VI Adolph with his queen Louise walking among the villagers of Sweden as was their habit (1953)



The late king of Sweden, Gustavus VI Adolf, had a profound knowledge of archaeology. To relax from his royal duties he traveled to Italy every autumn to spend his vacation doing research. In this photo from 1957, we see His late Majesty busily unearthing Etruscan relics at San Gioven-dale, north of Rome.

the educational system, including universities and colleges. Certainly all these reforms had been decided on in the forties but they were not effected until the early fifties. This automatically meant greatly increased public expenditure as the economic consequences of the reforms made themselves felt. All available resources were exploited to create the material basis of the reforms, housing for old-age pensioners, doctors and hospitals, teachers and schools. In these circumstances any new initiatives were severely limited. In addition to this, the favorable trade conditions changed for the worse in the early 1950s.

GUSTAVUS VI ADOLF (1950–73)

Gustavus VI Adolf became king in 1950 when he was 67, an age when ordinary Swedes begin to collect their pension benefits. Even so he was firmly resolved to perform the important tasks required of a Swedish monarch. The motto he chose for his reign was "Duty above all." He was also exceptionally well qualified: he knew his country and his people through countless journeys, his inquiring mind was legendary, and he had a memory that seldom failed.

Gustavus VI Adolf was to stand out as an ideal king for a modern nation. He came very close to his people. A combination of amiability and natural dignity made him highly popular among broad sections of the community. He made brilliant contributions to the humanities as an archaeologist, a collector of Chinese pottery and

porcelain, and connoisseur of fine art. For many summers he would go abroad to excavate on his own, mainly in Greece and Italy. With the donations collected by the Swedish people for his seventieth and eightieth birthdays, a fund for Swedish culture was formed called the Royal Foundation which acquired great importance for Swedish cultural activities.

Gustavus VI Adolf died in 1973 in Helsingborg. When the coffin was taken to Stockholm about three hundred and seventy five miles away, hundreds of thousands of people stood along the roadside to pay tribute to their beloved monarch.

Since the death of Crown Prince Gustavus Adolf in an air accident in 1947, and due to a series of marriages of the princes to commoners, the Bernadotte Dynasty dwindled. The succession now rested upon the grandson of Gustavus VI Adolf, King Carl XVI Gustaf.

PROBLEMS BEGIN IN FIFTIES

Contrary to what had been expected, the years after World War II had been marked by stable trading conditions. Among other things this meant scarcity of labor. During the Korean War in 1950–51 the boom reached its climax, with steeply rising prices and a violent inflationary tendency. In reaction to this a recession came at the end of 1951. In Sweden this meant that the movement upward of prices and incomes was interrupted, and for the first time since the war there was a rise in unemployment. Even though the crisis of 1951–52 cannot be said to have been a serious or long one, it drew attention to the problem of economic stability. The policy of the Social Democrats came now to concentrate primarily on the task of securing the advances already achieved. To reach this goal they strated a new collaboration with the Farmers' party. In the autumn of 1951 the purely Social Democratic government was replaced by a coalition government consisting of Social Democrats and Farmers. It was not until 1957—when the Social Democrats effected an important new reform in the matter of workers' pensions—that the collaboration with the Farmers' party collapsed.

The background to the demand for the reform which was then proposed was that at that time there was still a striking discrepancy between the economic situation of manual workers and that of public servants and officials. The discrepancy lay in the provision of retirement pensions. Whereas the worker at pensionable age had only the ordinary old-age pension, the public servant or person in a similar situation had, in addition, his pension as a public servant, which normally amounted to two-thirds of his previous income. The general old-age pension which despite all rises did not amount to more than SKr 1,500–2,000 a year at this date, only sufficed for the most elementary living expenses. The pension was, as it

has been said, too small to retire on and too big to expire on.

The quick rise in workers' wages in Sweden after the war made the difference very considerable between a worker's normal income—in industry about SKr 12,000–15,000 a year—and the old-age pension of only a little more than a tenth of this amount. The demand for an obligatory pension for all employees was vigorously made by the Social Democratic party.

In the later part of the 1950s the question of this pension became predominant in Swedish politics. The main reason the opposition so energetically opposed an obligatory pension for all citizens was the enormous pension fund that would be necessary. In Conservative and Liberal quarters it was thought that in the power over economic life which control over this fund would give, there was a latent risk of socialization. The government had to fight hard before it succeeded in carrying the bill through.

First a referendum was taken. The Social Democrats' bill introducing an obligatory pension received, however, only 46 percent of the votes, while the other parties were divided and received 15 percent and 35 percent respectively. When subsequently the government proposed the bill in Parliament, it was rejected by the majority which the 1956 election had given the other parties in the Second Chamber. Under the circumstances the government dissolved the Second Chamber, but in the following election they won only enough seats to produce a balance of 115 on the Labor side against 115 on the right-wing side. At a dramatic second ballot in the new chamber the government's bill was passed by a majority of one vote as a result of the abstention of one of the Liberal members. In this way the great obligatory pension reform was decided and carried through.

After the decision had been taken the reform was soon accepted by all parties, and the fact that it could be successfully carried out in practice further contributed to strengthen the Social Democratic party's position in Swedish politics.

By 1960 the fluctuating trade conditions of the 1950s had again been replaced by more stable conditions. The increase in the economic resources of society has, however, been used primarily for making good, and in certain cases improving, the actual value of old-age pensions, child allowances, health insurance, and other social benefits whose purchasing power was reduced by the rise in prices since the fifties. But at the same time problems other than the social ones have begun to attract attention.

PRESENT-DAY SWEDEN

The Swedish Constitution of 1809 together with the statute of 1866 was by the middle of the 1950s completely obsolete, and a regular practice had developed alongside

the provisions of the constitution which in many instances reduced the latter to a mere formality. To comply with the demand for a modernization of the constitution, a Committee of Enquiry was appointed in 1955. The most important result of its work to date has been the replacement in 1970 of the old two-chamber Parliament by a one-chamber Parliament comprising three hundred and fifty members elected by proportional representation, mathematical justice being achieved by means of supplementary seats—forty in all—while the number of parties is restricted by the rule whereby any one party must obtain 4 percent of the votes cast in order to be represented at all. In the election of 1970, which was the first to be held under the new system, the Social Democrats lost the absolute majority which they had held since 1968 but control, together with the Communists, the majority in the new Parliament.

Sweden's foreign policy since 1945 has been strictly neutral. When the international situation became acute in 1948 after the coup in Czechoslovakia and during the Berlin blockade, the Swedish government took the initiative in negotiations on a defensive alliance between Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. However, when Sweden insisted that the alliance should be not merely nominal, but factual and independent of the Great Powers, while Norway desired cooperation with the Western Powers, the negotiations fell through. When Denmark and Norway at this time accepted the invitation to join NATO while Sweden declined to join, Sweden stood alone as the only alliance-free state in the North.

Neutrality and freedom from alliance have been the guidelines for Sweden's foreign policy during the whole of the postwar period. The hallmark of her trading policy has been her attempt to liberalize trade, and this has been pursued in close connection with Great Britain with whom she participated in the establishment of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1959. Although the Nordic defensive alliance was not realized, Nordic collaboration has been intensified by—among other things—the Nordic Council (1952). Important results of the council's work are that passports are not required between Nordic countries, a free Nordic labor market has been created, and a far-reaching coordination of economic and social legislation has taken place. On the other hand, the plans for a Nordic customs union which had been discussed during the 1960s and which aimed at a more extensive cooperation than that which already existed within the framework of EFTA led to no result. The so-called Nordek plan submitted in 1969, which, moreover, also aimed at far-reaching economic cooperation between the Nordic lands, met with opposition, primarily from Finland, and was abandoned in 1970. Concerning the negotiations for entry into EEC which Denmark and Norway took part in in 1971, Sweden has declared that she does not intend to seek membership as this would be incompatible with the country's

policy of neutrality. Sweden has instead in 1972 concluded an agreement with EEC on a gradual winding up of customs.

Sweden today is characterized by a high average standard of living and by a well-developed system of social security, but at the same time by sharply rising prices and a decline in certain sections of trade and industry which has resulted in locally rising unemployment. In foreign relations Sweden's goal is to remain independent of alliances and the country has adopted a neutral attitude in the conflicts between the Great Powers. Support to underdeveloped countries plus an active contribution to the environment question both in Sweden itself and in an international context are among the salient issues in Swedish politics today.

CARL XVI GUSTAF (1973–)

With the death of King Gustavus VI Adolf, on Saturday, September 15, 1973, his grandson, the former crown prince Carl Gustaf, twenty-seven, succeeded to the throne of Sweden.

At a special cabinet meeting the new king announced his accession to the throne, and announced his royal name, title, and motto. He indicated his official name and title as Carl XVI Gustaf, king of Sweden. His motto, he said, reflected the responsibility of a constitutional monarch to adjust to a changing society and to value and benefit from experiences of the past. He chose; "*För Sverige i tiden*" (For Sweden—with the times).

The new king was born on April 30, 1946, in the Haga palace, as heir apparent, and was created duke of Jämtland. He is the only son of the late king's eldest son, Prince Gustavus Adolf, who was killed in an airplane accident in 1947, and the late princess Sibylla, nee princess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

The king was confirmed in the summer of 1962 in Borgholm's Church on the island of Öland, where the late Princess Sibylla and her family used to spend their summer holidays.

Immediately after graduation from Sigtuna the prince began his two-year military service in different branches of the armed services. The main emphasis was laid on naval training and the prince participated, among other things, in a long voyage with the minelayer *Älvsnabben* during the winter of 1966–1967. After further practical and theoretical training, he was commissioned as a naval officer in the autumn of 1968. The king had then also devoted four months to studies and intensive exercises at the Military Cadet Schools of the army and the air force and served in a coast artillery unit for some weeks. The king is also second lieutenant of the Royal Svea Life-Guards, the Commando Regiment of Jämtland, and the air force.

King Carl XVI Gustaf studied Swedish labor market organization—the Swedish Employers' Confederation,

the Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees, and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions. He spent one month in New York in order to familiarize himself with the United Nations and its work and a few weeks at the Swedish embassy in London. He then visited Gothenburg for press studies at the newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten* and to be briefed on the activities of the Swedish Ball-Bearing Company and the Gothenburg port facilities. Later he studied the activities of the Swedish Church, the Swedish Central News Agency, and the banking system.

During the early 1970s the king devoted a great deal of time to visiting and studying the Swedish ministries, the Royal Chancery, and the Riksdag (Parliament). King Carl XVI Gustaf was married to Miss Silvia Sommerlath on June 19, 1976, and on July 14, 1977, their daughter Victoria was born.



King Carl and Queen Silvia in 1977 (Swedish Institute, photo: Lennart Nilsson)



The new Swedish monarch, King Carl XVI Gustaf, giving a speech in memory of his grandfather, the late King Gustavus VI Adolf, and expressing his own attitudes to his position in modern society. Bodyguards in the Throne Room wear uniforms dating from the days of Charles XI, seventeenth century.



The king and queen in 1978 (Swedish Institute, photo: Claes Lewenhaupt)



King Carl XVI Gustaf, left, visited the United Nations headquarters in New York City in 1976. The king is seen here with UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

1980—The king and queen in a family birthday party with their children



King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia, 1976



 THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Death</i>
THE YNGLINGS			
		Odin arrived in the North	(70 B.C.)
		Njörd	20 B.C.
		Frey-Yngve	A.D. 10
		Fiolner	14
		Svegdir	34
		Vanland or Valland	48
		Visbur	98
		Domald	130
		Domar	162
		Dyggve	190
		Dag-Spaka, the Wise	220
		Agne	260
		Alrek and Eric	280
		Yngve and Alf	300
		Hugleik	302
		Jorunder and Erik	312
		Aun hinn Gamle (the Old)	448
		Egill Tunnadolgi	456
		Ottar Vendilkraka	460
		Adils	505
		Eystein	531
		Yngvar	545
		Braut-Onund	565
		Ingiald Illrada	623
		Olaf Traetelia (exiled about 630)	
ACCESSION OF THE SKIOLDUNGS			
		Ivar Vidfadme	A.D. 647
		Harold Hildetand	735
		Sigurd Ring	750
		Ragnar Lodbrok	794
		Björn Ironside	804
		Eric Bjornson	808
		Eric Raefillson	820
		Emund and Björn	859
		Eric Emundson	873
		Björn Erickson	923
		Eric the Victorious	993
		Eric Arsaell	1001
		Olaf the Lap-King	1026
		Arund Kolbrenner	1051
		Edmund Slemme	1056
		Stenkil (raised to the throne 1056)	
HOUSE OF STENKIL			
1056-1066	King	Stenkil	
1066-1080	King	Inge the Elder, Stenkilsson with	
1066-1070	King	Halsten Stenkilsson, joint rulers	
1080-1130	King	Inge the Younger, Halstensson with	
1080-1110	King	Filip Halstensson, joint rulers	
HOUSE OF SVERKER AND ERIK			
1130-1156	King	Sverker, the Elder	
1150-1160	King	Erik IX, Jedvarsson (Saint Erik)	
1160-1161	King	Magnus Henriksson	
1161-1167	King	Charles VII (Karl Sverkersson)	
1167-1196	King	Knut Eriksson (Knut VI)	
1196-1208	King	Sverker the Younger, Karlsson	
1208-1216	King	Erik Knutsson (Erik X)	
1216-1222	King	Johan Sverkersson (John I)	
1222-1229	King	Erik Eriksson (Erik XI)	
1229-1234	King	Knut Holmgersson (Lange)	
1234-1249	King	Erik Eriksson	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Death</i>
HOUSE OF FOLKUNG			
1250-1275	King	Valdemar I Birgersson (His father, Birger Jarl, was regent until 1266)	
1275-1290	King	Magnus I Birgersson (Ladulas)	
1290-1318	King	Birger II Magnusson	
1319—Union of Kalmar unites Sweden and Norway			
1319-1364	King	Magnus II Eriksson	
1356-1359	King	Eric XII	
1365-1389	King	Albert of Mecklenburg	
1389-1521—Various families ruled.			
1389-1412	Queen	Margrethe	
1396-1439	King	Eric XIII of Pomerania (Eric VII of Denmark)	
1397—Union of Kalmar unites Sweden, Norway, and Denmark			
1435-1436	Regent	Engelbrekt Engelbretsson	
1438-1440	Regent	Karl Knutsson	
1440-1448	King	Christopher of Bavaria	
1448-1457	King	Charles VIII (Karl Knutsson)	
1457-1464	King	Christian I of Denmark	
1464-1465	King	Charles VIII (Karl Knutsson)	
1465-1466	Regent	Jons Bengtsson Oxenstierna	
1466-1467	Regent	Erik Axelsson Tott	
1467-1470	King	Charles VIII (Karl Knutsson)	
1470-1497	Regent	Sten Sture the Elder	
1497-1501	King	Hans (John) II of Denmark	
1501-1503	Regent	Sten Sture	
1503-1512	Regent	Svante Nilsson Sture	
1512-1520	Regent	Sten Sture the Younger	
1520-1521	King	Christian II	

HOUSE OF VASA

1521-1523	Regent	Gustavus Eriksson Vasa	
1523-1560	King	Gustavus I	
1560-1568	King	Eric XIV	
1568-1592	King	John III	
1592-1599	King	Sigismund	
1599-1604	Regent	Charles IX	
1604-1611	King	Charles IX	
1611-1632	King	Gustavus II Adolphus	
1632-1654	Queen	Christina	

HOUSE OF PALATINATE

1654-1660	King	Charles X Gustavus	
1660-1697	King	Charles XI	
1697-1718	King	Charles XII	
1718-1720	Queen	Ulrica Eleonora	
1720-1751	King	Frederick I of Hesse	

HOUSE OF HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP

1751-1771	King	Adolphus Frederick	
1771-1792	King	Gustavus III	
1792-1809	King	Gustavus IV Adolphus	
1792-1796	Regent	Charles	
1809-1818	King	Charles XIII	
1814-1905—Sweden unites with Norway			

HOUSE OF BERNADOTTE

1818-1844	King	Charles XIV John (Bernadotte)	
1844-1859	King	Oscar I	
1859-1872	King	Charles XV	
1872-1907	King	Oscar II	
1907-1950	King	Gustavus V	
1950-1973	King	Gustavus VI Adolf	
1973-	King	Carl XVI Gustaf (Bernadotte)	



15 Imperial Russia



Map of early Russia

Slavic tribes, the earliest ancestors of the Russians, inhabited various river valleys in what is now the European part of the Soviet Union from a very early time. Just how early and where they came from are subjects of great controversy among historians, but Slavs were present in the area for many centuries before the appearance of the first Russian state. The historical heritage of

the Soviet Union is the sum of the lasting influences exerted on the people and on their institutions during the centuries of development from primitive times to the present.

The early Slavic clans and tribes, which were relatively peaceful, agriculturally oriented, and spread out over large areas, were easy prey for mounted nomads from Asia or for the warlike Germanic tribes from the north. The vast open steppes and the north-south river routes provided natural avenues for invasion by seemingly endless waves of peoples who swept back and forth across the country for centuries. These invasions were not merely fleeting moments in history; more often they were mass migrations, spearheaded by powerful warrior groups, which left indelible imprints on the people and the land. The Scythians held sway for five hundred years; the Sarmatians, for four hundred; and the Goths, Huns, Khazars, and Avars, among others, all ruled for varying periods of time.

Meanwhile, the Slavs paid taxes and tribute to their conquerors, fought when possible, retreated when necessary, assimilated many of the invaders, multiplied in numbers, and continued their cultivation of the land, their hunting, fishing, and beekeeping. Pushed by invaders or simply seeking more peaceful lands, the Slavs themselves moved in all directions, and their migrations during the early Christian Era resulted in three general groupings. The West Slavs include the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Lusatians; the South Slavs became the Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, Montenegrins, and Bulgars. The East Slavs are the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians.

By the middle of the eighth century A.D., the land of the East Slavs consisted of several city-states, each of which dominated its surrounding territory. Extensive trade in foodstuffs and furs had been carried on for centuries, usually through foreign overlords, but now a class of Slavic merchants had developed and had built prosperous trading centers. The most pressing problem of the

merchants was the vulnerability of their profitable commerce. They needed protection against Viking marauders and Asian nomads, as well as against their own subject peoples, who often rebelled against exploitation by the wealthy merchants. In the ninth century A.D. the protection of trade was provided by a group of Vikings known as Varangians, and a new epoch in Russian history began.

Whether the Varangians were invited by the Slav merchants to "come rule and reign over us," as related in the ancient chronicles, or whether they forcefully appropriated a profitable commercial structure is still a subject of controversy but, in either case, by about the year A.D. 862 the Varangians had assumed control. Their semilegendary leader was a Dane called Rurik, a trader-pirate-adventurer who founded a dynasty that would rule for more than seven hundred years. With the advent of Rurik it is proper to use the term *Rus*. Once again historians differ as to whether the Varangians brought the term or adopted it from an indigenous Slavic tribe but, from the time of Rurik on, the most numerous and most powerful branch of the East Slavs would be known as Rus or Russian. Although the new rulers were Scandinavian in origin, they did not lead a great migration. They took over a Slavic civilization and culture and called themselves Rus, and within two or three generations they had been absorbed, completely Slavicized.

Rurik himself settled in the northern trading town of Novgorod, but Oleg, his successor, moved south and established himself as prince of Kiev. The subsequent flowering of Kievan commerce and culture marks the beginning of the first truly Russian state. At the height of its power, Kievan Russia encompassed a vast territory that included several large, prosperous trading centers. From the beginning, Kievan Russia was expansionist in nature, a trait passed on to future Russian states. The lifeblood of Kiev was trade, and the princes fought continually to expand that trade and encompass more potential routes and territories.

The flourishing commercial enterprises of the Kievan Russians, however, were paralleled by other aspects of their society. Most important in the rich Kievan legacy was the Orthodox religion, which the princes had adopted from the Byzantine Empire and had urged on their subjects in place of primitive pagan beliefs. Orthodox Christianity became a dominant theme in Russian life, and the considerable influence of the church affected development of the character of the people, whether of the nobility or of the peasantry. Religion as a dominant theme in Russian life remained until the Bolshevik revolution proclaimed official atheism but, even after more than fifty years of militant antireligion, Orthodoxy continued to be a force in the lives of many Russians.

In addition to the large ecclesiastical establishment and the commercial structure, Russia also inherited from Kiev a system of agriculture, a money economy, a mili-



The Early Rulers of Russia: top, Vladimir, Rurik, Demetrius Donski; center, Michael Romanoff, Alexis, Ivan the Great; below, Ivan the Terrible, Fedor III, Yaroslav the Just

The Funeral of Rurik



Saint Olga, ruler of Russia, 945-55



Saint Andrew preaching Christianity to the Russians

Grand Duke Sviatoslav, ruler of Russia, 955–72



Saint Vladimir I rules Russia from 980 to 1015.

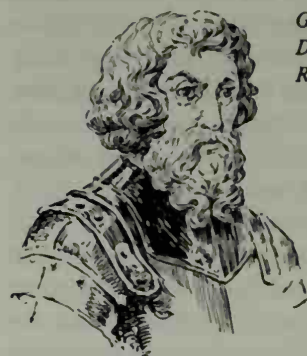


Grand Duke Sviatopolk ruled Russia from 1015 to 1019.



Grand Duke Yaroslav I (also Iaroslav), 1019–54

Grand Duke Dmitri (Demetrius) Donski (Donskoi) was the ruler of Russia from 1359 to 1389.



tary tradition, and a stratification of society. The beginnings of Russian art, architecture, and literature are also traced to the Kievan period.

Weakened by internal strife and constant warfare, Kievan Russia was in an advanced stage of decline when the last great mass movement of Asians swept over the land, eventually occupying much of Eurasia. The Golden Horde, led by the successors of Ghengis Khan, held Russia in bondage for over two hundred years, and Mongol influences are integral to subsequent development. The Horde destroyed the city of Kiev in 1240; Genghis Khan replaced the prince as ruler of practically all of what had been Kievan Rus. Thus, the first East Slavic state disappeared and Russia was again subject to an Asian invader.

The Mongols were ruthless in their treatment of Russia and the Russians. They destroyed cities, slaughtered or enslaved citizens, and forced princes to swear allegiance to the khan and to collect taxes for his treasury. They did not, however, systematically eradicate Russian culture and customs. The Mongol aim was to maintain control and exploit the wealth of the country even though at first their terrible campaigns laid waste most of the cities. After the initial waves of destruction,

the Mongols adopted the role of absentee landlord, humiliating the Russian princes and intimidating the country with their military might, which had so far proved to be nearly invincible.

Victory over the Horde in the battle of Kulikovo in 1380 was an event to be commemorated ever after. Led by a prince of Moscow, a Russian army defeated a Mongol force in a battle fought over nonpayment of tribute. The battle was actually inconclusive, and tribute payments continued, but the victory was very important to the developing state of Muscovy. A century later Ivan the Great of Moscow refused to pay tribute, and the khan did not force the issue. The stranglehold of the Mongols was broken.

Two and a half centuries of a harsh, brutal occupation designed for utmost exploitation inhibited the development of all aspects of Russian life. Russia was effectively cut off from contact with the west during the Mongol period. Its cities with their crafts, industries, and trade declined, and the country became predominantly agricultural. The Orthodox church, although suffering great losses of churches and monasteries, emerged stronger than before because religion had gained a wider base among the people. Arts and literature suffered as the



Demetrius Donski refusing the Tatar tribute

Ivan III tearing up the letter of demands of the Tatar khan



civilizing influences that had taken root in Kiev withered under the occupation. Most important during this period was the emergence of Muscovy as a new Russian state, establishing itself as the true successor to Kiev, the foundation of modern Russia.

MUSCOVY

The town of Moscow was first mentioned by the ancient chroniclers in 1147, at which time its only claim to fame was its location on a river route. Moscow was ranked low among Russian principalities, but after the decline of Kiev ambitious princes took steps to raise Moscow to first rank. All of the Russian princes had served at the sufferance of the khan during the period of domination. The prince of Kiev had been known as grand prince, but later that title was given to more important cities such as Novgorod and Tver.

In 1328 Ivan I of Moscow convinced the khan that he should be named grand prince, with the result that the prestige of Moscow soared. Ivan I was known to his people as Moneybags, apparently with good reason. As grand prince, his duty was to collect taxes from all lesser princes to be given as tribute to the Mongol overlords.

Enough of this wealth stayed in Moscow to enable Ivan to purchase various poorer princedoms as well as towns and villages surrounding Muscovy. Ivan also convinced the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox church to transfer the metropolitanate to Moscow, a move that did much to enhance the prestige of Moscow and its prince. Ivan I succeeded so well in the enlargement and aggrandizement of Muscovy that his immediate successor assumed the new title of Grand Prince of All the Russias.

As the power of the Muscovite princes increased, that of the lesser princes proportionately decreased, and a trend toward centralization was definitely in evidence. The importance of towns and cities was reduced under the Mongols, whereas agricultural landlords tended to increase their control over the land and, with it, over the peasantry. In embryonic form, the institution of serfdom was slowly taking hold. When Ivan III (the Great) came to power in 1462, Muscovy was almost as large as Kiev had been in its heyday. It was difficult to administer such a large territory and there were enemies on the borders, but during his forty-three-year reign Ivan III solidified central control, created a bureaucracy, ended the Mongol domination, and regained large territories in the west which had been absorbed by the Polish-Lithuanian Empire. Ivan also broke the power of such Russian strongholds as Novgorod, Tver, and Ryazan, incorporating them into Muscovy.

Ivan III referred to himself as Sovereign of All Russia and in international relations, called himself czar. Early chronicles tell of a prince of Kiev who had led his cavalry into battle, roasted his own food over an open fire, and slept on the ground with his saddle for a pillow. The dynasty of Rurik had come a long way from that early warrior-prince. The court of Ivan III had become regal and ritualistic, with Ivan declaring, "we hold our appointment from God." Thus, divine right was introduced, and autocracy was firmly established with the Russian Orthodox church as its handmaiden.

Sixteenth-century Russian history is dominated by Ivan IV (the Terrible), whose reign lasted from 1530 to 1584. Since Ivan was a child of three when he succeeded to the throne, Russia was ruled by a regency council for several years. At age seventeen, however, Ivan was crowned czar in a glittering ceremony designed to im-

Ivan IV, the Terrible



press every Russian with the fact that the grand prince of Moscow was indeed czar of All the Russias with all the power inferred by that lofty title. Ivan, despite his youthfulness, ruled with an iron fist. For the next thirty-seven years he was the complete autocrat, running the country as if it were a private estate, changing its size and shape as well as its internal complexion.

During the years before his coronation, Ivan the Terrible learned to hate the nobles, known as boyars, who wielded extensive power at the Muscovy court. Scheming and conniving for influence, various noble families offended the young czar and, in so doing, sealed their fate by leading Ivan to the conviction that he would have to destroy the influence of the hereditary boyars and eliminate all differences between boyars and the service gentry created by his grandfather, Ivan the Great. Under Ivan IV, it became impossible to be a landlord without paying homage and rendering service to the czar.

In the years immediately following his coronation, Ivan was advised by a small council, chosen by himself from among the middle classes rather than from the nobility whom he despised. Various enlightened reforms were initiated during this period which contrast sharply with the mad excesses of the latter part of Ivan's reign. A new legal code was enacted, new church regulations were enforced, and a new system of local government was adopted which gave some citizens a voice in selecting local officials. Ivan also called the first *Zemsky Sobor* (Assembly of the Land), which contained representatives of the merchant class in addition to hereditary nobles and service gentry. Ivan called the assembly to advise him, but the inclusion of merchants and service gentry was simply another step to lessen the prestige of the boyars who had traditionally formed the czar's advisory council.

On the international scene, Ivan established close commercial relations with England but was unsuccessful in his attempt to form a military alliance with that country against his Baltic enemies. For the most part, Ivan's other international relations consisted of warfare with Russia's neighboring states. The remnants of the Golden Horde still maintained independent khanates in Siberia, Kazan, Astrakhan, and Crimea. During Ivan's reign the first three of these Tatar khanates were conquered and incorporated into Muscovy, extending the eastern and southeastern boundaries far beyond Ivan's inheritance. The Crimean tatars, eventually under Turkish suzerainty, held out for another two centuries. On his western borders, Ivan was less successful and lost the Baltic outlet at Narva, which had been secured by his predecessors. Western Europe was becoming alarmed by the burgeoning Muscovite giant; consequently the Scandinavian countries allied themselves with the German Baltic knights to reinforce Poland-Lithuania against incursions by the forces of Ivan the Terrible.

In the midst of his foreign wars, Ivan instituted a reign



The high priest Philip rebuking Ivan the Terrible

Cathedral of St. Basil in Moscow. It was built by Ivan IV, who considered it so beautiful that he had the architect's eyes put out so that he might not build another.



of terror designed to eliminate all opposition and resistance to his policies. A six-thousand-man political police, Russia's first and answering only to the czar, ravaged the country, terrorizing boyar and peasant alike. Tracking down traitors became the chief task of Ivan's police, and the designation "traitor" was applied loosely and arbitrarily as the regime used any measure to establish czarist absolutism. As with later purges, the terrorism of Ivan ultimately turned inward as his purgers destroyed one another. Russian cities, such as Novgorod, which the czar suspected of mass disloyalty, were completely devastated. When the terror finally subsided, the state, although weakened and almost ruined, was completely under the control of its central authority.

Shortly before his death, Ivan the Terrible struck and killed his son and heir, an event that had far-reaching effects on the development of Russia. Ivan's remaining son, the simple-minded Fedor I, died without an heir,



The death of Ivan the Terrible

ending the Rurik line and setting the stage for a dynastic struggle.

The Time of Troubles brought such great strife and upheaval throughout the land that it is remarkable that Muscovy managed to survive as a political entity. The struggle for the crown between 1605 and 1613 became a confusing succession of pretenders, charlatans, and foreign princes, all trying to ascend Muscovy's throne. Poland and Sweden, seeing opportunity for territorial gain and settlement of long-standing disputes, intervened in force. Cossack freebooters arose in the steppes, swept north, enlisting thousands of peasants into their armies, and sometimes threatened Moscow itself. At one time, a cossack band installed its own czar in a town near Moscow and, in effect, Muscovy had two czars with rival courts, rival armies, and rival tax collectors.

In 1610, with Polish armies occupying Moscow, both czars were deposed and a council of boyars took control. At this point, feelings of nationalism stirred in the Russian people and, rallied by the patriarch of Moscow, they came to the defense of Holy Russia. Freebooters and foreign armies were finally driven out, and in 1613 the interregnum ended with the election by a Zemsky Sobor of Czar Michael Romanov, the first of a new dynasty that would rule Russia for three hundred and four years.

The first three Romanov czars, whose reigns covered most of the seventeenth century, were all weak rulers. Although the Time of Troubles, historically speaking, ended in 1613, the foreign wars, peasant uprisings, and boyar intrigues continued to plague Russian czars. With the help of strong personal advisers, the Zemsky Sobor, and various boyar councils, the first three Romanovs did manage to bring about a measure of internal order. The cossacks were won over by treaty, resulting in the annexation of the Ukraine. The Poles and Swedes were bought off in the west, postponing what seemed to be an inevitable military confrontation. A new law code was promulgated which bound every Russian to service to the crown, legalizing the hated institution of serfdom. In religious affairs, a blunt, undiplomatic patriarch forced corrections in liturgy and ritual, which alienated great



Michael Feodorovich Romanov. Michael I was the founder of the House of Romanov. On February 12, 1613, after rejecting all members of foreign royal families as prospective candidates to the Russian throne, the National Assembly (Sobor) considered suitable Russian candidates and finally selected an elected nobleman, Michael Feodorovich Romanov.

During his reign, he gradually built the czar's powers above those of the elected assembly.

On July 12, 1645, while attending church services, he suffered a stroke but before dying he named his son, Aleksei, by his second wife Evdokia Loukiahovna (his first wife, who died early, was Maria Vladimirovna Dolgorourky), to succeed him to the throne. Michael I had reigned for thirty-two years.

The coronation of Michael I took place on his seventeenth birthday, July 11, 1613, at the Assumption Cathedral in Moscow.





At the time of Michael I's coronation, his father, Filaret Nikitich, was a captive of King Sigismund III in a Polish prison.



Martha, the mother of Michael I, after the coronation entered the royal mansion, blessed her son, and then returned as mother-nun to the convent of the Ascension.



Aleksei Mikhailovich Romanov, Czar Aleksei, (1645–76), son of Michael I, was crowned on September 28, 1645, and he died twenty-one years later without leaving any historical milestones for Russia.

The royal jewel-laden throne



The crown, scepter, and orb of the early czars



Fedor Alekseevich Romanov, Czar Fedor III, son of Aleksei, ascended to the throne on January 29, 1676. Like his father, Czar Fedor was recorded in history as a ruler who left no mark for himself or his country. He died in 1683.



Regent Czarevna Sophia Alekseevna, reign 1682–89



A modern-day photograph of the Assumption Cathedral, the church of coronation for the czars

numbers of Russians and caused a schism in Russian Orthodoxy that has never been healed. The religious dissension made it easy for the next ruler, a strong czar, to usurp church prerogatives and downgrade clerical authority among the people.

IMPERIAL RUSSIA (1721–1917)

Near the end of the seventeenth century, a powerful Romanov came to the throne—Peter I (the Great). During his reign he transformed Russia from a backward principality into a powerful empire. Peter's furious energy drove him to interest himself in almost every aspect of Russian life. Impatient with the old, lethargic, inward-looking ways of his homeland, Peter determined to modernize it, using western Europe as his model. He changed the administrative structure of the government to make it more efficient as well as more responsive to the czar. He modernized the army and built a navy—necessary reforms for a monarch who was at war for forty of the forty-two years of his reign. He changed the structure of society, establishing a table of ranks for military and civil service in which ability rather than heredity determined position. He abolished the office of patriarch in the Orthodox church, putting a layman in Russia's top religious office and making the church an extension of the autocracy.

Peter considered beards to be a symbol of backwardness and personally sheared some of his boyars; others quickly decided that a clean-shaven face was best in court circles. Nothing was too small or insignificant to escape the czar's personal attention if it contributed to ending Russia's backwardness. Among other achievements, he changed the ancient Russian calendar, introduced Arabic numerals, revised the Cyrillic alphabet, published the first newspaper, established compulsory schools for children of the gentry, and founded an Academy of Sciences.

Peter, however, was not a systematic reformer nor a great theoretician. He was a man of action who brooked no opposition and little procrastination. Although his reforms were sometimes ill conceived and poorly executed, some of his achievements had lasting effects on the development of the empire over the next two hundred years. Peter did nothing for the Russian serf except to make him more of a slave than he had ever been before; later, peasant uprisings became epidemic throughout the countryside.

Russia was at war with Sweden from 1700 until 1721, fought Turkey during many of the same years, and also was forced to use regular troops to put down serf insurrections. Peter suffered some humiliating defeats at the hands of the Swedes, but setbacks engendered greater efforts and, after studying the tactics of the enemy and adapting them to his own forces, the czar personally led an army that destroyed Swedish land power, and his



Ivan V and Peter I (reign of 1682–89). Czar Aleksei had five sons by his first wife, Maria Miloslavskaya, and one by his second wife, Natalie Narishkina. Natalie bore Aleksei, one of the greatest rulers of Russia—Peter I, the Great.

Peter was preceded to the throne by a son of Maria—Fedor III—who, along with his brother Ivan, survived the children's diseases of the day. Fedor III left no heir so the succession to the throne went to brothers, Peter I and Ivan V. They reigned under their older sister Sophia's regentship. In 1689 Ivan V was deposed in favor of Peter I.

When Peter the Great died on January 28, 1725, like other great general rulers he left his country with enlarged border lines, an immense treasury, and a large military force. If he is to be remembered for any one achievement, it must be the defeat of King Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in June of 1709. Until that month in history Charles XII, the king of Sweden, was considered the greatest military commander of modern times.



The coronation of the two children, Ivan and Peter the Great



The regent Sophia seized and carried to a convent



Peter had his sister Sophia removed to the convent on the grounds of this monastery, Novodevitchy.



Peter the Great

At the time of Peter the Great, the Kremlin in Moscow was used as his palace. Succeeding czars also used it as their residence grounds while in Moscow. A period sketch of the times.



Russia at the time of Peter the Great



Eudoxia Lopukhin, first wife of Peter the Great. They were married February 6, 1689, and formally divorced in 1698, when he sent her to a convent for the rest of her life.

navy was equally victorious at sea. Sweden was eliminated as the preeminent power in northern Europe, and Peter obtained his long-sought outlet to the sea and his "window on Europe," as he termed the new capital of St. Petersburg. Upon his return from the Swedish war, Peter accepted the title of emperor from the Senate (one of his administrative creations), and Russia emerged as a full-blown power on the European scene.

With all of his reforms, Peter carefully avoided any innovation that might limit the authority of the czar. In his view, Russia could only progress under the direction of an absolute monarch. Therefore, importation of European political thought did not accompany importation



Eudoxia preparing for her wedding to Peter

of goods, services, and techniques. Peter the Great also used terror in eliminating opposition, and his reign was marred by excesses reminiscent of the time of Ivan the Terrible. Like Ivan, Peter participated in tortures and executions, including the torture of his own son, who subsequently died from his injuries.

A series of weak rulers followed Peter, resulting in rule by court favorites and cliques from the time of Peter's death to the rise of Catherine the Great in 1762. This was not, however, a retrogressive period for Russia. Peter had established his country as a European power, and certain processes went forward despite the quality of rule. In external affairs, Russian armies warred successfully against the Turks and, at the same time, brought Frederick the Great of Prussia to the brink of disaster. Internally, the position of the peasantry became worse than ever, leaving little to distinguish serfdom from slavery. At the coronation of Peter's daughter, Elizabeth, serfs were omitted from the classes swearing allegiance to the new monarch, and in a revised law code they were listed simply under the heading of property. As the official status of the serfs degenerated into slavery, the gentry class accumulated greater wealth, prestige, and privileges. During the short reign of Peter III in 1762, the gentry managed to push through repeal of the law that bound them to state service. Thus, the gentry

became a free class with few restraints on their power and control over the serfs.

Peter the Great had created elite Guards regiments for the protection of the czar and of the capital. These regiments became the czar's personal army, often performing secret police functions under Peter's supervision. In the power vacuum brought about by the death of the strong czar, the St. Petersburg regiments became politically potent, twice determining the succession to the throne.

Catherine, princess of the small German state of Anhalt-Zerbst, married the grandson of Peter the Great, was converted to Orthodoxy, and took up residence in the court of St. Petersburg in 1744. Catherine was intelligent, determined, and supremely self-confident. Her position as a German princess in a Russian court that often despised and distrusted all Germans, was tenuous, but the force of her personality, her willpower, and her dexterity in court intrigue served her well in the long years of waiting for her husband to become czar. In 1762 Catherine (later to be called the Great), backed by the Guards, deposed her husband, bypassed her son, and had herself proclaimed empress of Russia. As empress, she quickly established herself as the absolute autocrat and became the most powerful monarch since Peter the Great.



Peter the Great learning ship building in Zaandam (near Amsterdam), Holland



Peter and Catherine visiting Poland



Peter was an artist. This sketch of his depicts himself as a "God over Russia."

Peter designed the flag of Russia, which shows himself on horseback ready for combat.



Peter the Great founding St. Petersburg



Peter embracing Louis XV of France

The Later Russian Czars: top, Nicholas I, Peter the Great, Alexander I; center, Alexander III, Catherine the Great, Nicholas II; below, Catherine I, Alexander II, Peter II.



Peter's royal sledge





Empress Catherine I, 1725–27. The first Russian empress, Catherine, reigned but two years and three months after the death of her husband, Peter I; she died on May 7, 1727. She continued to carry out Peter's programs in every field.



Empress Anna was in constant disagreement with her male advisers and is seen here tearing up an edict prepared by them that would have deprived her "common" subjects of their rights.



Peter II, 1727–30. Peter II was but twelve years of age when he was called upon to wear the heavy crown of the Romanovs. His mother, who died when her son was only three years old, was a niece of Peter the Great. During his short reign (1727–30) a trade treaty was signed with China and Bering discovered the famous strait between Siberia and Alaska.



Empress Anna Ivanovna, 1730–40. On the day after the death of the short-reigned emperor, a successor was selected. Special deputies were sent to Mitau to offer the crown to Anna Ivanovna, duchess of Courland and daughter of Czar Ivan Alekseevich. Anna Ivanovna not only agreed to accept the crown but she set out immediately for Moscow for the coronation. On February 10, 1730, she arrived at the village of Vsesvyat-skoye, five miles from Moscow, and stopped over while her triumphant entry was arranged. Five days later Anna entered the capital, and on April 28 the coronation took place.

Anna Leopoldovna, 1740–41



Elizabeth Petrovna. After the death of Anna Ivanovna (1740), Biron and then Anna Leopoldovna, the mother of the young czar Ivan VI, were appointed regents. The Orthodox church did not welcome either. The reign of Ivan Antonovich was short lived. Elizaveta (Elizabeth), on November 25, 1741, finally yielded to the pressure of her following and proclaimed herself the empress of Russia. She had a most celebrated coronation, for a direct descendant of the crown was once again on the throne. The clergy, the army, the nobility, and the people rejoiced. Representatives of all of the tribes to the east joined in the festivities. The empress from her coronation at the age of thirty-two years ruled in a reign of peace and prosperity for Russia and is credited with abolishing the death penalty. She served the people well and on her death, Christmas Day, 1761, she was acclaimed by all of Russia as a true descendant of Peter the Great.



Emperor Ivan VI at an early age. He was murdered in 1764.

The old residence of the Romanov czars in Moscow



Catherine II at age eleven. Catherine Alekseevna, Empress Catherine II, proclaimed herself the sovereign of Russia. She was crowned on June 28, 1762, and the following day had Peter III, the rightful heir, imprisoned. Catherine II performed this extraordinary take-over of the throne without any blood being shed. Her proclamation was that Russia was in dire danger from foreign domination of her government, the church and the culture of the country were at stake, and the "safety" of the nation's welfare was in jeopardy.

Catherine II did alter the course of Peter III. She broke off with King Frederick II of Prussia and succeeded in having a friend, Stanislaus Poniatowski, elected king of Poland. She won two wars with Turkey, extending Russia's border to the Black Sea. Catherine II died of natural causes on November 5, 1796.



Peter Karl Ulrich. Emperor Peter III was the son of Anna Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great. Elizabeth Petrovna, during her reign, brought Duke Peter Ulrich from Holstein to become the emperor. On December 25, 1761, he ascended to the throne but it was to be short lived—six months. Czar Peter III was closely aligned with Frederick II of Prussia and this relationship was looked upon with suspicion by the Russian court. So it was no surprise when the nobles and the church backed his wife Catherine Alekseevna to replace him on the throne.

Catherine the Great taking communion during her coronation at the Dormition Cathedral (September 22, 1762). Her coronation (at the Kremlin) was the most spectacular ever recorded.





The empress Catherine II at the height of her reign



Paul Petrovich. Czar Paul I wanted his coronation to be the greatest, so he chose April 5, 1797—the first day of Easter week. He redesigned the crown of Empress Catherine II to fit it with larger pearls, the scepter was fitted with the 200-carat Orlov diamond, and the new orb was made of solid gold. (These then served all of the successive sovereigns at their coronations.)

He strove to better the lot of the serfs by limiting the landowners to working them only three days a week and exempting them from work on Sundays or church feast days. Militarily he defeated the French in northern Italy. But the palace guard plotted with the nobles who were his closest advisers and “friends” to assassinate him. On March 11, 1801, they murdered him in his sleep.

After consolidating her power, Catherine fostered administrative reforms but, despite her celebrated correspondence with Voltaire and other philosophers of the Enlightenment, she believed that Russia could only succeed under an absolute monarch, and she intended to be that monarch. Much of Catherine’s liberal philosophy fell victim to Russian reality, and the shock of the

French Revolution finally converted her to conservatism. Revolution was anathema to Catherine. She vowed never to recognize the new United States of America, for example, and at her death in 1796 recognition had not been granted. (Official diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia were inaugurated in 1809.) With all her fear of revolutions and uprisings, Catherine would not confront serfdom, the root cause of Russia’s internal problems. On the contrary, she compounded the problem by placing hundreds of thousands of peasants in bondage during her reign. Following the examples of earlier rulers, Catherine made lavish gifts of state lands to her favorites. Each gift included the peasants living on the land, thus swelling ranks of bonded serfs year after year.

Part of the reality of Russia during Catherine’s time was the growing gap between gentry and peasantry. Peter the Great had wrenched his country out of its backwardness and had transformed it into a more or less modern European power, but had left the semifeudal structure of serfdom that could only impede progress. During Catherine’s reign, the growing animosity between the relatively few landowners and the millions of serfs exploded into Russia’s most famous serf rebellion. Led by Yemelyan Pugachev, a Don cossack, the insurrection spread rapidly, encompassing a huge territory and recruiting thousands of adherents to the cause. The Pugachev revolt (1773–75) was similar to many that had preceded it and many more that followed, but for sheer size and audacity it was a landmark in Russian history. Doomed to failure by poor organization and poor leadership, the revolt nevertheless frightened the privileged gentry class for decades to come. Instead of reform, Pugachev’s escapade fostered further repression. Catherine attempted reforms but, because she sought always to maintain central authority, the reforms merely served to solidify the semislave status of the serfs and the feudal lord status of the landowner.

In foreign affairs Catherine followed the centuries-old expansionist policies of her predecessors. Vast new lands were acquired, and Russia’s position as a participant in European power politics was reinforced. At the expense of Turkey, Russia finally reached the Black Sea coast and occupied the Crimean Peninsula. The empress also participated with the Prussian and Austrian rulers in three partitions of Poland that gave Russia most of the Ukraine and Belorussia along with several million new citizens. At the end of Catherine’s reign, the Russians, though overwhelmingly poor and illiterate, possessed one of the most glittering courts in Europe, a huge standing army, and a smothering bureaucracy. Russia was acknowledged as one of Europe’s foremost powers. Catherine was succeeded by her son Paul I, who for thirty-four years had waited for the throne that he had always considered to be rightfully his. Five years of Paul’s madness brought about a palace revolt, Paul’s



The Kremlin in 1800

Paul I was aroused from his sleep and murdered.



Alexander I reviewing the troops



murder, and the placing of his son, Alexander I, on the Romanov throne.

REFORM AND REPRESSION

Alexander I became czar in 1801 in the midst of a revolutionary age. The new Russian ruler appeared at first to be a liberal reformer, and the early years of his reign seemed to forecast a relaxation of the all-pervasive power of the autocracy. He reorganized the central administrative organs to reduce bureaucratic confusion. He instituted educational reforms, financed the building of universities and schools, and decreed that education would be open to all classes rather than just to upper-class children. He made obvious his own distaste for serfdom, but did not take official steps to abolish it. The high promise of Alexander's early years was eventually worn down by the size of Russia's problems and, in the

middle of his reign, the czar despaired of finding solutions to those problems. He complained that he needed thousands of officials to administer the huge country, but could not find fifty who were trustworthy.

Externally, Alexander's reign was essentially a continuation of the expansionist policies of his ancestors. Worried about Napoleon's designs on the Continent, Alexander abrogated an inherited alliance with France, then sent his troops to engage French forces in Prussia. The Russian army suffered two severe military defeats, but distance saved the homeland and Napoleon was generous in his treatment of the czar at their famed meeting in Tilsit. Russia was once again aligned with France. The new Franco-Russian alliance was barren, however, because of the incompatibility of national interests, and in 1812 Napoleon led the Grand Army in its ill-fated invasion of Russia. Two years later Alexander rode triumphantly into Paris. With the czar playing a leading role



Alexander Petrovich. Czar Alexander I, upon the death of his father, Paul Petrovich, ascended to the throne (March 12, 1801). But his coronation didn't take place until September 15, 1801. The czar became known to the people as the blessed. The religious ceremony of the coronation "moved" the twenty-three-year-old czar, and as a result he forgave public debts and penalties, deferred the draft, allowed the Vatican to enter into religious ceremony along with the Orthodox church, etcetera. He wanted to abolish serfdom but had to settle for a ukaze reform under which landowners could free villages, and stopped the granting of inhabited land to nobles, and penalized landlords for abusing serfs.

But Alexander I's biggest test of his rule came on June 12, 1812, when the militarily invincible Napoleon invaded Russia with 600,000 troops. When Alexander I's offer of terms was rejected by Napoleon, the czar vowed to fight until the last Frenchman was driven from Russian soil. He told his 200,000 soldiers, the noblemen, the clergy, and the people to "unite, and fight with a crucifix in your heart and a weapon in your arms and no human power will be able to prevail against you."

By November 1812 the last of the French soldiers had retreated from Russia and in 1813 Czar Alexander I entered Paris at the head of his victorious armies. The Blessed died on November 19, 1825, going to his grave with the firm conviction that the other foreign sovereigns would embrace Christianity and that it was only a question of time that Russia would also follow suit.

Alexander declined to enter into the peace treaties after the Battle of Austerlitz and joined Prussia in another war against France. He visited with the Prussian king Frederick William and his queen Louise and while in their country visited the tomb of Frederick the Great, where all three pledged to fight to the death against Napoleon.



The meeting between Napoleon and Alexander on the Nieman River



Napoleon's flight from his "Waterloo"



The Imperial Russian flag at the time



Alexander meeting the Prussian and Austrian sovereigns in Leipzig



as peacemaker at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Russia gained in prestige and Alexander emerged as one of Europe's leading monarchs.

Internally, Russia remained an absolute monarchy even though Alexander granted constitutions to the kingdom of Poland, of which he was king, and to the grand duchy of Finland, of which he was grand duke. He had one of his closest advisers draw up a constitutional plan for Russia, but nothing was ever done with it. Alexander discontinued the practice of crown grants in land and peasants, and the serfs of the Baltic provinces were emancipated, but the vast majority of Russian serfs were unaffected by the wave of liberalism that rolled over Europe in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.

Official opposition prevented the infiltration of revolutionary ideas, but many of the officers who had followed Alexander across Europe returned with liberal ideas and imprecise notions of doing something to relieve the oppression of the masses in their homeland. Alexander's sudden death in 1825 while on a trip in the south brought confusion concerning the succession and a seemingly opportune time for a revolutionary movement. An abortive revolution known as the Decembrist Uprising followed. The Decembrist leaders, with no agreed goals or plans of action, tried to incite various army garrisons to revolt and to demand a constitution, but no revolutionary preparation had been accomplished among the soldiery or among the people, with the result that the revolt was quickly suppressed and the leaders were either hanged or exiled to Siberia.

Although the Decembrist movement ended in disaster and was little more than a caricature of a revolution, it became a symbol for revolutionaries, radicals, liberals,



Nicholas Pavlovich I. From the time of Czar Nicholas I's coronation on August 22, 1826, until his death (February 18, 1855) he upheld a balance of church, monarchy, and democracy. Like his father, he sheltered Christianity but was a shrewd diplomat and gave his people solid sovereign rule through his efforts, both, at the negotiation table (the Treaty of Turkmanchaïsk) with Persia, and on the battlefield with Poland and Turkey. Prior to his death he gave his people eighteen years of uninterrupted peace. This painting shows him as he looked early in his reign.



The coronation of Nicholas I

and patriots for the remainder of the turbulent nineteenth century. It was also a symbol for Nicholas I, brother and successor to Alexander, who devoted his thirty-year reign to the suppression of liberal ideas. Nicholas I became the defender of the status quo, and his reign was notable for autocratic oppression even to the point of sending Russian troops abroad to quell revolution in neighboring states. The days of Russian influence in European affairs were numbered, however, as the government of Nicholas I blundered into the Crimean War against a coalition of powers. The bravery of the individual Russian soldier and sailor could not hold back the modern weapons and tactics of the French and British forces, and in a humiliating defeat Russia was exposed as a giant without power. Nicholas I died in 1855 and was succeeded by his son Alexander II before the Crimean debacle was finally concluded.

The new czar, as conservative as his father but more practical, realized that the harsh measures of the past had to be tempered and, more important, that serfdom was an anachronism which Russia could no longer afford. From an economic viewpoint, serf labor was expensive and inefficient. Writers decried the system for what it did to human values and human dignity. Alexander II, more and more concerned over the fifteen hundred peasant uprisings of the first sixty years of the century, freed the serfs by imperial proclamation in March 1861.

The evils of a system that had virtually enslaved millions of Russians for centuries lived on after the abolishment of the system. Former serfs found themselves in a new type of bondage as they borrowed money to buy land which they had to have for simple existence. Landowners felt that they should be paid for the loss of serf labor. The emperor proclaimed emancipation, but could not proclaim peace and prosperity for the emancipated.

Alexander II initiated a series of reforms but, attempting to retain complete autocracy, he often tried to emasculate the measures that his government introduced. Reforms once initiated, however, proved difficult to re-

Czar Nicholas I as he appeared later in his life



Alexander Nicolaevich. This czar, Alexander II, ascended the imperial throne at the height of the Crimean War and his first request of the people was to turn to God. Once the Crimean War ended in the east, Alexander II announced his intention to abolish serfdom in Russia and he signed the great manifesto ending it on February 19, 1861.

Known as the Liberator, he accomplished more for the people of Russia than any other czar. In his twenty-six-year reign he brought the telegraph system to the country, by the Treaty of Peking in 1860 extended the Russian Empire into China, created a school system, saw to it that women were also sent to school and brought about many other national and public achievements.

But the nobility wasn't pleased with his humanitarian ways and five unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. His response each time was, "Upon God, I place my trust. His will be done." It was on March 1, 1881, when the next assassination attempt was successful. An exploding bomb inflicted mortal injury on the czar during Lent in a period of prayer with his family.

The coronation procession of Alexander II



Alexander II guarded in the streets of St. Petersburg

strain, and Alexander II is often referred to in histories as Czar-Liberator and Great Reformer. The reforms carried through in local government, the judicial system, the military forces, in education, and in the fiscal system placed Russia on the threshold of a new era while the rigidity of the autocracy kept the door open to the past.

On the international scene, Alexander could do little to regain prestige and influence in Europe so soon after the Crimean defeat. On the Asian mainland, however, the czar could and did continue the tradition of expansion that had been going on since Muscovy first added to its original six hundred square miles. Alexander's armies conquered the remaining khanates and secured the trans-Caspian region. At the expense of troubled China, Russia acquired vast territories around the Amur and Ussuri rivers, leading to years of claims, counterclaims, and continual boundary disputes. The Caucasus mountain region also came under effective control after years of conflict with the various nationalistic Caucasian tribes.

Despite the aggrandizement of empire through new conquests, the freeing of millions of subjects, and the host of reforms, Russia remained a troubled country. A spirit of revolution, growing out of abject poverty and fed by the writings of the radical intelligentsia, was prevalent throughout the cities and towns. Overthrow of the czarist system was the aim of the most radical groups, whereas moderates thought that constitutionalism could cure Russia's ills. Anarchistic and nihilistic underground groups sprang up.

A secret society called Land and Freedom had as its goal a mass peasant uprising, but thought it necessary to educate the peasantry toward this goal before success could be possible. In this movement hundreds of revolutionaries were arrested by the czar's police, and many others were beaten or turned over to the police by the suspicious peasants. With the countryside proving to be unreceptive to, and suspicious of, city-bred revolutionaries, the latter turned their propagandizing efforts toward the more fertile areas of the universities and factories.

Extremists turned to acts of terrorism, making several attempts on the life of Alexander II, who was finally killed by a terrorist's bomb in 1881.

The reactionary attitude introduced by Alexander III after the murder of his father became the hallmark of the remaining years of Russian czardom. The few political and individual rights that were gained so slowly over the centuries slipped away as many reforms were annulled or ignored. People were subjected to arbitrary arrest, trial, and sentencing with little or no recourse to legal proceedings as the regimes of Alexander III and Nicholas II sought to perpetuate absolute monarchy. Russia, in effect, was a police state.

In areas other than political, the Russian Empire under its last two czars was not stagnating. Industrialization, arriving late in Russia as compared with western Europe, once started, grew at an amazing rate. In the



The assassination of Czar Alexander II

Alexander Alexandrovich. Alexander III reigned from 1881 until his death on October 20, 1894, and was determined to preserve the peace both at home and abroad. He was called the czar-peacemaker. When Germany, Italy, and Austria banded together to threaten the peace of Europe, Alexander III entered into a pact with France, thus maintaining the balance of power and peace. He promoted industrialization of the nation as a means toward economic independence. As a result, the vast resources of Russia for the first time were developed and exported. He created the Farmer's Bank throughout Russia in 1882 so the emancipated serfs could purchase land at low interest rates.



wake of Russia's industrial revolution came all the adverse effects that had earlier beset other industrialized nations. Poor peasants flocked to new industrial centers, depressing the labor market and creating instant slums. Women and children were exploited in factories and mines alongside their husbands and fathers. The unsafe, unhealthy working and living conditions were as bad or worse than those in the industrialized west.

Russia also had the problem of a shortage of indigenous capital and was flooded by foreign investment with the concurrent lack of concern for local conditions. Because of the poverty of local consumers, Russian producers were forced to seek export markets, but their products could not compete with those of the more industrially developed countries. New markets were found in the east, while the government, prodded by its enlightened and able finance minister, Serge Witte, aided industrialization by establishing banks and building railroads. The famous Trans-Siberian Railway, completed in 1904, provided a necessary link between European Russia and the Pacific coast.

In the face of industrialization and the complexities of modernization, Alexander III and his son Nicholas II both persevered in their attempts to run the empire in the style of Peter the Great or Ivan the Terrible—as a personal estate. Alexander was strong willed and reactionary in the mold of Nicholas I and so many other predecessors who had reacted to liberal trends with severe repression. Nicholas II had inherited his father's reactionary attitudes but not his strong will. Nicholas's weakness of character and his tendency toward vacillation eventually contributed to the downfall of imperial Russia.

REVOLUTION

At the turn of the century the economy, still overwhelmingly agricultural, was staggered by a depression that further impoverished the populace, increased dissatisfaction with the government, and gave impetus to the growing forces of revolution. Nicholas, surrounded by incompetent advisers (he had a propensity for dismissing good ones), allowed Russia to stumble into what proved to be a disastrous war with Japan. A series of defeats revealed the ineptitude of the czar as a leader and demonstrated the gross inefficiency of the bureaucracy in administering the affairs of the nation.

The spark needed to ignite revolution came when an order to fire on a workers' demonstration was given to the St. Petersburg militia. The demonstration had been peaceful. The workers of the capital with their wives and children had marched to the Winter Palace to petition the czar to intervene on their behalf against the intolerable conditions brought about by depression and war. The demonstrators, carrying religious icons and pictures of the czar, sang hymns as they marched to the palace. The

militia opened fire at close range, and the resulting massacre, known in Russian history as Bloody Sunday, was the first act of violence of the Revolution of 1905.

For the remainder of the year Russia was torn by strikes and civil strife, and at times the czarship itself seemed to be in danger of collapse. By granting concessions of certain civil liberties and, more important, a legislature (Duma), Nicholas managed to survive. The importance of the Revolution of 1905 lay in the fact that the masses of Russian people had risen against extreme oppression. This was not a revolt instigated by the Marxist Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, or any other radical group. This was the voice of the long-suffering Russian people making themselves heard by means of a popular revolution—a fact seemingly missed or ignored by Nicholas, who returned to his autocratic ways.

