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SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

GENERAL EDITOR: A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME I

THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

FOR THE HIGHER FORMS OF SCHOOLS

SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

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Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford

- VOL. I. THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE. 476-918. By the Rev. J. H. B. MASTERMAN, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Birmingham.
- VOL. II. THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 918-1273. By BEATRICE A. LEES, Resident History-Tutor, Somerville College, Oxford.
- VOL. III. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 1273-1453. By ELEANOR C. LODGE, Vice-Principal and Modern History-Tutor, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
- VOL. IV. EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION. 1453-1660. By MARY A. HOLLINGS, M.A., Dublin, Headmistress of Edgbaston Church of England College for Girls.
- VOL. V. THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOT. 1660-1789. By A. H. JOHNSON, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.
- VOL. VI. THE REMAKING OF MODERN EUROPE. 1789-1878. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History and Economics at Worcester College, Oxford.

WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE IV CENTURY



THE DAWN OF
MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

BY

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PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

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WITH TWELVE MAPS

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- 476. Deposition of Romulus Augustulus.
Odoacer becomes King of Italy.
- 481. Accession of Clovis as King of the Franks.
- 489. Theodoric invades Italy.
- 493. Fall of Ravenna and death of Odoacer.
- 495. *Cerdic founds kingdom of Wessex.*
- 496. Baptism of Clovis after victory over Alemanni at Tolbiac.
- 511. Death of Clovis.
- 526. Death of Theodoric.
- 528. Accession of Justinian.
- 533. Conquest of North Africa by Belisarius.
- 536. Capture of Rome by Belisarius.
- 543. Death of Benedict of Nursia.
- 547. *Ida founds kingdom of Northumbria.*
- 553. Departure of the Goths from Italy.
- 565. Death of Justinian.
Mission of Columba to Iona.
- 568. Lombards, under Alboin, migrate into Italy.
- 581. Accession of Heraclius as Emperor.
- 590. Gregory the Great becomes Pope.
- 597. *Mission of Augustine to England.*
- 614. Death of Brunhilda.
- 622. The flight (*Heriga*) of Mohammed.
- 626. Siege of Constantinople by the Persians.
- 633. *Edwin of Northumbria slain by Penda of Mercia.*
- 634. Battle of Yermuk—Conquest of Syria by the Moslems.
- 637. Surrender of Jerusalem to Omar.

639. Death of Pippin of Landen.
 640. Saracen conquest of Egypt.
 656. Unsuccessful attempt of Grimoald to depose the Merovingian King.
 688. Pippin of Heristal becomes Mayor of Austrasia.
 711. Battle of Guadelete—Saracen conquest of Spain.
 715. Death of Pippin.
 717. Accession of Leo the Isaurian as Emperor.
 Charles Martel becomes Mayor of Austrasia and Neustria.
 718. Saracen siege of Constantinople.
 720. Beginning of missionary labours of Boniface.
 726. Iconoclastic edict—Resistance of Gregory II.
 727. Conquest of Exarchate by Liutprand.
 732. Victory of Charles Martel over Saracens at Poitiers.
 735. *Death of the Venerable Bede in Northumbria.*
 741. Death of Charles Martel—Pippin and Carloman, Mayors.
 747. Abdication of Carloman after Alemannian campaign.
 752. Pippin becomes King of the Franks.
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 Death of Boniface.
 755. *Accession of Offa as King of Mercia.*
 767. Frank conquest of Aquitaine.
 768. Death of Pippin—Accession of Charles and Carloman.
 773. Invasion of Lombardy by Charles.
 774. First visit of Charles to Rome.
 Fall of Pavia and end of Lombard kingdom.
 775. First Saxon campaign.
 778. Spanish campaign, and death of Roland at Roncesvalles.
 782. Alcuin joins the Court of Charles.
 787. *First appearance of the Northmen in England.*
 788. Fall of Tassilo—Annexation of Bavaria by Charles.
 790. Avar campaign.
 794. *Death of Offa of Mercia.*
 795. Death of Pope Hadrian I.—Leo III. succeeds.
 Norse invasions of Ireland begin.
 797. Irene dethrones Constantine.
 799. First appearance of Northmen in Francia.
 800. Coronation of Charles as Emperor.
 802. Deposition of Irene.
 814. Death of Charles the Great.

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27. *Egbert overlord of all England.*
29. First Civil War in Francia.
33. The Lügenfeld (Field of Lies)—Louis the Pious deposed and restored.
40. Death of Louis the Pious.
41. Battle of Fontenay.
43. Oath of Strasburg and Partition of Verdun.
45. Sack of Paris by Northmen.
47. Sack of Bordeaux by Northmen.
49. Victory of Leo over Saracens at Ostia.
71. *Accession of Alfred in England.*
72. Victory of Louis over Saracens at Salerno.
76. Death of Louis the German.
77. Death of Charles the Bald.
78. *Peace of Wedmore between Alfred and the Danes.*
84. Empire reunited under Charles the Fat.
86. Siege of Paris by Northmen.
97. Deposition of Charles the Fat—Final break-up of Empire.
88. Odo becomes King of West Francia, Arnulf of Germany, Berengar of Italy, Rudolph of Upper Burgundy.
96. First appearance of Magyars in the West.
99. Death of Arnulf.
Charles the Simple, King of West Francia.
00. Berengar sole King of Italy.
01. *Death of Alfred—Edward the Elder succeeds.*
11. Death of Louis the Child—Conrad elected as King.
Treaty of Claire-sur-Epte between Charles the Simple and the Northmen.
13. Death of Conrad—Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, elected King.

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THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE

476-918

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE period that we call the Middle Ages extends from the break-up of the Roman Empire in the west in the fifth century to the Renaissance in the fifteenth—a period of about a thousand years. The night of this great day of human history may be said to last through the first three hundred years (450-750), and the early dawn begins with the events that lead to the establishment of the Empire of Charles the Great. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are the morning, and the thirteenth the high noon, from which it declines to the afternoon of the fourteenth century and the evening of the fifteenth.

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The Europe of the fifth century was dominated by two influences—the influence of Roman Imperialism and that of the Christian Church. Though the Empire fell to pieces in the west it lived on in the east, gradually changing its character, but retaining in its laws and ideals of government the traditions of the Imperial organisation that Augustus had founded and Diocletian

remodelled on a more despotic basis. It is a great mistake to underestimate the influence of the Eastern Empire on Western Europe. Constantinople was not only the frontier fortress of Europe in the East, it was also the home of Roman law and of a civilisation that had become Greek in its outer dress, but remained largely Roman in its inner character.

Influence
on the
Teutonic
peoples

But the inheritance of Rome passed on to the new world through two other channels. The Teutonic peoples who poured into the almost depopulated provinces of the west came under the spell of Rome. They marched along the roads that Rome had made, they passed, as friends or foes, by cities that Rome had built. The ambition of their greatest leaders—of men like Alaric or Theodoric—was not to destroy but to rebuild the Roman world of ordered rule and equal justice. In Gaul and in Italy the language and ideas of Rome turned the Frank and Lombard conquerors into Frenchmen and Italians.

Rise of the
Papacy

Meanwhile Imperial Rome became Papal Rome. When the long centuries of contest between the Church and the Empire closed with the accession of Constantine, the result was not only that the Empire became Christian, but also that the Church became Imperial. Soon after, the transference of the Imperial Court to Constantinople left the Bishop of Rome incomparably the greatest figure in the city by the Tiber. And as Christianity spread through Western Europe the authority of the Roman See grew constantly wider. So when the bond of a common political organisation no longer held Western Europe together, the bond

of a common religious organisation began to take its place. As inheritor of the Imperial tradition, the Papacy became not only a religious but also a political power.

The claims of the Roman See were at first resented by the Teutonic peoples, who had adopted the Arian form of Christianity from the earliest missionaries who had laboured among them. | But the conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity in 496 marked the beginning of the extension of Papal authority over the Teutonic tribes, and the labours of Augustine and his successors in England in the seventh century, and of the great missionary Archbishop Boniface in Germany in the eighth, insured the supremacy of the Pope in the West. | Of the Teutonic peoples that remained Arian, the Ostrogoths vanished from history, and the Vandals and Visigoths fell under the sway of the Moslems, the latter soon after they had abandoned the Arian for the Catholic Creed.

In the East the claims of the Papacy were resisted, not only by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who as Bishop of New Rome claimed to be the equal of the Bishop of Old Rome, but also by the emperors, who asserted their right to exercise over the Church the same autocratic authority that they exercised over the State. The Eastern and Western Churches drifted apart, and before the end of the ninth century the separation was almost complete.

The Teutonic invaders brought their own contribution ^{Teutonic ideas} to the life of the Middle Ages. The idea of personal liberty that appears in early Teutonic law, the practice of

commendation and the authority of the chief over his comites, the institutions of elective monarchy and of the assemblies of free warriors, exercised a profound influence over the new world that was shaping itself out of the fragments of the old.

The reign of Theodoric was the first attempt to harmonise the old and the new, to blend the Roman ideals of order and *civilitas* with the Teutonic spirit of freedom. The Arianism of the Goths and the opposition of a party among the Roman nobles made the task a difficult one, and with the death of Theodoric and the revival of the Empire under Justinian, the Gothic kingdom crumbled away.

But the Empire, confronted by new dangers in the East, first from the aggressions of the Persian kings and then from the rise of Mohammedanism, could not keep what it had won. Thirteen years before Heraclius arose to save the Empire, the Lombards had inherited the lands that the Goths had abandoned.

The Lombards, contented to rule and extend their territories without any effort to assimilate the native population, remained an aristocracy of nobles settled among a subject people. If the Lombard kings could have conquered Rome, as they conquered Ravenna, they might have been able to build up an Italian kingdom through the fusion of Roman and Teutonic institutions and ideas. But the Lombards produced no great leader with enough of the statesman in him to attempt the task in which Theodoric had failed. Perhaps in any case it would have proved impossible, for by the middle of the eighth century Italy was no longer free to shape

her own destiny to supremacy. The central fact of the eighth century was the rise of the Franks in Western Europe, under the great Mayors of the Palace. The ^{Rise of the Franks} victory of Charles Martel, at Poitiers in 732, rescued the West from the danger of Moslem rule, and the alliance of King Pippin with the Pope in 752 associated the fortunes of the Teutonic world of the north with those of Rome. The Rhine and the Tiber were linked together, and the Rhone and the Po passed under their sway.

At last, just as the eighth century ended, the three influences that had been making the new Europe converged, when Charles the Great, as Emperor of the West, became representative in his own person of the union of Roman, Ecclesiastical and Teutonic ideas. The coronation of Charles was the recognition of the fact that the same man was now the head of the Christian Church, the inheritor of the Roman Imperial dignity and the master of the Teutonic world.

But the Empire of Charles the Great had in it the ^{Decay of Carolingian Empire} seeds of dissolution. Its strength lay in its Teutonic military organisation, and as this was founded on the idea of personal service it broke down with the revival of local feeling. It had the unity of a common ecclesiastical organisation, but the attempt to establish a common administrative system failed through the tribal and local antagonisms that awoke as soon as the great Emperor was dead. The Frankish judicial system, by which every man was judged by the law of his own nation, prevented the development of a common code of law for the Empire. For a time, in the middle of the

tenth century, the Holy Roman Empire of Otho the Great seemed destined to realise part at least of the ideal of the Carolingian Empire, but the long struggles of the Papacy with the Empire, and the resistance of the feudal nobility to the autocratic claims of the kings, supported by Roman civil law, ended at last in the disintegration of the mediæval world.

Disintegra-
tion of
ninth
century

But it was not only from within that the Empire of Charles was weakened. Enemies from without beset it on every side. Northmen, Magyars, Saracens, fell upon it with eager ferocity, and in the ninth century, as in the sixth, the Teutonic system of equal division of inheritance proved fatal to all hope of united resistance. But the partitions of the ninth century differ from those of the sixth in this, that they represent lines of division destined to become permanent. The Romanised West was severed from the more German East. Italy fell away from the North; Aquitaine and Burgundy became, for a time, partly or wholly independent. The ninth century was a period of confusion and of immeasurable suffering, but through the anarchy of the time the political life of Europe began to shape itself into the form that it was destined to retain to the end of the Middle Ages. Serfdom superseded the older relation of the free villagers to their overlord; the military system of Europe began to be territorial instead of personal; great fiefs grew up under dukes and counts almost entirely independent of royal authority; and feudal castles rose on every hill on the banks of the Rhine and the Seine.

In this rough age the Church was obliged to fight

for its own possessions and privileges, and while its political power increased its religious enthusiasm declined; learning was kept alive, but could make no progress in days of distraction and danger; the religion of the people was strangely compounded of superstition and fear.

As the century drew near its end the clouds began to lift. The Byzantine Empire weathered the storm of Moslem attack. With narrowed frontiers, hemmed in by Slavs and Saracens, it lived on as a civilising power in the east. In the west also the tide of Saracen conquest began to turn, and Southern Italy and Northorn Spain were recovered from their rule. The Northmen, established in the north of England and in the valley of the Seine, were no longer mere agents of destruction; a little later they began to rebuild the churches that they had destroyed and re-establish the order that they had disturbed. Along the eastern frontiers of the Empire the raids of the Magyars began to be checked.

Revival in
tenth
century

In 918 the election of Henry Duke of Saxony to the throne of Germany brought the period of disintegration in central Europe to an end, while the rise of the family of Robert the Strong to power in West Franchia gave promise of the development of a new France, with Paris as its capital. Another century was destined to pass before the forces of disorder and disintegration were for a time worsted, but by the opening of the tenth century the old Europe—the Europe of Zeno and Theodoric and Clovis—had dissolved, and the new Europe—the Europe of Otho the Great and Hildebrand and Barbarossa—had begun.

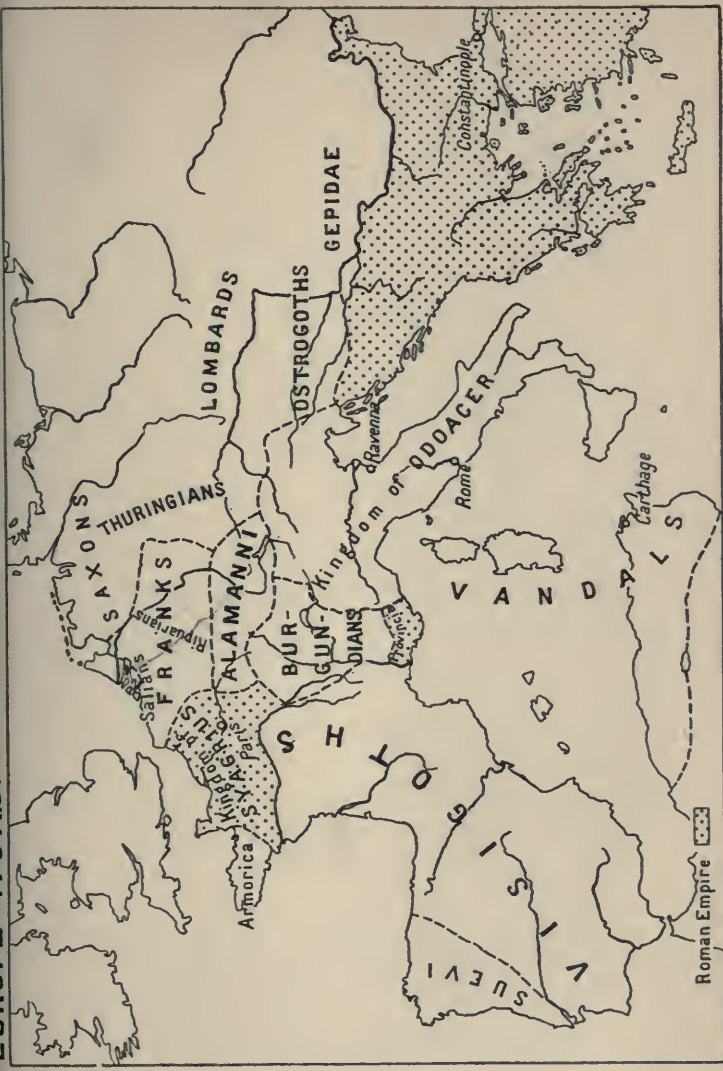
CHAPTER II

THE EMPIRE IN 476

The Em-
pire and
the Teu-
tons

IN the year 476 the last Emperor in the west was deposed, and the Roman provinces in the west became independent Teutonic kingdoms. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus marks the end of a process of change that had been going on for nearly three centuries. At the end of the second century the northern boundaries of the Empire were the Rhine and the Danube. Beyond these rivers lived various Teutonic tribes with whom the Roman Emperors carried on a desultory war, not now for the extension of the frontiers, but to keep back the barbarians from penetrating into the Empire. The last Emperor who extended the northern frontier of the Empire was Trajan, who at the beginning of the second century established the province of Dacia north of the Danube. Under his successors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the Empire enjoyed nearly half a century of peace and good government. But in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) a change began. The Teutonic peoples had already begun to find their way into the Empire, at first as slaves in Roman households, or as serfs cultivating frontier lands, and a little later as soldiers in the Roman armies. They now tried to break through the frontiers,

EUROPE 476 A.D.



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not in isolated companies but in organised tribes, and Marcus Aurelius was the first of a long series of emperors who were obliged to carry on a constant defensive war to hold back tribes of barbarians that were being driven from behind on to the Roman frontiers. In the course of this long contest the barbarians absorbed a good deal of the civilisation and culture of Rome. Many of them enrolled themselves under the standard of the Empire, and did loyal service against their fellow-Teutons across the borders.

In the year 330 Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, established a new capital at Byzantium, which he called after his own name, Constantinople. From this time there were generally two emperors, one ruling in the East and the other in the West.

The Goths The earliest barbarians to gain a foothold in the Empire were the Goths. Early in the third century they appeared in the south of Russia, having migrated from the north-west of Europe. They gradually fell into two tribes, the Eastern, or Ostrogoths, and the Western, or Visigoths. About the year 250 they began to move southward and westward, and came into contact with the Empire. Twenty years later a body of them settled in the Roman province of Dacia, and inflicted a great defeat on the Emperor Decius, who perished in the battle. The Emperor Aurelian, in the year 270, made peace with them, allowing them to retain Dacia. For nearly a century after this the Goths remained at peace with the Empire. During this time they learned the art of writing, and were converted to the Arian form of Christianity by the efforts of the great missionary

bishop Ulfilas. The fact that most of the Teutonic tribes adopted Arianism¹ is important because it imposed a barrier of separation between them and the Roman peoples, who were orthodox.

In the year 376 the Visigoths of Dacia were attacked by a vast horde of Huns from Central Asia, and after vainly trying to withstand them, they petitioned the Emperor for leave to cross the Danube and settle in the Empire. Valens allowed them to do so, but his impolitic treatment of them led to hostilities, and to his defeat and death at the battle of Adrianople in 378. His successor, Theodosius, made peace with them, but after his death they began to ravage the Empire, and finally, under their great king, Alaric, they poured into Italy, besieged and sacked Rome, and then, after the death of Alaric, settled in Southern Gaul, where a body of Ostrogoths joined them in 473. They gradually extended their conquests into Spain, whence they drove out another Teutonic tribe, the Vandals.

The Vandals had for a long time been one of the leading tribes of Germany. They had been driven South by the Goths about the year 330 and had settled in Pannonia. About the year 400 they had marched with allies of Alan and Suevic race into Gaul, and thence, driven perhaps by the Franks, into Spain. When the Visigoths began to advance into Spain the Vandals,

The
Vandals

¹ Arius was a priest of Alexandria, who early in the fourth century taught certain doctrines about the Person of our Lord that were declared at the Council of Nicæa, in 325, to be erroneous. He and all who agreed with him were excommunicated, and after a struggle of nearly a century, in which Athanasius was the chief leader of the orthodox party, the Empire declared for the Nicene view.

invited by a treacherous Roman governor, crossed to North Africa, where, under their king, Genseric (or Gaiseric), they ravaged the whole province with merciless cruelty. After the capture of Carthage, in 439, the Vandals established themselves as the ruling race, and as they were Arians they persecuted the Roman Christians of North Africa. Under Genseric they also became the pirate-masters of the Mediterranean, and ravaged the coasts of Italy, even sacking Rome itself in 455.

The Burgundians

Another Teutonic kingdom set up at this time was that of the Burgundians, who under their king, Gundobad, established themselves in the valleys of the Rhone and Saone about the year 443.

The Franks

Farther North, on the banks of the Rhine, lay the kingdom of the Franks, the latest of the great Teutonic peoples to enter the Empire. Between these two Teutonic kingdoms lay a semi-independent Roman province with its capital at Soissons, ruled over by a Roman general, Ægidius. On his death, in 464, his son Syagrius succeeded.

Italy

Italy had been, ever since 410, the spoil of contending chieftains, who set up and deposed puppet emperors as they pleased. The last of these puppet emperors, a boy of about fourteen, was ruling in Rome in 476, under the protection of his father, Orestes. In this year a dispute between Orestes and his barbarian followers about the allocation of lands led to a revolt, and the soldiers elected a Herule officer, Odoacer (or Odovakar), as their chief. Orestes took refuge in Pavia, but was soon captured and beheaded. His little son,

who fell into the hands of Odoacer, was spared by the conqueror, and allowed to retire to a palace near Naples with a large pension for his maintenance. Of him we hear no more.

The year that followed the accession of Odoacer was marked by two events of importance. The first of these was the death of the old pirate chief Genseric the Vandal. With him passed away the greatness of the Vandal kingdom, which declined steadily for half a century, till it fell once more under the sway of the Empire. The other event was the arrival at Constantinople of an embassy from the Senate of Rome, who came to inform Zeno, the Emperor now ruling in the East, that "they did not need a separate Emperor, but that Zeno himself as sole Emperor would suffice for both ends of the earth; that Odoacer, a prudent statesman and brave warrior, had been chosen to defend their interests, and that they requested Zeno to bestow on him the dignity of Patrician and entrust to his care the Diocese of Italy".

To this request Zeno assented and Odoacer, already virtually the independent sovereign of Italy, now became, in name, the Imperial viceroy in the "Diocese of Italy". But though the actual authority exercised by the Emperor was little more than nominal, it would be a mistake to suppose that the Empire in the West was regarded as ended. The idea of the Roman Empire had taken such hold of the imaginations of men that it was not regarded as possible that it could end. It lived on as an idea through centuries of contest and confusion, till the time came for an attempt to be made,

by the coronation of Charles the Great, to give the idea once more an outward expression.

The Em-
pire in the
East

The mention of Zeno takes us from the Western Empire to the east. While the Empire in the west had been slowly crumbling into a group of independent Teutonic kingdoms, the Empire in the east had been successfully resisting the assaults of the barbarians. The great city of Constantinople was impregnable to assault on the land side, and could not be successfully starved into surrender while the Empire retained the command of the sea. The great enemy of the Empire in the east had been the Persian Empire, but in the fifth century Persia was not able to do more than carry on a frontier war at intervals. Though the Empire had lost its western provinces, the wealth of the provinces of what we now call Asia Minor furnished the emperors with adequate resources till they became impoverished by maladministration and war.

In the middle of the fifth century a barbarian adventurer, Aspar, occupied at Constantinople a position not unlike that of Orestes or Odoacer in Italy. In 457 he raised Leo, an Isaurian¹ official of the Court, to the Imperial throne. Leo repaid his benefactor by procuring his assassination a few years later. On Leo's death, in 474, he was succeeded by his son-in-law and fellow-countryman Tarasicodissa, who adopted the name of Zeno.

Reign of
Zeno,
474-91

Like our English Ethelred the Unready, Zeno is credited with adopting the cowardly policy of buying

¹ Isauria is the mountainous district on the north of Mount Taurus between Cilicia and Phrygia.

off the enemies of the Empire. Though he seems to have been rather repulsive in personal character, he was not without ability as a ruler. He had constantly to contend with attempts to set rival claimants on the throne, but, partly by good luck and partly by the unscrupulous cunning and cruelty that became from this time a characteristic of the Eastern Court, he succeeded in retaining the throne till his death in 491.

The history of Constantinople during this period is chiefly the record of religious controversies, in which the people of the city took sides with great vigour. The two chief factions in the city, adopting the colours of the Circus races, called themselves the "blues" and the "greens"—the former being the champions of orthodoxy, the latter of the Monophysite¹ heresy.

Under Anastasius, who succeeded on the death of Zeno, these factions became more aggressive, while a war with Persia, and inroads of Slavs and Bulgarians from across the Danube, disturbed the peace of the Empire.

¹ The Monophysites held that Our Lord had only one *nature*, the human nature being absorbed in the Divine.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THEODORIC

THE Ostrogoths, who had remained in the district north of the Black Sea, while their Visigothic brethren moved southwards, fell in the fifth century under the yoke of the Huns, whom they served for eighty years, till the death of the great Hunnish chief Attila in 454. Then they rose in rebellion, in alliance with the Gepidæ and other subject nations, and broke the power of the Huns in a great battle on the banks of the river Netad (probably in Hungary, the situation is not known). Moving southwards, they occupied the province of Pannonia, apparently by friendly arrangement with the Roman authorities.

Birth of
Theodoric

The Ostrogoths were at this time ruled by three brothers, descendants of the old Amal family, Walamir, Theudemir and Widemir. In 454, on the very day on which Walamir repulsed a sudden attack of the Huns and gained a great victory, a son was born to his brother Theudemir, and named Theuda-reiks, the "ruler of the people"—a name changed by the Roman chroniclers to Theodoric.

Theodoric
at Con-
stantinople

When Theodoric was seven years old a war broke out between the Goths and the Empire, owing to an attempt of the Emperor to withhold the usual subsidies,

After the Goths had ravaged Mœsia the Emperor agreed to renew the tribute on condition that the Goths confined their ravages to the lands north of the Danube. Theudemir was obliged to surrender his little son as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty, and so it came to pass that Theodoric spent ten years at the Court of Constantinople, where the Emperor Leo became warmly attached to him.

It is impossible to exaggerate the influence on Theodoric's life of this long residence at the Imperial Court. To realise it we must imagine the son of an Indian frontier chief living from the age of seven to seventeen at the British Court, watching the administration of justice, the organisation of war and commerce, the whole system of British life.

At the time of Theodoric's stay there, Constantinople was at the height of its splendour—the most magnificent city of the world. There Theodoric could see men of every nation of the earth, bound together by subjection to the majestic Roman law, laying aside their turbulent independence in the realisation of a common citizenship. It was at Constantinople that Theodoric learnt those lessons of the value of orderly rule and legal right that he afterwards strove so hard to teach to his Italian subjects.

When, at the end of ten years, Theodoric came home, he found the Goths at war with the neighbouring nation of the Suevi, on whom they inflicted a crushing defeat about the year 470. Theodoric celebrated his return by leading an expedition against the Sarmatians, from whose king, Babai, he wrested the city of Singidunum

Theodoric
returns to
the Goths

(Belgrade), which lies at the junction of the Save and the Danube.

A tribe like the Goths, who subsisted largely on plunder, and whose Pannonian camping-ground was probably exhausted of supplies, could not remain for long at peace. "From the diminution of the spoils of the neighbouring nations," says Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, "the Goths began to lack food and clothing, and to those men to whom war had long furnished all their sustenance peace began to be odious, and all the Goths with loud shouts approached their king, Theudemir, praying him to lead his army whither he would, but to lead it forth to war."

The Gothic host divided into two armies, one of which followed Widemir westwards to attack Rome, while the other marched south under Theudemir and Theodoric to ravage Macedonia. Of Widemir's expedition little need be said. He died in Italy without achieving any important success, and his son led his host into Gaul, where it was absorbed in the Visigothic kingdom of Southern Gaul.

Meanwhile Theudemir plundered Macedonia and laid siege to Thessalonica. Peace was then made with Constantinople, the Goths being allowed to settle in six towns of Macedonia and the country around them. Such an arrangement could not last long. Crowded into a little corner of Macedonia, the Goths would be certain to resume, before long, their habits of wandering and plunder.

About 474 Theudemir died, and his son succeeded as King of the Ostrogoths. Soon after, Theodoric's friend,

the Emperor Leo, died at Constantinople, and was succeeded by his little grandchild Leo, whose death a few months later left Zeno the Isaurian as sole Emperor.