By the end of 1905 revolutionary fervor was waning, and opposition to the monarchy was divided between the Bolshevik-led groups that wanted complete overthrow and those less radical factions that were willing to settle for the minimal constitutionalism promised by the czar. Elections were held in December, and the first Duma convened in St. Petersburg in May 1906. Nicholas, expecting a subservient Duma because of the restrictive election laws, was horrified by the liberal demands of the new legislative body and forthwith dissolved the first Duma by imperial decree. New elections were held, but a second Duma was heavily Socialist in membership and, after meeting for only three months, met the same fate as its predecessor.

After considerable manipulation of the electoral laws, a third Duma met with the czar's grudging approval and served its full five-year term. The fourth and final Duma sat through the war years until it was abolished by the Bolsheviks, ending Russia's brief experiment with parliamentarism. Despite the extreme limitations placed on the Duma, it was a rudimentary legislature. Nicholas thought of his powers as God-given and viewed any constitutional limitation as sinful and heretical. He was guided by the idea that the throne of the Romanovs should be passed on to his son as he had received it from his father: absolute and autocratic.

In the face of inevitable change presaged by the Revolution of 1905, the intransigent czar gave ground slowly and only when there was no alternative. During the Duma period of limited constitutionalism, a strong man emerged as prime minister. Peter Stolypin, a monarchist who dedicated himself to preservation of the autocracy, was also a practical man who realized that certain reforms were necessary for the survival of the regime. Stolypin's first move was a program of pacification by which he planned to eliminate the nuclei of revolution. The new prime minister established military courts to deal with revolutionaries, and soon references to the "Stolypin necktie" became common as more and more



Czar Nicholas II at the time of his coronation



Empress Alexandra Feodorovna

The coronation of Czar Nicholas II in the Cathedral of the Ascension in Moscow





The coronation of Nicholas II—illumination of the Kremlin



The taking of the Communion during the coronation

The handing of the scepter during the coronation



The procession after the coronation of Their Imperial Majesties.



The Imperial Bodyguard swearing allegiance to Nicholas II



enemies of the regime were summarily tried and hanged.

As pacification progressed, Stolypin introduced land reforms, which began the transformation of the Russian countryside from the centuries-old communal system to a capitalistic farming structure. During the reform period hundreds of thousands of peasants were allowed to break their ties with the village communes and acquire land in their own names. The reformers hoped to create a new class of independent farmers who, as landowners, would be conservative in their politics and loyal to the czar. The reforms were rather slow moving, however, and Stolypin, a hard-driving person impatient with inefficiency and corruption, was making enemies on all sides. In 1911 he was assassinated by a revolutionary. A class of small landholders had been established, but the reforms had not progressed to the desired extent and, without the forcefulness of Stolypin, the reform movement languished. Meantime, along with Europe's other nations, Russia blundered along the path toward World War I.

When Russia entered the war in August 1914, the czar was able to mobilize millions of men, but despite the progress of the previous decade, the industrial base was not equal to the task of supplying and moving a modern war machine. Russian troops fought valiantly, inflicting serious defeats on Austrian and Turkish armies and forcing the Germans to engage in a two-front war at a time when France and England were in dire need of help; however, Russian losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners were huge and, with the breakdown of supply and transport, there were times when as many as 25 percent of the frontline troops were without weapons. Soldiers were instructed to retrieve rifles of fallen comrades on the battlefield.

As the fierce fighting and massive losses failed to halt the German advance, morale at the front deteriorated dangerously, and at home similar discontent grew as every village watched rapidly mounting casualty lists. Political unrest, fostered by active revolutionary propaganda, became endemic and was increased when Nicholas assumed personal command of the forces. Petrograd, which had formerly been known as St. Petersburg, was left in the hands of Empress Alexandra, the German-born wife of the czar, whose autocratic views had never endeared her to the Russian people and who was now widely accused of being a German agent. Alexandra's chief adviser and confidant was the ignorant peasant-monk Rasputin, whose escapades offended the Orthodox sensibilities of most Russians, whether nobles or peasants. Rasputin's hold over Alexandra, and through her over Nicholas, gave him such enormous power that he actually held the reins of government, dismissing and appointing officials at a dizzying rate.

Once again in the midst of a disastrous war, the Russian monarchy was shaken and, despite the murder of Rasputin in December 1916, the whole structure of czar-



The czar Nicholas II visits with the president of France, Felix Faure, during French naval maneuvers in an attempt to pacify age-old feeling of conflict.



The czar, walking behind the priest, attending church services



Gregori Rasputin as he appeared shortly before his murder in 1916

dom crashed in the revolution of March 1917. As in 1905, it was the people of Russia, almost leaderless, revolting against conditions that had become intolerable. Spurred on by revolutionary propaganda but reacting to conditions rather than to exhortations, the masses stirred as the housewives of Petrograd took to the streets demanding bread. The women were soon joined by workers. Troops ordered to suppress the disturbances joined the demonstrators. Four days later Nicholas II was forced to abdicate, ending the three-century rule of the Romanovs. The Russian monarchy, which traced its beginnings to Rurik in the year 862, passed into history.



Grand Duke Michael of Russia. As the revolution in Russia caught hold Nicholas acted under this new influence as readily as he had succumbed to the influence of his former reactionary advisers and signed a document that left his throne vacant.

"But I cannot consent to part from my son," he said, "so I abdicate in favor of my brother Michael."

The grand duke Michael wisely refused to accept the honor thus bestowed on him unless at the request of a Constituent Assembly, thus leaving the throne vacant. By that time the manifestation of public opinion in favor of abolishing entirely the monarchical form of government asserted itself so strongly that no further effort was made to find a candidate for the throne, and the provisional government remained the supreme authority of the state.

The ex-czar Nicholas for several days remained at liberty, traveling aimlessly back and forth in his sumptuous drawing-room car, until finally he was arrested and imprisoned at Tsarskoe Selo, together with the rest of his family.



Nicholas II imprisoned at Tsarskoe Selo, 1917



The royal portrait of His Imperial Majesty, the sovereign emperor, Nicholas II, and his august family. Taken at the royal grounds at Tsarskoe Selo, June 3, 1913. Standing, left to right: Empress Alexandra Feodorovna and the grand duchess Olga; seated, the grand-duchesses Maria, Tatiana (Nicholas II), and Anastasia; and seated on the floor at his father's feet is Czarevitch Aleksei. All seven members were imprisoned at Tsarskoe Selo in 1917 and murdered there (at Ekaterinburg) by their captors on July 17, 1918.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>
GRAND DUKES OF KIEV		
862-879	Grand Duke	Rurik of Novgorod
879-912	Grand Duke	Oleg (Helgi)
912-945	Grand Duke	Igor
945-955	Regent	Saint Olga
955-972	Grand Duke	Sviatoslav
973-980	Grand Duke	Yaropolk
980-1015	Grand Duke	Saint Vladimir the Sunny
1015-1019	Grand Duke	Sviatopolk
1019-1054	Grand Duke	Yaroslav the Just
1054-1073	Grand Duke	Izhaslav (Isiaslav)
1073-1076	Grand Duke	Sviatoslav
1078-1093	Grand Duke	Vsevolod
1093-1113	Grand Duke	Sviatopolk
1113-1125	Grand Duke	Valdimir Monomachus
1125-1132	Grand Duke	Mstislav
1132-1139	Grand Duke	Yaropolk
1139-1146	Grand Duke	Vsevolod
1146-1154	Grand Duke	Izhaslav II
GRAND DUKES OF VALDIMIR		
1154-1157	Grand Duke	Yuri (George) Dolgoruki
1157-1175	Grand Duke	Andrey Bogolyubski
1176-1212	Grand Duke	Vsevolod
1212-1218	Grand Duke	Konstantin
1218-1238	Grand Duke	Yuri II
1238-1246	Grand Duke	Yaroslav II
1246-1253	Grand Duke	Andrey
1253-1263	Grand Duke	Aleksandr Nevsky
1263-1272	Grand Duke	Yaroslav of Tver
1272-1276	Grand Duke	Basil
1276-1293	Grand Duke	Demetrius
1293-1304	Grand Duke	Andrey
1304-1318	Grand Duke	Michael of Tver
1318-1326	Grand Duke	Yuri Danilovich of Moscow
1326-1328	Grand Duke	Alexander of Tver

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>
CZARS OF RUSSIA		
(Ivan I called himself czar, but it wasn't an official title until the reign of Ivan IV.)		
GRAND DUKES OF MOSCOW		
1328-1341	Grand Duke	Ivan I (Kalita)
1341-1353	Grand Duke	Simeon
1353-1359	Grand Duke	Ivan II
1359-1389	Grand Duke	Demetrius Donski
1389-1425	Grand Duke	Basil I
1425-1462	Grand Duke	Basil II
1462-1505	Grand Duke	Ivan III, the Great
1505-1530	Grand Duke	Basil III
1530-1584	Czar of all Russia	Ivan IV, the Terrible
1584-1598	Czar	Fedor I
1598-1605	Czar	Boris Godunov
1605-1605	Czar	Fedor II
1605-1606	Czar	Dimitri the Imposter (Demetrius I)
1606-1610	Ruler	Basil IV Chouiski
1607-1610	Czar	Dimitri (Demetrius II)
1610-1612	Ruler	Ladislaus IV of Poland
CZARS (EMPERORS) HOUSE OF ROMANOV		
1613-1645	Emperor	Michael I
1645-1676	Emperor	Aleksei (Alexis)
1676-1683	Emperor	Fedor III
1682-1689	Emperor	Ivan V
1682-1689	Regent	Sophia
1682-1725	Emperor	Peter I, the Great
1725-1727	Empress	Catherine I
1727-1730	Emperor	Peter II
1730-1740	Empress	Anna (Duchess of Courland)
1740-1741	Emperor	Ivan VI
1741-1762	Empress	Elizabeth Petrovna
1762-1762	Emperor	Peter III
1762-1796	Empress	Catherine II, the Great
1796-1801	Emperor	Paul I
1801-1825	Emperor	Alexander I
1825-1855	Emperor	Nicholas I
1855-1881	Emperor	Alexander II
1881-1894	Emperor	Alexander III
1894-1917	Emperor	Nicholas II



16

The Polish Kingdoms

Throughout its one thousand-year history Poland has maintained a sense of unity and nationhood despite losses of independence and drastic frontier shifts brought about by foreign conquests, invasions, partitions, and occupations.

During its first eight centuries as an independent state, Poland grew to be one of the largest countries in Europe, particularly after the union with Lithuania. As Poland expanded, it collided with its expansionist neighbors, Prussia and Russia; in addition, it also had to defend its territory from Czechs, Turks, Swedes, and other enemies. Weakened by foreign wars, but more so by internal dissension and political instability, Poland was finally reduced to impotency and was dismembered by Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Polish territory was divided among the three powers in 1772, 1793, and 1775—the last date marking the disappearance of Poland as a great nation in Europe.

EARLY ORIGIN

Although the exact origin of the Slavs is obscure, archaeological evidence supports the theory that Slavic tribes inhabited areas in the Wisla (Vistula) River basin as early as the second millennium B.C. These tribes migrated in many directions from the Wisla area and eventually formed differentiated groupings generally referred to as East, West, and South Slavs. Early in the Christian Era those groups that migrated to the west had reached the fertile valley of the Elbe River and had penetrated as far northward as the Baltic Sea. Among the largest and the best organized of these tribes was the Polanie, a group located along the Warta River that forcibly united several tribes. The Polanie are generally considered to have taken their name, which was eventually passed on to the state, from the word *pole*, meaning “field” or “plain.” Thus the Polanie were field dwellers or plains people. Modern Poles are descended from the Polanian union of West Slavs.

Since the plains area offered few impassable barriers into surrounding areas, the Polanie lived in a loose grouping of shifting communities. Among these communities a limited network of more permanent settlements had been established in which primitive buildings were erected, which generally included the dwelling of the tribal chieftain, or prince, and which served as the nucleus of a small town. The Polanie tribe, although primarily dependent upon an agricultural economy, also pursued certain handicrafts, engaged in a limited form of trade, and developed a somewhat sophisticated culture.

THE PIAST KINGDOM

The impetus for the creation of a unified state among the Polanie and the neighboring tribes came with the need to resist the increasing invasions of the area by the Germanic tribes from the west. To meet this danger, the tribes united in the middle of the ninth century A.D. under the Polanie princes of the Piast Dynasty, who developed the region into a viable political entity. One of the earliest Piast kings, Mieszko I, in 966 established the first recorded capital of the state at Gniezno, to the northeast of the present-day city of Poznan. He also secured the new state from German intrusions by placing the kingdom under the protection of the Holy Roman Empire and by accepting Christianity for himself and the Polish people.

The kingdom was drawn further into the orbit of Rome and western civilization under Mieszko's son, Boleslaus I, who expanded the state and extended its authority and influence as far east as the Dnepr River in Russia. This eastward push did much to sustain the prosperity of the nation through the Middle Ages by opening commercial routes to the Black Sea area, but at the same time it led to an overextension, which ultimately resulted in the loss of much of the state's territory in the west.

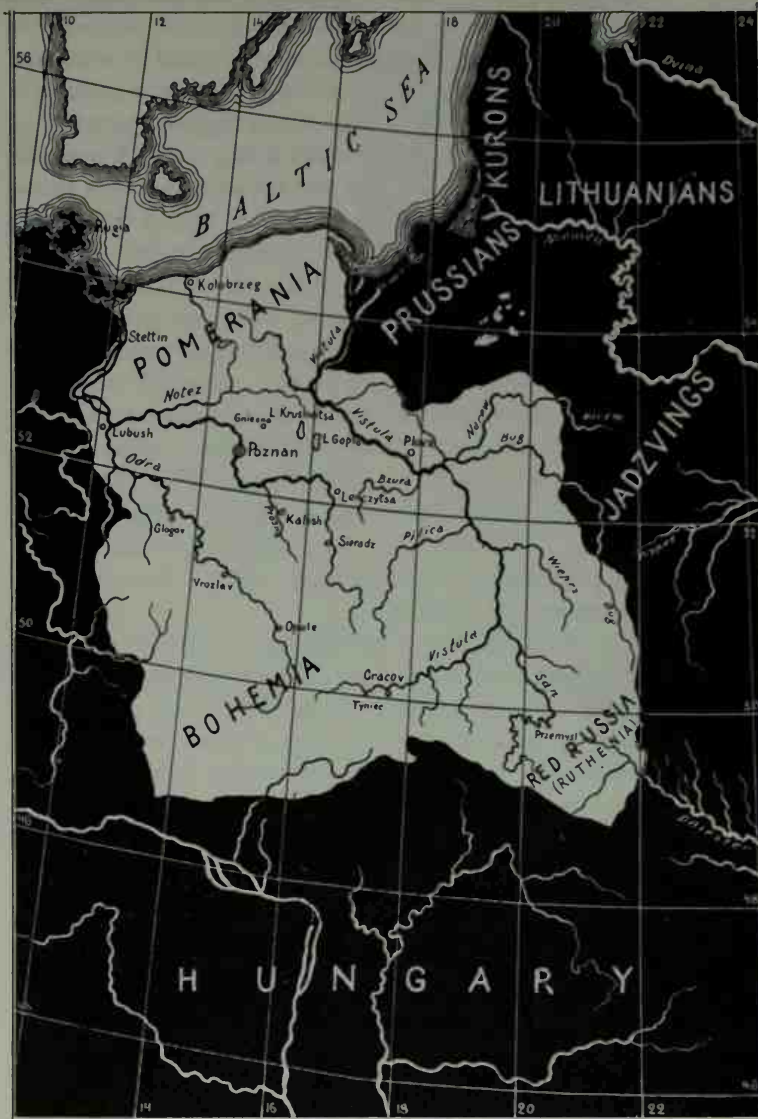
The power and independence of the Polish state were maintained by succeeding Piast kings until the reign of



The Polish prince Mieszko I (960-92) was the first official king of Poland. Faced on his borders by the triumphant armies of Otto I of Saxony, founder of the Holy Roman Empire, conqueror of France, Denmark, Burgundy, and Bohemia, King Mieszko promptly and smartly recognized the sovereignty of the German Empire, forsook the faith of his fathers, and embraced Christianity.



Boleslaus the Brave (992-1025), the eldest son of Mieszko, having disposed of his brothers, with whom he was joint heir to the domains of his father, became the single ruler of Poland and determined to push her boundaries far and wide. After having successfully checkmated the Bohemian and Ruthenian invasions, Boleslaus defeated the Pomeranians and conquered the Baltic seacoast. In the year 999 the old commercial town of Cracow was annexed, and after beating back a Hungarian invasion, Boleslaus added Trans-Carpathian Slavonia to Poland.



Poland at the time of the death of Boleslaus the Brave, 1025



To curb the Bohemian ambition the Germans lent their aid to Casimir the Restorer (1034-58), who restored unity and peace and began to devote himself to internal reorganization along German lines. He established a bureaucracy and an ecclesiastical hierarchy, rebuilt cities and churches, and imposed very heavy taxes and duties on the people in an effort to reduce them into complete subjugation to the warriors and clergy. In compensation for the aid of Germany, Casimir recognized the sovereignty of the German emperor and renounced the title of king.



Three coins of Boleslaus the Brave from his period

Boleslaus III who, before his death in 1138, decreed that the appanage system of inheritance would be instituted whereby the kingdom would be divided into principalities and each of his four sons would reign as a prince. The oldest son became prince of the strong and rich southern principality of Silesia and was supposedly senior in authority, but the division of loyalties among the princes brought on a long period of dynastic struggle, intrigue, and national weakness. As generation followed generation, the original principalities were continually subdivided among male heirs, creating further dissension and inviting invasion from Poland's powerful neighbors. During the almost two hundred years during which the appanage system held sway, the northern region of Pomerania and the port of Gdansk (Danzig) were lost to the Teutonic knights, depriving Poland of access to the sea. Silesia, which had been subdivided into sixteen minuscule principalities, was taken over by the expanding kingdom of Bohemia.

In the early part of the fourteenth century the Polish state was reunited under Casimir the Great, the last of the Piast kings and one of Poland's greatest rulers. During his nearly forty-year reign Poland became a full member of the European community, capitalized on a constructive foreign policy that enlarged its territory to the east, and underwent a series of enlightened reforms



During the reign of Boleslaus II, the Bold (1058–79), there occurred that famous struggle for supremacy between Pope Gregory VII, Hildebrand, and the emperor Henry IV. In recognition of the assistance shown him in this conflict, the pope crowned Boleslaus as independent king in 1076. Seeking revenge, the emperor recognized the Bohemian ruler as king and offered him the Polish provinces of Cracow and Silesia. A war followed that led to internal dissensions in Poland. In carrying out rigorously the reforms of Hildebrand, the king made many enemies among the clergy. His despotic character was also resented by the nobility. Under the leadership of the king's brother, Wladyslav Herman, a revolution broke out. The bishop of Cracow interdicted the king and joined the Bohemians. For this he paid the penalty of death. The story goes that the infuriated king personally murdered the bishop in the church at Mass. Recent studies, however, show that the bishop was tried for treason by the King's Court, was found guilty, and was executed.

The civil war resulted in the king's defeat and he fled the country. Cracow and southern Poland went to Bohemia, and Poland once more became a feudatory of the German Empire, and the new ruler, Ladislaus I Herman (1079–1102), lost his title of king.

By a skillful playing off of Poland and Bohemia against each other, and by the active encouragement of internal hereditary strifes, the German emperors kept both of these Western Slavic nations from developing into powerful states.

that accelerated the country's constitutional and cultural development. Under Casimir, Polish law was codified, the currency was reformed, and western administrative methods were introduced in both towns and rural areas. In addition, he introduced a system of efficient administration throughout the country; founded the first Polish university at Krakow; fostered the growth of towns, art, and commerce; and encouraged the development of the church as a unifying force in the restoration of stability and order. During Casimir's reign Jews were welcomed as immigrants and came in great numbers because of persecution in many other countries. Jews quickly moved into mercantile pursuits that were looked upon with disdain by the Polish gentry.



*King Ladislaus I Herman
(1079–1102)*

*The seal of
Ladislaus I Herman*



The years following the death of Ladislaus I Herman witnessed one of those terrific internal strifes that, in this instance, was aggravated by a German invasion, finally repelled by Boleslaus the Wrymouthed (1102–1138), who succeeded also in conquering Pomerania and extending the Polish possessions on the Baltic seaboard, far across the Oder up to and including the island of Rugia (Rugen). He died, however, a feudatory of the German emperor.



The ruler of Cracow obtained the title of *dux Poloniae*, the duke of Poland, but the security of his office depended upon his relations with the aristocracy and clergy. Casimir the Just (1177-94) had been obliged to summon a council of nobles and clergy and to surrender certain of his rights and privileges. He was also compelled to promise to call such councils when important matters of state were to be decided upon. At the Council or Synod of Lenczyca, held in 1180, the church, under the threat of an interdict, enjoined the duke from the exercise of his right to the personal property of deceased bishops (*Ius Spolii*) and to certain levies for his officials and representatives. In return for these concessions or immunities the council abolished the seniorate and vested in the line of Casimir the Just the perpetual right to the principality of Cracow. Thus the right of seniority in the House of Piast the Wheelwright gave way to the law of primogeniture in the line of Casimir the Just. This right was frequently contested by armed interference. The authority of the duke of Cracow was not adequately defined by law and was nil in actual practice. The heads of the smaller principalities were, in fact, independent rulers.



The period preceding the unification of the country abounded in warfare and bloodshed. Prince Przemysl of Great Poland, with the consent of the pope, crowned himself king of Poland in Gniezno (Gnesen) in 1295, but a few months later was murdered by the agents of Brandenburg. After his death the struggle between the various princes who strove for the high dignity again became acute. As a compromise Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, was crowned king of Poland in 1300. All Poland, except Mazovia, came under his scepter. The unification, however, entailed the loss of national independence and subjected Poland to a rigid administrative rule of Bohemia and to a strong German influence, which at that time had already become predominant in Bohemia.



One of the princes of Great Poland, Ladislaus I Lokietek (1306-33), an able and enterprising man, who, by the unification lost his title to sovereignty, fled abroad, enlisted the help of the powerful Pope Boniface VIII, and, choosing an appropriate moment when Bohemia became involved in a war with Hungary, appeared in Poland. He met with a cordial reception in all the parts of the country. Lokietek was but an incarnation of the national spirit that had produced Boleslaus the Brave and Boleslaus the Wrymouth and that revealed itself most powerfully in the days of Jagiello and on many subsequent occasions in the course of Polish history. The union brought about by the leadership of Lokietek was, however, personal at first. The sovereign was the only bond that kept the various provinces together. In their internal organization the component parts of the unified state were completely autonomous and governed in exactly the same way as they had been before the consolidation took place. To give to the political unity an adequate outward expression Lokietek strove for royal dignity. With the consent of the pope he was crowned in 1320 in Cracow as an independent king of Poland.



The historians record Casimir III, the Great (1333-70), as the first official king of Poland. He served well in unifying the independent factions in a common effort.

The seal of Casimir the Great

The White Eagle on the reverse side of the royal seal



THE JAGIELLON DYNASTY

Because there was no direct heir when Casimir died in 1370, a series of rapid dynastic changes occurred that continued until 1386. In that year Queen Hedwig, one of Casimir's descendants, who had gained the throne through concessions to the Polish nobility, married Ladislaus Jagiello, grand duke of Lithuania. The union established between the two countries later was formalized at the state level and lasted for nearly two centuries. Although less well developed than Poland at the time of the union, Lithuania was a vast state consisting of its homeland near the Baltic Sea and also encompassing large parts of modern Belorussia and the Ukraine to the south and east. Within the union Jagiello, who had accepted Christianity for himself and Lithuania, ruled both countries as king of Poland, although each maintained its own separate government.

Under the Jagiellonians, Poland became one of the greatest powers in eastern Europe. After the Poles defeated the Teutonic knights early in the fifteenth century, Polish Pomerania and Gdansk were regained, and the country entered into an extended period of cultural and economic development. The influence of the Renaissance of the sixteenth century was expressed in architecture and science; the Polish language was developed as a medium for an expressive national literature; and new universities were established as centers of secular learning. Although Roman Catholicism and its culture remained predominant and were a rallying point for Polish nationalism, Protestantism, introduced with the Reformation, enjoyed widespread toleration and also made its contributions to the Western orientation of the general cultural achievements of the country.

After the two countries became affiliated, the Polish and Lithuanian nobility quickly became assimilated and gradually increased their prestige and influence. Members of the lesser nobility (landed gentry), in particular, acquired privileges and rights that greatly reduced the authority and strength of the crown. Polish kings became increasingly dependent on the goodwill of the nobles, particularly for the funds and manpower needed to support political and military undertakings. The rise in power of the landed gentry was generally accompanied by the deterioration of the political and social status of other groups, mainly the burghers and peasants. Deprived of freedom of movement and the ability to buy land and heavily taxed, increasing numbers were forced into the service of the nobility and were gradually reduced to serfdom.

By the middle of the sixteenth century a national parliament had emerged consisting of a senate, representing the greater nobles, and a lower house, called the Sejm, which was composed of delegates from the more numerous landed gentry. This parliament, or diet, became the supreme legislative organ of the state, and the king could



In 1370, Louis, then king of Hungary, ascended the throne of Poland. Ambitious but narrow-minded, he soon came into conflict with the Polish nobles, whom he desired to subdue as he had subdued the barons of his native land. Feeling against him rose high when he tore Red Russia from Poland and gave it to one of his friends with a feudatory title. Great Poland openly rebelled. Soon, however, he entered into a compromise with the nobles, particularly those of Little Poland, over the matter of succession to the Polish throne.



Lithuanian Prince Jagiello married Queen Hedwig and the two countries were joined. Prince Jagiello took the name of Ladislaus II and began the reign as king of Poland in 1386. He ruled until his death in 1434, when he was replaced on the throne by his son, Ladislaus III.



King Ladislaus III of Varna (1434-44)



The royal castle at Podhorce at the time



King Casimir IV Jagiello (1447-92). When Ladislaus III died in 1444, his brother, Casimir Jagiello, who had been discharging the office of grand duke of Lithuania, was very slow in ascending the Polish throne to which he was elected by the nobility, assembled in April 1445, at Sieradz. The chief reasons for his procrastination were his ambition to restore to Lithuania the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, which were administered by Polish governors, and his disinclination to subscribe to the liberties and privileges of the clergy and nobility. When, after many fruitless presentations, the king remained recalcitrant and insisted that the two provinces be put under Lithuanian control, and that he not be compelled to sign the *pacta conventa*, the magnates conditionally elected Boleslav of Mazovia. Thus threatened, Casimir accepted the crown on June 18, 1447.

His first act after the coronation was to curb the power of the clergy by subordinating the church to the state. His war with the church and the pope made it possible for him to press his claims to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, after the childless death of Wladyslav Habsburg, son of Emperor Albert, whose beautiful sister he had married. The Hungarians proclaimed Matthias Corvinus, the son of John Hunyadi, as their king, and the Bohemians chose George of Poděbrad, a Hussite. The dissatisfied Catholic element in Bohemia turned to Poland. Casimir intervened, and as a consequence his son ascended the throne of Bohemia. Soon afterward Hungary, at the death of Matthias Corvinus, who left no legal sons, united with Bohemia under the same scepter. Polish influence was, in this way, established over a wide area and in foreign lands.

King John Albert. Immediately after the death of Casimir IV, John Albert was elected king of Poland (1492-1501). The Lithuanians elected his younger brother, Alexander, as grand duke of Lithuania in violation of the existing agreements. The new king was educated in accordance with the principles of Humanism, and, like his father, was determined to resist the power of the secular and temporal lords, and in these efforts sided with the nobility, whose idol he had become.



King Alexander (1501-6), before taking the throne, agreed with the Council of Magnates that he would abide by their direction. This made him little more than the "president of the Senate."



King Sigismund I (1506-48) started his rule with the "Nihil novi" statute, which did more harm to Poland than any other document to date. It provided that no new business could be conducted without the unanimous consent of the three estates—the king; the Senate; and the representatives of the landowners, the nobles. Because the nobles feared to give the king a big standing army, the country had a period of military unpreparedness.

He had four children: Isabella, whose husband was John, king of Hungary; Sigismund, who became king of Poland; Anne, who married the king of Poland, Stephen Bathory; and Catherine, whose husband was John III Vasa, king of Sweden.

The duke of Prussia swearing allegiance to Sigismund I at Cracow in 1525





Sigismund I, the Old, in his Renaissance sarcophagus in the Sigismund Chapel in Wawel Cathedral, the burial place of the Polish kings

pass no new laws without its consent. Eventually an extraordinary legislative practice called the *liberum veto* evolved, which in later years was widely abused and weakened the state by severely curtailing central authority and by perpetuating internal political weaknesses, confusion, and corruption. Under the *liberum veto* an individual legislator could block consideration of a proposal and, by interposing an outright veto, any delegate could dissolve the body and require resubmission of all current measures to a new assembly.

THE ELECTIVE MONARCHY

In 1572 King Sigismund II, the last of the Jagiello line, died without an heir, and succession to the Polish crown became elective. Domestic affairs were in disorder, there being no recognized authority to curb political excesses and intrigues. Members of the Polish nobility had never developed the concept of service to the throne, and their continued struggle for position and wealth continually deprived the state of the cohesion it needed to maintain its independence. Succession to the throne became a competition among the royal houses of Europe and degenerated largely into a contractual arrangement in which the new monarch, before election, was required to sign a pact that severely limited his prerogatives and guaranteed the full rights and privileges of the nobility.

In the late sixteenth century and during most of the seventeenth, wars were fought with Russia, Turkey, and Sweden, primarily over outside vested interests held by the foreigners who occupied the Polish throne. Some Polish victories were won, particularly under the leadership of King John Sobieski between 1674 and 1696. Toward the close of the seventeenth century internal political decay and impotence had grown to such proportions that Polish efforts to resist external pressures were ineffective. After King John Sobieski's death in 1696, no fewer than eighteen foreign candidates competed for the vacant throne, which went to Augustus II of Saxony. His inept, thirty-six-year rule did little to retard further divisiveness and internal disintegration.

When Augustus II died in 1733, parliament elected a Polish nobleman king, but a Russian army sent into Warsaw prevented his accession and forced parliament to choose the son of Augustus II as the new ruler. The low state of effectiveness to which the Polish governmental institutions had sunk persisted throughout the undistinguished reign of Augustus III. Toward the end



King Sigismund II (1548-72). Before the death of his father, Sigismund the Old, the Diet agreed to his accession but only on the condition that after Sigismund II's reign the kings would be elected. He had a serious encounter with the Senate for marrying Barbara Radziwill without their permission. The Senate for two years tried to make the king divorce her, but he held out and finally the Senate allowed her to be crowned queen.



Queen Barbara Radziwill

The Polish Republic in the year 1569





In April 1573, with 40,000 eligible voters present, a new king of Poland was elected. The candidates were Henry of Valois, the brother of the French king Charles IX; Archduke Ernest Habsburg, who was the younger son of the emperor Maximilian II; King John of Sweden; Czar Ivan the Terrible; Prince Stephen Bathory of Transylvania; and some lesser Polish candidates. The French candidate carried the vote because of the strong tie to the church. However, Henry was in Poland as the new king for only five months when his brother died. Henry fled to France, where he became King Henry III. The Polish people, particularly the noble families—who were very well educated and by far the most cultural people in the world at that period in history—were shocked that Henry chose to leave Poland. The honored historian Morfil explains this difference in a history book of Poland, "The Poles had a facility to speak Latin, French, German and Italian while in the entire Court of France (over a hundred members) only two spoke Latin."

The royal castle at Krasieczyn



The royal castle at Warsaw



Stephen Bathory (1574–86). After the flight of Henry of Valois from Poland, there proceeded an election for a new king. The Senate voted for the Austrian emperor, Maximilian II, and the nobles chose Stephen Bathory who was married to Anne Jagiello, sister of Sigismund II Augustus. Bathory was the first to arrive in Cracow and entered the city when the nobles were in control. He was crowned the king in 1576. All of Poland and Lithuania recognized him but Danzig and West Prussia rebelled. He soon put down the opposition. A rare king, schooled in both diplomacy and warfare, he won over his opposition and did in his enemies. He executed Samuel Zborowski, who with the help of foreign monarchs, came to Poland to upset the king and he dealt summarily with George Dscik, the leading Lithuanian magnate who was plotting with the czar of Muscovy. This king carried out judiciary reforms with the same justice for all including the nobles. His reign is noted for his success in curbing anarchy and also for convincing the Diet to finance him to a big army. He stopped the raids of the Turks and the Tatars, and drove Ivan the Terrible out of his invasion of Livdnia (1577). Ivan sued for peace but King Bathory wanted to move on and take control of Moscow. Ivan went to a foolish pope, who sent the famous Jesuit Antonnio Possevino to negotiate with the Polish king, after Ivan promised to turn himself and his country over to the Catholic church. Stephen Bathory accepted the terms of Ivan and the pope, and stopped his victory march with possession of Livdnia and the duchy of Polotsk. He died young on December 12, 1596, at the age of fifty-three, after serving as one of Poland's greatest Catholic kings.

King Bathory at Pskov settling his terms with Ivan the Terrible and Jesuit Antonnio





The Interregnum of 1586–87 ended in a war. The chief candidates were the Swedish archduke Sigismund Vasa, the son of King John and Catherine Jagiello, who was the second sister of Sigismund II Augustus; and Maximilian, the brother of the emperor Rudolf II. The archduke won and became King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632). Thought to be a *tabula rasa*, he soon proved to be the opposite—a king of strong character. He married an Austrian princess without the Senate's permission, an action that led to a secret agreement on his part to cede Estonia from Poland to the possession of Ernest Habsburg's Austria. This charge brought about an Inquisitorial in 1592 but the king survived it and ruled on until his death in 1632. He was noted in Polish history as one of the staunchest supporters of the church.

King Ladislaus IV Vasa (1632–48). Under this Polish king's reign, the nobles became "kinglets" and took possession of the people and the cities. The Radziwills came into ownership of 16 cities and 583 villages with a standing army of 6,000 to maintain control of their deedship, and the Potockis "royal" family ended up with 3 million acres and 130,000 serfs to work them.



Ladislaus IV died on May 20, 1648, on a journey to the Ukraine, where the brilliant and wise ruler had hoped to put down a rebellion by the peasants and cossacks against the "magnates, Jews, and Jesuits."



of the eighteenth century Poland maintained neither a standing army nor a diplomatic service and no longer attempted to follow any semblance of an independent foreign policy.

The political stagnation and decline of the country were accompanied by increasing social, cultural, and economic disintegration. The life of the peasant became harsher as the landed estates were more heavily exploited, and the towns and cities diminished in importance as a result of heavy taxation and a decline in commerce and trade. The lack of economic progress coupled with poor Polish attitudes toward commercial pursuits were significant factors in the retarded development of a prosperous middle class, the absence of which served to emphasize the great cleavage that existed between the nobility and the extremely large peasant class. The Roman Catholic church was the only important element of cohesion and unity that remained as a base of identity for the bulk of the population. This sense of identity was nurtured by the fact that most foreign invaders and rulers had been of different religions, including Protestant Swedes and Prussians, Orthodox Russians, and Muslim Turks. As a consequence, strong nationalistic Catholic feeling developed to the point where the dissident religious minorities were denied political recognition and were restricted in many of their religious activities.

John II Casimir Vasa (1648–68) served in a period when the constituency wanted a separation of church and state as well as banishment of the Jesuits who by now were well in control of the politics of Poland.



The Polish Republic at the time of her greatest expansion, 1634–60





The Polish winged Hussar, the elite personal soldier and officer in the king's army. These light cavalry troops were begun by King Bathory and were used by every king thereafter, with King John III Sobieski using them for battle and ceremonial royal guard.



King John III Sobieski (1674–96). This Polish king is considered the greatest of all of Poland's warrior-kings. In his early youth he showed great promise in the military by distinguishing himself against the invasions by the cossacks, Tatars, and Russians. He defeated the Turks under Mahomet IV and took their fortress of Kotzim in 1671, and was elected king of Poland in 1674. He went to the relief of Vienna when it was besieged by the Turks in 1683, was successful and expelled the Turks from the country. In this action he became the first Supreme Commander of combined military forces, all of the Austrian, Bavarian, and Saxon armies.

The family portrait of King John III Sobieski, at right



Wilanow Palace (near Warsaw), at left and below. The palace residence of King John III Sobieski whose wife, Queen Marie Casimire, designed the building and the grounds. At the end of World War II, it was looted and destroyed by the retreating Germans. Most of the treasures were recovered and the building was completely restored and rebuilt to its original splendor from 1956 to 1965 and is now a national museum and open to the public.





The gateway entrance to King Sobieski's palace at Wilanov

The armor worn by King John III Sobieski at the Battle of Vienna



The Supreme Allied Commander King John III Sobieski at the head of his troops before the Battle of Vienna



Augustus II, the Strong, reigned from 1697 to 1706 and lost the throne from 1704 (1706) to 1709 but regained it in 1709 and reigned again until 1733. The elector of Saxony, he became a Catholic in order to mount the throne as king of Poland. Poland served as his springboard for expansionist plans to conquer the Swedish Baltic possessions. The Polish Diet denied him support in his plans, so he used his Saxony troops to invade Lithuania and the great Northern War of 1700–21 began. Augustus II was defeated by King Charles XII of Sweden and abdicated his Polish throne, whereupon Stanislaus Leszczynski, his choice as successor, was elected to be king. Stanislaus remained as king of Poland until Charles XII was defeated by Russians in the Ukraine in 1709. Augustus II then withdrew his abdication, declaring it illegal, and reigned until 1733. Upon Augustus's death in 1733, Stanislaus was reelected and served in a very shaky political period from 1733 to 1736.

King Stanislaus Leszczynski



A souvenir medal of the election of Stanislaus Leszczynski in 1733

THE PARTITION PERIOD

Shortly after becoming empress of Russia in 1762, Catherine II (the Great) exerted pressure on the Polish state to restore full rights and privileges to the Orthodox and Protestant religious minorities. This campaign sparked a violent outbreak of armed conflict within the country, which lasted for nearly four years and was eventually put down by Russian military forces. Concerned over the large possible territorial gains that could accrue to Russia after this victory, Austria and Prussia concluded an agreement with Russia in 1772 whereby none of the three interested powers would acquire Polish territory to the exclusion of the others. This led to the first partition of Poland and the loss to the three competing powers of contiguous areas comprising almost one-third of its territory and one-half of its population.

The effects of this partition shocked the Polish nobility and stimulated them to undertake reforms that would strengthen the country. Their efforts resulted, in 1791, in a new constitution that abolished the *liberum veto*, established a hereditary monarchy, strengthened the executive power of the king, and gave political recognition to the urban middle class. This new constitution was opposed by a group of disgruntled nobles who appealed to Catherine II for full restoration of their privileges. As a result Russia, in collusion with Prussia, launched a second invasion of Poland in 1792 and within three months forced the country to accept a second treaty of partition. This second loss reduced Poland to less than one-third of its original prepartition area and left the country with a population of only about four million people.

The second partition also led to an insurrection in 1794, under the leadership of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a Polish patriot who had distinguished himself earlier in

Augustus II as he appeared at the beginning of his second reign, 1709-33



Poland after the first partition by Russia in 1772

King Augustus III (1734-63). In 1733, the people of Poland elected Stanislaus Leszczyński as king of Poland but on January 17, 1734, under protection of Russian and Saxon armies, Augustus III, the son of Augustus II, was crowned king of Poland in Cracow. The Diet of 1736 recognized Augustus III as king. Under his reign the beginning of the end of Polish royalty went through its stages with the formation of political parties that were in their very nature opposed to a monarchy in any form, including an elective one.



A sketch of Ujazdów Castle in Warsaw as it appeared early in the reign of King Stanislaus Augustus. The dukes of Mazovia erected Ujazdów Castle in the sixteenth century and early in the next century King Sigismund III erected on the grounds a new castle. Partially destroyed during the Swedish wars, Ujazdów Castle was sold in 1674 to Lubomirski, the marshal of the crown. King Augustus II of the Saxon Dynasty in 1720 took a lease on the reconstructed "Ujazdów" from Lubomirski's heirs. In 1764 Ujazdów was bought by Stanislaus Poniatowski, who later in that year was elected king of Poland and assumed the name of Stanislaus Augustus and thus the castle reverted back to the monarch. But the castle proved to be too small for the king, and in 1775 he ceased to live there. At the same time, the king chose the *Lazienka*—one of the pavilions on the vast Ujazdów grounds—as his summer residence.



In the final election in Poland of a king, it ironically fell to the leader of the Russian conquerors, Empress Catherine, to make the choice. She "expressed" the view that her Polish lover, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, be elected the king of Poland and the elective machinery obliged her. His coronation took place in Warsaw on November 25, 1764, the name day of Russian Empress Catherine. He served Poland and Russia until Poland was partitioned away by Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Although Austria joined with Prussia and Russia in 1772 to divide up the kingdom of Poland, only ninety years before, Austria had been saved by the Poles from destruction. The Austrian Empire had been overrun by a Turkish army, which was on the point of capturing Vienna, when John Sobieski, the king of Poland, appeared on the scene with an army, relieved the capital, and drove the Turks out of the Austrian dominions. Here are the Polish troops with their prisoners after they had beaten the Turks.



Lazienka was built shortly before 1690 on an island on a small rectangular lake. Described as "un 'edifice dans le goût grotesque," its centerpiece was a spacious circular and domed hall with a large water basin and fountain in a grotto setting. *Lazienka* Palace was known to the Poles as the Palace on the Waters. The grounds are now the *Lazienki Park* in the center of Warsaw.

This complex of *Lazienki Park* includes the White House (erected 1774-75), *Myslewicki Palace*.



the American Revolution. Although scoring some initial successes, Kosciuszko's forces were crushed by combined Russian and Prussian troops. The defense of Warsaw was a heroic but futile struggle that was concluded by the virtual massacre of its defenders by the Russians. After their victory, Russia and Prussia shared with Austria the remaining Polish territory in a final partition in 1795. This action totally eliminated Poland as a political entity for more than one hundred years.

After 1795 many Polish intellectuals, political leaders, officers, and patriots emigrated to France and organized military units within the French forces with the hope of returning to Poland with the revolutionary French army. In 1807 Napoleon defeated Prussia and fashioned from its Polish provinces the grand duchy of Warsaw, a puppet state, which enjoyed a liberal form of local government under a firm but tolerant French administration. Although the life of this revived Polish state ended with the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the ideals of liberal democracy that were visible under French administration during this period had a lasting influence on the development of Polish nationalism and its survival during the nineteenth century.

The grand duchy of Warsaw was replaced at the Congress of Vienna by a much smaller kingdom of Poland,

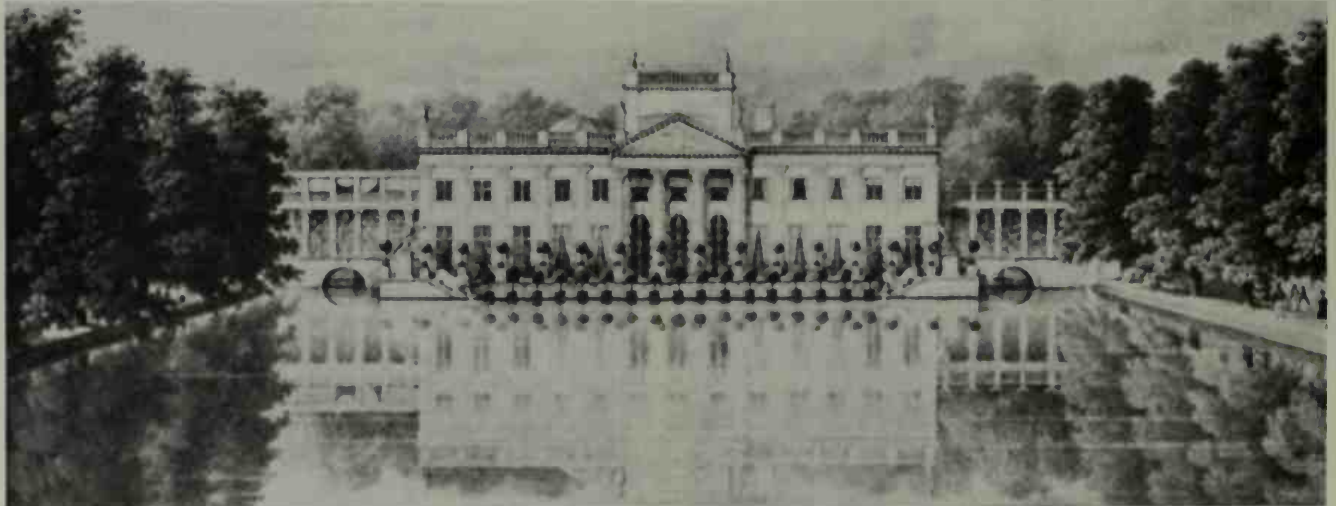
which was made semiautonomous within the Russian Empire with the czar as hereditary monarch. This small, so-called Congress Kingdom showed considerable political progress under the moderate rule of Czar Alexander I. Industry, mining, and education were fostered, and a separate Polish administration and a small army were permitted to function. The kingdom was caught up, however, in a series of anti-Russian uprisings beginning in 1830, which finally resulted in the full incorporation of the Congress Kingdom into the Russian Empire and the ultimate imposition of a harsh russification program in all the Polish areas under Russian rule.

During the nineteenth century and up to the period of

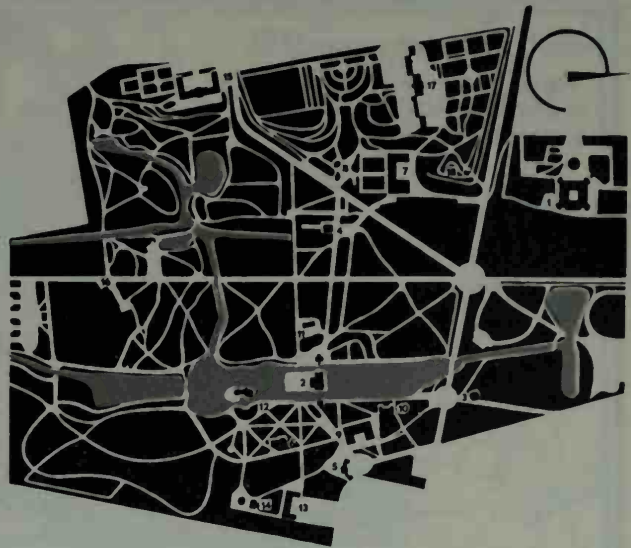
Belvedere Palace. A drawing room corner on the upper floor—a room frequently used by King Stanislaus Augustus



Belvedere Palace (north view). The king had more elaborate plans for the site and the adjoining Belvedere Palace, but he abdicated and left Poland in 1795. However, until his death (1798) he directed from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) the work for the completion of Lazienki Park. In 1798 his heirs sold the estate to Emperor Alexander I of Russia who used it as a summer palace. After World War I, when Poland regained her independence, the Polish authorities removed all traces of the Russian modifications. During World War II the Germans in retreat in January 1945 destroyed all of the buildings and removed all of the furnishings and collections of Lazienka. The Poles completed a reconstruction of Lazienka in 1965 and recovered most of the artifacts. Lazienka rivals the French Palace of Versailles and Trianon.



World War I each of the three partitioned areas of Poland received a distinctive imprint from its occupying power. Important social, cultural, and economic changes were experienced, but at varying times. Indicative of this was the final emancipation of the peasant from serfdom. Prussia abolished the practice in its occupied areas in 1823; Austria, in 1849; and Russia, in 1864—three years after eliminating the custom in the native Russian lands. In all three areas the landed gentry gradually decreased in number and wealth, and sons of the lesser nobility turned to the towns for careers in business and the professions. This was the last stage of the disintegration of the Polish monarchy.



LEGENDA

- 1. Zamek Ujazdowski
- 2. Pałac Na Wyspie
- 3. Ermitaż
- 4. Biały Dom
- 5. Pałac Myslewski

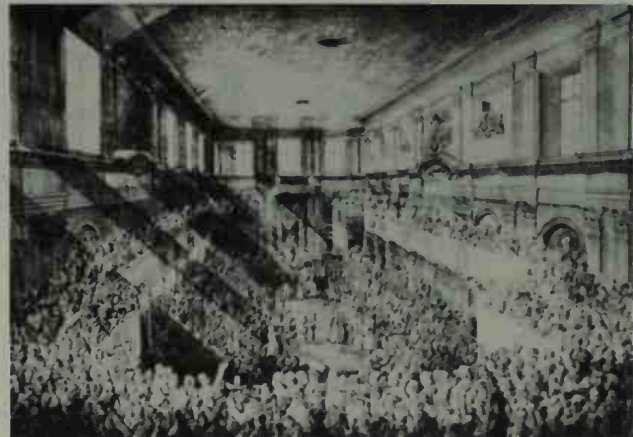
- 6. Dom Turcki
- 7. Stara Pomarańczarnia
- 8. Renerwas
- 9. Wielka Oficyna
- 10. Kordegarda Wschodnia
- 11. Kordegarda Zachodnia
- 12. Amfiteatr

- 13. Budynek stajni
- 14. Domek Letni
- 15. Pałac Belwederski
- 16. Nowa Pomarańczarnia
- 17. Obserwatorium
- 18. Świątynia Opatrzności
- 19. Pomnik Chopina

Sketch of the Lazienki Park grounds



A painting of King Augustus

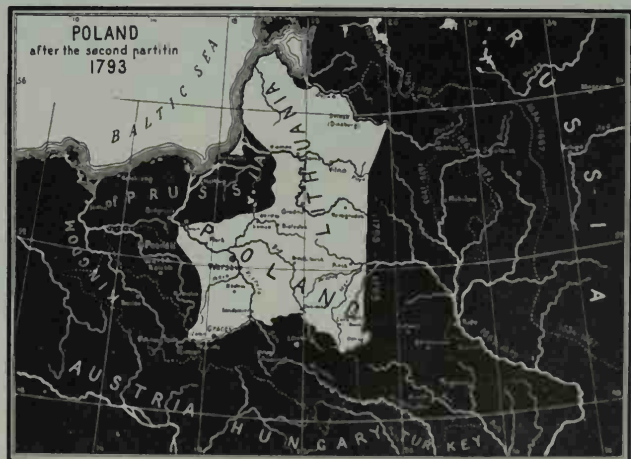


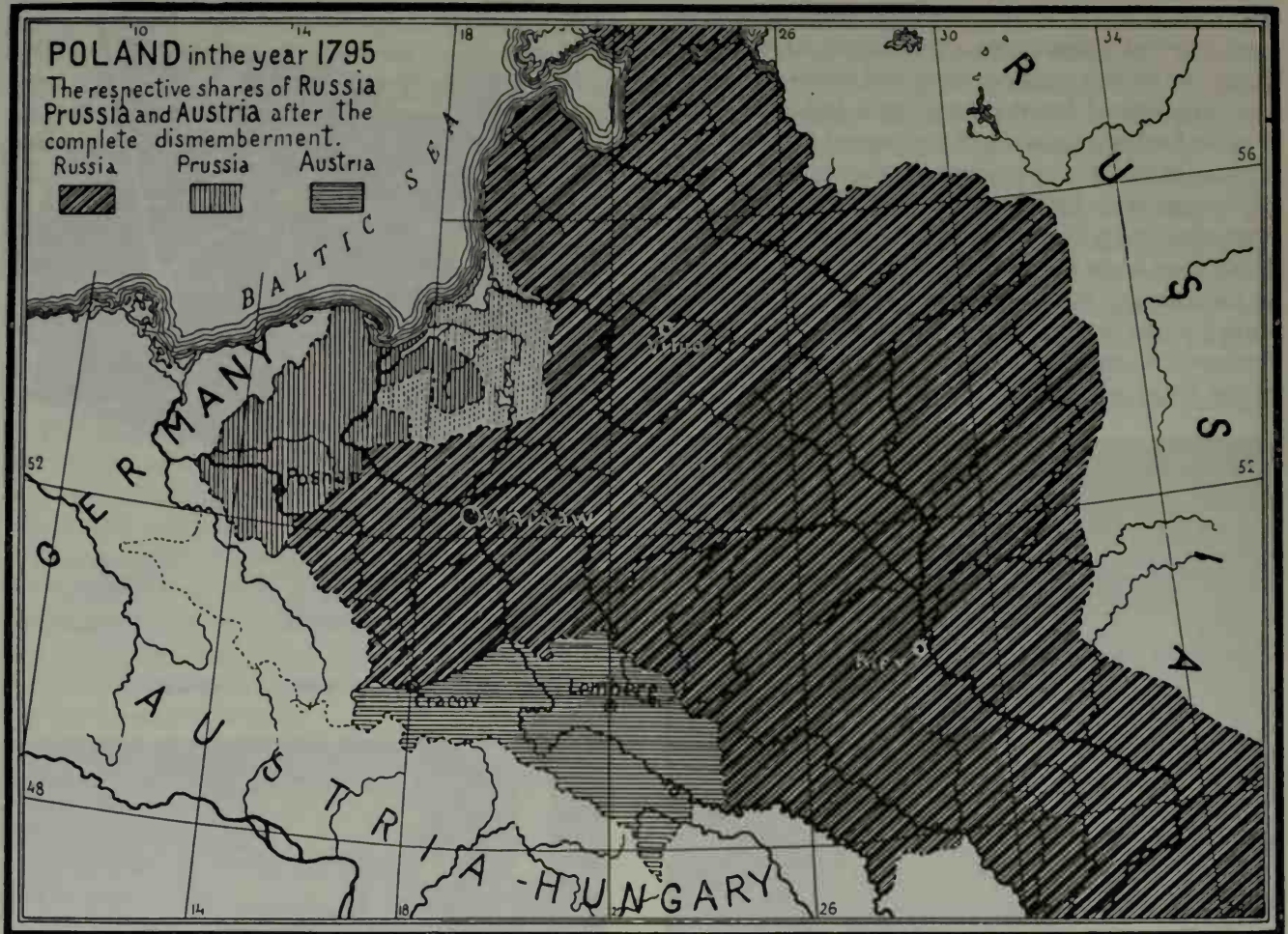
Voting on the Constitution of May 3, 1791, in the debating chamber of the Warsaw Castle

Myslewicki Palace



Poland after the partition of 1793





Poland in the year 1795

Wilanov Palace as it appears today. It was the former residence of King John III Sobieski.



*Wewel Cathedral—
 coronation and burial site
 of Polish kings*

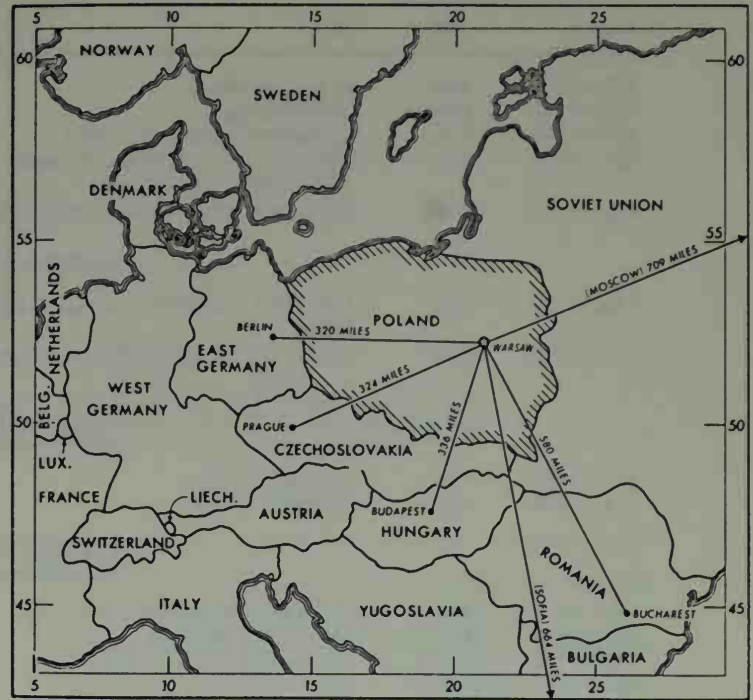
Tourists get this view today across the lake, of the Royal Castle of Wewel in Cracow.





The Ambassadors' Hall in the royal castle of Wewel. It is a room used by the later kings of Poland in which they received foreign royalty and dignitaries.

Poland today



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE POLISH KINGDOMS

Reign	Title	Ruler	Birth	Death	Relationship
PIAST DYNASTY					
EARLY FEUDAL MONARCHY					
960-992	King	Mieszko I	922	992	
992-1025	King	Boleslaus I, the Brave (crowned in 1025)	967	1025	Son of Mieszko I
1025-1034	King	Mieszko II Lambert	990	1034	Son of Boleslaus I
1034-1058	King	Casimir I, the Restorer	1016	1058	Son of Mieszko II
1058-1079	King	Boleslaus II, the Bold (king from 1076)	1039	1081	Son of Casimir I
1079-1102	King	Ladislaus I Herman	1043	1102	Son of Casimir I
1102-1107	King	Boleslaus II, the Wrymouth	1039	1107	Son of Casimir I
1107-1138	King	Boleslaus III, the Wrymouth	1085	1138	Son of Ladislaus I
FEUDAL DISINTEGRATION PERIOD (DUKES RULING IN CRACOW)					
1138-1146	King	Ladislaus II, the Exile	1105	1159	Son of Boleslaus III
1146-1173	King	Boleslaus IV, the Curly	1120	1173	Son of Boleslaus III
1173-1177	King	Mieszko III, the Old	1126	1202	Son of Boleslaus III
1177-1194	King	Casimir II, the Just	1138	1197	Son of Boleslaus III
1194-1202	King	Mieszko III, the Old	1126	1202	Son of Boleslaus III
1202-1202	King	Ladislaus Spindleshanks	1138	1202	Son of Boleslaus III
1202-1210	King	Leszek, the White	1186	1227	Son of Casimir II
1210-1211	King	Mieszko, the Stumbling	1190	1211	Son of Mieszko III
1211-1227	King	Leszek, the White	1186	1227	Son of Casimir II
1227-1229	King	Ladislaus Spindleshanks	1169	1229	Son of Ladislaus Spindleshanks
1229-1232	King	Conrad of Mazovia	1197	1232	
1232-1238	King	Henry I, the Bearded	1163	1238	Son of Boleslaus of Silesia
1238-1241	King	Henry II, the Pious	1191	1241	Son of Henry I
1241-1243	King	Conrad of Mazovia	1181	1247	Son of Casimir II
1243-1279	King	Boleslaus, the Chaste	1226	1279	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1279–1288	King	Keszek, the Black	1240	1288	Son of Casimir I of Cuyavia
1288–1290	King	Henry Probus	1257	1290	Son of Henry III of Silesia
1290–1291	King	Przemysl II (king 1295–1296)	1257	1296	Son of Przemysl
1291–1305	King	Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, Premyslid Dynasty (king of Poland from 1300)	1271	1305	Son of Ottokar of Bohemia
1305–1306	King	Wenceslaus III of Bohemia, Premyslid Dynasty	1273	1306	Son of Ottokar of Bohemia
UNITED POLISH KINGDOM					
1306–1333	King	Ladislaus I, the Short, Lokietek (king from 1320)	1261	1333	Son of Casimir I
1333–1370	King	Casimir III, the Great (first king of Poland)	1310	1370	Son of Ladislaus I
ANGEVIN DYNASTY					
1370–1382	King	Louis of Hungary	1326	1382	Nephew of Casimir III
1383–1399	Queen	Hedwig (Jadwiga)	1374	1399	Daughter of Louis of Hungary
JAGIELLON DYNASTY					
1386–1434	King	Ladislaus II Jagiello	1348	1434	
1434–1444	King	Ladislaus III of Varna	1424	1444	Son of Ladislaus II
1447–1492	King	Casimir IV, the Jagiellonian	1427	1492	Son of Ladislaus II
1492–1501	King	John Albert	1458	1501	Son of Casimir IV
1501–1506	King	Alexander	1460	1506	Son of Casimir IV
1506–1548	King	Sigismund I, the Old	1467	1548	Son of Casimir IV
1548–1572	King	Sigismund II Augustus	1520	1572	Son of Sigismund I
ELECTORAL KINGS					
1573–1574	King	Henry of Valois	1551	1589	
1576–1586	King	Stephen Bathory	1533	1586	Son-in-law of Sigismund I
1587–1632	King	Sigismund III Vasa	1565	1632	Grandson of Sigismund I
1632–1648	King	Ladislaus IV Vasa	1594	1648	Son of Sigismund III
1648–1668	King	John II Casimir Vasa	1609	1672	Son of Sigismund III
1669–1673	King	Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki	1640	1673	
1674–1696	King	John III Sobieski	1629	1696	
1697–1706	King	Augustus II, the Strong (Wettin)	1670	1733	Son of John George of Saxony
1704–1709	King	Stanislaus Leszczynski	1677	1766	
1709–1733	King	Augustus II, the Strong	1670	1733	
1733–1736	King	Stanislaus Leszczynski	1677	1766	
1734–1763	King	Augustus III (Wettin)	1696	1763	Son of Augustus II
1764–1795	King	Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski	1732	1798	

Poland was partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1772, 1793, and 1795; central Poland was created as grand duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon with Frederick Augustus I of Saxony as ruler, 1807–1814, and Poland regained independence in 1918.



The Kingdoms of Romania



Romania and her historic provinces

Romania's history as an independent state dates from about the middle of the nineteenth century; as a Communist state, from about the end of World War II. The history of the Romanian people, however, is long, complex, and important when considered in the context of the overall history of the Balkan region. The origin and development of the Romanians remain controversial subjects among Romanian and Hungarian historians, whose arguments serve to support or deny claims to rightful ownership of large areas within Romania's borders.

Until the end of World War II Romania's history as a state was one of gains and losses of territory and shifting borders. As the Ottoman Empire in Europe receded, the Romanians found themselves pressured by the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. Borders arranged by the victorious powers after World War I increased Romania's territory but also increased its minority population, particularly the Hungarian. Between the two world wars the country experienced a period of Fascist dictatorship and aligned itself with Nazi Germany early

in World War II, but it eventually overthrew the Fascists and finished the war on the side of the Allies.

In the postwar chaos of the late 1940s, with Soviet troops occupying the country, Romania deposed its king and emerged as a Communist state under the close scrutiny and supervision of its powerful northern neighbor, the Soviet Union.

EARLY ORIGIN

The earliest recorded inhabitants of the area included in present-day Romania were Thracian tribes, known as Dacians, who settled in the area well before the Christian Era and established a major center in Transylvania. These people practiced a primitive form of agriculture and engaged in limited trade with Greek settlements along the western coast of the Black Sea. By the middle of the first century A.D. the Dacians had grouped themselves into a loosely formed state ruled by a series of kings who attempted to expand their power to the north and west and, most aggressively, to the south into the area below the lower Danube River.

In their advance southward the Dacians came into conflict with the Romans who, during the same period, were attempting to extend their control over the Balkan region and to push the northern border of their empire up to the natural barrier formed by the Danube River. In a series of campaigns between A.D. 101 and 106, the Roman emperor Trajan succeeded in conquering the areas known as Banat, Oltenia, and Walachia and in finally reducing the Dacian stronghold in Transylvania. After consolidating and unifying his control over the people, Trajan fortified the area, stationed Roman legions in garrisons at strategic points, and organized the region to serve as a province of the Roman Empire.

As a border province, Dacia developed rapidly and became one of the most prosperous in the empire. Colonists were brought in from other parts of the empire, cities were built, agriculture and mineral resources were



The story of the Romanian people begins with the original inhabitants of Romania who were Dacians. The Romans under Trajan first conquered and occupied Dacia. This is a Roman coin found in Romania that is of Trajan's time, and bears his image.

developed, and profitable commercial relations were established with other regions under Roman control. The province proved vulnerable to periodic barbarian incursions, however, and toward the end of the third century the Roman emperor Aurelian was forced to abandon Dacia and withdraw the Roman troops to defend similarly threatened areas farther to the south.

Aside from the romanization of the native population, little evidence of the occupation survived the Roman evacuation of Dacia. Among the traces of the Roman presence remaining were the vestiges of Christianity introduced in the second century and the legacy of the name of the future state of Romania as well as the Latin basis for its language.

Lacking natural geographical barriers to invasion from the east and south, the greater part of the Dacian territory was overrun by successive waves of barbarian invaders for ten centuries after the withdrawal of the Romans. Little is known of the fate of the Daco-Roman population during this long, turbulent period until new settlements inhabited by a Latin-speaking people known as Vlachs emerged on the Romanian plains in the eleventh century. Although historic records are lacking, these Vlachs were believed to be descendants of the earlier Daco-Roman colonists, many of whom either sought refuge in the Carpathian Mountains of Transylvania or migrated south of the Danube River to escape the invaders. Having survived, they returned to reestablish themselves in their historic homeland.

The succession of barbaric invasions exploited and devastated the country. The Germanic Goths were followed by Slavs and Avars, and not until the Bulgars overran the area in the seventh century was a semblance of civic order established. The region developed a rudimentary form of cultural life, and Christianity in the Eastern Orthodox form was introduced after the conversion of the Bulgar Czar Boris in 864. The Bulgars were eventually displaced by Hungarians, who, in turn, gave way to Asiatic Tatars, all of whom left limited, but lasting, influences on the land and its inhabitants.

FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

WALACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

As the threats of invasion diminished, the Vlachs gradually moved farther into the foothills and plains of the Danube basin and fused with a population that, while retaining a small Vlach element, had by then acquired a heavy mixture of Slavs and Tatars. Two distinct groups eventually emerged, one settling in the area now known as Walachia and the other settling farther to the east and north in Moldavia. The earliest events surrounding the development of these areas are not known, but after a period of colonization the two regions emerged, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively, as the semi-independent principalities of Walachia and Moldavia.

When the Ottoman Empire overran southeastern Europe in the fifteenth century, these Danubian principalities were forced to accept Turkish suzerainty and remained Turkish dependencies until the middle of the nineteenth century. Unlike other areas under Turkish

Basarab I (1317-52) shown on his white horse, foreground, commanding a battle being fought against Charles Robert's soldiers in the mountain passes of Romania





Mircea the Old, a Walachian prince, who reigned 1386 to 1418, exemplifies the royal princes of the early days of Romania and their place on the field of battle at the head of their armies. Prince Mircea in 1388, 1394, and 1397 turned back the Turkish expeditions of Vizier Ali Pasha, and in 1404 he again stopped the Turks.



Iancu of Hunedoara (1441-56) was another fierce fighter against the Turks and defeated them regularly when they invaded his territory of Transylvania. A powerful politician, he also was able to place the princes on the thrones of Moldavia and Walachia to help in the battles against the Ottoman invaders.

Ein wunderliche und erschreckliche
 Historie von einem großen wärrich genant
 Szacole wardt Der so gar wärrich
 liche mærrer hat angelegt die menscheit
 mit spissen auch by teile zu todt geschicket



Georck zu bamburg im 1577. iare.

Vlad the Impaler (1456-62), the ruling prince of Walachia, became the leading Romanian military leader to fight off the Turks after the death of Iancu. In 1461-62, Vlad attacked and destroyed the Ottoman garrisons on both banks of the Danube from Zimnicea to the mouth of the river. Mohammed II himself pursued Vlad and his men. Vlad at this time and point in history received his name Impaler. He impaled the enemy soldiers he had captured, nude, on ten-foot poles, every 100 feet on both sides of the road being used by the Turks. After seeing this sight of their impaled comrades in an erect position on the top of these tall poles along their route for mile after mile, they soon lost the stomach for continuing the pursuit of Vlad, for they considered him the worst of barbarians. On the night of June 16, 1462, he attacked the sultan's main camp and in a continuing hit-and-run tactic drove the Ottoman's best army out of Romania by the end of the month. But his brother, Radu the Handsome, sold him out to the boyars and he was also betrayed by Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, who captured him and imprisoned him at Buda. But our story doesn't end here. Matthias Corvinus, to discredit Vlad, blackened his name during his imprisonment by spreading stories about him that resulted in the hero Vlad becoming infamously known from that time as the bloodthirsty villain—Dracula.



The royal Hunyad Castle survives the ravages of time.



Stephen the Great, the Prince of Moldavia (1457-1504), defeated the Turks at Rakova in a decisive battle but the Turks with heavy reinforcements drove him from his dominions. But as events altered the balance of forces, he regained his throne and once more came to the aid of his country by defeating a massive invasion of the Polish army.

rule, the Romanian principalities were controlled by native princes, who maintained their position through concessions to the nobles, from among whom they had gained preeminence, and through the concurrence of the Turks, to whom a substantial annual tribute was paid. This system of political control led to intrigues and a long succession of rulers who, assisted by the nobles, systematically exploited the peasantry, from whom the heavy annual tribute was collected.

Continued misrule and long-term economic exploitation of the regions seriously affected the social structure within the principalities. The lesser nobility, including the landed gentry, was reduced to the level of free peasants; the peasantry itself was placed in virtually complete serfdom; and cultural activity became almost nonexistent. Even the appearance of outstanding political and military leaders, such as Michael the Brave of Walachia (1593-1601) and Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (1457-1504), could not reverse the general trend of deterioration, although the harshness of the feudal system was somewhat lessened during their tenure in office.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Otto-



A 1957 postage stamp honoring Stephen the Great

man Empire began to decline, and the Turks instituted a system of direct control over Walachia and Moldavia, in order to ensure the continued receipt of maximum revenue from the countries. Greek merchants known as Phanariots, named for the Phanar district of Constantinople, which was their center, were invested as rulers in the principalities upon direct payment of large sums of money. Since their period in office was indefinite and generally lasted only until outbid by a successor, an even more intensive system of exploitation within the countries was introduced to extract greater tribute in shorter periods of time. This period of oppressive rule lasted until 1821 and proved to be the most disastrous experienced by the inhabitants. Conditions under this corrupt system became almost intolerable and led to massive resistance and eventually to the heavy migration of the peasantry into neighboring areas, particularly Transylvania.

TRANSYLVANIA

The historic development of Transylvania was substantially different and more complex than that experienced by the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. Overrun by Asiatic Magyars as early as the ninth century, the region was organized originally as a province in the eleventh century. In order to strengthen this eastern outpost, the Hungarians encouraged two groups of people—Sze-



Neagoe Basarab of Walachia and his family as they appeared at the time of his reign, 1512–21. During his time on the throne Walachia enjoyed the best period of internal stability and important cultural growth ever achieved in the country.



After Neagoe Basarab's death in 1521, the Turkish governor in the area was forced to appoint Radu of Afumati (1521–29) as the prince of Walachia because of pressure from Transylvania. The political move by Transylvania saved Walachia from having a Turkish prince. This gravestone of Radu is still in good condition at his burial site. The Romanian people today still have a great respect for their ruling princes of old and their historic places are well kept.



Prince John the Terrible of Moldavia (1572–74) appealed to the countrymen to bear arms against the Turkish rule when they doubled the taxes in 1573. He led the army, fought well, but in the end was captured and although promised no personal harm in return for a surrender, he was quartered alive by his captors—the Turks and the Tatars. They tied him to four camels and drove them in different directions. The Tatars then went on to lay waste to the country. This is reported to be a good likeness of him on a coin of the time.



Michael the Brave (1593–1601) came to Walachia's throne at a time when the Ottoman taxes were at their peak. Michael was considered the greatest of all of the Romanian princes. During the eight years of his reign, he liberated Walachia from the Turks and had achieved the unity of the three Romanian countries. Unfortunately, he was assassinated on August 19, 1601, by a group of professional soldiers who were purportedly aiding him in putting down a rebellion in Transylvania.



Prince Matei Basarab of Wallachia (1632-64) and



Prince Vasile Lupu of Moldavia (1634-53) were noted in history for their periods of reign at a time when the prince's authority was considerably enhanced.



Constantine Brancoveanu and his four sons. He was the prince of Wallachia from 1688 to 1714. For the first time in the history of Wallachia, the prince received the wholehearted support of the boyars. This was probably because as a wealthy landowner he was not far from the same background as the nobles. He brought about an understanding with Czar Peter of Russia for support in getting out from under the Ottoman yoke. His four sons spent their entire lives helping their father in his goal toward this end.

klers, or Szekelys, an ethnic group of people akin to the Hungarians, and Germans—to emigrate from the west into the area. Although these colonists eventually reached substantial numbers, the native Romanian speakers remained in the majority.

With the expansion of Turkish power, Transylvania became the battleground for opposing Turkish and Hungarian forces. Under Turkish pressure Hungarian control declined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and by 1526 the region had become a semiautonomous principality ruled by Hungarian princes but still subject to Turkish authority. At the end of the sixteenth century Michael the Brave, the ruler of Wallachia and Moldavia, succeeded in revolting against Turkish rule and united Transylvania with the other Romanian territories. This union, however, was short-lived, and all three principalities subsequently reverted to Turkish control. Toward the end of the seventeenth century Austria conquered Hungary, and Transylvania as part of Hungary then was included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

From the earliest times the position of the Romanians in Transylvania was inferior to that of the other nationalities, and accounts of the long-term measures practiced against them have been perpetuated among their descendants. The Romanians were mostly serfs, and their social and economic status was the lowest in the province. Their Orthodox Christianity was not recognized, in contrast to the Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic faiths practiced by the various other nationalities. To gain religious equality and to win a larger measure of economic and social recognition, many of the Romanians gradually abandoned their Eastern Orthodox creed and became Uniates by accepting papal authority in 1698.

Although the Romanians were slow to benefit from the relatively high cultural and political level reached in Transylvania under the Austro-Hungarians, an appreciable number of concessions had been made to them by the middle of the nineteenth century. They began to share in the political life after political parties were established, schools were opened for Romanian children, and education became more widespread among the general population. Progress in these and associated fields stimulated the Romanian desire for full equality and the hope for eventual unification of all Romanians in their own national state.

WESTERN INFLUENCES

Although Romania was late in achieving national recognition, many of the factors that were to influence its western orientation after independence began to evolve as early as the seventeenth century. In Transylvania the Uniate church became an important medium by which Romanian national identity was fostered in the struggle



The Brancoveanu's Palace at Mogosoaia



Constantine Mavrocordat for nearly four decades (1730–69) ruled alternately Walachia and Moldavia. He was reported to have had a remarkable personality, as well as a great ability at fiscal, administrative, social, and judicial matters. He is known best today in Romania for having abolished serfdom in a charter he issued August 5, 1746.

Alexander Ypsilanti, prince of Walachia from 1774 to 1782, became the first ruler to separate the judiciary from administration, creating courts of law. This opened up the process whereby common law was to be replaced by written law.



against foreign assimilation. The Habsburg rulers favored the expansion of the church and permitted the opening of seminaries for the training of young Romanian clergy. Many of these young clerics were sent to Rome to complete their studies and, while there, became aware of their Roman ancestry. They saw the famous column of Trajan, which recorded, in stone, the early conquest of their Dacian ancestors by the Romans, and they also discovered that Romanian was an essentially Latin language.

The contacts established with Rome encouraged the scholarly development of a "Latinist" movement in the homeland in the late eighteenth century, which produced many adherents among the Transylvanian Romanians. It was the efforts of this group that led to the replacement of the Cyrillic alphabet, then in common use, with the Latin, the writing of the first latinized Romanian grammar and, later, the introduction of the first dictionary that traced the full historical development of the Romanian language. These reforms helped to create a uniform literary language as an essential basis for the broad development of Romanian culture.

During their long experience under the Habsburgs and Hungarians, the Transylvanian Romanians also became intimately associated with the events of central and western Europe. Opportunities for travel and cultural contacts that later developed were also predominantly within western areas and intensified the political consciousness of the Romanians along western lines.

Meanwhile, in Walachia and Moldavia interest in western ideas and affairs was provided by French influences introduced initially by the Greek Phanariot princes, who were in power during most of the eighteenth century. These rulers established French as the court language, and many of the Greek merchants, clergymen, and teachers who followed them into the areas helped spread the use of French among the urban population in Bucharest and Iasi, the respective capital cities. Gradually, French was introduced into Romanian schools, and eventually Romanian students from the principalities were sent abroad in considerable numbers to study at French universities.

In addition to Romanian students, many of the young sons of Romanian nobles traveled in France. These two groups gradually formed the nucleus of an intellectual class, which favored French philosophy and thought and which became receptive to the liberal ideas of the French Revolution and later periods.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

A phase of major significance and a turning point in Romanian history began in 1821 with a revolt led by Tudor Vladimirescu, a Romanian and former officer in the Russian army. This uprising against the harsh Phanariot rule was the first with a national character,



After Walachia and Moldavia were united in 1859, the postrevolutionary (1848) army general was elected to be the royal head of Romania—Alexander Ioan Cuza (1859–66). In his short reign he solidified the two countries into one government and established the capital at Bucharest. He was forced to abdicate in 1866.

and it attempted to give expression to the revolutionary ideas of emancipation and independence. Although the outbreak was suppressed by the Turks, it did achieve the objective of bringing about the early abolition of the Phanariot regime and the restoration of Romanian princes as rulers in the Danubian principalities.

After the Russo-Turkish war from 1826 to 1828 Russian forces occupied both Walachia and Moldavia to ensure the payment of a large war indemnity by the Turks. Under the ensuing six-year enlightened and competent rule of the Russian governor Count Pavel Kiselev, the foundations were laid for a new Romanian state. The first constitutional assemblies were organized along identical lines in each province; a rudimentary governmental administration was established and modeled on that of the French; an educational system was begun; commerce and a modest industry were encouraged; and provisions were made for the creation of a national militia. The intentional similarity in the fundamental laws that were also enacted in each area further encouraged the two principalities to develop side by side.

During the two decades after the departure of Russian occupying forces, the national movement within the two principalities continued to grow under the rule of native princes who had been restored to power. Considerable stimulation was provided by the 1848 revolutionary events in France, the basic ideas of which were imported by the French-educated Romanians. Dissension arose, and street demonstrations took place during which demands were made for freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, as well as for the unification of all Romanians in one independent state. Similar emancipation efforts were also organized in Transylvania, but they too, were forcibly repressed, as were those in Walachia and Moldavia.

Despite the setbacks suffered by the intellectuals and other leaders of the revolutionary movement, the modern ideas of liberal government took firm root and con-

tinued to flourish. The dispute between Russia and Turkey that culminated in the Crimean War, however, provided the actual opportunity for the first step toward ultimate independence. French and Russian collaboration at the Congress of Paris, which concluded the war in 1858, succeeded in producing agreements that finally led to the establishment of the autonomous United Principalities of Walachia and Moldavia in 1859.

Although still subject to Ottoman authority, the United Principalities moved rapidly under their newly elected leader, Alexander John I Cuza, to further unify and modernize themselves. Cuza fused the administration of the two principalities into a single government, established a single capital at Bucharest, and changed the name from United Principalities to Romania. Domestic reforms were also undertaken, among which were the emancipation of the serfs in 1864, the institution of a broad land distribution program, the introduction of free and compulsory education, and the adoption of the French civil and penal codes as the basis for a revised legal system. Political parties on the western pattern began to take form as well, the conservatives representing the large landowners and the liberals representing the new urban class.

The reforms instituted by Cuza were bold and progressive, but his methods proved to be harsh and unpopular. Forced to abdicate in 1866, he was succeeded by a German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Charles, who reigned from 1866 to 1914, extended the reforms initiated by Cuza. He gave the country its first formal constitution modeled after that of the Belgians, built the country's first railroad, and modernized and enlarged the small army. In 1878 the country's full independence was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin, which ended the two-year Russo-Turkish war in which Romania participated as an ally of Russia. The kingdom

Princess Elizabeth of Wied became the bride of the future King Carol I and as his queen led a marvelous double life. She was known to the rest of the world as the poet queen Carmen Sylva.

King Carol I (1881–1914), who served as the reigning prince of Romania from 1866 to 1881 when the country became a kingdom



of Romania was proclaimed formally in 1881 with the crowning of Prince Charles in Bucharest as Carol I.

The period from 1878 to 1918 brought significant advances in Romania, largely in the economic and political fields. Under the initiative of King Carol I and with considerable backing from German capital, new industries were started, and others were expanded; railroad and port construction was emphasized; and the considerable petroleum resources of the country were developed and exploited. The goals of political parties and leaders became more clearly defined, and modern government institutions, including a bicameral parliament, were organized.

Economic and formal political progress, however, was not matched by similar advancement of democratic processes in the social field. The liberal provisions of the 1866 constitution were circumvented under the authoritarian governmental system, leaving much actual power in the hands of the landed aristocracy. The slowly rising middle class and small number of industrial entrepreneurs were granted some rights, but the increasing number of industrial workers and the great peasant majority shared very little in the political life of the country.

A major peasant revolt in 1907 attempted unsuccessfully to rectify the serious social imbalance. The uprising was forcefully suppressed with extensive loss of life, and although some corrective measures were later instituted that improved working conditions and resulted in the division of more large landholdings, the general political strength and living standards of the peasants and workers were not materially improved. Related also to this social unrest was another problem that grew more intense during the latter half of the nineteenth century—that of the increasing size and economic importance of a large Jewish minority.

Forbidden to own land and subject to many other restrictions, the Jews had settled in urban areas, engaged successfully in commercial activities, and, as a class, gained economic influence and position generally out of proportion to their overall numerical strength in the population. To an unusual degree, they formed the prosperous urban middle class, overshadowing the far smaller number of native Romanians in that category. In rural centers, as moneylenders, they also became the middlemen between landlords and peasants; as such, the Jew became a symbol of oppression, which over the years was transferred into intense anti-Semitism. Consequently, the Jews were included as a target in the 1907 uprising, and the animosity shown then remained a feature of later Romanian society.

WORLD WAR I

At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 Romania's leaders were indecisive and proclaimed an armed neutrality, which lasted for nearly two years. Much of the pro-



On June 14, 1914, the Russian royal family visited the Romanian Royal family at Constanta. Standing, left to right: King Carol I, Grand Duchess Anastasie, Princess Marie Mignon of Romania, Prince Carol of Romania, Princess Ileana of Romania, the crown prince of Romania, Prince Ferdinand, Queen Elizabeth, and the czar of Russia. Seated, left to right: Grand Duchess Marie, Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, Grand Duchess Tatiana, Crown Princess Marie of Romania, Grand Duchess Olga holding Prince Mircea of Romania. Foreground: the Czarevitch Alexei and Prince Nicholas of Romania. Elizabeth married the king of Greece—George II; Marie Mignon; the king of Yugoslavia, Alexander, and their first son became Peter II, king of Yugoslavia; and Ileana married Anton, the archduke of Austria.



King Ferdinand I (1914–27) succeeded King Carol I on October 11, 1914.

Queen Marie in an official portrait in 1920



Princess Marie of Edinburgh turned down marriage to the future king George V of England to marry Prince Ferdinand of Romania. The prince became the king of Romania and the princess developed into the most vivacious queen of modern times.



Russian and pro-French political orientation of the 1840s and 1850s still existed in the country, but this was offset in large measure by the strong ties of King Carol I with Bismarck's Germany and by the rapprochement with Germany that had resulted from the large investment of German capital in the country. In addition, territorial inducements, which were attractive to Romania, were made by each side to influence its entry into the conflict. The Central Powers offered Bessarabia to be taken from Russia, and the Allies promised the cession of Transylvania from Austro-Hungary.

After the death of King Carol I and the accession of his nephew, King Ferdinand, to the throne, Romania entered the war on the Allied side in 1916. By December 1917, however, Romania was forced to conclude an armistice when the Russian forces disintegrated on the Balkan front after the Bolshevik revolution of that year. Before the armistice was ratified, however, and as the defeat of the Central Powers was becoming apparent, the Romanian army, which had not been demobilized, reentered the war, liberated Bucharest from the Germans, and occupied much of Bessarabia and Transylvania. After the war, in response to the expressed will of the popular assemblies in Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, those provinces were united with the kingdom of Romania—often called the Old Kingdom. Formal treaties in 1919 and 1920 confirmed these decisions, and virtually all Romanians were finally reunited within the historic homeland.

INTERWAR YEARS, 1918–40

With the annexation of Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, postwar Romania, sometimes referred to as Greater Romania, doubled in size, as well as in population. Included among the newly acquired population were large ethnic minorities—principally Hungarians, Germans, and Jews—whose diverse backgrounds and development presented complex social, political, economic, and administrative problems for the Romanian government. The various traditions of the people within the acquired lands could not easily be transformed into new patterns, largely because of the government's reluctance to share power with any political leaders except those representing the Transylvanian Romanians. As a result, minority elements were largely excluded from national affairs, and discriminatory policies developed that bred resentment and increased political instability.

The immediate postwar years were dominated by the Liberal party of the Old Kingdom. The party instituted a series of land reforms, fostered increased industrialization, and sponsored a broadly democratic constitution in 1923, which made the new state a centralized constitutional monarchy. The Transylvanian Romanians, long accustomed to considerable autonomy and self-govern-



King Ferdinand I in an official photograph later in life. He served until his death in 1927.



Queen Elizabeth (Carmen Silva) in later life



Crown Prince Carol II with Princess Helen on their engagement. She was his second wife. His first wife was Zizi Lambrino by whom he had a child, Mircea. His third wife was Elena Lupescu.



Queen Marie at age sixty

Princess Helen with her son, the future king Michael. He was born in 1921.



A tableau of the king of Greece's daughters, Princess Helen, left, and Princess Irene. Princess Helen married Carol II, who became king of Romania in 1930.





King Michael, at age six, on his way, in a royal carriage, to his accession to the throne in 1927



King Michael in an official portrait during his first reign



King Carol II (1930-40)

ment under Hungarian rule, resented the imposition of central control, especially under the administration of officials from Bucharest. In protest, a new party, the National Peasant party, was formed in 1926 by a fusion of the Transylvanian National party with the Peasant party in the Old Kingdom.

Other parties were active during this early period, but all were overshadowed by the Liberal party and the National Peasant party. The Social Democratic party had been organized at the beginning of the twentieth century but, lacking any sizable number of industrial workers, the Socialist movement remained weak. After the Russian revolution, however, the radical left-wing elements of the Social Democratic party seceded and formed the Romanian Communist party in 1921. The Communists went underground after being banned in 1924 and were largely ineffective until after World War II.

The death of King Ferdinand in 1927 and the elections of the following year brought significant changes in the Romanian government. Ferdinand's son, Carol II, was

excluded from the succession because of his earlier renunciation of all claims to the throne to accept exile with his mistress, Magda Lupescu. A regency was therefore appointed to rule in the name of Carol's young son, Michael, and a new government led by Iuliu Maniu and the National Peasant party was elected, thus ending the six-year tenure of the Liberals.

Although Maniu's government instituted a series of reforms intended to improve general economic and social conditions, its efforts were largely offset by the adverse effects of the worldwide depression of the early 1930s. Also, early dissatisfaction with the regency resulted in the return of Carol II from exile and his assumption of the crown in late 1930. His agreement to sever relations with Magda Lupescu was not kept, however, and in protest Maniu resigned the premiership. In the unstable conditions that followed, King Carol II emerged as the chief political figure in the country, and his rule evolved into a royal dictatorship.

King Carol's assumption of power was aided initially by the rise of a fanatical Fascist and anti-Semitic group known as the Iron Guard. This group was strongly pro-German and employed tactics similar to those of the Nazi party, which was then emerging as the dominant political force in Germany. The Fascist movement, with financial and indirect support from Germany, increased the influence of the Iron Guard, which was reflected in the 1937 elections. The coalition government that resulted supported King Carol but was later overthrown, bringing to power a new coalition of right-wing extremists.

In order to halt the increasing threat to his power, Carol proclaimed a personal dictatorship in 1938 and promulgated a new constitution that abolished all political parties and instituted censorship and other control measures. This action was followed by the suppression of the Iron Guard, whose leader, Corneliu Codreanu, was shot. Absolute authority was maintained by the king, who was supported by the army and by the National Renaissance Front, a monopoly party that he founded later in the same year.

Internal instability and uncertainty were aggravated by rapidly developing international events that threatened the security of the state. The swift rise of Germany under Adolf Hitler resulted in the annexation of Austria in 1938 and the subsequent dismemberment and absorption of Czechoslovakia. These actions, unopposed by the western powers, were early warnings of weakness in the western-oriented collective security system on which Romania had depended since World War I. The lessening of confidence in the west led Romania in 1939 to conclude a treaty of economic collaboration with Germany. This agreement greatly increased German influence in the country and placed the extensive Romanian oil and other resources at Germany's disposal for later wartime use.

Although Romania's territorial integrity had been guaranteed by both Great Britain and France after the fall of Czechoslovakia, these assurances were nullified by the early German military successes achieved following the outbreak of World War II. After the conclusion of a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union in August 1939, Germany invaded and occupied Poland and, by mid-1940, had defeated France and forced the evacuation of the European mainland by British forces. Faced with the loss of its two strongest partners in the alliance system and with the aggressive ambitions of the two strongest totalitarian powers on the European continent—Germany and the Soviet Union—Romania had little chance of continued independent survival.

WORLD WAR II

The first claims against Romania were made by the Soviet Union, which in June 1940 demanded the immediate cession of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Under German pressure Romania acceded to these demands, as well as to the later loss of northern Transylvania, which Germany and Italy transferred to Hungary at a joint conference held in Vienna on August 30, 1940. A third loss of territory, also under German pressure, followed one week later with the return of southern Dobruja to Bulgaria, which had already entered the war on the side of Germany.

The crisis caused by these territorial losses had a serious impact within the country. King Carol was forced to appoint a pro-German cabinet, and the government was heavily infiltrated with members of the Iron Guard, most of whom were released from custody under German pressure. A national protest against the king in early September culminated in his abdication in favor of his son, Michael. A new government under General Ion Antonescu was formed, composed almost entirely of members of the Iron Guard, whose leader was made vice premier. German troops entered the country under the pretext of protecting the oil fields, and on November 23, 1940, Romania joined Germany, Italy, and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact.

In January 1941 members of the Iron Guard, attempting to seize full control of the government, initiated a terroristic campaign that was suppressed with much bloodshed by the Romanian army, which had remained loyal to the government. With the continued support of the Germans, Antonescu dissolved the Iron Guard and formed an almost exclusively military dictatorship. After stabilization of the government, Romania entered the war against the Soviet Union and incurred heavy losses in the prolonged fighting on the eastern front.

After the defeat of the German and Romanian forces at Stalingrad in early 1943, the Soviets mounted a counteroffensive, which by mid-1944 had liberated the southwestern portions of the Soviet Union and had advanced



A 1947 postage stamp picturing King Michael

deep into Romania and threatened Bucharest. On August 23, 1944, King Michael, with the support of the major political and military leaders, overthrew the regime of Antonescu, halted all fighting, and installed a new, moderate coalition government. Under the terms of the armistice that followed, Romania reentered the war on the side of the Allies, agreed to reparation payments, and accepted the military occupation of the country until the conclusion of a final peace settlement.

Romanian forces that continued the war were committed in support of the Soviet army in Transylvania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Those engaged on the Moldavian front were disarmed, and control over the greater part of the country was maintained by the Soviets. Among the occupation troops stationed in Romania was the Communist-indoctrinated "Tudor Vladimirescu" division, a force composed of captured Romanian prisoners that had been organized after the German-Romanian defeat at Stalingrad. In addition, the Soviets were given the chairmanship of the Allied Control Commission, the joint body that was established to administer the occupied country.

COMMUNIST SEIZURE OF POWER

The several conferences held by the Allied powers concerning postwar arrangements and the understandings that resulted from bilateral discussion among individual leaders indicated that the Soviet Union was to become the dominant military and political power in the Balkans. As a result, the Soviets, from the outset of their period of occupation, acted determinedly to consolidate their position within Romania and to influence the development of a permanent postwar governmental system designed along communist lines.

Although Romania had surrendered in August 1944, it took several months to create a government stable enough to carry out essential programs. The first postwar coalition regimes included relatively few Communists who ostensibly cooperated with the revived traditional political parties. Despite their small numbers, however, they vigorously engaged in disruptive antigovernment tactics to prevent the stabilization of political authority along democratic lines. This course of action was dictated by the general weakness of the Communists who had surfaced after the war and was handicapped by

the absence of partisan or resistance organizations, which could have been used as a basis for expanding political control.

In February 1945, during a staged demonstration, the Communists provoked an incident in which several participants were killed. Using this incident as a pretext, Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs Andrei Vyshinsky, who arrived from Moscow within two days of the event, forced King Michael to accept a National Democratic Front government to be headed by Petru Groza, the leader of the Plowman's Front and longtime Communist sympathizer.

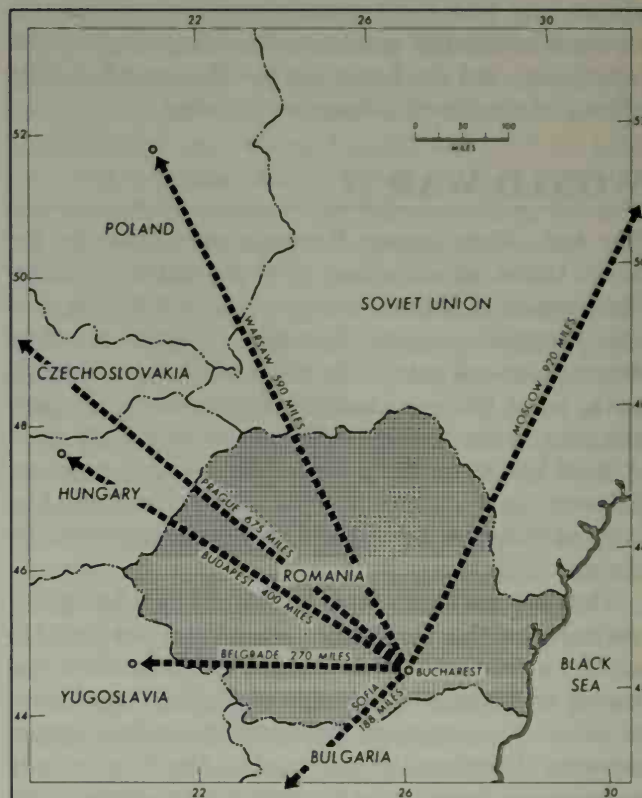
The government installed by Groza on March 6, 1945, was dominated by Communists and fellow travelers and represented an effective seizure of power by relatively peaceful means. Although a few dissident former members of the Liberal and National Peasant parties were given posts to maintain the facade of representative government, no leaders or representative members of the historic political parties were included.

After recognition by the Soviet Union in August 1945 and by the United States and Great Britain in February 1946, the Groza government held rigged elections for the Grand National Assembly and emerged with 379 of the 414 seats. Having thus achieved legislative as well as executive control, the Communists proceeded methodically during the following year to eliminate all political opposition.

By the end of 1947 the only remaining link with the prewar system was the monarchy. King Michael, in addition to being a popular ruler, represented a national symbol around whom anti-Communist opposition could rally and, as such, was an unacceptable threat to the embryonic Communist dictatorship. Accordingly, in a meeting in December requested by Groza and Gheor-

ghiu-Dej, King Michael was forced to abdicate under the threat of civil war. On the same day the government announced the creation of the Romanian People's Republic. The action represented the last step in the seizure of power and placed Romania under complete Communist control and for the foreseeable future this meant a monarch would not rule the people.

Romania today



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOMS OF ROMANIA

Reign	Title	Rulers (principal ones)	Reign	Title	Rulers (principal ones)
Thirteenth century—The Romanian states of Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania were founded.					
WALACHIA					
1317-1352	Grand Voivode and Prince	Basarab I	1556	Prince	Patrascu the Kind
1352-1364	Prince	Nicholas Alexander	1583-1585	Prince	Petru Cercel
1364-1377	Prince	Vladislav Vlaicu	1593-1601	Prince	Michael the Brave
1386-1418	Prince	Mircea the Old	1601-1611	Prince	Radu Serban
-1456	Prince	Petru Aaron	1611	—Ottoman Empire control	
1456-1462	Prince	Vlad the Impaler	1611-1616	Prince	Radu Mihnea
1462-1475	Prince	Radu I	1623-1626	Prince	Radu Mihnea
1494-1508	Prince	Radu the Great	1629-1632	Prince	Leon Tomsa
1512-1521	Prince	Neagoe Basarab	1632-1654	Prince	Matei Basarab
1521-1529	Prince	Radu of Afumati	1654-1658	Prince	Constantine Serban
			1660-1664	Prince	Grigore Ghica
			1678-1688	Prince	Serban Cantacuzino

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Rulers (principal ones)</i>	<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Rulers (principal ones)</i>
1688-1714	Prince	Constantine Brancoveanu	1556	Prince	Alexandru Lapusneanu
1716	—Phanariot Regime installed		1561-1563	Prince	Iacob Eraclid, the Despot
1716-1717	Prince	Nicholas Mavrocordat	1572-1574	Prince	John the Terrible
1719-1730	Prince	Nicholas Mavrocordat	1574-?	Prince	Peter the Lame (at this point in history the Turks frequently changed the princes.)
1735-1741	Prince	Constantine Mavrocordat	1595	Prince	Stefan Razvan (failed to regain his throne)
1741-1744	Prince	Michael Racovita	? -1606	Prince	Ieremia Movila
1744-1748	Prince	Constantine Mavrocordat	1606-1607	Prince	Simeon Movila
1774	—Ottoman domination		1611	—Ottoman Empire restored	
1774-1782	Prince	Alexander Ypsilanti	1626-1629	Prince	Miron Barnovschi Movila
1802-1806	Prince	Constantine Ypsilanti	1633-1633	Prince	Miron Barnovschi Movila
1806-1812	—Russian occupied		1634-1653	Prince	Vasie Lupu
1812-1818	Prince	John Caragea	1685-1693	Prince	Constantine Cantemir
1818-1821	Prince	Alexander Sutu	1711	—Phanariot Regime installed	
1834	—Russian occupation ended		1711-1714	Prince	Nicholas Mavrocordat
1834-1842	Prince	Alexander Ghica	1714-1716	Prince	Stephen Cantacuzino
1842-1848	Prince	Georghe Bibescu	1717-?	Prince	Michael Racovita
1848-1859	—Walachia and Moldavia unified		1726-1733	Prince	Gregory Ghica
			1741-1743	Prince	Constantine Mavrocordat
			1730-1769	Prince	Constantine Mavrocordat (ruled alternatively between Moldavia and Walachia)
			1774	—Ottoman Empire domination	
			1774-1777	Prince	Gregory Ghica
			-1806	Prince	Alexander Moruzi
			1806-1812	—Russian occupation	
			1812-1819	Prince	Scarlat Calimah
			1834	—Russia leaves the country	
			1834-1849	Prince	Mihai Sturdza
			1849-1859	—Moldavia and Walachia united	

MOLDAVIA

-1365	Prince	Bogdan (the founder)
1365-1374	Prince	Latcu
1374-1391	Prince	Petru Musat
1391-1394	Prince	Roman I
1394-1399	Prince	Stephen I
1400-1432	Prince	Alexander the Good
1457-1504	Prince	Stephen the Great
1517-1527	Prince	Stefanita
1527-1538	Prince	Petru Rares
1538	—Turks defeat Moldavia and end their independence	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>
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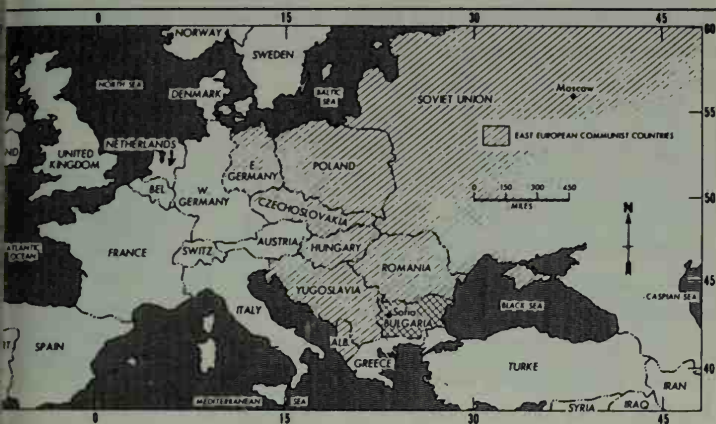
TRANSYLVANIA

1344-1376	—Six members of the Lackfy family ruled (beginning of formal rule).			
1415-1438	Prince	Vice-voivode Lorand Lapes		
1441-1456	Prince	Iancu of Hunedoara		1456
Sixteenth century	—Under control of the Turkish government			
1526-1540	Prince	John Zapolya	1487	1540
1540-1571	Prince	John Sigismund	1520	1571
1571-1572	Prince	Gasnar Bekey		1572
1571-1576	King	Stephen Bathory (king of Poland)	1533	1586
1576-1581	Prince	Christopher Bathory	1530	1581
1581-1598	Prince	Sigismund	1572	1613
1599-1600	Prince	Andrew	1562	1600
1600-1601	Prince	Michael the Brave		
1602-1603	Prince	Moyses Szekely		
1602-1605	Emperor	Rudolph II		
1605-1606	Prince	Stephen Bocskai	1557	1606
1607-1608	Prince	Sigismund Rakoczi	1544	1608
1608-1613	Prince	Gabriel Bathory	1589	1613
1613-1629	Prince	Gabriel Bethlen	1580	1629
1630-1630	Prince	Stephen Bethlen		
1630-1648	Prince	George Rakoczy I	1591	1648
1648-1660	Prince	George Rakoczy II	1621	1660
1658-1660	Prince	Achatius Bocskai		
1661-1662	Prince	Johann Kemeny		
1682-1699	Prince	Emerich Tokoli		
1661-1690	Prince	Michael Apafi	1632	1690
1690-1699	Prince	Michael II Apafi	1680	1713
1699-1821	—Habsburg authority in Transylvania			
1704-1711	Prince	Francis Rakoczy II	1676	1735
1821-1848	—Revolutionary period			
1919-1920	—The Old Kingdom of Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Burkovina annexed to Romania.			

Reign	Title	Ruler	Birth	Death	Relationship
KINGS OF ROMANIA (OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED 1881)					
1859—Moldavia and Walachia united					
1859—1866	Prince	Alexander John I Cuza of Moldavia	1820	1873	
1866—1881	Prince	Charles Eitel Frederick of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	1839	1914	
1881—1914	King	Carol I (Charles Eitel Frederick)			
1914—1927	King	Ferdinand I	1865	1927	Nephew of Carol I
1927—1930	King	Michael	1921		Grandson of Ferdinand I
1930—1940	King	Carol II	1893	1953	Son of Ferdinand I
1940—1947	King	Michael (regained the throne)			Son of Carol II
1947—Creation of Romanian People's Republic					



The Kingdom of Bulgaria



Bulgaria's geographic relationship to the rest of Europe

the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, Bulgaria was eventually reduced to subject status by the Byzantines and later by the Ottoman Turks. During Turkish rule the country was not only under constant attack by neighbors but was also utilized by the Turks as a base for Turkish expansion. When Bulgaria was finally liberated from the Turks by the Russians, irredentism and regional rivalry became the prime focus of its foreign policy. Macedonia, a much-valued land throughout Bulgarian history, became the major object of Bulgaria's irredentist campaigns, although eventually most of the land reverted to Serbia and was later incorporated into Yugoslavia. Macedonia, in addition to Thrace, which was valued because it provided access to the sea, was the primary motive for Bulgaria's role not only in the two Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 but also in the two world wars.

The history of Bulgaria is marked by four interrelated motifs or themes. The first motif is that of regional rivalry coupled with irredentism. The second is Bulgaria's strategic significance for the leading powers of Europe and the varying relationships with those powers. The third theme is Bulgaria's constant conflict between loyalty to, and alliances with, the east—particularly Russia and the Soviet Union—on the one hand and to the west—particularly Italy and Germany—on the other. The fourth major theme in Bulgarian history is the influence exerted by Russia (and the Soviet Union) on the internal and external affairs of Bulgaria. This influence was intermittent from the late nineteenth century until World War II but was constant after that war.

From its earliest history Bulgaria was in continual conflict with its Balkan neighbors. The area that eventually became Bulgaria was the object of regional disputes as early as the fourth century B.C. Later, when that area was taken over by the Slavs in the sixth century A.D. and the Bulgars in the seventh, a state evolved that proceeded to encroach on the territory of the mighty Byzantine Empire itself. Despite successful raids and conquests during the periods of the First Bulgarian Kingdom and

Bulgaria was not only struggling for power throughout its history, it was also a pawn in the power struggles of the so-called great powers. Before the Christian Era the area was conquered first by Greece and later by Rome and was influenced strongly by both of these early cultures. Later, when the Slavs and Bulgars succeeded in forming a united state, the country was still besieged by both Byzantium and Rome. Although the Romans eventually lost their hold over Bulgaria, the Byzantine Empire took both political and religious control of the country for two centuries. When Bulgaria managed to reassert its autonomy in the time of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, independence was short-lived, and the country again fell under alien control, this time to the Ottoman Turks. The Turks dominated Bulgaria for five centuries, until liberation by the Russians temporarily gave the country full sovereignty. Before each of the two world wars of the twentieth century, Bulgaria was actively courted by both sides as a potentially strategic ally. Realizing Bulgaria's territorial aspirations, Germany played upon Bulgarian irredentism in order to gain its collaboration in the wars, and both times Bulgaria emerged on the losing side. When World War II ended

for Bulgaria in 1944, it fell under Soviet influence, where it has remained ever since.

EARLY HISTORY

The history of the country that became modern Bulgaria can be traced back many hundreds of years before the time of Christ, predating by fifteen or more centuries the arrival of the people known as Bulgars, from whom the country ultimately took its name. The earliest people to have a viable political organization in the area were the Thracians, whose loosely organized tribes occupied and controlled much of the Balkan Peninsula. Later, when their society began to disintegrate, the Thracians fell under Greek influence and joined forces with Athens to overrun neighboring Macedonia. In the fourth century B.C., however, Philip of Macedon, competing with the Greeks in a power struggle over Thrace, conquered Thrace and made the Thracians a subject people.

This invasion was followed in the second century B.C. by a Roman invasion of Macedonia and a subsequent conquest of Thrace. By the first century A.D. the Romans totally dominated the area. Despite their strict and unpopular military control over the population, under their tutelage cities grew, roads were constructed, and mining and farming were developed.

In the third century A.D. a series of mass migrations into the Balkans began; these migrations lasted for several centuries. The Goths came in four separate waves during the third century. In the fourth century the Huns swept across the country, razing cities and villages. They were followed in the fourth and fifth centuries by the Visigoths and Ostrogoths who, like the Huns, continued to ravage the country. These invasions culminated in the eventual conquest and settlement by the relatively civilized Slavs in the sixth century.

In A.D. 330 the Emperor Constantine established what was to be considered a second Rome and named it Constantinople. In this period the Roman Empire in the Balkans was split into two parts: in the East, Thrace was once again under Greek domination, and the West was dominated by the Romans. Constantinople was growing in power, and Greek influence was eroding the political and cultural influence of the Romans. By the mid-fourth century Rome and Constantinople were actively struggling for domination over the Balkans.

In the sixth century A.D. the Slavs crossed the Danube River and occupied much of the Balkan Peninsula. Although the Byzantines built fortresses to protect themselves, they were unable to hold the Slavs at bay. Once the Slavs had taken over most of the Balkan Peninsula, they succeeded in destroying the existing social system, rapidly replacing it with their own. Soon the entire Thracian population became slavized.

In the seventh century A.D. the Bulgars in turn began to migrate into the Balkans. They had come originally

from central Asia and were said to be related to the Huns. They were of the same stock as the Turks and spoke a language similar to Turkish. Before migrating to the Balkans, they had lived north of the Black Sea. Their social order was vastly different from that of the Slavs, although eventually the Slavic system became dominant. The Bulgars, unlike the Slavs who repudiated the concept of kingship, were governed autocratically by khans. The Bulgars were warriors who fought on horseback, and their customs and dress were Asiatic.

When the Bulgars overran what is now northeastern Bulgaria, they found Slavic tribes already established and quickly made peace with them in order to strengthen themselves against the Byzantines. As the Slavs were far more numerous than the Bulgars, the latter were assimilated, and within two centuries the Bulgars had been completely slavized. The Slavic language and culture were adopted, although the Bulgarian name and political structure were retained. A Slav-Bulgarian state was formed with the capital at Pliska.

The First Bulgarian Kingdom lasted from A.D. 679 to 1018, when it fell to Byzantium. During this period the social system resembled the feudal system of western Europe. The king, or czar, was the leading nobleman. As the political situation of the period varied, he was alternately supported or opposed by the boyars (large landowners). The great majority of the people were serfs.

During the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. the Bulgarians consolidated and further reinforced their power. By the ninth century they were so powerful that they challenged the Byzantine Empire itself. Twice in this period the Bulgarians controlled areas of Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Romania, and even Russia. In a battle in 811 the Bulgars completely devastated the Byzantine army that had invaded their country, killed the Byzantine emperor, Nicephorus; and went on to lay siege to Constantinople itself. The siege failed, but Bulgaria had established itself as a power with which to be reckoned.

During the ninth century A.D. Bulgaria once again became the focus of Greek and Roman cultural and political rivalry. The dispute was finally terminated when Bulgaria, under Czar Boris I, accepted Christianity from Constantinople rather than from Rome. As early as 836 the Byzantine Empire had sent two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, to convert the Slavs. When the brothers were in Venice, they argued in favor of church services and literature in the Slavic language, opposing the Roman bishops who believed that only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin were suitable languages for worship. This dialogue further exacerbated the tensions between Byzantium and Rome. By 870 Boris made Orthodox Christianity the official religion of the state. At this juncture Bulgaria fell under the Byzantine sphere of influence, completing—for the moment—its break with the Roman religion and culture.

The influence of Cyril and Methodius upon the Bul-



Czar Simeon I (893–927). Simeon's reign was known as the golden age for Bulgaria. Bulgaria had extended its borders from the Black Sea in the east and to the southern Carpathian Mountains to the north. It was in this period that Bulgaria made its greatest territorial expansion, penetrating deep into the Byzantine Empire.



Prince Samuel, who ruled Bulgaria from 976 to 1014, was the sovereign and general who lost the battle to invading Byzantine emperor Basil II in 1014 and surrendered his soldiers and himself to a fate worse than death.



Basil II (Lucius Basilius) was the Byzantine emperor (976–1025) who is recorded in history by the name "the Slayer of the Bulgarians" for having led his army into Bulgaria in 1014, capturing 14,000 Bulgarian soldiers and putting out their eyes out with hot coals and other equally cruel methods. He performed this hideous "deed" in retaliation for the defeat and death of Nicephorus, the Byzantine emperor, on the field of battle in 811.

In 1186, Bulgaria came out from under the Byzantine rule. The three Asen brothers served in succession as kings—Peter and John Asen, and Kaloyan, starting the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. In 1186, they gained independence from the Byzantine Empire.

garian language and culture is incalculable. They not only carried a new liturgical form to Bulgaria but also devised a new alphabet known as Cyrillic. This new alphabet soon replaced Latin and Greek as the only form of writing, and on its base a new Slavic literature and culture grew up.

When Bulgaria adopted Christianity from Byzantium, it also adopted Byzantium's territorial ambitions. Under Czar Simeon (A.D. 893–937), a period known as the Golden Age, Bulgaria extended its territories from the Black Sea in the east to the southern Carpathian Mountains in the north, to the Sava River in the west, and to Macedonia in the southwest. It was in this period that Bulgaria reached the peak of its territorial expansion, penetrating deep into the Byzantine Empire. Macedonia and Albania became Bulgaria's new frontiers; in 924 Serbia fell under Bulgarian rule. With these victories Simeon claimed the title czar of all the Bulgarians and the Greeks.

With the territorial expansion came a domestic flourishing in the arts and an increase in trade. The arts and architecture of the period were significant for their beauty and vitality. Preslav, then the capital city, became the center of culture. Crafts, such as goldsmithing, pottery, stonemasonry, and blacksmithing grew, and shops sprang up everywhere. At the same time literature flourished, and education and scholarship took on a new importance. Knowledge of Slavic literature became widespread, and writers treated such varied topics as religion, grammar, logic, and patriotism.

By the end of the tenth century A.D., however, the First Bulgarian Kingdom was beginning to decline. Internally, the local population was weary from continual warring and from the oppression of feudalism. The boyars continued to struggle against the king and his council for their own autonomy. Because of the internal weakness of the country, Bulgaria's neighbors began to encroach on her borders. The Magyars (Hungarians) attacked from the northwest, seizing territory north of the Danube River. The Byzantines in 967 formed an alliance with the prince of Kiev in Russia and, because of this alliance, succeeded in invading Bulgaria repeatedly.

In the late tenth century there was a brief revival of Bulgarian power under Samuel, when the Bulgarians succeeded in liberating the northeastern sector of the country from Byzantine control and captured southern Macedonia. But the revival was short-lived. The Byzantine emperor, Basil II, was determined to regain his lost land and once again recaptured the northeastern sector. In 1014 Basil again invaded Bulgaria; defeated Samuel's army; and, in an act of matchless cruelty, blinded fourteen thousand Bulgarian soldiers. From 1018 until 1185 all of Bulgaria was under Byzantine rule.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a period of extreme hardship for the country. Byzantine domina-

tion was harsh and punitive. Monetary taxes, which added to the already heavy burdens of the peasantry, were levied in 1040. Bulgarian feudalism was replaced by Byzantine feudalism. The Byzantine church itself was a vehicle of oppression as it was later to become under Turkish rule; the church owned entire estates and villages and the people who inhabited them. There were a series of revolts during the eleventh century, but none was successful in overthrowing Byzantine tyranny. During this period the first and second Crusades made their way through the Balkan Peninsula, wreaking havoc among the local populations.

The Second Bulgarian Kingdom was established in 1186 and lasted until 1396, when—like the First Bulgarian Kingdom—it was conquered by a powerful enemy and neighbor. Ironically, history came full circle to spell defeat for the Bulgarians. In the twelfth century, when the Byzantine Empire was declining because of internal weakness, the Bulgarians were able to free themselves from domination. In the fourteenth century, when Bulgaria itself was weakened by domestic strife, it was conquered by an enemy whose oppression was greater than that of the Byzantine Empire: the Ottoman Turks.

At the close of the twelfth century the internal situation in Bulgaria was deteriorating. Taxes had been increased, and the burden borne by the peasants became still heavier. The feudal lords openly began to proclaim their independence from Byzantium, whose empire was by now steadily declining. Bulgaria was surrounded by its enemies: the Ottoman Turks, the Magyars, and the Normans. In 1183 the Magyars invaded, penetrating as far as Sofia. Realizing the vulnerability of the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarians rebelled under the leadership of two brothers, John Asen and Peter Asen. The brothers first liberated northeastern Bulgaria and then proceeded into Thrace, where they were opposed by Isaac Angelus, then emperor of Byzantium. In 1187 a peace treaty was concluded in which Byzantium conceded autonomy to Bulgaria.

Despite the peace treaty, however, the Bulgarians continued to wage war against the empire, hoping to regain northern Bulgaria and Macedonia—a contested territory and bitterly disputed issue throughout Bulgarian history. In 1201 the empire again concluded a peace treaty with the Bulgarians, ceding all of northern Bulgaria and a large part of Macedonia. Eventually, in 1207, Constantinople recognized the complete independence of Bulgaria, and Bulgarian freedom was firmly established.

This new-found independence, however, did not extend to the Bulgarian church, which was still under the aegis of the empire. For that reason Kaloyan, the Bulgarian ruler, negotiated with the Roman pope, Innocent III, in order to ally the Bulgarian church with the Church of Rome. The motives of Rome and those of Kaloyan were similar: to isolate the influence of Byzantium from Bulgaria. In 1204 Kaloyan was crowned king



John Asen I and Kaloyan

by the papal nuncio in Turnovo. Although this union lasted only briefly, it served the purpose for which it was designed, and Bulgaria was effectively cut off from Byzantium.

During the thirteenth century the Holy Roman Empire replaced the Byzantine Empire on the borders of Bulgaria, and Byzantine aggression was replaced by that of the Holy Roman Empire. When Rome declared war on Bulgaria, the Bulgarians invaded Thrace, defeating the Crusaders at Adrianople in 1205. The reestablishment of the Bulgarian patriarchate in 1235 represented the end of the short-lived alliance between the Bulgarian church and Rome.

Under the reign of John Asen II in the mid-thirteenth century peace was again restored, and the country once more extended its territories. The Bulgarians succeeded in capturing eastern Thrace, the Aegean coast, Albania, and Macedonia. Bulgarian territory at this time was as great as under the reign of Czar Simeon; with these conquests Bulgaria became the largest state in the Balkans. The country was now surrounded by three seas—the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Adriatic Sea—opening the country's doors to foreign trade and culture.

Again, as in the time of Simeon, the arts and cultural life of the country flourished. Monasteries, churches, and

King George I Terter founded a new dynasty in 1280 and served until 1292.



fortresses were constructed. Religious literature and art achieved a high level of excellence, and secular works became popular. The first chronicle of Bulgarian history was written, and an interest in history grew among the people. The first Bulgarian coins were minted at this time. Trade, particularly with Italy, increased greatly because of Bulgaria's free access to the sea. Merchants and ambassadors came to Bulgaria from abroad, lending their influence to Bulgaria's economic and cultural life.

By the second half of the thirteenth century, however, internal conditions in the country had deteriorated. The feudal system, which had been further consolidated during the thirteenth century, had exacerbated the tensions of the peasants, and hostilities among the boyars increased. The throne was contested between 1257 and 1277 and was eventually taken forcibly by Ivalio, known as the swineherd czar because of his leadership of a peasant uprising in 1277.

Meanwhile, Bulgaria's neighbors again sensed an opportune time to attack because of the internal divisions in the country. The Byzantines conquered several parts of Macedonia and Thrace, and the Hungarians and Tatars invaded on another front. At one point the Hungarian king declared himself king of Bulgaria. In 1242 there was a large-scale Mongol invasion. Tatar raids went on continually between 1241 and 1300. The country was totally fragmented; each separate area attempted to ally itself with its former enemies, whether Russian, Hungarian, or Tatar, in order to prevent widespread damage.

By the fourteenth century the Turks began to envision the conquest of Bulgaria. Internally the boyars continued to fight among themselves, and externally the country was threatened alternately by Byzantium and by Serbia. By the mid-fourteenth century all of Macedonia was under Serbian control, and the Serbian czar—much like the Hungarian king before him—called himself the czar of the Bulgars. The area of the country retained by the Bulgars by this time was divided into three parts: the last Bulgarian czar maintained his capital at Turnovo in the central highlands; the so-called Vidin Kingdom, ruled by the czar's brother, existed in the far northwest; and a principality of Dobrudzha was established in the northeast.