The history of the next fourteen years of the life of Theodoric is complicated by the presence on the scene of another Theodoric, a Gothic chief related by marriage with the barbarian Aspar who had for years played the part of king-maker at Constantinople, till his murder by Leo in 471. This Theodoric, son of Triarius, first becomes important about 473, when he wrested a treaty from Leo by which he was to enjoy the title of *Magister Equitum et Peditum*, and receive a yearly subsidy of 2,000 lb. of gold in return for the services of himself and his warriors. Soon after the accession of Zeno a pretender, Basiliscus, rose in revolt, supported by Theodoric, son of Triarius, but after nearly two years of exile Zeno returned to Constantinople and ousted his rival, who was sent away to die of hunger in a fortress of Cappadocia. Theodoric the Amal, who had supported the cause of Zeno, now became Patrician and Master of the Soldiery, titles of great honour in the Empire. War followed between the two Theodorics, but when their armies came face to face they fraternised instead of fighting, and the two chiefs made common cause against the Emperor. After various negotiations too tedious to relate, Zeno succeeded in detaching Theodoric, son of Triarius, from his alliance with the Amal chief, and Theodoric the Amal led his followers to another raid into Macedonia, which they had abandoned some years before for the lands at the mouth of the Danube. From Macedonia the Gothic host passed over the

mountains into Epirus, then back again into the Balkan district.

Wander-
ings of
Theodoric

It would be too long and too unprofitable a task to follow Theodoric through the wanderings and wars of the years that followed. In 481 his namesake and rival died, and soon after the remnant of his followers joined the rest of the Goths under the standard of the Amal chief. For some years after this the Goths wandered aimlessly about the frontiers of the Empire, sometimes at peace with the Emperor, sometimes ravaging his territories. The supreme problem was how to find food for the nation in lands gradually growing depopulated by war and famine. The host moved to and fro with its women and children in the waggons that followed the army. It was a gigantic gipsy caravan—this Gothic nation on the march, hungry, fierce and merciless.

During all this time Odoacer was ruling in Italy. His relations with the Emperor were at first friendly, but the conquest of Dalmatia, which brought the frontiers of the Italian kingdom further eastwards, and still more, help given by Odoacer to an Imperial general, Illus, who rose in unsuccessful insurrection against Zeno, led to the outbreak of hostilities between the Italian king and the Empire. Zeno's first step was to encourage the King of the Rugians, a powerful tribe on the Danube, to attack Odoacer. The attack failed, and the defeated Rugian king, Frederick, fled to the camp of Theodoric.

Zeno then turned to Theodoric, who was in nowise unwilling to lead his people into the fertile lands of Italy. So in the autumn of 498 the Goths set out on this new

Theodoric
in Italy

adventure. They fought their way along the highlands of Pannonia and Noricum, and closed this part of the expedition with a great battle against the Gepidæ—a battle that broke the power of that nation and replenished the waggons of the Goths with great stores of provisions. They descended without resistance into the plains of Italy, to find Odoacer and his army drawn up to meet them near Aquileia. They scattered his army in flight and took possession of the whole of North-eastern Italy as far as the Adige, Odoacer falling back on Verona, where he gathered what was left of his army into an entrenched camp. After a terrific contest the Gothic warriors, led by Theodoric in person, broke the forces of Odoacer and drove him back to Ravenna where, among the marshes, the defeated King made his last stand. The siege of Ravenna went on for more than three years, and in the meanwhile Theodoric had to fight more than one enemy to retain his hold over Northern Italy.

The first of these enemies was Tufa, who had been one of Odoacer's chief lieutenants and who accepted, or appeared to accept, the leadership of Theodoric. So confident was Theodoric in his fidelity that he entrusted to his command the army he sent to attack Ravenna. Like Marshal Ney, Tufa's new loyalty could not stand the strain of immediate contact with his old leader, and, with most of his troops, he went over to the side of Odoacer. The officers who refused to desert Theodoric were surrendered to Odoacer, who ruthlessly murdered them all. Perhaps encouraged by Tufa's treachery, Frederick, the Rugian king, who had followed the

standards of Theodoric into Italy, broke with his leader and began to ravage Italy on his own account. For a time things looked black for Theodoric, but the allies soon quarrelled, and Tufa was slain in a battle near Verona. Frederick threw himself into Pavia, which he held for two years. His fate we do not know.

Then, from across the Alps, a fresh antagonist appeared to challenge the right of the Ostrogoths to their new kingdom. Gundobad, King of the Burgundians, marched into Italy, nominally as the ally of Odoacer. Near Milan, Theodoric, with the help of the Visigothic king, Alaric II., met and vanquished the coalition and drove Odoacer back to Ravenna.

The siege of Ravenna now went on without interruption, and as Theodoric was able to control the harbour by means of his fleet the city was soon in dire straits.

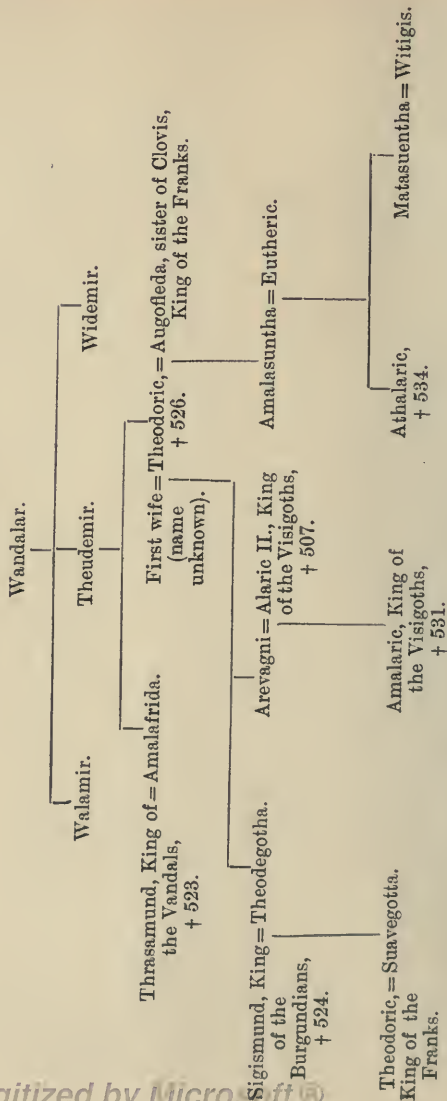
Death of
Odoacer

At last Odoacer was obliged to own himself beaten, and a treaty was made between the two rival kings, by which they were to rule Italy together. Probably neither party intended to hold to so impossible an arrangement, and the chroniclers who desire to justify Theodoric tell us that Odoacer was plotting against the life of his successful rival. Theodoric may have believed that this was so, but nothing can excuse the act that followed and which remains the greatest blot on the character of the great Ostrogoth. Inviting his fallen rival to a banquet on 15th March, 493, he entrusted to some soldiers, hidden in an alcove, the task of murdering him. When their courage failed at the critical moment, Theodoric himself struck down

the king with one tremendous stroke, shouting, as he smote, "This is what you did to my friends".

Thus, by one foul deed, Theodoric rid himself of his last rival, and stood the unchallenged master of the Italy that he had won. After the long strife of contending chiefs the possibility of a new Empire in the West seemed to have returned.

THE FAMILY OF THEODORIC



CHAPTER IV

THE GOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY

THEODORIC was about forty years of age when he began to reign as sole king in Italy, and he reigned there for rather more than thirty years. After twenty years of wandering and war, the Ostrogoths settled down to thirty years of almost uninterrupted peace.

It was no easy task that confronted the new master of Italy. Not only had he to repair the ravages of long years of desolating strife, he had also to train Gothic and Roman subjects to live at peace together, and, Arian as he was, to win the support of the Catholic clergy, on whose goodwill the success of his rule must largely depend. That he succeeded in doing both these things is the most striking evidence of his greatness.

Though Theodoric had won Italy by right of conquest, he tried to give legal sanction to his rule. He seems to have secured the confirmation of his kingship from his Ostrogothic followers; he also sent to the Emperor at Constantinople for the ratification of his title. Zeno's death in 491 delayed the negotiations, and it was not till six years later that Anastasius gave a vague recognition to Theodoric's kingship. As king of the Goths and Romans (for that was probably his title) Theo-

Theodoric,
King of
Goths and
Romans

doric was, for all practical purposes, absolute monarch of Italy. But in the background were the undefined claims of the Emperor to supremacy, destined to be reasserted as soon as death had removed the strong hand of the Gothic king from the helm.

The recognition of his position by the Emperor brought strength to Theodoric's rule, because it commended that rule to the Romans, and so enabled him to secure the help of Roman officials in the difficult work of organising the kingdom. The vigorous initiative that the Goths had learnt in their long fight for subsistence was now linked with the traditions of authority and ordered rule that had lasted on in Italy through all the confused strife of the last hundred years. Under strong and good government Italy began to recover her prosperity. Trade developed, agriculture revived, so that Italy was able to export corn instead of importing it. At Rome and at Ravenna, which Theodoric made his capital, great aqueducts were made to supply fresh water. Roads were improved, and the great cities of Italy were once more adorned with works of art and defended by strong walls.

All this work of administration went on under the eye of Theodoric, who had something of Napoleon's marvellous power of supervising all the details of administration. But he was also served by a well-organised body of officials, from the great officers of State, the "Illustres," as they were called, down to the junior clerks, policemen and others who stood on the bottom rung of the ladder, up which they might hope to climb to higher office.

Of Theodoric's officers of State, the best known is

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus. Sprung from an old official family, Cassiodorus entered public life under his father, who was Prætorian Prefect, about the year 500. He is said to have won the favour of Theodoric by an eloquent oration delivered on the occasion of a visit of the King to Rome, and was appointed as Quæstor, or Public Orator. He acted for years as the King's secretary, and his legal training and knowledge of Latin literature must have made him a useful adviser. He wrote a history of the Goths, in twelve books, that has perished, and collected his letters and State papers into twelve books of *Varie*, which remain and form one of the most valuable sources of information for the reign of Theodoric. He survived his master, and became Prætorian Prefect under his successor in 533. After the fall of the Gothic kingdom he retired to the monastery of Viviers, which he founded, and there we lose sight of him.

During the greater part of Theodoric's reign the internal affairs of the kingdom provide little material for the chroniclers. Eight years after his accession he paid his first and only visit to Rome, where he stayed for six months, and provided splendid entertainments for the pleasure-loving people. But his capital was not Rome but Ravenna. Here he could better keep in touch with his Gothic followers, who settled chiefly in Northern Italy, and was also within easy reach of the northern frontier in case the need arose for meeting a hostile invasion.

The Gothic warriors were allotted a third of the lands of Italy—for the most part the same lands that

Goths and
Romans

Odoacer's followers had held. Liberius, an old officer of Odoacer, was appointed by Theodoric to arrange the allotment of lands. The Goths lived apparently in small groups, not mixing much with the native Italians, with whom, however, their relations seem to have been quite friendly. Special officers—*Comites Gothorum*—administered Gothic law in all cases between Goths. Where any case arose between a Goth and a Roman a Roman lawyer was associated with the Gothic officer in deciding it. Theodoric's Roman subjects were under Roman law administered by Roman officials.

Relations
with
1. The
Church

Though Theodoric was an Arian, he remained, till near the end of his reign, on friendly terms with the Catholic clergy. Soon after his accession he was called to decide between two rival candidates for the Papacy, and on his visit to Rome he gave splendid gifts to the shrine of St. Peter. The same spirit of toleration led him to take the Jews under his protection, and when, near the end of his life, the synagogues at Rome and Ravenna were burnt in a riot, he insisted on the punishment of the rioters and the reconstruction of the buildings.

2. The
Visigoths

The external affairs of the reign turn around Theodoric's relations with the Teutonic kingdoms of the West and with the Empire. Of the kingdoms beyond the Alps, the largest and most important, at the time of Theodoric's accession, was the Visigothic kingdom that included Southern France and most of Spain. The ruler of this kingdom was Alaric II., who succeeded to the throne in 485. Though an Arian, he tried, like Theodoric, to propitiate the Catholic clergy in his dominions. With Theodoric the Visigoths remained on terms of

ose alliance, and Alaric married a daughter of the
strogothic king. This was the beginning of a series
of matrimonial alliances between the house of Theodoric
and the neighbouring rulers. His sister, Amalafrika,
married Thrasamund, the Vandal king of North Africa,
and one of his daughters was given in marriage to
Sigismund, son of the Burgundian king, Gundobad.
Theodoric himself married Augofleda, sister of Clovis,
the king of the Franks.

The story of the rise of Clovis will be told in another ^{3. The}
chapter. It only concerns us now in its influence on ^{Franks}
the policy of Theodoric. At first he attempted to
maintain friendly relations with the Frankish king, but
when Clovis began to prepare for an attack on his ally,
the king of the Visigoths, he remonstrated in vain. In
the war that followed Alaric was defeated and slain
before Theodoric's army arrived to help him. Some
years of war followed between Theodoric and Clovis,
ending in a severe defeat of Clovis by the Ostrogoths.
Theodoric and the Frankish king then agreed to parti-
tion the dominions of Alaric, Clovis taking most of
southern Gaul and Theodoric Provence.

Then Spain, the one remaining Visigothic province, ^{4. Spain}
becomes for a time the centre of Theodoric's policy.
On the death of Alaric an illegitimate son, Gesalic, was
proclaimed as king by some of the Visigoths. He was
defeated by the Burgundians and fled to Carthage,
where Thrasamund espoused his cause for a time, till
Theodoric's protests obliged him to dismiss the fugitive.
Ultimately, Gesalic was captured in Gaul by Theodoric's
soldiers and put to death. There remained only one

heir of the house of Alaric, his little son Amalaric, grandson of Theodoric. With the consent of the Visigoths Theodoric acted as regent in Spain for the young king, and thus practically added Spain to his other dominions.

5. The
Empire

We turn now to Theodoric's relations with the Empire. On the death of Zeno, Anastasius succeeded as Emperor, and though over sixty at the time of his accession reigned for twenty-five years in Constantinople. The theological controversies in which he was involved during the greater part of his reign, and in which he took the side that lost for him the support and sympathy of the Popes, tended to sever the East from the West. A desultory war that broke out between the Gothic kingdom and the Empire, in consequence of Theodoric's annexation of Sirmium, in Illyria, ended in 509, and while Anastasius lived friendly relations were maintained between the two Courts. But when Justin succeeded as Emperor and became reconciled to the Pope, the fear that the Emperor might manifest his orthodoxy by inaugurating a persecution of the Arians in the east led to friction between him and Theodoric. In the year 525, when this policy of persecution began, Theodoric sent Pope John I. to Constantinople to remonstrate with the Emperor. The Pope was accorded a splendid welcome at Constantinople, and officiated at a magnificent coronation of the new Emperor. How far he succeeded in winning any toleration for the Arian subjects of the Empire is not clear; what is clear is that the result of the visit was to demonstrate the alliance between Pope and Emperor in a way that

Theodoric never intended. When John returned he found the King passionately indignant, and the Pope was thrown into prison, where he died soon after (25th May, 526).

The closing years of the reign of Theodoric are a Last year of Theodoric rather sad contrast to the prosperity and wise government of the earlier time. His only child was a daughter, Amalasuetha, and about the year 515 Theodoric married her to a young Goth from Spain, Eutharic. Eutharic was a strong Arian, and his influence over his father-in-law appears to have led him to adopt a less friendly attitude towards his Catholic subjects just at the very time when the Eastern Court was inclined to press more hardily on the Arians. The effect of all this was that the good relations that had for so long subsisted between Theodoric and his Roman subjects began to give place to an attitude of mutual suspicion.

The Chief of the Senate (*Caput Senatus*) at this Boethius time was Symmachus, a Roman noble of illustrious ancestry, great wealth and high reputation. With him was associated a younger man, Boethius, who had been placed under the care of Symmachus in early life and had married his daughter Rusticiana. Boethius enjoyed the confidence of Theodoric, and in 522 his two little sons were made consuls, an honour that Boethius repaid by a great oration in praise of the king.

But now Theodoric's attitude changed. Throughout Western Europe the Arian cause was losing ground, for the Frankish kingdom was still growing and the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms had passed into the hands of Catholic rulers. Just at this juncture an

officer of Theodoric's Court, Cyprian, who held a position not unlike that of public prosecutor, accused a Roman noble named Albinus of treasonable correspondence with the Emperor. It is impossible to say whether Cyprian was acting from patriotic or personal motives, but his accusation was strongly resented not only by Albinus but by Boethius, who warmly espoused the cause of his friend. "Whatever Albinus did," he said, "I and the whole Senate of Rome did the same." Cyprian, thus challenged, replied by charging Boethius with treason and procuring his arrest.

In the events that followed there is much that is obscure. The exact nature of the charges against Boethius is uncertain; what is certain is that he was not accorded a fair trial. He was condemned by his fellow-senators without being heard in his own defence, and sentence of death was passed against him. After some months in prison he was executed.

The *Con-*
solations of
Philosophy

The name of Boethius is remembered now, not only as almost the last great Roman, but even more as the author of a book written in prison during the last few weeks of his life, the famous *Consolations of Philosophy*. The purpose of the book, which is in prose, with poems interspersed here and there, is to explain how, after the Muses had vainly tried to comfort the prisoner, Philosophy, appearing in the guise of a tall and beautiful woman, came to him and spoke of the vanity of human hopes, and the satisfaction to be found in resting in God. There is nothing distinctively Christian in the book, though Boethius himself was a Christian; it is the last word of the old Stoic world of Marcus Aurelius

and Seneca. As a text-book of philosophy the book became one of the most cherished possessions of the early Middle Ages; it was translated into English by Alfred the Great and into most of the other languages of Europe.

The mission of Pope John followed almost immediately after the death of Boethius, and before the death of the Pope Symmachus had been accused and executed. Theodoric had declared war on his Roman subjects, and it is hard to say what the issue of the contest would have been. But before Theodoric could put into execution an edict ordering the churches throughout Italy to be handed over to the Arians, he was stricken with mortal disease, and died on 30th August, 526. He is said to have bitterly lamented on his death-bed the acts of violence that had stained the last years of his life. Many historians are disposed to account for them by the theory that Theodoric had in these last years become partially insane. Certainly it is not easy, on any other theory, to explain the extraordinary transformation in his character.

Death of
Theodoric,
526

Theodoric was buried at Ravenna, where his tomb still stands. But the porphyry vase that held his remains has vanished long ago, like the Gothic kingdom that he tried to establish. The history of the decline and fall of that kingdom can be told only in outline.

Eutharic had died long before his father-in-law, and the throne passed to his little son Athalaric, for whom Amalasuetha acted as regent, with Cassiodorus as chief adviser. But Amalasuetha, whose sympathies were with her Roman subjects rather than with the ruder

Reign of
Amala-
suetha,
526-34

Gothic warriors, alienated the Goths by attempting to give her son the education of a Roman lawyer instead of that of a Gothic chief. After a time he escaped from her tutelage, only to ruin himself with self-indulgence and to die at the age of eighteen, in 534. Amalasuetha then invited the only surviving relation of the late King, Theodahad, to become her colleague on the throne. He accepted the offer, and almost at once deposed Amalasuetha, who soon after perished at the hands of a disaffected party of Gothic nobles.

Imperial
interven-
tion

But now a new power appears on the scene. The story of the revival of the Empire will be told in a later chapter. By the year 535 Justinian, having completed the conquest of North Africa, was ready to profit by the confusion in Italy, and to make good the claims of the Empire to those Italian lands that the emperors had never ceased to regard as a part of their dominions. By the year 536 Justinian's generals had wrested Dalmatia from the Goths, and the greatest of his commanders, Belisarius, had landed in Sicily and captured the island with little difficulty.

In the spring of this year Belisarius crossed into Southern Italy, and the long death agony of the Gothic kingdom began. With the fall of Naples all Southern Italy passed into the hands of the Imperial general. The Goths then, in a great national assembly, deposed the worthless Theodahad, who was hunted down and slain on the way to Ravenna. In his place a veteran Gothic warrior, Witigis, was raised on the shields of the Goths as their king. But the Imperial cause still prospered. Witigis withdrew northwards, leaving only a small

garrison in Rome, and on the approach of Belisarius this garrison marched out of the city, which Belisarius occupied, fortified and victualled.

He had rightly judged that the Goths would soon repent of their mistake in abandoning Rome. By the spring of 537 Witigis marched south at the head of the whole Gothic army, and after a tremendous contest outside the walls of the city shut up Belisarius and his forces in Rome. A year's siege followed, marked by infinite resourcefulness on the part of the Imperial general and much strenuous fighting on the part of the Goths, but in March, 538 the Goths broke up their encampments, where they had suffered grievously from disease, and marched north to meet an attack on Ravenna by a fresh Imperial force.

It took Belisarius two more years of hard fighting to reach Ravenna, which he blockaded. He is said to have won the city by pretending to agree to a proposal of the Goths that he should himself accept the throne of Italy. Witigis was sent as a prisoner to Constantinople, and Ravenna became, and remained for two hundred years, the centre of Imperial rule in Italy.

Just at this juncture Belisarius was recalled by the Emperor, and the administration of the newly recovered province of Italy fell into the hands of a body of capacious and often incompetent Byzantine officials—men who oppressed and robbed with impartial injustice the soldiers of Belisarius and the native nobles of Italy.

At this time the position of the Goths seemed desperate. Many of them had submitted to the Empire, and the reconcilable remnant had retired to the one remaining

Recall of
Belisarius,
540

stronghold in Italy, the city of Ticinum (Pavia). Here they chose Ildibad as their king. After a time his scanty forces began to be augmented by deserters from the Imperial army, and before the end of the year 540 he was able to take the offensive and win a great victory at Treviso, which gave back most of Northern Italy to the Goths.

A short period of internal dissensions checked, for a time, the rising tide of Gothic success. Ildibad was murdered by the adherents of a rival faction, and his successor, Eraric, was in his turn slain. Then, in the autumn of 541, the last great hero of the Gothic race was elected as king. He was the nephew of Ildibad, and is known to the Greek chroniclers of the time as Totila, though his real name appears to have been Baduila. His reign of eleven years forms a splendid close to the story of Ostrogothic rule in Italy.

Totila knew that his chance of regaining Italy depended on his securing and retaining the goodwill of the Italian people, alienated by the exactions of the tax-gatherers of Justinian. He therefore repressed plundering among his soldiers, and contented himself with levying from the people the taxes that they would have had to pay to the Imperial officers. So successful was this policy that within two years of his accession he had reconquered the whole of Italy with the exception of a few cities, of which the most important were Ravenna and Rome.

Alarmed at this sudden change, Justinian sent Belisarius, who had for some time been in disfavour at Court, back to Italy, with very inadequate resources,

Gothic
Revival
under
Totila

Return of
Belisarius,
544

to reconquer the lost province. In the five years of desultory war that followed Belisarius did nothing worthy of his great reputation, excepting his occupation and defence of Rome. Totila had blockaded Rome, which was defended by a small Imperial force, and after a brave but unsuccessful attempt by Belisarius to break the boom that Totila had placed across the river Tiber to prevent fresh provisions coming into the city by sea, a part of the garrison betrayed the city to Totila, who entered without any resistance, the Imperial troops marching out on the other side. It is said that Totila at first proposed to raze the whole city to the ground, but was persuaded by the entreaties of his great antagonist Belisarius to abandon the idea. Instead, he tore large gaps in the walls, so as to make the city indefensible, and then marched away leaving it deserted, and not allowing a single human being to remain behind.

Into the deserted city Belisarius, with a thousand soldiers, marched about a month later, and within twenty-five days he had rendered it once more defensible, with hastily constructed walls rudely heaped together. After one vain effort to regain the city Totila and his Goths marched away, leaving the Imperial general entrenched among the ruins of the city that had once been the mistress of the world. Two years later, when Belisarius had been recalled from Italy, Totila succeeded, through the treachery of part of the garrison, in once more making himself master of Rome, and he now invited the Roman nobles to return to the city, and tried to repair the ravages of war.

Expedition
of Narses,
552

Meanwhile the Emperor determined on one last effort to win back Italy. His Grand Chamberlain, Narses, a man already over seventy years of age, was placed in command of a great host of barbarians, attracted to his standard by the hope of the plunder of Italy. He marched overland, and arrived at Ravenna without encountering any resistance. But a little farther south he met the army of Totila, and a great battle ended in the complete defeat of the Goths, who were outnumbered and perhaps outgeneralled. Totila was slain as he was flying from the field.

The end of
the Goths,
553

The end of the Goths had come. For a few months a new leader, Teias, strove to make headway against the power of the Empire, but town after town surrendered to Narses, and at length the remnant of the Gothic army was hemmed in near Naples, and after vainly seeking refuge in the rocky fastnesses of Mons Lactarius they made one last desperate attack on the Imperial forces. After two days of hand-to-hand combat, during which Teias was slain, the Goths offered to leave Italy and find a home in some barbarian kingdom. Their terms were accepted, and they marched across the passes of the Alps and vanished—we know not whither.

Theodoric's great attempt to build up a kingdom of Italy, by welding together Roman and Teuton under his sway, had failed. Thirteen centuries were destined to pass before the royal House of Savoy achieved the goal that the great Ostrogoth had failed to reach.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE FRANKS

AMONG the latest of the Teutonic peoples to cross the frontiers of the Empire was the tribe, or rather confederation of tribes, to whom the Romans gave the name of the Franks.¹ They came from the Thuringian forest district, where a river called the Sala (Saale), a tributary of the Maine, flows across the land still known as the *Unter Franken*. It was probably from this river that they, or a part of them, acquired the name of the Salian Franks.

We first hear of Frankish inroads across the Rhine about the year 250. From this time they were constantly crossing the frontier, either as raiders to plunder the Roman cities, or as allies to enrol themselves in the Imperial armies.

In the fifth century the Franks fall into three sections. There were the Franks who remained near the cradle-lands of the race, in Thuringia; those who settled along the middle Rhine, and who were called the Riparian Franks; and those who moved farther north and

¹ The origin of the name is uncertain. The two most probable explanations are (1) that the name was derived from a Keltic (Breton) word *franc*, meaning "open" and so "free," (2) that it was derived from a Teutonic word *Franci*, meaning "ferocious".

occupied those lands north of the Roman province of Gaul that were afterwards called the Low Countries.

Early in the fifth century these Northern Franks, under a chief named Clodion, moved southward, and drove the Roman garrison out of Cambrai in 445. Clodion then seized Tournai, which became the capital of a new Frankish kingdom. His successor, Merowig, who is said to have taken his part in the great battle of Châlons that drove Attila out of Gaul, died about 457, and was succeeded by his son Childeric.

Legend and history are probably blended in these earlier chapters in the history of the Merovingian house, but with the accession of Childeric's son Clovis,¹ in 481, the history of the Frankish kingdom really begins.

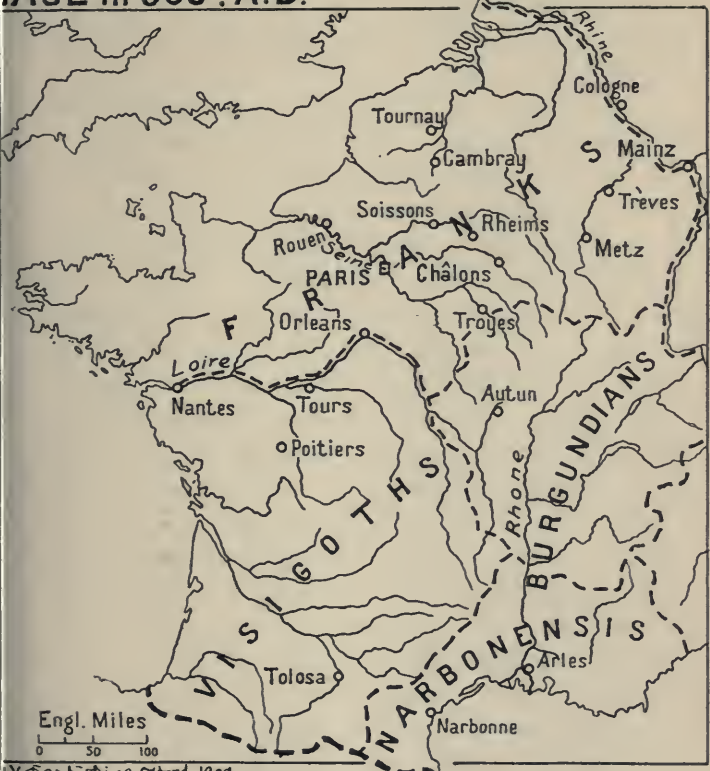
Accession
of Clovis,
481

When Clovis succeeded to his father's throne his kingdom was one of four little Frankish kingdoms in Northern Gaul. Siegbert was king of the Ripuarian Franks, with his capital at Cologne; Ragnakar ruled at Cambrai, Cararic at Terouenne and Clovis at Tournai. Farther South, in the valley of the Seine, was the one district of Gaul still under Roman rule—the independent kingdom of Soissons, which Ægidius had founded, and which was now ruled by his son Syagrius. Ægidius was an old enemy of the Franks, and it was not long before the young Frankish King found an excuse for attacking Syagrius. In alliance with Ragnakar of Cambrai, Clovis marched against him, defeated him in a great battle near Soissons, and drove him out of his kingdom. South of the Loire lay the great kingdom of

Defeat of
Syagrius

¹ His Frankish name was Chlodovech, which in later German becomes Hlodwig and Ludvig, and in its Latinised form Clovis and Louis.

GAUL in 500 . A.D.



V. Barbistire, Oxford, 1909.

Euric the Visigoth, who had died in 485, leaving a son Alaric, a boy of about sixteen years of age, to succeed him. To Alaric Syagrius fled for refuge, but on the demand of Clovis the Visigoths delivered up their guest, who was promptly murdered by the Franks. The whole kingdom of Syagrius, including the city of Paris, fell to Clovis.

In 491 Clovis marched against and subdued a tribe of Ripuarian Franks, and so extended his dominions to the borders of Siegbert of Cologne, with whom, for the time, he remained on friendly terms.

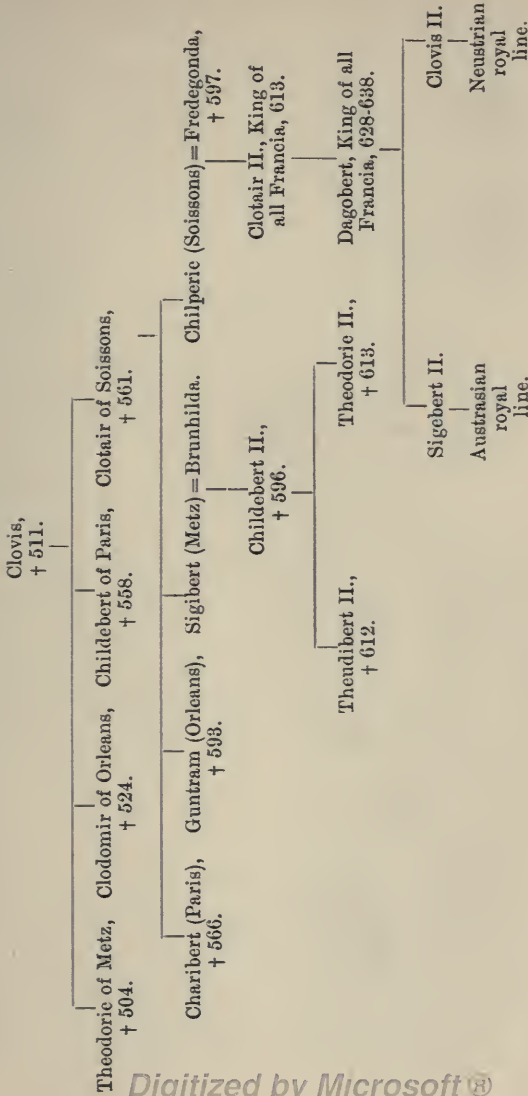
This southward extension of Clovis' kingdom brought him into contact with two important tribes—the Burgundians in the South and the Alemanni in the East. With the former of these he entered into friendly relations, and married Clotilda, the niece of the reigning King, Gundobad. Gundobad was an Arian, but his niece had been converted to the Catholic faith, and Clovis, who was a pagan as yet, was drawn by her influence in the direction of orthodox Christianity.

The actual conversion of Clovis is connected with an expedition against the Alemanni, a confederation of Teutonic tribes who had settled in the lands watered by the Maine and the Neckar. It is said that Clovis, hard pressed in a fight at Tolbiac, prayed to the Christ whom his wife worshipped to give him victory, and that while he prayed his enemies broke and fled.

Conversion
of Clovis,
496

Whatever truth there may be in the story, it is certain that in 496 Clovis was baptised at Rheims, the old ecclesiastical capital of Northern Gaul, by the aged Bishop Remigius. The bishop was attended by most

EARLY MEROVINGIANS



of the bishops of the province, while Clovis brought with him three thousand Frankish warriors to be baptised with him. Gregory of Tours has recorded Remigius' famous speech to the King: "Bow thy neck, Sicambrian; adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored" (*Mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti*).

The baptism of Clovis is one of the most important turning-points in European history. How much sincere conviction had to do with his acceptance of Christianity it is impossible to say—certainly Christian virtues are not conspicuous in his after-life—but as a political step his alliance with the Catholic Church was a most sagacious move in the struggle for power going on between the various Teutonic chiefs of Western Europe. For it threw all the influence of the Catholic clergy on to the side of the Franks. The kings of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals and Burgundians were Arians, and however tolerant they might be, there could be no real co-operation between them and the orthodox clergy. But when Clovis led his people into the fold of the Church a new alliance began between the Frankish kings and the Roman Church—an alliance that was destined, more than any other event of history, to shape the ideas and institutions of Mediæval Europe. As Bishop Avitus of Vienne said, writing to Clovis soon after his baptism: "Wherever you fight in these lands, it is we (the Church) who conquer".

The first result of Clovis' baptism was the establishment of friendly relations with the cities of Brittany, which had hitherto withstood his efforts to gain control

Struggles
with Bur-
gundy

over them. Soon after, a domestic quarrel in the Burgundian royal house gave the Frankish King an opportunity. Godegisil, brother of King Gundobad, sent to Clovis offering, as later feudal language would have expressed it, to hold the kingdom of Burgundy of him if he would help him to drive out his brother. Nothing loth, Clovis marched into Burgundy and Gundobad fled to Avignon. But for some reason that is not clear, Clovis withdrew his forces soon after and Gundobad returned, and, having put his brother to death, resumed the kingship.

But if Clovis failed in Burgundy he soon extended Alemanni his kingdom in another direction. About the year 503 he was again at war with the Alemanni. He drove them from their lands by the Maine and Neckar, and settled his Frankish followers in their place. The Alemanni fled into the territories of Theodoric, who took them under his protection and forbade Clovis to pursue them further. They settled in the district that roughly corresponds to the modern states of Wurtemberg and Baden and part of Switzerland—a district of which we shall hear again as the Duchy of Alemannia or Suabia.

The Burgundian war is important chiefly because it led to an alliance of Arian kings, under the leadership of Theodoric, to check the growing power of the Franks.

If the allies had joined in an attack on the dominions of Clovis it would have gone hard with the Frankish King, but Theodoric was anxious for peace, and without his help the other kings were not strong enough to attack the Franks,

Visigoths

The initiative came from the Franks. In 507 Clovis assembled his warriors and announced to them: "I take it ill that these Arians should hold any part of Gaul. Let us go out with God's help and overthrow them, and bring their land under our sway." The proposal was promptly welcomed and the Franks marched to attack the Visigoths. Alaric, rashly taking the offensive without waiting for Theodoric's troops to come to his help, was defeated and slain in a great battle near Poitiers. The prize of the victory was almost all the Visigothic kingdom north of the Pyrenees, including the great cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse. After this success Clovis returned home, leaving his son Theodoric, in alliance with Gundobad and the Burgundians, who had gone over to his side, to press the siege of Arles, which held out successfully for nearly two years, till relieved by the Ostrogoths in 510. In that year a great army, under the command of Count Ibbas, one of Theodoric's best generals, crossed the Alps and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Franks and Burgundians. The war ended, as already mentioned, in a compromise between Clovis and Theodoric.

Meanwhile Anastasius had rewarded Clovis' attack on the Arian kingdom of the Visigoths by bestowing on him the consular office, and at Tours the Frankish King was invested with the purple tunic and mantle of a Roman official.

Last years
of Clovis,
509-11

The last two years of Clovis' life and reign were, according to Gregory of Tours, filled with crime and bloodshed. His first victim was the aged King of the Ripuarian Franks, who was murdered by his son Cloderic,

it is said at Clovis' instigation. Cloderic, in his turn, was slain by some messengers of Clovis, and the king himself then came to Cologne and was elected as ruler of the Ripuarian kingdom. Cararic, king of the Frankish kingdom of Terouenne, was then seized and murdered and his kingdom annexed by Clovis. Ragnakar of Cambrai soon after shared the same fate.

Thus the whole Frankish district of Northern Gaul passed into the hands of Clovis, who died in Paris in the year 511, at the age of forty-five, leaving his kingdom to be divided between his four sons.

At this point it will be convenient to say something about the organisation of the Frankish kingdom. The Franks, like the other German tribes who found their way into the Empire, brought with them the same Teutonic system of government that Tacitus describes in his *Germania* three hundred years before. At the head of the tribe or nation was the king, elected by the armed warriors as their war leader. His person was protected by special penalties, and certain lands were assigned to him for his maintenance. His actual power must have varied much. A king like Clovis, skilled in war and statecraft, was probably nearly autocratic. But a weaker king might easily be little more than a tool in the hands of his nobles.

One change that followed on the migration of the tribes was that the king gradually came to be thought of as the owner of the territories that he ruled. It followed that the same law of inheritance that held good for the lands of the nobles came to be applied to the kingdom. The Frank system of inheritance was

equal division between all the male descendants of the family. Accordingly we shall find that on the death of a Frankish king his kingdom was divided among his sons—an arrangement that gave rise to continual contests.

Even earlier than this the kingly office had generally become restricted to some noble family, descended generally from some hero of the national history—some Amal or Meroving or Cerdic.

Nobles

Next in power to the king stood the nobles. In the primitive Teutonic constitutions these formed a council, by whom the king was advised and by whose influence his power was held in check. But migration and war raised to power among the Teutonic peoples a new class of warrior-nobles, the “ thegns ” of the king, whose interest it was rather to exalt than to curb the power of the king.

Warriors

Below the nobles were the free warriors of the tribe, who assembled two or three times a year for consultation over such questions as peace and war and for important judicial business. As the Frankish kingdom grew in extent such meetings must have become less frequent, and the actual share of the armed warrior in the work of government much less.

Serfs and slaves

Below the armed warrior class there grew up two other classes—the class of serfs, often perhaps conquered peoples who were allowed to retain certain right in return for labour on the land of their overlord—and the class of slaves, whose lot appears to have grown harder when the Teutonic peoples came under the influence of Roman legal ideas.

The Franks, like the other Teutonic peoples, brought with them into the Empire a body of unwritten customary law. This law, modified by local conditions, was after a time written in Latin in a number of codes, of which the most famous is the Salian or Salic Law. This code was compiled before the conversion of the Franks to Christianity, but contains later additions by Clovis and his successors. The code consists of regulations about judicial procedure and statements of the "wehrgeld" or compensation payable for various classes of offences. The "wehrgeld" for slaying a Frankish freeman was 200 solidi, for a serf (*letus*) 100 solidi. A Roman was reckoned as equal to a serf, with a wehrgeld of 100 solidi, while that of a slave was about 30 solidi.

The chief officers of the State, next to the king, were the *grafio* (count), who ruled over a *pagus* or shire; then the *sacebaro*, or ruler of a hundred, and the *thunginus*, apparently a popularly elected officer of the hundred.

The Salian Code also contains regulations for trial by ordeal—a method of trial that the Church, in those early days, encouraged, in cases where no evidence of a decisive kind was forthcoming.

The Salian Law shows us the legal system of the Franks just as it comes into contact with the Roman Law and the Law of the Church. Both these were destined to influence deeply the development of Frankish institutions, as we shall see later.

In Gaul the Franks found at least two peoples of earlier settlement. The Gauls, a Keltic race, formed

The Gauls
and
Romans,

the peasantry of the conquered lands. They were not exterminated or driven out, as the Britons were by the Anglo-Saxon invaders of this country, but became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their conquerors. Above these were the Romanised inhabitants—men of many races, who had settled in the Empire at an earlier time, and had become Roman in language and ideas. Between these and the newcomers friendly relations gradually grew up, and the influence of this Roman civilisation modified by degrees the language and character of the Franks of the West, while those who remained on the other side of the Rhine retained their Teutonic language and customs.

Partitions
of Frankish
Empire

The history of the Frankish kingdoms after the death of Clovis can be told only in outline. His Empire—for such it had really become—was parcelled out by his sons into four kingdoms, having their capitals at Metz, Orleans, Paris and Soissons. The period that follows is marked by the extension of the frontiers of the Merovingian lands and by constant struggles between the members of the royal house—struggles in which murder plays as large a part as open contest.

Theodoric, Clovis' eldest son, to whom the kingdom of Metz had fallen, carried his frontiers eastwards into Thuringia and to the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile the other three brothers joined in an attack on Burgundy, which was absorbed into the Frankish kingdom in 534. A little later Theodebert, son of Theodoric of Metz, overran and conquered from the Ostrogoths the old Roman province of Provence, and so brought the Frankish realm to the shores of the Mediterranean.

During all this time internal feuds went on between the brothers and nephews, till, in 558, Clotair of Soissons became the sole survivor of the Merovingian house, and reunited under one rule all the possessions of the Frankish family. He died in 561, almost his last public act having been to capture his son Chramnus, who had rebelled against him, and burn him alive, with all his family.

Clotair left four sons, who again partitioned the Frankish realm. And now two new figures appear upon the scene where they are destined to play the leading parts in a ferocious and bloodthirsty drama. The first of these was Brunhilda, a daughter of the Visigothic King of Spain, who became the wife of Siegbert of Metz. The other was Fredegonda. Audovera, wife of Chilperic of Soissons, brought her to the Court as her maid, but she succeeded in inducing the king to repudiate his wife. He then married Brunhilda's sister, but Fredegonda after a time secured her murder, and succeeded to her place as queen at Soissons. Brunhilda naturally regarded the upstart murderess with deadly hatred.

War followed between the two kings, but Fredegonda, having secured the assassination of Siegbert at the moment of victory, murdered one by one all the children of her husband excepting her own son Clotair, and then finally her husband himself.

Meanwhile a series of events too complicated to tell in detail, placed Childebert, Brunhilda's son, on the thrones of Paris, Orleans and Burgundy in 593. Years of war followed, during which the authority of the surviving kings of the Merovingian house over the vassals

Brunhilda
and Frede-
gonda

declined. Childebert died in 596, leaving Brunhilda as regent for his two little sons. Next year Fredegonda also died, just as her plan for uniting all the Franks under her son's rule seemed on the verge of success. Still the contest went on, till the death of Brunhilda, who was brutally done to death by Clotair in 614, left the son of Fredegonda as sole ruler of the Frankish realm.

In these long years of contest the Merovingian kingdom gradually fell into three divisions, Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, the first comprising the Teutonic lands of the east, the second the Latinised lands west of the Scheldt and Meuse, the last the lands farther south, watered by the Rhone.

The condition of Western Europe at this period is well summarised in Milman's *History of Latin Christianity* :—

Condition
of Western
Europe

“It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under the Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism had introduced into Christianity all its ferocity, with none of its generosity or magnanimity. Its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty and even of sensuality. Throughout assassinations, parricides and fratricides intermingle with adulteries and rapes. That King Clotair should burn alive his rebellious son with his wife and daughter is fearful enough, but we are astounded even in these times with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he coveted.

Fredegonda sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clergymen. She causes the Archbishop of Rouen to be murdered while chanting the service in his church; and in this murder a bishop and an archdeacon are her accomplices. Marriage was a bond contracted and broken on the lightest occasion. Some of the Merovingian kings took as many wives, either together or in succession, as suited either their passion or their politics."

Devastated by civil war, the lands of Western Europe also suffered, in this sixth century, the horrors of plague and hostile invasion. The chroniclers of the time are full of records of the superstitious terrors awakened by the pestilence that swept across Europe, striking down its victims by thousands, and appearing to the terrified eyes of men as a visible demon armed with a dart. And on the society disorganised by pestilence, wild tribes of Saxons, Huns and other peoples broke, plundering and slaying. Unless there had arisen new leaders to defend the frontiers, Western Europe must have relapsed into barbarism and anarchy. \

CHAPTER VI

JUSTINIAN

Justin,
518-28

THE death of Theodoric coincides with the beginning of a revival in the Empire under the great Emperor Justinian. In 518 Anastasius the Emperor died, and Justin, the commander of the Illyrian Imperial guard, was selected by the soldiers as his successor. He was an Illyrian by race, and had served in the armies of the Empire for fifty years. His nine years' rule as Emperor was marked by few events of importance. He was illiterate and unaccustomed to civil business, and adopted his nephew Justinian, for whom he had provided a thorough education, as his colleague. On his death, in 528, Justinian succeeded as sole Emperor.

Accession
of Jus-
tinian

The Empire of which Justinian now became undisputed master had been strengthened and enriched by seventy years of almost unbroken peace. Occasional frontier wars gave occupation to the army, without seriously affecting the prosperity of the people, while an efficient body of officials conducted the administration. Justin, by his profession of orthodoxy, had closed a long-standing dispute between the Emperors and the Church authorities, and his nephew was therefore able to exercise autocratic authority both in Church and

State. Justinian had already shown himself an eager student of all departments of knowledge, and when he became his uncle's colleague he quickly developed great powers of administration. His industry and grasp of affairs were the wonder of the Court. Unemotional and pitiless, he ruled his Empire with an unwearied diligence that left little time either for sleep or recreation. While deficient in the highest qualities of statesmanship he was able and ambitious; and was well served by the officers whom he gathered around him, and to whom the carrying out of his schemes was entrusted.

Before he became Emperor he had married Theodora, a woman of remarkable beauty and force of character, who had been a dancer at the theatre. Whatever her earlier life may have been, she appears, after her marriage, to have given no opportunity for scandal, and to have been forward in promoting charitable works. Soon after Justinian's accession to the throne the celebrated "Nika" riots gave her the opportunity of showing her strength of will.

Of the two factions in Constantinople, Justinian's dynasty was supported by the "blues," the "greens" ^{The "Nika" sedition} being generally hostile. Encouraged by the Imperial patronage, the blues appear to have created something like a reign of terror in the city, till at last Justinian determined to assert his authority. An opportunity for doing so occurred in January, 532, when a faction fight began in the city which ended in the two factions joining together to attack the authorities. After some days of rioting, in the course of which a considerable part of the city was burnt, the people seized Hypatius, a

nephew of Anastasius, and compelled him to be crowned as Emperor.

The fate of Justinian seemed to hang in the balance, and some of his ministers advised him to fly. But Theodora repudiated the suggestion with indignation, and declared that "Empire is a fair winding-sheet". Emboldened by her words, the Emperor determined to abide the issue. Belisarius, with all the troops that could be got together, was sent to attack the rioters, while Narses, the chamberlain, was sent to bribe the leaders of the blues and sow disaffection between the allied factions.

Belisarius marched to the Hippodrome, where the people were assembled, and breaking in with his army began a massacre in which, it is said, about 35,000 people perished. The blues and the greens still went on and disturbed the peace of the city with their contests, but their political importance ceased after the great Nika sedition, and the throne of Justinian was never again menaced by their attacks.

The reign of Justinian is notable especially for three things—his conquests, his laws and his buildings.

Justinian's
conquests

Justinian's great desire was to restore the ancient glories of the Empire by reconquering the Western provinces that had been lost to it in the previous century. The time was propitious for such an undertaking. The Teutonic kingdoms in the west were no longer ruled by their first conquerors, but by their degenerate descendants. And, moreover, the Teutonic conquerors had not succeeded in winning the support of the Roman population in the lands that they had conquered. In

Italy, especially, they remained practically a garrison in a hostile country.

The first of the Western kingdoms to be reabsorbed^{1. North Africa} was the Vandal kingdom of North Africa. There a Catholic king, Hilderic, was deposed by an Arian rival, Geilamir. The usurper met the protests of Justinian with insult, and in 533 Justinian equipped an expedition under the command of the great general Belisarius. The Roman fleet arrived, after a protracted voyage, to find the Vandals entirely unprepared for defence, and Belisarius marched to within ten miles of Carthage before he met the army that the Vandal king had hastily collected. After a hard fight the Vandal host was broken, and the victorious Romans entered Carthage amid the cheers of the provincial population, who welcomed the Imperial army as their deliverers from the hated Vandal yoke. One more fight outside the walls of Carthage finally broke the power of the Vandals, and Belisarius came home in 534, bringing great spoils and the Vandal king as a captive to grace his triumph. Geilamir was generously treated by Justinian, and allowed to live in Phrygia in comfort to the end of his life. North Africa became once more an Imperial province.

The story of the reconquest of Italy has been already^{2. Italy} told. It began with Belisarius' conquest of Sicily in 535, and ended with the victory of Narses in 552.

Two Persian wars interrupted this campaign in the^{Persian wars} west. The first of these, lasting from 528 to 531, was the war in which Belisarius won his first laurels. It ended in an inconclusive peace. The second began in 540,

and was due to the fear of the young Persian king, Chosroes, that, as soon as Justinian's campaign in the west was over, he would turn eastwards and overwhelm the Persian power. Resolving to take the initiative, he marched into Syria and captured and sacked the great city of Antioch, the third city of the Empire in wealth and splendour. Belisarius was recalled from the west to meet this new danger, and three years of indecisive contest followed, interrupted by the great plague that ravaged the whole East in 542. Soon after, Belisarius, falling into disgrace at Court, was recalled, and the war dragged on for two years longer, ending in a five years' truce in 545. At the end of this time the war was renewed, the centre of contest being the district of Colchis, on the shores of the Black Sea. At last, in 555, the Persians made peace, abandoning Colchis in return for a money payment.

The chief importance of these Persian wars, in their bearing on European history, was that they drained away the military and financial resources of the Empire, and were among the causes that necessitated the heavy burden of taxation that Justinian laid upon his subjects.

Justinian's
buildings

A large sum was also spent in subsidies to Hunnish and other barbarian tribes on the northern frontier to buy off their opposition, while the Imperial armies were occupied with the Italian and Persian campaigns. But it was not only on war that the resources of the Empire were expended. Justinian was a great builder. In all parts of the Empire churches, aqueducts, bridges, fortifications, attested his wealth and energy. Supreme among his architectural triumphs stands the great

Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, on the site of Constantine's Church of the Divine Wisdom, which had been twice destroyed by fire. Anthemius of Tralles was the architect of the new church, for the adornment of which the temples of Asia and of Greece were plundered of their richest marbles and columns. When completed, it must have been a spectacle of unparalleled magnificence, with its great dome "in which the sunlight seemed to grow," its hundred columns and its golden altar. St. Sophia became the model to the whole Eastern world for centuries, and remains still the greatest example of the Byzantine style of architecture.

But of all the works of Justinian, that which exercised the greatest influence on after-times was his codification of Roman Law. After the establishment of the Empire, the Imperial constitutions, issued by the authority of the Emperor, took the place of the *leges* passed in the *comitia*. From time to time these constitutions had been collected into codes, the last collection having been made in the time of Theodosius (438). But since that time many fresh constitutions had been issued, and Justinian determined to set about the compilation of a new code that should be simpler and more complete than any yet issued. A commission of ten men, of whom the quæstor Tribonian was the most important, undertook the work in 528, and in the following year the Code of Justinian was published.

This was followed by a much more difficult undertaking. Much of Roman law was not in the form of constitutions but in the form of opinions given by lawyers of recognised authority—*responsa prudentum*,

The Code
of Roman
Law

The
Pandects

as they were called; very much as English Common Law is based on verdicts given by judges in the past. These *responsa* had been collected in many large volumes, but they had never been arranged on any system and often contradicted each other. Justinian determined to put this mass of material into order, and he appointed a new commission in 530 for that purpose.

It took seventeen lawyers three years to read through all the existing collections of *responsa*, eliminate contradictions and superfluous matter, and rearrange the whole in one series of volumes. The code thus drawn up, known as the *Digest* or *Pandects*, became henceforth the recognised authority for Roman case law.

The *Institutions*

Besides these two great works, Justinian issued a manual of the principles of Roman law in four volumes, specially for students—the *Institutions*.

The administrative work of the Empire was well conducted under Justinian, but all other functions of government were subordinated to the supreme necessity of raising funds for Justinian's wars and buildings and the payment of the army of officials who conducted the administration of the provinces. Justinian's expedients for raising money were often discreditable. He is said to have sold offices, to have confiscated the property of private citizens, and once at least to have attempted to debase the coinage—an attempt only frustrated by a threat of insurrection.

Much of Justinian's energies were spent over ecclesiastical controversies, into which there is no need for us to enter. He claimed the most autocratic authority

over the Church in the Empire and wrote several treatises and letters on doctrinal questions.

∕ In December, 565, Justinian died. His reign of nearly forty years, while it had restored Italy and North Africa to the Empire for a time, had exhausted the Eastern provinces that constituted the real strength of the Empire. Even before his death there were ominous indications that the resources of the Empire had been overtaxed, and almost immediately after his death the collapse of his system showed on how unsubstantial a foundation it rested. Had Justinian, instead of turning his ambitions westward, concentrated his attention to developing the defences of the eastern frontiers of the Empire, the crescent-flag of the Prophet might never have waved over Jerusalem or Antioch, and the course of human history might have been different to a degree almost impossible to exaggerate.

∕ The latter half of the sixth century was a period of ^{Justin II., 565-578} misfortune for the Empire. The Persian war broke out again in the east, while the newly conquered lands in the west were overrun by fresh migrations of barbarians. ∕ Justin II. (565-578), who succeeded his uncle without opposition, declined to continue the subsidies that his predecessor had paid to the Persians and to the Avars and other tribes on the Danube. The result was that the Empire became involved in a war with the Persians that lasted for nearly twenty years, while the Avars began to break through the northern frontiers of the Empire.

Four years before his death Justin lost his reason, ^{Tiberius II., 576-582} and was succeeded by Tiberius II., a distinguished

military officer, whose short reign of eight years was chiefly notable for an attempt to win popularity by remitting many of the most oppressive taxes. But as Tiberius tried at the same time to propitiate the army by rich and frequent donations, he left to his successor a depleted treasury and an impoverished Empire. Just before his death he nominated as his successor one of the best of his generals, Maurice, who reigned for twenty years (582-602), striving manfully but vainly to carry on the affairs of the State with a bankrupt exchequer and an army constantly on the verge of mutiny. Finally, in 602, the Danubian army rose in mutiny against an order to winter in the open, and under their leader, Phocas, marched to Constantinople. Maurice fled with his children, but was pursued and beheaded by order of the usurper, dying, it is said, with the words on his lips, "Just art Thou, O Lord God, and just are Thy judgments".

Maurice,
582-602

For seven years Constantinople suffered the brutalities and incompetence of Phocas, and the Empire seemed on the verge of destruction when deliverance came from an unexpected quarter. The exarch Heraclius, who ruled North Africa for the Emperor, rose in rebellion, and fitted out a fleet, which he sent under the command of his son, Heraclius, in the spring of 610, to Constantinople. Heraclius met with no opposition, and the tyrant Phocas was handed over to him in chains and sent to share the doom of his predecessor.

Phocas,
603-610

Heraclius

One most important series of events of these troubled years remains to be noticed. While the Lombards were pressing into Italy and the Persians ravaging Asia Minor,

Avar
invasions

hordes of uncivilised barbarians came across the Danube and settled in the Balkan district. The earliest of these invaders were the Avars. Of the same race as the Huns, they had moved westward from the highlands of Central Asia, and appeared now in the lands north of the Danube. For a time they received a subsidy from Justinian as a kind of frontier-guard; but soon after the accession of Justin, the Avar *chagan*, or king, made a treaty of alliance with the Lombards for a joint attack upon the Gepidæ, a Teutonic tribe occupying lands north of the Danube. The outcome of the attack was the destruction of the Gepidæ, and the acquisition of their lands and the neighbouring province of Pannonia by the Avars, who now became one of the strongest powers of Central Europe. For many years the relations between the Avars and the Empire were generally hostile, intervals of peace being purchased from time to time at the cost of heavy subsidies.

While these contests were in progress men of another race were finding their way into the devastated lands of the Balkan district in ever-increasing numbers. We cannot yet locate with any certainty the primitive home of the Slavonic race. The Slavonic language belongs to the Aryan or Indo-European family of languages, but the early history of it is unknown. All that is certain is that Slavs began to drift into the Empire from beyond the Danube in the third century in the same way that Teutons came into Gaul from beyond the Rhine. The word "slav" or "slave" appears to be derived either from the root *slovo* (a word) and so to mean "the man who speaks intelligibly," or from a

root *slava*, meaning "glory". But so many people of this race passed into the hands of German tribes as captives in war that the word slave, originally a title of honour, became the name for an "unfree" man.