At the same time the Ottoman Turks were beginning to advance. Having seized areas of Asia Minor, they proceeded to raid the Balkans from 1326 to 1352. Under their leader, Murad I (1319–1389), they began to attack Thrace, Macedonia, and parts of Bulgaria. By 1371 they were attacking territories in northeastern Thrace. At this point they marched against Sofia and, despite active resistance, succeeded in capturing it. Despite an alliance with the Serbs, the Bulgarians were too weak to resist further; in 1388 the Turks easily won a battle against the Serbs. The fall of Turnovo was followed by the fall of Vidin and Dobrudzha. By 1396 all of Bulgaria was under Turkish domination.

TURKISH RULE

The Second Bulgarian Kingdom, like the first, had ended in total defeat, and the darkest period in Bulgarian history began with the Turkish conquest. Only the priests of the Bulgarian Orthodox church—despite its takeover by the Greeks—were able to preserve Bulgarian national literature and culture to some degree. The Bulgarians once again were subjected to foreign domination, only this time foreign rule lasted for five centuries. Historians agree that Turkish rule was a deathblow to the creative forces that had been responsible for the development of the country to that time. With Turkish domination the normal economic, political, and social life of Bulgaria ground to a halt.

The Ottoman Turks were at a far lower stage of social development than either the Byzantine Empire, which preceded them in their occupation of the Balkans, or the Balkan states themselves. The Turks lived an almost nomadic life in primitive communal systems that were headed by tribal chiefs. When the Turks occupied Bulgaria, they replaced the established feudal system with their own more rudimentary and conservative feudalism. Many boyars were executed or rendered powerless if they failed to convert to Islam. The peasants were more completely under the feudal yoke than they had ever been under Byzantine rule. The Turks imposed heavy taxes and hard labor on the people of the conquered country, whom they considered cattle. Young boys were taken from their homes, proclaimed Muslims, and conscripted into the army.

The Turks ruled Bulgaria by means of a sharply delineated administrative system. Bulgaria as an entity did not exist for the Turks; the entire Balkan Peninsula was known as Rumili (Rumelia) and was ruled for the sultan by a *beylerbey* (governor-general) whose headquarters was located in Sofia. Rumili was divided into *vilayetlar*, which were further subdivided into *sanjaklar*, each in turn ruled by lesser officials. Bulgaria itself was divided into five *sanjaklar*: Kyustendil, Nikopol, Silistra, Sofia, and Vidin. Although all land was considered to be the property of the sultan, on the local level the land was distributed to feudal lords and was tilled by non-Muslim serfs.

A second vehicle for both administration and oppression that the Turks employed—in addition to the land administrators—was the Greek Orthodox church. By 1394, before the final conquest, the See of Turnovo had been subordinated to the patriarchate of Constantinople, where it remained until 1870. Greek bishops replaced Bulgarians, as Greek liturgy replaced the Slavic. The patriarchate, in turn, was totally subordinate to the sultan. The Greek clergy destroyed Bulgarian books and banned Slavic liturgy. The Bulgarian language and all Slavic literature were forbidden. Greek became the language in all schools.

The hellenization of the Bulgarian church was used by the Turks as a means to negate the nationalism of the people and thus dominate them. The Turks attempted to some extent to convert the Bulgarians to Islam in order to assimilate them more fully. Although many Bulgarians fled to the mountains with the coming of the Turks, others stayed on and accepted the Muslim faith, often for purely opportunistic purposes. Those who did were generally placed in strategically significant positions; frequently, as a reward for their conversion, they paid no taxes to the state. The Bulgarian converts to Islam were called Pomaks.

The plight of the peasants grew worse. Agricultural production dropped as their exploitation continued. Although landowners were not persecuted to the same degree as the peasantry, they were frequently displaced from the land. Turkish cattle breeders entered the country to settle on their lands. Lands were also taken to reward army commanders, provincial governors, and knights in the service of the sultan. Still other lands were given to immigrant Turkish peasants. The only food that was not subject to requisition by the conquerors was pork, which was not allowed in the Muslim diet.

As the life of the Bulgarian countryside declined, so too did urban life. Bulgarians were expelled from most urban centers and replaced by Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Turks. By the end of the sixteenth century two-thirds of Sofia's population was Turkish. Trade was virtually halted for a time, and, when resumed, it also was dominated by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews rather than Bulgarians. The towns themselves were in a state of deterioration. The crafts had declined, economic life was stagnant, and the Black Sea was closed to all foreign ships.

As life within Bulgaria declined, the Turks began to perceive the country as a springboard for further aggression against other territories. Although Bulgarian hopes rose briefly when it appeared that the Turks might be destroyed by their enemies, such hopes eventually were dashed when the Turks emerged victorious throughout a period of two centuries of conquest and aggression.

In the early years of Turkish domination, the Turks waged continuous war with Albania, Bosnia, Serbia, Walachia, Moldavia, and what remained of the Byzantine Empire. Bulgarian hopes of liberation were fueled by the Turkish defeat at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, when the Turkish army was defeated by the Tatars. Resistance was eventually crushed, however, and the Turks began to renew their conquests after capturing Salonika in 1430. In the Battle of Varna the Turks succeeded in capturing Constantinople itself.

After the defeat of Constantinople the Turks overran Serbia, Walachia, Bosnia, and Albania. Their conquests expanded to include Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, and North Africa. In the sixteenth century Turkish conquests continued under Suleyman the Magnificent, who

succeeded in capturing Serbia and Hungary in 1526. This triumphant expansion of the Turkish state caused Bulgarian dreams to be destroyed, although sporadic struggling within the country continued intermittently.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the first seeds of real resistance to Turkish rule were planted in Bulgaria. On the foreign front the Turks were constantly besieged by the Austrians and the Russians. By 1683 the Austrian army succeeded in liberating Hungary and Transylvania; they also were able to penetrate areas of Bulgaria and Macedonia. These victories over the Turks again sparked Bulgarian hopes.

During the same period the internal situation in Bulgaria continued to signal the eventual decline of Turkish power and the rise of a Bulgarian national spirit. Because of the increase in corruption and oppression by the Turks, the Bulgarians began to rebel openly. In the 1590s, the 1680s, and the 1730s significant local uprisings took place. Although these rebellions were not successful, they gave rise to the *haiduk* (forest outlaw) movement, which continued to carry out acts of rebellion against the Turkish overlords. The people praised their acts of daring and wrote folk songs detailing their adventures and exploits. In addition to the revolutionaries the *chorbadzhi* (squires), who were on the whole a progressive force, were able to gain some concessions from the Turks.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this latent nationalism grew swiftly under the influence of outside forces penetrating the country. The French Revolution—with its democratic ideals—had a widespread and vital impact on Bulgarian national sentiment.

By the early 1870s the seeds of revolution were sown as Bulgarians won some political victories over their conquerors. In 1870, primarily because of the activity of the Bulgarian priests, the Bulgarian Orthodox church was reestablished. Although the Bulgarian clergy was in large part responsible for this action, it was probably tolerated by the Turks because of their anger with the Greeks, who were then embroiled in a revolt in Crete. In 1872 the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee was formed in Bucharest; by 1875 this group became active in the uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, uprisings that were not easily quelled by the Turks.

As Bulgarian revolutionary sentiments grew, the Bulgarians turned to Russia to help win freedom from the Turks. Although the motives of the Russians and the Bulgarians were not identical, both wanted to rid the Balkans of Turkish oppression. The Russians perceived the Ottoman Empire as a very dangerous rival that they hoped to annihilate, thus gaining control of western European trade. The Bulgarians, although their motives were also pragmatic, felt a deep sense of kinship with the

Russian people. The Russians, like the Bulgarians, were Slavs. Their religion was identical. Even their language was similar. Thus, they sensed a commonality not only of interest but also of cultures.

The precursor to the liberation in 1878 was an unsuccessful uprising in 1876. The Bulgarians, at this point, were ill prepared for war, politically and strategically. Thousands of Bulgarians were killed in April of that year. Soon thereafter Turkish reprisals followed. Fifteen thousand Bulgarians were massacred in Plovdiv alone. The savagery of these reprisals was so brutal that western public leaders spoke out in protest. The governments of the west, however, fearing an increased Russian penetration in the area, refused to act against the Turks.

Although the revolution of 1876 had met with failure, it had succeeded in loosening the Turkish grip on the country and in increasing the feeling of the Russians that the time to attack was imminent. Finally, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the Russians invaded Bulgaria, liquidating the Turkish army by March 1878. In these battles for Bulgarian liberation, the Russians lost over two hundred thousand lives, a sacrifice the Bulgarians never failed to recognize.

The results of 1878 were mixed, and the outcome of the original peace treaty was reversed within five months of its signing. Bulgaria became an autonomous tributary of the Turkish sultan; complete independence was not established until 1908. The original peace treaty, the Treaty of San Stefano, signed on March 3, 1878, granted Bulgaria additional territories, including Thrace and the much-valued Macedonia. This treaty was reversed, primarily because of Western fear of Russian encroachment, by the Congress of Berlin; the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, unlike the Treaty of San Stefano, delimited Bulgarian territories. The Bulgarians were forced to give Thrace and Macedonia back to the Turks. Bulgaria itself was carved into two separate entities: the principality of Bulgaria, including northern Bulgaria and Sofia, and eastern Rumelia, or southern Bulgaria.

LIBERATION AND ITS AFTERMATH

Although the 1877–1878 war freed Bulgaria from Turkish rule, the outcome of the Congress of Berlin once again denied to Bulgaria the land that it perceived to be rightfully Bulgarian, thus setting the tone for an irredentist foreign policy that lasted through World War II. Because the west, particularly Great Britain, played a significant role in carving up the Balkans, and Bulgaria in particular, in hopes of curbing Russian power, many historians speculate that Bulgaria's alliances with Germany in both World War I and World War II were products of irredentist sentiment that grew out of the Treaty of Berlin.

Bulgaria moved to recapture its lost territory only seven years after the Treaty of Berlin. In 1885 it annexed eastern Rumelia—or southern Bulgaria—by means of a military coup. The British were in favor of the annexation as it represented an obstacle to Russian ambitions in the Balkans; the Russians quite naturally were disturbed by the act. This was the first in a series of Bulgarian moves designed to reestablish earlier boundaries.

The establishment of a Bulgarian government in 1878 was relatively easily accomplished, and that government achieved a certain degree of stability in the aftermath of Turkish rule. The Turnovo Constitution (1879)—originally drafted by the Russians but rewritten by Bulgarians—established an essentially advanced and democratic system. It set up a unicameral parliament, which was to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage; the parliament was to control the executive. The monarchy, which lasted from the 1880s until World War II, was established at this time under a German dynasty that was acceptable to the European powers. Although the first prince was forced to abdicate by the Russians, his successor established firm and advanced economic and administrative institutions in the country. Eventually, because of a crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country was able to declare itself an independent kingdom in 1908.



*Alexander as he appeared
in later life as king
of Bulgaria*

*With guns aimed at his head,
Prince Alexander is forced to
abdicate in 1886*





King Ferdinand I as he looked during his reign of 1908–18.

One historian has described the postliberation period as the “only prolonged period of peaceful development” for Bulgaria. After the liberation, land rose in value. Peasants were able to purchase land from the Turks, and agricultural production rose markedly. Modern industry grew up at a relatively rapid pace, although the country remained primarily agrarian. The state began to take steps in education and culture. All levels of education were expanded; students of higher education studied both in Bulgaria and abroad; and illiteracy, which was overwhelming at the period of liberation, was reduced to 76 percent by 1900 and to 54 percent by 1920. Science and the arts were actively encouraged, and literature flourished once again.

Financial burdens, however, escalated rapidly between 1886 and 1911. In 1911 the national debt was actually more than three times the size of the national budget. At the same time, as industry increased, two antagonistic groups developed: the urban middle class—composed of merchants and white-collar workers, and the poor, who were generally laborers or peasants. Working conditions in factories were nearly intolerable, causing factory workers to interest themselves in the cause of socialism, while on the farms the peasants began to organize a movement known as the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (also called the Agrarian party), which was designed to offset the growing power of the urban groups. In 1891 the Social Democratic party was established; this party later formed the base of the Communist party in Bulgaria.

THE MACEDONIAN ISSUE

By the early twentieth century the country was once again embroiled in war; the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 impeded economic and social development in the country. Once again, as in the case of eastern Rumelia, irredentism was the Bulgarian motive for war. Both eastern Thrace and Macedonia, the lands ceded to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano, were still under Turkish rule. The lands had not only large Bulgarian populations but also strategic and economic significance. Macedonia, more than Thrace, was of extreme importance to Bul-

garia; Bulgarians believed the population of Macedonia to be composed almost exclusively of Bulgarians. The issue of Macedonia was, in fact, a focal point around which Bulgarian political life revolved after 1878, because that issue was seen by the Bulgarians as involving the territorial integrity of their nation.

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries Macedonia was alternately occupied by the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Turks. At the time of liberation Macedonia was ceded to the Bulgarians by the Treaty of San Stefano, only to be returned to the Turks by the Treaty of Berlin. In 1893 the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) was founded. This terrorist organization, with the battle slogan “Liberty or Death for Macedonia,” fought a continual underground war of terrorism against the Turks. In 1903 there was a major Macedonian uprising in which two factions participated. Although the predominant faction favored Bulgarian annexation of Macedonia, another group favored complete autonomy for Macedonia. In 1908, when King Ferdinand proclaimed Bulgaria completely independent, memories of the medieval Bulgarian Empire, which included Macedonia, were rekindled.

The existence of a Macedonian minority has been disputed over many decades by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Bulgaria has consistently claimed that Macedonians are ethnically Bulgarians, that their language is a dialect of Bulgarian, and that their land is a part of Bulgaria. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, has given legal recognition to a Macedonian nationality by establishing the People’s Republic of Macedonia and by designating the Macedonian language one of the official languages of the federal Republic.

The vast majority of Bulgarians have been born into the Bulgarian Orthodox church ever since the ninth century, when Boris I adopted Christianity for his people. Until World War II a person had no legal existence without a baptismal certificate from the church. In keeping with Eastern Orthodox tradition, the Bulgarian Orthodox church is an independent national church. It is inseparably linked with Bulgarian nationhood in the minds of most Bulgarians because of the role it played in preserving a national consciousness during the centuries of Turkish rule and in spearheading a national revival in the nineteenth century.

A tradition of religious freedom and tolerance allowed religious minorities to exist without friction. Even during World War II the Jews in Bulgaria suffered little persecution in comparison with those in other parts of eastern Europe. No census of religious affiliation has been taken since the Communists took power; however, according to various estimates in 1965 there were about 750,000 Muslims; 26,000 Protestants; 32,000 Roman Catholics; and between 3,000 and 7,000 Jews. The Muslim population included most Turks and some 50,000 Pomaks (Bulgarians who converted to Islam during Turkish rule)

living in the rugged Rodopi mountain range.

Religious freedom is guaranteed by the constitution, but churches are subject to strict governmental control. Formal religious education is restricted to the training of priests. Children, however, continue to be instructed in the rudiments of faith and ritual by their families. Despite government efforts to secularize the milestones in the life cycle, a large percentage of Bulgarians continue to regard the priest as an essential officiant at baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Churchgoing and the strict fasts prescribed by the Eastern Orthodox church have not been carefully observed by most Bulgarians since the 1930s; nevertheless, the people often exhibit strong religious feelings tempered by traditional beliefs in the powers of nature, the evil eye, and other forces.

THE BALKAN WARS

The tumultuous history of Macedonia set the stage for the two Balkan wars. In 1912, at the onset of the First Balkan War, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece formed an alliance to drive the Turks from Europe. Turkey, who was at war with Italy at the time, was weak and disunited. Macedonia and Thrace were hotbeds of internal disorder. In October 1912 Turkey declared war on Serbia and Bulgaria, a move that was countered by a Greek declaration of war on Turkey. In 1913 the Bulgarians succeeded in capturing Adrianople, and the Greeks captured Salonika, Crete, and Samos. Eventually, the Turks were badly defeated. But the question of Macedonia remained. Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria all laid claim to the land at the end of the First Balkan War. Eventually a compromise was reached: the northern section went to Serbia and the eastern section, to Bulgaria.

Despite this compromise, the Serbs and Greeks remained wary of the Bulgarians. In 1913 the Second Balkan War began, the Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Romanians joining forces with their previous enemy, the

Turks, against their former ally, the Bulgarians. This rivalry had been fostered by both Austria and Russia. Eventually, the Bulgarians turned to the Russians for arbitration and finally signed a mutual defense treaty with Russia. When the Romanians crossed into Bulgaria, the Bulgarians—who were simultaneously fighting in Macedonia and were therefore weakened by fighting on two fronts—were forced to surrender. As a result of this loss, when the peace treaty of Bucharest was signed in August 1913 and Macedonia was partitioned between Greece and Serbia, Bulgaria managed to retain only a tiny fragment in the eastern sector.

Macedonia, however, remained an issue for Bulgaria. In World War I Bulgaria succeeded in invading Macedonia. During the interwar period Macedonia was divided between Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia retaining the largest portion of the land. In the 1923–34 period Macedonian terrorism plagued the country and wreaked havoc on Bulgarian political and social life. During World War II the Bulgarians invaded both Greek Macedonia and Yugoslav Macedonia once again. Although the Macedonians themselves were divided in their sentiments between loyalties to Greeks, Yugoslavs, and Bulgarians, the land eventually reverted to Yugoslavia during World War II. As an issue, however, it still burns in the minds of the Bulgarians. The Macedonian question has been aptly referred to as “that eternal Balkan sore spot of rival nationalism.”

WORLD WAR I

As was the case in the Balkan wars, Bulgaria's primary motivation for engagement in World War I was irredentism. Again the country was determined to regain the two lands that had escaped her grasp in the past: Macedonia and Thrace. Although Macedonia was prized for political and social reasons, Thrace represented a strategically more significant objective. In order to develop foreign trade, Bulgaria required an outlet to the sea; Thrace represented that outlet.

The domestic situation in the country before World War I was mixed. Although Bulgaria's army had been demobilized at the end of the Second Balkan War (1913) and economic conditions were rapidly improving, the mood of the monarchy and the middle class was one of vindictiveness and retaliation against those countries that had stripped Bulgaria of its territories. The country became divided between those who wanted closer relations with Russia and the Triple Entente and those who preferred an alliance with the Central Powers. As the war neared, the struggle between these camps intensified.

Bulgaria, of all the Balkan states, was the only one to join the Central Powers, led by Germany and Austria, in World War I. It was deeply ironic that Bulgaria chose to side with her former enemy and oppressor, Turkey, and against her former friend and protector, Russia.



Prince Boris ascended to the throne October 5, 1918, upon the abdication of his father, King Ferdinand. King Boris III served from 1918 to 1943.

Again, the issue for Bulgaria was the Macedonian question. Serbia and Greece, which had triumphed over Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War, were allied with the entente powers. Bulgaria chose to fight against these enemies in order to regain Macedonia. Although the entente powers hoped to woo Bulgaria to their side, they refused—because of Serb and Greek pressures—to cede Macedonia to Bulgaria. The Central Powers, on the other hand, who were already at war with Serbia, were willing to promise Macedonia to the Bulgarians in exchange for their collaboration.

In the early stages of the war Germany won victories in France and on the eastern front. Although the government then ruling Bulgaria was already inclined to join the Central Powers, these early successes made German promises even more appealing. In August 1915 a secret treaty of alliance was signed by Bulgaria and Germany, containing a clause that promised Serbian, Greek, and Romanian territories to the Bulgarians. Thus the quadripartite alliance was born, composed of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

By September 1915 Bulgarian troops were mobilized and began to deploy along the borders of Greece and Serbia. On October 1, 1915, Bulgaria declared war on Serbia and, with the assistance of Austrian and German troops, succeeded in defeating the Serbian army. At the same time the Bulgarian army began to advance on Macedonia. There the local population, a proportion of which was openly sympathetic to Bulgarian aspirations, joined in the fighting on the side of the Bulgarians. Although the Bulgarian army attempted to drive the entente forces from southern Macedonia, it met with failure. This defeat was followed by a period of prolonged trench warfare on the Balkan front. By 1916 Bulgaria was also at war with Romania and, with the help of German and Austrian units, managed a victory over the Romanians.

By 1918 Bulgaria and the Central Powers were defeated, leaving Bulgaria in a worse position than before the war. Hopes of regaining Thrace and Macedonia were dashed, and the country was immeasurably weakened by external fighting and internal division. The people were frustrated and bitter. Although the war had stimulated Bulgaria's industry—there were 345 industrial enterprises in 1911 and 1,404 in 1924—it had been costly in other respects. Bulgaria was forced to pay both reparations and payments for the Allied occupation that followed. Taxes rose, and the value of the currency declined. As a result, King Ferdinand was forced to abdicate in 1918, shortly before the armistice was signed.

The Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine was signed on November 27, 1919, ending Bulgaria's role in the war and establishing her boundaries. Once more Bulgaria had entered a war on the losing side, and once more its irredentist ambitions had resulted in no territorial gains. At the end of the war Bulgaria lost Thrace to Greece—

thus failing in her attempts to gain access to the sea—and a small area in the Rodopi (or Rhodope Mountains) and a portion of its western frontier to Yugoslavia. As a result of these losses, Bulgaria was left with a still greater sense of frustration and hostility toward its Balkan neighbors.

THE INTERWAR YEARS

The period between the first and second world wars was one of political unrest and Macedonian terrorism. The country was in an almost untenable economic situation at the close of the war: prices skyrocketed, people died of starvation, and strikes were almost continuous. Out of this situation two extreme political groups grew up. On the extreme right was a faction of the IMRO, which at that time demanded the annexation of Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia. On the left was the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, the only party at the time more popular than the Communists.

When Ferdinand was forced to abdicate, he was succeeded by his son, Boris III. Real political power was, however, in the hands of Alexander Stambolisky, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. He led the country as its prime minister from 1919 to 1923. When Stambolisky took power, the peasants formed 80 percent of the population. Stambolisky and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union were dedicated to improving the lot of these people; in his words "to raising the standards both economic and educational, of the desperately poor and depressed peasant class."

Stambolisky, on behalf of the peasant populism movement, made several sweeping reforms. He instituted various social reforms, spread education, and built roads. His strong dislike of the commercial and professional classes in the cities led him toward the objective of a peasant republic. When in power he instituted tax and land reforms and radically altered the legal system. His domestic policies were not popular with all strata of society; his foreign policies were even less popular. He favored reconciliation with Yugoslavia over the Macedonian issue. In 1923 he was overthrown by a group composed of IMRO, military, and other factions and was beheaded.

The murder of Stambolisky was followed by a Communist attempt to foment revolution in the country. The leaders were Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kalarov, later leading figures in the Bulgarian Communist state. The country was in a state of civil war, which was subsequently crushed by the right-wing political factions of the country. Thousands of Bulgarians were killed, and Dimitrov and Kalarov were exiled. In 1925 the Bulgarian Communist party (BKP) was officially outlawed. Although Boris continued as monarch, the country was ruled by coalition governments and military dictator-

ships for a decade following Stambolisky's death.

From 1923 until the putsch of 1934 IMRO terrorism dominated the country. Bulgaria's position toward Macedonia was clear and unequivocal: it sought to annex Macedonia completely as it considered the land to be Bulgarian and the people to be Bulgarians. In the Bulgarian sector of Macedonia the Macedonians were given a high degree of latitude, some Macedonians even holding high offices in Bulgaria. In the Yugoslavian sectors of Macedonia, however, most Macedonians felt oppressed and restricted. As a result of this mixed status and treatment, there was a certain ambivalence in Macedonian sentiment, the IMRO terrorists favoring complete independence and self-rule. Among Macedonian patriots, two predominant factions grew up. The Federalists favored an autonomous Macedonia—which could, if necessary, be allied with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria—and the Supremists sought to incorporate Macedonia within Bulgaria, with aspirations of dominating the entire Balkan area. The results of these divergent opinions were expressed in acts of violence and terrorism that wreaked havoc in Bulgaria and eventually culminated in Federalist collaboration with the Ustashi—a group of Croat separatists—and the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia.

Macedonian terrorism was virtually ended by the putsch of 1934. The government, the People's Bloc, which was a coalition of four parties including the Bulgarian Agrarian Union was overthrown by the so-called Zveno—or link—group. The Zveno group was headed by Kimon Georgiev and was aided by the League of Reserve Officers. As soon as it seized power, Zveno suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament. The king was left with only nominal powers. Although the group did succeed for the most part in ridding the country of Macedonian terrorism, its rule was overtly authoritarian. By 1935 the king, with the aid of the military, had regained his power and replaced the Zveno group with a more moderate government.

With the reestablishment of the monarchy, a royal dictatorship took power and ruled over Bulgaria until 1943, when Boris died. There were at this time no forces left to oppose the king, political parties were negligible, and only a shadow parliament existed. Ironically, the military, which had aided the Zveno in the overthrow of the king, now was an instrument of his control.

Foreign relations under Boris III before World War II were leading the country again inevitably into a war that would bring it to total defeat. In 1934, despite the suppression of IMRO by the newly formed government, Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey, as in the Second Balkan War, were once again wary of Bulgaria's irredentist ambitions. In that year the four powers signed the Balkan Pact, from which Bulgaria naturally was excluded, in order to prevent Bulgarian encroachment in the area. Although Bulgaria and Yugoslavia later estab-

lished a rapprochement in 1937, the potential of a Bulgarian annexation of Macedonia was still considered a threat by its neighbors.

During the 1930s, while Bulgaria was viewed with suspicion by its neighbors, it began to form new friendships with Germany and Italy. Boris had married the daughter of King Vittorio Emanuele of Italy, a country that had already become Fascist, thus strengthening ties with that country. At the same time, Bulgaria began to solidify its ties with Germany, principally by means of trade. A new-found prosperity was based almost exclusively on German trade, an arrangement that eventually weakened the country. Within a short period German agents were pouring into the country. Thus, Bulgaria was on one side alienated from its neighbors and on the other being drawn into the Nazi-Fascist camp.

WORLD WAR II

Bulgaria's motives for entering World War II were once again based on irredentism, coupled with almost total economic dependence on Germany. Once more it hoped to regain the lands of Thrace and Macedonia, which were lost after the Treaty of San Stefano was reversed by the Congress of Berlin. The lesson of the two subsequent Balkan wars and World War I had fallen on deaf ears. Bulgaria was still estranged from its Balkan neighbors and once more was being courted by the former ally of World War I, Germany. Germany, again realizing Bulgaria's territorial aspirations, hoped to bribe the Bulgarian leadership with southern Dobrudzha, which was eventually ceded to Bulgaria in 1940.

In December 1941 Bulgaria placed herself squarely on the German side by declaring war on Great Britain and the United States and joining the Rome-Berlin Axis. This alignment, which derived primarily from Bulgaria's irredentist policy, was given further force by dislike of the British, who were held to blame by the Bulgarians for the loss of Macedonia to Yugoslavia and Greece.

Despite the declaration of war against Great Britain and the United States, Bulgaria refused throughout World War II to declare war on the Soviet Union. The Russians, unlike the British and Americans, were popular with the Bulgarian people. They were still remembered for their assistance to the Bulgarians in the past and were viewed by the people as their liberators from Turkish rule. Not only did Bulgaria refuse to declare war on its former liberator, but it also refused to make its army available to Adolf Hitler for his eastern campaign. When Germany declared war on Russia, Bulgaria continued to retain neutrality toward, and to maintain diplomatic relations with, the Soviet Union.

In the early stages of the war, before Bulgaria had declared war on the Allies, it had already begun to regain some of the land lost during the Balkan wars and World War I. Southern Dobrudzha, which had been ceded to

Romania in 1913, reverted to Bulgaria by August 1940. In the spring of 1941, supporting Germany against Yugoslavia and Greece, Bulgaria regained Macedonia and part of Greek Thrace. When Bulgaria was rewarded with these lands by the Nazis, Bulgarians perceived their gains as a "historical national unification." By 1941 Yugoslavia was overrun, and some of its territories were taken by Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Italy received Montenegro, Hungary took part of northern Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria gained, in addition to the much-prized Macedonia, the frontiers of southeastern Serbia. The Bulgarians at this point were once again approaching the frontiers that had been established by the Treaty of San Stefano.

Internally, the country was in relatively good condition during the early stages of the war. The economy, based primarily on active trade with the Germans, was booming. The Bulgarian people perceived the fighting as essentially a "paper war" and were generally apathetic regarding their role in the war. There was little suffering within Bulgarian boundaries and little expression of hatred toward Bulgaria's ostensible enemies. Despite Bulgaria's alliance with the Nazis and Fascists, within the country Jews were for the most part protected rather than persecuted.

By 1943, however, the war began to change for the Bulgarians. Slowly the Allies began to turn back German power. At this time Bulgaria was hit frequently by British and United States air raids. Because of Bulgaria's strategic significance and its declaration of war, albeit symbolic, against Great Britain and the United States, Sofia and other major Bulgarian cities became targets for American and British bombers. Sofia was reduced to little more than rubble at one point, and over thirty thousand casualties were suffered by the Bulgarians.

In 1943 Boris died and was succeeded by his six-year-old son, Simeon. In fact, however, a three-man regency retained power, with Ivan Bagrianov as premier. The regency was less actively pro-Axis in orientation than was the late king; with its coming to power, thousands of political prisoners were released from jail, and all persecution of Jews was terminated.

By 1944, when Germany and its allies were clearly losing the war, the Bulgarian leaders sought to reverse the earlier decision of the king and to seek peace with the Allies as well as with the Greek and Yugoslav governments-in-exile. Despite sub rosa attempts to release itself from agreements with the Axis, Bulgaria was unable to extricate itself from the alliance. On August 22, 1944, the Bulgarian government publicly announced that it was ready for a peace agreement with the Allies.

The war was ended for Bulgaria when, on September 4, 1944, the Soviets, after taking over Romania, entered Bulgaria. The exact sequence of events has been interpreted differently by various historians. There are, however, two major interpretations. One suggests that, once

the Soviets had occupied Romania and declared war on Bulgaria, Bulgaria—under a hastily formed anti-Axis coalition government—immediately quit the pact with the Axis and declared war on its former ally, Germany. The other interpretation posits the theory that, on August 26, the Bulgarian government had declared itself neutral, thus withdrawing from the war. At this time it ordered German troops on its soil to disarm. When Soviet troops arrived in Bulgaria, they found this so-called neutrality unacceptable and insisted on a Bulgarian declaration of war against Germany. This declaration was promptly carried out on the eve of the day that it was requested.

When the Soviets occupied the country in September 1944, the government of the so-called Fatherland Front (Otechestven Front) seized power from the existing government within five days of the occupation. On September 9, 1944, the Fatherland Front—under the leadership of Georgiev—officially took control of the country on what was then termed an interim basis. On October 28, 1944, an armistice was signed between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, which stated that all territories gained by Bulgaria since 1941 would be surrendered. Only southern Dobrudzha, taken from Romania in 1940, was to be retained. The agreement also established the Allied Control Commission in Sofia under direct Soviet control.

The results of the war for Bulgaria were mixed. In terms of financial burdens Bulgaria's position was relatively favorable compared with that of other countries on the losing side. In terms of territorial losses, which resulted in a legacy of bitterness and continued irredentism, its position was poor. As Bulgaria had suffered over thirty thousand casualties in the war, the Allies imposed relatively light peace terms. The Soviet Union extracted no reparations from Bulgaria, despite the fact that reparations were demanded from Germany, Hungary, and Romania. Yugoslavia also canceled Bulgaria's debts. Overall war damages to the country itself were generally moderate.

In terms of losses, however, Bulgaria not only lost most of the territories it had regained at the beginning of the war but also ultimately lost its constitutional monarchy and became a Soviet satellite. Although it was allowed to retain southern Dobrudzha, all the territories that were of significance to Bulgaria's sense of nation-

Tsar Simeon II on a June 12, 1944, stamp.



hood were gone. Macedonia reverted to Yugoslavia, and Thrace to Greece. The Treaty of Paris, signed in February 1947, confirmed Bulgaria's pre-1941 boundaries. Not only had Bulgaria lost these prized territories, but her sovereignty as a nation was severely curtailed by the Soviet military occupation. Both the armistice agreement of September 1944 and the British-Soviet agreement of October of that year recognized Soviet dominance in the country. Although this power over the country was not expected by the Western powers to endure indefinitely, this illusion was dispelled as Bulgaria soon succumbed completely to Soviet influence.

THE COMMUNIST STATE

GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In 1891 the Social Democratic party was founded; the Communist party was eventually an offshoot of this movement. By 1903 the Social Democrats had begun to split into what were known as the "broad" and "narrow" factions. The broad faction retained the ideology of social democracy, but the narrow faction became the Bulgarian counterpart of the Russian Bolsheviks; its leader was Dimiter Blagoev, the so-called father of Bulgarian communism. In 1919 the narrow faction split off from the Second Socialist International and assumed the name Bulgarian Communist party (BKP). Although the party had great prestige abroad, it failed to enjoy domestic popularity. The most popular party at the time—and that favored by the peasant class, which was predominant in this still-agrarian society—was the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. The BKP, on the other hand, was composed almost exclusively of intellectuals and students and held little appeal for the working and peasant classes.

In 1923 there was an unsuccessful attempt by the Communists to bring the country to revolution. When this uprising was quelled, the Communists turned to terrorism in order to gain their goals, and in 1925 a plot to assassinate King Boris was formulated. Once again the Communists met with failure, as the king not only lived but grew more powerful. In the last half of the 1920s the party faded from the scene, but by the early 1930s it was again revived and grew in popularity.

During the late 1930s the party went underground as the king increased his power. In 1939 the Communists reappeared and merged with the left-wing Workers party; in the 1939 elections the party doubled its representation and took on an air of greater respectability. In 1941, while the war was under way, the Communists realized that Bulgaria was falling into the German camp. Although they were powerless to stop this alliance, their activity in evoking pro-Soviet sentiment was successful to the extent that—coupled with the basically favorable sentiments of the Bulgarian people toward the Russians

—it prevented the monarchy from declaring war against the Soviet Union.

Once the Germans began to invade the Soviet Union itself, the Bulgarian Communists committed themselves to a policy of armed resistance, known as the partisan movement. Historians dispute the extent of partisan activity; some state that it did not become active until the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in 1943, and others claim that the movement was active from the onset of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

In 1942, on the initiative of Dimitrov, the Fatherland Front was established. The organization was essentially a coalition, composed of members of the Workers party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, the Social Democratic party, and the BKP. Its purpose was to overthrow Boris and rid the country of the Germans, simultaneously forming a new government that could more adequately meet the needs of the workers and the peasants.

In 1943 the National Committee of the Fatherland Front was formed, and this committee became the vehicle for the Communist takeover in 1944. In the same year the so-called National Liberation Army, composed of partisans and certain units of the Bulgarian army who had joined forces with them, was established. In the fall of 1944 there were approximately eighteen thousand people in the National Liberation Army, augmented by some two hundred thousand people who sheltered and assisted them.

Before 1944, however, the Communists were still not widely popular. The apathy of a large portion of the population was due primarily to the fact that the country had remained relatively untouched by the war; but, as the country was not actually at war with the Soviet Union, little rationale was provided to the Soviet-backed Communists in their attempts to enlist the support of the partisans. The Bulgarian army and police were active in hunting down the known Communists. All of these factors precluded the possibility of the country becoming totally committed to either the Communist cause or armed resistance. By 1944, however, when Soviet troops entered Romania, activity became widespread within Bulgaria. In August 1944 Romania completely capitulated. By early September the Soviet Union declared war on the Bulgarian government, an act more symbolic than real, as Soviet armies met no Bulgarian resistance. On September 9, 1944, the Fatherland Front was installed, and the Communists were firmly entrenched in the country.

DEVELOPMENT SINCE WORLD WAR II

At the time of the Fatherland Front takeover in Bulgaria the Soviets, with the assistance of the partisans and units of the National Liberation Army, occupied many Bulgarian towns and cities. It is said that they were received by the people with gifts of bread and salt, a traditional Bulgarian gift of welcome. At the same time, on the

political front, the Soviets and their Bulgarian collaborators took over the key ministries in the capital city and arrested members of the government.

The Fatherland Front—a coalition composed at that time of Communists, members of the left wing of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, members of the left wing of the Social Democratic party, and the Zveno group—was led by Georgiev as the new premier. Dimitrov and Kalarov returned from Moscow, where they had been in exile since 1925, to assist the new government in its takeover. The Communists proceeded to rid the coalition of certain opposing elements within its ranks. Nikolai Petkov of the Peasant Union and Kosta Lulchev of the Social Democratic party were temporarily retired from the coalition. Large-scale purges were initiated against German collaborators and sympathizers; many thousands were either executed or imprisoned by the Communists.

When plans for elections were made in 1945, both Great Britain and the United States made a strong bid for the holding of popular elections. Their hopes were temporarily defeated when, on November 18, 1945, Communist-controlled elections were held. The Fatherland Front won a decided victory, eventually resulting in Georgiev's formal installation as premier. His tenure in office was brief, and he was quickly succeeded by Dimitrov. At this point Great Britain and the United States protested, insisting that the Communists broaden their governmental base. Thus, although the two leading fig-

ures of the BKP, Dimitrov and Kalarov, were installed eventually as premier and president, respectively, Petkov and Lulchev were allowed to take over control of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, two vital organs of the government.

By 1946, however, the Communists had whittled down all opposition. In July 1946 control over the army had been transferred from non-Communist members of the ostensible coalition government to exclusively Communist control. At this time two thousand so-called reactionary army officers were dismissed. A plebiscite held in September abolished the monarchy, declared Bulgaria a republic, and gave all power to Dimitrov as premier. He officially took the title on November 4, 1946, and held it until his death in 1949. When Dimitrov took power, any opposition that remained was quickly eliminated. Once the United States had ratified the Bulgarian Peace Treaty—a moment for which the Communists waited anxiously in order to rid themselves of all Western control over Bulgarian affairs of state—Petkov was summarily arrested and executed. His party, the Peasant Union, had been dissolved one month before his death.

On December 4, 1947, a new constitution was adopted, modeled on the Soviet Constitution of 1936. King Simeon, at this point, seeing that there was little room in Communist Bulgaria for a monarch, took up residence in Paris and Philadelphia.

THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE KINGDOM OF BULGARIA

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
679-1018—First Bulgarian Kingdom					
852-893	Czar	Boris I (Michael Simeon)	827	907	
893-927	Czar	Simeon I	862	927	Son of Boris I
927-969	Czar	Peter I		969	Son of Simeon I
969-972	Czar	Boris II			
976-1014	Prince	Samuel			
1014-1015	Prince	Gabriel Radomir			
1015-1018	Prince	John Vladislav			
1018-1185—Under the control of the Byzantine Empire					
ASEN DYNASTY					
1186-1197	Czar (Coregent)	Peter Asen II		1197	Brother of John Asen
1186-1196	King	John Asen I		1196	Brother of Peter
1197-1207	King	Kaloyan		1207	Brother of Peter and John
1218-1241	King	John Asen II		1241	Son of John Asen I
1241-1246	King	Kaliman I		1246	
1246-1257	King	Michael Asen		1257	
1258-1277	King	Constantine Asen		1277	
1278-1279	King	Ivailo (Ivailo)			
1279-1280	King	Ivan III Asen			

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
TERTER DYNASTY					
1280-1292	King	George I Terter			
1292-1300	King	Smilitz			
1300-1300	King	Caka			
1300-1322	King	Theodore Svetoslav			
1322-1323	King	George II Terter			
1322-1330	King	Michael		1330	
1330-1331	King	Ivan II Stephen			
1330-1371	King	Ivan I Alexander		1371	
1365-1393	King	Ivan III Sishman		1393	
1396-1878—Under the control of the Turkish government					
1879-1886	Prince	Alexander Joséph of Battenberg	1857	1893	Nephew of Alexander II of Russia
1887-1908	Prince	Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1861	1948	
1908—Bulgaria becomes an independent kingdom					
1908-1918	King	Ferdinand I	1861	1948	
1918-1943	King	Boris III	1894	1943	Son of Ferdinand I
1943-1944	Regent	Cyril	1895	1945	Brother of Boris II
1943-1946	King	Simeon II	1937		Son of Boris III
1946-1947—Bulgaria became a Communist republic.					



The Ancient and Modern Kingdoms of Greece



Greece with its ancient regional territories

By one historical yardstick Greece is a relatively young country. Its history as an independent European nation-state begins only in the 1820s. The greater part of the territory occupied by contemporary Greece was acquired in the past one hundred years. By another important yardstick—the one by which Greeks and most Westerners measure the country's past—Greece is the seat of Europe's oldest civilization, the one that has been the archetype for the cultural, intellectual, and spiritual development of succeeding civilizations.

Some aspects of the patriotism, cultural consciousness, and ethnic cohesion felt by modern Greeks are reflected in each of the historical periods that preceded Greek independence and the establishment of a Greek

state in the nineteenth century. The heritage of ancient Greece is the common property of the Western world, and modern Greeks take great pride in this fact. In spite of the political differences and habits of individualism that separated the numerous city-states of which the Greek world was comprised, the Greeks of antiquity were bound together by common cultural values and moral ideals, which were expressed as Hellenism—the character and spirit of the Hellenes, or Greeks. Acceptance of these values and ideas was synonymous with being a Greek.

Using Greece as his base, Alexander the Great created a world empire. Greece was later a vital constituent of the Roman Empire, which was in turn made over by medieval Greeks as the Byzantine Empire, Greek in language and culture but politically the continuation in the Middle Ages of the old Roman Empire. The Orthodox church of Greece is the legacy of the Byzantine epoch. Political attitudes and social institutions crucial to the development of modern Greece are also attributed to that one-thousand-year period of Greek history. For nearly four centuries after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Greeks were the conquered subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The Greek nation survived through its identification with Orthodox Christianity and its retention of self-governing communal institutions. Many historians have found the roots of modern Greek national consciousness in the struggle for survival during this period of subjugation.

Modern Greece is a homogeneous nation. Its people have a definite national identity and, although modern Greeks have a complex family tree, ethnic minorities are of insignificant size. But modern Greeks have required a national myth to demonstrate their historical continuity as a nation. The independence movement has been regarded as signaling the rebirth of Hellenism in a new age, and Hellenism has provided the means by which Greeks could trace their descent. There is, however, more than one version of the national myth. *Hellenism* is a value-

laden term that can be interpreted to suit its translator. Hence modern Greeks have at different times and for different reasons sought their national wellspring in different places. This ambiguity has contributed to schisms within the political fabric of Greece and has usually meant that political opponents were, by the very fact of their being in opposition, considered anti-Greek.

Greeks do not lack for patriotism, but their closest ties have traditionally been to church, community and family, and patron. Modern Greece has experienced difficulty in creating stable national institutions outside the framework of these traditional ones. Both church and community have been weakened in contemporary Greece, the former by secularism and the latter by mobility. Patronage is increasingly absorbed by political ideology. But another institution—the military—has remained a constant force in Greek political life. The military coup is a specter that has haunted generations of civilian politicians.

It has been observed that ancient Hellas and the Byzantine Empire were far larger than they needed to be. Expansionism—expressed in terms of *enosis* (union) of all Greeks within a Greek state—has been a constant feature of modern Greek history as well. The energy of the Greeks, however, has often exceeded the resources of their country. Greece has been both poor and weak, conditions dangerous in a country so strategically located that it is important in the struggles of the great powers to maintain a balance or to win domination in the eastern Mediterranean. For the great powers of Europe, Greece was in a sense too important to be left to the Greeks to manage alone, and governments were sometimes imposed or deposed in accordance with the strategic requirements of other countries. Greece achieved independence only after foreign intervention in its revolution. As an independent state it has been dependent for its defense and for political and economic survival on the periodic intervention of protecting powers—France, Russia, Great Britain and, more recently, the United States. A corollary of that dependence has been the Greek's outraged sense of betrayal of his country's interests by foreign powers and his frustration at its inability to break free of such influence.

Indeed the very term *Greek* is foreign to Greeks. It is derived from the Latin *Graeci*, used to identify one Hellenic tribe and later applied to all Hellenes. For centuries even Greeks referred to themselves as Romaioi (Romans) rather than as Hellenes, an ancient name that was revived among the Greeks only in the eighteenth century.

The expectations of Western philhellenes for a Greece restored to independence were often disappointed by Greek realities. No less than foreigners, Greeks have idealized their past. Greek historiography has a tendency to stress the continuity of Greek history—ancient, medieval, and modern—as well as its otherness. Its ethnocen-

tricity has often obscured the fact that Greek history in many ways transcends the boundaries of territory and nationality.

ANCIENT GREECE

Archaeological evidence suggests that continental Greece and the Aegean Islands supported a sparse Neolithic population as early as the sixth millennium B.C. It was displaced by bronze-working Helladic (pre-Greek) tribes who entered the peninsula overland from Asia and had spread to the islands sometime before 3000 B.C. On Crete they developed an advanced, culturally and technically sophisticated civilization that benefited from its proximity to Egypt and the cultures of the Near East. The Minoans—named for Minos, their legendary king, whose successors ruled from the massive palace complex at Knossos—dominated the Aegean world, relying on sea power to protect their commerce and to defend their unwallled cities.

Helladic development on the mainland was markedly slower. At about the beginning of the second millennium B.C. the Achaeans (proto-Greeks) invaded the peninsula from the north, settling there and on the islands among the indigenous inhabitants. Much of classical Greek mythology was an attempt to explain the process by which the two cultures—that of the patriarchal Achaeans, accompanied by their sky-gods, and that of the Helladic earth-goddess worshipers—were fused.

By 1600 B.C. the Minoans had extended their political, economic, and cultural hegemony over the Achaeans, whose tribal kings employed Minoan craftsmen to build palaces in emulation of their overlords on Crete. The interaction of the Minoan and Achaean cultures gave rise to a new civilization that had its center at Mycenae in the Peloponnesus. The Minoan civilization declined after 1400 B.C., succumbing finally to a combination of natural disasters and conquest by the Mycenaean. The period from 1400 to 1100 B.C. was the Mycenaean heroic age that inspired the Homeric epic, the *Iliad*, describing the assault of the Achaeans on Troy. After 1100 B.C. the steady migrations of the Dorians, primitive Hellenic tribesmen from the north, overwhelmed the Mycenaean and ushered in the three-hundred-year-long Greek Dark Ages.

The beginnings of the *polis*, or city-state, are found during this chaotic time when, for security, the people of the countryside moved within the shadow of an *acropolis* (literally, high town), the fortification of a local lord or tribal chieftain constructed on defensible high ground that dominated the countryside. Athens, for instance, had its origins in villages clustered around one such acropolis in Attica. The polis became the distinctive form of political and social organization in classical Greece. (It forms the root of the word *politics*, meaning the "business of the city." But the idea of the polis meant

more to the Greeks than just a city and its surrounding countryside.)

The governments of some city-states evolved gradually, as in Athens, from monarchy to oligarchy to democracy, the transitions from one form to another eased by the rule of tyrants; but democracy was by no means the common end of them all. There could have been no greater contrast than that between the two most prominent city-states, Athens and Sparta. Athens, which in the popular imagination epitomizes Hellenic civilization, was a direct democracy and a cosmopolitan state—in the words of Pericles, “thrown open to the world.” Sparta—authoritarian and isolated in the mountains of the Peloponnese—was a completely militarized state existing to support an exclusive caste of warriors. Often a city-state’s form of government was reflected in its urban plan. The adoption of a democratic constitution, for instance, usually coincided with the construction of walls around the city to enclose its agora, or marketplace, and marked the triumph of commercial over landed interests. Even in democratic Athens, however, citizenship was restricted to a small part of the city’s population. Slavery was a common institution, rationalized on the grounds that it released citizens to participate in public affairs and was necessary to sustain civilization on a high level in a poor country.

A shortage of arable land in Greece encouraged individual city-states to establish colonies for their excess



King Aristodemus, the reputed first king of Sparta, circa ninth century B.C.



The tyrant (ruler) Gelon (or Gelo) was the first sovereign of Syracuse.

The first tyrant (ruler) of Athens, Pisistratus, returning from a victory to the celebration dance of the city. Research shows that he and his subjects were but five feet tall.





The wedding ceremony of Alexander III to his second wife, Statira



Medallion of the time of Philip II

A sketch of the bust of Alexander III in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. He authorized only one artist to make a bust in bronze, Lusippus. But he had many wax figures made of himself, including an entire collection of his life from birth to death.



Alexander III was a pupil of Aristotle.

population. Although they retained cultural ties with their mother cities, the colonies were politically independent of them. Hundreds of Greek city-states were spread from Spain to the Black Sea. Political fragmentation, implicit in the city-state system, led inevitably to the sometimes suicidal internecine warfare that plagued the classical Greek world. But even when geography separated them and politics set them against each other, the Greeks were united by their collective cultural consciousness, expressed in Panhellenic festivals at such religious centers as Delphi, Olympia, and Eleusis. They displayed an attitude of superiority to other peoples. Not to be a Hellene was to be a barbarian.

Greece is a geographic and cultural bridge between Europe and Asia. Early in the fifth century B.C., however, it served as a barrier against the westward expansion of the Persians. The conflict between the Greeks, led by Athens, and the Persians has been explained as an early example of East-West confrontation. Whatever the merits of that argument may be, the century after the Persian defeat was the golden age of the Greek polis and saw full flowering of Hellenic civilization. Athens emerged from

the Greek victories at Marathon (490 B.C.), Salamis (480 B.C.), and Plataea (479 B.C.) at the peak of its prosperity and creativity. It was also recognized as the leader of an alliance of Greek city-states known as the Delian League. There was a popular demand within the Athenian democracy to use the resources of the league to spread democratic institutions in areas liberated or conquered during the Persian wars. A conflict of interest with Sparta and other nondemocratic Greek states as well as resentment by some Delian allies at high-handed Athenian domination of the league precipitated the Peloponnesian Wars, which were fought intermittently over many years (440–404 B.C.) and left both Sparta and Athens exhausted. Plato and Aristotle produced their philosophic works in the more introspective mood of the next century.

The weakness of the Greek city-states invited the military intervention of Philip, king of Macedonia—a primitive and peripheral region that had not wasted itself in the wars. Having subjugated the city-states by force, Philip presided over a Panhellenic congress at which the city-states were joined in a confederation under



A vintage statue of Alexander III, one of the few that have survived that holds a good likeness of him



The only case in history when a great general and king sired a great general and king is that of Philip II and Alexander III, the Great. Philip is seen here reviewing his troops. In his generalship and demeanor he has been likened to General George Patton of United States World War II fame. King of Macedonia, he served from 359 to 336 B.C. It was during the siege of Methone that Philip lost one of his eyes. It is told in legend that he was approached by an archer soldier who told him that he wanted to be one of Philip's royal archers and that he could shoot a small bird in flight. Philip scoffed at this, saying, "Well, well, I shall make use of you when I go to war with the starlings." Astor joined the Methones and during the siege, it seems that an arrow was shot into Philip's right eye. It had a message tied to it: "Astor to Philip's right eye." Astor was assassinated in 336 B.C. at the wedding celebration between his daughter Cleopatra and the king of Epirus, by Pausanias, a soldier in his own bodyguard.

"Astor to Philip's Right Eye"



Macedonian protection. Philip's son, Alexander, mobilized the Greeks behind a Macedonian attack on the vast Persian Empire that carried Greek influence in a few short years to the banks of the Indus. The syncretic cultural style generated as a result of Alexander the Great's conquests is called Hellenistic, or Greeklike, sometimes described as Hellenic culture orientalized to accommodate non-Greeks; among its characteristics was



Before Alexander could embark on his father's dream of the conquest of Asia, he first had to be certain that affairs would be settled at home. In his deliberate destruction of Thebes, he made his point and all who opposed him were brought to severe judgment.



Roman Emperor Hadrian conquered Greece and stayed long enough to attempt to beautify Athens. He built the Pantheon, which stands today (in ruins) as a memorial to this great Roman general and engineer.



The dying Alexander. It is believed that he passed away in the final stages of syphilis, the dread social disease of the time. He returned to die at Babylon, the city from which he set out to conquer Asia. He returned to the same place where he had his farewell dinner—the palace of the king Nebuchadnezzar.



an emphasis on a universalism, crucial in the development of Western thought and Christian theology.

When Alexander died in 323 B.C., his empire was divided among his generals. Greece fell under the control of Macedonia, but its kings had difficulty restraining the independence of the city-states. A Macedonian alliance with Carthage during the Punic Wars and appeals by restive Greek city-states for aid against their overlords caused Rome to intervene as the "protector of Greek freedom." Macedonia became a Roman province in 148 B.C., followed in short order by the rest of Greece. A favored part of the empire, Greece was prosperous and—for the first time—peaceful under the mantle of the Pax Romana. Although the city-states had forfeited their political liberty, Greek culture continued to flourish. It was readily absorbed by its Roman patrons, giving rise to the epigram, "Captive Greece Took Her Captors Captive."

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

In A.D. 285 Diocletian undertook the reorganization of the Roman Empire, dividing jurisdiction between its Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking halves. Diocletian's successor, Constantine, established his capital at the site of the Greek city of Byzantium as a "New Rome," strategically situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus. The city was renamed Constantinople for its founder. For nearly twelve centuries, until its capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, Constantinople remained the capital of the Roman Empire—better known in its continuous development in the East during the Middle Ages as the Byzantine Empire.

Though Greek in language and culture, the Byzantine Empire was thoroughly Roman in its law and administration. Justinian's codification of Roman law was compiled—in Latin—in Constantinople in the sixth century. The Byzantine Empire was seen as being ecumenical—intended to encompass all Christian peoples—not as a specifically Greek state, and it was described as God's earthly kingdom working to fulfill the divine will. Its Greek-speaking citizens called themselves Romans, not Hellenes. Absolute and theocratic in principle, the emperor in practice delegated considerable authority in the provinces to a military aristocracy.

Christianity was recognized throughout the Roman Empire as the official religion of the state before the end of the fourth century, and a patriarchate was established in Constantinople with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Greek East. In contrast to the Latin church, whose patriarch in Rome asserted the church's independence of secular control, the Greek church was not only identified with but was subordinated to the interests of the state. It was not surprising, therefore, that political dissidence within the empire was often expressed in terms of theological heterodoxy. The decisive break between the Latin



Alaric, the great Gothic leader who destroyed Rome, invaded Greece in 396, and once he entered Athens he was greeted with gold instead of iron. The people of Greece had lost the manliness that was always evident in this period of their civilization.

and Greek churches in the eleventh century was due in no small part to the prerogatives in ecclesiastical affairs claimed by the Byzantine emperors. The Greek church, for its part, maintained that it alone had remained faithful to the Christian orthodoxy taught by the Apostles and the early church councils from which the Latin church had departed. Christian Byzantine culture was hostile to Hellenism and repudiated it for its paganism. The classical heritage as a moral force was thereby dismissed among medieval Greeks, to whom the Hellenes were simply the people who once occupied Roman provinces that had since become a poor and primitive backwater far removed from the centers of Greek culture and economic development in Constantinople and Asia Minor.

Gradually, as stronger demands were made on imperial resources to defend the empire's eastern and southern flanks against Persians, Arabs and, later, Seljuk Turks, the European provinces were left open to invasion first by Goths and, from the sixth century, by repeated waves of Slavs, who eventually overran the interior of the peninsula and settled there in such large numbers that Byzantine sources frequently referred to continental Greece as Sclavinia (Slav-land). The church was the means through which the Slavs were gradually assimilated into the Greek population. The Slavs contributed significantly to the genetic pool of the Greek people, and pockets of them retained their separate identity into the modern era.

Western European merchants and adventurers were attracted to the Byzantine Empire both by its wealth and, after the dynastic strife of the late twelfth century, by its relative weakness. In 1204 Constantinople, the Aegean Islands, and most of the European provinces fell to the largely French contingents of the Fourth Crusade and their Venetian allies. Count Baldwin of Flanders was

installed in Constantinople by the Crusaders as emperor of the so-called Latin Empire, and territory conquered from the Greeks was dismembered into a number of tributary feudal states, creating "New France" in Greece where Western political, social, ecclesiastical, and economic institutions were transplanted intact. Large tracts, especially on the islands, were annexed by Venice and other Italian states or were seized by Catalan and Navarrese mercenaries. The Greeks referred to the Western conquerors collectively as Franks. Independent Greek kingdoms were established in Epirus and at Nicaea and Trebizond from remnant provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Constant warfare pitted Frank against Frank or against Greek, Slav, or Turk, and territory changed hands frequently. In 1205, for instance, the acropolis of Athens became the residence of a Burgundian duke and the Parthenon his church; in 1311 Athens was taken by the Catalans, and in 1388 it passed to the Florentines, in whose hands it remained until conquered in turn by the Turks in 1456.

The Latin Empire lasted for fifty-seven years before Constantinople was retaken by the Greek Palaeologi Dynasty of Nicaea under which the Byzantine Empire was restored. Some of the feudal states survived for two hundred years, however, and Italian domination of many Greek islands and mainland enclaves persisted for an even longer time. Venice held Crete until 1669 and still retained the Ionian Islands at the time of the Venetian Republic's collapse in 1797.

THE OTTOMAN OCCUPATION

Greece was partitioned by the Turks into administrative districts organized along military lines. The principal task of their governors was to oversee the collection of taxes from the sultan's non-Muslim subjects. Greeks kept the use of their land, but they paid a fixed part of the revenue from it for the upkeep of Turkish soldier-landlords. Another form of taxation levied by the Turks was a capitation fee paid by Christian families through the conscription of their children for the corps of Janissaries. Every four years—until 1676—one out of every five young Christian males in the European provinces was sent to Constantinople to be reared as a Muslim and serve in the sultan's bodyguard.

Western historians have tended to underrate the severity of the Ottoman occupation. For all but an elite among the Greek population, it was anything but benevolent. Institutions were left intact, however, and were encouraged by the Turks. These institutions were crucial to the survival of the Greek nation through nearly four hundred years of foreign rule. The most important of them were the Orthodox church of Greece and the organs of local self-government. Greeks also had freedom of trade under Turkish rule, and education in the Greek language

was allowed to continue under the auspices of the church and the patronage of the merchant community.

The concepts of nationality and religion were inalienable qualities to both Greeks and Turks, and nationality was determined according to religion. To be an Orthodox Christian was to be a Greek—just as a Greek who apostacized to Islam thereby became a Turk. The sultan's Orthodox Christian, or Greek, subjects were regarded as a separate nation, or millet, having a degree of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. The patriarch of Constantinople was recognized not only as the head of the Orthodox church but also as the temporal leader of the Christian millet. He bore the title *ethnarch* and was responsible for the civil administration of the people through a separate system of courts with distinct laws and customs based on the Roman Law of the Byzantine Empire. Local government operated under the clergy and landowners, who were the leaders of the Greek communities. Ironically, the Turks referred to the Greek Christian millet as the Roman Nation.

For Greeks, whose communities were dispersed over a large and alien empire, the Orthodox church was their "common fatherland." The Orthodox hierarchy was allowed more latitude by the Turkish sultan than it had been by the Byzantine emperor. As late as the eighteenth century the patriarch spoke of the Ottoman Empire as sent by God to preserve the Orthodox faith after Greek emperors had compromised it in an effort to win Western support for their tottering throne. The Turkish turban, it was commonly observed, was preferable to the Roman miter.

The Turks were a nation of warriors with little head for business or bureaucratic administration, and they were eager to assimilate the experience of those whom they had conquered. Greeks rose to high office in the Ottoman civil service, conducted the sultan's diplomacy, governed provinces, controlled many of the empire's financial institutions, and in time dominated its trade and commerce. Of particular importance in government and finance were the Phanariots, residents of the Phanar district in Constantinople, where the patriarch had established his headquarters. A privileged class, their position in the Turkish administration was all but institutionalized in the eighteenth century.