The Slav migrations, at first insignificant, gradually grew larger, as the weakness of the Empire and the desire to escape from the Avar yoke at once tempted and drove them across the Danube. They came into the Balkan Peninsula, not as the Ostrogoths or Visigoths had come, to ravage and depart, but to settle there as permanent occupiers of the land. They were a savage people, primitive alike in their methods of agriculture and war. They settled in small communities, and carried on a constant guerilla war with the Roman authorities. It was impossible to dislodge them from their shelters among the forests and mountains; if a body of them were lured into the open and exterminated, the successful army might be assailed among the woods by an ambushed foe armed with poisoned darts. So at last, in all the lands from Belgrade to Adrianople, and from the mouth of the Danube to the frontiers of Greece, the Latin language gave place to the Slavonic, and the Roman Empire in the east was cut off by a new barrier from her ancient provinces in the west.

CHAPTER VII

BENEDICT OF NURSIA AND COLUMBAN

AT about the same time that Justinian was drawing up his Code of Roman Law among the splendours of Constantinople, a lonely monk on an Italian mountain was drawing up the rule that was destined to regulate the monastic life of Western Europe for seven hundred years.

Monasticism had its earliest home in the east, where, at the end of the fourth century, Basil of Cappadocia drew up a body of regulations for the life of the monasteries. The monastic idea gradually spread to the west, and in the dark days of the break-up of the Roman civilisation of Gaul and Italy many men sought refuge in the austerities of the religious life, either in small communities or as hermits in complete isolation. Among all these men one name stands conspicuous—that of Benedict of Nursia.

He was born about the year 480, just after the accession of Odoacer to the kingship of Italy. The little town of Nursia, which was his birthplace, lay under the shadow of the Apennines, about twenty miles from Spoleto. His parents were in a good position, and were able to give their son an education at Rome,

Early life
of Benedict

whither he was sent while still a boy. Shocked and startled by the wickedness of the city, he determined after a time to abandon his studies and adopt the monastic life. Accompanied by his nurse, he set out in search of a deserted place where he might give himself to meditation and prayer, and after staying for a time at Efida, he fled secretly across the hills to Subiaco, where he met a monk named Romanus, who admitted him to the monastic order and took him to a cave on the hillside, where he stayed for three years hidden from the eyes of men. Here Benedict passed through a time of contest, resisting with difficulty the allurements of the world that he had forsaken. On one occasion, in his determination to conquer unholy desires, he is said to have plunged naked into a thicket of thorns and nettles; and a beautiful old legend tells how, when St. Francis of Assisi visited the monastery seven hundred years after, the thorn bushes suddenly turned into roses.

Gradually the fame of the young hermit spread throughout the district, and the monks of the neighbouring monastery of Varia requested him to become their abbot. A short experience served to show that his rule was too strict for them, and he returned for a time to his home in the wilderness.

But now from all parts of Italy men who desired to enter the monastic life flocked to him, so that before long there were no less than twelve monasteries around Subiaco under his rule. About the year 528, moved by a desire for greater solitude, and partly also by the opposition of some of the neighbouring clergy, Benedict, with

Monte
Cassino,
528

a few friends, left Subiaco and travelled southwards to Monte Cassino, the celebrated hill about half-way between Rome and Naples that was destined to become the centre of the Benedictine monastic movement. It is characteristic of the confusion of the times that the little party of monks found, on their arrival, that the peasants still offered sacrifice to Apollo at an altar on the hillside. This altar Benedict destroyed, erecting in its place a Christian church.

For fifteen years Benedict remained at Monte Cassino, and many are the miracles recorded in the life of St. Benedict by Gregory the Great, which is our chief source of information about him. One of the most interesting episodes in Gregory's life is the interview between the saint and the great Gothic warrior Totila. Totila first Meeting of Benedict and Totila put the powers of the holy man to the test by sending his sword-bearer, disguised in his armour, and attended by his body-servants, to the abbot, who promptly penetrated the disguise and sent the sword-bearer back to his master.

“Then, in his own person, the same Totila approached the man of God, but when he saw him sitting afar off he did not dare to approach him, but cast himself on the ground. Then, when the man of God had twice or thrice said to him ‘Rise,’ but still he did not dare to raise himself from the earth, Benedict the servant of Jesus Christ condescended to approach the prostrate king and cause him to rise. He rebuked him for his past deeds, and in a few words told him all that should come to pass, saying:—

Much evil hast thou done,
 Much evil art thou doing,
 Now at length cease from sin.
 Thou shalt enter Rome ;
 Thou shalt cross the sea,
 Nine years shalt thou reign,
 In the tenth shalt thou die.

When he heard these words, the king, vehemently terrified, asked for his prayers, and withdrew ; and from that time forward he was less cruel than aforetime. Not long afterwards he entered Rome, and crossed to Sicily. But in the tenth year of his reign by the judgment of Almighty God, he lost his kingdom with his life.”¹

Soon after this meeting, in 543, Benedict died, leaving his monastery of Monte Cassino as a kind of beacon-light shining through the darkness and confusion of the years that followed. The rule that Benedict drew up for his monks was adopted by other monasteries till it became, and remained for hundreds of years, the monastic rule for all the monks of the west.

The *Regula*
 of St.
 Benedict

Up to this time the monasteries of Western Europe had adopted rules from the east, but had been very lax in discipline. Benedict's *Regula* provided a uniform system of monastic life, strict enough to curb the hot passions and self-will of the time, yet not so strict as to be impossible to enforce. Benedict himself describes them as “a school of Divine service, in which nothing too heavy or rigorous will be established”. The two central principles of the *Regula* are labour and obedience. Every monk must spend seven hours a day in

¹ Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, iv., 489.

manual labour and two hours in reading. He must also yield prompt and willing obedience to the commands of the abbot, who, however, was not an absolute monarch over his little realm, since he was obliged to consult the monks in chapter about all questions of importance affecting the monastery. On the death of an abbot, his successor was to be elected by the monks. Every monastery was to have its own mill, bakery and gardens, so that the monks would not be obliged to depend on the outside world for supplies. Hospitality was to be offered freely to strangers and to the poor. "Let every stranger be received," says the rule, "as though he were Christ Himself, for it is Christ Himself who shall one day say to us, 'I was a stranger, and ye took Me in'." Absolute community of goods existed within the monastery, every monk being obliged, on admission, to renounce all private property.

The monks were recruited from two sources. There were, first, the children entrusted by their parents to the monastery; and, secondly, the men of mature age who sought shelter in monastic life from the troubles and temptations of the world. According to Benedict's rule, these candidates were to be subjected to severe tests and a year of probation as novices before they were admitted to membership. Once admitted, they bound themselves by the strictest vows to remain for life in the monastic order.

The rules regulate the life of the monks in every detail. Seven times a day they were to gather in the chapel for services, which consisted largely of Psalms chanted by the monks. At meals, which were simple,

but adequate, each monk served in turn. They slept, not in separate cells, but in one long dormitory, and by the rules of the order were to sleep in their day-clothes and shoes, and to train themselves to do with very little sleep.

So completely did the rule of St. Benedict supersede all other monastic rules in Western Europe that Charles the Great, two hundred and fifty years later, ordered a careful inquiry to be made as to whether there were any monks in his dominions who observed any other rule than that of St. Benedict. And later monastic rules, such as those of Cluny in the tenth century, or of Citeaux in the twelfth, were only attempts to interpret, in relation to the needs of later times, the *Regula* of the Father of Western monasticism.

The age that followed the death of Benedict was the great missionary age of Western monasticism.

Irish
missions

It would be impossible to tell in detail the story of the labours of the monks who carried the Christian faith to the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples of Western Europe. One of the greatest of them, Columban, may serve as a type for the rest. In the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland became a great centre of literary culture and of missionary effort. Its schools helped to keep alive the study of the great Latin authors, whose works were in danger of being forgotten, and its missionaries went out into all lands of Western Europe.

Columban,
543-615

Columban was born in Ireland in the same year that Benedict died at Monte Cassino. He was educated in the liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric and geometry, and fled to monastic life to escape the allurements of the

world. He went first to Bangor and then, with twelve monks as his companions, to Gaul, where, finding religion and morality at a low ebb, he set himself to the task of reviving them. He then settled in Burgundy under King Gontram, who gave him a disused castle on the site of an old Roman town at Luxeuil, in the forest country of the Vosges mountains. There a great monastery grew up, over which Columban exercised stern discipline. His rule was much stricter than that of St. Benedict—too strict, indeed, to be kept by any but an elect few.

Columban's Irish customs soon brought him into contest with the Bishops of Gaul, and to this was added a contest with Brunhilda and her grandson, who had succeeded Gontram in 593 as king in Burgundy. As a result he was expelled from Luxeuil. After visiting the kings of Neustria and Austrasia he determined to undertake the directly missionary work to which he had long been drawn and settled at Bregentz among the still heathen Alemanni. His chief helper was Gall—the apostle of Swiss Christianity and founder of the far-famed monastery of St. Gall. The methods of the missionaries were not those best calculated to avert opposition. We read of their throwing the idols of the people into the lake and even burning down the temples. They were reduced to living on such fruits and fish as they could find for themselves. Obligated at last to leave Alemannia, Columban crossed the Alps into Italy, and found his way to the Court of Agilulf, the Lombard king, whose wife, Theodelinda of Bavaria, had already done much to bring Christianity to the Lom-

Bobbio

bards. Agilulf gave Columban some land at Bobbio in the Apennines; and there he built a monastery which became a great missionary centre for the conversion of the Lombards from Arianism. In his old age he left Bobbio to pass his closing days in solitude at Trebbia, and there he died in 615.

Columban's rule gradually gave place in the monasteries he had founded to the milder and more practicable rule of St. Benedict, and the three great monasteries of Luxeuil, St. Gall and Bobbio remained for long as centres of light and learning in Burgundy, Switzerland and Northern Italy. From Luxeuil the monastic system spread into Neustria, and a number of daughter monasteries grew up, of which Jumièges and Remiremont are the most famous.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

IN an earlier chapter we have traced the history of ^{Heraclius,} the Empire to the accession of Heraclius in 610. ⁶¹⁰⁻⁶⁴¹

The new Emperor succeeded to an Empire that seemed on the verge of dissolution. The Slavs were pouring across the Balkans and the Persians had carried their attacks into the heart of Asia Minor. To meet these dangers Heraclius had an army disorganised by mismanagement, an empty treasury and a corrupt body of officials. Under these circumstances it is not strange that for the first ten years of his reign he could do little to make headway against the invaders. Disaster followed disaster. In 613 Damascus fell, and in the following year the capture of Jerusalem by the Persian king, Chosroes, sent a thrill of horror over Christendom. Two years later Egypt fell, almost without resistance, into the hands of the Persians. So hopeless did the prospect appear that Heraclius is said to have considered the plan of moving the capital of the Empire to Carthage. But the rumour of his intentions roused the people of Constantinople to new energy. A kind of crusade was proclaimed by the clergy, who offered the wealth of the Church to equip the armies of the

Campaigns
in Asia,
622-627

Empire. Most important of all, Heraclius resolved no longer to entrust the war to his generals, but to assume supreme command himself. After patching up a treaty with the Avars, who had actually penetrated within forty miles of Constantinople itself, Heraclius started for the east, where in six years of strenuous warfare he proved himself the greatest general of his age. It is impossible to tell in detail the story of Heraclius' campaigns, which closed with a great victory at Nineveh and the sack of Chosroes' palace near Ctesiphon. Meanwhile, in 626, the Avars, acting as allies of the Persians, besieged Constantinople, which was splendidly defended by Bonus the patrician and by the Roman fleet, which guarded the Bosphorus and so prevented the Persians from sending help to their allies. In 628 Heraclius came home in triumph, bringing peace to the Empire and the spoils of Jerusalem, including the "True Cross," which the Persians had been compelled to surrender.

Birth and
early life of
Moham-
med, 570-
620

But while Persia and the Empire were fighting out their long contest, a new power was rising in the east, which was destined to sweep both away. In 570, five years after the death of Justinian, and two years after the Lombard invasion of Italy, Mohammed was born, at Mecca, an important commercial town in Southern Arabia. /

The Arabs of this district had attained to a certain measure of civilisation, and lived under a strict system of tribal law. Their religion was a kind of polytheism, each tribe having its own tutelary deities. A supreme God (*Allah*) was vaguely conceived of behind these

tribal gods, but the whole religious system was effete and had little influence over conduct or life.

Mohammed's family was a poor one, but at the age of twenty-four he entered commercial life as partner with a widow named Khadija, whom he shortly afterwards married. Through some relatives of his wife he came into contact with a body of religious reformers, the "Hanifs," who sought for the secret of holiness of life in the rejection of polytheism and complete submission (*Islam*) to the will of Allah.

Influenced by them, he began to spend long periods in prayer and meditation, till at length he became conscious of a mission to teach the truths he had learned to the men of his city. His teaching was received with bitter hostility, and those who avowed themselves his followers were persecuted and in some cases driven out of the city. At last Mohammed resolved on a decisive step, and in 622, having sent his followers on before him, he fled to Medina. This is the celebrated "Heriga" or Flight of Mohammed, from which the followers of the prophet date the rise of the new religion. At Medina the new prophet soon found himself undisputed master of the city, and organised a political commonwealth under laws drawn up by him. His system was designed to bind together all who accepted it in the closest bonds of union, and to sever them from the unbelieving world by a great gulf. He borrowed something from Judaism, and something from the corrupt forms of Christianity with which he had come in contact in Southern Arabia. But the fundamental article of his creed—the unity of God—he had

The
"Heriga,"
622

learned from the Hanifs. With them it was a truth for quiet meditation, but in the hands of the prophet it became the war-cry of a new contest that shook the Arab world to its foundations. In December, 623, Mohammed and his followers won the battle of Bekr over a force of Arabs from Mecca, and from that time the external history of Mohammedanism is the history of an advancing tide of conquest that swept over all the east, rolled as a devastating wave over the provinces of Egypt and North Africa, and was checked at last in the west only by the barrier of the Pyrenees and the sword of Charles Martel.

Progress of
Moham-
medanism

Before Mohammed died, in 632, all Arabia was under his sway. His successor, or "Khalifa," Abu Bekr, after suppressing a rebellion among the Arab followers of the prophet, launched two great armies against the Persians and the Empire.

Persia, 641

The conquest of Persia was rapid and complete. By the end of 641 all the lands over which the Persian king had ruled passed under the sway of the Moslem power. In the same year Egypt was overrun and absorbed, almost without resistance, in the ever-growing territories of the Arab conquerors.

Syria, 634

Meanwhile the invasion of Syria, checked for a few months by the forces of the Empire, went forward under the leadership of the fierce leader Khaled, the "Sword of God". In 634 the invaders won the terrific battle of Yermuk, almost exterminating a force of eighty thousand Imperial troops. Damascus was sacked next year, and Heraclius took the field in person, only to find himself helpless against the fierce fanaticism of the new foe.

While these conquests were in progress, the Khalifa ^{Jerusalem,} died and was succeeded by Omar, the greatest of all ⁶³⁷ the successors of the prophet. Under his wise rule the work of conquest went on. Antioch fell in 637, and in the same year Jerusalem surrendered. So great was the veneration of the Moslems for the city that they accounted second only to Mecca in sacredness, that Omar crossed the desert expressly to receive its surrender in person. On the site of the Temple he built the great mosque that still bears his name. With unusual toleration he granted to the Christians the control of the Holy Places.

Heraclius lived to see the whole province of Mesopotamia overrun by Saracen¹ hordes and the seaport of Cæsarea captured. He died in 641, just before the fall of Alexandria and the beginning of the attack on Asia Minor.

After a short period of confusion, Heraclius was ^{Constantinus, 641-} succeeded by his grandson Constantinus, or Constans ⁶⁶³ as the Western chroniclers call him. During his boyhood the course of Saracen conquest went on, though more slowly. Alexandria was recaptured by the Empire, and recaptured again and partly destroyed by the Moslems. Part of North Africa fell into their hands. They also began to develop a navy which gradually grew large enough to dispute the mastery of the Mediterranean with the Imperial fleet. They won a great victory in a naval engagement off the coast of Lycia in 652, the Emperor himself only escaping with difficulty. But

¹ The name Saracen, given by Roman writers to the Arabs, is derived from an Arabic word *sharki*, meaning eastern.

soon after this the Empire secured a respite through the outbreak of civil war between two rival candidates for the Kaliphate—Muavia of Syria and Ali of Mesopotamia.

Some years passed before the Saracen conquests were resumed. During this time Constantinus made a last attempt to reorganise the sadly diminished provinces of the Empire, now consisting of Asia Minor, the western part of North Africa, a strip of country round the coast of the Balkan Peninsula and some parts of Italy. Constantinus spent the last six years of his life in Italy and Sicily, trying to restore the prestige of the Empire in the West. After a successful campaign in Southern Italy he settled at Syracuse, within accessible reach of North Africa, where, in 663, the Saracens renewed their attacks on the Empire. Before his death, in 668, Asia Minor was also suffering from their ravages. For eight years Constantine Pogonatus (the bearded), who succeeded, carried on a struggle with the invaders—the most notable episode of the war being a great siege of Constantinople by the Saracens, in 673, which ended in their disastrous defeat. The only other event of note in the reign of this Emperor was the arrival in the Balkan Peninsula of a new body of invaders, the Bulgarians. They were a tribe of Hunnish race, but they soon began to unite with the Slav tribes who were already settled in the district into which they came, and gradually lost their Hunnish language and characteristics.

Constantine
"Pogonatus,"
668-678

Justinian,
685-695

On his death, in 685, Constantine was succeeded by his son Justinian, a youth of seventeen, who was en-

couraged by a successful attack on the Bulgarians, and by the internal feuds that now divided the Moslem world, to attempt to reconquer Syria. The campaign proved a complete failure, and Justinian developed into a bloodthirsty and cruel tyrant. Finally a palace revolt drove him from the throne and plunged the Empire into twenty years of complete chaos.

Meanwhile the tide of Moslem conquest rolled on. In 698 Carthage finally fell, and the whole of North Africa passed under the sway of the Saracens. The province had long been divided by religious controversies, and had already been harried by the Vandals, but the ruins that still remain along the coast of North Africa suffice to show how rich and prosperous the great cities that fringed the shore of the Mediterranean had been in the days when Rome dwelt secure and unchallenged.

Moslem
Conquest
of North
Africa, 698

Fifteen years later, Sardinia fell into the hands of the Saracens, and Cappadocia and Pontus were overrun in the following years. The doom of the Empire seemed inevitable, and an expedition was already marching against Constantinople when Leo the Isaurian, a general in the Roman army, won the Imperial throne, and began the struggle that was destined to preserve Constantinople for centuries as the great bulwark of Europe against the followers of the prophet.

A little before this check in the east the Saracens had won their last great success in the west. For a century the Visigothic kingdom in Spain had been crumbling into decay. Originally Arian, the Visigothic kings had now become stern champions of orthodoxy, and Jews and Arians alike suffered bitter persecutions.

Spain, 710

About the year 710 the storm of Moslem invasion broke on the disorganised and enfeebled kingdom. A vast horde of Arabs and Moors, landing at the spot (Gibraltar) that still bears the name of their leader, Tarik (Gebel Tarik = the hill of Tarik), smote the last Gothic king, Roderic, in a great battle on the banks of the Guadelete, and within three years all Spain, excepting the mountainous districts of the North, had passed into their hands. A land that impotent sovereigns, fanatical clergy, turbulent nobles and down-trodden serfs had left helpless in its hour of need, was now destined, under the rule of great Moslem chiefs, to become a centre of art and learning and industry.

Except for Italy and Greece, and the lands fringing the Balkan Peninsula, the whole of the coast-line of the Mediterranean had now passed under the sway of the Mohammedan power. In the east the battlements of Constantinople still frowned defiance across the Bosphorus, and in the west the strong nations beyond the Pyrenees were ready to dispute, in one great day of battle, the further advance of the crescent flag.

The menace of this great advance of Moslem power awakened among the still unconquered peoples of Northern Europe a new sense of common interest. Christianity itself was now in danger, and watching for some champion to arise to organise the forces of resistance. Around such a champion there would inevitably gather all the associations of the Roman Imperial idea. So in less than a hundred years after the Saracen conquest of Spain, Charles the Great was crowned in the great ca of Rome, and the Holy Roman Empire began.

CHAPTER IX

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY

WE left Italy cleared of her Gothic invaders and ruled by Imperial officers. But in reality much of Northern Italy had become a depopulated desert, whose empty and uncultivated plains were only broken by an occasional garrison town. Into these ownerless territories there came, in 568, a new tribe of barbarian immigrants, the Lombards. Coming of the Lombards, 568 Among the various Teutonic tribes they had been almost the last to move southward, and for nearly a century had occupied the lands along the Danube adjoining those of the Ostrogoths and the Gepidæ. Their name of Lombards (*Langobardi*) was probably derived from the long beards that gave a ferocious aspect to these fierce warriors.¹ A detachment of them fought as mercenaries under Narses in 552, so gaining their earliest knowledge of Italy; and fifteen years later, after assisting the Avars to exterminate the Gepidæ, the whole tribe moved south under its king, Alboin, and poured almost unopposed into the plains of Northern Italy. One by one the Roman garrison towns surrendered, till Ravenna alone

¹ Other derivations have been suggested, from *barta*, an axe, or *bord*, shore, so making the name mean "men of the long axe" or "long-shoremen".

Death of
Alboin, 572

remained as an Imperial stronghold. But the new Lombard kingdom had scarcely been organised when Alboin died. The story of his death is dramatically told by Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards. After the defeat of the Gepidæ, Alboin had the skull of the Gepid King, Cunimund, whose daughter Rosamund he had married, made into a drinking bowl, and in a drunken carouse in Verona, in the year 572, he called for Rosamund and bade her drink joyfully from her father's head. Enraged by the insult, Rosamund procured the assassination of the King.

Lombard
settlements
in Central
Italy

Deprived of their leader, the Lombards broke up into smaller parties, each under a chief, and spread farther and farther into Central and Southern Italy. They made no attempt at systematic conquest, but settled wherever fancy led them, so that Central Italy gradually became dotted over with small Lombard settlements, intermixed with those of the native Italians. The native population was probably spared and reduced to a condition of serfdom. Farther south the two great Duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum grew up. Only a few fragments of Italy remained in the hands of the Empire, chiefly along the coast, which possessed no attractions to people like the Lombards unaccustomed to a seafaring life. These scattered possessions of the Empire were ruled by the Exarch of Ravenna, though the actual extent of his authority over Rome or Naples must have been very slight.

Authari,
583-590

It would be a tedious task to trace in detail the history of the Lombard kingdom, which was re-established in 583 by the election of Authari. His marriage

with Theodelinda, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, brought the Lombards in touch with Christian in-



fluences, and about the year 590 the Lombard king, Agilulf, who had succeeded to the kingdom and the

hand of Theodelinda, was baptised with many of his followers.

Agilulf,
590-615

The first half of the seventh century was a time of prosperity and expansion for the Lombard kingdom. District after district was won from the Empire, which was too much occupied in Eastern wars to be able to defend its provinces in the West. Agilulf, who reigned for twenty-five years, was succeeded, after a short interval, by another great ruler, Rotharis, who is known in history as the author of the first Code of Lombard Laws, drawn up "with the counsel and consent of our advisers, and of all our armed forces". Rotharis' code shows little trace of Roman influence; evidently the process of fusion between the races had hardly yet begun.

Rotharis,
636-652

While the Lombards were settling in Northern Italy, Rome was passing slowly out of the hand of the Empire and into the hands of her new rulers, the Popes.

Rise of the
Papacy

From the first beginning of the Christian Church, Rome, as the capital of the Empire, and as the Church associated with the two great apostles Peter and Paul, gave to its bishop a position of special honour among the bishops of the west. And in the centuries that followed several causes tended to increase the importance of the Roman See. In the Arian controversy of the fourth century the bishop of Rome had been the strongest champion of orthodoxy in the west, and when Constantine moved the capital of his Empire to Constantinople the bishop became the most important figure in the old capital. In the east the bishops of the three great cities of Constantinople, Antioch and

Alexandria were granted the title of Patriarch¹ and a certain primacy of dignity over the other dioceses of the east. In the west the only other bishop whose position could at all rival that of the bishop of Rome was the bishop of Carthage, and when the Vandal invasion swept much of the organised Church life of North Africa away, the Roman See became undisputed head of the younger Christian Churches that were gradually growing up in Illyria, Gaul, Britain and elsewhere.

At this period the bishop of Rome may be regarded as exercising four kinds of authority. As bishop he exercised immediate control over the city of Rome; as metropolitan he superintended the seven bishops whose dioceses lay around the city—the seven “cardinal-bishops,” as they were afterwards called; as patriarch he had a somewhat undefined authority within the whole of the Prefecture of Italy; while as the senior Bishop of Western Europe he claimed a general right to intervene in all Church matters where the interests of the whole Church were affected. The emperors of the fifth century, ruling either at Constantinople or Ravenna, were not unwilling to concede large powers of jurisdiction to the Roman bishops, while keeping the Patriarchs of Constantinople more strictly under their own authority.

The decline of Antioch and Alexandria gradually left the Patriarch of Constantinople as the senior bishop in the east, and in the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon an attempt was made to place the two Sees

¹ The Bishop of Jerusalem was also accorded the title and status of “Patriarch,” but without any defined area of jurisdiction.

of Constantinople and Rome in a position of equal dignity. But this canon Rome declined to accept, and the long contest between the Eastern and Western Churches may be said to have begun from that point.

Leo the
Great, 440-
461

Leo the Great (440-461) was, among all the early bishops of Rome, the one who did most to extend the authority of the Roman See, both by the vigour with which he asserted the authority of the bishop of that see as the successor of St. Peter, and by the ability with which he intervened in theological controversies, both in the east, where he led the battle against Euty-chianism,¹ and in Spain, where he supported the orthodox party against the Priscillianists.¹ Leo was incomparably the greatest figure in the ecclesiastical world of his time, and though his successors were men of less striking character they kept most of the ground that he had won.

The Pope
and the
Empire

With the Arian Theodoric the bishops of Rome generally kept on good terms. We have already seen the only notable exception in the case of John I. whose embassy to Constantinople ended so disastrously for himself and the peace of the world.

¹ The Euty-chians were the followers of Euty-ches, a monk of the fifth century who asserted that our Lord's human nature was absorbed in the Divine. His opinions were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, but were revived in the later Monophysite and Monothelite heresies—heresies that taught that our Lord has only one nature, or one will. The Priscillianists were a sect that arose in Spain in the fourth century, partly as a reaction against the worldly tendencies of the Church. Their doctrinal teaching appears to have been a sort of Gnosticism. They were ruthlessly stamped out by a policy of persecution, in which their leader, Priscillian, suffered death.

The Pope,¹ as we may now begin to call him, was elected by the "clergy, Senate and people of Rome," but as elections had not infrequently led to faction fights and disputes, Theodoric tried to introduce a more satisfactory method of appointment in 526 by nominating Felix as Pope; and Felix, in his turn, issued a letter to the "clergy and senate" nominating Boniface, the Arch-deacon, as his successor. A period of confusion and party contests followed, and while this was going on the Gothic rule in Italy came to an end, and the Imperial authority again became supreme. For some time the Popes were the nominees of the faction in power at the Byzantine Court. Vigilius (537-555) and Pelagius I. (555-560) were imposed on Rome by the emperors, and they were followed by three insignificant Popes, and then by the restorer of the Papacy, Gregory the Great.

By this time the Lombard invasions had profoundly changed the position of the Bishops of Rome towards the Empire. For not only did the presence in Italy of a common foe draw the Pope and the Emperor into friendly relations, but also the Lombards practically cut off the territories around Rome from the Imperial lands round Ravenna, and so threw the Popes on their own resources for defence and organisation.

For centuries the Bishops of Rome had been receiving grants of lands around Rome and elsewhere.

¹The title "Papa" (father) was originally given to all Bishops, and is now used in the Greek Church for priests (as the title father is used by the Roman Church). It was not till 1076 that the title of Pope was definitely limited by the Western Church to the Bishop of Rome.

“ Ever since the restriction of the Eastern Empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of his schemes and prayers had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighbourhood of the capital. He had indeed a sort of justification, for Rome, a city with neither trade nor industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved on the bishop to provide ” (Bryce). The revenues of this *Patrimonium Petri*, as it was called, were applied not only for the relief of the poor but also for the maintenance of the Pope and his clergy, and it was natural that the idea of territorial sovereignty should grow up in connection with it as soon as Imperial authority had ceased to be more than nominal.