INDEPENDENT GREECE, 1821–1912

The Greek War of Independence was complex in its origins, conduct, and final resolution. Greeks fought not only Turks but also each other in a civil war for control of the revolution. The standard of rebellion was first raised at a monastery in the Peloponnesus in 1821 by Bishop Germanos. Leaders came from among the lower clergy, *klephts* (mountain bandits), pirates and merchant

captains, and the chieftains of the independent Mani region, whose irregular, autonomous, locally recruited guerrilla bands quickly won control of the countryside and cut off Turkish units dispersed in small garrisons across southern Greece. The massacre of Muslims at Tripolis and of Greeks at Chios set a standard of violence for the war on both sides, turning it into a religious war and ruling out compromise or the offer of quarter.

Despite the initial success of the rebellion, the Greeks had difficulty establishing government on a firm basis. Regional differences and political factionalism were already apparent at the assembly that met in Epidaurus in 1822 to frame a constitution. Strongly influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution, the Constitution of Epidaurus put a check on executive authority by diffusing it through an annual national legislature and three autonomous regional assemblies. The klephts resented any government that restricted their mode of operation, and they refused to submit to civilian control. Elected officials represented the communal governments developed under Ottoman rule; power thereby remained in the hands of landowners, many of whom had reluctantly supported the rebellion only after intimidation by the klephts and peasants. The new government relied on the administrative talents of Phanariots, merchants from the towns and islands, and intellectuals from the diaspora to give shape and direction to the Hellenic Republic.

In 1825, his forces beaten on land and prevented by Greek corsairs from reinforcing the Peloponnesus, the sultan called on the pasha of Egypt, an Ottoman tributary state, for aid. A condition for the intervention of Egyptian troops and naval forces was that Ibrahim, the pasha's son, would become governor of the Peloponnesus. Ibrahim brought to Greece a disciplined, European-trained army of eleven thousand men and conducted a lightning campaign through the Peloponnesus. The uncoordinated Greek guerrilla bands, so successful in small-scale actions, were scattered in disarray. The Turko-Egyptian forces mounted a pincer movement converging on Missolonghi, the key fortress guarding the Gulf of Corinth, which fell in 1826 after a year's siege. With the capture of Athens the next year, the rebellion appeared to be at an end.

Public opinion in Europe had favored Greek independence, but the European powers had hoped for a Greek defeat in order to preserve Turkey's integrity and maintain the balance of power. It was the prospect that the Peloponnesus might become an Egyptian province—and British suspicions that Russia was prepared to act unilaterally to aid the Greeks—that prompted Great Britain, France, and Russia to intervene diplomatically to end the conflict, recommending an autonomous status for Greece within the Ottoman Empire. When the Turks, flushed with their recent military success, refused mediation, the three powers dispatched a joint naval force, which destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet anchored in

the Bay of Navarino and forced an Egyptian evacuation. Czar Nicholas I, acting in his self-appointed role as protector of Orthodox Christians, declared war on Turkey, and a Russian army pushed to the outer defenses of Constantinople. By the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) Russia compelled Turkey to recognize the independence of Greece, but Crete and Thessaly—claimed by the Greeks—were left in Turkish hands.

In reaction to Russia's stance as sole protector of Greece, Great Britain forced a renegotiation of the border settlement, which was spelled out in the first London Protocol (1829). Of greater significance, the European powers also gave Greece their formal recognition in the protocol. Greek leaders protested that eighty percent of the nearly four million Greeks in the Ottoman Empire had been left under Turkish rule, and Greece's pro-Russian president, John Kapodistrias, rejected the settlement. When Kapodistrias, who had made domestic enemies by his attempts to disarm the klephts and to centralize the Republic's government, was assassinated in 1831, the country lapsed into anarchy.

The European powers convened once again and in the second London Protocol (1831) declared Greece a monarchy under joint British, French, and Russian protection. It was further decided that a foreign monarch was required to avoid identification of the executive with one of the native factions. In both areas the protecting powers were eventually disappointed, but many responsible Greeks, recalling the violent end of Kapodistrias's presidency, concurred in the judgment embodied in the second protocol.

The protecting powers offered the Greek crown to Otto, the seventeen-year-old younger son of the king of

Bavaria. He had the advantage of coming from a country that was not aligned with any one of the three powers, and it was hoped that this would ensure that Otto (or Otho, as he was known in Greece) would be neutral in his relations with them. He was accompanied to Greece by a council of Bavarian regents, who took over direction of the Greek government.

The regency imposed a complicated judicial code, modeled on that of Bavaria. It replaced the familiar decentralized forms of local government, inherited from the occupation, with a modern centralized bureaucracy that the Greeks considered distant and unsympathetic. Impersonal crown officials, appointed to posts in local administration by the central government, attempted to assume the role played for centuries by clergy and landowners. Tax collecting under the Bavarian regency was no less efficient than it had been under the Turks. Unfortunate standards of patronage, bribery, and violence were set early in Otto's reign.

Accomplishing what Kapodistrias had failed to do, the regency disarmed the Greek irregulars who had fought in the War of Independence and replaced them with a corps of Bavarian mercenaries. As a result many Greek soldiers returned to their old habits of brigandage in the mountains, increasing a problem that would plague Greece for decades. Brigandage remained an accepted method of political intimidation, and the countryside showed greater loyalty to the klephts than to the representatives of the national government. Klephts were subsequently employed by the king to terrorize his opposition and to create border incidents intended to demonstrate to the protecting powers the extent of irredentist sentiment in Greece.

In 1843 Greek officers commanding the Athens garrison executed a coup that forced Otto to dismiss his Bavarian advisers and consent to constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government. Even the Greeks, however, were frightened by the prospect of renewed factionalism in a parliamentary context, and the new constitution left the king with considerable prerogatives, especially in defense and foreign affairs. During the Crimean war (1854–56) Otto's efforts to annex Thessaly and Epirus—tilting Greek neutrality in Russia's favor—won him popular support but provoked a humiliating Anglo-French occupation of the port of Piraeus. The political figures who grew to maturity after the Crimean War came into sharp conflict with the king. In 1862 they took advantage of demonstrations in Athens to depose Otto and call on the protecting powers to nominate a successor to the Greek throne.

The protecting powers bypassed the candidacies of the czar's nephew and of Queen Victoria's second son, Alfred—which, though seriously proposed, violated the principle laid down in the London protocols that members of reigning families of protecting powers were ineligible for the Greek throne. A compromise candidate,

The seventeen-year-old boy-king of Greece, Otto I, enters Nauplia on January 25, 1833, to take over the reins of the country. In 1828, the Greeks defeated the Turks and regained their freedom. The Greek leaders accepted Otto, the son of the king of Bavaria, as their king in 1832. But, Otto I had little capacity for administering a government the size and enterprise of Greece and he was expelled in 1862 and forced to leave.



William George, son of Christian IX of Denmark and brother-in-law of the heirs to both the British and Russian thrones, was selected and approved by a plebiscite in 1863. The Danish prince thereby became George I, king of the Hellenes. Great Britain rewarded the Greeks for returning a favorable vote by ceding the Ionian Islands. The new constitution under which George agreed to govern provided for a unicameral legislature, extended male suffrage, and placed strict limitations on royal prerogatives. George maintained the constitutional system that he was pledged to uphold, but his reign was marred by political violence and military revolts that frustrated the growth of secure parliamentary institutions. Political factions vied for the support of army units, and parliamentary elections took on some of the aspects of civil war.

George eventually found a capable prime minister in Charles Tricoupis, whose evenhanded policies in the 1880s and 1890s permitted the beginnings of a two-party system to emerge. Tricoupis's Liberal party represented urban, commercial, middle-class interests; the National party found support in the traditional landowning class in rural constituencies. During his tenures in office Tricoupis curbed runaway government spending, especially for the armed forces, and followed a cautious policy in his relations with Turkey. Apparent political stability, the prospect of peace, and Tricoupis's fiscal policy gave Greece better access to foreign loans and encouraged investment for economic development. But the edifice of his work came to ruin with his death in 1896 and the outbreak of war with Turkey the next year.

Since independence the passions of the Greek irredentists had been focused on Crete, Epirus, and Thessaly. Crete was the scene of continuous revolts by the Greek majority against the Muslim landlords. In 1877, when



George I, a son of the king of Denmark, was chosen in 1863 to replace the despotic ruler Otto I. After fifty years on the throne George I, on March 18, 1913, was assassinated by an insane man at Salonica. His reign was marked with seven notable accomplishments. They were: the acquisition of the Ionian Islands, the union with Crete, the establishment of radical parliamentary procedure, creation of a beautiful city in Athens from its former dirty village status, participation in the Balkan Alliance, the quieting of internal revolutions, and the possession of unanimous approval from the people. It is an irony of fate that he was assassinated at the very moment in history when Greece was to become a great world power, and the moment died with him.



George in his youth as a naval cadet



There were a number of attempts to assassinate George I

war broke out in the Balkans between Russia and Turkey, there were uprisings by Greeks in other Turkish territories, but the Treaty of San Stefano (1878), which ended the Russo-Turkish war and provided generously for the aspirations of Serbia and Bulgaria, made no concessions to Greek territorial claims. Proposals offered by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin the following year—that the disputed provinces be ceded to Greece—were rejected by the British, who also used the threat of naval blockade against Greece to discourage irredentist sentiment. The issue of these Turkish-held provinces troubled Anglo-Greek relations until 1881, when the British—confident that Russia could gain no advantage from it—obtained the sultan's reluctant agreement to turn over Thessaly and southern Epirus to Greece.

Reports of a massacre of Greeks on Crete led to war with Turkey early in 1897. The well-equipped Turkish army, recently reorganized by German advisers, routed the ill-prepared, poorly led Greek forces in a thirty-day campaign in Thessaly. The protecting powers intervened to prevent the Turks from pursuing their victory against the demoralized Greeks. Minor territorial adjustments were made in favor of Turkey, and Greece was assigned to pay an indemnity. An international commission was created by the powers to manage bankrupt Greek state finances. But, despite Greece's defeat, the Cretans gained the substance of their original demands for greater self-government. The second son of George I, Prince George, was named high commissioner of Crete and given a mandate by Great Britain to organize an autonomous regime there under the Turkish flag.

For many Greeks, however, any arrangement short of enosis was unacceptable. In 1906 Prince George resigned after a disagreement with his Cretan adviser, Eleutherios Venizelos, on the question of enosis, which the high commissioner—and the royal government in Athens—

opposed. Two years later, when the Cretans took advantage of political turmoil in Turkey to proclaim enosis, the Athens government rejected the offer. Threatened with another Turkish war and economic sanctions imposed by the international commission, the royal government admitted that Greece was not in a position to deal with the consequences of annexing the island. The king's unwillingness to risk a new war provoked a revolt by an antiroyalist officers' group, the Military League, that made the most of public disgust with the old-line political elite who had backed away from fighting the Turks. For the next two years the Military League virtually dictated government policy. Its calls for sweeping reforms had unsettling effects on the economy and relations abroad and opened a lasting breach between royalists and antiroyalists in the armed forces and the civil service.

The Military League found an ally in Venizelos, who had no previous party connections. His first act was to call a convention to revise the constitution and make parliamentary government effective. Elections the next year—which were a referendum on the revised constitution—gave Venizelos's newly formed Liberal party 300 of the 364 seats in Parliament. Firmly in control of the government, Venizelos introduced agrarian reforms and social legislation, encouraged the growth of trade unions, improved the technical efficiency of the armed forces, and restructured the bureaucracy.

The sheer activity of Venizelos's government gave Greece an immense psychological uplift. It also left the impression that massive changes in the established order had occurred. But Venizelos was no radical; he was a nationalist committed to shoring up old structures, such as the monarchy and Parliament, by making them work more effectively in the interests of the country. He understood that patronage was the key to power in Greece and tied the reformed permanent civil service to the fortunes of the Liberal party. Vocal opponents of his government were retired from the officer corps. Control of these two institutions—the military and the bureaucracy—and his activist foreign policy, an area that had been the crown's preserve, strained relations between Venizelos and George I. When the king appeared as the leader of the opposition, Venizelos took steps to remove the monarchy from politics.

EXPANSION AND DEFEAT, 1912–23

In 1912 Greece joined Serbia and Bulgaria in a war against Turkey, after Venizelos had rejected a Turkish appeal for Greek neutrality. The Treaty of London (May 1913), which ended the war, forced Turkey to surrender all its European territory, except eastern Thrace and Albania, to the Balkan allies. Each member of the alli-

ance had laid claim to a share of Turkey's remaining European provinces—Greece to northern Epirus and Macedonia and to the city of Salonika, which had been occupied by the Bulgarians. Each of the Balkan allies put forward claims in ethnically mixed Macedonia. In June

King Constantine, the former duke of Sparta, oldest son of George I, replaced him on the throne. Constantine was fresh from a wave of personal feats of military glory. He had led a triumphant army from Athens to Salonika, and captured the second biggest city of Turkey. And he captured Janina, which was believed by the Turks to be impregnable. The terms of peace were that Turkey was to give up most all of her European territories. The biggest blow of all to Turkey was the loss of Adrianople to Bulgaria. This ancient Thracian town of unknown antiquity had been built before the Roman emperor Hadrian swept in from the West and gave it his name. It was a city much to be desired, for it was a crossroad of trade from East to West. The Goths held it in the fourth century and the Huns in the fifth. Then it went to the Byzantines. In 1361 Sultan Murad I captured it for Turkey and made it their capital and residence of the sovereign. They kept it as their capital until 1453 when Constantinople was captured and made the capital. There was strong Turkish national sentiment for Adrianople. Constantine was deposed in 1917 but was restored in 1920; however, in 1922 he was forced to abdicate.



Members of the Greek royal family leave Athens (Piraeus) for exile in Switzerland in 1917 aboard a British warship. The Allies—Great Britain, France, and Russia—called for the removal of the king (Constantine) and the crown prince George but allowed the crown to name his younger son Alexander as his future successor. On board the warship, right to left: Prince Alexander, the ex-king, and behind the queen is the ex-crown prince George.



1913 Greece and Serbia combined with Romania and their enemy of a few weeks before, Turkey, to overwhelm Bulgaria. The peace agreement at Bucharest, monitored by the great powers, awarded southern Macedonia, including Salonika, to Greece, and Turkey acquiesced in enosis for Crete.

In foreign affairs Venizelos pulled Greece closer to France and Great Britain, a move that further complicated his relations with the crown at the start of World War I. Constantine I, who had become king after the assassination of his father, George I, in 1913, was pro-German and committed to keeping Greece neutral in the European war. Venizelos, however, pushed for intervention on the side of the Allies to advance Greece's frontier. The Gallipoli campaign in 1915 gave new life to the so-called Great Idea (*Megali Idéa*), the dream of adding Constantinople and Ionia, on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, to a Greater Greece to create the "New Byzantium" envisioned by Venizelos. A constitutional struggle ensued over the question of foreign policy, and the Great Idea, which had been an issue above politics and had united Greek opinion for decades, became a divisive issue. Despite his parliamentary majority, Venizelos resigned as prime minister when Constantine repudiated his offer of aid to the Allies. When general elections confirmed the Liberal majority, Venizelos argued that the people had voted for war, but the king countered that foreign policy could not be allowed to become a matter of partisan politics.

Constantine's subsequent refusal to allow the Serbian army to retreat across Greek territory and his surrender of a strategic fortress in Macedonia to the Central Powers provided the pretext for the Allied occupation of Salonika, to be used as a staging area for operations in the Balkans. Military action was coupled with a demand for the demobilization of the Greek army. In October 1916 Venizelos established a provisional government at Salonika with Allied backing. Greece had two governments and two armies, frequently in conflict, one loyal to Constantine and the other to Venizelos.

The Allies imposed a blockade on royalist-controlled Greece and gave Constantine the choice of abdication or the bombardment of Athens. The king chose exile and named his son, Alexander, to succeed him. Venizelos returned to Athens as prime minister and in July 1917 brought Greece into the war against the Central Powers. Ten Greek divisions fought on the Macedonian front, and Greek troops were among the Allied contingents that entered Constantinople in 1918.

Venizelos trusted the Allies to back Greek demands for territory. He argued his case well at the Versailles Conference and obtained permission for the Greek occupation of Smyrna (Izmir), thereby gaining a toehold for Greece in Asia Minor. The Treaty of Sèvres (1920), formally concluding the war with Turkey, allotted eastern Thrace (excluding Constantinople) and Smyrna and its

hinterland to Greece for five years, the final disposition of the territory to be determined by a plebiscite. Venizelos ordered troops to occupy Smyrna, effecting a landing under cover of an Allied flotilla that included United States warships, and prepared for a campaign to fulfill Greek demands in the interior of Anatolia.

In contrast to his diplomatic triumphs, Venizelos's political strength at home deteriorated during his attendance at the peace conferences. In November 1920 Alexander died, and Constantine was recalled to the throne. The Liberals were defeated by proroyalist parties in general elections, and Venizelos went into exile.

The Greek army took the offensive in 1921. Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) lured the overextended Greeks to within sixty miles of Ankara before launching a counterattack that sent them reeling in a disorderly retreat back to the coast. Smyrna was captured and sacked, and a large number of the Greeks who lived there were massacred by the Turks. As shiploads of refugees poured into Greece, a military committee took control of the government, ousted the king, and executed six royalist ministers, whose death for their alleged role in the debacle absolved the army from blame. Constantine was succeeded by his son, George II.

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) canceled Greece's gains at Sèvres and provided for the exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities. More than 1.3 million Greeks were expelled from Asia Minor and four hundred thousand Muslims repatriated from Greece to Turkey. Greece was faced with the problem of absorbing a 20 percent increase in population.

INTERWAR PERIOD, 1923–40

Modern Greece passed through its period of greatest political instability during the 1920s and early 1930s. As the Orthodox church had united the Greeks under Ottoman rule, so the Great Idea had transcended regional or factional loyalties. For many politicians and army officers the defeat of the Great Idea had deprived Greece of its future. The perceived enemy was no longer the Turks but other Greeks—royalist or republican. In 1924 army officers deposed George II and established a republic, which was confirmed in a plebiscite the following year. After four years of ineffective government, punctuated by a military dictatorship, the party leaders summoned Venizelos to unify Greece under a national government.

The thrust of Venizelos's postwar foreign policy was to end Greek dependence on any single European power. He established friendly relations with countries that had obvious interest in the Mediterranean area. Venizelos assured the Turks that Greece had given up territorial ambitions at their expense, and for the first time in modern Greek diplomatic history Greece and Turkey had cordial relations. In Athens, however, Venizelos had difficulty holding the Liberal party together. A series of



King George II was the only modern-day sovereign to be restored to the throne twice. He served from 1922 to 1924, from 1935 to 1941, and from 1946 to 1947.

abortive military coups and assassination attempts accompanied his personal decline. Venizelos, for all his expansive vision, was a narrowly partisan politician who was not above using political allies in the armed forces to keep his opposition from power. Beaten at the polls in 1931, Venizelos was later implicated in an abortive naval coup aimed at forcing out the conservative Populist government. Venizelos fled again into exile and was condemned to death in absentia.

Voters in a 1935 plebiscite called overwhelmingly (97 percent) for the return of George II. Parliamentary elections the next year, however, produced a deadlock between royalist and republican parties in Parliament, fifteen Communist seats holding the balance. In desperation George II called on General John Metaxas, former army chief of staff and Greece's outstanding soldier, to form a government as prime minister. Metaxas had no support in Parliament, but he was popular among royalist army officers. He temporarily adjourned Parliament (thereby defusing its influential Communist bloc) and governed the country by decree during a proclaimed state of emergency, but in 1936 Metaxas dropped all pretense of constitutional government. He dissolved Parliament with royal assent and initiated a dictatorship, claiming that the action was necessary to forestall a Communist-inspired coup within the armed forces.

THE TERRIBLE DECADE, 1940–49

Metaxas reorganized and reequipped the army in preparation for the European war that he believed was inevitable. At best he hoped to keep Greece neutral, but there was no question that if Greece were drawn into war it would be on the side of Great Britain. On October 28, 1940, the Italian ambassador in Athens demanded that Italian troops be allowed to occupy "certain strategic points" on Greek territory. Metaxas rejected the ultimatum in a one-word reply—"Ochi" (No). He recalled republican officers who had been dismissed in 1936, and he united the armed forces and the nation in a common

front. This was in marked contrast to the situation that had prevailed during World War I.

The Italian forces that invaded Greece expected an easy victory. Within a month, however, an inspired Greek army had counterattacked and driven the Italians deep into Albanian territory. But Metaxas's death in January 1941 deprived the Greek war effort of his determined leadership. Metaxas's strategy had been to defeat Italy before Germany was drawn into the Balkan theater, a position that was tenable as long as Greece's ally, Yugoslavia, stayed neutral. In April Germany invaded both Yugoslavia and Greece. The British provided naval support and sent fifty thousand troops to aid the Greeks, but within three weeks the Allied defense lines were overrun by a combination of air and armored attacks. The Greek commander in Epirus surrendered his army in the field. Prime Minister Alexander Koryzis, depressed by the discovery of treason within his cabinet, committed suicide. Crete was captured in June by German airborne units. The king and his government were evacuated to Egypt, where Greek naval units and the remnants of the army were reorganized to continue the war under British command.

The Axis powers occupied Greece for almost three years. The Germans were interested in holding only the principal communications routes and positions of vital strategic importance. Bulgaria annexed Thrace, but most of the country was nominally under Italian control. A collaborationist government provided day-to-day administration and internal security in occupied areas, but the greater part of the country—two-thirds of its more mountainous territory containing one-half of the population—was left virtually a no-man's-land.

The royal family resided in South Africa during the war years, and a government-in-exile, headed by non-Communist, pre-Metaxas politicians, operated from Egypt under British sponsorship. Greek naval and ground forces served in North Africa and the Near East under British command. The Allied Middle East Command supplied the Greek resistance and was responsible for its overall direction through the British Mission working inside Greece.

The German army withdrew from Greece in October 1944. Through the Soviet military mission in Athens the KKE (Kommunistikon Komma Ellados—the Greek Communist party) was ordered to "avoid opposition" and to participate in George Papandreou's government. Although the EAM-ELAS (Ethnikon Apeleftherotikon Metepon—the Greek National Liberation Front, and Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos—the National People's Liberation Army) had effective control of all of Greece outside the capital, the Communists bowed to Moscow's directive. The government installed in Athens by the British had six ministers from the EAM in the cabinet—all with portfolios that were useless as instruments of power. What the Greek Communists had not

been aware of was the bargain struck between Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin guaranteeing that Greece would fall into Great Britain's postwar sphere of influence.

Three immediate problems confronted the new government in Athens: reconstruction, the return of the monarch, and the disarming of guerrilla forces. More than five hundred thousand Greeks had perished from military action, in concentration camps, or from cold and hunger. Only two thousand of a prewar Jewish community of seventy thousand survived the occupation. Some fifteen hundred villages had been destroyed, leaving seven hundred thousand Greeks homeless. Communications and transportation networks were in ruins. Two-thirds of the merchant fleet had been sunk. Fruit and tobacco crops, strong prewar export items, were gone. Food production was half of what it had been in 1940.

Opinion was divided on whether George II should be allowed to return to Greece. The EAM conducted a campaign against restoration of the monarchy, accusing the king of responsibility for the Metaxas dictatorship and denouncing him for having fled the country in 1940. Demobilization of the guerrilla army was, of course, the most dangerous problem in the short term. For ELAS to disarm would take from the Communists the means to hold the country by force—a situation both sides understood. The British command proposed retaining two brigades—one royalist, one drawn from ELAS—until a national army could be formed. ELAS disregarded British general Sir Ronald MacKenzie Scobie's order to lay down its arms, reminding him that his authority extended only to operations against the Germans. The EAM ministers resigned from the government and held a demonstration in Athens on December 3, 1944, to protest the British demand. The police fired into the crowd to disperse it, and that action set off a chain reaction of violence between government troops and ELAS.

The Battle of Athens—the second round in the civil war—lasted one month. The British, who intervened against ELAS, were compelled to withdraw two divisions from the Italian front to reinforce their hard-pressed forces in the Greek capital. The renewed fighting also had the unpleasant aspect of pitting Greek government forces, which now included some who a short time before had been active collaborationists, against men who had taken leading parts in the resistance. The United States Mission in Athens had been instructed to remain neutral, but British colleagues generally considered the Americans to be pro-EAM.

On Christmas Eve 1944 Churchill and Anthony Eden, British foreign secretary, flew to Athens in an attempt to find a political solution that would end the violence. Their personal intervention failed to resolve the conflict, but Churchill temporarily defused the controversial

question of the monarchy by persuading George II to appoint as regent the archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, a heroic figure during the occupation who was respected by both sides. Papandreou resigned as prime minister, and the regent appointed a republican to succeed him. The change in government paved the way for a cease-fire.

Thirty-three days of street fighting cost eleven thousand lives and left sections of Athens in ruins. Under the provisions of the armistice ELAS laid down its arms, the KKE and the EAM agreed to reorganize as legal political parties, and parliamentary elections and a plebiscite on the king's future were scheduled to be held within the year.

In November 1945 a caretaker government, composed of a broad coalition that excluded the Communists, announced parliamentary elections for the following March. When a Communist request for postponement of the election until after the plebiscite was denied, the KKE pulled out its candidates and asked supporters to abstain from voting. An Allied commission monitored the elections, which were marked by a swing to the right and gave the conservative Populists a clear majority, but only 60 percent of the electorate went to the polls. The plebiscite, held in September, returned a 69 percent majority in favor of George II's returning to Greece as king. He died the next spring and was succeeded by his brother, Paul.

During 1946 a series of isolated uprisings by leftists in various parts of the country escalated into a third round in the civil war. The KKE organized the so-called Democratic Army of Greece as ELAS's successor, and it conducted a classic guerrilla war against a static defense by conventional forces. The main guerrilla activity was in the Peloponnese and in Macedonia and Epirus close to the sanctuary of the Yugoslav, Bulgarian, and Albanian borders, across which the Communist forces could retreat to rest and regroup before returning to combat. Across these borders also ran the lines of supply for the Greek Communists.

The government imposed martial law, permitting arrests without warrants. In 1947 it outlawed the KKE, but during three years of civil war constitutional processes were retained remarkably intact. Though in a seemingly invulnerable military position and apparently able to continue the fighting for an indefinite period, the

King Paul I began his reign in 1947 and on his death in 1964 was succeeded by his son Constantine II.





*The young queen Frederika
in a formal pose*

Communists lost much of their popular support in the countryside. The wanton cruelty of the guerrillas and the atrocities committed against whole communities that had given less than enthusiastic support disillusioned many Greeks who had previously backed the EAM. Peasants in Communist-controlled areas were conscripted for forced labor and military service.

By 1947 the British had reluctantly admitted their inability to continue substantial aid to the Greek government. In March of that year, by covering Greece in the Truman Doctrine—which sets limits on American tolerance to Communist expansion in the area—the United States replaced Great Britain as Greece's protecting power.

Perhaps the decisive element in the failure of the Communist military effort was the break in relations between the KKE and its most generous patron, Marshal Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. The KKE was sharply divided by the Tito-Stalin rift, but the leaders remained faithful to Moscow. Early in 1949 Tito, who was anxious to cement good relations with the West as a check against Soviet pressure after his break with Stalin, closed the Yugoslav border with Greece, choking off supplies and ending the tactical flexibility that the guerrillas had previously enjoyed.

STABILITY AND CRISIS, 1949–67

The Liberal and Populist parties had lost strength in the immediate postwar years, and after 1949 neither could command a substantial enough following to lead a viable coalition government. In 1951 Field Marshal Alexander Papagos left the army to form a new right-wing party, the Greek Rally (Ellinikos Synagermos—ES), that would be free from association with established conservative politicians. He was inspired by France's Charles de Gaulle, and the ES was closely modeled on the Gaullist Reassemblément. Papagos was a popular figure who had led Greek forces in Albania early in World War II and had been chief of staff during the successful final phase of the civil war. General elections in 1952 brought the ES 49 percent of the vote and, through a system of

plurality representation introduced that year, gave it 247 of 300 seats in Parliament. The new electoral system, which had been suggested by American advisers, replaced a method of proportional representation that had discouraged single-party majorities.

Papagos's administration, on the basis of its secure parliamentary majority, put an end to petty struggles within conservative ranks, fought corruption and nepotism in government, and cut the size of the bureaucracy.

Papagos died in 1955. King Paul appointed as prime minister a relatively unknown conservative politician, Constantine Karamanlis, who like Papagos enjoyed American backing. Karamanlis formed a new party, the National Radical Union (Ethniki Rizopastiti Enosis—ERE), which continued the basic policies of the ES. In the 1956 elections the ERE won 45 percent of the vote and 80 percent of the seats in Parliament.

After the mid-1950s Greek foreign policy was marred by the prolonged dispute over Cyprus that led to a steady deterioration of relations with Turkey. The Greeks had long hoped for the cession of the island, with its 80 percent Greek majority, by Great Britain.

By 1954 the movement for enosis had come under the direction of Archbishop Makarios, ethnarch of the Greek community on Cyprus, and a Cypriot-born Greek army officer, Colonel George Grivas. Grivas, at the head of the right-wing National Organization of Cypriot Combatants (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston—EOKA), waged a campaign of violence and terror first against Greeks who did not back the movement and later against Turkish Cypriots and British authorities.

Karamanlis resigned in 1958 after criticism of his handling of the Cyprus question, but he returned to power when elections the following year confirmed the ERE's majority. In the meantime Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey had compromised on the issue of enosis by agreeing to the establishment of an independent Republic of Cyprus. Greece and Turkey were recognized as the protectors of their respective populations on the island.

In 1960 George Papandreou returned to politics, forming a new party, the Center Union, that was based on support for the old Liberal party. The United Democratic Left (Eniea Dimokratika Aristeras—EDA) also campaigned for parliamentary seats, allegedly as a front for the outlawed KKE and former EAM activists. Despite the introduction of new and united opposition parties, Karamanlis's ERE increased its majority still further in the 1961 elections. Papandreou and his liberal allies picked up only a third of the vote in the Center Union's first electoral contest, far less than they had anticipated. Claiming election fraud, the one hundred Center Union delegates boycotted the opening of Parliament. When they finally took their seats, Papandreou denounced the Karamanlis government as unconstitutional.

Karamanlis's position was complicated by the deterio-

ration of his personal relations with King Paul and his influential consort, the German-born Queen Frederika. The royal family had become the focus of parliamentary debate when the liberal and left-wing opposition attacked Karamanlis for supporting a dowry for Princess Sophia on her marriage to Don Juan Carlos of Spain. Papandreou had also challenged the king for his comments linking the interests of the army with those of the crown. Conservative governments had profited from the king's confidence and from the loyalty of royalists in the officer corps, but Karamanlis was careful to keep the image of the monarchy as an institution above partisan politics.

In the summer of 1963 Paul and Frederika accepted an invitation to make a state visit to Great Britain. When radical groups threatened to demonstrate against the monarchs, Karamanlis advised the king to cancel the trip in order to avoid embarrassment to the government. Paul rejected his prime minister's recommendation—reportedly at Frederika's urging—and Karamanlis resigned on the grounds that he no longer had the king's confidence. The overall effectiveness of the ERE was damaged by his departure from office.



The royal palace in Athens

Stamps of Greece honoring King Constantine II and his family



Elections in November showed a sharp but not decisive swing to the Center Union. Papandreou's party won 140 seats in the new Parliament, just short of a majority, as against 123 for the ERE, and 30 for the Communist-linked EDA. Papandreou was called on to form a government but resigned in a matter of weeks rather than rely on left-wing support to stay in power. Karamanlis, in the meantime, had retired from politics and left Greece, consigning the ERE leadership to Panayiotis Kanellopoulos. New general elections in February 1964 gave the Center Union an absolute parliamentary majority and enabled Papandreou to establish a one-party government. Papandreou had emerged as the first genuinely popular political figure since Venizelos. Like Venizelos, however, Papandreou had a domineering and highly personal style of politics, and it alienated the more independent-minded members of his own parliamentary party and led to a gradually widening breach in the Center Union.

King Paul died in 1964 and was succeeded by his son, Constantine II, a young, athletic prince, married to an attractive Danish princess and presumably possessing the qualities needed to make him a popular monarch. According to some observers, however, he compensated for his political inexperience by reliance of dubious constitutionality on royalist officers and the advice of his mother. The question of royal prerogative in military affairs soon brought the twenty-three-year-old king into conflict with Papandreou, an elder statesman with an impressive mandate in Parliament and broad support in the country.

The immediate cause of the confrontation between the king and his prime minister was Cyprus. Kanellopoulos accused Papandreou of condoning Cypriot president Makarios's negotiations with the Soviet Union for arms purchases, and the conservative leader called for the prime minister's resignation. Center Union deputies retaliated by publishing the Pericles Plan, an alleged army plot to rig the 1961 elections in favor of the ERE. The army responded to Center Union allegations by leaking news of the Aspida conspiracy, a suspected plot laid to radical officers—members of a secret group, Aspida—who planned to overthrow the monarchy and set up a left-wing government. The prime minister's son, Andreas Papandreou, was implicated in the plot. The younger Papandreou was a member of his father's cabinet as minister for the prime minister's office. In that capacity he had attempted to assert supervisory control of the military intelligence section, used by the army for surveillance of subversive activities. His radical reputation had made him feared by conservatives and by the army—and by members of the Center Union who resented his obvious grooming for party leadership in succession to his father.

The king ordered Petros Garoufalias, minister of national defense, to investigate the Aspida group and

charges of conspiracy involving army officers and government officials. The prime minister, questioning Garoufalias's impartiality, moved to dismiss him and take over the defense portfolio himself. Many even within the Center Union interpreted this as an attempt by Papandreou to protect his son, and Garoufalias refused to resign without a writ from the king. When Constantine declined to issue the writ, although such action should have followed the prime minister's request, Papandreou resigned.

Demonstrations were staged in support of Papandreou, who commanded the loyalty of the largest single bloc in Parliament if not the confidence of the king. A series of caretaker governments had difficulty scraping together even slim majorities to support them in Parliament, but Constantine delayed ordering the prescribed elections, which observers recognized would also be a referendum on the royal prerogative. Papandreou pledged to bring the armed forces under civilian political control and to remove the monarchy from politics. Politically vocal elements in the army cautioned about the consequences of a Papandreou victory for national security, but Constantine was finally compelled to set a May 1967 date for elections.

THE COLONEL'S REGIME, 1967-74

On April 21, 1967—less than a month before the scheduled elections—a military junta composed of middle-rank army officers ousted the government of the caretaker prime minister, Kanellopoulos, dismissed Parliament, suspended key articles of the constitution, and banned all political activity in the country. Many officers were disgruntled by the government's decision not to prosecute Andreas Papandreou for complicity in the Aspida conspiracy, and the colonels justified the coup on the grounds that it had been necessary to save the nation from an imminent Communist takeover. The purpose of

the action taken by the so-called Twenty-first of April movement was to prevent the May elections and George Papandreou's return to power. A civilian, Constantine Kollias, was installed as prime minister at the king's insistence. In December Constantine fled into exile with his family after a hapless attempt at a royal counter-coup. Kollias, who had backed the king, was dismissed by the junta; and an artillery officer, Colonel George Papadopoulos, took over the prime minister's office at the head of a military government.

In November 1968, the military regime firmly entrenched in power, Papadopoulos submitted a new constitution to a referendum. The document, which called for reinstatement of the monarchy but reserved definitive authority for the prime minister, was approved by 92 percent of the voters. Although due process was theoretically reintroduced with the lifting of martial law, guarantees embodied in the constitution were held in abeyance to be applied at the regime's discretion, and no timetable was set for the return of civilian rule or the restoration of political liberties. Papadopoulos vaguely promised to implement the constitution when he was assured that the Greek people had acquired "sufficient maturity" to prevent their lapsing back into the chaos from which the junta had supposedly rescued Greece.

By 1970 some junta members had become uneasy at the extension of Papadopoulos's personal power. An attempt to force him from power not only failed but even appeared to consolidate his position. Papadopoulos monopolized cabinet portfolios and neutralized potential rivals by sending them out of Athens as provincial governors. Civilian technocrats were brought in to replace military men in high government offices.

Greece had remained a monarchy under the military regime, but Constantine had steadfastly refused to lend legitimacy to the Papadopoulos government. In May 1973 naval units staged an abortive coup against the regime. Although mutineers denied contact with the king—and in fact resented the suggestion of it—Constantine was charged with having conspired in the plot from Rome. In June Papadopoulos issued a decree abolishing the monarchy and calling for the establishment of a republic. Observers abroad saw the Papadopoulos Republic as being the result of a deadlock within his government. The regime clearly lacked both a legal basis and popular support, and Greece had been ostracized by the international community. Economic difficulties had led to growing unrest at home. Papadopoulos put forward a new constitution, modeled on that of the French Fifth Republic, providing for a presidential Republic and a Parliament. Papadopoulos was the sole candidate for a seven-year term as president. Despite compulsory voting regulations, 25 percent of the electorate abstained from the referendum that followed, but Papadopoulos and the constitution were approved by 77 percent of those who went to the polls.



In 1967, King Constantine XIII and Queen Anne-Marie visited the United Nations headquarters in New York City. They are seen here with Secretary-General U Thant, center.

The Supreme Court subsequently ruled that Papadopoulos's decree abolishing the monarchy had been legal because it was "an act of revolution" aimed at "restoring normal conditions in the country." The new president claimed that the people had shown "great political maturity and a high sense of responsibility" in approving the constitution. Given a supposedly legitimate mandate to rule through 1981, Papadopoulos set about demilitarizing the regime and preparing for parliamentary elections scheduled for 1974. Papadopoulos's Republic was, however, little more than a military dictatorship in civilian clothes.

It was also destined to be short lived. Tension continued to build in the country. In November crowds attending a memorial service marking the anniversary of George Papandreou's death were fired on by the police, setting off a chain reaction of violence. When police killed nine university students—protesting the rescinding of draft deferments—workers joined the students in a general strike. Determining that Papadopoulos had lost control of the situation, Brigadier Dimitrios Ioannides, commander of the military police and an original junta member, arrested the erstwhile president, pledging to return the country to the "ideals of the 1967 revolution" and "to save the nation" from an "electoral travesty." Ioannides set free politicians imprisoned by Papadopoulos and reopened island prison camps to receive supporters of the former president. The constitution was modified and Lieutenant General Phaedon Ghizikis named president. Ghizikis spoke of promoting so-called guided democracy, and a civilian technocrat was appointed prime minister; but Ioannides and the army remained the real power behind the new government. It was a military regime with the spurs on.

The Cyprus question—an issue that had refused to go away and had defied solution by successive Greek governments—proved the undoing of the Ioannides regime. Greek regular army officers who had been assigned to the Cypriot National Guard carried forward a plot in July 1974 to seize the government of Cyprus and kill President Makarios as steps toward proclaiming enosis for the island. The military regime in Athens had become impatient with the independent-minded Makarios, and some Greeks who were not sympathetic to the colonels nonetheless agreed that the ethnarch was a traitor to enosis. Makarios and many observers abroad believed that Ioannides had masterminded the conspiracy to bring about a confrontation with Turkey that would divert popular attention from domestic problems. The military regime had engaged in a similar saber-rattling exercise with the Turks earlier in the year over oil exploration in the Aegean Sea. On July 20 Greek troops made a desperate six hundred-mile airborne dash from bases in Greece to reinforce the Cypriot National Guard against counteraction from Turkish bases only forty miles from the island. The Turkish reaction was quicker and more determined

than the Greeks had bargained for. Turkish troops—eventually numbering thirty thousand—landed on Cyprus the same day, supported by vastly superior air and naval forces. Athens called a general mobilization, and troops were moved into offensive positions in Thrace, where units of the two NATO allies exchanged artillery fire across the Evros River.

The Greek general staff protested the mobilization order and requested that President Ghizikis call in civilian political leaders for consultations, signifying that the armed forces had lost confidence in the military regime. At this point the military regime came unstuck. On July 22 the military leaders ordered a cease-fire and submitted themselves to civilian authority "to save the nation." Karamanlis, who had been living in Paris since 1963, accepted an invitation by Ghizikis to form a new government.

Backed by an ERE-Center Union coalition, Karamanlis reinstated the precoup constitution and entered into negotiations with Turkey in Geneva to work out a permanent cease-fire. Papadopoulos, Ioannides, and other junta leaders were arrested; the military police was disarmed and stripped of its power; and the democratizing of the armed forces under civilian control was begun. Constantine remained in Rome but welcomed the change in government and expressed his desire to return to Greece eventually. The plebiscite in December 1974 rejected proposals for a return to constitutional monarchy, and in June 1975 a new republican constitution provided for a parliamentary democracy.

Expansion of Greece from 1832 to 1947



 THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN KINGDOMS OF GREECE

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
<u>SPARTA (SOUTHERN GREECE)</u>					
1100 B.C.—Conquered by the Dorians					
1100–192—Dual hereditary kings					
146—Conquered by the Romans					
<u>ATHENS</u>					
1000–683—Various forms of monarchies					
638–288—Mixture of forms of governments including monarchies					
146—Conquered by the Romans					
88—Merged with the Mithridates					
86—Conquered by Sulla					
<u>SYRACUSE (SOUTHEAST SICILY)</u>					
733—Founded by the Corinthian settlers					
733–215—Ruled by numerous sovereigns called tyrants					
215—Conquered by the Romans					
<u>MACEDON (MACEDONIA) (NORTHERN GREECE)</u>					
500–498 B.C.	King	Amyntas I		498	
498–454	King	Alexander I		454	
454–413	King	Perdiccas II		413	Son of Alexander I
413–399	King	Archelaus		399	Son of Perdiccas II
399–370	King	Amyntas II		370	Nephew of Perdiccas II
370–368	King	Alexander II		368	
368–360	King	Perdiccas III		360	Brother of Philip II
360–359	King	Amyntas III		359	Grandson of Amyntas II
359–336	King	Philip II		336	Brother of Perdiccas III
336–323	King	Alexander III, the Great	356	323	Son of Philip II
323–323	King	Philip III Aridaeus		317	Son of Philip II
323–310	King	Alexander IV		310	Son of Alexander III
316–297	King	Cassander		297	Son of Antipater
297–297	King	Philip IV		297	Son of Cassander
297–294	King	Alexander V		294	Son of Cassander
306–283	King	Demetrius I Poliorcetes		283	Son of General Antigonus Cyclops
283–273	King	Antigonus II Gonatas		273	Grandson of Antigonus
273–272	King	Pyrrhus of Epirus		272	
272–239	King	Antigonus II Gonatus		239	
239–232	King	Demetrius II		232	Son of Antigonus II
232–229	King	Philip		229	
229–221	King	Antigonus III Doson		221	Nephew of Antigonus II
220–179	King	Philip V		179	Son of Demetrius II
179–168	King	Perseus		160	Son of Philip V
150–148	King	Philip VI		148	
146—Conquered by the Romans					
<u>GREECE FROM THE TIME OF CHRIST</u>					
146 B.C.–A.D. 395—Ruled by Rome					
1460—Conquered by Turkey					
1827—Independence from Turkey					
1832—Monarchy established					
1832–1862	King	Otto I (Otho)	1815	1867	Son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria
1863–1913	King	George I	1845	1913	Son of King Christian IX of Denmark
1913–1917	King	Constantine I	1868	1923	Son of George I
1917–1920	King	Alexander	1893	1920	Son of Constantine I
1920–1922	King	Constantine I (rethroned)			
1922–1924	King	George II	1890	1947	Son of Constantine I
1924–1935—Greece is a republic					
1935–1935	Regent	Georgios Kondylis	1879	1936	
1935–1941	King	George II (rethroned)			
1941–1944—Occupied by Germany					
1946–1947	King	George II (again rethroned)			
1947–1964	King	Paul I	1901	1964	Son of Constantine I
1964–1973	King	Constantine II (exiled in 1967)	1941		Son of Paul I



The Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, and the Sultanates of Turkey

The Turkish nation of 1973 is at once new and old. The Republic of Turkey, created in the Anatolian heartland from the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, was founded in 1923. In the background, however, was a long and diversified historical tradition including Turkish, Ottoman, Islamic, and European elements and influences. The Western influence was most recently added; the basic Turkish current appeared in the eleventh century A.D. with the arrival from central Asia of Islamized Turkoman tribes that gradually established their predominance over the heterogeneous population then present in Anatolia.

The vast Ottoman Empire, lasting from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, was established and expanded in the *gazi* (warrior) spirit of a militant Islamic society advancing its frontiers against the infidel. Eventually, however, Islam within the empire became static, the Ottoman sultanate, with its hierarchical bureaucracy, declined into corruption and stagnation, and the decaying Ottoman realm became subject to the competing interests and expanding power of European states.

Buffeted both by external pressures and by internal conservative opposition, a reform program attempted during the nineteenth century finally expired. The Young Turks nationalist reform of 1908 failed to produce a successful administration, and the empire, drawn into World War I on the side of Germany against the western Allies and Russia—the latter a traditional Turkish enemy—went down to final defeat.

Harsh terms were imposed by the victors. The external empire was divided among the victors, the sultanate was limited to northern Anatolia, and Greek forces invaded the western region of the country. Mustafa Kemal, commander of the successful Turkish defense of Gallipoli in 1915, had, however, become leader of the nationalists in the central plateau region of Anatolia. Turkish forces, rallied and reorganized under his leadership, drove the Greeks from Turkey by the end of 1922, and a new treaty restoring the Turkish homeland includ-

ing Thrace was secured from the western Allies in 1923. The Ottoman sultanate was abolished, and the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed at Ankara, the new capital, on October 29, 1923, with Mustafa Kemal as president. Later designated *Atatürk*, or "Father of the Turks," he continued in the presidency until his death on November 10, 1938.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The great land bridge of Asia Minor that constitutes most of the modern state of Turkey was known to ancient geographers by the Greek word *Anatolia* (the rising of the sun). The term survives in such regional references as Anatolian Plateau and in Turkish as Anadolu, meaning Asiatic Turkey. Archaeologists have found evidence of prehistoric peoples in the seventh and sixth millennia B.C. These people, different from the later Hittites and much later Turks, are known as the Hatti and their language as Hattic. By the third millennium B.C., central and eastern Anatolia, after earlier progress, apparently reverted for a time to a more primitive culture.

Along the Aegean coast in the west, the land projection between the Dardanelles and the Gulf of Edremit—corresponding roughly to the present-day province of Çanakkale—was known in antiquity as Troias, or land of Troy. There, at the Hisarlik mound about sixteen miles southwest of the modern city of Çanakkale, the nine successive settlements, or levels of ancient Troy were identified in the late nineteenth century. Troy, the center of a periodically prosperous small kingdom, was first established some time in the period between 3000 and 2500 B.C. The seventh layer of settlement, from about 1250 to 1200 B.C., is accepted by most scholars as the Troy of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Between 1100 and 700 B.C. the site seems to have been abandoned, but it was then reoccupied by Greek settlers and continued

under the name Ilion, or Ilium, until declining into obscurity in the fourth century A.D.

Elsewhere in Anatolia, a revival of cultural development occurred somewhat after the early settlements at Troy. During a copper age that occurred from about 2500 to 2000 B.C., tribes from the north and east, coming mostly by way of the Caucasus, began appearing in Anatolia and to the south in Syria and Mesopotamia. These people, superimposing their Indo-European speech on the indigenous Hattic, are known as the Hittites. Their empire covered Anatolia and most of northern Syria and Mesopotamia during the period from 2000 to 1200 B.C.

The Hittites introduced Mediterranean cuneiform writing in Anatolia and were noted for the early working of iron. At the site of their capital of Hattusas (present-day Bogazkoy), thousands of clay tablets illustrating eight languages have been found. The Hittite Empire reached its zenith in the period from 1450 to 1200 B.C., when it held power and prestige comparable with the Egyptian Empire of the time.

In about 1200 B.C., corresponding closely in time with the fall of Homer's Troy, the Hittite civilization came to an abrupt end. The capital city of Hattusas was captured by raiders sweeping eastward from ancient Thrace and across the Aegean Sea into western and central Anatolia, thus ushering in what are sometimes called the Dark Ages of 1200 to 700 B.C. In southwestern Anatolia a neo-Hittite state showing strong Assyrian influence endured from about 900 to about 600 B.C. Soon after the collapse of that state, the Armenians first became identifiable in history in the eastern reaches of Anatolia near Mount Ararat (Agri Dagi) and the area between the Black and Caspian seas lying south of the Caucasus Mountains. These Armenians had come earlier from the east and had merged with and absorbed the Hittites of the region. They spoke and preserved a distinct Indo-European language and were to endure in the area as a separate ethnic group.

The invaders from the west who overthrew the main Hittite Empire are known as Phrygians. A strong Phrygian state was maintained in west-central Anatolia between 750 and 300 B.C.; its capital was at Gordium, about forty-five miles southwest of modern Ankara. At Gordium the fabled King Midas reigned, from 725 to 675 B.C.; and there, more than three centuries later, Alexander the Great is supposed to have cut the Gordian knot. Meanwhile in western and southwestern Anatolia, the city-states of Lydia, Lysia, and Caria rose and flourished briefly as part of the Ionian-Greek civilization of Asia Minor. In 546 B.C. the Lydians were defeated by the Persian king, Cyrus the Great, and Anatolia was then brought under the Persian Empire of the Achaemenid Dynasty for the next two centuries.

Alexander the Great, having established his authority in Greece, began his advance into Asia Minor in 334 B.C. and during the next four years incorporated the region

into his far-flung empire. After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., political control in Anatolia became divided among a number of small splinter kingdoms. During the third century B.C. an incursion from Europe by Gallic peoples resulted in settlements in central Anatolia; during Roman times this region became known as Galatia.

ROME AND THE RISE OF BYZANTIUM

Rome had begun its conquest of Asia Minor as early as 190 B.C. In 133 B.C. the Province of Asia was formally designated and organized, and the Roman period in Anatolia is often considered to commence at this date. Other sources prefer to assign the start of the period to the imperial unification of Roman power in 30 B.C. under Augustus, the first emperor.

The cultural progress and economic prosperity of the Hellenistic age continued under Roman rule, especially in western Anatolia, and the first two centuries A.D. have been described as a golden age. By this time the ethnic map of the area showed the extreme complexity that had been developing in the cultural, political, and economic crossroads of Asia Minor since the earliest recorded times. Writing in the first century A.D., the Greek geographer Strabo attempted to describe the peoples of Anatolia but noted what he called "the confusion which has existed among the nations in this district, with their many different fables of origin."

Christianity was introduced to Anatolia in the first century A.D., particularly by the four missionary journeys of Paul of Tarsus, or Saint Paul—the Apostle to the Gentiles—and by the Pauline Epistles to the churches in



Constantine the Great. Roman emperor Constantine the Great began his reign in the West in 306. He decided to transfer the capital of the empire to Constantinople. But it wasn't until 330 that he was able to "dedicate" Constantinople as the new capital and it wasn't until 364 that his plan took shape with a division of the empire into an East and West separation. Although Constantine died in 337, his plans were more or less carried out. His son Constantine was to take the West, Constantius the center, and Constantius the East. Constantius was too busy fighting the wars of the empire in the East and administering in the West to establish a throne in Constantinople, and his early death by execution in 354 slowed the master's plan. When Valentinian became emperor in 364 he put the partition into effect and named his son Valens to be the first emperor of the East.



Emperor Valens, the first emperor of the East. He reigned from 364 to 378.

Theodosius I was the emperor of the East from 379 to 395 and was the founder of the Theodosian Dynasty, which lasted until 450.



The emperor Marcianus, founder of the Thracian Dynasty (450-518), reigned from 450 to 457.



Empress Theodora, the beautiful actress Justinian married. She is seen here with her attendants.

The emperor of the East, Justinian (527-65), and his court. This sketch is from a mosaic at St. Vitale in Ravenna.

The empress Theodora in legend had a long-term affair with Belisarius, who was the greatest general of all Byzantine time (having conquered the Italians and the Huns). He lived from 505 to 565. The empress in later years served as the coruler.



Emperor Phocas, who killed Maurice in 602 so that he could replace him on the throne, died likewise eight years later when he was strangled by Heraclius.



Heraclius reigned from 610 to 641 and was the founder of the Heraclius Dynasty, which ran from 610 to 717. On this coin Heraclius is on the left with his eldest son, Constantine III, right. Constantine succeeded his father and was emperor for a short time in 641. Both he and his father died in 641. Their reigns were troubled, with Islam becoming more in conflict with Christianity.



Asia Minor, written probably between A.D. 50 and 60, which survive in the New Testament. The first seven Christian churches in Asia were all in Anatolia, notably at Ephesus, Antioch (present-day Antakya), and Nicaea (present-day Iznik), where the Nicene Creed was formulated in A.D. 325.

The Christian religion spread widely in Anatolia, survived Roman persecutions, such as that of the emperor Diocletian (reigned 284–305) and was ultimately to endure strongly in the forms of Greek and Armenian Orthodoxy. Roman imperial political control, however, and its attendant prosperity came to an end in the eastern border warfare with Persia when the emperor Valerian was defeated by the Sasanian Persian king Sapor I in the year 260, subsequent to which there was a brief period of ostensible Persian dominion in the east.

In 313 the Roman emperor Constantine, having accepted Christianity, sponsored the Edict of Milan, by which Christianity became the established religion of the empire. In 330 he shifted his capital to the old town of Byzantium on the Bosphorus Strait. The new capital was called Constantinople, but in local use it became known as Istanbul. In the de facto partition of the old Roman Empire into western and eastern segments in 395, Constantinople became capital of the vast eastern and North African domains. Thus the period of the Byzantine Empire began, and all or part of Anatolia, in decreasing proportions, remained under it for nearly eleven hundred years until the empire's demise in 1453.

The early Byzantine centuries were, in the main, prosperous for Anatolia, and in the sixth century a period of grandeur like that of the old Roman Empire was temporarily reached under Emperor Justinian (527–65). The level of energy and prosperity attained under Justinian was not maintained by his successors, however, and a combination of internal difficulties and external pressures gradually weakened and crumbled the Byzantine imperial structure.

ISLAM AND THE ARABS

By the time of his death in 632, the Prophet Mohammed and his followers had brought most of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula under the banner of the new monotheistic religion of *Islam* (submission), uniting the individual, state, and society under the all-powerful will of God. True Islamic rulers therefore exercised both temporal and religious authority; consequently, to them the much later Western idea of separation of church and state would have appeared not only heretical but fundamentally illogical. Adherents of Islam, called Muslims, collectively formed the *Dar al-Islam* (abode of Islam); all others lay outside in the *Dar al-Harb* (abode of war).

By the early eighth century A.D. the mobile armies of

the Prophet's successors had carried the conquests of Islam north, west, and east from the Arabian Peninsula in a sudden political-religious tidal wave. Historians have pointed out, however, that this great surge was at least as much sociological and economic as religious. The new unity of Islam was the vehicle enabling the



Emperor Heraclius has been a well-thought-of ruler for the Christians in the United States, for it was his victory over Chosroes that restored the true wood of the Holy Cross to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and brought a fragment of it to Constantinople, which in time found its way to America. The fragment enshrined in this gold triptych is now located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

The Prophet Mohammed



Murder and mayhem were no less in evidence in the East than in the West empires. Justinian II (685–95), a tempestuous psychopath, had to be deposed and banished to the Crimea in 695, but he recovered his throne in 705 and for six years he killed everyone who opposed his sordid way of life until he himself was murdered.

Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian, founded the Isaurian Dynasty (717–867) and was its first sovereign (717–41). He saved Constantinople from the Saracens in 717 and defeated them again in 727 and 740.





Empress Irene, who served as regent for her son Constantine VI and in her own right from 797 to 802 after his death. She was strongly anti-iconoclast and in 787, while the regent, met with the Council of Constantinople; they issued a policy of return to idol and image worship. The Council of Nicaea later overrode her wishes and reversed the decision.

expansion to new lands required by the growing problem of population pressures in the peninsula.

Initially, the major antagonist encountered in the spread of Islam was the Byzantine Empire. By 642, however, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia were conquered by the Arab Muslim forces. In the west the next three decades saw the conquest carried along North Africa to the Atlantic Ocean. In the east the forces of the Persian king succumbed to the Arabs in 651. To the north, in the Byzantine heartland of Anatolia, Islamic Arab military and political conquest did not succeed. Islam as a religion, however, was later to become the most significant single influence in the national life of Turkey.

Naval forces under Muawiyah, the Arab governor of Syria, won important victories over Byzantine naval forces in the Aegean Sea in 655 but were unable to capitalize upon these successes. The Byzantine emperor Constans II, who ruled from 641 to 668, resisted Arab attacks so strongly as to force a tributary truce upon Muawiyah.

Sporadic border warfare continued between Byzantines and Arabs for the next two centuries. During this time, as during the earlier wars of Muawiyah, the declining Byzantine Empire was battered not only by Arabs from the south but by attacks from the west by Slavic peoples out of the Balkans. But of even greater importance, by the tenth century, were the growing incursions of Islamized, warlike tribes from the east—the Turks.

TURKISH ORIGINS AND THE SELJUKS

The Turks are first recorded in history as living in the present-day border areas of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), bounded by the Altai Mountains, Lake Baikal, and, to the south, the edge of the Gobi Desert. Chinese records of the second millennium B.C. identify certain tribal peoples in Outer Mongolia north of the Gobi Desert as Hiong-Nu, who are believed to have been Turkish.

The earliest specific references to Turks, as such, appear in Chinese sources of the sixth century A.D. referring to the Tu-Kiu tribal kingdom on the Orkhon River south of Lake Baikal. The earliest known writings in

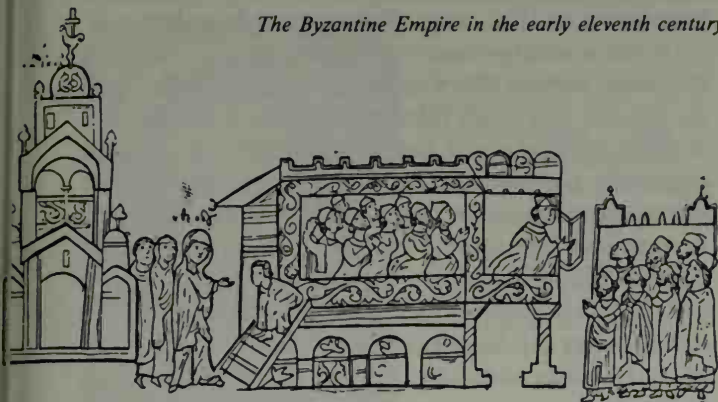
Turkish, dated about A.D. 730, have been located in this area. Other Turks from the Altai base area set up a Turkish tribal kingdom south of the Aral Sea, in what later became known as Turkestan and its people as Turkomans or Turkmen. In modern times this is the general area of the Uzbek and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics of the Soviet Union. Neither of the early nomadic tribal kingdoms long endured, but by the eighth century Turkish peoples had spread throughout the area between the Aral Sea and Lake Baikal.

Both Christianity, in several of its doctrinal schismatic forms, and Buddhism appeared among the Turks. Apparently neither took hold, however, and the Turks remained mainly influenced by their own ancient shamanist beliefs. With the Arab-Islamic conquest across Iran in the seventh century, Sunni Islam began spreading rapidly and effectively among the Turks—first among those to the west and then to the still-nomadic Turks of central Asia, where conversion became general in the tenth century.