Gregory
the Great,
540-604

Gregory the Great came of a noble Roman family and was born about the year 540. While studying for his father's profession of magistrate, Gregory was taught to love religion by the precepts and example of his mother Silvia. When he was only a little over thirty years of age he was appointed by Justin II. as *Prætor Urbis*, an office of great importance and dignity. But on his father's death a few years later, he renounced the secular life, disposed of the considerable sum that he had inherited in founding seven monasteries, and himself became a monk. From austerities that were permanently injuring his health he was rescued by Pope Benedict I., who ordained him as deacon and sent him to Constantinople as his envoy. Gregory stayed some time at Constantinople, and then returned to become abbot of the monastery that he had founded in Rome.

In 590 Pelasius II, died, leaving Rome in dire distress,

with the Lombards ravaging outside the walls, and the plague and famine destroying within. The general instinct turned to Gregory as the man for the hour, and he was unanimously elected, in spite of his own reluctance, as Pope. His first work was to call for a season of repentance, and to institute processional litanies. A monument of these litanies still remains in the name of the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome, for it was said that on the site on which that castle now stands Gregory saw, as the procession went by, the avenging angel sheathing his sword.

The task that lay before the new Pope was a sufficiently discouraging one. As he himself says, the Roman Church was "like an old and violently scattered ship, admitting water on all sides, its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck".¹ Immediately on his accession he set about the work of internal reform. He regulated the monasteries, placed their business arrangements in the hands of laymen, endeavoured to enforce a rule of celibacy among the secular clergy, wrote a manual of episcopal duties, the *Regula Pastoralis*, which remained for centuries a text-book for all bishops of the West. He also introduced those changes in the method of chanting that are still associated with his name, and established schools of "Gregorian" music in Rome.

He next proceeded to place on a business footing the administration of the "Patrimony of St. Peter," appointing *rectores* or *defensores* to manage the lands that belonged to the see, in Italy, Africa, Gaul and elsewhere. We see from his letters how carefully he supervised the

Gregory's reforms

work of these officers, and how earnestly he tried to guard against oppression or misgovernment on the estates that belonged to the Church. The revenues received from these lands were divided into four equal parts, for the Pope, the clergy, the fabric and services of the churches, and the poor. Gregory's own benevolences were on a colossal scale.

While this work of internal reform was in progress, external affairs claimed the attention of the Pope. The relations between the Emperor and the Pope needed defining, the raids of the Lombards required to be curbed, and the task of evangelising the still heathen parts of Europe awaited fulfilment.

Gregory
and the
Empire

Gregory's relations with the Empire need not be considered in detail. While recognising the Imperial authority, Gregory guarded jealously the independence of the Church in spiritual things, and more than once he came into collision with Maurice on such questions as the appointment of bishops. These collisions may serve to explain the extraordinary letter of congratulation written by Gregory to Phocas after his cold-blooded murder of Maurice and his children. The relations between the Empire and the Pope were further complicated by a quarrel that arose between John the Patriarch of Constantinople and Gregory, due to the claim made by the former to the title of "universal bishop"—a claim that Gregory passionately resented, but did not succeed in inducing the Patriarch to surrender. Gregory's chosen title for himself—a title ever since borne by the Popes—was "servus servorum Dei".

With the Lombards Gregory tried to establish friendly relations. The marriage of Theodelinda gave the Pope a friend at the Lombard Court, but the task of protecting Rome from Lombard ravages was made more difficult by the unwillingness of Romanus, the Exarch of Ravenna, to agree to any peace with the invaders. More than once Agilulf threatened to besiege Rome, and the city was reduced to great distress. But in his letters to the Emperor, Gregory represents the exactions of the Imperial officers as more grievous than even the depredations of the Lombards. The Empire could neither defend Rome nor leave it to itself. However, in 599 Gregory succeeded in bringing about a peace between the Lombard king and the exarch.

It was not only the Lombards from the north who proved a thorn in the side of the Pope. The Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum were troublesome neighbours, and the exarch practically left to Gregory the task of organising the defence of the Imperial territories in the south of Italy. "Gregory appointed civil and military officers himself. He nominated Constantius tribune of Naples when that city was hard pressed by the Lombards, and entrusted the administration of Nepi, in Southern Tuscany, to Leontius. He made peace on his own account with the Lombards when they were at war with the Imperial representative, and asserted that his own station was higher than that of the exarch." All this greatly enhanced the prestige of the Papacy, and laid the foundation of those territorial claims that were destined to play so large a part in the subsequent history of the Roman Church.

Gregory's
missions

Gregory was also a zealous promoter of the missionary activity of the Church. His most notable achievement in this direction was the mission to England, which had lapsed into paganism after the Anglo-Saxon conquest. It was while he was Abbot and Papal Secretary under Pelagius that the well-known incident is recorded to have occurred of his meeting the Northumbrian children exposed for sale in the Forum of Rome. He is said to have actually started for England when the outcry of the Roman people compelled the Pope to recall him. Eight years after he became Pope, he sent Augustine on the mission to England, the history of which belongs to English rather than European history.

Gregory's pastoral care extended over the whole of Western Europe. He wrote letters of congratulation and good advice to Reccared, the Visigothic king, on his renunciation of Arianism at the Council of Toledo in 589; he corresponded in friendly fashion with the Bishops of Gaul and their Frankish sovereigns; he tried to wean the Irish bishops, by peaceable discussion, from the heretical opinions that they held.

The
Papacy in
the seventh
century

Gregory died in 604, having, in his fifteen years of rule, raised the "Apostolic See" to a new position of authority in Europe, and laid the foundation for those claims that reached their full expression nearly five hundred years later.

For more than a century after the death of Gregory the Papal chair was filled by men of no special importance, nominees, for the most part, of the emperor or his exarch. The only important exception was Martin I.

(649-653), whose opposition to the efforts of Constantine to induce Monothelites and defenders of orthodoxy to live together in peace brought him into collision with the Emperor, who lured him to Constantinople, and there arraigned him on a charge of political intrigue, and had him deposed and imprisoned till his death a few months later.

The anarchy that followed the death of Constantine V. once more threw on the Popes the work of providing for their own defence, and so helped to inaugurate a new period of advance in the powers of the Papacy. This new chapter in the history of Rome opens with the election of Gregory II. to the Papal chair in 715.

The latter half of the seventh century is also a period of comparative unimportance in the history of the Lombards. Rotharis was succeeded by his son, who was shortly afterwards murdered, and a nephew of Theodelinda then reigned for ten years, leaving the throne, on his death, to his two sons. Between the two heirs war soon broke out, and Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, seized the crown and for nearly ten years kept the Lombard territories intact, in spite of the attempts of Constantine to re-establish the Imperial authority. On his death the Lombard nobles summoned back one of the brothers whom Grimoald had chased from the kingdom, Berthani, whose seventeen years of rule were a time of peace and good government in the kingdom.

His son Cunibert, who succeeded on his death in 688, was disturbed by rebellions among his nobles, and a

time of civil wars between rival claimants to the throne lasted till the accession of Liutprand in 712.

Thus early in the eighth century the Papacy and the Lombard crown passed almost simultaneously into stronger hands, and the history of Italy becomes once more full of interest.

CHAPTER X

THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE

IN a previous chapter we carried the history of the Frankish kingdom down to the end of the sixth century. After the ferocious record of the rivalries and contests of Brunhilda and Fredegonda the chronicles of the Merovingian kings become a dreary record of ineffective figures that pass over the stage in long succession, decorated with the flowing hair that was the sign of royalty among the Franks, but neither wielding, nor apparently desiring, any real power.

But as the Merovingian kings degenerated their power passed into the hands of a new body of men—the Mayors of the Palace.

The title of *Major Domus* or *Magister Palatii* was ^{The Major} _{Domus} borrowed from the old Imperial *régime*. The office grew up naturally as the Frank government became organised. Originally a household officer of the Court, the Mayor of the Palace became, like the Justiciar in Norman England, the king's right-hand man, controlling the administration when the king was at the wars, and watching over the relation of the *leudes* to the crown. Where the supreme power was in the hands of a minor, or of a woman, the power of the mayor was necessarily augmented. From the first there seems to

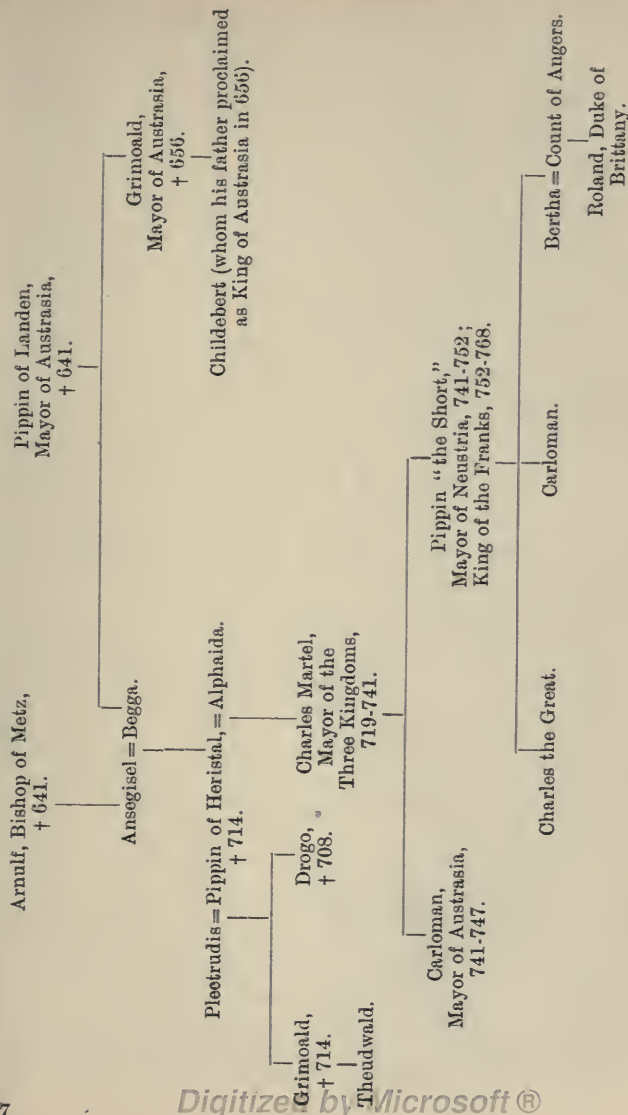
have been a difference between the Mayors of Neustria and Burgundy, who were the champions of royal authority against the nobles, and those of Austrasia, who appear rather as the champions of the rights of the nobles against the Crown. As a result of this, the mayoralty in Austrasia tended to become an hereditary office, held by the leading noble family of the kingdom, while the Mayor in Neustria is more often than not a man of humble origin raised to power by the favour of the Crown.

Dr. Hodgkin thinks it possible to detect, in the position of the Mayors of Austrasia, the first beginnings of a protest by the Teutonic eastern division of the Frankish kingdom against the claims of the western kingdom of Neustria to be the true centre of the Frankish Empire. It is attractive to think of the great Austrasian Mayors as the earliest champions of German national independence.

Arnulf of
Metz, 580-
640

The great family with which for centuries the fate of the Frankish kingdoms was destined to be associated first appears in history at the moment when Brunhilda was making her last stand against Clotair, son of Fredegonda. Among the nobles who attached themselves to the cause of Clotair were Pippin, afterwards known as Pippin of Landen, and Arnulf. A year later, the See of Metz falling vacant, the people petitioned for the appointment of Arnulf. Arnulf was still a layman, but he had for some time desired to lay aside secular life and retire into a monastery, as his wife Doda had done, with his consent, some years before. But to this the king would not consent, and as bishop of Metz he

THE ARNULFING HOUSE



was retained among the advisers of the Crown, while administering his diocese with self-denying devotion. At last, in 626, his importunities wrested from the young King Dagobert a reluctant consent to his retirement, and he departed, first to the monastery of Remiremont, in the Vosges, and then, with a few companions, to the deeper solitude of Horemburg, where he spent the last three years of his life, rejoicing to undertake the most menial offices.

He left two sons, the younger of whom, Ansegisel, married Pippin's daughter Begga, and was the father of Pippin of Heristal.

Pippin of
Landen,
622-639

Pippin of Landen remained in the world of politics from which his friend had fled, and in 622 became Mayor of the Palace in Austrasia, then under the rule of Dagobert as sub-king. Perhaps his control of the young sovereign was over-strict; at all events, when his father's death raised Dagobert to the kingship of the whole Frankish realm, and transferred his capital from Metz to Paris, Pippin seems to have been for some time in practical captivity. Dagobert's death in 638 set him free to return to Austrasia, but in the following year he died, "lamented by all the men of Austrasia".

Grimoald

Pippin left a son, Grimoald, who three years later secured the position of Mayor of Austrasia under Sigibert, in spite of the opposition of many of the Austrasian nobles. In Neustria, where Sigibert's brother was king, his mother appointed a relation of the young king as mayor, and so, for a time, averted the danger of the extension of Austrasian supremacy over Neustria.

In 656 a significant event occurred. In that year Sigibert died, and was succeeded by his son, a boy of eight years old. Grimoald, thinking that the rule of *faineant* kings had lasted long enough, sent the boy away secretly to an Irish monastery, and raised his own son Childebert to the Austrasian throne. But the change was premature. The Austrasian nobles rose in support of the royal house, and Grimoald was carried off to Paris, where Clovis II. was now ruling. There "he was confined in a dungeon and bound with torturing chains; and at length, as he was worthy of death for what he had done to his lord, death finished him with mighty torments".

Grimoald's prenature bid for sovereignty seemed for a time to have ruined the prospects of his house, and the next thirty years of Frankish history is a dreary record of confusion and disintegration. The peoples on the frontiers of the Frankish realm began to shake themselves free from the Frankish yoke, and Thuringia, Bavaria and the Wends beyond the Elbe defied the impotent rulers who kept the semblance of authority at Metz or Paris. The only strong man of the time was Ebroin, Mayor of Neustria, whose character, as drawn by the possibly biassed ecclesiastical chroniclers of the time, appears as a compound of cruelty, avarice and ambition. After a few years of his rule the nobles of Neustria, led by Leodegar, Bishop of Autun (whose name is still familiar to us as "St. Leger"), called the Austrasian king to their help and seized Ebroin and his puppet-king. Ebroin was compelled to take monastic vows in the monastery of Luxeuil, and for a time

Ebroin,
Mayor of
Neustria

Leodegar administered Neustria, till a fresh intrigue sent him to join his late enemy at Luxeuil.

Next year the king died, and three puppet-claimants were set up by different factions. Taking advantage of the confusion, Ebroin escaped from his monastery, and succeeded in securing the office of Mayor of Neustria again, under his old puppet-king, Theuderich. His first act as mayor was to fetch his rival Leodegar from Luxeuil and cause him to be blinded and, a few years later, beheaded, an act of cruelty that helped to earn for the bishop the title of saint.

For seven years longer Ebroin ruled Neustria and Burgundy, keeping down with a firm hand all attempts to dispute his authority. His only serious contest was in 679 when the Austrasian nobles, with Pippin of Heristal, grandson of the old Mayor of Austrasia, at their head, dared the issue of battle with the Neustrian "tyrant"; but they were defeated with cruel slaughter, and their lands laid waste by the victorious Neustrians.

Pippin of
Heristal,
681-715

At last, in 681, the murder of Ebroin brought his rule to an end, and opened the way for the ascendancy of the Austrasian leader. At the head of a vast host of Austrasians, Pippin of Heristal marched against the Neustrian king and a feeble person whom the Neustrian nobles had chosen as mayor, and at a great battle at Testri put to flight the armies of the Western kingdom and established his authority over the whole Frankish realm.

The battle of Testri is one of the most important turning-points in the history of Western Europe, for it raised to unchallenged supremacy the great Austrasian

family with whose fortunes those of the Frankish kingdom were to be associated for more than three hundred years, till the death of the last Carolingian king, in 987, severed the last link between East and West Francia, and gave to France a new dynasty and a new destiny.

Warned by the fate of his uncle, Pippin wisely contented himself with the substance of power without laying claim to the name of king. He might probably have set up as independent King of Austrasia, where he seems to have been the unchallenged head of the nobles; but he preferred to attempt the harder task of holding the Frankish kingdom together. Making Austrasia the centre of his rule, he set up his sons, as soon as they were old enough, as Mayors of Neustria and Burgundy.

The special task that Pippin set himself was the reduction of the peoples who had taken advantage of the confusion of the period to throw off the Frankish yoke. In a great battle on the northern frontier he defeated Ratbod, the King of Frisia, and compelled him to acknowledge the Frankish overlordship, and, as the price of the marriage of the Frisian king's daughter with his son Grimoald, he compelled him to allow Christian missionaries free access to his people. Turning from the Rhine to the Danube, Pippin reduced the Thuringians, Suabians and Bavarians to subjection, and so re-established the ancient frontiers of the Frankish kingdom.

Where the sword had opened the way the cross followed. In 690 a young Northumbrian monk, Willibrord, moved by missionary zeal, landed with eleven

companions in Frisia, and finding little encouragement there went south, and at Pippin's request settled at Utrecht as a missionary in the West Frisian territory that had lately been ceded to the Franks. With the approval of the Pope, which he went to Rome to secure, he laboured there for six years, and then went again to Rome to be consecrated as Bishop of Utrecht. A long episcopate gave him the opportunity of carrying the Christian faith not only to the Frisians, but also to the Danes in the North and the unevangelised parts of Francia.

Boniface,
718-754

A few years after Willibrord's consecration, another English monk arrived in Rome to offer himself for work among the heathen tribes of Germany. This was Winfried of Crediton, better known by his later name of Boniface. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to gain access to Frisia, and after two years in England returned to the work, and was sent northward by Pope Gregory II. with a general commission to preach in Germany.

In 723, after a strikingly successful mission among the Hessians and Saxons, he returned to Rome and was consecrated as bishop, taking at the same time an oath of allegiance to the Pope which marks an important step in the subjection of Northern Europe to Papal authority.

For thirty years Boniface is the central figure in the history of the German Church, and his influence served to keep that Church in close subjection to Papal authority. He died in 754, slain by some heathen to whom he had gone as a preacher of the Gospel.

“Boniface was statesman and scholar as well as missionary, an able administrator as well as an earnest preacher; and his aim was to civilise as well as to Christianise the heathen of his fatherland. The sanction of the Papal See was almost indispensable for the success of his efforts; for the helpless feebleness of the Merovingian kings and the strong self-assertion of the Carolingians were altogether unfavourable to the growth and development of the Church.”

“It is no exaggeration to say that since the days of the great apostle of the Gentiles no missionary of the Gospel has been more eminent in labours, in perils, in self-devotion, and in that tenacity yet elasticity of purpose which never loses sight of its aim, even when compelled to approach it by some other route than that which it proposed to itself originally.”

CHAPTER XI

CHARLES MARTEL

Charles
Martel,
715-741

FEW things are more striking in the history of the period with which we are dealing than the contrast between the long succession of ineffective and shadowy Merovingians who follow one another on the Frankish throne, and the series of great leaders of the house of St. Arnulf, who for more than a hundred years hold the destinies of Europe in their hands. Even in the declining fortunes of their house, a hundred years later, the Carolingians retained much of the strenuous vigour of their great ancestors, and only when the direct line of succession ended in 987 did the crown of the West Frankish realm fall to another royal house.

Pippin of Heristal ruled over the Franks for twenty-seven years, and had two sons to whom he hoped to hand on the succession. But in 708 Drogo died, leaving two sons, and shortly after, Grimoald was murdered, leaving one little son Theudwald, now eight years of age. Pippin had now to make fresh provision for the future, and he appointed the little Theudwald as heir, with his own wife Plectrudis as regent. But besides his wife Plectrudis, Pippin, who, like most of the Frankish chiefs, retained in his domestic life traces of the earlier polygamous conditions of pre-Christian times, had an-

other wife, Alphaida, by whom he had one son Charles, now a young man, ambitious and stout of heart, and little likely to acquiesce in any arrangement that ousted him from any share in his father's dominions.

A striking drama follows. In 715 Pippin died, and the Merovingian king, now aged fifteen, received as his Mayor of the Palace a child of eight, under the guardianship of an aged and imperious grandmother. Her first step was to seize and imprison Charles; her next to raise an army to meet an insurrection of the Neustrian nobles, who having set up a certain Reginfrid as rival mayor, and allied themselves with the heathen Frisians and Saxons, poured into Austrasia and drove Plectrudis and her grandson into Cologne. In the confusion Charles escaped from prison, and rallied the Austrasian nobles to the support of his house. But Chilperic, King of Neustria, who seems to have had more energy than most of his family, marched against him, and, with the help of old Ratbod of Frisia, defeated him near Cologne. Plectrudis was reduced to purchase peace by the sur-

surrender of most of the royal treasures and the acknowledgment of the claims of the Neustrian king. But Charles fell upon the Neustrian army as it went homewards in triumph through the Ardennes, and smote it into headlong retreat at Amblève, the king and his mayor barely escaping with their lives. Next year he broke into Neustria, routed Chilperic at Vincy and chased him to Paris. As the young King of Austrasia had died in the preceding year, Charles now discovered a new puppet-king, Clotair by name, whom he seated on the throne, becoming himself Mayor of the Palace. Then

Successes
of Charles

followed the series of great blows that earned for Charles the name of Martel (the hammer). He drove the Saxons beyond the frontiers, wrested West Friesland from Ratbod, and then marched into Neustria. Chilperic and his mayor, Reginfrid, summoned to their aid Eudo of Aquitaine, who had carved out for himself an independent duchy south of the Loire. But Charles, having detached Eudo from the alliance, crushed the Neustrian forces in a last great battle near Soissons. Reginfrid maintained for a time the semblance of resistance, while the Neustrian king made terms with his great enemy, and, Charles' puppet-king having conveniently died, became king of all the Franks, with Charles as mayor of the kingdoms and undisputed master of the Frankish realm.

Einhard, Charles the Great's biographer, has described in a well-known passage the position of these Merovingian kings at this closing period of their history :—

The later
Mero-
vingians

“ For many years the house of the Merovingians was destitute of vigour and had nothing illustrious about it except the empty name of king. For the rulers of their palace possessed both the wealth and power of the kingdom, bearing the name of mayor, and had charge of all great matters of State. Nothing remained to the king except the name of king, his flowing locks and long beard. He sat on his throne and played at ruling, gave audience to envoys and dismissed them with the answers that he had been taught, or even commanded, to give. The Mayor of the Palace allowed him to live and bear the title of king, but he had nothing of his

own save one estate of small value where he had a home and a small body of servants. When he had to travel, he used a covered cart drawn by oxen and driven by a rustic retainer. In this style he travelled to and fro to his palace or to the annual gatherings of the people. The work of administration and all matters of policy at home and abroad were in the hands of the mayor."

Within a year of the establishment of peace Chilperic died and was succeeded by Theuderich. On his death, about 737, Charles did not trouble to find another Merovingian to fill the vacant throne, but contented himself with dating his official documents "The . . . th year after the death of Theuderich".

The special task that lay before Charles, as before each new mayor at his accession, was the restoration of the authority of the Franks over the outlying parts of the ancient Frank dominions that had lapsed into practical independence in the confusion of the previous period. Relying on the support of his Austrasian warriors, he struck eastward and southward, and restored the old frontiers of the Empire.

Two provinces in particular claimed his attention. The first of these was Bavaria. Originally occupied by a Teutonic tribe, who had subdued the Celtic Boii and taken possession of their land, the territory was ruled by native chiefs who admitted the overlordship of the Frankish kings, but lived in practical independence. Their relations were naturally close with the Lombards on the other side of the Alps, and we have already seen a Bavarian princess married to the Lombard King Agilulf and helping to extend Christianity among

Charles
and
Bavaria

the Lombards. Several missionaries had begun to evangelise Bavaria—Rupert of Worms, Emmeran of Poitiers and Corbinian. There is a good deal that is obscure in the story of Bavaria in the early part of the eighth century, but about 725 Charles Martel and the Lombard king Liutprand appear to have invaded the country, and a few years later Charles again attacked Bavaria and carried off a Bavarian princess, Swanahild, whom he married after the somewhat vague Frankish fashion, and by whom he had a son, Grifo, who was destined to play a part in the subsequent history. Bavaria appears to have once more accepted the Frankish yoke for a time.

One result of the reassertion of Frankish supremacy in Bavaria was the organisation of the Bavarian Church by the great missionary Bishop Boniface, acting under instructions from Rome.

Aquetaine

Aquetaine had also drifted away from subjection to the Frankish rulers. We have no record of the process by which this province, which retained more than any other part of the Empire of Clovis its ancient Roman character, secured the practical independence to which it had attained by the time of Charles Martel. We have already seen Eudo of Aquetaine taking a share in the war between Neustria and Austrasia that raised Charles to power. After this the relations between the Frankish mayor and the Aquetanian duke were for a time friendly. Aquetaine had need of the support and friendship of the Franks, for the duchy was menaced by a danger with which it was not able to cope alone.

The Moslem conquerors of Spain had contrived to

make their yoke tolerable to the inhabitants of the country, whom they left in undisturbed possession of their lands and religion, subject to a produce and poll-tax, from the latter of which all Moslems were exempt. But while the subject people accepted their fate with resignation, quarrels broke out between the tribes of the conquerors, and Spain shared the general tendency to disintegration that throughout the Moslem world followed on the great period of conquest. The only way to check these internal contests was to continue the work of conquest, and accordingly the leaders of the Spanish Moors began to penetrate beyond the Pyrenees and menace the Duchy of Aquetaine. In 720 they captured the town of Narbonne and overran all the province of Septimania. But Eudo compelled them to retreat from before Toulouse, and so gave the first check to the advance of Moslem conquest in the West. Five years later we find them advancing as far as Autun, in Burgundy. For Eudo had now become involved in a struggle with Charles, due probably to an attempt of the Frankish ruler to reassert his overlordship over the province. Eudo had even gone so far as to give his daughter in marriage to an Arab chief.

Open war broke out in 731, and Aquetaine had already been ravaged by the Austrasian army, when the domestic feud was suddenly stilled by the tempest of Moslem invasion that burst through the barrier of the Pyrenees. Eudo's son-in-law was slain by the Moorish leader Abdurrahman, and in the spring of 732 he reached the Garonne and laid siege to Bordeaux. Eudo, advancing to the relief of the city, was defeated and

his army nearly destroyed. The Moslems marched on towards the Loire, while Eudo fled to Charles to implore his aid.

The Battle
of Tours,
732

The crisis was grave, for only a Frankish victory could save Gaul from falling a prey to the Saracens. But Charles and his Austrasian warriors, reinforced probably by levies from the other races under his rule, met the Moslem host between Poitiers and Tours, where Charles took up a strong position and awaited the assault of the enemy. After seven days of reconnoitring, Abdurrahman ordered a frontal attack, and the Moslem soldiers threw themselves against the serried ranks of the Franks, much as the Normans long after charged the Saxon lines on the slopes of Senlac. But the Franks stood firm and with their long swords worked havoc in the ranks of the enemy. Night fell on the scene of carnage, and when the Frank army marched out next day to renew the fight they found the Saracen camp deserted and the enemy fled, leaving rich spoils for the Austrasian warriors to bear home with them.

Three years later Eudo died, and Charles was obliged to march into Aquitaine to secure from his son Hunold the recognition of the Frank overlordship. Then in 737 war again broke out between the Saracens and the Franks. Through the treachery of a certain Duke Maurontus, of Provence, the Moslems gained possession of the two great cities of Arles and Avignon. Charles, busy with a war in the North, sent an army under the command of a half-brother, Childebrand. He himself followed soon after, in time to share in the capture of

Avignon and the defeat of the invaders in a great battle near Narbonne. According to one chronicler, Liutprand, King of the Lombards, sent a detachment of troops to aid in this struggle, which went on for a year longer and ended in winning back all Provence from the Moslems.

This campaign closed the warlike activities of the great Mayor of the Palace. Though not much over fifty years of age, his health began to fail, and such fighting as needed to be done against Saxons or Frisians he left to his two sturdy sons.

The most important incident of these years was the appeal, renewed more than once, from Pope Gregory III. ^{Charles and the Pope} for Charles' help against the Lombards. Liutprand was a trusted friend and ally of the Frankish ruler, and for this reason alone it is easy to understand Charles' reluctance to embark on a campaign against him. It is difficult to know what to make of the story that Gregory offered Charles the office of consul as the price of his intervention. If he really did so, he offered what he had no right to give.