Islam not only provided a framework of religious worship and faith; it also constituted a systematic, organized way of life governing all human and divine relationships. With it, the Turks acquired the Arabic alphabet and system of writing, which superseded earlier forms.

Among the Turks, two trends in the practice of Islam were to have long-lasting effects on the history of the Turkish nation: on the one hand, the more austere and more demanding orthodoxy of Sunni Islam and, on the other, what may be called folk Islam, involving extensive mysticism and magical accretions. Folk Islam was susceptible to influence from the Shi'ite Persians and congenial to the rise of fraternal religious brotherhoods, such as the dervish orders. The early Turkish *gazi* were often identified with folk Islam. On the other hand, in the early conversions a strong Turkish tribal chief named Seljuk and his people accepted and maintained Sunni orthodoxy.

The first Arab dynasty of the Umayyads had given way to the Abbassides, who ruled from Baghdad. Early in the ninth century the Abbasside ruler, or caliph, began utilizing Turks in increasing numbers in his armed forces, a process that contributed to the rise of Turkish power. In 1055 a Seljuk leader named Tughrul Beg, a descendant of the first Seljuk chief, occupied Baghdad with a Turkoman army, and while retaining the Abbasside caliphs as figureheads, effectively imposed a Turkish government under Seljuk sultans over much of the eastern caliphate. From the tenth century onward, Turkish tribes had moved across Iran into Iraq and eastern Anatolia; and by the mid-eleventh century the *gazi* raiders, noted for endurance, mobility, and military prowess, had penetrated at least halfway across Asia Minor to present-day Konya (Iconium). These movements brought about the second great encounter in Turkish history—the first being with Islam, the second with the Byzantine Empire.

The Byzantine Empire in the early eleventh century

Empress Zoe, the daughter of Constantine II, married successive husbands who became the rulers by mercy of the marriage—Romanus Argyrus (1028–34) and Michael IV (1034–41). She outlived them both but her real troubles began when she adopted one Michael Calaphates, who had her thrown in prison. The people rebelled to have her released. She is seen in this old manuscript illustration thanking the people upon her release.



The Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan apparently had intended to pursue further conquests southward into Syria and perhaps to Egypt. The Turkish advances in Anatolia, the need to control the tribes there, a preference for the more northerly climate, and the approach of a Byzantine army caused a redirection northward, however. In 1071, at the decisive battle of Manzikert, near Lake Van, Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine forces, and the way was opened for a rush of Turkish expansion westward. The result, as the historian Roderic H. Davison has noted, was the shattering of Byzantine administration by Turkish control of the countryside and lines of communication.

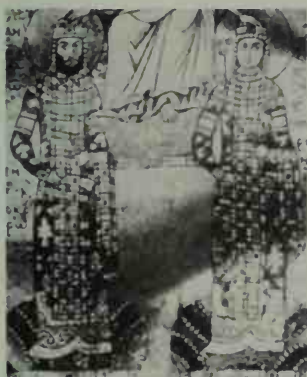
The Turkish incursions and the harassment of the Christian pilgrimage routes through southern Anatolia let the Byzantine emperor to call for assistance from Europe. Thus the First Crusade began, and in 1097 the Byzantines regained about one-third of Anatolia. The Turks were not driven out, however, but were compacted in central and eastern Anatolia, where they continued to be reinforced by further immigration from the east. In the central region, with its capital at Konya, the powerful Sultanate of Rum (Rome) was established and became one of the three principal centers of medieval Seljuk Turkish rule—the other two being the Seljuk rulers in Iran (until 1117) and the Seljuk regent-sultans in Baghdad (until 1194).

The sultanate of Rum reached its peak about 1230 and expired in 1307. During its period of greatness the Sufi mystic Jalal al-Din al Rumi founded the Mevlevi dervish order known in the West as the “whirling dervishes.” A distinct Seljuk Turkish culture developed in central Anatolia, where the sultanate ruled in balance between Byzantium to the west and Armenia to the east. In Seljuk times the joint process of Islamization and Turkification (the adoption of the Turkish language and customs) of Anatolia spread rapidly and permanently. The historian Philip K. Hitti has observed that “it was the Seljuks who held back the Byzantines, dealt the first blows to the Crusaders, and paved the way for their Ottoman kinsmen.”

The Crusades continued at intervals from 1095 to



Emperor Nicephorus the Usurper, so called because he usurped the throne of the Eastern Empire from Michael Ducas in 1078. But in the end he found out that he “bit off more than he could stomach,” for the Turks were, in the latter part of the eleventh century, starting their move to conquer Europe and Nicephorus and his generals could not drive them out of the foothold they had in Asia Minor. This manuscript page from the time shows Nicephorus and his wife, Empress Maria, being crowned by Christ.



This illumination from an old manuscript shows Alexius I Comnenus, left, and his son John II being crowned from above by Jesus Christ. They reigned respectively from 1081 to 1118 and 1118 to 1143. They started the House of Comnenus, which was the ruling dynasty from 1081 to 1185. All five of the dynasty's rulers were very capable and performed ably.

about 1450. The sultanate of Rum did not fall in these assaults, but in 1243 it was defeated from the east by distant relatives of the Turks, the Mongol forces of Genghis Khan's descendants. Mongol control was tributary and nominal rather than administrative; and after the destruction of Baghdad in 1258 by Hulagu, or Kublai Khan, the Mongols gradually retired to Mesopotamia and, in particular, to Iran. Rum, although not completely destroyed, had been fatally weakened, and other scattered centers of Turkish power developed. During these times, extensive new Turkish emigrations also occurred in the westward movement of Turkish tribes fleeing from the Mongol pressure in central Asia. These developments set the stage for the next major era in Turkish history—the six centuries of the Ottoman Empire.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

ESTABLISHMENT AND SURVIVAL OF THE OTTOMAN SULTANATE

In the fragmentation of the sultanate of Rum, one of the emergent principalities became the nucleus of the Ottoman Empire. Centered on Sogut, near modern Eskisehir, it was by no means the largest of the princedoms. It is believed to have been formed by the Kayi tribe, originally from the Oghuz Turkish tribes of central Asia, and was initially held by its first ruler, Ertugrul, in fief from the Seljuk sultan of Rum. Ertugrul was succeeded, about 1299, by his son Osman, who ruled until 1326. From him, the Turkish Osmanli Dynasty and state derived—becoming known to Europeans as Ottoman and to Arabs as Uthman. The thirty-six Ottoman sultans who followed Osman, ending with Mehmed VI (also known as



Timur the Lame (Tamerlane) was the Turkic-Mongol successor to the earlier conquerors from the East. He defeated Sultan Bayezid I in 1396 at the Battle of Nicopolis in Greece and took the sultan prisoner. Timur attempted to set a new order. He replaced the Turkish and Mongolian tradition with Islamic tradition. For the old sovereign law (yassak) and the customary law (edeb), he substituted a new sovereign law (teuzuk) and a religious law (shariat). As a result of his changes the highest class of people would be the descendants of the Prophet replacing the "king's household" (tarkhans), which were first in the Turkish and Mongolian society. They (the tarkhans) rebelled.

Vahidedin) in 1922, were all descended from him.

Osman's small princedom, located on the crumbling Byzantine frontier near Constantinople, attracted men of the Islamic *gazi* spirit from the Anatolian interior and, in effect, became a *gazi* state. The impulses of Ottoman expansion, moving slowly at first and then with rapidly increasing momentum, swung alternately west and east. In practical terms, what became in time a dominant westward orientation may be accounted for by geography, the opportunities that presented themselves, the internal wars and disunity in Europe, and the *gazi* nature of the Ottoman state—the frontier of Dar al-Islam was to the west.

During the fourteenth century the new Ottoman sultanate consolidated its hold over the western two-thirds of Anatolia, isolated Constantinople, extended its control over the Balkans, and began probing into Hungary. Responding finally to the Ottoman advance, in 1396 a western European coalition army challenged Sultan Bayezid I at the Battle of Nicopolis in northwestern Greece and was crushingly defeated. In the east, however, a Turkic-Mongol successor to the earlier conquerors had appeared—Timur Lenk, known to the West as Tamerlane, or Timur the Lame. At a battle near Ankara in 1402, Timur not only defeated the Ottoman forces but also captured Bayezid I, who died in captivity the following year.

Timur, after briefly overrunning Anatolia, was satisfied with the reduction of the Ottoman threat. He restored some of the neo-Seljuk minor princes in eastern Anatolia and withdrew. After Bayezid I's death, his four sons fought for a decade to settle the succession in what was left of the realm. During this time neither disunited Europe nor beleaguered Byzantium took advantage of the situation. In the east, Timur died in 1405, and the internal struggle for the Ottoman succession proceeded without external intervention. Eventually one of Bayezid's sons was victorious, and in 1413 he took the throne as Sultan Mehmed I. The Ottoman state thus survived and, after a time of consolidation, entered into the period of its maximum growth and splendor.

The time of the first four sultans (about 1299–1413) was one of founding, expansion, crisis, contraction, and bare survival. Nevertheless, some of the governmental and administrative institutions characteristic of the later Ottoman Empire took form in these early years. During the reign of Orhan the executive office of chief minister (*veziriazam*, or grand *vezir*) first appeared, a development consonant with practice in earlier Eastern empires. This office evolved centuries later into the office of prime minister under the Constitution of 1876. The use of the title pasha (*pasa*; plural, *pasalar*) to designate civil or military officials of high rank and place probably also began during Orhan's reign.

The early Ottoman Empire, like the later one, was a patchwork of diverse ethnic and religious minorities and



Sultan Mehmed II (Mohammed II) in 1451 succeeded to the throne of the Ottoman Empire and immediately began a bloody career that oddly was mixed with savagery and scholarship. He solemnly promised to maintain peace with the emperor of Constantinople but at the same time was plotting for his overthrow. This painting of the sultan is by Gentile Bellini.



Mehmed II entering into Constantinople where he killed Constantine XI, ending the Byzantine Empire rule. This was May 29, 1453, after Mehmed II had the capital under siege for two years. After this famous date in history, the sultan became known as Mehmed the Conquerer. The triumph of the Crescent over the Cross had much greater meaning in history than as a military victory. The far-reaching effect of this event in history is that it drove the scholars and intellectuals into Italy from the East, which greatly helped the revival of learning and led directly to the Reformation.

After his victory and new status, Mehmed II built himself a big, beautiful new palace on the Bosphorus.



was not completely Muslim even in Anatolia. Troops were raised from the minorities as well as from the Turkomans. By the late fourteenth century, under Murad I, troop requirements caused the establishment of a corps of professional infantry—the Janissaries (*yenïçeri*, or new troops)—who were later to exercise an important but troublesome political role. Almost constant warfare produced many captives. What came to be known as the slave administration began to develop in the Ottoman use of prisoners and minority members to form a loyal, well-rewarded, but captive bureaucracy. Among other things, this prevented the rise of a hereditary nobility with its hands on the organs of government.

IMPERIAL EXPANSION AND POWER

Under Mehmed I and Murad II consolidation and development of administration continued, along with continual warfare in both Anatolia and Rumelia, as the Balkan area was called. A Hungarian attack in the Balkans was defeated at Varna in 1444; the maritime-commercial warfare with the Venetian city-state began its long course, and naval organization was undertaken.

Historians believe that the practice of *devsirme* (collection) was instituted during the reign of Murad II to fill and expand the Janissary corps. This practice involved the impressment of young Christian boys into the imperial service, where they were raised, Islamized, and trained for professional duties in the Ottoman administrative bureaucracy and the Janissaries—particularly in the latter.

The city of Constantinople, although isolated since 1365, continued as the last remnant of Byzantium despite several tentative Turkish assaults. Mehmed II, upon succeeding to the throne in 1451, immediately undertook a systematic, well-organized campaign against the ancient city. Having acquired gunpowder, technical advisers, and cannon from the West, the Ottomans bombarded and periodically assaulted the walls for fifty days. On May 29, 1453, the city fell, and the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, was killed in this final assault. Thereafter Mehmed II became known as Fatih Mehmed, or Mehmed the Conqueror.

The effect upon Europe of the Ottoman seizure of Constantinople was important but, modern historians point out, not critical. The rise of the European national states, the Renaissance, the age of exploration, and the search for new routes to east Asia were already under way. To the Ottomans, however, the capture of Constantinople (which the Turks called Istanbul, although the name was not officially changed until 1930) had symbolic, religious, and political importance. The *gazi* Ottoman frontier sultanate had come of age and become an empire. A revived Islam was again triumphant. Fatih Mehmed, reportedly a man of culture and education as well as warlike prowess, moved his capital at once to Istanbul and began to rebuild the city.



Sultan Mehmed (Mohammed) the Conqueror built the Mosque of Mohammed the Conqueror in Constantinople in an attempt to make it better than the temple of St. Sophia.

The expansion westward under Bayezid II, successor to Fatih Mehmed, was chiefly maritime; the sultan's new navy and his use of subsidized corsairs largely displaced the declining power of Venice in the eastern and central Mediterranean. At about the same time Bayezid conducted a successful defense of eastern Anatolia against the forces and influence of the Persian shah Ismail, who had established Shia Islam as the official religion of Persia. The work of quelling dervish uprisings and Shiite heresy in the east was continued by Bayezid's son, Selim I—known to history as Selim the Grim.

Selim I extended the Ottoman conquests southward beyond the Taurus Mountains, which had formed a

The many mosques of Constantinople (Istanbul) are all copies of the St. Sophia. The term mosque means "to adore." The principal place in the mosque is the niche, or mihrab, which is sunk in the wall at right angles to a line drawn from Mecca, the sacred city of Islam, and birthplace of Mohammed.



Sultan Selim I (1465–1520), the conqueror of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, was the first Ottoman caliph. This portrait sketch was accomplished by a highly regarded artist, Haidar Bey in the sixteenth century.



Suleyman I (1520–66) was known in the West as Suleyman the Magnificent. He tried to conquer far and wide, from India to the east and Malta to the west. His name is also spelled Suleiman and Solyman. As he appeared as a young man.

Suleyman I—a sketch of him later in life



Sultan Suleyman I built the Mosque of Suleyman in 1557.



rough division between Ottomans and Arabs and, earlier, between Byzantium and the Arabs. The conquests of much of the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where the last Mamluk sultan was defeated in 1517, constitute the major developments of his reign. The three sacred cities of Islam—Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem—and the famous cities of Damascus and Cairo were thus brought into the empire.

Selim I's son, Suleyman I, is known to the Turks as the Lawgiver (Kanuni) because of the codification during his reign of the religious law of Islam, the *seriat* (*sharia*), and its application in the Ottoman society. In the West he is known as Suleyman the Magnificent. During his long reign (1520–66) the empire reached its peak of power and drive, and arts and trade flourished. The period from approximately 1550 to 1650 is sometimes called the Ottoman golden age.

Wars of conquest continued. The island of Rhodes was taken in 1522; between 1520 and 1551 the Mediterranean corsairs extended the sultan's fiat along the North African coast as far as Morocco; suzerainty over Hungary was established at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. King Francis I of France, as part of his conflict with the Austrian Habsburg Dynasty, conciliated the sultan and urged him into continued warfare against Charles V, the Habsburg emperor. In retaliation Charles V cultivated the Persians and urged them into hostilities against the Turks. In several eastern wars Suleyman's forces were successful in taking much of the Kurdistan area of northwest Iran and added lower Mesopotamia (Iraq) to the empire in 1534—bringing another famous Arab capital, Baghdad, under the Ottoman domain. Two inauspicious omens appeared, however. In the westward drive the sultan's forces, at the end of long lines of communication, were unable to take Vienna in 1529; this was to mark the greatest advance in central Europe. Secondly, after reaching the Persian Gulf, the Turks failed in their attempt to drive European seafarers out of the Indian Ocean.

When Suleyman I, still on the campaign trail, died in Hungary in 1566, the Ottoman Empire was one of the major world powers. Of the four Islamic monarchies of the time—the others being Morocco, Iran, and Mughal India—the Ottomans were preeminent in their impact on Europe and were rivaled only by the Mughals in splendor, power, and wealth. The Ottoman system of administration exemplified the patriarchal-absolutist, military-dynastic nature of the realm and the concept of commingling of the religious and the temporal in a Muslim society. Although modified in later centuries, much of the early structure of administration was still identifiable at the end of the empire.

The sultan, at the apex, was theoretically responsible only to God and to God's law—the Islamic *seriat*, of which he was the chief executor in all its judicial and executive ramifications. All offices were filled by his au-

thority. He legislated by decree, or *firman*; he was supreme military commander; and he had basic title to all land.

The office of the sultan, regardless of whether it was held by a strong or a weak ruler, was of utmost importance because all authority, law, and administrative procedures were geared to it. The question of succession was therefore particularly serious. Strong sultans were virtually absolute. In practice, however, all sultans were limited by pragmatic political requirements for support from the military forces and from the collegial body of senior Islamic theologians, the *ulema*. Both of these centers of influence and support were from time to time the source of factionalism and intrigue.

Assisting the sultan was the *divan* (imperial council), a relatively small body of the most senior officials who met regularly at the sultan's palace in Istanbul to direct and coordinate government business and to formulate policy recommendations. Some sultans presided personally over the divan; others did not. In the sultan's absence the chief minister presided. The entrance to the palace for official purposes of access to the chief minister, representing the sultan and the government, was called the Sublime Porte. Diplomatic correspondence and histories of the Ottoman period frequently refer to the government simply as the Porte.

The Ottoman state had been built in the *gazi* spirit of military organization and conquest by an absolutist, monarchical regime directing an Islamic society dominated by a Turkish elite. This *gazi* spirit, becoming mythologized, long persisted among the ruling class. Military concepts and patterns permeated the whole system of government; no clear-cut distinction between military and civilian functions was made in Ottoman thinking and administration.

Members of the ruling elite at all levels were those associated with the Ottoman regime in some position of hierarchal authority or influence. Entry to this class was based neither on a hereditary nobility nor on family wealth and prestige but could be gained by ability, training in the imperial palace schools, and, of course, absolute loyalty.

Collectively, the Ottoman elite, both civil and military, became known as the *askeri* (military) class—again reflecting the pervasive *gazi* mythology. The members necessarily had some education, almost always Islamic; spoke Ottoman Turkish, with its heavy infusion of Arabic and Persian words; and thought in Ottoman imperial terms. Those holding the topmost ranks, again both civil and military, were called pashas. The designation *bey* was used for positions somewhat lower than those held by a pasha; and the term *effendi*, for members of the *ulema* and for officers of the lower middle and lower grades of the bureaucracy.

In the early Ottoman years regional administration was divided between two governors general, one for

Anatolia and the other for the European holdings, or Rumelia. Others were designated in later years. The governor general might individually have the title of pasha, but the name of this office was *beylerbey* (governor of governors). His region was divided into provinces, each called a *sanjak* and each under a bey (governor). Provinces, in turn, were divided into fief-holdings. They were not necessarily hereditary but were subject to confirmation by the sultan upon the death or removal of the fief-holder. In each holding (*timar*) the fief-holder was called the *sipahi* (literally, cavalryman). He was the senior official of local administration and was responsible for carrying out the directives of the sultan, maintaining order, collecting taxes, and providing on call a designated number of mounted troops. He answered to the *sanjak-bey*.

Each fief was surveyed, and its people, cattle, and other property were recorded in a register (*defter*) of the imperial revenue service, whose director, in Constantinople, was often a member of the divan. As historians have often pointed out, the old Ottoman Empire was essentially a warmaking and revenue-collecting organization.

As military forces became larger and more regularized and as the costs of warfare materially increased, the system of fief-holder levies and fief-holdings became less effective. A system of tax farming was then employed in some areas. In this system, numbers of fiefs were combined under major landholders, whose responsibility was agrarian management and collection of taxes, from which they took their percentages. This led to the rise of a class of landed provincial notables (*ayan*), who were to become politically influential in the nineteenth century.

In addition to the semimilitary structure of executive administration and the military forces themselves, the system of justice—the Islamic law of the *seriat* and its application—was an essential component of the Ottoman system. The Kuran (Quran) and the *seriat* do not provide for an organized hierarchical clergy, and Islamic states generally did not produce this form. The Ottoman regime was an exception. A *kadi-asker* (chief judge) was appointed for Anatolia and one for Rumelia. In each province a *kadi* (judge), with assistants, was appointed by the sultan and (at least in theory) was independent of the *sanjak-bey*. Thus, the *kadi* was both an Ottoman official and a member of the ulema.

The ulema, one of the most influential elements in Ottoman internal politics, were headed by the chief mufti (*müfti*) of Constantinople, who soon after the establishment of the capital became known as the *şeyhülislam* (Arabic: shaykh al-Islam). By the end of the sixteenth century, this office had increased in power to become second in ministerial prestige only to the chief minister. The *şeyhülislam* was a distinctively Ottoman development, becoming something like a combination

minister of justice and archbishop—although not exactly like either. The *şeyhülislam* influenced the appointment of each *kadi-asker*, and a term in the latter office became virtually a precondition for the former. The *fetva* (theological judgment) of the *şeyhülislam* was an instrument of importance and was used in the deposition of sultans from time to time.

Several notable exceptions to the system of provincial administration pertained throughout the Ottoman period. The empire was from the start a heterogeneous mixture of races, languages, and creeds. Turkish Muslims predominated only in Anatolia proper. Conquered territories were sometimes held as vassal states in which existing rulers were allowed to remain, subject to tribute and allegiance to the sultan. This device was more frequently employed in the early days of the empire than later, although it continued to prevail, in theory at least, in Egypt until World War I. The other notable exception was the *millet* system for governing non-Islamic credal minorities as semiautonomous ethnic groups through their own religious channels. In particular, this system was applied to the millions of Christians and Jews in the empire.

Within Anatolia itself the three largest minorities in Ottoman times were found in the Greek Orthodox communities of western Turkey and in the Armenian and Kurdish concentrations of the east. The Greek Orthodox community had been closely identified with the Byzantine Empire, although its origins were earlier. All three major groups figured prominently in the later days of the Ottoman Empire and in the history of modern Turkey.

ONSET AND FACTORS OF DECLINE

The first ten Ottoman sultans, ending with Suleyman I (the Magnificent), were on the whole strong and able rulers and reigned an average of about twenty-six years each. Thereafter, with some partial exceptions, the sultanate was not characterized by a comparable pattern of leadership and went into decline. For example, Suleyman's son, Selim II, became a famous libertine with the nickname of Selim the Sot. His son, Murad III, followed a like course of dissipation and, in the process, sired more than one hundred children.

Some minor imperial gains and consolidations of territory were made, however, after the time of Suleyman I, and the empire reached its maximum physical extent in the mid-seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the reign of Suleyman I is usually described as the summit era of effective Ottoman power. This is a convenient historical generalization and is broadly true, but modern historians have pointed out that signs of decline had actually appeared before the death of Suleyman I.

For nearly two hundred fifty years after Suleyman I, in contrast with the phenomenal political, scientific, commercial, and industrial advances in Europe for which no Ottoman counterpart occurred, the internal



Turkey, the Ottoman Empire, at mid-seventeenth century

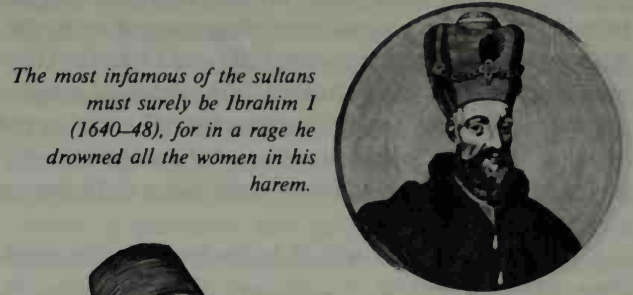


Sultan Mehmed IV (Mohammed) was the ruler of Turkey from 1648 to 1687. He conquered Greece without too much military effort but his invasions to the north and northwest into the Hungary and Austria territories were stopped by the Polish general and king, John III Sobieski.

Kara Mustafa, the grand wazir for Mehmed IV, had a "brilliant" scheme for the conquest of the West but was defeated by the Polish king Sobieski at Vienna in 1683, which was the second defeat of Mehmed IV by King Sobieski. Therefore, Kara Mustafa was beheaded in Belgrade shortly thereafter.



King John III Sobieski who was known as the terror of the Turks



The most infamous of the sultans must surely be Ibrahim I (1640-48), for in a rage he drowned all the women in his harem.



Suleyman II ruled from 1687 to 1691 as the sultan of Turkey. This is a woodcut of him as he appeared early in his reign.

The wife of Suleyman II



Sultan Suleyman II later in life wearing the official crown of the sultans

Abdul Hamid I ruled from 1774 to 1789. In the fashion of the customs of the ruling classes, Abdul Hamid was kept in total isolation from society for the first forty-nine years of his life to prepare him for the throne. As a result, when he became the sultan he was at the least unprepared, and at the worst, insane. But he ruled for fifteen years until he died.



stagnation and corruption in the Ottoman regime brought about the gradual crumbling away of its power. Although often at war between 1560 and 1800, the Ottoman Empire was not confronted with sustained massive attacks, such as the earlier Crusades from the west or the Mongol invasions from the east, and the empire continued to be a factor of significant importance in European power politics.

During the reign of Selim II, in the longstanding maritime war with Venice, a combined Venetian, Spanish, and Austrian fleet destroyed the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The European coalition broke up, however, and Venice ceded Cyprus to the Turks. Under Mehmed IV the empire by 1670 had acquired Crete and part of the Ukraine. In the Balkans, on the other hand, three defeats were suffered between 1664 and 1700. Vienna was vainly besieged for the second and last time in 1683. After a ruinous war against the combined forces of Austrians, Venetians, Poles, and Russians, Sultan Mustafa II was forced to accept the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. Under this treaty, the first to be signed by Ottoman Turkey as a defeated power, most of Hungary was relinquished, along with cessions to Poland and the cession of Azov to Russia.

Several wars with Austria in the early eighteenth century further weakened the Ottomans, and war with Russia between 1768 and 1774 led to further defeat and the important Treaty of Küçük Kainarça in 1774. Under this treaty indemnities were exacted, further territories were lost to Russia, and free access to Turkish waters by Russian ships was granted. Russia also gained certain vaguely worded rights of protection over Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and these clauses were thereafter utilized to justify Russian intervention in Ottoman affairs. By 1787 Russia and Austria evinced designs, not then accomplished, of dismembering Ottoman Rumelia. In the Treaty of Jassy in 1792, the Ottomans lost all their holdings in the Crimea and southern Russia. These reverses and the stress of frequent wars occasioned extensive civil unrest in Anatolia. The long-pampered Janissary corps, having lost its old discipline and military effectiveness, became instead a focus of political intrigue and factionalism and was heavily influenced by the Bektāşi dervish order.

The Ottoman Empire had for some centuries dealt with the states of Europe from a position of strength in the *gazi* spirit of the conquering Islamic offensive. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it was clear that the military advantage had shifted to the West because of economic, technological, and organizational developments. Nevertheless, Ottomans, secure in the conviction of their own supremacy, had been slow to recognize the shift in power and the reasons for it.

Of the early Ottoman contacts with Europe, those with France were of particular importance. In 1525 the Ottomans had fought the Austrians as allies of France,

and the long period of preeminent French interest in Turkey was initiated by a treaty of friendship between Suleyman I and Francis I of France in 1535. What began then as voluntary concessions from an empire at the height of its prowess evolved into the system known as the capitulations, which in later years was to become a major irritant in Ottoman-European relations.

The capitulations granted to certain European powers commercial and financial privileges that over a period of time were greatly extended. In addition, those residents of the empire who were under European protection were subject to European rather than Ottoman law. Although originally confined to foreign residents, rights under the capitulations were eventually extended to some non-Muslim citizens of the empire.

Capitulatory rights were extended to Great Britain in 1579, to Austria in 1615, to Holland in 1680, and to Sweden in 1737. The United States obtained similar rights in 1830 by treaty with the Ottoman government in which the latter undertook to accord the United States a status equal to that of the "most favored nation."

The events of the eighteenth century showed that the expansion of the Russian Empire had become the most serious external threat to the Ottomans. The dominant Russian interest was to secure yearlong access to the sea, that is, warm water ports. Control of the Bosphorus Strait, and therefore access to the Mediterranean, remained in Ottoman hands. Russian actions against the Turks were not always successful but increasingly became so as the Russian pressure was maintained. Other European nations in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries actively or inactively supported Russian expansion at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. By the nineteenth century, however, some interests had shifted to limiting the growth of Russian power by preserving the faltering Ottoman regime. Great Britain emerged increasingly as the advocate and protector of what remained of Ottoman territorial integrity.

One of the causes of the decline of the empire was the shift of military and technical superiority to the West; the gap was increased by the absence of any comparable developmental experience in the East. The only ideological-philosophical system the Ottomans accepted was Islam and, under the Ottomans, Islam became ossified and ultraconservative. The old administrative system, once fairly efficient, had decayed at all levels into stagnation and corruption. As in most Islamic states, the absence of fixed rules of succession to the throne within a dynastic family led to intense intrigue and factionalism. In the Ottoman realm the practice of fratricide had been legalized by ordinance as early as Mehmed II. Upon accession, some sultans extended this practice to include nephews, cousins, and other male relatives.

At the same time, it was desirable to ensure the Ottoman succession. Hence the system developed about 1603 of confining, or "caging," a chosen successor—the oldest

son or other male relative—in complete luxury but under strict political surveillance, cut off from the world and any effective training for office. In this effete environment, harem politics and the influence of favorite concubines became a significant element of internal factionalism. By the chances of history, not all sultans were to grow up in this atmosphere of debilitating fantasy, but many did. Abdül Hamid I, for example, was isolated in this fashion for forty-three years and was mentally unbalanced when he at last came to the throne. The system was not conducive to strong sultanic leadership.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND REFORM EFFORTS

During the nineteenth century the implications of the decline of Ottoman power, the vulnerability and attractiveness of its vast holdings, the stirrings of nationalism among the minorities of the empire, and the periodic crises resulting from these and other factors became collectively known to European diplomatists as “the Eastern question.” In 1833 Czar Nicholas I of Russia described the Ottoman Empire as “the sick man of Europe.” Austria and Russia were rivals for control in the Balkans, at Ottoman expense. France sought to gain a position of predominant influence. Great Britain’s objective was to prevent either Russian or French ascendancy in the Ottoman region, particularly any threat to British communications with India and the Eastern markets. The Eastern question was a major and vexing issue throughout the century and into the next because the empire had become a troublesome anachronism.

The “sick man,” however, was not without a certain residual toughness that endured almost to the empire’s demise. From about 1800 to 1839, and particularly during the reform period of 1839 to 1878, known as the *tanzimat* (reorganization), specific efforts at political, social, and economic modernization were made. A small class of political leaders and intellectuals emerged, known as the Young Ottomans, who were competent in European languages and schooled in European thought. These sought to redirect and reinvigorate imperial affairs. Several reforming or, at least, moderate sultans stimulated the effort. Although this effort left enduring influences, it finally foundered.

During the Napoleonic era, from 1796 to 1815, the Ottomans were pitted against their main European contact, the French. Napoleon seized and held Egypt from 1798 to 1801. In the latter year, combined British and Turkish military operations forced withdrawal of the last French forces, and the country was ostensibly returned to Ottoman sovereignty. A period of internal chaos ensued, until effective control was reestablished in 1805 by an Ottoman officer named Mohammed Ali. The sultan then designated Mohammed Ali as pasha of Egypt, and he began the dynastic line of semi-independent rulers of

Egypt that lasted, first under Ottoman and then under British domination, until 1952.

The first primarily Ottoman crisis to bring about European intervention in the nineteenth century was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–29. Russia, France, and Great Britain supported the Greeks; a British and French fleet destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet at the Battle of Navarino Bay in 1827, and Russian armies advanced into the Balkans to Adrianople. Greek independence was established by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 and the London Convention of 1832.

Mohammed Ali of Egypt had supported the sultan by quelling an uprising in Arabia in 1818 and later by substantial aid in the Greek war. Not having been rewarded for this assistance, in 1831 he invaded Syria with French backing and pursued the Ottoman forces deep into Anatolia. The sultan, in desperation, appealed to the Russians, who sent forces. Great Britain and France then intervened to mediate, and Mohammed Ali was constrained to withdraw to Syria; but the price the sultan paid for this support was the Treaty of Hunkar Iskelesi in 1833.

Under this controversial treaty, the Dardanelles Straits was to be closed by the sultan, on Russian demand, to naval vessels and troops of other powers. War with the Egyptian pasha was resumed in 1839, the Ottoman forces were again defeated, and Egypt seemed on the verge of seizing Anatolia. Great Britain once more intervened; France, having favored Mohammed Ali, abstained. Russia, to break the British-French entente, waived its rights under the Treaty of Hunkar Iskelesi and aligned itself with the British. By the London Convention of 1840, Mohammed Ali was forced out of Syria and compelled to abandon certain other claims, but he was made hereditary ruler of Egypt under nominal Ottoman sovereignty. In a further protocol of 1841 the sultan undertook to close the straits to warships of all powers. The sultan, in fact, had very little to say about any of this complex power play.

The empire was involved in two more major conflicts with Russia before the end of the nineteenth century. A French and Russian dispute concerning their respective rights in the traditional holy places of Palestine led to the Crimean War of 1854–56, a bloody and costly conflict in which Great Britain, France, Turkey, and Sardinia fought Russia. The prospect of Austrian entrance on the allied side caused Russia to concede, and the Crimean War was terminated by the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856. Under this treaty Russia abandoned its claim to protection of Christians in the Ottoman realm, renounced rights of intervention in the Balkans, and agreed to unrestricted navigation on the Danube under an international commission. The Bosphorus and the Black Sea were opened to all commercial shipping but closed to naval ships except for minor Turkish and Russian coast guard vessels.

The Ottoman and Russian empires were again major combatants in the war of 1877–78. The Russian declaration was prompted by Turkish repression of nationalist agitation in the Balkans, principally in Bulgaria. After initial defeats the Russians, with extensive Romanian assistance, succeeded in forcing upon the sultan the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878. The European powers, particularly Great Britain, did not concur with the harsh terms imposed by this treaty, and it was revised at the 1878 Congress of Berlin, at which the powers attempted to formulate a final settlement of the Eastern question.

The treaty at the end of the Congress of Berlin gave Bulgaria independence but returned Thrace to Ottoman control. Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro were also made independent; Bosnia-Herzegovina was placed under Austrian administration. Cyprus passed to British control, and Russia made some territorial gains in Bessarabia and at the eastern end of the Black Sea.

During this long period of intrigue, power politics, and war from 1800 to 1881, the European powers had not been so concerned with Russian designs, the Balkans, and the straits as to fail to notice the Ottoman weakness and vulnerability in its vast North African territories. Algeria had been invaded by France in 1830 and made a French possession. In 1881 France similarly invaded and seized Tunisia, forestalling Italian designs in that area. Egypt from 1882 onward was controlled by a British resident agent and consul general, although, as in Cyprus, Egypt was still nominally under Ottoman sovereignty through a peculiar legal fiction agreed to between Great Britain and the Sublime Porte.

Throughout this long period of external pressure and successive imperial disasters, mitigated only by survival as a buffer in European politics, the Ottoman government had simultaneously been engaged in a sequence of efforts aimed at internal reform and reorganization. These attempts began piecemeal about the start of the nineteenth century, initially in the interest of military improvement.

Selim III (1789–1807) is recognized as the first sultan to undertake serious efforts at modernization and reform. He endeavored to reorganize the military forces, to reimpose discipline on the Janissary corps, and to initiate reforms in the bureaucracy and provincial government. He was opposed at every turn by the Janissaries, by the Bektaşî dervish order, and by corrupt officials. The Janissary leadership forced Selim III to abdicate and later murdered him. He was succeeded by his nephew, Mustafa IV, who canceled every progressive measure directed by Selim III but was himself dethroned by forces favoring reform. Mustafa's brother, Mahmud II (1808–39), was then installed on the throne.

Mahmud II has been called the greatest of the reform-minded sultans. The emphasis he gave to education and the study of European languages, always with the primary objective of military improvements, allowed the

Sultan Selim III tried to overthrow the powerful Janissaries, but the attempt failed and he was deposed and assassinated in 1808. He was in reign from 1789 to 1807.



Mahmud II became the next full-time sultan after the death of Selim III. He served from 1808 to 1839. There was an interim when Mahmud II's brother, Mustafa IV, served as sultan of Turkey for a few months before being assassinated.

Sultan Abdülmecid (Abdul Medjid, 1839–61). His resistance to Russia's claims to a protectorate over Turkish subjects led to the Crimean war.



Sultan Abdülaziz acceded to the throne in 1861 and during his reign (until 1876) the conditions of the country grew worse. Turkey had to declare national bankruptcy. On May 30, 1876, the sultan was discovered dead in his royal apartments and it was declared officially that he was a "suicide," but in later years documents were unearthed that show he was assassinated.



The last visit of Abdulaziz to the mosque at Baddsch in 1876

When Abdulaziz was deposed on May 29, 1876, his place was taken by Murad V, who reigned for only three months before he was declared insane and deposed in August.



The sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909). The sultan was the brother of Murad V and he succeeded to the throne in 1876. In the following year he gave Turkey its first Parliament, which was soon after withdrawn. But because it was so sound a change with the times, it was restored in 1908.



Sultan Abdul Hamid II opening Turkey's first Parliament in 1877



growth of a small, but increasing number of administrators, scholars, and diplomats educated in, and acquainted with, Europe. Most notably, however, Mahmud destroyed and disestablished the Janissary corps when it revolted again in 1826, and he outlawed the Bektashi dervishes.

Mahmud's successor, Abdulmecid I (1839–61), inaugurated the *tanzimat* period of 1839 to 1878 with the Hatt-i Serif of Gulhane (Royal Edict of the Rose Chamber). This document, which reflected the influence of Mustafa Resid Pasa, one of the ablest and most enlightened of the reform ministers, promised further reforms, an end to corruption and the equality of non-Muslim and Muslim subjects. Some legal and organizational changes were implemented, but the momentum of change died out in confrontation with conservative inertia.

Abdulmecid's inept and weak successor, Abdul-Aziz, who was the first sultan to travel abroad, brought the Ottoman Empire to the verge of bankruptcy. During his reign, however, a group of liberals known as the Young Ottomans emerged among the intellectuals of the empire. Abdul-Aziz was deposed in 1876. Murad V, next in line, was deposed three months later because of insanity. His successor, during a thirty-three-year reign of absolutist paranoia, was to acquire the unenviable nicknames of the Red Sultan and Abdül Hamid the Damned.

Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) came to the throne with the approval of the liberal reformers of the empire, including the influential Midhat Pasa, the father of the first constitution. On December 23, 1876, Abdul Hamid accepted and promulgated a constitution modeled on French and Belgian lines as drafted by a number of senior political, military, and religious officials. This constitution, in addition to establishing a representative parliament, guaranteed religious liberty and freedom of thought within the law. Islam was recognized, however, as the state religion, the sultan for the first time was officially designated as caliph, and all citizens of the empire were to be known as Ottomans.

Abdul Hamid soon showed that his acceptance of constitutionalism was a temporary tactical expedient, as he began the assertion and centralization of his own authority. On February 5, 1877, Midhat Pasa was dismissed; he was exiled and later murdered. The sultan called the empire's first Parliament in 1877 but, encouraged by an Ottoman victory over the Russians at Plevna in December 1877, he dissolved the parliament in February 1878. The *tanzimat* was ended.

Abdul Hamid acquired a reputation for despotism throughout Europe. The European powers particularly disliked his methods of dealing with nationalist currents among the empire's Christian minorities. The brutal suppression of this kind of movement among the Armenians in 1894 and 1895, although overshadowed by the far more extensive massacres of twenty years later, took about one hundred thousand lives and aroused horror



The sultan's palace on the Bosphorus as it appeared at the turn of the twentieth century

throughout Europe. Abdul Hamid tended to be suspicious of those around him; he lived in seclusion under heavy security in the royal palace, where he mixed his own medical potions and pulled his own teeth.

During the reign of Abdul Hamid II, German influence greatly increased. Germany had emerged unified and victorious from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the sultan saw imperial Germany as a more congenial alternative to the previous British and French influence. The Germans were interested in railroad construction, especially a Berlin-to-Baghdad line, and won a ninety-nine-year concession from the sultan in 1902. This project exacerbated Anglo-German relations. The visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898 dramatized German interest in the Ottoman realm, especially the kaiser's declaration that Germany would be its protector.

Abdül Hamid sought to revive the ideology of pan-Islam throughout the empire and the Muslim world. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, the advocate of a revived Islam in which Western technology would be absorbed without accepting Western philosophy and "moral corruption," was welcomed from time to time at the capital. This pan-Islam policy further alarmed and alienated the minorities of the empire and developed no real strength.

THE YOUNG TURKS AND WORLD WAR I

The repressive policies of Abdul Hamid fostered disaffection, especially among those educated in Europe or in the westernized schools. Small groups of conspirators developed as successors to the Young Ottomans of several decades earlier. The first was the Committee of Union and Progress, founded in 1889 by students at the Turkish Military Academy. A number of its members eventually

fled to France, where they joined other Turks in conspiracies against Abdul Hamid.

Similar groups of officers and students sprang up, largely outside Constantinople, where the sultan's spy network was most efficient. Mustafa Kemal organized a secret *vatan* (fatherland) society among officers in Damascus and thereafter a second in Salonika. The *vatan* society merged with another Salonika group, the Ottoman Society of Liberty. A further merger took place in September 1907 when the enlarged Salonika group joined with a Paris organization to form the secret Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress. This group, which became known as the Young Turks, sought the restoration of the 1876 Constitution, other liberalizing steps, and unification of the diverse elements of the empire into a homogeneous nation.

In July 1908 parts of the army revolted and demanded the restoration of the constitution. Abdul Hamid, outwardly appearing to yield, announced the restoration on July 24 and ordered the abolition of press censorship, the termination of the intense internal security surveillance, and the release of political prisoners. A wave of enthusiasm swept the empire, accompanied by demonstrations of solidarity between Turks and minority groups, and the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress then engaged openly in its activities. Reactionary forces in the capital, encouraged by the sultan, then staged a counter-revolution on April 13, 1909. Abdul Hamid immediately pardoned the leaders of the counterrevolution and formed a new cabinet. The Young Turk leadership reacted by dispatching forces from Salonika, which retook the capital and liberated parliament. The legitimizing *fetva* was secured from the *şeyhülislam*, and the Young Turks deposed Abdul Hamid. His aged and compliant brother was enthroned as Mehmed V (1909–18). Abdul Hamid himself was thereafter kept under close confinement and died at the Beylerbey palace on the Bosphorus in 1918.

The Young Turk government was subject to a number of serious external and internal threats, finally culminating in World War I. Austria had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately after the 1908 revolution, and Bulgaria had secured complete independence. Both actions were accepted by Turkey on the basis of reparations paid or credited by Austria and Russia. Soon afterward the Italian government of the time, having already penetrated Libya commercially, evinced designs of colonial annexation. On the pretext that Turkish operations and influence in the Balkans were hostile to Italy, the Italian government declared war on September 29, 1911, and, after a naval bombardment, landed troops on the Libyan coast at Tripoli on October 3. The Italo-Turkish War was ended by a treaty on October 18, 1912, in which Italy gained paramount interest in Libya, the annexation being later confirmed in the post-World War I settlements.



Mehmed V was the last sultan of any consequence, and he ruled from 1909 to 1918, but under the tight control of the Young Turk revolutionists.

Pressure from the Balkans and not defeat in Libya had forced the Turkish concession. The Christian states of the Balkans, aided and abetted by both Russia and Italy, wished to prevent the Young Turk revolution from succeeding to the point where a rejuvenated Ottoman Empire might regain its old position west of the Bosphorus. In March 1912 Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria formed a secret alliance and on October 17, 1912, the alliance declared war and attacked. Turkish forces were defeated, and in the settlements of December 3, 1912, and May 30, 1913, the empire lost all of its European holdings, including Thrace. Albania had successfully proclaimed its independence on November 12. These disasters led to internal political change. A faction called the Liberal Union had formed a government in July 1912. This regime was overthrown in January 1913 in a coup engineered by Enver Bey, thereafter Enver Pasa, and the most authoritarian elements of the Young Turk movement gained full control.

The Balkan allies fell to fighting among themselves in the Second Balkan War, commencing on June 29, 1913. Taking advantage of this situation, Turkish forces scored a number of tactical victories, and in a new series of settlements between August 10, 1913, and March 14, 1914, regained Thrace and reestablished the western boundary at the Maritsa River, where it was ultimately to remain.

The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria on June 28, 1914, proved to be the spark, relatively unimportant in itself, that set off World War I. Between August 1 and August 4 war was declared, and operations commenced between the Allied powers of France, Russia, and Great Britain on the one side and the Central Powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. Ottoman Turkey remained officially neutral for about three months. On August 3, however, general mobilization of the armed forces was ordered; on the previous day Enver had concluded a secret treaty of alliance with Germany.

Despite the debilitated state of the Ottoman Empire, its contribution to the cause of the Central Powers during the next four years of war was enormous. Turkish troops fought well, the government did not collapse, and the Ottoman effort outlasted that of imperial Russia by

a year. The Turkish forces were expanded to fifty-two divisions, or about eight hundred thousand men and, fighting on far-distant fronts, tied up at least 1 million Allied troops for most of the war.

During the 1914–1915 winter, against the advice of German general Otto Liman von Sanders, Enver undertook an unsuccessful campaign against Russia in the Caucasus. During this campaign some assistance was given to the Russians by Armenians of eastern Anatolia.

A combined British and French naval assault, commencing on March 18, 1915, to force the Dardanelles was inconclusive, and British troops were landed on April 26 on the Gallipoli Peninsula. In the campaign that ensued, Turkish forces were initially under Liman von Sanders. Toward the end, command passed to Colonel Mustafa Kemal, who directed five divisions in containing and driving the invasion forces back to the beaches, from which they were then withdrawn commencing on December 19, 1915. Constantinople was thus secured for the rest of the war. This great success heartened the Turkish spirit, and Mustafa Kemal, the successful Turkish commander, became known as pasha.

To the south the Ottoman army in Iraq defeated and took the surrender on April 26, 1916, of a British-Indian invasion force. The British mounted a new invasion, however, and in March 1917 took Baghdad and drove the Ottoman forces out of Mesopotamia. In eastern Anatolia, Russian armies won a series of battles that carried their control west to Erzincan by July 1916. Mustafa Kemal was then given command of the eastern front and took up a successful counteroffensive that checked the Russian advance and began rolling it back. By the end of 1917 Turkish forces had retaken most of eastern Anatolia. The revolution of November 7, 1917, in Russia took that country out of the war. Its new government concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, under which Turkey regained its eastern provinces.

Sharif Husayn bin Ali, the sultan's appointed prince of Mecca and the Hejaz region of western Arabia, had launched the Arab revolt on June 5, 1916, supported by British supplies and naval forces as well as British advisers with the Arab forces. Of these advisers, T. E. Lawrence was to become best known. Aqaba was taken, and in October 1917 the British launched an offensive across Sinai into Palestine. Jerusalem was taken on December 9, 1917. Arab and British forces, after hard fighting against the Turkish Fourth Army, entered Damascus on October 1, 1918. Late in the campaign, Mustafa Kemal had succeeded Liman von Sanders in command of Turkish forces in Syria and withdrew them successfully northward through the Taurus Mountains and back into Turkey.

Turkish resistance was now exhausted. Early in October 1918 the central figures of the Young Turk leadership—Enver, Talat, and Cemal—fled to Germany. Sultan Mehmed V died in July 1918 and was succeeded

by Mehmed VI. The new sultan and the remaining government apparatus were compelled to sue for peace, and Ottoman representatives signed the Allied-directed armistice at Mudros on October 30, 1918.

STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW TURKISH STATE

The future of Turkey was dark when the Turks signed the armistice at Mudros. None of the victorious powers was interested in the Ottoman Empire except to dismember it. Bolshevik Russia was, in its own interest, opposed to the western European plans for postwar settlement with the remnant Ottoman state but was unable to prevent them. British, French, and Italian troops occupied Istanbul, as Constantinople was now known to all Turks. The compliant sultan dismissed nationalist-minded ministers and formed a government with ministers willing to implement Allied demands without question.

A number of secret inter-Allied agreements concluded during World War I so divided the Ottoman Empire that Turkey would have been reduced to northern Anatolia. Other arrangements, such as the Sykes-Picot agreement of May 16, 1916, between Great Britain and France, concerned the disposition of the Arab provinces of the empire, in which were included the present-day states of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel. The British had promised Izmir (Smyrna) to the Greeks in the negotiations that preceded the Greek entry into the war in July 1917.

On March 29, 1919, Italian troops had landed in their intended area of occupation, and Greece soon gained the authorization of the Supreme Allied War Council to land troops at Izmir. These landings, commencing on May 15, 1919, were followed by further advances to the northeast with the apparent intent of annexing large areas. The Greek landing was an important factor in stimulating Turkish national resistance. Turkish public opinion, after the sufferings of war, did not react intensely against the loss of the external provinces, but the invasion of the homeland itself aroused fierce resentment.

The Allied victory terms were worked out by the interested parties at San Remo in April 1920. These terms were embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres, which, as presented to the Ottoman government in June 1920, was an extremely severe document. Turkey was reduced to northern Anatolia and Constantinople, the sultan was placed under European protective custody, the straits were placed under a European commission (without a Turkish member), the remainder of European Turkey was given to Greece, an autonomous Kurdish state and an independent Armenia were created, and the empire was demilitarized. Italy and France had zones in southern Turkey. The Arab Kingdom of Hejaz became inde-

pendent, but control of the other Arab provinces was divided among Great Britain, France, and Italy; all Turkish external claims were annulled. The sultan's representatives signed the treaty on August 10, 1920, thereby further discrediting the Ottoman government. Although the external dispositions finally took place generally as stated in this treaty, the Treaty of Sèvres, as such, was never enforced, for events in Anatolia rendered it unworkable.

While the diplomats bargained, a Turkish nationalist movement was organized, and the war for independence was launched, with Mustafa Kemal as leader. Kemal had been sent by the Ottoman government to central Anatolia as inspector general—ostensibly to supervise the demobilization of Turkish forces and the disposition of supplies but, more particularly, to get him out of the capital. Upon his arrival at Samsun on May 19, 1919, he proceeded to rally men to the nationalist cause. Support grew in all sectors of the population as a result of the foreign invasion. Resistance gradually moved from guerrilla warfare to the full-fledged military campaigns of 1920, 1921, and 1922.

Negotiations continued between the nationalists and the Ottoman government but without avail. Kemal resigned from the army when relieved of his duties; communication between the capital and Anatolia was later cut. The naming of a chief minister sympathetic to the nationalist cause, Ali Reza Pasa, had brought a brief improvement, and a parliament, which met in January 1920, approved the National Pact. Such developments brought about reinforced Allied occupation of the capital and the seizure of public buildings on March 16. Numerous national leaders were sent to Malta for detention. Reza fell from power, and Parliament was dismissed on April 11. That same day the *şeyhülislam* issued a *fetva* that proclaimed that the killing of nationalist rebels was a religious duty; on May 11 Kemal and other nationalist leaders were sentenced to death in absentia.

The actions of the Ottoman government brought quick response from the nationalists. Parliament was summoned to Ankara, and that city became the nationalist headquarters. On April 24, 1920, the nationalists established the Turkish Grand National Assembly; Mustafa Kemal was elected president of this body. Numerous religious leaders in Anatolia asserted that the *fetva* of the *şeyhülislam* was invalid because it had been issued under duress. The Law of Fundamental Organization (also known as the Organic Law) was passed on January 20, 1921, proclaiming that sovereignty belonged to the nation and was exercised for it by the Grand National Assembly.

The nationalist military campaign of 1920 against the Greek invaders had been at best a draw, but the nationalist cause was then strengthened by a series of military victories in 1921. İsmet Pasa (who was later to take his

name from the battles) defeated the Greeks twice at Inonu, about twenty miles west of Eskişehir, once in January and later in April. The Turkish army, under the personal leadership of Kemal with İsmet as second in command, decisively defeated the Greeks at the twenty-day battle of the Sakarya River starting on August 24, 1921. Kemal was thereafter awarded the title of *gazi* by the Grand National Assembly.

An improvement of Turkey's diplomatic situation accompanied these decisive military victories. Treaties granting Turkish claims in the east and setting the boundary essentially as it remained in 1973 were signed on March 16 and October 13, 1921, with the Soviet Union, the first European power to recognize the nationalists. Turkish forces in eastern Anatolia by midsummer had disestablished the nascent Armenian republic. Impressed by the viability of the nationalist government, both France and Italy withdrew from southern Turkey by the end of October 1921.

The final drive against the Greeks began in August 1922; the last battle, referred to in Turkish sources as the Battle of the Commander in Chief, was launched on August 30. The Greek forces were again defeated and forced to evacuate, and on September 9 the Turks moved into Izmir. The Turkish army then turned its attention to Thrace, where the British barred the way. After careful negotiation, the Armistice of Mundanya on October 11, 1922, averted a clash with the British and returned to the Turks control of Thrace as far as the historic line of the Maritsa River.

At the end of October 1922 the Allies invited both the Ankara and the Istanbul governments to a conference at Lausanne, but Kemal was determined that the nationalist government should be the only spokesman for Turkey. The action of the Allies prompted a resolution by the Grand National Assembly on November 1, 1922, that separated the offices of sultan and caliph and abolished the former. The assembly further stated on November 4, 1922, that the Istanbul government had ceased to be the government of Turkey when the Allies seized

the capital on March 16, 1920. The essence of the latter statement was the abolition of the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Mehmed VI, evacuated by a British naval vessel on November 17, 1922, fled to exile on Malta. His cousin, Abdülmecid, was named caliph.

Turkey was the only power defeated in World War I to negotiate with the Allies as an equal and to influence the provisions of the peace treaty. İsmet was the chief Turkish negotiator at the Lausanne Conference that opened on November 21, 1922. The National Pact of 1919 was the basis of the Turkish negotiating position; its provisions were, in fact, recognized in the treaty concluded by Turkey on July 24, 1923, with Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The United States participated in the conference but, because it had never been at war with Turkey, did not sign the treaty.

The Treaty of Lausanne recognized the present-day territory of Turkey with two exceptions: the Mosul area and the Hatay district, sometimes referred to as the *sanjak* of Alexandretta, which included the port of İskenderun, or Alexandretta. The Mosul boundary with Iraq was settled by a League of Nations initiative in 1926, and İskenderun was added to Turkey on July 23, 1939, by disposition of France in its capacity as League of Nations mandatory power for Syria. Detailed provisions regulated the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles straits, which were to be open to merchant vessels at all times. In peacetime, or if Turkey should be neutral in war, warships could pass the straits within certain limitations. If Turkey were at war, it could close the straits to all but neutral warships. General supervisory powers were given to the Straits Commission under the League of Nations. Represented on the commission were Turkey as president and the other signatories of the treaty plus the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The straits area was to be demilitarized.

The capitulations and the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, which infringed upon the sovereignty of Turkey, were abolished. Turkey, however, assumed 40 percent of the Ottoman debt, the remainder being apportioned among other former Ottoman territories. The Treaty of Lausanne reaffirmed the equality of Muslim and non-Muslim Turkish nationals. In a separate treaty, concluded on January 30, 1923, Turkey and Greece agreed to a mandatory exchange of their respective Greek and Turkish minorities with the exception of some Greeks in Constantinople and Turks in western Thrace. Massive population exchanges were then carried out.

On October 13, 1923, the Grand National Assembly declared Ankara to be the capital of the country and on October 29 proclaimed the Republic of Turkey, with Mustafa Kemal as president. The Ottomans and the empire were gone, and the modern state of Turkey was born.



The president, Kemal Ataturk, who was the first leader to serve in place of the sultanate in 1923, served until 1938.