Another aspect of the policy of Charles deserves attention. In spite of his championship of Christendom on the field of Tours and his support of Boniface and his colleagues, Charles fares ill at the hands of later ecclesiastical chroniclers. The reason for this is that he is accused of having robbed the Church in order to reward his followers. The facts are that, in the confusion of the earlier times, the Church had acquired a very large amount of land and that Charles had not enough Crown lands left to reward his officers in the

usual way by grants of land. Charles therefore resorted to the expedient of resuming Crown lands that had been alienated into ecclesiastical hands, or appointing his warriors as prelates or abbots so that they might draw the revenues of religious foundations. It is interesting to see emerging already the problem that was destined for ages to disturb the peace of Germany, till the final secularisation of Church lands in the Napoleonic time laid it at last to rest.

Charles died on 22nd October, 741, and was buried at the great Church of St. Denis near Paris, having ruled the Franks for twenty-five years.

CHAPTER XII

PIPPIN, KING OF THE FRANKS

IN accordance with the Frank law of inheritance the dominions of Charles fell, at his death, to his two ^{Carloman and Pippin, 741-747} sons, Carloman and Pippin, the former taking Austrasia and the dependent territories of the East, while Neustria and Burgundy fell to Pippin. But so close was the accord between the two brothers that they practically acted as joint rulers of the whole Frank kingdom. For his younger son, Grifo, whose position as the child of an irregular marriage was so like his own, Charles appears to have made some provision by carving out a little area at the frontier of Neustria and Austrasia, with a capital at the city of Laon, which was destined more than two hundred years later to be the last stronghold of the Carolingian house.

No sooner had the death of Charles become known than disturbances began in all directions. Aquitaine, Suabia and Saxony attempted to throw off the Frankish yoke, and Grifo appears to have headed a rising of malcontent Neustrian nobles. After a siege in Laon he and his mother, the Bavarian Swanahild, were captured. Swanahild was sent to a monastery near Paris, where we lose sight of her, and Grifo kept in prison for years in a fortress of the Ardennes.

Before turning to the task of repressing the rebellious provinces the two mayors determined to give technical legality to their position by placing a Merovingian on the throne. They found somewhere a certain Childeric who served their purpose, and him they enthroned as the last king of the old royal house of Clovis.

Bavarian
expedition,
743

Then they marched against Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, who only a short time before had married their sister Hiltrudis against their wish, but with the approval, and perhaps at the instigation, of Swanahild. In some way that is not very clear this marriage was connected with the rebellion of Odilo against the Frankish overlordship. Odilo appears in some accounts as the organiser of a great alliance of malcontent provinces — Aquitaine, Alemannia and even the Slavs of the North. But the two mayors marched straight on Bavaria, and met the Bavarian forces on the borders of the duchy, where the river Lech flows to join the Danube. Here, after facing each other for fifteen days, they joined battle, and the Bavarians were broken. Odilo escaped, but was subsequently captured, imprisoned, and then, a year later, restored to his duchy. He died soon after, leaving a little son Tassilo, of whom we shall hear again.

Carloman's
renuncia-
tion, 747

The next three years (744-746) were years of constant warfare with Saxons, Alemannians and Aquetanians. The only episode that needs specific record is the expedition of Carloman against the Alemannians in 746, when he is said to have invited them to meet him at a *gemot*, or assembly, at Cannstadt, and then surrounded them with Frankish troops and put a large number to

the sword. Such acts of treachery are not uncommon in the record of these days, but the sequel is more unusual. Struck with contrition at his own deed, Carloman determined to expiate it by laying down his office and adopting the monastic life. "In this year," says the chronicler, "Carloman laid open to his brother Pippin a thing upon which he had long been meditating, namely, his desire to relinquish his secular life and serve God as a monk." So, in 747, Carloman set out for Rome, where he received the tonsure, and founded a monastery at Mount Soracte. After a time he moved on to Monte Cassino, where he delighted in performing the most menial tasks, till, his name and history being betrayed by his servant, he was accorded a more honourable position. Of him we shall hear again.

Meanwhile Pippin was left as sole Mayor of Francia, Grifo and his first act was one of ill-judged clemency. He liberated Grifo from captivity and endowed him with "large revenues". But Grifo proved as intractable as he had been six years before. He fled to the Saxons, whom he stirred up to revolt, and when Pippin marched into Saxony he escaped into Bavaria, where he succeeded in getting possession of the little Duke Tassilo and his mother. On the advance of Pippin the Bavarians surrendered Grifo, who was then forgiven by his brother and given substantial territories in Neustria, with Le Mans as his capital. But all was in vain, and Grifo continued to stir up trouble for Pippin till the year 753, when in the act of crossing the Alps to join the Lombards, who were on the eve of a war with the Franks, he was intercepted by two counts of Pippin's army, and in the

skirmish that followed all three were killed. "His death, though he was a traitor to his country, was a cause of grief to Pippin."

Before this event an important change had come to the Frankish kingdom. Since Grimoald's ill-fated attempt to dispossess the Merovingian line, the house of St. Arnulf had been content with the substance of power, leaving the form of it to the kings whom they set up. It is not possible to say what motives led Pippin to desire to end this anomalous position. Possibly, in a country that the efforts of Boniface and his monks were rapidly making Christian, Pippin felt that the religious sanction of a royal consecration might strengthen the authority of his house. Whatever the motive may have been, the facts are thus narrated by the monastic chronicler:—

Pippin,
king of the
Franks, 750

"In the year 750 of the Lord's incarnation, Pippin sent ambassadors to Rome to Pope Zacharias, to ask concerning the kings of the Franks who were of the royal line and were called kings, but had no power in the kingdom, save only that charters and privileges were drawn in their names. . . . But on the first day of March in the Campus, according to ancient custom, gifts were offered to these kings by the people, and the king himself sat in the royal seat with the army standing around him, and he commanded on that day whatever was decreed by the Franks, but on all other days he stayed at home. Pope Zacharias therefore in the exercise of his apostolical authority replied to their question that it seemed to him better and more expedient that the man who held power in the kingdom should be

called king and be king, rather than he who falsely bore that name. Therefore the aforesaid Pope commanded the king and people of the Franks that Pippin, who was exercising the royal power, should be called king, and occupy the royal seat. Which was therefore done by the anointing of the holy Archbishop Boniface in the city of Soissons. There Pippin is proclaimed king, and Childeric, who was falsely called king, is tonsured and sent into a monastery."

Here then we reach the meeting-place of the old and the new. Pippin is lifted, as Frankish kings had been lifted for unnumbered generations before him, on the shields of the warriors and saluted as king; but he is also, as no other Frankish king had ever yet been, anointed in the church at Soissons as a Christian king.

But what was the share of the Pope in all this? We may be sure that the inquiry of the Franks was never intended to imply any right over the Frankish throne vested in the Roman bishop. But a change in the royal dynasty was a religious act; if disapproved by the religious authorities it would be deprived of its value; and Boniface was likely to use all his influence to persuade the Mayor of the Palace to act in accord with the wishes of the Pope in this important step. The whole incident shows how much more close and harmonious the relations of Pippin were with the ecclesiastical authorities than those of his illustrious father; and it also marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Europe, in which the fortunes of the Frank kingdom and the Roman See, which had hitherto had little relation to each other, became so intertwined as to make inevitable

at last the formal recognition of their mutual dependence in the coronation of Charles the Great fifty years later.

For some years after this time the main interest of Pippin's reign centres in his relations with Italy, which can be more conveniently dealt with in the next chapter.

Campaigns
against
Saxons

It was not till 756 that Pippin was free to turn his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom. His first task was the usual contest with rebellious Saxons. Of this turbulent people we shall have more to say when we deal with their conquest by Charles the Great. Pippin's campaign reduced them to a measure of submission and the promise of annual tribute.

Saracens

Shortly after this Pippin completed the work of driving the Saracens out of the province of Septimania. Moslem rule, which depended largely on Gothic dislike for the Franks, had already been undermined, and on the promise that their local independence should be preserved the Visigoths of Narbonne rose, slew the Saracen garrison and opened the gates to the Frankish king. The Pyrenees became once more the boundary line of Saracen rule.

Aquetaine,
759-768

The closing years of Pippin's reign were spent in a great struggle with Waifer, Duke of Aquetaine, who made a determined bid for independence. The reduction of the province proved no easy task, and in the middle of the war Pippin's nephew, Tassilo of Bavaria, deserted the army and declared that he would serve under his uncle's flag no more. Pippin was too fully occupied with Aquetaine to punish Tassilo's treachery, and it was

not till 768, after nearly nine years of war, that the death of Waifer brought his duchy once more under the Frankish rule. Pippin's settlement of the province was statesmanlike and wise. He made no attempt to extend the laws of the Franks to a people who still accounted themselves Romans, but enacted "that all men, Romans and Salians alike, should keep their own laws, and that if any man should come from another province, he should live according to the law of his own country".

The settlement of Aquitaine was Pippin's last work. He died in September, 768, at the age of fifty-four, worn out by the labours of a strenuous reign of almost constant fighting.

Of Pippin's personal character we know scarcely anything. The tradition that he was small of stature is late, but may be true. He is reputed to have been a man of great physical strength, and he was certainly shrewd and brave. His interest in the work of Boniface leads one to think of him as sincerely anxious for the extension of Christianity in his kingdom. His greatest work was the extension of Frankish influence beyond the Alps, in the land that was destined to cast so strange a spell for generations over the rulers of those German lands that he ruled so long and so well.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POPE, THE LOMBARDS AND THE FRANKS

CHARLES MARTEL, Liutprand, King of the Lombards, Leo the Isaurian and Gregory II. all begin to play their part in history within a few years of each other, and while Charles declined, as we have seen, to be drawn into Italian affairs, the other three form a group around which Italian history centres. Dr. Hodgkin ingeniously compares the contest of this period to "the litigation that might go on in an English parish between an absentee landlord, a big Nonconformist farmer, and a cultured but acquisitive parson". The Emperor is the absentee landlord, represented by the Exarch of Ravenna, the Lombard King is the farmer, and the Pope the parson.

Liutprand,
712-743

Liutprand was perhaps the best of all the Lombard kings. It is unfortunate that we are so largely dependent for our knowledge of this period on Papal chroniclers and letters, for the unmeasured terms in which the Popes denounce the Lombard kings give us no sort of idea of their real character. But the prosperity of the Lombard kingdom during the thirty years of Liutprand's reign, and his friendship with Charles Martel, who sent his son Pippin to him to be dubbed as a knight, attest the wisdom of his rule. He had been king for fourteen

years when the edict of Leo against images, the story of which will be told in another chapter, set all Italy in a blaze. For the edict not only involved a claim on the part of the Emperor to legislate on religious questions without any consultation with the Pope, it also struck at a cherished part of the religious life of the Italian people.

An attempt of Scholasticus, the Exarch of Ravenna, to publish the edict led to a riot in Ravenna, and the Duke of Naples was murdered by a mob when he tried to enforce it in his territories. Gregory put himself at the head of the opposition, and wrote vigorous, outspoken and discourteous letters to the Emperor, warning him of the error of his proceedings. Meanwhile Liutprand seized the opportunity to march into the exarchate, where city after city opened its gates to him, and at length Ravenna itself fell into his hands, the exarch escaping to Venice, which remained loyal to the Emperor. But as soon as Liutprand's back was turned the exarch, aided by a Venetian army, recovered the city, which an outbreak of rebellion by the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum prevented Liutprand from attacking again. The recalcitrant dukes were soon reduced to order, but in the meanwhile the exarch, acting on orders from the Emperor, marched to Rome to seize the person of the Pope. While the siege was in progress Liutprand and his army arrived outside the city, and the Pope threw himself on the protection of the Lombard king, who received him with the utmost respect and, constituting himself as arbiter, arranged a general pacification, the exarch retaining the city of

Gregory II.
and
Liutprand

Ravenna, but surrendering to Liutprand the other cities that were already in his hands. Leo's second and more drastic edict of 730 only served to arouse even stronger opposition in Italy, and almost the last act of Gregory's life was the assembling of a council of Italian bishops to anathematise all who refused to worship images. In the following year he died. He had been the first Pope for a long time who was a Roman by birth, and he is recorded to have been an earnest restorer of churches and monasteries ruined by the contest of the previous period. To his time of office also belongs the visit to Rome of Ina, king of the West Saxons, who, after reigning for thirty-seven years, renounced his kingdom and came with his wife Ethelburga as a pilgrim to Rome, where he stayed for the short remainder of his life, founding, it is said, a Saxon school in Rome for his fellow-countrymen.

Gregory
III., 731-
741

Gregory II. was succeeded by a Syrian Pope, Gregory III., who is said to have been compelled to accept the Papal office while assisting at the funeral of his predecessor. He is the last Pope whose election was confirmed by the Exarch of Ravenna, acting for the Emperor.

The first few years of the new Pope were peaceful. The opposition of the Italians to the Iconoclastic decrees cut off Italy almost entirely from the Empire, and the exarch, clinging desperately to his one remaining stronghold of Ravenna, could do nothing to restore Imperial authority. Peace was broken at last through what appears to be a foolish challenge thrown down to the Lombard king by Gregory. The Duke of Spoleto,

having made an unsuccessful attempt to throw off the overlordship of Liutprand, took refuge in Rome, and Gregory refused to surrender him. Liutprand promptly marched against Rome, capturing the Papal towns on his way, and laid siege to the city. Gregory, terrified at the prospect of falling into the hands of the Lombards, wrote frantic appeals to Charles Martel, drawing narrowing pictures of the desolation and ruin of the Roman Church, and imploring Charles, as he valued his soul's salvation, to haste to the rescue. But Charles, already drawing near his end, remained unmoved, and within a few months both he and Gregory died (741).

To the new Pope, Zacharias, Liutprand behaved with the greatest consideration. On his promising that he would give no more help to the Duke of Spoleto he restored all the Papal cities that he had captured and added rich gifts to the Roman Church. Two years later he died, leaving the Lombard kingdom in its highest condition of prosperity, undisturbed by internal divisions and at peace with its great northern neighbour.

Liutprand was succeeded by a nephew Hildebrand, who, proving himself an incompetent ruler, was deposed in a few months to make room for Ratchis, Duke of Friuli. For five years or so Ratchis remained at peace with the Pope; then, for some reason that is not clear, he broke the truce and laid siege to Perugia. Zacharias, who had already exercised his personal influence over Liutprand in the last year of his life, when he dissuaded him from a projected attack on Ravenna, now gave an even more striking evidence of his personal power, for when he visited the Lombard camp, to dissuade Ratchis

Ratchis
and
Zacharias

from his warlike design, he so influenced the king that, with his wife and daughters, he repaired to Rome, there took monastic vows, and joined the Benedictines at the great monastery of Monte Cassino.

He was succeeded by his brother Aistulf, who, while Zacharias lived, appears to have held his restless and turbulent ambition in check. The last important act of Zacharias' pontificate was the sanction he gave to the transference of the Frankish crown from the Merovingian line to Pippin. He died in 752, and after a Pope, Stephen, who only held office for three days, Stephen II. succeeded.

The
*Donation
of Constantine*

The new Pope was a Roman by birth, and had been brought up in the Papal palace under Gregory II. He therefore inherited the traditions of Papal policy. What these traditions were can be seen by reference to a celebrated document, which probably first saw the light at about this time. The document is the *Donation of Constantine*, and purports to be a decree of the first Christian Empire, granting immense dignities and possessions to the Roman bishop. After giving to the occupant of the Papal See supremacy over the Sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, and sovereignty over all the priests in the world, and appointing the Church in the Lateran palace as "the head and summit of all the churches in the whole world," it goes on to grant to the Roman clergy various ceremonial privileges. They may ride on horses with white saddle-cloths, and wear white shoes, like the senators; and the Pope is to wear an imperial tiara, wherewith the Emperor has in person crowned him.

Then follows the important clause, on which so vast a superstructure was destined to be built:—

“Wherefore, that the pontifical crown may be adorned with glory and influence beyond the dignity of the earthly empire, we hand over and relinquish our palace, the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy and the western region, to the most blessed pontiff and universal Pope Silvester; and we ordain by our pragmatic constitution that they shall be governed by him and his successors, and we grant that they shall remain under the authority of the Holy Roman Church.”

No one now believes that Constantine made any such donation as this, but it does not follow that the document is a mere forgery. It represents a tradition that was growing up at the Papal court at this critical period, when Rome had need of all the weapons, legal as well as material, that she could enlist in her service against the ambition and strength of the Lombards. The Imperial cause in Italy was clearly doomed, and as the power of the Empire decayed the prospect of the establishment of a new Italian kingdom, as large as, and more stable than, that of Theodoric, began to appear as an imminent danger.

Under Aistulf's restless and able leadership the Lombard menace soon grew pressing. In 751 the Lombard king marched against Ravenna, which now fell finally into his hands, the last exarch taking refuge in Sicily. Then, after one more campaign against Spoleto, the king began to close in on his destined victim, the Pope.

Aistulf,
749-756

As ruler of Ravenna, what more natural than that he should claim the same authority over Rome that previous rulers of Ravenna had exercised? Accordingly the strife began with demands for tribute and recognition from the Pope. In vain embassy after embassy from Rome confronted the Lombard king; in vain holy abbots from the most renowned monasteries of Italy interceded for peace. The king remained inexorable. Then a new figure appears upon the scenes: John, the Imperial silentiarius, bearing a letter from the Emperor demanding from Aistulf the return of the lands he had seized, and charging the Pope to secure their restoration. To all which Stephen can only reply by a last appeal to the Emperor to come to the deliverance of the city.

But while the Emperor was unable to respond to the appeal there was another power from whom help might be secured, and Stephen sent a private letter to Pippin suggesting that he should invite him to visit the Frankish Court. The Frankish king must have recognised that by accepting this proposal he was committing himself to the championing of the cause of the Pope against the ancient allies of his people, but the spell that had drawn Visigoth, Ostrogoth and Lombard from the Danube to the Tiber was now drawing the greatest of the Teutonic peoples towards the same goal. The ten years that had passed since the death of Charles had greatly strengthened the influence of the Papacy in Northern Europe. Boniface, now nearly at the end of his strenuous life, had done splendid service for the Papal cause, and the support given by Zacharias

the deposition of the last of the Merovingians had forged a new bond of union between Rome and Francia.

Pippin sent two messengers to convey his invitation to the Pope, and Stephen sent back two letters—one addressed to the king and the other to the Frankish nobles, who might be expected to show less enthusiasm than the king for a campaign against the Lombards.

Meanwhile a fresh envoy had come from Constanti-^{Pippin and}
ople, charging the Pope to go in person to demand ^{the Pope}
from the Lombard king the restoration of the Imperial territory. A messenger sent to Aistulf to demand a safe-conduct for the Pope returned with the necessary guarantee just as two distinguished Franks arrived to conduct the Pope across the Alps. These were Duke Autchar and Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, the most important Church leader, next to Boniface, in Francia. Stephen accordingly set out for Pavia, professedly to support the demands of the Imperial envoys, but really to demand permission to visit the Frankish Court, a demand that, backed by the support of Pippin's two representatives, the Lombard king dared not refuse.

To cross the Great St. Bernard in November was no easy task, but the Pope and his companions safely reached the monastery of St. Maurice at Agaunum, where Fulrad of St. Denis and Duke Roland met the travellers to escort them to the court.

Pippin himself with his family came south to a royal palace at Ponthion, in Champagne, and the king sent his eldest son Charles, of whom we now hear for the first time, to meet the Pope. So on the 6th of January, 754, king and Pope met outside Ponthion.

The meeting may rightly be judged one of the most important events in European history. For if Pippin had not decided to espouse the cause of the Pope, nothing could have saved Rome from falling into the hands of the Lombards, and while the Frankish kings, free from the entanglement of Italian affairs, would have been able to devote themselves to the building up of their own territories, the Lombards might have united Italy under their rule, and so the work of Bismarck and Cavour might have been forestalled by a thousand years.

But these things were not to be. Having undertaken to support the cause of the Pope, Pippin was solemnly crowned, with his wife and sons, and an anathema pronounced on any who should hereafter attempt to dispossess the family of Pippin, as Pippin had dispossessed the Merovingians. At the same time Stephen conferred on Pippin the title of Patrician—a title that had generally been held by the Exarch of Ravenna, and that, strictly speaking, the Emperor alone had the right to grant. This act, like all Stephen's course of action at this crisis, implied a practical repudiation of Imperial authority in Italy; it was for himself, and not for the Emperor, that the Pope requested from Pippin the sovereignty of the exarchate and its subject lands.

But however willing Pippin might be to champion the cause of the Pope, questions of peace and war could not, among the Franks, be decided on the mere word of the king, and accordingly a general assembly of the Frankish nobles was held near Soissons, at which Pippin

was able, not without considerable difficulty, to persuade his chief men to agree to the war—or at least to the opening of such negotiations with Aistulf as might probably end in armed conflict. At this juncture a dramatic scene occurred. Carloman, sent apparently by the Abbot of Monte Cassino, suddenly appeared at the court to plead for peace between his brother and the Lombard king. We do not know what motives led him to this step, which the Papal chronicler attributes to the “devilish persuasions” of Aistulf. We only know that Pippin turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and sent him to a monastery somewhere in the Frankish kingdom, where he died soon after—a pathetic end for one who had been a great warrior and, in all but name, a king.

Carloman's
mission

What promises exactly Pippin made to the Pope in regard to the Italian possessions of the Empire is a matter of controversy. If any document was, as later Papal chroniclers believe, drawn up, no trace of it now remains. It is probably true that Pippin intended to secure for the Pope the Exarchate of Ravenna. He certainly did not intend to wrest these lands from Aistulf merely to hand them over to the Emperor, nor did he contemplate, at this stage, the extension of his own rule to the lands beyond the Alps.

While preparing for his expedition to Italy Pippin made strenuous efforts to secure by negotiation the possession of the lands that Aistulf had seized. It was only when all negotiations proved useless that the host gathered near Soissons for the great expedition. An advance guard succeeded in driving Aistulf from Susa, where he was watching the passes of the Alps, and the

main army, crossing without any fighting, laid siege to Pavia. Finding resistance useless Aistulf surrendered, promising to restore Ravenna and other cities to "the Pope and the Roman republic".

But no sooner had Pippin and his warriors recrossed the Alps than fresh difficulties arose, and a series of piteous appeals from the Pope reached the Frankish Court. Aistulf, "whose heart the devil has invaded," has restored nothing, but was heaping such insults on the Holy Church that the very stones might weep.

Pippin might have listened unmoved to these complaints if Aistulf had not put himself hopelessly in the wrong by laying siege to Rome and demanding the surrender of the person of the Pope. For three months the siege went on, and the Pope waxed more urgent in his appeals for help. "On you, after God and St. Peter, depend the lives of all the Romans. If we perish, all the nations of the earth will say, 'Where is the confidence of the Romans which they placed in the kings and the nation of the Franks?'"

When personal appeals seemed in vain, the Pope wrote a letter purporting to be addressed by St. Peter to the kings, bishops and nobles of the Franks, wherein the apostle urges the Franks, as they value their own souls, to haste to the rescue of that city of Rome which is under the special care of the writer.

Pippin's
second
expedition,
756

Early in 756 Pippin set out for another expedition into Italy. At Pavia he was met by two envoys from the Emperor, who tried to persuade him to restore the exarchate to the Empire—a proposal to which the king emphatically refused to consent.

Aistulf was soon reduced to submission, and this time the Frankish king took good care to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty, by which twenty-three cities in the exarchate were to be handed over to the Pope. The keys of the surrendered cities were placed in the sepulchre of St. Peter in Rome, and by that act the Pope at once acquired the status of a sovereign prince and repudiated his subjection to the Empire.

In the following year Aistulf died, killed by a fall from his horse while out hunting. For the vacant throne two claimants appeared. One of these was a powerful Lombard lord, Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, a favourite of the late king, but apparently a man of humble birth. The other was Ratchis, who, after seven years of monastic life at Monte Cassino, suddenly escaped to Pavia and there for three months ruled as king.

War between the rival claimants seemed inevitable; but Desiderius succeeded in securing the support of the Pope by the promise of Bologna and several other cities that Liutprand had captured long ago from the exarchate. Ratchis retired from the unequal contest, and part of the promised territory was handed over to the Pope by the new king of the Lombards. Just after this Stephen died and was succeeded by his brother Paul, who occupied the Papal chair through ten comparatively uneventful years. The relations between the Pope and the Franks remained close and cordial, though Pippin took no further share in Italian affairs, and Paul contrived to live on terms of comparative peace with his Lombard neighbour.

The Pope and the Frankish king died within a year of each other, and a new period of confusion and contest followed in Italy, ending at last in a new Frankish intervention and the final end of the Lombard kingdom.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ICONOCLASTIC EMPERORS

THE history of the Empire in the eighth century The Empire in the eighth century turns almost entirely around the Iconoclastic controversy. After the great siege of Constantinople that opened the reign of Leo III. the Saracens did not seriously menace the heart of the Empire, though they continued their attacks on the outlying provinces. Nor, again, did the emperors make any effective attempt to reassert their authority in Italy. But internally the Empire was taking the form that it was destined to retain for centuries. In language and customs it was losing its Roman character and becoming more definitely Greek. Already the law books of Justinian were unintelligible to the people, and a Greek handbook of law, the *Ecloga*, was drawn up under the Emperor's instructions.

While the European territories of the Emperor were becoming more Greek, the lands of Asia Minor were losing their Greek population, and passing into the hands of men of Eastern race from Syria, Armenia and Persia.

One beneficial result of the Slavonic settlements in the Balkan district was the disappearance of serfdom in the Empire, the place of the serf being taken by free tenants or village communes.

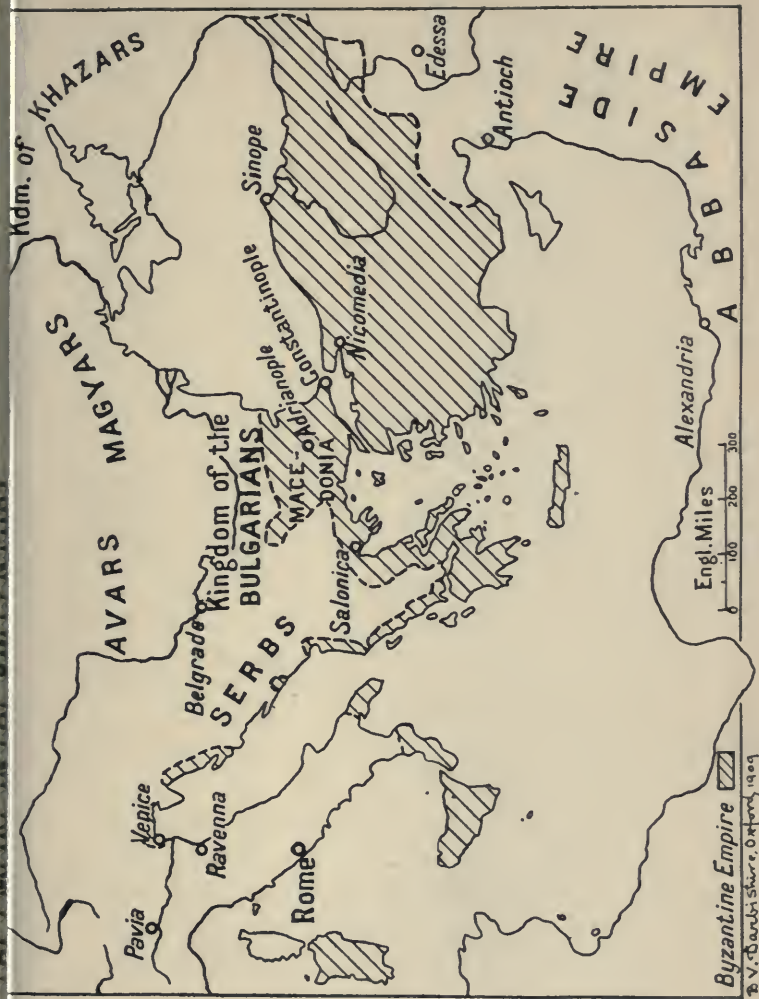
In the disturbed conditions of the time it is not strange that literature and art should have decayed and various foolish superstitions grown up. Theology had filled the East with controversy, but religion was at a low ebb, and the moral standard of the clergy was thoroughly unsatisfactory. The task that lay before a reforming emperor was sufficiently discouraging.

Siege of
Constanti-
nople, 718

But no reform could begin till the great struggle with the Moslems, the impending outbreak of which had called Leo to the throne, was over. Within five months of the accession of the new Emperor, the Saracen commander Moslemah, with eighty thousand men, had crossed the Hellespont and begun to blockade the city with a ditch and rampart. On the 1st of September Suleiman arrived with a fleet of eighteen hundred warships.