A 1957 stamp commemorating the 400th anniversary of the opening of the Mosque of Suleyman I in Istanbul (Constantinople)



**THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE BYZANTINE
AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES, AND THE SULTANATES OF TURKEY**

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
BYZANTINE EMPIRE					
THEODOSIAN DYNASTY					
379-395	Emperor (East) (West, 394)	Theodosius I (the Great)	346?	395	Father of Arcadius
395-408	Emperor	Arcadius	378	408	Son of Theodosius I
408-450	Emperor	Theodosius II	401	450	Son of Arcadius
THRACIAN DYNASTY					
450-457	Emperor	Marcianus	392	457	Brother-in-law of Theodosius II
457-474	Emperor	Leo I the Great	401	474	
474-474	Emperor	Leo II		474	Grandson of Leo I
474-491	Emperor	Zeno	426	491	Father of Leo II
491-518	Emperor	Anastasius I	430	518	Son-in-law of Leo II
JUSTINIAN DYNASTY					
518-527	Emperor	Justin I	450	527	
527-565	Emperor	Justinian I	483	565	Nephew of Justin I
565-578	Emperor	Justin II		578	Nephew of Justinian I
578-582	Emperor	Tiberius II Constantinus		582	
582-602	Emperor	Maurice	540	602	Son-in-law of Tiberius II
602-610	Emperor	Phocas		610	
HERACLIAN DYNASTY					
610-641	Emperor	Heraclius	575	641	
641-641	Emperor	Constantine III	612	641	Son of Heraclius
641-?	Coregent	Heracleonas	614		Son of Heraclius
641-668	Emperor	Constans II	630	668	Son of Constantine III
668-685	Emperor	Constantine IV	648	685	Son of Constans II
685-695	Emperor	Justinian II	669	711	Son of Constantine IV
695-698	Emperor	Leontius		705	
698-705	Emperor	Tiberius III Apsimar		705	
705-711	Emperor	Justinian II (rethroned)			
711-713	Emperor	Philippicus			
713-716	Emperor	Anastasius II		721	
716-717	Emperor	Theodosius III		718	
ISAURIAN DYNASTY					
717-741	Emperor	Leo III, the Isaurian	680	741	
741-775	Emperor	Constantine V	718	775	Son of Leo III
775-780	Emperor	Leo IV	750	780	Son of Constantine V
780-790	Empress (Regent)	Irene, wife of Leo IV	752	803	
780-797	Emperor	Constantine VI	770	797	Son of Irene
797-802	Empress	Irene	752	803	
802-811	Emperor	Nicephorus I		811	
811-811	Emperor	Stauracius		811	
811-813	Emperor	Michael I		845	Son-in-law of Nicephorus I
813-820	Emperor	Leo V, the Armenian		820	
AMORIAN DYNASTY					
820-829	Emperor	Michael II		829	
829-842	Emperor	Theophilus		842	Son of Michael II
842-857	Empress (Regent)	Theodora		867	Mother of Michael III
842-867	Emperor	Michael III		867	Son of Theophilus
MACEDONIAN DYNASTY					
867-886	Emperor	Basil I the Macedonian	813	886	
886-912	Emperor	Leo VI	866	912	Son of Michael III
913-919	Emperor	Constantine VII	905	959	Son of Leo VI
919-944	Emperor (Regent)	Romanus I		948	Stepfather of Constantine VII
944-959	Emperor	Constantine VII			
959-963	Emperor	Romanus II	939	963	Son of Constantine VII
963-969	Emperor	Nicephorus II	912	969	
969-976	Emperor	John I Zimisces	929	976	
976-1025	Emperor	Basil II	958	1025	Son of Romanus II

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
1025-1028	Emperor	Constantine VIII	960	1028	Son of Romanus II
1041-1042	Emperor	Michael V			Nephew of Michael IV
1042-1055	Emperor	Constantine IX	1000	1055	Son-in-law of Constantine VIII
1055-1056	Empress	Theodora	980	1056	Daughter of Constantine VIII
1056-1057	Emperor	Michael VI			
1057-1059	Emperor	Isaac I Comnenus		1061	
DUCAS DYNASTY					
1059-1067	Emperor	Constantine X Ducas	1007	1067	
1067-1071	Emperor	Romanus IV		1071	
1071-1078	Emperor	Michael VII			Son of Constantine X
1078-1081	Emperor	Nicephorus III Botaniates		1081	
COMNENUS DYNASTY					
1081-1118	Emperor	Alexius I Comnenus	1048	1118	Nephew of Isaac I
1118-1143	Emperor	John II Comnenus	1088	1143	Son of Alexius I Comnenus
1143-1180	Emperor	Manuel I Comnenus	1120	1180	Son of John II Comnenus
1180-1183	Emperor	Alexius II	1168	1183	Son of Manuel I Comnenus
1183-1185	Emperor	Andronicus I	1110	1185	Grandson of Alexius I Comnenus
ANGELUS DYNASTY					
1185-1195	Emperor	Isaac II Angelus		1204	
1195-1203	Emperor	Alexius III		1210	Brother of Isaac II Angelus
1203-1204	Emperor	Alexius IV		1204	Son of Isaac II Angelus
1204-1204	Emperor	Alexius V		1204	
LATIN EMPERORS					
1204-1205	Emperor	Baldwin I	1171	1205	Son of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut
1205-1216	Emperor	Henry	1174	1216	Brother of Baldwin I
1216-1217	Emperor	Peter		1217	Brother-in-law of Baldwin I
1217-1219	Empress (Regent)	Yolande		1220	Wife of Peter
1219-1228	Emperor	Robert		1228	Son of Peter
1228-1261	Emperor	Baldwin II	1217	1273	Brother of Robert
LASCARIS DYNASTY					
1206-1222	Emperor	Theodore I Lascaris		1222	Son-in-law of Alexius III
1222-1254	Emperor	John III Ducas	1193	1254	Son-in-law of Theodore I Lascaris
1254-1258	Emperor	Theodore II Lascaris	1221	1258	Son of John III Ducas
1258-1261	Emperor	John IV Lascaris	1250	1269	Son of Theodore II Lascaris
1259-1261	Regent	Michael Palaeologus	1234	1282	
PALAEOLOGUS DYNASTY					
1261-1282	Emperor	Michael VIII Palaeologus			
1282-1328	Emperor	Andronicus II	1260	1332	Son of Michael VIII Palaeologus
1328-1341	Emperor	Andronicus III	1296	1341	Grandson of Andronicus II
1341-1347	Emperor	John V Palaeologus	1332	1391	Son of Andronicus III
1347-1355	Emperor	John VI Cantacuzene	1292	1383	
1376-1379	Emperor (Rival)	Andronicus IV		1385	Son of John V Palaeologus
1379-1391	Emperor	John V			
1391-1425	Emperor	Manuel II Palaeologus	1350	1425	Son of John V Palaeologus
1391-1412	Emperor (Coregent)	John VII	1360	1412	Son of Andronicus IV
1425-1448	Emperor	John VIII	1390	1448	Son of Manuel II Palaeologus
1448-1453	Emperor	Constantine XI	1403	1453	Son of Manuel II Palaeologus
1453—The Eastern Roman Empire ends with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks					
OTTOMAN EMPIRE					
1288-1324	Emir	Osman I (Ottoman)	1259	1324	
1324-1360	Sultan	Orhan (Orkhan)	1279	1360	
1360-1389	Sultan	Murat I (Murad) (Amurath)	1319	1389	

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>
1389-1402	Sultan	Bayezit I (Lightning) (Bajazet)	1347	1402
1402-1413	Interregnum	Bayezit's sons Suleman and Musa fought for the sultanate.		
1413-1421	Sultan	Mehmet I (Mohammed I)	1387	1421
1421-1444	Sultan	Murat II (Murad II)	1404	1451
1444-1446	Sultan	Mehmet II (Mohammed)	1430	1481
1446-1451	Sultan	Murat II (Murad II)	1404	1451
1451-1481	Sultan	Mehmet II (Mohammed)	1430	1481
1481-1512	Sultan	Bayezit II (Bajazet)	1447	1513
1512-1520	Sultan	Selim I (The Grim)	1467	1520
1520-1566	Sultan	Süleyman I (Suleiman)	1497	1566
1566-1574	Sultan	Selim II	1524	1574
1574-1595	Sultan	Murat III (Murad)	1546	1595
1595-1603	Sultan	Mehmet III (Mohammed)	1566	1603
1603-1617	Sultan	Ahmet I (Ahmed) (Achmet)	1589	1617
1617-1618	Sultan	Mustafa I (Mustapha)	1591	1630
1618-1622	Sultan	Osman II (Young Osman)	1604	1622
1622-1623	Sultan	Mustafa I	1591	1630
1623-1640	Sultan	Murat IV (Murad)	1609	1640
1640-1648	Sultan	Ibrahim I	1615	1648
1648-1687	Sultan	Mehmet IV (Mohammed)	1636	1687
1687-1691	Sultan	Süleyman II (Suleiman)	1641	1691
1691-1695	Sultan	Ahmet II (Ahmed)	1642	1695
1695-1703	Sultan	Mustafa II	1664	1704
1703-1730	Sultan	Ahmet III (Ahmed)	1673	1736
1730-1754	Sultan	Mahmut I (Mahmud)	1696	1754
1754-1757	Sultan	Osman III	1697	1757
1757-1774	Sultan	Mustafa III	1717	1774
1774-1789	Sultan	Abdülhamit I (Abdul-Hamid I)	1725	1780
1789-1807	Sultan	Selim III	1761	1808
1807-1808	Sultan	Mustafa IV	1779	1808
1808-1839	Sultan	Mahmut II (Malmud)	1785	1839
1839-1861	Sultan	Abdülmeçit I (Abdul-Medjid)	1823	1861
1861-1876	Sultan	Abdülaziz (Abdul-Aziz)	1830	1876
1876-1876	Sultan	Murat V	1840	1904
1876-1909	Sultan	Abdülhamit II (Abdul-Hamid)	1842	1918
1909-1918	Sultan	Mehmet V (Mohammed)	1844	1918
1918-1922	Sultan	Mehmet VI (Mohammed)	1861	1936
1922 Ottoman Sultanate abolished				
1923 Republic of Turkey established				

SELJUK EMPIRE

(The Seljuk Empire included what is now Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria)

1037-1063	Grand Sultan	Tughrul Beg
1063-1073	Grand Sultan	Alp Arslan
1073-1092	Grand Sultan	Malik Shah
1092-1104	Grand Sultan	Barkiarok
1104-1116	Grand Sultan	Mohammed
1116-1157	Grand Sultan	Sandjar

1157-1092—Divided into four separate states

SULTANS OF RUM (ROME)

1092-1106	Sultan	Kilidy Arslan I
1107-1117	Sultan	Malik Shah
1117-1156	Sultan	Masoud I
1156-1193	Sultan	Kilidy Arslan II
1193-1211	Sultan	Khaikhosru II
1211-1222	Sultan	Azeddin Kaikus I
1222-1237	Sultan	Alaeddin Kaikobad
1247-1261	Sultan	Azeddin Kaikus II
1261-1267	Sultan	Kilidy Arslan III
1267-1276	Sultan	Kaikhosru III
1276-1283	Sultan	Masoud II
1283-1307	Sultan	Alladdin

Appendix

A

The Kingdom of Albania



Albania

The modern Albanians call their country Shqipëria and themselves Shqipëtarë. In antiquity the Albanians were known as Illyrians, and in the Middle Ages they came to be called Arbereshe or Arbeneshe, and their country Arberia or Arbenia. The present European forms, Albania and Albanians, are derived from the names Arbanoi and Albanoi or Arbaniti, which appeared in the eleventh century.

In antiquity the Albanians formed part of the Thraco-Illyrian and Epirot tribes that inhabited the whole of the peninsula between the Danube River and the Aegean Sea. Until 168 B.C. the northern and central part of present-day Albania comprised parts of the kingdom of Illyria, whose capital was Shkoder. The Illyrian Kingdom was conquered by the Romans in 168–167 B.C., and thereafter it was a Roman colony until A.D. 395, when the Roman Empire was split into East and West, Albania becoming part of the Byzantine Empire.

Under the Roman Empire, Albania served as a key recruiting area for the Roman legions and a main outlet to the East. The present port of Durrës (the ancient Durrachium) became the western terminus of Via Egnatia, an actual extension of Via Appia, by which the Roman legions marched to the East. It was during the Roman rule that Christianity was introduced into Albania.

From the fifth century to the advent of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans in the fourteenth century, invasions from the north and east, especially by the Huns, the Bulgarians, and the Slavs, thinned the indigenous Illyrian population and drove it along the mountainous Adriatic coastal regions. During the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Albania became a thoroughfare for the crusading armies, which used the port of Durrës as a bridgehead. By this time the Venetian Republic had obtained commercial privileges in Albanian towns and, after the Fourth Crusade (1204), it received nominal control over Albania and Epirus and took actual possession of Durrës and the surrounding areas. In the middle of the thirteenth century Albania fell under the domination of the kings of Naples, and in 1272 armies of Charles I of Anjou crossed the Adriatic and occupied Durrës. Thereupon, Charles I issued a decree calling himself Rex Albaniae and creating Regnum Albaniae (the kingdom of Albania), which lasted for nearly a century.

In the period after the defeat of the Serbs by the Otto-

man Turks in 1389 in the battle of Kosovo, most of Albania was divided into a number of principalities under the control of native tribal chieftains, most of whom were subsequently forced into submission by the invading Turks. Some of these chieftains, however, were allowed their independence under Turkish suzerainty. One of the most noted of these was John Kastrioti of Kruje, a region northeast of Tirana, whose four sons were taken hostage by the sultan to be trained in the Ottoman service. The youngest of these, Gjergj, was destined to win fame throughout Europe and to be immortalized as the national hero of his country. Gjergj (b. 1403) soon won the sultan's favor, distinguished himself in the Turkish army, converted to Islam, and was bestowed the title of Skander Bey (Lord Alexander), which, in Albanian, became Skanderbeg or Skenderbey.

In 1443 Hungarian King Hunyadi routed at Nish the sultan's armies, in which Skanderbeg held command; Skanderbeg fled to his native land and seized from the Turks his father's fortress at Kruje. His defection and reconversion to Christianity and the creation in 1444 of the League of Albanian Princes, with himself as its head, enraged the Ottomans, who began a series of intense campaigns that lasted until Skanderbeg's natural death in 1468. In his wars against the Turks, Skanderbeg was aided by the kings of Naples and the popes, one of whom, Pope Nicholas V, named him Champion of Christianity.

Skanderbeg's death did not end Albania's resistance to the Turks; however, they gradually extended their conquests in Albania and in time defeated both the local chieftains and the Venetians, who controlled some of the coastal towns. The Turkish occupation of the country resulted in a great exodus of Albanians to southern Italy and Sicily, where they preserved their language, customs, and Eastern Orthodox religion.

One of the most significant consequences of Ottoman rule of Albania was the conversion to Islam of over two-thirds of the population. As the political and economic basis of the Ottoman Empire was not nationality but religion, this conversion created a new group of Muslim Albanian bureaucrats, who not only ruled Albanian provinces for the sultans but also served in important posts as *pashas* (governors) in many parts of the empire. A number of them became *viziers* (prime ministers), and one, Mohammed Ali Pasha, at the beginning of the nineteenth century founded an Egyptian Dynasty that lasted until the 1950s.

Some of the Albanian beys and pashas, especially in the lowlands, became almost independent rulers of their principalities. One of these, Ali Pasha Tepelena, known in history as the Lion of Yannina, whose principality at the beginning of the nineteenth century consisted of the whole area from the Gulf of Arta to Montenegro, by 1803 had assumed absolute power and negotiated directly with Napoleon and the rulers of Great Britain and

Russia. The sultan, however, becoming alarmed at the damage Ali Pasha was doing to the unity of the empire, sent his armies to surround him in Yannina, where he was captured and decapitated in 1822.

Under the Turks, Albania remained in complete stagnation and, when the Turks were expelled from the Balkans in 1912, they left it in about the same condition they had found it. The Albanian highlanders, especially in the north, were never fully subjected, and their tribal organizations were left intact. Turkish suzerainty affected them only to the extent that it isolated them from the world. Thus, they preserved their medieval laws, traditions, and customs. As a result, Western civilization and development did not begin to penetrate Albania in any meaningful way until it became independent in 1912.

In the summer and fall of 1912, while Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece, prodded by Russia, were waging war against Turkey, the Albanians staged a series of revolts and began to agitate for the creation of an autonomous and neutral Albania. Accordingly, a group of Albanian patriots, led by Ismail Qemal bey Vlora, a member of the Turkish Parliament, proclaimed Albania's independence at Vlore on November 28, 1912, and organized an Albanian provisional government. Supported by Austria and Italy, Albania's independence was recognized on December 12, 1912, by the London Conference of Ambassadors, but its boundaries were to be determined later. In March 1913 agreement was reached on the northern frontiers, assigning Shkoder to Albania but giving Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet), inhabited then chiefly by Albanians, to Serbia. This frontier demarcation was very similar to the frontiers between Yugoslavia and Albania as they existed in 1970.

The boundaries in the south were more difficult to delineate because Greece laid claim to most of southern Albania, which the Greeks call northern Epirus. The Conference of Ambassadors appointed a special commission to draw the demarcation line on ethnographic bases and in December 1913 drafted the Protocol of Florence, which assigned the region to Albania. The 1913 boundaries in the south, like those in the north, were almost the same as those that existed between Greece and Albania in 1970. The Albania that emerged from the Conference of Ambassadors was a truncated one; as many Albanians were left out of the new state as were included in it.

The Conference of Ambassadors also drafted a constitution for the new state, which was proclaimed as an autonomous principality, sovereign, and under the guarantees of the Great Powers; created an International Control Commission to control the country's administration and budget; and selected as ruler the German Prince William of Wied. Prince William arrived in March 1914 but had to flee the country six months later because of the outbreak of World War I and the difficulties caused by the unruly feudal beys. As a consequence, Albania's independence came to an end, and for the next

four years the country served as a battleground for the warring powers.

At the end of World War I Albania was occupied by the Allied armies, mostly Italian and French. The Secret Treaty of London, concluded in 1915 and published by the Russian Bolsheviks after the October 1917 Revolution, provided for the partition of nearly all Albania among Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. Another accord, known as the Tittoni-Venizelos Agreement, concluded between Italy and Greece in 1919, also called for the dismemberment of Albania. At the 1919–20 Paris Peace Conference Greece laid claim to southern Albania; Serbia and Montenegro, to the northern part; and Italy, to the port of Vlore and surrounding areas. But President Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination and his personal insistence on the restoration of an independent Albania saved the country from partition. In the summer of 1920 an Albanian partisan army drove the Italians from Vlore, and the Italian government recognized Albania's independence.

From 1920 to 1924 there was political freedom in the country along with extreme political strife. A group of statesmen and politicians, mostly from the old Turkish bureaucracy, attempted to lay the foundation of a modern state, but there was a bitter struggle between the old conservative landlords and Western educated or inspired liberals. The landowners, led by Ahmet Zogu, advocated the continuance of feudal tenure and opposed social and economic reforms, especially agrarian reforms. The liberals, led by Bishop Fan S. Noli, a Harvard University graduate who had founded the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Boston in 1908 and had returned to Albania in 1920, favored the establishment of a Western-type democracy. The country was torn by political struggles and rapid changes of government revealed considerable political instability.

In June 1924 the liberals staged a successful coup against the conservative landlords, forcing their leader, Ahmet Zogu, to flee to Yugoslavia, and formed a new government under Bishop Noli. But Noli was too radical to command the support of the disparate coalition that had ousted Zogu. Internally he proposed radical agrarian reforms, the purging and reduction of the bureaucracy, and the establishment of a truly democratic regime. In foreign affairs he extended recognition to the Soviet Union, a move that alienated some of his supporters at home and alarmed some neighboring states. As a consequence, Zogu, having secured foreign support, led an army from Yugoslavia and in December 1924 entered the capital city of Tirana and became ruler of the country. Bishop Noli and his closest supporters fled abroad; some eventually went to Moscow, and others fell under Communist influence in western capitals.

Zogu's rule in the 1925–39 period, first as President



King Zog I

Zogu and after September 1, 1928, as Zog I, king of the Albanians, brought political stability and developed a national political consciousness that had been unprecedented in Albanian history. To secure his position both internally and externally, he concluded in 1926 and 1927 bilateral treaties with Italy, providing for mutual support in maintaining the territorial status quo and establishing a defensive alliance between the two countries. These two treaties, however, assured Italian penetration of Albania, particularly in the military and economic spheres.

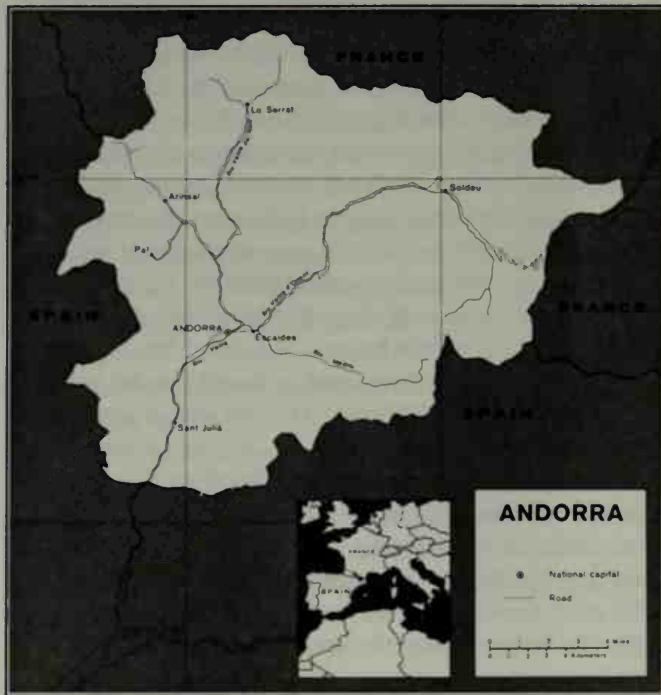
King Zog ruled as a moderate dictator, his monarchy being a combination of despotism and reform. He prohibited political parties but was lenient to his opponents unless they actually threatened to overthrow his rule, as happened in 1932, 1935, and 1937. But even during these open revolts, he showed a good deal of leniency and executed only a few ringleaders. He effected some substantial reforms both in the administration and in society, particularly outlawing the traditional vendetta and carrying of arms, of which the Albanians were very fond. The most significant contribution of Zog's fourteen-year rule, the longest since the time of Skanderbeg, was the development of a truly national consciousness and an identity of the people with the state, although not necessarily with the monarchy, and the gradual breakdown of the traditional tribal and clan systems.

In April 1938 Zog married Geraldine Apponyi, a Hungarian countess with an American mother. Italian foreign minister Count Ciano was the best man. On Ciano's return to Italy from the wedding, he proposed to his father-in-law, Benito Mussolini, Fascist dictator of Italy, the annexation of Albania. The following year, on April 7, 1939, Ciano's suggestion was consummated. Italian forces invaded Albania on that day, forcing Zog to flee the country, never to return. In the next few months rapid steps were taken to unite Albania with Italy under the crown of King Vittorio Emanuele III and to impose a regime similar to that of Fascist Italy. Albania as an independent state disappeared.



B

The Principality of Andorra



The geographical location of Andorra between France and Spain

Andorra, located high in the Pyrenees between France and Spain, is one of Europe's smallest nations.

Most of Andorra's rugged terrain consists of gorges, narrow valleys, and defiles, surrounded by high mountain peaks rising over nine thousand feet (2,743 m.) above sea level.

It is said that Charlemagne drove the Moors from the territory that is now Andorra in 806, and local legend maintains that he personally thanked the mountaineers for their assistance to his armies. The Andorran national anthem says, "The great Charlemagne, my father, has delivered me from the Arabs. . . ."

An agreement (the *Paréage*) between the count of Foix (French) and the bishop of Seo de Urgel (Spanish) in 1278 to recognize each other as co-princes of the Andorran valleys gave the small state what has been its political form and territorial extent continuously to the present day. Over the years, the title on the French side passed to the kings of Navarre, then to the kings of France, and is now held by the presidents of France.

Napoleon declared Andorra a republic in 1806, but today the country is referred to as a principality.

In its mountain fastness, Andorra has existed outside the mainstream of the major historical events of Europe.



Earlier Bishops of Urgel—coprinces.

In recent times, however, its thriving tourist industry has propelled it into the twentieth century.

Vestiges of its long history remain in the form of a number of twelfth-century Romanesque churches. Most notable among these are the Chapel of Sant Miquel d'Engolasters, in Les Escaldes, and the church in Santa Coloma. The countryside is also dotted with Romanesque bridges.

The president of France and the bishop of Seo de Urgel (Spain), as co-princes, are charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, defense, and the judicial system. Andorra pays annual tribute of nine hundred sixty francs (\$196) to France and four hundred sixty pesetas (\$6) to Spain. The co-princes are represented in Andorra by *veguers* (designated representatives) and *battles* (magistrates).

No formal constitution has been written for the country, although administrative statutes were passed in 1748 and 1763. A Plan of Reform, passed in 1866, established the present governmental system, which has evolved into a ruling General Council of twenty-four members (four from each of the six parishes—Andorra, Canillo, Encamp, La Massana, Ordino, and Sant Julià). Members of the council serve four-year terms, and half of the council

French President Georges Pompidou was the coprince from 1969 to 1974.



is elected every two years by the Andorran citizens in each parish. Women were granted equal suffrage in April 1970.

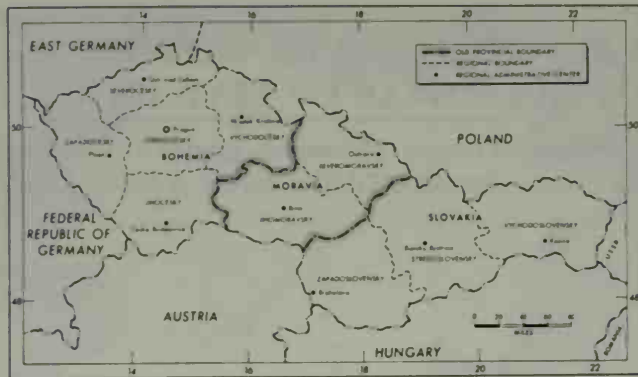
PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (AS OF MAY 1981)

Co-prince—François Mitterrand, president of France
Co-prince—Juan Marti Alanis, bishop of Seo de Urgel, Spain



C

The Royal Dynasties of Bohemia



Czechoslovakia in its modern setting, but showing the territories of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia

The Czechoslovakian Republic consists of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine). In March 1939 a German protectorate was established over Bohemia and Moravia, as well as Slovakia, which had meanwhile declared its independence. Ruthenia was incorporated into Hungary. In 1945, after World War II, these territories were returned to Czechoslovakia, except for Ruthenia, which was ceded to Russia.

In its early history, the Slavs, dominated by the Cechove (Czechs) started to penetrate into Bohemia by the middle of the first century A.D. The East Slav leader, Mojmir I, began the consolidation of the Great Moravian Empire which, under Svatopluk (869-94), approximated what is now Czechoslovakia consisting of Saxony, southern Poland, and eastern Hungary (Pannonia). The empire was destroyed by the Magyars in 907. (Slovakia passed under Hungarian rule until 1918, when it became a part of Czechoslovakia.) The center of power in the area shifted to Bohemia when the Premyslid family united the tribes by the end of the tenth century.

In 1029 Moravia was attached to Bohemia, and Vratislav (Vaclav) II was made the first king in 1088. By the thirteenth century, under Ottakar II, the Premyslid Dynasty had taken control of most of Austria. Wences-

laus II was proclaimed king of Poland. In 1306, Wenceslaus III, king of Poland and Hungary, the only son of Wenceslaus II, was assassinated and the Premyslid Dynasty ended.

John of Luxemburg, who was married to Elizabeth (Eliska), the second daughter of Wenceslaus II, claimed the crown and this started the Luxemburg Dynasty, which lasted until 1526, when King Louis died while retreating from the Battle of Mohacs, August 29, 1526. The crown was then claimed by Archduke Ferdinand of Austria by virtue of the hereditary rights invested in his wife, Anne, King Louis's sister, and the Habsburg Dynasty ruled from then (1526) until 1918, when Bohemia became a part of Czechoslovakia.



King Svatopluk

King Vratislav I



King Wenceslaus II



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE DYNASTIES OF BOHEMIA

PREMYSLID DYNASTY

<i>Reign</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Death</i>
871-894	Count	Borivoj I		
894-895	Count	Spithnjew I		
895-912	Duke	Spithnjew I		
912-926	Duke	Vratislav I		
926-928	Regent	Drahomire, von Stoder		
928-935	Duke	Wenceslaus (Wenzel, the Holy)		
935-967	Duke	Boleslaus I (Boleslav)		
967-999	Duke	Boleslaus II		
999-1003	Duke	Boleslaus III		
1003-1035	Duke	Vladivoj of Poland		
1035-1055	Duke	Bretislav I		
1055-1061	Duke	Spithnjew II		
1061-1092	Duke	Vratislav II (king, 1088)		
1092-1100	Duke	Bretislav II		
1100-1107	Duke	Borivoj II		
1107-1109	Duke	Swartopluk		
1109-1125	Duke	Ladislav I		
1125-1140	Duke	Sobjislav		
1140-1158	Duke	Ladislav II		
1158-1173	King	Ladislav II		
1197-1230	King	Ottokar I		1230
1230-1253	King	Wenceslaus II (Wenzel)		1253
1253-1278	King	Ottokar II		1278
1278-1305	King	Wenceslaus II		1305
1305-1306	King	Wenceslaus III		1306
1307-1310	King	Henry		1335

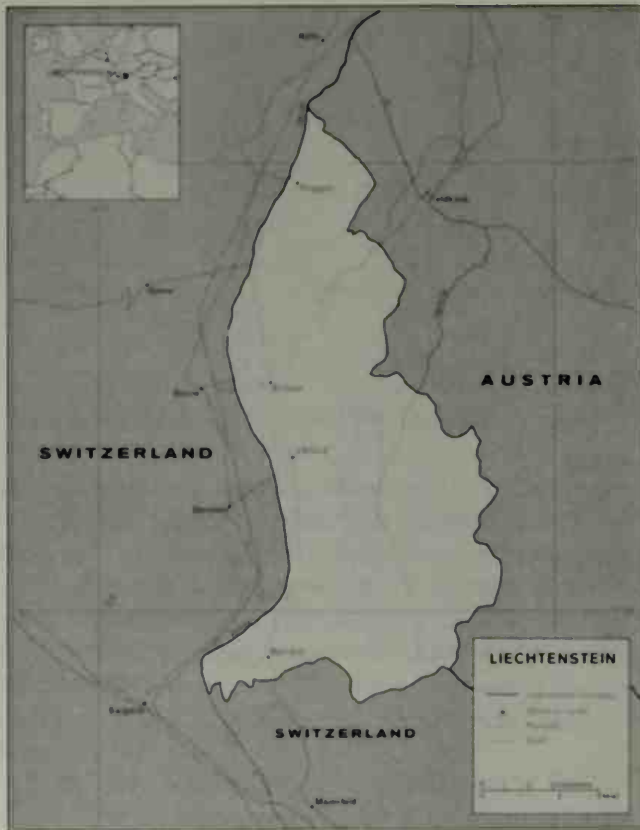
LUXEMBURG DYNASTY

1310-1346	King	John the Blind		1346
1346-1378	King	Charles		1378
1378-1419	King	Wenceslaus IV		1419
1419-1437	King	Sigismund of Hungary		1437
1437-1439	King	Albert of Austria	1397	1439
1440-1457	King	Ladislav Posthumus	1440	1457
1458-1471	King	George of Podebrad	1420	1471
1469-1471	Rival King	Matthias of Hungary	1440	1490
1471-1516	King	Ladislav II (Vladislav)	1456	1516
1516-1526	King	Louis	1506	1526
1526-1564	King	Ferdinand I of Austria	1503	1564
1619-1620	King	Frederick V of the Palatinate	1596	1632



D

The Principality of Liechtenstein



The geographical location of Liechtenstein between Switzerland and Austria

The Principality of Liechtenstein is located in central Europe between Switzerland and Austria, in the Alps mountain range which runs east and west through the southern half of Switzerland. One-third of the country lies in the upper Rhine Valley; the rest is mountainous.

Because of its strategic location on a north-south/east-west crossroads in central Europe, Liechtenstein has been permanently inhabited since the Neolithic age. Recorded inhabitants include the Celts, then the Romans, and later a Germanic tribe—the Alemanni—whose descendants now inhabit the principality. The

area became a direct fief of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation in 1396.

The Imperial Principality of Liechtenstein was established in its present form in 1719 when the princely House of Liechtenstein, in order to maintain a seat in the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, purchased the territory and gave its name to the principality. Liechtenstein was a member of the Confederation of the Rhine during the Napoleonic period and later became a member of the German Confederation until its dissolution in 1866.

Although it had been politically independent since 1815, Liechtenstein joined in a customs union with the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1852. It abrogated this treaty with Austria in 1918. The principality remained neutral in both world wars.

Based on the constitution of October 1921, the Principality of Liechtenstein is a hereditary constitutional monarchy. The prince is head of the House of Liechtenstein and thereby chief of state. All legislation must have his concurrence; he is also empowered to dissolve the Diet (parliament).

The highest executive authority of the principality is a five-member Collegial Board (cabinet). Its chairman is the head of government (prime minister), who is appointed to this position by the prince after being proposed by the Diet from among the members of the majority party. The deputy head of government is also appointed by the prince after being proposed by the Diet. By tradition he is a member of the minority political party.

The three remaining members of the Collegial Board, called government councilors, are elected by the Diet and appointed by the prince.

The Diet is a unicameral body composed of fifteen members. They are elected by direct male suffrage for four-year terms. Women are not eligible to vote or run for office.

In 1977 Liechtenstein had an estimated population of

24,700, with an annual growth rate of about 2.3 percent. Although the population density for the country as a whole is more than 398 people per square mile, about one-fourth of the people live at Vaduz, the capital. Most of the remainder live in ten other communities in the Rhine Valley. The social structure of the principality is similar to that found in other modern industrialized Western communities of equal size, except for the survival of the aristocratic ruling family, the House of Liechtenstein.



Prince Francis Joseph II and Princess Georgina. Prince Francis Joseph II, a grandson of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary, became the ruler of Liechtenstein on July 26, 1938. He is the first head of a ruling family to live permanently in Vaduz in Liechtenstein's history as a sovereign state. The prince was seventy-four years of age in 1980.



August 12, 1962, the fiftieth anniversary of Liechtenstein, stamp honors the three rulers during the period. Left to right: John II (1858-1929), Francis I (1929-38), and Francis Joseph II from 1938.

THE SOVEREIGNS OF LIECHTENSTEIN

Reign	Title	Ruler
1699-1712	Prince	John Adam
1712-1718	Prince	Joseph Wenzel
1718-1721	Prince	Antony Florian
1721-1732	Prince	John Joseph
1732-1748	Prince	John Charles
1748-1772	Prince	Joseph Wenzel
1772-1781	Prince	Francis Joseph I
1781-1805	Prince	Alois Joseph I
1805-1836	Prince	John Joseph I
1836-1858	Prince	Alois Joseph II
1858-1929	Prince	John II
1929-1938	Prince	Francis I de Paula
1938-	Prince	Francis Joseph II



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Stamps commemorating the marriage of Crown Prince Hans Adam von Liechtenstein and Countess Marie Aglae Kinsky, June 29, 1967

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E

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg



Luxemburg is geographically located with Belgium to her west, the Federal Republic of Germany to the east, and France to the south.

Luxemburg is located in Western Europe, bordered by France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Belgium. The northern half of the country is largely a continuation of the Belgian Ardennes and is heavily forested and slightly mountainous. The Lorraine Plateau extends from France into the southern part of Luxemburg, creating an open, rolling countryside (average elevation—one thousand feet, or three hundred meters). The Our, Sure, and Moselle rivers form the north-south frontier between Luxemburg and Germany.

In 1815, after four hundred years of domination by various European nations, Luxemburg was made a grand duchy by the Congress of Vienna. It was granted political autonomy in 1839 under King William I of the Netherlands, who was also the grand duke of Luxem-

burg. The country considers its year of independence to be 1839.

By the Treaty of London in 1867, Luxemburg was recognized as an independent state and was guaranteed its perpetual neutrality. After being overrun by Germany in both world wars, Luxemburg formally abandoned neutrality in 1949 by becoming a charter member of NATO.

The present sovereign, Grande Duke Jean, succeeded his mother, Grand Duchess Charlotte, on November 12, 1964, when she voluntarily abdicated after a forty-five-year reign.

Luxemburg has a parliamentary form of government with a constitutional monarchy. Under the Constitution of 1868, as amended, the grand duke is the chief of state. Executive power is exercised by the grand duke and the Council of Government (cabinet), which consists of a president of the government (prime minister) and several other ministers. The prime minister is the leader of the political party or coalition of parties which has the most seats in the Parliament.

Legislative power is vested in the Chamber of Deputies, elected directly to five-year terms. A second body in the Parliament is the Council of State, largely composed of elder statesmen and appointed by the grand duke. It

John the Blind, count of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, who fell in the Battle of Crecy on August 26, 1346, is considered by historians as the first recognized ruler of Luxemburg. He reigned from 1310 to 1346.





F

The Principality of Monaco



Detailed map of Monaco

The Principality of Monaco is the second smallest independent state in the world, after the Vatican City. It is located on the Mediterranean Sea nine miles (14 km.) from Nice, France, and is surrounded on three sides by France. Monaco is traditionally divided into three sections: Monaco-Ville, the old city situated on a rocky promontory extending into the Mediterranean; La Condamine, the section along the port; and Monte Carlo, the new city and principal residential and resort area. Fontvieille, the industrial area in La Condamine, is often considered a fourth section.

Monaco's population in 1975 was 25,000, with an annual growth rate of about 0.9 percent. Monaco-Ville has about 1,685 inhabitants.

Founded in 1215 as a colony of Genoa (Italy,) Monaco has been ruled by the House of Grimaldi since 1419, except when it fell under French rule during the years of the French Revolution and the First Empire. Designated a protectorate of Sardinia during 1815-60 by the Treaty of Vienna, Monaco's sovereignty was recognized by the

Franco-Monegasque Treaty of 1861. The prince of Monaco was an absolute ruler until a constitution was promulgated in 1911.

On July 17, 1918, a treaty was signed providing for limited French protection over Monaco. The treaty established that Monacan policy would be aligned with French political, military, naval, and economic interests.

Prince Rainier III, the present ruler of Monaco, acceded to the throne following the death of his grandfather, Prince Louis II, in 1949. Prince Albert, the heir apparent, was born in 1958.

A new constitution, proclaimed on December 17,

A 1974 stamp commemorating the first twenty-five years of Prince Rainier III's reign. He succeeded his grandfather, Louis II, in 1949.

1949



1974



RAINIER III
PRINCE DE MONACO



A First Day cover commemorating the marriage of Prince Rainier III and the famous American movie star, Grace Patricia Kelly, April 19, 1956.

1962, abolished capital punishment and provided for female suffrage and the establishment of a Supreme Tribunal to guarantee fundamental liberties.

Monaco has been governed as a constitutional monarchy since 1911 with a prince as chief of state. The executive branch consists of a minister of state (head of government), assisted by a three-member Council of Government (cabinet). The minister of state (a French citizen traditionally appointed by the prince for a three-year term from among several senior French civil servants nominated by the French government) is responsible for foreign relations. As the representative of the prince, he also directs the executive services, commands the public police, and presides (with a casting vote) over the Council of Government. The three members of the latter body are responsible for finance and national economy, internal affairs, and public works and social affairs.

Under the 1962 constitution the prince shares his power with the unicameral National Council. The eighteen members of this legislative body are elected for five-year terms by universal adult suffrage from a list of names given to the voters. Should the prince decide to dissolve the National Council, new elections must be held within three months. Usually meeting twice annually, the council votes on the budget and endorses laws proposed by the Prince.

Ordinances passed by the National Council are debated in the Council of Government, as are the ministerial decrees signed by the minister of state. Once

approved, the ordinances must be submitted to the prince within eighty days for his signature, which makes them legally enforceable. If he does not express opposition within ten days of submission, they become valid.

Judicial power is in the hands of the prince, but according to the constitution, he delegates full powers of exercise to the courts and the Supreme Tribunal, the highest judicial authority. The Supreme Tribunal is composed of five chief members and two assistant judges. Named by the prince on the basis of nominations by the National Council and other governmental bodies, the justices on the Supreme Tribunal constitute a court of last resort, resolve jurisdictional conflicts, and supply the National Council with interpretations on the constitutionality of proposed legislation. Monaco's legal system is based on French codes.



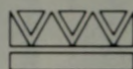
A stamp honoring Princess Grace, and one for the princess and family (February 1, 1965)



A sampling of former rulers of Monaco. Top, left to right: Seigneur Charles II (1581-89), Prince Antoine I (1701-31). Center, left to right: Princess Louise-Hippolyte, daughter of Antoine I, (1731); Prince James I, husband of Louise-Hippolyte, (1731-33); and bottom, left to right: Prince Honoré III, son of Louise-Hippolyte and James I (1733-95); Prince Albert I (1889-1922).

Princess Grace, left, and her son, Prince Albert, right, pay a state visit to the United Nations Headquarters in New York City in 1978. UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, center, is their official greeter.





Christian Names of the European Monarchs

<i>English</i>	<i>Danish</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
Albert	Albrekt	Albert	Albert	Albrecht	Alberto	Alberto
Charles	Carl	Karel	Charles	Karl	Carlo	Carlos
George	Georg	Joris	Georges	Georg	Giorgio	Jorge
Edward	Edvard	Edward	Edouard	Eduard	Eduardo	Eduardo
Francis	Frans	Frans	Francois	Franz	Francesco	Francisco
Frederick	Frederik	Frederik	Frederic	Friedrich	Federico	Federigo
Henry	Henrik	Hendrik	Henri	Heinrich	Enrico	Enrique
James	Jacob	Jacob	Jacques	Jakob	Giacomo	Jaime
John	Hans	Johan	Jean	Johann	Giovanni	Juan
Louis	Ludvig	Lodewijk	Louis	Ludwig	Lodovivo	Luis
Paul	Paul	Paulus	Paul	Paul	Paolo	Pablo
Peter	Peter	Pieter	Pierre	Peter	Pietro	Pedro
Philip	Filip	Philip	Philippe	Philipp	Filippo	Filipe
William	Vilhjelm	Willem	Guillaume	Wilhelm	Guglielmo	Guillermo

Index

A

- Aba Samuel, King of Hungary, 297
Abdallah, Amir of Cordova, 348
Abdelaziz, Moorish Amir, 348
Abd el-Moulmin, Sultan of Almohade, 349
Abder Rahman I, Amir of Cordova, 321, 348
Abder Rahman II, Amir of Cordova, 348
Abder Rahman III, Caliph of Cordova, 321, 348
Abder Rahman IV, Caliph of Cordova, 348
Abder Rahman V, Caliph of Cordova, 348
Abderraman of Gafeki, Moorish Amir, 321, 348
Abdülaziz, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 586, 587, 594
Abdülhamit I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 583, 585, 594
Abdülhamit II (the Red Sultan; the Damned), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 587-588, 594
Abdülmecit I (Abdul-Medjid), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 585, 586, 587, 594
Abel, King of Denmark, 430
Abou Abdilehi (Boabdil), King of Granada, 326, 327, 349
Abou Malik, Sultan of Almohade, 349
Abou-Said, King of Granada, 349
Abou Yacoub, Sultan of Almohade, 349
Achatius Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, 298
Ada, Countess of Holland, 409
Adalbert, Margrave of Franconia, 281
Adaloald, King of the Lombards, 47
Adils, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
Adolf of Nassau, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
Adolphus Frederick, King of Sweden, 462, 481
Aemilianus, Roman Emperor, 46
Agilulf, King of the Lombards, 32, 47
Agne, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
Ahmet I (Achmet), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
Ahmet II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
Ahmet III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
Aimone of Spoleto, King of Croatia, 316
Aistulf, King of the Lombards, 47
Alaeddin Kaikobad, Sultan of Rum, 594
Alanis, Juan Marti, Co-Prince of Andorra, 599
Alaric, Chief of the Visigoths, 29, 55, 232, 348, 559
Albert, King of Saxony, 264
Albert I, Holy Roman Emperor, 243, 263, 281
Albert I, King of Belgium, 220, 340, 375-376, 377, 378, 382
Albert I, Prince of Monaco, 609
Albert II, Holy Roman Emperor, 244, 263, 281, 284, 297, 511, 601
Albert III, Duke of Austria, 281
Albert IV, Duke of Austria, 281
Albert VI, Duke of Austria, 281
Albert of Mecklenburg, King of Sweden, 449, 481
Albinus, Roman Emperor, 46
Alboin, King of the Lombards, 30, 32, 47
Alcasim, Caliph of Cordova, 348
Aleksandr Nevsky, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
Aleksei, Emperor of Russia, 483, 487, 488, 489, 505
Alexander, King of Greece, 563, 564, 571
Alexander, King of Poland, 511, 522
Alexander (the Good), Prince of Moldavia, 535
Alexander I, King of Macedonia, 571
Alexander I, King of Serbia, 305, 308, 316
Alexander I, King of Yugoslavia, 310-313, 316, 530, 547
Alexander I (the Blessed), Emperor of Russia, 113, 114, 216, 463, 492, 496-498, 505, 518
Alexander II, King of Macedonia, 571
Alexander II, (the Liberator), Emperor of Russia, 492, 498-499, 500, 505
Alexander III (the Czar-Peacemaker), Emperor of Russia, 426, 492, 500, 505
-

- Alexander III (the Great), King of Macedonia, 414, 552, 555, 556–558, 571, 573
- Alexander IV, King of Macedonia, 571
- Alexander V, King of Macedonia, 571
- Alexander Ghica, Prince of Walachia, 535
- Alexander John I Cuza, Prince of Romania, 359, 536
- Alexander Joseph of Battenberg, Prince of Bulgaria, 543, 551
- Alexander Karadjordjevic, Prince of Serbia, 303, 304, 316
- Alexander Moruzi, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Alexander of Tver, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
- Alexander Severus, Roman Emperor, 24–25, 46, 52
- Alexander Sutu, Prince of Walachia, 535
- Alexander Ypsilanti, Prince of Walachia, 528, 535
- Alexandru Lapusneanu, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Alexius I Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 593
- Alexius II, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Alexius III, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Alexius IV, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Alexius V, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Alf, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Alfonso I, King of Portugal, 356, 359, 366
- Alfonso I (the Catholic), King of Asturias, 349
- Alfonso I (the Fighter), King of Navarre, 351
- Alfonso II, King of Navarre, 351
- Alfonso II (the Chaste), King of Asturias, 349
- Alfonso II (the Fat), King of Portugal, 366
- Alfonso III, King of Aragon, 351
- Alfonso III, King of Portugal, 356, 366
- Alfonso III (the Great), King of Asturias, 349
- Alfonso IV, King of Aragon, 351
- Alfonso IV, King of Portugal, 357, 366
- Alfonso IV, (the Monk), King of León, 350
- Alfonso V (Africano), King of Portugal, 360, 361, 366
- Alfonso V (the Magnanimous), King of Aragon, 351
- Alfonso V (the Noble), King of León, 350
- Alfonso VI, King of León and Castile, 350, 355, 356
- Alfonso VI, King of Portugal, 362, 367
- Alfonso VII (the Emperor), King of León and Castile, 350, 356
- Alfonso VIII, King of Castile, 350
- Alfonso X (of Castile), Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 350
- Alfonso XI, King of Castile, 350
- Alfonso XII, King of Spain, 325, 339, 341, 347, 351
- Alfonso XIII, King of Spain, 220, 339, 340, 341–342, 347, 351
- Alfred (the Great), King of England, 65, 131–134, 228, 412
- Alhor, Moorish Amir, 348
- Ali bin Hamoud, Caliph of Cordova, 348
- Ali bin Yousouf, Sultan of Almoravide, 349
- Ali Pasha Tepelena (the Lion of Yannina), Pasha of Yannina, 596
- Alladdin, Sultan of Rum, 594
- Alois Joseph I, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
- Alois Joseph II, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
- Alp Arslan, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 577, 594
- Alrek, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Amadeo I of Savoy, King of Spain 338–339, 351
- Amalaric, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Ambiorix, Chief of the Eburones, 369, 382
- Amyntas I, King of Macedonia, 571
- Amyntas II, King of Macedonia, 571
- Amyntas III, King of Macedonia, 571
- Anastasius I, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Anastasius II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Ancus Marcius, Mythical King, 46
- Andrew, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Andrew I, King of Hungary, 297
- Andrew II, King of Hungary, 286, 297
- Andrew III, King of Hungary, 288, 297
- Andrey, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
- Andrey Bogolyubski, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
- Andronicus I, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Andronicus II, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Andronicus III, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Andronicus IV (Rival), Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Anna, Empress of Russia, 493, 505
- Anna Leopoldovna, Regent of Russia, 493
- Anne, Queen of England, 103, 201, 203–205, 212, 239
- Anne of Austria, Regent of France, 99, 100, 126
- Anthemius, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Anthony, King of Saxony, 264
- Anthony Florian, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
- Antigonus II Gonatas, King of Macedonia, 571
- Antigonus III Gonatas, King of Macedonia, 571
- Antigonus III Doson, King of Macedonia, 571
- Antoine I, Prince of Monaco, 609
- Antoninus Pius, Roman Emperor, 21–22, 46, 129
- Antonio, King of Portugal, 367
- Antony, King of Navarre, 90, 92
- Anund Jacob, King of Sweden, 448
- Arcadius, Roman Emperor, of the East, 28, 29, 47
- Archelaus, King of Macedonia, 571
- Aribert I, King of the Lombards, 47
- Aribert II, King of the Lombards, 47
- Ariold, King of the Lombards, 47
- Aristodemus, King of Sparta, 554
- Arminius (Hermann), German Chiefton, 232
- Arnold, Count of Holland, 409
- Arnuff I (Arnold), Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Arnuff I (the Elder), Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Arnuff II (the Younger), Count of Flanders, 370, 382

- Arnuff III, Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Arnulf, Roman Emperor, of the West, 65, 262, 385
- Arpad, Chief of Hungary, 284, 295, 297
- Arthur, King of the Britons, 130
- Arund Kilbrenner, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Astolfo, King of the Lombards, 61
- Ataulphus, King of the Visigoths, 320, 348
- Athalaric, King of the Ostrogoths, 31, 47
- Athanagild, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Attila, Chief of the Huns, 29–30, 54, 232, 266, 267
- Augustus (Octavius), Roman Emperor, 6, 8, 9–15, 16, 24, 46, 318, 319, 353–354, 573
- Augustus II of Saxony (Wettin), King of Poland, 461, 512, 516, 517, 522
- Augustus III (Wettin), King of Poland, 512, 517, 519, 522
- Aun hinn Gamle (the Old), Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Aurelian, Roman Emperor, 25, 46, 524
- Aurelio, King of Asturias, 349
- Autharis, King of the Lombards, 47
- Avitus, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Azeddin Kaikus I, Sultan of Rum, 594
- Azeddin Kaikus II, Sultan of Rum, 594
- B**
- Balbinus, Coregent of Roman Empire, 46
- Baldwin I, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Baldwin I, King of Flanders, 131
- Baldwin I (the Iron Hand), Count of Flanders, 369, 382, 385
- Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Baldwin II, Roman Emperor, of the East, 593
- Baldwin III, Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Baldwin IV (of the Handsome Beard), Count of Flanders, 370, 382, 385
- Baldwin V (the Debonnaire), Count of Flanders, 370, 382, 385
- Baldwin VI of Mons, Count of Flanders, 370, 382, 387
- Baldwin VII (the Axe), Count of Flanders, 370, 382, 385
- Baldwin VIII of Hainaut, Count of Flanders, 371, 382
- Baldwin IX, Emperor of Constantinople, 372, 382, 385, 559
- Baliol, King of Scotland, 152
- Barkiarok, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 594
- Basarab I, Prince of Walachia, 524, 534
- Basil, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
- Basil I, Grand Duke of Moscow, 505
- Basil I (the Macedonian), Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Basil II, Emperor of Byzantium, 539, 592
- Basil II, Grand Duke of Moscow, 505
- Basil III, Grand Duke of Moscow, 505
- Basil IV Chouiski, Czar of Russia, 505
- Baudouin I, King of Belgium, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 409
- Bayezit I (Lightning), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 578, 594
- Bayezit II (Bajazet), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 580, 594
- Beatrix, Queen of the Netherlands, 405, 406, 408–409, 410
- Bela I, King of Hungary, 297
- Bela II, King of Hungary, 297
- Bela III, King of Hungary, 286, 297
- Bela IV, King of Hungary, 287, 297
- Bela Miklos, Regent of Hungary, 297, 298
- Berengaria, Queen of Castile, 323, 350
- Berengarius I of Friuli, King of Italy, 48
- Berengarius II of Ivrea, King of Italy, 48
- Bermudo I (Veremund; the Deacon), King of Asturias, 349
- Bermudo II, King of Léon, 350
- Bermudo III, King of Léon, 350
- Bernard, King of Italy, 48
- Bertharit, King of the Lombards, 47
- Birger II Magnusson, King of Sweden, 448, 481
- Birger Jarl, Regent of Sweden, 481
- Biron, Regent of Russia, 493
- Björn, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Björn Erickson, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Björn Ironside, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Blanca, Queen of Navarre, 325, 350
- Bogdan, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Boleslaus (the Chaste), King of Poland, 522
- Boleslaus I, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Boleslaus I (the Brave), King of Poland, 506, 507, 509, 521
- Boleslaus II, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Boleslaus II (the Bold), King of Poland, 508, 521,
- Boleslaus III, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Boleslaus III (the Wrymouth), King of Poland, 508, 509, 521
- Boleslaus IV (the Curly), King of Poland, 521
- Boris I (Michael Simeon), Czar of Bulgaria, 524, 538, 550
- Boris II, Czar of Bulgaria, 550
- Boris III, King of Bulgaria, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 551
- Boris Godunov, Czar of Russia, 505
- Borivoj I, Count of Bohemia, 601
- Borivoj II, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Boso of Arles, King of Provence, 65
- Braut-Onund, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Bretislav I, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Bretislav II, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Brynhild, Queen, of the Franks, 56, 57, 234, 261
- C**
- Caesar, Gaius Julius, Roman Ruler, 3–9, 23, 46, 51, 55, 127–128, 318, 368–369
- Caka, King of Bulgaria, 551
- Caligula (Gaius Caesar), Roman Emperor, 16
- Canute (Cnut), King of England, 135–136, 228
- Canute II (the Great), King of Denmark, 413, 414, 430, 433, 446
- Canute IV (Knud; the Holy), King of Denmark, 414, 430
- Canute VI, King of Denmark, 414, 415, 430
- Caracalla, Roman Emperor, 21, 24,

- 28, 46
 Carcus, Roman Emperor, 46
 Carinus, Roman Emperor, 46
 Carl XVI Gustaf (Bernadotte), King of Sweden, 477, 478–479, 481
 Carloman, King of Bavaria, 48
 Carloman, King of the Franks, 61, 66, 125, 262
 Carloman, Mayor of the Palace, 60, 125
 Carlos I, King of Portugal, 365–366, 367
 Carol I of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (Charles Eitel Frederick), King of Romania, 529–531, 536
 Carol II, King of Romania, 530, 531, 532, 533, 536
 Casimir I (the Restorer), King of Poland, 507, 521
 Casimir II (the Just), King of Poland, 509, 521
 Casimir III (the Great), King of Poland, 508, 509, 522
 Casimir IV (the Jagiellonian), King of Poland, 511, 522
 Cassander, King of Macedonia, 571
 Catherine de' Medici, Regent of France, 92–94, 95, 126
 Catherine I, Empress of Russia, 492, 493, 505
 Catherine II (the Great), Empress of Russia, 270, 491, 492, 494, 495, 505, 516, 517
 Cerdic, King of Wessex, 130
 Charibert, King of the Franks, 56, 124
 Charlemagne (Carl the Great), Roman Emperor, of the West, 33, 48, 61–64, 125, 130, 233–235, 243, 262, 266, 301, 369, 384–385, 414, 598
 Charles, Duke of Lorraine, 67
 Charles, King of Bohemia, 601
 Charles (the Bold), Duke of Burgundy, 393
 Charles (the Good), Count of Flanders, 371, 382, 387
 Charles I, Emperor of Austria, 279, 280, 281, 297
 Charles I, King of England, 99, 168, 184, 186–192, 229
 Charles I, King of Hungary, 297
 Charles I, King of Navarre, 350
 Charles I (the Bald), Roman Emperor, of the West, 48, 64–65, 125, 131, 369, 385
 Charles II, King of England, 101, 104, 168, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 229, 362
 Charles II, King of Spain, 102, 103, 204, 333, 351
 Charles II, Prince of Monaco, 609
 Charles II (the Bad), King of Navarre, 79–80, 81, 350
 Charles II (the Fat), Roman Emperor, of the West, 48, 65, 125, 262
 Charles III, King of Spain, 334, 347, 351
 Charles III (the Noble), King of Navarre, 350
 Charles III (the Simple), King of the Franks, 65, 66, 125, 385, 386
 Charles IV, King of Spain, 334, 335, 347, 351
 Charles IV (the Fair), King of France, 78, 125
 Charles IV of Luxemburg, Holy Roman Emperor, 240, 243, 263
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 36, 89–91, 170, 171, 174, 246, 247, 263, 269, 270, 272, 281, 290, 325, 328–330, 332, 351, 394–395, 396, 410, 581
 Charles V (the Wise), King of France, 79–82, 98, 125, 155
 Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, 207, 248, 263, 274, 281
 Charles VI (the Well-Beloved), King of France, 81–84, 125, 157, 161
 Charles VII, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
 Charles VII (Karl Sverkersson), King of Sweden, 480
 Charles VII (the Victorious), King of France, 84–85, 86, 98, 126, 161
 Charles VIII (the Affable), King of France, 86–87, 98, 126, 245, 394
 Charles VIII (Karl Knutsson), King of Sweden, 450, 481
 Charles IX, King of France, 92–94, 126, 513
 Charles IX, King of Sweden, 453, 455, 481
 Charles X, King of France, 98, 118–119, 126
 Charles X Gustavus, King of Sweden, 455–458, 481
 Charles XI, King of Sweden, 458–459, 464, 481
 Charles XII, King of Sweden, 438, 459–462, 481, 489, 516
 Charles XIII (Carl), King of Norway and Sweden, 439, 446, 463, 464, 481
 Charles XIV John (Bernadotte), King of Norway and Sweden, 439, 446, 464–465, 466, 467, 481
 Charles XV, King of Norway and Sweden, 446, 466, 467–468, 470, 481
 Charles Albert, King of Bohemia, 274
 Charles Martel (Charles of the Hammar), Mayor of the Palace, 58–60, 125, 233, 234, 262, 384
 Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, 76–77, 595
 Charles of Flanders, Regent of Belgium, 380, 382
 Charlotte, Grand Duchess of Luxemburg, 409, 605, 606
 Childebert I, King of the Franks, 55–56, 57, 124
 Childebert II, King of the Franks, 124
 Childebert III, King of the Franks, 59, 60
 Childeric I, King of the Franks, 54, 124
 Childeric II, King of the Franks, 59, 124
 Childeric III, King of the Franks, 124
 Chilperic I, King of the Franks, 56, 57, 58, 124
 Chilperic II, King of the Franks, 60, 124
 Chindaswind (Cindasuinto), King of the Visigoths, 348
 Christian I, King of Denmark, 417, 425, 430, 446, 481
 Christian II, King of Denmark, 417–418, 430, 437, 446, 450, 451, 481
 Christian III, King of Denmark, 418, 419, 431, 437, 446
 Christian IV, King of Denmark, 416, 418, 419–420, 421, 431, 438, 446
 Christian V, King of Denmark, 418, 421–422, 431, 438, 446
 Christian VI, King of Denmark, 416, 422, 431, 438, 446
 Christian VII, King of Denmark, 418, 423, 424, 429, 431, 439, 446
 Christian VIII, King of Denmark, 424, 425–426, 431
 Christian IX, King of Denmark, 418,

- 426, 427, 431, 440
 Christian X, King of Denmark, 219, 426, 427, 431
 Christina, Queen of Sweden, 455, 456, 457, 458, 481
 Christopher I, King of Denmark, 430
 Christopher II, King of Denmark, 430
 Christopher III of Bavaria, King of Denmark, 430, 446, 481
 Christopher Bathory, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 Cisneros, Cardinal, Regent of Spain, 351
 Claudius I, Roman Emperor, 16–17, 23, 46, 128
 Claudius II (Gothicus), Roman Emperor, 25, 46
 Cleph, King of the Lombards, 32, 47
 Clodio, King of the Franks, 124
 Clothaire I, King of the Franks, 55–56, 124, 234, 261
 Clothaire II, King of the Franks, 56–57, 58, 124, 234, 261
 Clothaire III, King of the Franks, 59, 124
 Clothaire IV, King of the Franks, 58, 60
 Clovis I (Chlodwig), King of France, 54–55, 124, 231–233, 261, 369, 384
 Clovis II, King of France, 59, 124
 Clovis III, King of France, 59, 124
 Commodus, Coregent of Roman Empire, 21, 24, 46
 Conrad I, King of the Franks, 262
 Conrad II, Holy Roman Emperor, 236, 262, 507
 Conrad III, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
 Conrad IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
 Conrad of Mazovia, King of Poland, 522
 Constans I, Roman Emperor, 27, 47
 Constans II, Emperor of Byzantium, 576, 592
 Constantine I, King of Greece, 563, 564, 571
 Constantine I (the Great), Roman Emperor, 21, 24, 26–27, 33, 46, 52, 128, 129, 538, 558, 574, 575
 Constantine II, King of Greece, 346, 566, 568–569, 571
 Constantine II, Roman Emperor, 27, 46, 574
 Constantine III, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Constantine IV, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Constantine V, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Constantine VI, Emperor of Byzantium, 576, 592
 Constantine VII, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Constantine VIII, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Constantine IX, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Constantine X Ducas, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Constantine XI, Emperor of Byzantium, 579, 593
 Constantine Asen, King of Bulgaria, 550
 Constantine Brancoveanu, Prince of Walachia, 527, 528, 535
 Constantine Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, 535
 Constantine Mavrocordat, Prince of Walachia and Moldavia, 528, 535
 Constantine Serban, Prince of Walachia, 534
 Constantine Ypsilanti, Prince of Walachia, 535
 Constantius I (Chlorus), Roman Emperor, 25, 26, 28, 46, 52
 Constantius II, Roman Emperor, 21, 27, 47, 52
 Cromwell, Oliver, Protector of England, 187, 188, 189–195, 229
 Cromwell, Richard, Protector of England, 195, 229
 Cunibert, King of the Lombards, 47
 Cyril, Regent of Bulgaria, 551
 Cyrus (the Great), King of Persia, 573
- D**
- Dagobert I, King of the Franks, 57, 58, 59, 124, 261, 384
 Dagobert II, King of the Franks, 124
 Dagobert III, King of the Franks, 59, 124
 Dag-Spaka (the Wise), Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Damaskinos, Archbishop, Regent of Greece, 566, 571
 Danilo II, Lord of Montenegro, 316
 Danilo Petrovic, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 308, 316
 Dan Mykillati, King of Denmark, 430
 David Bruce, King of Scotland, 154
 Decius, Roman Emperor, 25, 46
 Demetrius, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
 Demetrius I Poliorcetes, King of Macedonia, 571
 Demetrius II, King of Macedonia, 571
 Demetrius Donski, Grand Duke of Moscow, 483, 484, 485, 505
 Desiderius, King of the Lombards, 32, 33, 47, 62
 Didius Julianus, Roman Emperor, 46
 Dimitri (the Imposter), Czar of Russia, 505
 Diniz, King of Portugal, 357, 366
 Diocletian, Roman Emperor, 21, 25–26, 28, 46, 558, 575
 Dirk I, Count of Holland, 385, 386, 409
 Dirk II, Count of Holland, 409
 Dirk III, Count of Holland, 385, 386, 409
 Dirk IV, Count of Holland, 409
 Dirk V, Count of Holland, 386, 387, 409
 Dirk VI, Count of Holland, 409
 Dirk VII, Count of Holland, 409
 Dirk of Alsace (Didrik), Count of Flanders, 371, 382
 Domald, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Domar, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Domitian, Roman Emperor, 20, 21, 23, 24, 46
 Don John, King of Navarre, 350
 Drahomire von Stoder, Regent of Bohemia, 601
 Dyggve, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- E**
- Earl Haakon, King of Norway, 413, 433, 446
 Ebn Alhamar, King of Granada, 349
 Ebn Ismail, King of Granada, 349
 Ebn Ostman, King of Granada, 349
 Edgar (the Pacific), King of England, 134, 135, 228
 Edmund I (the Magnificent), King of England, 134, 228
 Edmund II (Ironside), King of England, 135, 228
 Edred, King of England, 134, 228