In the defence of the city "Greek fire" plays a leading part. This "Greek" or "Marine fire," the exact composition of which is not known, was a kind of sticky or viscid substance of a highly inflammable nature that was poured from cauldrons or vomited from tubes on to the ships or engines of the enemy. It is said to have been first used in the siege of Constantinople of 673 and the following years.

Leo's first success was the burning of twenty transports with this Greek fire, an exploit that filled the enemy with fear of this deadly weapon of defence. In the long and severe winter that followed, the besiegers suffered great hardships, but in the spring fresh reinforcements arrived. Ill-fortune dogged the Saracen cause. A large number of Egyptian Christians, who



were serving in the Moslem fleet, deserted to the enemy, and emboldened by this, Leo made another attack on the ships, some of which he destroyed and threw the rest into confusion. Then a Saracen army, that was blockading the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, was surprised and routed by a body of Roman soldiers. Famine also began to threaten the besieging army, and finally, in the summer of 718, a Bulgarian army from the north fell upon the Saracens and inflicted severe losses on them.

On the 15th of August the siege was raised and the Moslem retreat began. The army succeeded in reaching Syria, but the fleet was scattered by a tempest, and only five vessels arrived home of all the great Armada that was to open the gate of Europe to the Moslems. Arab records put the loss on the Saracen side at not less than a hundred and fifty thousand men.

The defence of Constantinople by Leo deserves to rank with the battle fought by Charles Martel fourteen years later. They represent the two supreme attempts made by the Ommeyad dynasty to break through the great barriers that guarded Christendom from Moslem attack. From this time the tide of battle turned, and the rest of the century saw the gradual decline of Saracen rule both in the east and in the west. In 750 the last Caliph of the Ommeyad dynasty was slain, and Damascus fell into the hands of the new dynasty of the Abbasides. Only in Spain did the Ommeyad party retain power, and the Moslems of the west were henceforth cut off from all connection with those of the east.

The deliverance of Constantinople was immediately followed by the outbreak of the Iconoclastic controversy.

This great contest, which was destined to cause the final severance between Eastern and Western Europe, and to prepare the way for the establishment of a Western Empire, was the outcome of an edict issued by Leo in 726 ordering the removal of pictures and images from the churches. It is often said that Leo was moved to this step by the jeers of the Moslems, who charged the Christians with idolatry. But he was probably influenced quite as much by the growth of childish superstitions connected with the pictures and coloured figures that adorned the churches. A little before this time a sect had arisen in Asia Minor calling themselves Paulicians (followers of St. Paul), one of whose distinctive tenets was belief in the evil of matter and therefore the repudiation of symbols. There is probably some direct connection between these Paulicians and the Albigenses and Waldenses of later times, and it is not improbable that they influenced the Isaurian emperors in their religious policy.

To some extent the Iconoclastic edict was the outcome of the theological controversy that had played so large a part in Byzantine history in the previous century.

The Monophysites, whom the emperors of the seventh century frequently supported, held the view that our Lord's human nature was absorbed and lost in the Divine, and it seemed to follow from this that any attempt to represent the Saviour in human form was to be discouraged as bringing into prominence that human side of His being that was only an illusion. For the same reason image-worshippers claimed to be defenders of the doctrine of the true humanity of Christ.

But as the controversy proceeded it broadened out into a general attack by the rationalistic spirit on the ecclesiastical tendencies of the time—a kind of eighth-century Lutheranism. Mariolatry, the worship of saints and the adoration of relics were included in the Imperial condemnation under Constantine V., and monasticism itself was attacked by his reforming zeal.

The chief support of the Imperial policy came from the army, which was recruited to a considerable extent from the same district in the highlands of Asia from which the Isaurian emperors derived their name. Its chief opponents were the monks, who were the leaders of missionary work. Their ground of opposition may be summarised in a saying of Gregory the Great, "Pictures are the lesson-books of the unlearned". Undoubtedly the great numbers of unlearned people who had recently passed over from heathenism to Christianity tended to carry image-worship to what men on both sides admitted were excessive and superstitious lengths; but on the other hand it was urged that without the help provided by these outward symbols many of them would find the new faith impossible to understand.

But while many thoughtful men regarded the Imperial edict as an attempt to solve by mere force a question that needed much more delicate handling, the populace raged against the destruction of images, to which the greatest veneration was attached. Riots broke out even in Constantinople itself, and in Italy it was impossible to enforce the edict at all. Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, resigned rather than assent to the Imperial policy, which involved a claim to interfere in ecclesiastical

questions to which he could not submit. Leo appointed a new patriarch favourable to his policy, but Pope Gregory refused to recognise him, and most of the churchmen of the Empire repudiated his authority. An unsuccessful attempt was even made to set up a rival emperor.

On Leo's death, in 741, he was succeeded by his son Constantine, who received the opprobrious nickname of Copronymus. Constantine Copronymus, 740-775 Constantine was as resolute an Iconoclast as his father, and much more uncompromising in the measures he took to enforce the edicts. After putting down, with considerable difficulty, a rebellion of his brother-in-law Artavasdos, he had to face an even more pressing peril in a devastating plague that swept through the Empire and practically depopulated Constantinople. Constantine imported fresh families from Greece to fill the almost empty city, leaving Slavs from the north to fill the vacant lands in Greece. It is from this time that Constantinople can be regarded as Greek rather than Roman, though it still jealously kept the Roman name.

Constantine succeeded in stamping out all public disobedience to his father's edicts, but he really only drove the custom of image-worship into secrecy. In 753 he called a great council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, which condemned all representations of our Lord and all worship of images of saints. When the leaders of the Church declined to accept the decisions of the council, Constantine practically declared war on the monastic system and demolished a considerable number of monasteries.

On the frontiers he defended the Empire efficiently, frequently driving back Saracens in the east and subduing Slavs in the north. He waged three successful wars with the Bulgarians and developed the internal resources of the Empire.

Leo IV.,
775-780

After a reign of thirty-five years, Constantine died and was succeeded by his son Leo IV.—“the Khazar,” as he was called, after the tribe to which his mother belonged. In 768 he had married an Athenian lady Irene, by whom he had one son Constantine. In 780 Leo died, having in his short reign shown his determination to maintain his father’s policy. But the Empress, who now became mistress of the Empire as regent for her son, was secretly in favour of image-worship, and at once set herself to undo the policy of the Isaurian house. As a first step to this end the five half-brothers of the late Emperor were compelled to take holy orders in order to be incapacitated from reigning. When, three years later, the Patriarch Paul resigned, she determined to advance her own secretary, Tarasius, to the vacant office. He agreed on condition that a council should meet to settle the controversy. After some delay, due to the opposition of the army, some regiments of which had to be sent away from the capital, the council met, in September, 787, at Nicæa. The issue of its deliberations was never in doubt, and the final decree orders images to be set up in churches for worship (*προσκύνησις*), but not for the adoration (*λατρεία*) that belongs only to God, “forasmuch as the honour paid to an image passeth on to the original, and he who adoreth an image doth in it adore the person of him whom it doth represent”. It is

worth remembering that the "images" here referred to are paintings or mosaics on a flat surface, and statues are still not used in the Greek Church.

But scarcely had this great success for Irene's policy been secured before she found herself involved in a contest for power with her own son. An unsuccessful attack on Southern Italy, due to a rupture of friendly relations with the Frankish King Charles, aroused discontent with Irene's rule, and Constantine, now grown to man's estate, attempted to throw off his mother's yoke. The plot was discovered, and Constantine was whipped and confined to his room like a schoolboy. Irene then demanded from the soldiers a new oath, in which they pledged themselves not to accept her son as their ruler while she lived. This led to a revolt of the army, already indignant at the Empress' policy, and Constantine was liberated and Irene imprisoned in her palace. But in 792 Constantine, now apparently secure on his throne, liberated his mother. Just before this he had, as a punishment for a real or supposed conspiracy, blinded one of his uncles and split the tongues of the others. For four years Irene remained to all outward appearance on friendly terms with her son, but in 795 he laid himself open to attack by repudiating his wife Maria, to whom he had been married against his will after a project for a marriage with a daughter of Charles the Great had fallen through, and marrying Theodote, one of the maids of honour. This step alienated the Church leaders of the Empire, and probably helped Irene to form a party. In 797 Constantine was attacked by some soldiers, fled to Asia, was brought

Irene,
788-802

back by some treacherous friends, and was finally blinded by his mother's orders in the very room in the palace in which he had been born. He lingered on for many years in blindness and misery.

Irene was now sole ruler of the Empire, but the real power was in the hands of two rival eunuchs of the palace, Stauracius and Ætius, who successively gained the patronage of their mistress. The four years of Irene's supremacy are marked in history by the coronation of Charles as Emperor in the West, an event probably not unconnected with the fact that the Empire had now passed under the "monstrous regiment of women". In 802 the magnates of the Empire determined to bring this condition of things to an end, and chose one of their number, Nicephorus, whom they proceeded to proclaim as emperor. Irene fell undefended and unregretted, and was sent to end her life at Lesbos, where she died a year later. Her crimes did not prevent her memory from being held in reverence as the restorer of image-worship.

The history of the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century need not be told in much detail, as it has little direct bearing on the general course of European affairs.

Nicephorus, the new Emperor, inherited a war with the Caliph, the celebrated Haroun-al-Raschid, and with the new Emperor of the West, Charles the Great. Both these he brought to an end, the first at the cost of a tribute of thirty thousand solidi, the second without any session of territory or money. But he and his son were killed in 811 in an expedition against the Bulgarians, and a series of emperors successively seized the throne, none

Nice-
phorus,
802-811

of them holding it long, till Michael the Amorian, a turbulent soldier, was raised to power in 820. His reign is chiefly notable for the loss of Sicily and Crete, which fell into the hands of the Moslems. His son Theophilus, who succeeded on his death in 829, resumed the Iconoclastic policy of the Isaurians. But again the work of suppressing image-worship was undone by a woman's influence. Theophilus died in 842, leaving his wife Theodora as regent for their little son Michael. Theodora was secretly a strong partisan of the image-worshipping party, and no sooner was she in office than a fresh reaction began and image-worship was again restored. When Michael grew up he banished his mother and ruled with the advice of his uncle Bardas, a depraved and drunken man, whose influence over the young Emperor was wholly bad. However, in 866 he was slain by the Emperor's orders, and Michael then chose as his colleague an able young officer, Basil the Macedonian, who repaid his patron by murdering him a year later, and so becoming sole Emperor in the East.

Michael
"the Drunken,"
842-867

The Macedonian dynasty, thus inaugurated, ruled the Byzantine Empire for two hundred years, on the whole with ability and success. Under Basil the Empire reconquered Southern Italy from the Saracens and carried successful raids into Syria and Mesopotamia. He was succeeded by his son Leo (886-912), who was a student and dabbler in literature, and earned the name of "the Wise," because he was supposed to be learned in curious arts. It was fortunate for the Empire that the decreasing power of the Caliphs and the confusion of Western Europe insured immunity from external

attack and even enabled the Imperial frontiers to be extended in Southern Italy and in the East. Leo's son Constantine, "Porphyrogenitus" as he was called, because he was the first emperor for a considerable time who had been born during his father's reign, carried on his father's habit of interest in literature, while the actual work of government was left to the great officials of State. Among the most important events of the period were the missionary labours of two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, who reduced the language of the Balkan Slavs to writing, and translated the Bible into it. About the middle of the ninth century the Bulgarian King Boris and the Servian King Radoslav were baptised, and Christianity was formally adopted as the religion of both peoples. So we leave the Byzantine Empire at peace, developing its internal resources and commerce, free at last from theological controversies, and tending more and more to a life of its own outside the main stream of European progress.

CHAPTER XV

CHARLES THE GREAT AND THE LOMBARD KINGDOM

THE accession of Charles, eldest son of Pippin, brings on the scene the central figure of the period covered by this volume. For the period might not inaccurately be described as the period of the rise and fall of Frankish supremacy in Europe. From the first appearance of Clovis as king at Tournai in 481 to the death of Conrad of Franconia in 918 it is the history of the Franks that forms the central thread in the tangle of European affairs. And it was in the person of Charles the Great that the Frankish people made its special contribution to the life and thought of the Middle Ages. In him the free Teutonic spirit submitted itself to the conception of ordered rule that was the inheritance of the Roman Empire, and both passed under the consecration of a religious sanction that turned the war-leader of a Teutonic tribe into the crusader and champion of the Christian cause.

Charles, as he appears in the chronicles of the time, is almost an ideal Teutonic king. Of enormous physical strength, resolute will and untiring energy, he was a born leader of men. Except when moved by strong passion, he was just and clement in his dealings with his enemies. Even his Saxon antagonists bear testi-

mony to his bravery and good faith. Though his policy embraced the whole Western Empire, he remained an Austrasian at heart, and retained the language and costume of his native country.

And against the background of that rough and turbulent age he stands out as something not far short of the ideal of a Christian king; not free from the limitations of his own age—an age that had learnt only too well from its Moslem foes how to propagate the faith with the sword—but keeping before him the true ideal of a Christian society bound in the bond of brotherhood by common obedience to the Christian law.

Charles and
Carloman,
768-771

On the death of Pippin the usual division of inheritance followed. All the northern and more purely Teutonic part of the Frankish kingdom fell to Charles as the eldest son; the southern lands—Burgundy, Provence, Suabia—passed to his other son, Carloman, a youth about ten years younger. But for some reason that is not very clear, the two sons of Pippin did not succeed in co-operating with the same harmony as had marked the joint rule of their father and uncle. An opportunity for the display of this ill-feeling was afforded soon after their accession by a revolt in Aquitaine, led by Hunold, who, after twenty years of monastic life, returned to the world to avenge the death of his son Waifer. Charles marched into Aquitaine, but Carloman declined to help and left his brother to cope with the rebellion alone. Fortunately it did not prove a very difficult task. Hunold was defeated and surrendered to Charles, who sent him to Rome to be dealt with by the Pope for

breach of his monastic vows. After a short residence in a Roman monastery, he escaped to Pavia, where he was stoned to death. Meanwhile Charles, having built a fortress at Fronsac to overawe the Aquetanians, returned in triumph to Francia.

✓The next few years were occupied by Charles in forging alliances with neighbouring states, with a view to a possible conflict with Carloman. Tassilo of Bavaria, Charles' cousin, had been a rebel against Pippin's authority, but Charles overlooked this and entered into friendly relations with him. Several things made the friendship of the Bavarian duke important. Bavaria lay between the Frankish territories of the north and the passes of the Alps, beyond which lay the Italy towards which Charles' eyes may already have turned. In another way Tassilo linked Francia and Italy, for he had married a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and through him Charles entered into a friendly understanding with the Lombard king. This understanding ripened into a proposal for a twofold marriage alliance between the two houses, Charles espousing Desiderius' daughter Desiderata, and his sister Gisla marrying Desiderius' son Adelchis.

Even before Queen Bertha reached the Roman Court to announce these marriage arrangements to the new Pope, Stephen II., he had sent an angry letter to the two Frankish kings, denouncing the proposed marriage between the ruler of Francia and the "leprous brood" of the Lombards. But in spite of Papal opposition the marriage took place, and shortly after, the Pope was himself obliged to appeal for the help of Desiderius

in putting down a conspiracy at Rome, the details of which are rather obscure.

But the marriage of Charles and Desiderata was destined to the same unhappy ending as that of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon seven hundred years later. Desiderata was delicate and bore no child to her husband, and a beautiful Suabian girl, Hildegarde, played the part of Anne Boleyn. So Charles repudiated his wife, in spite of his mother Bertha's protests, and Desiderata returned to her father at Pavia.

Soon after this the short-lived friendship between the Lombard king and the Pope came to an end. Desiderius felt the toils closing around him, when the death of Carloman threw into his hands a valuable hostage. Gerberga, Carloman's widow, believing, or affecting to believe, that her two little sons were in danger, fled with them to the Lombard Court, where Desiderius gave them a welcome.

The fall of
the Lombard king-
dom, 774

Just at this stage Pope Stephen died and was succeeded by Hadrian, a stronger and perhaps abler leader, who threw himself wholly into the policy of alliance with the Franks and hostility to the Lombards. From that moment the doom of the Lombard kingdom was certain. The special purpose of Desiderius was to sow dissension between Charles and the Pope by inducing Hadrian to crown the two little sons of Carloman. In this he was supported by a Lombard party among the Papal advisors; and when the Pope discovered a treasonable correspondence going on between his chamberlain Afiarta and Desiderius, and had his officer arrested and executed, the Lombard king set out for Rome, where

he might have succeeded in deposing the Pope and setting up a rival in his own interest. But under threat of excommunication he hesitated at the frontier and finally turned back.

Meanwhile Hadrian sent in hot haste to Charles, appealing to him for help. Charles appears to have tried to avoid a final breach with the Lombard king, and sent commissioners to investigate the causes of quarrel between Hadrian and Desiderius. But when Desiderius refused all recognition of the claims of the Pope to the cities that he had seized in the exarchate, Charles found himself obliged to act. He gathered a great host at Geneva, and sent half, under the command of his uncle Bernhard, through the St. Gothard Pass, while he led the other half through the Mount Cenis, at the end of which he found the Lombards, under the king's son Adelchis, posted in a strong position, from which they were only dislodged after some stiff fighting. Then, after taking one by one the other cities of Lombardy, Charles gathered all his forces round the capital city of Pavia, where Desiderius, with the remains of his army, had taken refuge. Adelchis fled to Constantinople, where he became a useful pawn in the game that the Eastern Court found it convenient to play.

In June, 774, Pavia fell, and with its fall the Lombards, as a nation, vanish from history. The two little sons of Carloman disappeared from the scene, and Desiderius and his wife ended their days in separate religious houses in Francia, while Charles now adopted the title of *Rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.

It is impossible not to feel some regret at the disappearance of the last of those rulers of Northern Italy, who might, under happier circumstances, have vindicated their right to the title of King of Italy. The Lombards had come to Italy an uncouth but virile race; under the genial influence of Italian skies they had lost much of their uncouthness and also not a little of their virility. A hardier northern race broke their power at last, and they were slowly merged and lost in the Italian peoples among whom they had made their home. On the ruins of the Lombard kingdom rose the two great powers that were destined to make the history of Western Europe for five hundred years—the Empire and the Papacy.

Charles'
visit to
Rome, 774

Before the fall of Pavia, at Easter, 774, Charles paid his first visit to Rome. It was the first time that a Frankish king had visited the sacred city, and every effort was made to do honour to his coming. When he met the long procession of the Roman clergy coming out with banners and songs to greet him, he dismounted from his horse, and so passed into the city. There Hadrian met him and ratified the "Holy League" that united the Papal destinies with those of the northern kingdom. For seven days Charles stayed in Rome, viewing the wonders of the city and falling under the spell of the ordered splendour of the Church life that he saw around him. One event of this visit has become the centre of great controversy. Let us hear the chronicler in the *Liber Pontificalis*:—

"On the fourth day of the week, the Pope, with his officers, went forth to the Church of St. Peter, and there meeting the king in conference, earnestly en-

treated him, and exhorted him with paternal affection, that he would fulfil completely the promise that his



father, Pippin of blessed memory, had made, and that he himself with his brother Carloman and all the nobles

of the Franks had confirmed to St. Peter and his vicar Pope Stephen II., when he had visited Francia, that they would grant various cities and territories in that province of Italy to St. Peter and his vicar for a perpetual possession. And when the king had caused the promise that had been made in a place called Carisiacum to be read over to him, all its contents were approved by himself and his nobles. And of his own accord, with good and willing mind, the most excellent and Christian king caused another deed of gift to be drawn up like the first, by Etherius his chaplain and notary, and in this he granted the same cities and territories to St. Peter, and promised that they should be conveyed to the Pope with their boundaries set forth as contained in the aforesaid donation, namely: From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Surianum, thence to Mons Bardonis, thence to Parma, thence to Rhegium, and from thence to Mantua and Mons Silicis, and also the whole Exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was in old time, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria; and also the Duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum."

√Many theories have been advanced as to the meaning of this passage, which seems to imply that Charles handed over to the Pope practically all Italy except part of the old Lombard kingdom of the North, and, apparently, Calabria. Did he mean that whatever rights the emperors still retained in Italy he now proposed to transfer to the Pope? That is perhaps the most reasonable explanation of the grant, if the account can be relied upon; but some are disposed to suspect the hand of the interpolator of a later time, supplying material

on which the Popes of after ages might base claims unforeseen in the days when the Frankish king and the Roman pontiff met.

One thing at least is clear. (Charles never acted as though he had conferred on the Pope a position of independent sovereignty. Whatever had been the relation of the Popes to the Byzantine emperors at an earlier time, that he regarded as their relation to himself. They had merely transferred their allegiance to a new overlord, better able to help, but also better able to control.)

CHAPTER XVI

THE SAXON WARS

AT the time of Charles' accession to the Frankish throne the northern frontier of his kingdom followed the line of the Rhine as far as Cologne, and then turned due east, parallel with the course of the Main, till a little beyond the Weser, where the Thuringian Franks fronted the Slavonic tribes farther east. North of this frontier line the territories of the Saxons stretched up to the borders of Denmark and along the Elbe. Like the Franks and the Alemanni, the Saxons were a confederation of Teutonic tribes, whose original home had been in Holstein. From early times they had taken to a seafaring life, and became the terror of the Frisian and British coasts in the last days of the Roman rule. With the fall of Roman authority in the west many of them had crossed the channel to find new homes in Britain, while others turned southward and occupied the district between the Elbe and the Rhine.

Among the Saxons local independence was strong. Each district had its own chief, and it is doubtful whether there was any general assembly of the Saxons like the "Marchfield" of the Franks. A certain bond of union seems to have been supplied by a sacred pole

called the Irminsul, which had apparently been carried with them in their migrations, and finally placed in the woods at Eresburg, where gatherings for tribal worship were occasionally held.

For practical purposes the Saxons were at this time divided into four groups—the Nordliudi, north of the Elbe; the Ostfali, on the left bank of the Elbe; the Angrarii in the valley of the Weser; and the Westfali, between the Weser and the Rhine. They lived under strict laws, in scattered villages, and were masters of the art of guerilla warfare. No missionary had yet penetrated into their country, and though Pippin had reduced them to a nominal submission they remained still practically independent.

Charles was moved to undertake the conquest of the Saxons partly to protect the frontier lands from their raids, but even more by a desire to bring these heathen tribes to Christianity. He could hardly have foreseen that by that work of conquest he was preparing the way for the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Eastern kingdom from the Frank to the Saxon—from Aachen on the Rhine to Magdeburg on the Elbe, and so preparing also for the development of the more Romanised West Francia into a separate kingdom of France.

Charles' wars with the Saxons lasted for thirty years and involved at least eighteen campaigns. In 772 he led his first expedition into Saxony, stormed the fort of Eresburg and destroyed the Irminsul—in much the same spirit of untempered zeal as that in which the Israelites of old destroyed the idols of Canaan. The

The Saxon
campaigns,
772

Saxons pretended submission and gave hostages, and the Frankish army withdrew.

In the following year, while Charles was in Italy, they had their revenge. Crossing the frontier they burnt the Church of Deventer, while another band raided the Hessian villages and set fire to the Church of St. Boniface at Fritzlar, but, by what was thought to be miraculous intervention, the flames went out. On Charles' return the raiders retreated, followed by some Frankish cavalry who did considerable damage.

774-775 In the following spring Charles prepared for revenge, and formulated the policy of offering the Saxons the alternative of death or baptism. He marched into Saxony, seized and fortified the strong positions of Sigiburg and Eresburg—the first beginning of the network of forts that he gradually constructed throughout Saxony—and received the usual submission of the Ostfali and Angrarii, both of whom agreed, if Charles would waive the condition of forcible conversion, to admit Christian missionaries into their lands. He then turned on the Westfali, who had made an attack on his camp, and compelled them also to submit.

In the following year Charles was called away by a crisis in Italy, and the Saxons took advantage of the opportunity to break into revolt, and besieged the garrisons of Sigiburg and Eresburg. Charles hastened home, gathered a great army at Worms, and marched into Saxony, only to be met with the usual offers of surrender. He took fresh hostages, organised a more systematic mission, under one Sturm of Fulda, and built a palace and church at Paderborn.

The leader of the rising, a Westfalian chieftain named ^{Widukind,} Widukind (or Witikind) fled to Denmark, and in 778 ⁷⁷⁸⁻⁷⁷⁹ he returned and roused the Saxons to fresh rebellion. They broke into Hesse, ravaging and slaughtering, and even reached Cologne, where they burned the Church of St. Martin. The season was too far advanced for a Frankish campaign that year, but in June, 779, Charles once more led a great army into Saxony and after one pitched battle reduced the Westfali to submission. The king now built a number of forts connected with roads, reaching as far as the Elbe, which now formed the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. He tried to secure the allegiance of the tribal chiefs by giving them Frank titles and large endowments. He also endeavoured to force Christianity on the Saxons by rigorous laws, and this appears to have been the cause of the rebellion that broke out as soon as he had withdrawn. Widukind was again the soul of the movement, from which the local chiefs seem to have held off. Many of them, as hostages, had lived in Francia, and had probably become reconciled to the idea of incorporation in the dominions of Charles; and they were also jealous, apparently, of the power of Widukind over the people. It was this inability to cooperate that was fatal to all the Saxon risings. In many ways the Saxons, in their relation with the Franks, remind us of the Highland clans in Scotland in their relations with the Scottish kings of the Lowlands.

This rebellion of 780 was perhaps the most fierce of ⁷⁸⁰ all. Widukind even invited the help of the Slavs from beyond the Elbe, and the Christian Saxons were treated

with merciless cruelty. The arrival of Charles on the scene led to the usual scattering of the rebels, but when he put four thousand five hundred Saxons to the sword at Verden for complicity in the rising, a general outbreak followed, and for three years he was obliged to wage strenuous war, first defeating the enemy in the open field, and then systematically burning the villages and devastating the country. So sternly was the work done that it seemed as though the spirit of resistance was finally broken, and even Widukind abandoned the contest and submitted to baptism at Attigni, after which we hear no more of him in the history of the time.

793

A few years of peace followed, and then rebellion blazed up again. It began with the destruction of some Frankish troops who had been sent to the mouth of the Elbe in 792; and in the following year Count Theodoric, one of Charles' best generals, was slain and his army destroyed near Rustringen. This disaster, the worst that had yet befallen the royal cause in Saxony, was followed by a general repudiation of Christianity. "As a dog returns to his vomit, so did they return to the paganism which they had aforesaid deserted." "They laid waste the churches that were within their border with fire and sword; they rejected the bishops and priests that were set over them; some they took prisoners and others they slew."

Charles, who was busy with his Avar campaign, conceived the idea of digging a canal between the Rezat and the Altmühl, by which he could transport his soldiers northwards or eastwards, as occasion required. But after a multitude of men had toiled at the task for

months, the swampy nature of the ground defeated the enterprise. From 794 to 799 each year had its Saxon campaign. Charles now carried out a new policy of transplanting large bodies of Saxons into Francia and filling their vacant lands with Franks, or, in the case of Holstein, with Slavs. He also carried a number of Saxon youths to Francia, and had them brought up there as ecclesiastics, so that he might be able to send missionaries of the Saxon race to evangelise their fellow-countrymen. After 803 the long record of Saxon risings ceases, and Charles was able gradually to modify the strictness of his rule. The three great Sees of Osnabruck, Bremen and Verden became centres of missionary activity, and the Saxons, now incorporated in the Empire, guarded the eastern frontiers against the Slavonic tribes beyond. A hundred years later a Saxon duke was destined to supplant the Carolingian house in East Francia, and to found a new dynasty of German sovereigns. 803

CHAPTER XVII

CHARLES, KING OF THE FRANKS, 773-799

THE story of the Saxon wars has carried us down to nearly the end of Charles' reign. We must now return to the earlier years of it and take up the thread of general history. For some time after his conquest of the Lombard kingdom, the affairs of Italy gave the king some anxiety. Hadrian was tactless and somewhat grasping in his claims on the neighbouring dukes in Italy, and something like a general conspiracy against pope and king appears to have been hatched in 775, Hrodgaud, Duke of Friuli, the Duke of Beneventum and the Emperor Constantine being all involved. But the Emperor died, the Duke of Beneventum hung back, and Hrodgaud was left to face the Frankish power alone. The course of events that followed is somewhat obscure. Apparently Charles descended on Northern Italy early in 776, slew the revolting duke, dispersed his followers, and so reduced Lombardy once more to subjection. The supporters of Hrodgaud were punished by the confiscation of their property.