- Edward (the Confessor), King of England, 136–137, 138, 140, 228
- Edward (the Elder), King of England, 134, 228
- Edward (the Martyr), King of England, 134–135, 136, 228
- Edward I, King of Portugal, 366
- Edward I (Longshanks), King of England, 76, 77, 150, 151–152, 228, 389
- Edward II, King of England, 78, 152–153, 228
- Edward III (Black Prince), King of England, 78, 79–80, 81, 146, 153, 154–155, 156, 228
- Edward IV, King of England, 86, 161, 163–165, 229
- Edward V, King of England, 164, 165–166, 229
- Edward VI, King of England, 168, 174–177, 229
- Edward VII, King of England, 212, 217, 218, 219, 220, 230, 426
- Edward VIII, King of England, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 230
- Edwy, King of England, 134, 135, 228
- Egbert, King of Wessex, 130, 228
- Egill Tunnadolgi, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, 297
- Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 94, 168, 174, 177, 178–183, 229, 399, 400, 452
- Elizabeth II, Queen of England, 218–219, 223, 224, 225, 230, 408
- Elizabeth Petrovna, Empress of Russia, 491, 493, 494, 505
- Ella, King of Sussex, 130
- Emanuel I, King of Portugal, 360, 367
- Emanuel II, King of Portugal, 220, 365, 366, 367
- Emeric, King of Hungary, 297
- Emerich Tokoli, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Emund Slemme, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Engelbrekt Englebrektsson, Regent of Sweden, 450, 481
- Eraric, King of the Ostrogoths, 47
- Ergica, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Eric, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Eric, King of Kent, 129
- Eric, King of Norway, 446
- Eric (the Victorious), Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Eric I (the Evergood), King of Denmark, 430
- Eric I (Haarik), King of Denmark, 430
- Eric I Bloodaxe, King of Norway, 433, 446
- Eric II, King of Norway, 446
- Eric II (Haarik), King of Denmark, 430
- Eric II Emune, King of Denmark, 430
- Eric III Lam, King of Denmark, 430
- Eric IV (the Plowpenny), King of Denmark, 415, 430
- Eric V Klipping, King of Denmark, 415, 430
- Eric VI Maendved, King of Denmark, 430
- Eric VII of Pomerania, King of Denmark, 416, 417, 430, 446, 451, 481
- Eric XII, King of Sweden, 481
- Eric XIV, King of Sweden, 452, 453, 481
- Eric Arsaell, Chief of the Skioldungs, 413, 480
- Eric Bjornson, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Eric Emundson, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Eric Raefillson, Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Erik IX Jedvarsson (Saint Erik), King of Sweden, 480
- Erik X Knutsson, King of Sweden, 480
- Erik XI Ericksson, King of Sweden, 480
- Erik XII Eriksson, King of Sweden, 480
- Erik Axelsson Tott, Regent of Sweden, 481
- Ernst, Duke of Austria, 281
- Ernst, Margrave of Franconia, 281
- Ertugrul, Chief of the Kayis, 578
- Ethelbald, King of Wessex, 131–132, 228
- Ethelbert, King of Wessex and Kent, 131–132, 228
- Ethelred I, King of Wessex, 130, 132, 228
- Ethelred II (the Unready), King of England, 134, 135, 228
- Ethelstan, King of England, 66, 134, 135, 228
- Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, 131, 228, 369
- Eudes of Paris, King of France, 65, 66, 125
- Eugenius, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Euric, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Eystein, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Eystein, King of Norway, 445
- Eystein I, King of Norway, 435–436, 446
- Eystein II, King of Norway, 434, 446

F

- Favila, King of Asturias, 349
- Fedor I, Czar of Russia, 486, 505
- Fedor II, Czar of Russia, 505
- Fedor III, Czar of Russia, 483, 488, 489, 505
- Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria, 277, 294
- Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 269, 270, 272, 281, 600, 601
- Ferdinand I, King of Aragon, 351
- Ferdinand I, King of Portugal, 358, 366
- Ferdinand I, King of Romania, 377, 530, 531, 532, 536
- Ferdinand I (the Great), King of Léon and Castile, 322, 350
- Ferdinand I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, King of Bulgaria, 220, 544, 546, 551
- Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor, 246, 247, 263, 270, 281, 292
- Ferdinand II, King of Aragon, 351
- Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 273, 281
- Ferdinand III (the Saint), King of Castile, 323, 350
- Ferdinand IV, King of Castile, 350
- Ferdinand V, King of Spain, 88, 91, 168, 170, 171, 317, 324–326, 327, 329, 351
- Ferdinand VI, King of Spain, 347, 351
- Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 335, 336–337, 347, 351
- Ferdinand of Portugal, Count of Flanders, 372, 382
- Ferenc Szelas, Regent of Hungary, 298
- Filip Halstensson, King of Sweden,

- 480
 Fiolner, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Florian, Roman Emperor, 46
 Floris I, Count of Holland, 386, 409
 Floris II (the Fat), Count of Holland, 409
 Floris III, Count of Holland, 409
 Floris IV, Count of Holland, 410
 Floris V, Count of Holland, 387, 410
 Francis I, King of France, 88, 89–91, 98, 126, 169, 170, 173, 246, 270, 281, 581, 584
 Francis I de Paula, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, 112, 114, 264, 275, 276, 277, 281
 Francis II, King of France, 92, 98, 126, 175
 Francisco Febo, King of Navarre, 350
 Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria, 277, 278, 279–280, 281, 294–296
 Francis Joseph I, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 Francis Joseph II, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 Francis Rakoczy II, Prince of Transylvania, 292, 295, 298
 Frederick, Duke of Austria, 281
 Frederick I, Duke of Austria, 281
 Frederick I, King of Prussia, 248, 251, 264
 Frederick I (Barbarossa), Holy Roman Emperor, 35, 72, 240, 242, 263
 Frederick I of Hesse, King of Sweden, 462, 481
 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, 35, 73–74, 76, 263, 386, 436
 Frederick II (the Fighter), Duke of Austria, 269, 281
 Frederick II (the Great), King of Prussia, 104, 249–250, 251, 264, 270, 463, 491, 494, 497
 Frederick III, Emperor of Germany, 217, 251, 258, 259, 264
 Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, 244, 263, 281
 Frederick V, Elector Palatine of Germany, 186
 Frederick Augustus I (the Just), King of Saxony, 264
 Frederick Augustus III, King of Saxony, 264
 Frederick Henry, Stadholder of the United Provinces, 400, 410
 Frederick of the Palatinate, King of Bohemia, 601
 Frederick Wilhelm (Great Elector), Elector of Brandenburg, 248, 251
 Frederick William I, King of Prussia, 217, 249, 251, 264
 Frederick William II, King of Prussia, 251, 264
 Frederick William III, King of Prussia, 251, 252, 258, 264, 497
 Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, 251, 253, 255, 264
 Frederik I, King of Denmark, 416, 419, 431, 446
 Frederik II, King of Denmark, 418, 419, 431, 446
 Frederik III, King of Denmark, 418, 421, 422, 431, 438, 446
 Frederik IV, King of Denmark, 418, 422, 431, 438, 446
 Frederik V, King of Denmark, 418, 422, 431, 438, 446
 Frederik VI, King of Denmark, 423, 424, 425, 431, 439, 446
 Frederik VII, King of Denmark, 425, 426, 431, 467
 Frederik, VIII, King of Denmark, 220, 426, 427, 431
 Frederik IX, King of Denmark, 426, 427, 428, 431
 Frey-Yngve, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Fridlief I, King of Denmark, 430
 Fridlief II, King of Denmark, 430
 Fridlief III, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode I, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode II, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode III (the Pacific), King of Denmark, 430
 Frode IV, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode V, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode VI, King of Denmark, 430
 Frode VII, King of Denmark, 430
 Fruela I, King of Asturias, 349
 Fruela II, King of Léon, 349
- ## G
- Gabriel Bathory, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, 292, 298
 Gabriel Radomir, Prince of Bulgaria, 550
 Galba, Roman Emperor, 18, 46
 Galerius, Roman Emperor, 25–26, 46
 Gallienus, Roman Emperor, 46
 Gallus, Roman Emperor, 46
 Garcia, King of Léon, 349
 Garcia Ramirez IV, King of Navarre, 350
 Garcia Sanchez I, King of Navarre, 350
 Garcia Sanchez II, King of Navarre, 350
 Garibald, King of the Lombards, 47
 Gaspar Bekesy, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 Geiseric, Chief of the Vandals, 29, 30
 Gelon, Tyrant of Syracuse, 554
 George, King of Saxony, 264
 George, King of the Hellenes, 426
 George I, King of England, 205–206, 212, 229
 George I, King of Greece, 200, 427, 562–564, 571
 George I Terter, King of Bulgaria, 540, 551
 George II, King of England, 104, 206–208, 212, 229
 George II, King of Greece, 315, 530, 564, 565–566, 571
 George II Terter, King of Bulgaria, 551
 George III, King of England, 105, 208–210, 212, 229
 George IV, King of England, 209, 212, 213, 216, 230
 George V, King of England, 218, 220, 221, 230
 George VI, King of England, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 230, 315
 George of Poděbrad, King of Bohemia, 601
 George Rakoczy I, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 George Rakoczy II, Prince of Transylvania, 292, 298
 Georghe Bibescu, Prince of Walachia, 535
 Georgios Kondylis, Regent of Greece, 571
 Geta, Coregent of Roman Empire, 24, 46
 Geza, Prince of Hungary, 285, 297
 Geza I, King of Hungary, 297
 Geza III, King of Hungary, 297
 Giscard d'Estaing, Valery, Co-Prince of Andorra, 599

- Gjergj, Skander Bey (Lord Alexander), 596
- Glycerius, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Godfred, King of Denmark, 413, 430
- Godfrey, King of Friesland, 385
- Godfrey (the Hunchback), Duke of Lorraine, 386
- Gontram, King of the Franks, 56
- Gordianus I (Africanus), Roman Emperor, 25, 46
- Gordianus II, Coregent of Roman Empire, 46
- Gordianus III, Roman Emperor, 26, 46
- Gorm (the Old), King of Denmark, 412, 413, 430
- Gratian, Roman Emperor, of the West, 27, 47
- Gregory Ghica, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Grigore Ghica, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Grimoald, Mayor of the Palace, 47, 261
- Gudrod Mikillati, King of Norway, 445
- Guiscard, Robert, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, 34
- Gustavus I (Eriksson Vasa), King of Sweden, 451–453, 464, 481
- Gustavus II Adolphus (the Great), King of Sweden, 453–455, 456, 458, 481
- Gustavus III, King of Sweden, 463, 464, 481
- Gustavus IV Adolphus, King of Sweden, 463–464, 481
- Gustavus V, King of Sweden, 465, 469, 471, 472, 475, 481
- Gustavus VI Adolf, King of Sweden, 468, 472, 476–477, 478, 479, 481
- Guthrum, King of the Danes, 133
- Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, 372, 382, 387, 388
- Guy of Spoleto, King of Italy, 48, 65
- H**
- Haakon I (the Good), King of Norway, 433, 446
- Haakon II, King of Norway, 446
- Haakon III Sverreson, King of Norway, 446
- Haakon IV (the Old), King of Norway, 435, 436, 446
- Haakon V (Longlegs), King of Norway, 436, 446
- Haakon VI, King of Norway, 417, 446
- Haakon VII, King of Norway, 220, 315, 426, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446
- Hadrian, Roman Emperor, 21, 46, 128, 129, 319
- Hakam I, Amir of Cordova, 348
- Hakam II (Alhaken), Caliph of Cordova, 348
- Halfdan I, King of Denmark, 430
- Halfdan II, King of Denmark, 430
- Halfdan III, King of Denmark, 430
- Halfdan Huitben, King of Norway, 445
- Halfdan Millde, King of Norway, 445
- Halfdan Svart (the Black), King of Norway, 432, 445
- Halsten Stenkilsson, King of Sweden, 480
- Hans, King of Denmark, 417, 418, 430, 446, 481
- Harald Fairhair (Haarfagre; Harold I), King of Norway, 65, 432–433, 435, 436, 446
- Harald Sigurdson, Joint King of Norway, 434
- Harde-Knud (Hardicanute; Canute I), King of Denmark, 430
- Harold, King of Denmark, 413, 430
- Harold I (Harefoot), King of England, 136, 228
- Harold II, King of England, 136–140, 228
- Harold II Gravpelt, King of Norway, 446
- Harold III Hardrade, King of Norway, 138, 434–435, 446
- Harold IV Gilchrist, King of Norway, 446
- Harold Blaatand (the Bluetooth), King of Denmark, 67, 237, 413, 430
- Harold Hen, King of Denmark, 430
- Harold Hildetand, King of Denmark, 430, 480
- Harthacnut, King of England, 136, 137, 228
- Harthacnut (Canute III), King of Denmark, 430
- Havar, King of Denmark, 430
- Hedwig (Jadwiga), Queen of Poland, 510, 522
- Helge, King of Denmark, 430
- Heliogabalus (Elagabalus), Roman Emperor, 24, 46
- Henry, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Henry, King of Bohemia, 601
- Henry, King of Portugal, 360, 367
- Henry I, King of Castile, 350
- Henry I, King of France, 69, 125, 239
- Henry I, King of Navarre, 350
- Henry I, Margrave of Franconia, 281
- Henry I (the Bearded), King of Poland, 522
- Henry I (Beauclerc), King of England, 70, 141, 143, 228
- Henry I (the City-Builder; Fowler), King of Saxon Empire, 66, 262
- Henry II, Duke of Austria, 268, 281
- Henry II, King of Castile, 324, 350
- Henry II, King of England, 71–72, 143, 144–146, 228
- Henry II, King of France, 91–92, 98, 126
- Henry II, Margrave of Franconia, 281
- Henry II (the Pious), King of Poland, 522
- Henry II (the Saint), Holy Roman Emperor, 238, 239, 262
- Henry III, King of Castile, 350
- Henry III, King of England, 74, 75, 150–151, 228
- Henry III, King of France, 94–95, 98, 126, 399, 400, 513, 522
- Henry III (the Black), Holy Roman Emperor, 236, 239, 262
- Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 34, 236, 237–240, 241, 263, 386, 508
- Henry IV, King of Castile, 324, 350
- Henry IV (Bolingbroke), King of England, 157–161, 229
- Henry IV (the Great), King of France, 95, 96–97, 98, 126, 184
- Henry V, Holy Roman Emperor, 242, 263
- Henry V, King of England, 83–84, 159, 160–161, 162, 229
- Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor, 147, 240, 263
- Henry VI, King of England, 84, 85, 161–164, 229
- Henry VII, King of England, 87, 167–168, 169, 170, 229, 245
- Henry VII of Luxemburg, Holy Roman Emperor, 263

- Henry VIII, King of England, 88, 89, 91, 168–174, 229
- Henry of Burgundy, King of Portugal, 355–356, 366
- Henry Probus, King of Poland, 522
- Heracleonas, Coregent of Byzantium, 592
- Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium, 574, 575, 592
- Herman von Baden, Duke of Austria, 281
- Hisham I, Amir of Cordova, 348
- Hisham II, Caliph of Cordova, 321, 348
- Hisham III, Caliph of Cordova, 348
- Honore III, Prince of Monaco, 609
- Honorius, Roman Emperor, of the West, 28, 29, 47, 320, 354
- Hugh Capet, King of France, 66, 67–68, 125
- Hugh of Arles, King of Italy, 48
- Hugleik, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- I**
- Iacob Eraclid (the Despot), Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Iancu of Hunedoara, Prince of Transylvania, 297, 525
- Ibrahim I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 583, 594
- Ieremia Movila, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Igor, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
- Inge I, King of Norway, 446
- Inge Baardson, King of Norway, 446
- Inge Halstensson (the Younger), King of Sweden, 480
- Inge Stenkilsson (the Elder), King of Sweden, 480
- Ingiald Illrada, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Ingild, King of Denmark, 430
- Inigo Arista, King of Navarre, 350
- Irene, Empress of Byzantium, 576, 592
- Isaac I Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Isaac II Angelus, Emperor of Byzantium, 540, 593
- Isabella, Queen of Spain, 170, 317, 324–326, 327, 329, 351
- Isabella II, Queen of Spain, 325, 337–338, 339, 347, 351, 374
- Ismail, Shah of Persia, 580
- Ismail I, King of Granada, 349
- Ismail II, King of Granada, 349
- Ivalio, King of Bulgaria, 541, 550
- Ivan I (Kalita), Grand Duke of Moscow, 485, 505
- Ivan I Alexander, King of Bulgaria, 551
- Ivan II, Grand Duke of Moscow, 505
- Ivan II Stephen, King of Bulgaria, 551
- Ivan III (the Great), Czar of Russia, 483, 484, 485, 486, 505
- Ivan III Asen, King of Bulgaria, 550
- Ivan III Sishman, King of Bulgaria, 551
- Ivan IV (the Terrible), Czar of Russia, 483, 485–486, 491, 500, 505, 513
- Ivan V, Emperor of Russia, 489, 493, 505
- Ivan VI, Emperor of Russia, 493, 494, 505
- Ivar Vidfadme, King of Denmark, 430, 480
- Izhaslav, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
- Izhaslav II, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
- J**
- Jacob van Artevelde, Governor of Flanders, 382, 389
- Jacquiline, Countess of Holland, 390–392
- James I, King of England, 153, 168, 181, 183–186, 229
- James I, Prince of Monaco, 609
- James I (the Conqueror), King of Aragon, 322, 351
- James II, King of Aragon, 351
- James II, King of England, 101–102, 168, 187, 192, 198–201, 203, 204, 239
- James IV, King of Scotland, 168, 169, 171
- James V, King of Scotland, 171, 174
- James VI, King of Scotland, 153, 168, 181, 183–186, 229
- Jane, Queen of Navarre, 90, 92–93
- Jean, Grande Duke of Luxemburg, 605, 606
- Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia, 111, 112, 113
- Joanna of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders, 372, 382
- Johan Georg I, Elector of Saxony, 419
- Johann Kemeny, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Johan Sverkersson (John I), King of Sweden, 448, 480
- John, King of Hungary, 511
- John, King of Saxony, 264
- John (the Blind), King of Bohemia, 600, 601, 605
- John (Lackland), King of England, 35, 72, 73, 74, 146, 147–150, 228
- John (the Terrible), Prince of Moldavia, 526, 535
- John I, Count of Holland, 388, 410
- John I, King of Aragon, 351
- John I, King of Castile, 350, 358
- John I, King of France, 125
- John I, King of Portugal, 358, 359, 366
- John I Zimisce, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- John II, King of Aragon, 351
- John II, King of Castile, 325, 350
- John II, King of Portugal, 360, 367
- John II, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
- John II (the Good), King of France, 79–80, 98, 125, 154–155, 390
- John II Casimir Vasa, King of Poland, 514, 522
- John II Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 593
- John III, King of Portugal, 361, 367
- John III Ducas, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John III Sobieski, King of Poland, 512, 515, 516, 517, 520, 522, 583
- John III Vasa, King of Sweden, 453, 481, 511, 513
- John IV, King of Portugal, 361, 362, 367
- John IV Lascaris, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John V, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John V, King of Portugal, 362, 367
- John V Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John VI, King of Portugal, 363–364, 367
- John VI Cantacuzene, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John VII, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John VIII, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- John Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein,

603
 John Albert, King of Poland, 511, 522
 John Asen I, King of Bulgaria, 539, 540, 550
 John Asen II, King of Bulgaria, 540, 550
 John Caragea, Prince of Walachia, 535
 John Charles, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 John Joseph, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 John Joseph I, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 John Kastrioti, Chief of Kruje, 596
 John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 John Sobieski, King of Poland, 273, 274
 John Vladislav, Prince of Bulgaria, 550
 John Zápolya, Prince of Transylvania, 290, 298
 Jons Bengtsson Oxenstierna, Regent of Sweden, 481
 Jorunder, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
 Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, 250, 264, 270, 275, 280, 372
 Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, 111, 113, 335–336
 Joseph Emanuel, King of Portugal, 362–363, 367
 Joseph of Austria, Regent of Hungary, 298
 Joseph Wenzel, Prince of Liechtenstein, 603
 Jossus of Moravia, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
 Jovian, Roman Emperor 27, 47
 Juana, Queen of Spain, 328, 329, 351, 394
 Juana I, King of Navarre, 350
 Juana II, King of Navarre, 350
 Juan Carlos I, King of Spain, 342, 345, 346, 347, 351
 Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408–409, 410
 Julianus (Julian the Apostate), Roman Emperor, 21, 27, 47, 52, 53
 Julius Nepos, Roman Emperor, of the West, 30, 47
 Justin I, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Justin II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Justinian I, Emperor of Byzantium,

30, 31–32, 33, 47, 558, 574, 575
 Justinian II, Emperor of Byzantium, 575, 592

K

Kaikhosru III, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Kaliman I, King of Bulgaria, 550
 Kaloyan, King of Bulgaria, 539, 540, 550
 Keszek (the Black), King of Poland, 522
 Khaikhosru II, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Kilidy Arslan I, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Kilidy Arslan II, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Kilidy Arslan III, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Knud III Magnussen, King of Denmark, 430
 Knut Eriksson (Knut VI), King of Sweden, 480
 Knut Holmgersson (Lange), King of Sweden, 480
 Konstantin, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505

L

Ladislav I, Duke of Bohemia, 601
 Ladislav II, King of Bohemia, 601
 Ladislav of Bohemia, King of Hungary, 272, 297
 Ladislav Posthumus, King of Bohemia, 601
 Ladislaus, Duke of Austria, 281
 Ladislaus I (Saint Laszlo), King of Hungary, 286, 295, 297
 Ladislaus I Herman, King of Poland, 508, 521
 Ladislaus I Lokietek (the Short), King of Poland, 509, 522
 Ladislaus I of Poland, King of Hungary, 284, 297
 Ladislaus II, King of Hungary, 297
 Ladislaus II (the Exile), King of Poland, 521
 Ladislaus II Jagiello, King of Poland, 509, 510, 522
 Ladislaus III, King of Hungary, 297
 Ladislaus III of Varna, King of Poland, 510, 511, 522
 Ladislaus IV, King of Hungary, 297
 Ladislaus IV Vasa, King of Poland, 505, 522
 Ladislaus V, King of Hungary, 284,

289, 297
 Ladislaus Spindleshanks, King of Poland, 521
 Lambert, King of Italy, 48
 Latcu, Prince of Moldavia, 535
 Leo I (the Great), Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leo II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leo III (the Isaurian), Emperor of Byzantium, 575, 592
 Leo IV, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leo V (the Armenian), Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leo VI, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leonor, Queen of Navarre, 350
 Leontius, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Leon Tomsa, Prince of Walachia, 534
 Leopold I, Coregent of Austria, 273, 275, 281
 Leopold I, King of Belgium, 373, 374, 382, 403–404
 Leopold I, Margrave of Franconia, 266–268, 281
 Leopold I of Austria, Holy Roman Emperor, 147, 274, 281
 Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, 250, 264, 275, 281
 Leopold II, King of Belgium, 374, 375–379, 382, 404
 Leopold II, Margrave of Franconia, 281
 Leopold III, Coregent of Austria, 281
 Leopold III, King of Belgium, 376, 377, 378, 380, 382
 Leopold III (the Pious), Margrave of Franconia, 281
 Leopold IV, Duke of Austria, 281
 Leopold IV, Margrave of Franconia, 281
 Leopold V, Duke of Austria, 281
 Leopold VI (the Glorious), Duke of Austria, 281
 Leopold of Hohenzollern, King of Spain, 259
 Leszek (the White), King of Poland, 521
 Leuva, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Leuvigild, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Libussa, Leader of the Sclavs, 267
 Licinius, Roman Emperor, 21, 26, 27, 46
 Liutprand, King of the Lombards, 47
 Livius Severus, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
 Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, 151

- Lorand Lipes, Vice-voivode of Transylvania, 298
- Lothair, Rival King of France, 67
- Lothair I, Roman Emperor, of the West, 48, 64, 125, 262
- Lothair II, Holy Roman Emperor, 242, 263
- Lothair II, King of Italy, 48
- Louis (the Great), King of Hungary, 287, 288, 297
- Louis I, King of Portugal, 367
- Louis I (Ludwig; the Pious), Roman Emperor, of the West, 62, 64, 125, 233, 262
- Louis I of Newers (Crecy), Count of Flanders, 373, 382, 389–390
- Louis II, King of Hungary, 290, 297, 600, 601
- Louis II, Prince of Monaco, 607
- Louis II de Male, Count of Flanders, 373, 382, 390
- Louis III (the Child), Roman Emperor, of the West, 65, 66, 125, 262
- Louis III of Burgundy, King of Italy, 48
- Louis IV (d'Outremer), Rival King of France, 66–67, 125
- Louis V (the Indolent), Rival King of France, 67, 125
- Louis VI (the Fat; the Wide Awake), King of France, 69–70, 125
- Louis VII (the Young), King of France, 70–72, 125, 144, 145
- Louis VIII (the Lion), King of France, 73, 74, 125
- Louis IX (Saint), King of France, 75–76, 125
- Louis X (Hutin; the Quarrelsome), King of France, 78, 125
- Louis XI, King of France, 85–86, 126, 165, 393
- Louis XII (Father of his People), King of France, 88–89, 126, 169, 245
- Louis XIII (the Well-Beloved), King of France, 98, 99, 126
- Louis XIV (the Great), King of France, 100–104, 126, 197, 201, 203, 204–205, 243, 333, 401–402
- Louis XV (the Well-Beloved), King of France, 98, 104–105, 126, 207, 492
- Louis XVI (the Beloved), King of France, 98, 105–107, 126
- Louis XVII, King of France, 98, 107, 126
- Louis XVIII, King of France, 98, 115, 117–118, 126, 337
- Louis of Hungary, King of Poland, 510
- Louis-Philippe I (the Citizen King), King of France, 98, 118, 126, 218
- Louise-Hippolyte, Princess of Monaco, 609
- Lucius Aurelius Verus, Coregent of Roman Empire, 22, 46
- Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, 264
- Ludwig II (Louis), King of Germany, 48, 64, 65, 262, 264
- Ludwig II (Louis), King of Italy, 48
- Ludwig III, King of Bavaria, 264
- Ludwig IV of Bavaria, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
- Luis I, King of Spain, 102, 347, 351
- Luis Hutfn, King of Navarre, 350
- Luitpold, Regent of Bavaria, 264
- ## M
- Macrinus, Roman Emperor, 24, 46
- Magnus (the Good), King of Denmark, 430, 434, 446
- Magnus I Birgersson (Ladulas), King of Sweden, 481
- Magnus II, King of Norway, 446
- Magnus II (Barefoot), King of Norway, 446
- Magnus II Eriksson, King of Sweden, 436, 449, 481
- Magnus III (the Blind), King of Norway, 446
- Magnus IV, King of Norway, 446
- Magnus VI (the Lawmender), King of Norway, 435, 436, 446
- Magnus VII, King of Norway, 446
- Magnus Henriksson, King of Sweden, 480
- Magnus Ladulas, King of Sweden, 448
- Mahmut I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
- Mahmut II (Malmud), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 586–587, 594
- Mahommed I, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed II, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed III, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed IV, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed V, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed VI, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed VII, King of Granada, 349
- Mahommed VIII, King of Granada, 349
- Majorian, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Malik Shah, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 594
- Mamoun, Sultan of Almohade, 349
- Manuel I Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Manuel II Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Manuel Palaeologos, Emperor of Constantinople, 82
- Marcianus, Emperor of Byzantium, 574, 592
- Marcus Aurelius (Annius), Roman Emperor, 21, 22–23, 46, 52, 266, 319
- Margaret, Countess of Flanders, 372, 382
- Margaret, Queen of Navarre, 90
- Margareta of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders, 371, 382
- Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands, 396–397
- Margrethe I, Queen of Denmark, 416, 417, 430, 437, 446, 449, 450, 451, 481
- Margrethe II, Queen of Denmark, 426, 428, 429, 431
- Maria I, Queen of Portugal, 363, 364, 367
- Maria II, Queen of Portugal, 363, 367, 374
- Maria Cristina, Regent of Spain, 325, 339, 340, 341, 351
- Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, 207, 270, 274, 275, 280, 281, 293
- Marie de' Medici, Regent of France, 99, 126
- Marie Theresa, Queen of Hungary, 104
- Martin I (the Humane), King of Aragon, 351
- Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, 393
- Mary, Queen of Hungary, 287, 297
- Mary (Stuart), Queen of Scotland, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181–183
- Mary I (Tudor), Queen of England, 91, 168, 174, 176, 177–178, 229
- Mary II, Queen of England, 195, 200–203, 212, 239
- Masaud I, Sultan of Rum, 594

- Masoud II, Sultan of Rum, 594
 Matei Basarab, Prince of Walachia, 527, 534
 Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 270, 273, 281, 291
 Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 289, 290, 297, 525, 601
 Mauregato (the Usurper), King of Asturias, 349
 Maurice, Emperor of Byzantium, 574, 592
 Maurice of Orange, Stadholder of the United Provinces, 400, 410
 Maxentius, Roman Emperor, 27, 46
 Maximian, Roman Emperor, 25, 46
 Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico, 121, 122, 277, 278, 374
 Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 86, 87, 88, 89, 169, 171, 172, 245, 263, 270, 271, 272, 281, 329, 393–394
 Maximilian I Joseph, King of Bavaria, 264
 Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 270, 272, 281, 398, 514
 Maximilian II Joseph, King of Bavaria, 264
 Maximinus, Roman Emperor, 27, 46
 Maximinus Thrax, Roman Emperor, 25, 46
 Maximus, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47, 52
 Mehmet I (Mohammed I), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 578, 579, 594
 Mehmet II (Mohammed), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 579, 580, 594
 Mehmet III (Mohammed), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Mehmet IV (Mohammed), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 515, 583, 594
 Mehmet V (Mohammed), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 588, 589–590, 594
 Mehmet VI (Mohammed), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 578, 590, 591, 594
 Merovech (Meerwig), King of the Franks, 54, 58, 124, 233
 Michael, King of Bulgaria, 551
 Michael, King of Romania, 531, 532, 533–534, 536
 Michael, Prince of Serbia, 304, 305, 316
 Michael (the Brave), Prince of Transylvania, 291, 298
 Michael (the Brave), Prince of Walachia, 525, 526, 527, 534
 Michael I, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Michael I, Emperor of Russia, 483, 487, 488, 505
 Michael II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Michael II Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, 292, 298
 Michael III, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Michael IV, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 592
 Michael V, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 593
 Michael VI, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Michael VII, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 593
 Michael VIII Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Michael Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, 292, 298
 Michel Asen, King of Bulgaria, 550
 Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki, King of Poland, 522
 Michael of Tver, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
 Michael Palaeologus, Regent of Byzantium, 593
 Michael Racovita, Prince of Walachia, 535
 Mieszko (the Stumbling), King of Poland, 521
 Mieszko I, King of Poland, 506, 521
 Mieszko II Lambert, King of Poland, 521
 Mieszko III (the Old), King of Poland, 521
 Miguel, King of Portugal, 363, 364, 367, 374
 Mihai Sturdza, Prince of Moldavia, 535
 Miklos Horthy of Nagybanya, Regent of Hungary, 296–297, 298
 Milan, Prince of Serbia, 304, 316
 Milan I, King of Serbia, 304–305, 316
 Milos Obrenovic, Prince of Serbia, 303–304, 305, 316
 Mircea (the Old), Prince of Walachia, 525, 534
 Miron Barnovschi Movila, Prince of Moldavia, 535
 Mohammed, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 594
 Mohammed I, Amir of Cordova, 348
 Mohammed II, Caliph of Cordova, 348
 Mohammed II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 525
 Mohammed III, Caliph of Cordova, 348
 Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, 585, 596
 Mohammed bin Yacoub, Sultan of Almohade, 349
 Mojmir I, Leader of the Great Moravian Empire, 600, 601
 Mondhir, Amir of Cordova, 348
 Moulay Hacem, King of Granada, 349
 Moyses Szekely, Prince of Transylvania, 298
 Mstislav, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
 Murat, King of Naples, 111, 117
 Murat I (Murad; Amurath), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 541, 563, 593
 Murat II (Murad II), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 579, 594
 Murat III (Murad), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Murat IV (Murad), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Murat V, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 587, 594
 Musa, Interregnum Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Musa, Moorish Amir, 320–321, 348, 354
 Mustafa I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Mustafa II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 584, 594
 Mustafa III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
 Mustafa IV, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 586, 594
 Mustafa Kemal, Pasha of Turkey, 589

N

- Napoleon I (Bonaparte), Emperor of France, 37, 107–117, 119, 126, 210–211, 241, 251–253, 270, 301, 303, 335, 363, 372, 403, 423, 439,

- 461, 463, 464, 466, 496, 497, 518, 585, 596, 598
- Napoleon II, Emperor of France, 111, 114, 117, 126
- Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon), Emperor of France, 38, 111, 113, 120–124, 126, 216, 257, 278, 403, 410
- Nazar, King of Granada, 349
- Neagoë Basarab, Prince of Walachia, 526, 534
- Nero, Roman Emperor, 16, 17–18, 23, 46
- Nerva, Roman Emperor, 20, 46
- Nicephorus I, Emperor of Byzantium, 538, 592
- Nicephorus II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Nicephorus III Botaniates, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 593
- Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, 215, 467, 492, 498, 499, 500, 505, 585
- Nicholas I, King of Montenegro, 308, 316
- Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, 426, 492, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505
- Nicholas Alexander, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Nicholas Mavrocordat, Prince of Walachia, 535
- Niels (the Elder), King of Denmark, 430
- Njörd, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Numa Pompilius, Mythical King, 46
- O**
- Odin (of the North), King of Denmark, 412, 430, 480
- Odoacer, Chief of the Visigoths, 30, 31
- Olaf (the Lap-King), Chief of the Skioldungs, 480
- Olaf (the Mild), King of Denmark, 430
- Olaf I (the Hungry), King of Denmark, 430
- Olaf I Tryggvason, King of Norway, 413, 433, 446
- Olaf II, King of Denmark, 430, 446
- Olaf II Haraldson (Saint), King of Norway, 433, 434, 435, 446
- Olaf III (the Peaceful), King of Norway, 435, 436, 446
- Olaf V, King of Norway, 442, 443, 444, 446
- Olaf Geirstada, King of Norway, 445
- Olaf Skottkonung, King of Sweden, 448
- Olaf Traetelia, King of Norway, 445, 480
- Oleg (Helgi), Grand Duke of Kiev, 483, 505
- Olga (Saint), Regent of Kiev, 483, 505
- Olybrius, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Ordoño I, King of Asturias, 349
- Ordoño II, King of León, 349
- Ordoño III, King of León, 322, 350
- Orhan (Orkhan), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 578, 593
- Oscar I, King of Norway and Sweden, 440, 441, 446, 465–466, 467, 481
- Oscar II, King of Norway and Sweden, 440, 441, 446, 466, 468–469, 470, 471, 481
- Osman I (Ottoman), Emir of the Ottoman Empire, 578, 593
- Osman II (Young Osman), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
- Osman III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
- Otho, Roman Emperor, 18, 46
- Ottar Vendilkraka, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Otto, Coregent of Austria, 281
- Otto, King of Bavaria, 264
- Otto, King of Greece, 374
- Otto I (the Great), Holy Roman Emperor, 48, 67, 236, 237, 262, 266, 271
- Otto I (Otho), King of Greece, 561, 571
- Otto II, Holy Roman Emperor, 237, 262
- Otto III, Holy Roman Emperor, 237, 238, 262
- Otto IV of Saxony, Holy Roman Emperor, 35, 73–74, 263, 388
- Ottokar I, King of Bohemia, 601
- Ottokar II of Bohemia, King of Austria, 267, 268, 269, 281, 600, 601
- Otto of Bavaria, King of Hungary, 297
- P**
- Patrascu (the Kind), Prince of Walachia, 534
- Paul, King of Greece, 315, 346
- Paul, Regent of Yugoslavia, 313–314, 315, 316
- Paul I, Emperor of Russia, 495–496, 497, 505
- Paul I, King of Greece, 566–568, 571
- Pedro I, King of Navarre, 351
- Pedro I, King of Portugal, 357, 366
- Pedro I (the Cruel), King of Castile, 81, 155, 323, 324, 350
- Pedro II, King of Aragon, 74–75, 351
- Pedro II, King of Portugal, 362, 367, 374
- Pedro III, King of Portugal, 367
- Pedro III (the Great), King of Aragon, 76–77, 323, 351
- Pedro IV, King of Portugal, 364, 367
- Pedro IV (the Ceremonious), King of Aragon, 351
- Pedro V, King of Portugal, 364, 367
- Pelayo, King of Oviedo, 322, 349, 355
- Pepin I (the Elder), Mayor of the Palace, 58, 60, 125, 261, 384
- Pepin II (L'Heuristal), Mayor of the Palace, 58, 59, 125, 261, 384
- Pepin III (the Short), Mayor of the Palace, 60, 61, 125, 233, 234, 261
- Perdiccas II, King of Macedonia, 571
- Perdiccas III, King of Macedonia, 571
- Perseus, King of Macedonia, 571
- Pertinax, Coregent of Roman Empire, 24, 46
- Pescennius Niger, Roman Emperor, 46
- Peter, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Peter (the Lame), Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Peter I, Czar of Bulgaria, 550
- Peter I, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 316
- Peter I (the Great), Emperor of Russia, 461, 489–491, 492, 493, 494, 500, 505, 527
- Peter I Karadjordjevic, King of Serbia, 305, 308, 310, 316
- Peter II, Emperor of Russia, 492, 493, 505
- Peter II, King of Yugoslavia, 313–315, 316, 530
- Peter II, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 316
- Peter III, Emperor of Russia, 491, 494, 505

- Peter Asen II, Czar of Bulgaria, 539, 550
- Peter Orseolo, King of Hungary, 286, 297
- Petronilla, Queen of Navarre, 322, 351
- Petronius Maximus, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
- Petru Aaron, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Petru Cercel, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Petru Musat, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Petru Rares, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Pharamoud, King of the Franks, 54, 124
- Philip, King of Macedonia, 571
- Philip, King of Navarre, 350
- Philip (the Good), Duke of Burgundy, 390, 391–393
- Philip (the Handsome), Count of Holland, 393, 394, 410
- Philip (of Swabia), Holy Roman Emperor, 263
- Philip I, King of Spain, 325, 328, 329, 351
- Philip I (the Amorous), King of France, 69–70, 125
- Philip I of Alsace, Count of Flanders, 371, 382
- Philip II, King of Macedonia, 538, 555, 556, 571
- Philip II, King of Spain, 91, 95, 177, 178–179, 181, 183, 269, 272, 325, 330–332, 351, 361, 371, 395–400
- Philip II (Augustus; the God-given), King of France, 35, 72–74, 125, 147, 149
- Philip II of Burgundy (the Bold), Count of Flanders, 373, 382, 390, 410
- Philip III, King of Spain, 332, 351, 400
- Philip III, (the Bold), King of France, 76, 77, 125, 243
- Philip III Aridaeus, King of Macedonia, 571
- Philip IV, King of Macedonia, 571
- Philip IV, King of Spain, 332, 351, 362, 401
- Philip IV (the Fair), King of France, 77–78, 125, 154, 243, 388–389
- Philip V, King of Macedonia, 571
- Philip V (the Tall), King of France, 78, 125
- Philip V of Anjou, King of Spain, 103, 204, 325, 333–334, 347, 351
- Philip VI, King of Macedonia, 571
- Philip VI (the Fortunate), King of France, 78–79, 125, 154
- Philip of Orleans, Regent of France, 104, 126
- Philippicus, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Philippus (Philip the Arabian), Roman Emperor, 25, 46
- Phocas, Emperor of Byzantium, 574, 592
- Pisistratus, Tyrant of Athens, 554
- Premysl, Chief of the Sclavs, 267
- Probus, Roman Emperor, 25, 46
- Przemysi, King of Poland, 509, 522
- Pupienus Maximus, Roman Emperor, 46
- Pyrrhus of Epirus, King of Macedonia, 571

R

- Rachis of Friuli, King of the Lombards, 47
- Radbod, King of the Frisians, 384
- Radu (the Great), Prince of Walachia, 534
- Radu I, Prince of Walachia, 525, 534
- Radu Mihnea, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Radu of Afumati, Prince of Walachia, 526, 534
- Radu Serban, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Ragnar Lodbrok, King of Denmark, 430, 480
- Rainier III, Prince of Monaco, 607, 608
- Ramiro I, King of Asturias, 349
- Ramiro I, King of Navarre, 351
- Ramiro II, King of Léon, 350
- Ramiro II (the Monk), King of Navarre, 351
- Ramiro III, King of Léon, 350
- Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona, King of Aragon, 322
- Recared, King of the Visigoths, 320, 348
- Recared II, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Recceswinth, King of the Visigoths, 348
- René I, King of Naples, 87, 91
- Richard (the Fearless), Duke of Normandy, 68
- Richard (the Good), Duke of Normandy, 68, 135
- Richard I (the Lion-Heart), King of England, 72–73, 145–148, 228
- Richard II, King of England, 81, 155–158, 159, 171, 228
- Richard III, King of England, 86, 165–168, 229
- Richard of Cornwall, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
- Robert, Duke of Burgundy, 69
- Robert, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Robert (the Strong), Rival King of France, 65, 66, 67, 125
- Robert I, Count of Flanders, 370, 382, 386
- Robert II, Count of Flanders, 370, 382
- Robert II (the Pious), King of France, 68–69, 125
- Robert III of Bethune, Count of Flanders, 373, 382
- Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 152–153
- Roderic, King of the Visigoths, 348, 354
- Rodolf, King of Burgundy, 65
- Roe, King of Denmark, 430
- Rolf Krake, King of Denmark, 430
- Roman I, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Romanus I, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Romanus II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
- Romanus III, Emperor of Byzantium, 577, 592
- Romanus IV, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
- Romulus (Quirinus), Mythical King, 2, 3, 46
- Romulus Augustulus, Roman Emperor, of the West, 30, 47
- Rorik Slyngebaud, King of Denmark, 430
- Rotharis, King of the Lombards, 47
- Rudolf I of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor, 243, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 281
- Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 272, 273, 281, 291, 298, 514
- Rudolf II of Burgundy, Rival King of France, 48, 66, 67, 125
- Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria, 271, 281
- Rupert of the Palatinate, Holy Roman Emperor, 263
- Rurik of Novgorod, Grand Duke of Kiev, 483, 485, 487, 504, 505

S

- Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Syria, 72, 147
- Salomon, King of Hungary, 297
- Salomon (Coleman Beauclerc), King of Hungary, 297
- Samuel, Prince of Bulgaria, 539, 550
- Sanchez I, King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho (the Great), King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho I, King of Portugal, 366
- Sancho I (the Fat), King of Léon, 350
- Sancho II, King of Léon and Castile, 350
- Sancho II, King of Portugal, 356, 366
- Sancho III, King of Castile, 350
- Sancho III Ramirez, King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho IV, King of Castile, 350
- Sancho V (the Wise), King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho VI (the Strong), King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho Abarca, King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho Garces, King of Navarre, 350
- Sancho Ramirez, King of Navarre, 351
- Sandjar, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 594
- Sava, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 316
- Scarlet Calimah, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Sebastian, King of Portugal, 361, 367
- Selim I (the Grim), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 580–581, 594
- Selim II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 582, 584, 594
- Selim III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 585, 586, 594
- Seljuk, Chief of Turks, 576
- Septimius Severus, Coregent of Roman Empire, 21, 24, 46
- Serban Cantacuzino, Prince of Walachia, 534
- Sevius Tullius, Mythical King, 46
- Severus, Roman Emperor, 46, 129
- Siegbert I, King of the Franks, 56, 57, 58, 124, 234, 261
- Sigismund, King of Sweden, 453, 481, 488, 514, 517, 522
- Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Sigismund I (the Old), King of Poland, 511, 512, 522
- Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland, 511, 512, 513, 514, 522
- Sigismund of Hungary, Holy Roman Emperor, 244, 263, 287, 288–289, 297, 601
- Sigismund Rakoczi, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Sigurd I (the Crusader), King of Norway, 435, 446
- Sigurd II Mund, King of Norway, 446
- Sigurd Ring, King of Denmark, 430, 480
- Sigurd Snogoie (Sigfred), King of Denmark, 430
- Silo, King of Asturias, 349
- Simeon, Grand Duke of Moscow, 505
- Simeon I, Czar of Bulgaria, 539, 550
- Simeon II, King of Bulgaria, 548, 551
- Simeon Movila, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Sisebut, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Sisenando, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Skiold, King of Denmark, 430
- Smilitz, King of Bulgaria, 551
- Sobjislaw, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Sophia, Regent of Russia, 488, 489, 490, 505
- Spithnjew I, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Spithnjew II, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, King of Poland, 494, 517, 518, 522
- Stanislaus Leszczynski, King of Poland, 460, 512, 516, 517, 522
- Stauracius, Emperor of Byzantium 592
- Stefanita, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Stefan Razvan, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Stenkil, King of Sweden, 480
- Sten Sture (the Elder), Regent of Sweden, 481
- Sten Sture (the Younger), Regent of Sweden, 417, 450, 451, 481
- Stephen, King of England, 143–144, 228
- Stephen (the Great), Prince of Moldavia, 525, 526, 535
- Stephen (the Little), Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 316
- Stephen I, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Stephen I (Istvan; Saint Stephen), King of Hungary, 283, 284, 285–286, 297
- Stephen II, King of Hungary, 297
- Stephen III (the Lightning), King of Hungary, 297
- Stephen IV, King of Hungary, 297
- Stephen V, King of Hungary, 297
- Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, 291, 298, 511, 513, 515
- Stephen Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, 298
- Stephen Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, 291, 298
- Stephen Cantacuzino, Prince of Moldavia, 535
- Stephen Dusan, Czar of Serbian Empire, 302–303, 309
- Stephen Nemanja, King of Serbia, 302, 307–308
- Suleman, Interregnum, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 594
- Suleyman, Caliph of Cordova, 348, 542
- Süleyman I (Suleiman; the Magnificent), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 580–582, 584, 591, 594
- Süleyman II (Suleiman), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 583, 594
- Svante Nilsson Sture, Regent of Sweden, 481
- Svatopluk, Leader of the Great Moravian Empire, 600, 601
- Svegdir, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
- Sverker (the Elder), King of Sweden, 480
- Sverker (the Younger) Karlsson, King of Sweden, 480
- Sverre, King of Norway, 436, 446
- Sveyn, King of Norway, 446
- Sviatopolk, Grand Duke of Kiev, 484, 505
- Sviatoslav, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
- Swartopluk, Duke of Bohemia, 601
- Sweyn I (the Splitbeard), King of Denmark, 135, 228, 413, 414, 430
- Sweyn II Estrithson, King of Denmark, 414, 430
- Sweyn III Grade, King of Denmark, 430
- Swintilla, King of the Visigoths, 348
- Syiatoslav, Grand Duke of Kiev, 484, 505

T

Tacitus, Roman Emperor, 46

Tarik, Moorish Amir, 320, 348
 Tarquinius Priscus, Mythical King, 46
 Tarquinius Superbus, Mythical King, 46
 Teias, King of the Ostrogoths, 32, 47
 Teobaldo I, King of Navarre, 350
 Teobaldo II, King of Navarre, 350
 Teshoufin bin Ali, Sultan of Almoravide, 349
 Theodatus, King of the Ostrogoths, 47
 Theodebald (Hildibald), King of the Ostrogoths, 47
 Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, 47
 Theodomir, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Theodora, Empress of Byzantium, 574, 593
 Theodora, Empress (Regent) of Byzantium, 592
 Theodore, King of Abyssinia, 215, 216
 Theodore I Lascaris, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Theodore II Lascaris, Emperor of Byzantium, 593
 Theodoric (the Great), King of the Ostrogoths, 31, 32–33, 47
 Theodoric I (Thierry I), King of the Visigoths, 30, 233, 261
 Theodosius I (the Great), Roman Emperor, of the East, 28, 29–30, 47, 52, 54, 574
 Theodosius II, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Theodosius III, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Theophilus, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Theresa, Regent of Portugal, 356, 366
 Theudebert, King of the Franks, 57
 Theuderick, King of the Franks, 57
 Theuderick IV, King of the Franks, 58
 Theudes, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Thierry III, King of the Franks, 59, 124
 Thierry IV, King of the Franks, 60, 124
 Thomas of Savoy, Count of Flanders, 372, 382
 Tiberius, Roman Emperor, 15–16, 46
 Tiberius II Constantinus, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Tiberius III Apsimar, Emperor of Byzantium, 592
 Titus, Roman Emperor, 16, 19–20, 46

Tomislav, King of the Croats, 301, 312
 Tortila (Baduila), King of the Ostrogoths, 47
 Trajan, Roman Emperor, 20–21, 46, 319, 523, 524
 Tughrul Beg, Grand Sultan of the Seljuk Empire, 576, 594
 Tulga, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Tullus Hostilius, Mythical King, 46

U

Ulrica Eleonora, Queen of Sweden, 460, 461, 481
 Umberto I, King of Italy, 40, 41, 48
 Umberto II, King of Italy, 43, 45, 48, 376
 Urraca, Queen of Léon and Castile, 350

V

Valdemar I (the Great), King of Denmark, 414, 430
 Valdemar I Birgersson, King of Sweden, 481
 Valdemar II Sejr (the Victorious), King of Denmark, 414, 415, 430
 Valdemar IV Atterdag (the Restorer), King of Denmark, 415, 416, 417, 430
 Valdimir Monomachus, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
 Valdislav Vlaicu, Prince of Walachia, 534
 Valens, Roman Emperor, of the East, 27, 28, 29, 47, 574
 Valentinian I, Roman Emperor, of the West, 27, 47, 574
 Valentinian II, Roman Emperor, of the West, 27, 47
 Valentinian III, Roman Emperor, of the West, 47
 Valerian, Roman Emperor, 25, 46, 575
 Vanland (Valland), Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Vasie Lupu, Prince of Moldavia, 527, 535
 Vasili, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, 316
 Vermund (the Sage), King of Denmark, 430

Vespasian, Roman Emperor, 16, 18, 19, 46, 51
 Victoria, Queen of England, 121, 213–218, 230, 259
 Viriato, Chief of Lusitanians, 354
 Visbur, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
 Vitellius, Roman Emperor, 18–19, 46
 Vitiges, King of the Ostrogoths, 47
 Vittorio Emanuele II, King of Italy, 38, 39, 40, 48, 338
 Vittorio Emanuele III, King of Italy, 42, 43, 45, 48, 547, 597
 Vlad (the Impaler), Prince of Walachia, 525, 534
 Vladimir (Saint; the Sunny), Grand Duke of Kiev, 483, 484, 505
 Vladivoj of Poland, Duke of Bohemia, 601
 Vortigern, King of Kent, 129
 Vratislav I, Duke of Bohemia, 600, 601
 Vratislav II (Vaclav), Duke of Bohemia, 508, 600, 601
 Vsevolod, Grand Duke of Kiev (1078–1093), 505
 Vsevolod, Grand Duke of Kiev (1139–1146), 505
 Vsevolod, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505

W

Wallia, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Wamba, King of the Visigoths, 348
 Wenceslaus (Wenzel; the Holy), Duke of Bohemia, 601
 Wenceslaus I (Wenzel), King of Bohemia, 601
 Wenceslaus II (Wenzel), King of Bohemia, 600, 601
 Wenceslaus III (Wenzel of Bohemia), King of Hungary, 297, 600
 Wenceslaus III of Bohemia, King of Poland, 509, 522, 600, 601
 Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 601
 Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, 315, 404–405, 407, 410
 William, Duke of Austria, 281
 William (the Conqueror), King of England, 69, 131, 136, 137, 138–141, 228, 385
 William I, Count of Holland, 409

William I, Emperor of Germany, 122, 251, 253, 255, 256, 258, 264
William I, King of the Netherlands, 403, 404, 410, 605
William I (the Silent), Stadholder of the Netherlands, 183, 395-399
William II, Emperor of Gemany, 217, 220, 251, 256, 257, 259, 260-261, 264, 471
William II, King of the Netherlands, 404, 410
William II, Stadholder of the Netherlands, 410
William II (Rufus), King of England 141-143, 228
William III, King of England, 102, 192, 195, 200-203, 204, 212, 239, 401
William III, King of the Netherlands, 404, 410
William IV, King of England, 212-213, 230
William IV (Friso), Stadholder of the Netherlands, 402, 410

William V, Stadholder of the Netherlands, 372-373, 402-403, 410
William VI, Count of Holland, 390
William Clito of Normandy, Count of Flanders, 371, 382
William of Holland, Holy Roman Emperor, 263, 386
William of Wied, Ruler of Albania, 596
Witiza, King of the Visigoths, 348

Y

Yacoub bin Yousouf, Sultan of Almohade, 349
Yahya bin Ali, Caliph of Cordova, 348
Yaropolk, Grand Duke of Kiev, 505
Yaroslav (the Just), Grand Duke of Kiev, 483, 484, 505
Yaroslav II, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505

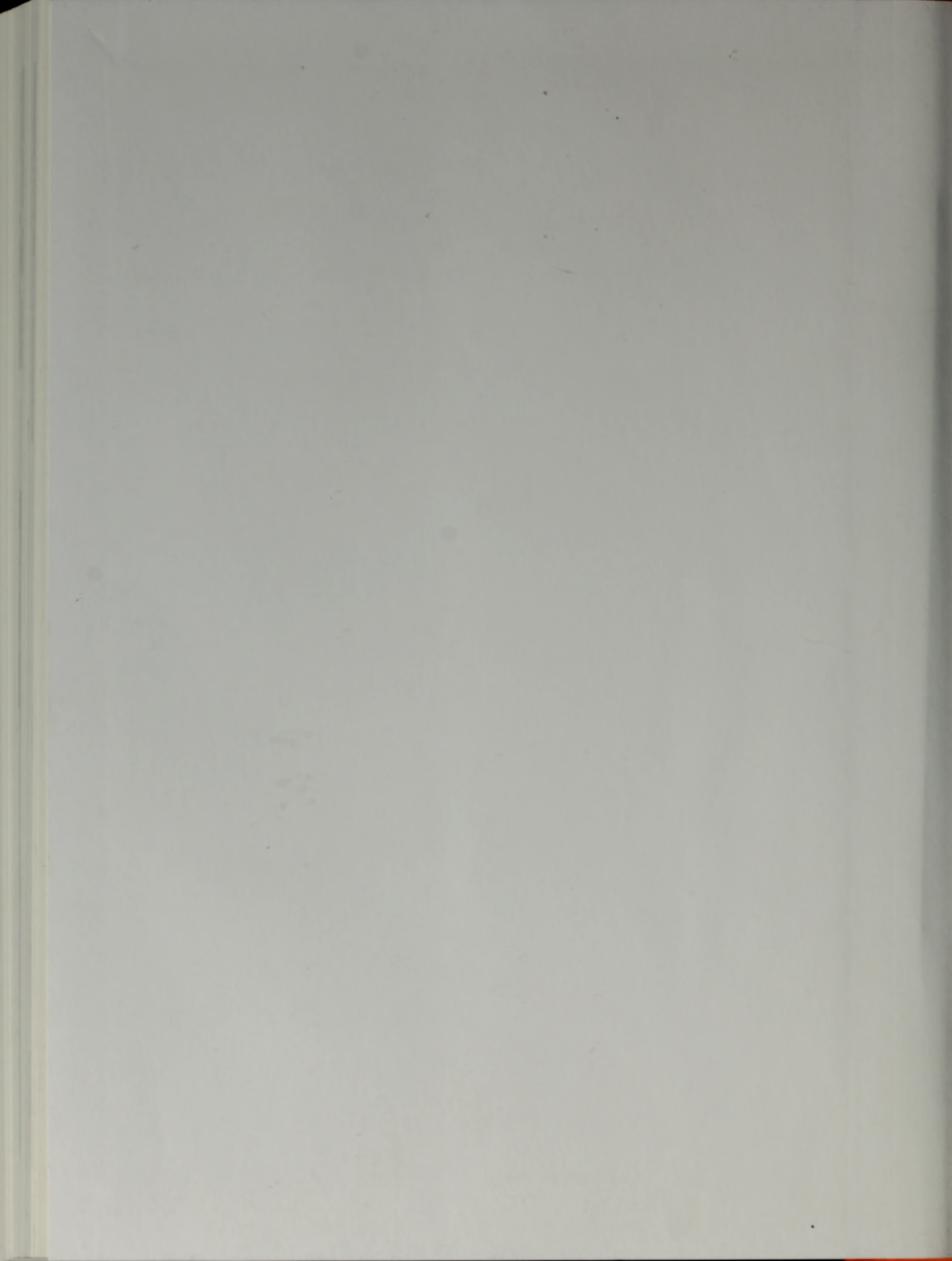
Yaroslav of Tver, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
Yngvar, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
Yngve, Chief of the Ynglings, 480
Yolande, Empress of Byzantium, 593
Youcef I, King of Granada, 349
Youcef II, King of Granada, 349
Youcef III, King of Granada, 349
Yousouf abou Yacoub, Sultan of Almohade, 349
Yousouf bin Teshonfin, Sultan of Almoravide, 349
Yuri II, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
Yuri Danilovich of Moscow, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505
Yuri Dolgoruki, Grand Duke of Valdimir, 505

Z

Zbigniew, King of Poland, 521
Zeno, Roman Emperor, of the East, 30, 31, 47
Zog I, King of the Albanians, 597







(Continued from front flap)

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