The
Spanish
campaign,
778

Scarcely had this Italian issue been laid to rest for a time when an entirely new direction was given to Charles' policy by a visit from three rebellious Saracen

chiefs from Spain, who came to him at Paderborn to ask for his assistance against their overlord.

In 750 the Ommeyad dynasty at Damascus had been overthrown by the rival faction of the Abbassides, and Abdurrahman, the only survivor of the family of the dispossessed caliphs, fled to North Africa, and a few years later crossed into Spain, where a series of victories made him master of the country that had been under the rule of several mutually hostile chiefs. At Cordova he established the capital of a Moslem kingdom that was destined to last for nearly three centuries and to leave an indelible stamp on the history of Spain. It was on behalf of the Abbasside party that Charles was now invited to intervene, and there is no reason to think that the religious motive counted for much in his decision. Perhaps Charles cherished some hope of adding Spain, or at least part of it, to his dominions—perhaps he was led on by the mere love of adventure. Whatever the motive, he agreed to march into Spain, the Abbasside chiefs undertaking to raise forces from Africa and in Spain to assist him—an undertaking that they failed to carry out. With a great army of Franks, Lombards, Bavarians and men of the southern provinces Charles set out in the spring of 778 for Saragossa. It is with some surprise that we find him, on the way, laying siege to Pampeluna, a city belonging to the little Christian kingdom of the Asturias, of which he demolished the walls. This was the only success of the expedition, of the details of which the chroniclers are strangely silent. All that is clear is that Charles turned homeward, taking one of the rebel chiefs with him

in chains, and that on the way through the defile of Roncesvalles his rearguard was attacked by the wild Basques of the Pyrenees, and a number of his nobles, including Roland, the Count of the Breton March, were slain. Around this event later ages wove a tissue of romance, of which we shall say something in a later chapter. The campaign is notable as the only unsuccessful attempt of Charles to extend the frontiers of his kingdom. It was left for his son and successor to retrieve his father's failure, and carry the frontiers of the Spanish March as far as the banks of the Ebro.

After staying a few weeks in Aquitaine, possibly to avert the danger of a rising there, Charles led his army back to Francia, and once more turned his attention to Italian affairs.

Tassilo of
Bavaria

These now become entangled with the fortunes and misfortunes of Tassilo of Bavaria. We have already seen him as the rebellious vassal of his uncle King Pippin and as the ally of Charles at the beginning of his reign. The fortunes of Bavaria were naturally closely connected with those of Lombardy, from which it was only separated by the rampart of the Alps. Tassilo had married a daughter of the deposed Lombard king, and her influence would naturally be exercised to sow dissension between her husband and the king of the Franks. But behind all merely personal questions lay the deep-seated antagonism between the Germans of the north and the Germans of the south—an antagonism lasting far into the Middle Ages—if indeed it can be said to have even now entirely disappeared. There are some provinces of Europe that seem to have a natural claim to an inde-

pendent life, and yet that have always found that independence menaced by the expansion of more powerful neighbours. Burgundy and Aquitaine failed to make good their claim to a national life of their own; Bavaria, more fortunate in the end, only succeeded by centuries of contest in avoiding the danger of absorption in the German kingdom of the north.

But though Charles might suspect Tassilo of plotting fresh treason, he could not treat a Christian power, ruled by his own first cousin, as he treated heathen Saxony or rebellious Lombardy.

His first task was to win the Pope to the support of his cause, and for that purpose he visited Rome in 781, taking with him his wife and two of his children, Carloman and Louis. Carloman was baptised by the Pope and his name changed to Pippin; and the two boys were then anointed as Kings of Italy and Aquitaine. Charles may have thought that he could satisfy the local patriotism of these two recently annexed parts of the Frankish kingdom by this recognition of their local independence, and probably hoped that as the boys grew up they might relieve him of the details of administration in these southern provinces.

The problem of Bavaria was discussed by the king and the Pope, and Hadrian, whose friendship for Charles had been somewhat cooled by what he regarded as inadequate support in his claims against the Archbishop of Ravenna and the southern dukes, now agreed to join the king in sending an embassy to Tassilo to require him to remember his oath of allegiance. Tassilo could not afford to quarrel with the Church

authorities, on whose support his power in Bavaria depended, and accordingly "so greatly was his heart softened that he declared his willingness to proceed to the presence of the king, if such hostages could be given as would leave him no doubt of his safety". These being furnished, the Bavarian duke repaired to Worms, and there solemnly renewed his oath of allegiance and gave hostages for his obedience.

Fall of
Tassilo,
787, 788

Six years passed before the affairs of Bavaria again became a cause of anxiety to Charles. The only event of importance in these years, in Italy, was the submission of Arichis, the great Duke of Beneventum, to the Frankish king. In 787 Charles again visited Rome, and the matter of Tassilo's loyalty was once more discussed between the king and the Pope. What new ground for suspicion Tassilo had given we do not know, but something in the attitude of the duke alienated the sympathy of the Pope, who, after a last attempt at reconciliation, left Charles a free hand to deal with his recalcitrant vassal. From all sides Charles poured Frankish armies into Bavaria, and Tassilo, finding resistance hopeless, made submission, handing over to the king, in token of his surrender, "a wand, the top of which was carved into the likeness of a man"—an early indication of the growth of the idea of *homage*.

But within a year Charles believed that Tassilo was renewing his schemes of rebellion, and he was summoned to Ingelheim, where he was placed on trial before the assembled magnates of the "Franks, Bavarians, Lombards and Saxons," and adjudged guilty of treason, the

gravest charge against him being that he had invited the Avars to invade the kingdom.

With all his family he was condemned to enter the monastic life, and he disappears into the monastery of Jumièges, to reappear for the last time at Frankfort in 794, when at the great council he made a final declaration of his repentance and renounced all claims on his Bavarian inheritance. Bavaria now passed under the direct rule of the Frankish king.

The annexation of Bavaria brought the kingdom of The Avars Charles to the borders of the old Roman province of Pannonia, which was now occupied by the Avars. We have seen already how this tribe from Central Asia disturbed the Byzantine emperors and even attacked Constantinople itself. Since then they had settled in Pannonia, where they occupied themselves with agriculture and raids on the western provinces of Europe. The Bavarian dukes had been the defenders of the frontier against these heathen marauders and Charles now took up the duty. A raid made by the Avars in 788, which was checked by the Count of the Marches, gave him an excuse for organising a great crusade against them.

The various tribes of the Avars lived in fortified kraals or "rings," the largest of them being that of the *Chagan* or head chief, west of the Raab. Here, protected by nine concentric ramparts, "as wide across as from Zurich to Constance," the accumulated treasures of two centuries of plundering were stored.

After some ineffective attempts at negotiation, probably undertaken merely to gain time for military pre-

parations, Charles led his army against the Avars. The ground on which the Frankish magnates agreed to the expedition was "the great and intolerable malice which the Avars had shown towards the Holy Church and the
791 Christian people". The campaign, started in 791, was undertaken in something of the spirit of a crusade, opening with three days of fasting and litanies. The Frankish army marched along both banks of the Danube, the commissariat being conveyed down the river in boats. The expedition was little more than a military parade. The Avars, who were divided among themselves, made no resistance, though Charles penetrated as far as the Raab, returning to Ratisbon in time for Christmas.

This was the only campaign against the Avars led by Charles in person. The conduct of the war fell to Eric,
795 Duke of Friuli, a devout and noble soldier, who in 795 penetrated to the central fortress of the Chagan, took possession of the vast stores of treasure hoarded in this stronghold, and sent them to Charles at Aachen in fifteen great waggons. The king gave rich gifts to his nobles and sent presents to the Pope and others, including Offa, king of Mercia, who received "a baldric, a Hunnish sword and two silk cloaks". In the following year Pippin, king of Italy, completed the destruction of the Avar kingdom and drove the Avars beyond the Theiss. A desultory war went on along the frontier for some years, partly against the remnants of the Avars and partly against Slavonic tribes that pressed in to settle in the vacant lands. In 799 the valiant Gerold, Duke of Bavaria, brother of Charles' wife Hildegarde, fell in contest with some Avars, and in the same year

the heroic Eric of Friuli died, slain in an ambush laid by the Croatians. Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, who had dedicated to him a book of devotional meditations some years before, now wrote a dirge for his friend modelled on David's lament over Saul.

The remnants of the Avar people accepted Christianity, and settled in the Ostmark, and Slav tribes filled the vacant province of the middle Danube, till a fresh inroad of Turanian people from beyond the confines of Europe—the Magyars—reoccupied the lands from which Huns and Avars had been successively driven.

While these wars were going on Charles was oc- Domestic
affairs cupied with the internal affairs of his kingdom. In the year 783 he lost his wife Hildegarde and his mother Bertha. A few months after, he married Fastrada, the daughter of an Austrasian count, a woman of strong but apparently harsh and vindictive character. To her influence Einhard attributes not a few of Charles' unpopular acts during this period of his reign. An obscure revolt of the Thuringian nobles in 886 is said to have been due to her actions; and just after the first Avar campaign Charles had to meet a more serious conspiracy, in which the leading part was played by Pippin the Hunchback, Charles' son by an early irregular marriage. The plot was betrayed and the leaders arrested and condemned to death. Pippin was allowed to enter the monastery of Prum, where he disappears from history. Two years later Fastrada died, and Charles married, as his fourth wife, Liutgarda of Suabia.

The year 798 was one of disturbance in the kingdom. The Avar war was still going on and the Saxons were,

as usual, turbulent. In addition to this the Saracens broke into Septimania, which they ravaged, carrying off many of the inhabitants into slavery; and Grimwald, Duke of Beneventum, whom Charles had held as a hostage during his father's lifetime, but had allowed to return to the duchy after his death, threw off his allegiance and became the centre of the anti-Frankish party in Italy.

A few years before this, a quarrel between Charles and the Empire led to an invasion of Southern Italy by the "Greeks," who were met by a combined Frankish and Lombard force under the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum and completely defeated. But after this the young Duke of Beneventum grew more restive under the Frankish yoke, and in 791 Pippin and Louis were ordered by their father to invade the duchy. Beyond devastating part of the territory they do not appear to have achieved much success. The contest with Beneventum lingered on for years, resolving itself into a duel between Pippin, king of Italy, assisted by the Duke of Spoleto, and Grimwald. Finally the death of Grimwald, in 806, led to the secession of hostilities.

Charles
and Offa

To make the account of these years complete, something must be said about Charles' relations with Offa, king of Mercia, now overlord of the greater part of England. The two kings appear to have become acquainted in connection with Offa's scheme for an Archbishopric of Lichfield, and they carried on a correspondence for some years. Offa is even said to have invited Charles to join him, in 787, in deposing Hadrian from the Papal chair. A little later a quarrel broke out

between the two kings, in connection with a proposed marriage of Offa's daughter with Charles' eldest son and namesake. For some reason, a suggestion by Offa that Charles' daughter Bertha should marry his son aroused the Frankish king's resentment. For some time the relations between the two kings were strained, and an embargo was laid by Charles on English merchants travelling through his kingdom. But the influence of Alcuin was exercised in favour of peace, and in 795 Charles writes in the friendliest terms to his "beloved friend and brother Offa":—

"As for pilgrims, who wish to approach the threshold of the apostles, let them travel in peace without any molestation. Let merchants pay toll at the accustomed places; we take them under our protection. If they have any complaints, let them come to us or to our judges, and they shall have justice. We send herewith some dalmatics and palls from our store to your bishops' sees, and to those of Ethelfrid, begging that you will have intercession made for the soul of Pope Hadrian; also we send you a baldric, a Hunnish sword and two silk cloaks."

Offa died soon after this, and Charles' further relations with England belong to a later period.

Charles' ecclesiastical policy, during the pontificate of Hadrian, turns almost entirely around two controversies. Ecclesiastical affairs
The first of these was the so-called Adoptionist heresy. This was propounded by a Spanish monk, Felix, Bishop of Urgel, who taught that Jesus Christ was a man who was *adopted* by God as His Son. Having obtained from the Pope a condemnation of this doctrine, Charles held

a series of councils for its condemnation, Alcuin being specially the champion of orthodoxy.

The other was the Iconoclastic controversy, in regard to which it was necessary for the Frankish Church to define its position. At the second Council of Nicæa Irene had secured the restoration of image-worship, and thus brought the policy of the Empire into accord with that of the Pope. But Charles was not disposed to submit to the dictation of the Eastern Court, and in 790 he caused to be drawn up an elaborate refutation of image-worship—the celebrated *Libri Carolini*. His attitude towards the whole question was one of toleration. “Let pictures be in the churches if so desired, to preserve in the minds of the people the memory of Bible stories; but their presence there should be optional, not compulsory, and as to insisting on their being worshipped, as the impertinent and arrogant council at Bithynia had lately done, that could in nowise be tolerated.”

In 794 Charles called a council of Frankish bishops at Frankfort, when the seventh Ecumenical Council was formally condemned as “neither seventh nor ecumenical, but absolutely superfluous”. Charles also addressed a letter to the Pope, inviting him to join in the condemnation of the image-worshippers. Hadrian sent a long reply, pointing out what he regarded as the errors of Charles’ position, and winding up with the usual appeal for the restoration of the “Patrimonies of St. Peter” in Southern Italy and Sicily. Shortly after this Hadrian died, and with the appointment of his successor begins the course of events that led to the coronation of Charles as Roman Emperor five years later.

CHAPTER XVIII

CAROLUS IMPERATOR

FOR thirty years Charles had reigned as king of the Franks, and during this period he had extended the frontiers of his kingdom in all directions till it included, excepting Spain and Britain, all, and more than all, the European lands that had owned the sway of the Roman Empire. But the Empire still lived on in its new capital in the East, and there is no reason to think that Charles ever contemplated, during the first twenty-five years of his reign, the idea of superseding the somewhat shadowy authority that the Byzantine rulers exercised over Italy. But, inevitably, his relations with the ecclesiastical world drew him more and more into the position of protector of the Pope, especially as the Iconoclastic controversy had practically severed whatever bonds of allegiance bound the Popes to the Isaurian Emperors.

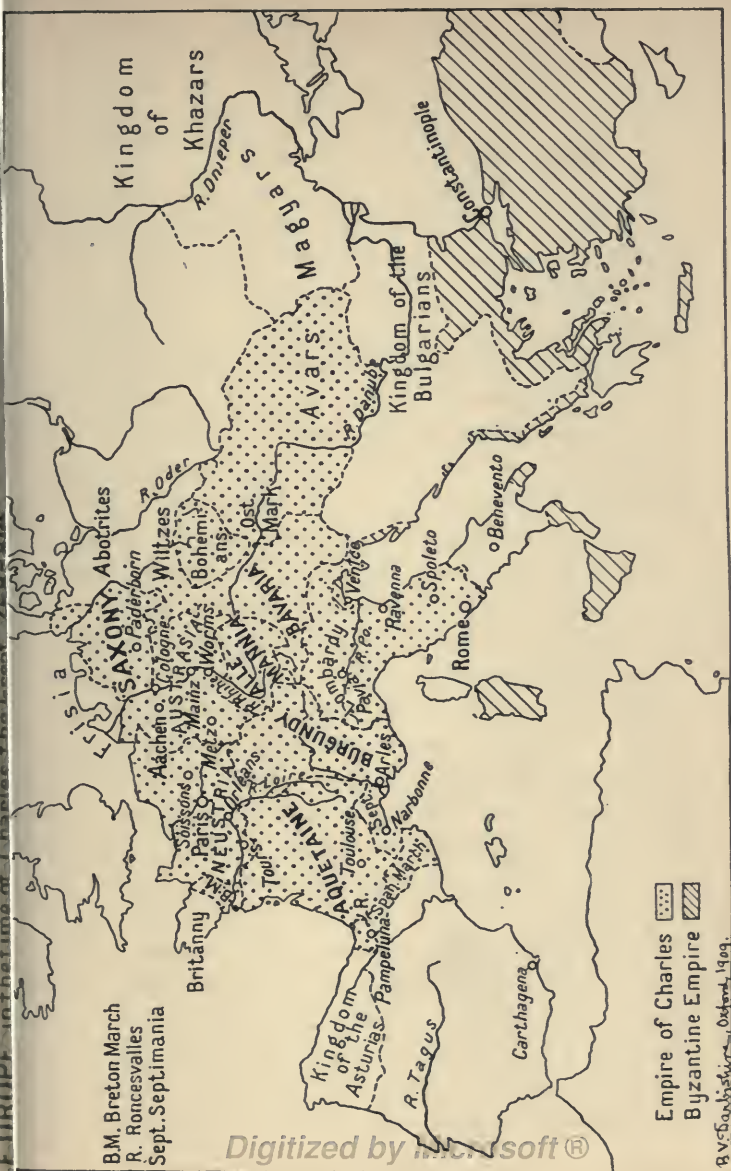
Yet the anomalous condition of Europe might have lasted on for much longer had not Irene's rise to power destroyed whatever respect had been felt in the west for the Imperial house. Europe was, for the first time, without an emperor, and just at this moment a series of events happened that made an emperor specially necessary.

Leo III.,
795-816

At the end of the year 795 Hadrian died, and Leo III. was elected in his place. The new Pope was apparently the nominee of a party, and there is some reason to think that rumours unfavourable to his integrity and moral conduct had reached Charles. At all events, in signifying his assent to the appointment, the king lays stress on the importance to a Pope of purity of life and honourable conduct. He pictures the relation between the Pope and himself as like that between Moses praying on the mountain and Joshua smiting the enemies of the Lord in the valley below. "It is ours, with the help of the Divine piety, externally to defend the Holy Church of Christ by our arms from all pagan inroads and infidel devastations, and internally to fortify it by the recognition of the Christian faith. It is yours, holy Father, with hands raised to God like Moses, to help our warfare; that by your intercession the Christian people may everywhere have the victory over its enemies, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be magnified throughout the whole world."

From the first, difficulties gathered round the path of the new Pope. Two of the nephews of the late Pope, Paschalis and Campulus, took the lead in opposing his authority. But four years passed before the conspirators felt strong enough to act, and then, having spread scandalous reports against the character of the Pope, they proceeded to seize him, in April, 799, as he was riding through the streets of Rome. Their purpose was to adopt the barbarous Byzantine custom of blinding their captive and cutting out his tongue, but for some reason the brutal work was only half done, and Leo was

EUROPE in the time of Charles the Great 769-814



B.M. Breton March
 R. Roncesvalles
 Sept. Septimania

Empire of Charles [dotted pattern]
 Byzantine Empire [diagonal lines pattern]

R.V. Sambastian, Oxford, 1909.

rescued by some friends and taken to St. Peter's Church, outside the walls, whence he was conducted into safety by the Duke of Spoleto.

Having driven out the Pope the conspirators appear to have had no further plans. They did not set up an antipope or organise any sort of government in Rome.

The events that had happened were reported to Charles, then engaged in one of his Saxon campaigns. He instructed his lieutenants to send the Pope to Paderborn. Thither accordingly Leo repaired, accompanied by a great train of nobles and ecclesiastics. He was accorded a respectful welcome, and requested to consecrate the new church at Paderborn. He stayed at the Frankish Court for some months, and then returned to Rome, accompanied by a number of leading Frankish ecclesiastics and counts. These companions of his journey constituted the body of commissioners appointed by Charles to hear the accusations against Leo and give judgment on them. But where, in all this, do the rights of the nominal overlord of the Pope find recognition? And if the Pope felt it useless to turn to the Byzantine ruler for protection and vindication, did not that fact in itself imply that Rome was free to beget a new Emperor as she had begotten the Augustus of eight hundred years before?

Leo's return to Rome was a great contrast to his departure a few months before. The Romans, anxious to avert the possible vengeance of Charles, or perhaps influenced by a genuine revulsion of feeling, poured out to welcome the returning Pope, who entered the city amid tumultuous signs of rejoicing. The com-

missioners summoned Paschalis and Campulus before them, adjudged their accusations as groundless, and sent them to Francia for Charles to deal with.

In the months that elapsed before Charles was free to visit Rome again an interesting and significant incident occurred in the arrival of an embassy from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bringing relics and gifts to the Frankish king. A little later a second envoy brought to Charles the banner of Jerusalem and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.

It would appear as though the Christians now living under Moslem rule in the East, despairing of help from Constantinople, were turning to the great Western power as the champion of the cause of Christendom.

Early in the year 800 Charles set out for Rome, stopping on the way to visit the great Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where Alcuin was now installed as abbot. It was his first visit to Neustria for more than twenty years. His stay at Tours was prolonged and saddened by the death of his wife Liutgarda. After leaving Tours he travelled to Paris, Aachen and Mainz, and then, in the autumn, moved south with a considerable army and crossed the Alps, arriving at the end of November at Rome, where he was welcomed with much ceremony.

His earliest task was to lay finally to rest the charges that had been made against Leo, and at a great assembly of the Roman Church dignitaries a last opportunity was given for any who wished to accuse the Pope. No accusers being forthcoming, Leo solemnly purged himself on oath of all the charges that had been made by his enemies.

Charles' visit to Rome, 800

Two days later, on Christmas Day, 800, during the mass at St. Peter's, which was attended by the king and his Frankish nobles, the Pope suddenly produced a golden crown which he placed on the head of Charles, while the whole assembled congregation joined in the shout, "To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor, long life and victory". Charles was then invested with the Imperial insignia and a solemn litany sung, invoking the protection of the saints on the new Emperor.

Such a ceremony as this must have been prearranged, and it is difficult to believe that the Pope would have conferred the Imperial title on Charles without first ascertaining that he would approve. Yet there is some reason for thinking that Charles was taken by surprise. Einhard says that he afterwards declared that he would never have entered the church on that day if he had foreseen the Pope's design. This may be only a sigh of regret from one who found that the Imperial dignity had brought more anxiety than pleasure; but it may mean that, though the idea of the Imperial restoration had been discussed, the Pope brought the matter prematurely to an issue.

The significance of the Imperial revival

To Charles' Frankish nobles and to the people of Rome the coronation would have meant little more than the recognition of existing facts. For all practical purposes Charles had already succeeded to the rights and responsibilities that the Byzantine rulers could no longer effectively fulfil. And as, fifty years before, Zacharias, on the ground that he who exercised the powers of king should have the name of king, had sanc-

tioned the setting aside of the last Merovingian, so now it seemed good that he who exercised Imperial functions and ruled over the Imperial cities in the west should have the title of Emperor.

To the Pope the crowning of Charles meant the final repudiation of the authority of the Emperor at Constantinople. Any attempt of the Eastern Empire to interfere in Italy would now have to reckon with the power of Charles and his Frankish armies. It probably meant little more.

In after-ages vast claims were destined to grow out of the Papal share in this restoration of the Western Empire—claims that Leo could only have foreseen very dimly, if indeed he foresaw them at all.

But what did it mean to Charles? It meant the consecration of his mission as the guardian and protector of the Christian faith—the ratification of the relationship that had been growing up through centuries between the old world and the new. As Constantine and his successors had ruled the Empire from Constantinople, so now a new line of emperors would rule it from Aachen. Logically, the transfer of the Imperial title involved the denial of the right of the Byzantine rulers to it; but Charles had no wish to push the theory to this logical issue, and was prepared to admit the authority of the existing Imperial house in the east so long as he might remain unchallenged Emperor in the west.

The Imperial office, in his conception of it, involved a definite moral responsibility. No Pope interpreted his office as vicegerent of God more strictly than did

*Capitulary
of 802*

the new Emperor. The spirit in which he tried to rule is shown by the *Capitulary* of 802, which prescribed a new oath on all his subjects. "It shall be publicly explained to all what is the force and meaning of this oath, and how much more it includes than a mere promise of fidelity to the monarch's person. Firstly, it binds those who swear it to live, each and every one of them, according to his strength and knowledge, in the holy service of God; since the Lord Emperor cannot extend over all his care and discipline. Secondly, it binds them neither by force nor fraud to seize or molest any of the goods or servants of his crown. Thirdly, to do no violence nor treason towards the Holy Church, or to widows or orphans or strangers, seeing that the Lord Emperor has been appointed, after the Lord and His saints, the protector and defender of all such."

It was in the ecclesiastical authority that he deemed himself to have as Roman Emperor that he hoped to find the bond of union that should bind together all the peoples whom the might of the Frankish sword had brought under his sway. Over Franks, Bavarians, Saxons, Lombards, the Church had thrown the meshwork of a common organisation. This organisation centred in Rome, and as master of Rome Charles might hope to extend his authority wherever the claims of Rome were recognised.

The great scheme broke down, chiefly because old tribal feelings were too strong and the new bond of union too weak. But the coronation of Charles the Great is not only the beginning of an experiment that failed, it is much more truly the culmination of a process that had

brought the vigorous and turbulent life of the Teutonic peoples under the sway of those conceptions of ordered rule and discipline that were the greatest legacy that the old Rome of Augustus and Antoninus had bequeathed to the newer Rome of Gregory and Hadrian.

From Rome Charles returned to Germany in the following year, and the last fourteen years of his reign were spent in organisation and legislation. No fresh lands were added to his Empire, but the existing provinces were bound into closer union.

It is said that Charles contemplated a marriage with Irene, so uniting East and West. But the story is extremely improbable, and the revolution at Constantinople, which was due partly to the revolt of the west, soon brought Irene's period of rule to an end. From the new Emperor Charles succeeded, after tedious negotiations, in securing a partial recognition of his title. The most important events of 804 were the end of the Saxon war and a visit of the Pope to Aachen.

To Charles' Court came messengers from many lands. There Egbert of Wessex found refuge when expelled from England by Bertric. The extent of Charles' interference in English affairs is not very clear, but he probably assisted Egbert's return in 802, and perhaps inspired the policy that gave to Wessex twenty-five years later the overlordship of England. In 808 another dispossessed English king, Eardulf of Northumbria, came to ask for help at the Imperial Court, and by the joint help of Emperor and Pope was restored to his throne.

From the far East came an embassy from the

great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, bringing an elephant "Abulahaz" as a gift to the new Emperor.

But under the outward prosperity of Charles' closing years there were not wanting ominous indications of danger. The northern coasts were already being plundered by Scandinavian pirates, and the Saracens were beginning to harry the shores of the Mediterranean. Danes and Slavs were restive on the frontiers. The story told by the monk of St. Gall of how Charles, sitting at meat in his palace at Narbonne, saw the white sails of a Viking ship, and wept bitterly as he foretold the woes that were coming on his subjects, though probably a later legend, expresses a true fact. Charles' last years must sometimes have been saddened by forebodings of possible disaster.

They were saddened also by domestic grief. In 810 Pippin, the brave and noble young king of Italy, died at the early age of thirty-three while campaigning in Dalmatia. Next year the Emperor's eldest son Charles died, and Louis alone remained to inherit the kingdom. In 813 Charles held a great assembly at Aachen, at which he presented his son to the nobles as his successor. Early in the following year he died, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign.

Aachen

Until the accession of Charles the Frankish kingdom had no fixed capital. In the early part of his reign he carried on the administration of his kingdom chiefly from his three palaces at Worms, Ingelheim and Nimuegen. But after 795 he made his home at the city between the Rhine and the Meuse that the Romans

called Aquæ Grani, the German Aachen and the French Aix-la-Chapelle. Charles was attracted to the place by its hot medicinal springs, and there he built a palace and a church, for the adornment of which churches at Rome and Ravenna were plundered of their treasures. Around Aachen stretched wide parks, where Charles and his courtiers rode and hunted.

Of Charles' personal character and habits his biographer Einhard gives us much interesting information. Personal character of Charles He was a mighty eater, with a special love for roast meats, and found the Church's rules of fasting hard to observe. In the matter of drink he was temperate, and strove to discourage drunkenness among his officers and courtiers. He was wont to have books read to him at the evening meal—either history or the works of St. Augustine, whose *City of God* was his special favourite. He knew Latin and some Greek, but in spite of earnest efforts never succeeded in learning to write. He was interested in the literature of his native land and tried to preserve the old Teutonic ballads of the Franks of which he had a collection made. Unfortunately his successor, Louis the Pious, deeming them mere relics of paganism, caused the book to be destroyed.

Of his personal appearance and habits Einhard has much to tell. "His gait was firm, all the habit of his body manly; his voice clear but scarcely corresponding to his stature; his health good, except that during the last four years of his life he was often attacked with fever, and at the last he limped with one foot. He guided himself much more by his own fancy than by the

counsel of his physicians, whom he disliked because they tried to persuade him to give up roast meats, to which he was accustomed, and to take to boiled. He kept up diligently his exercises of riding and hunting, in which he followed the custom of his nation. He delighted in the steam of hot-water baths, being a frequent and skilful swimmer. Not only did he invite his sons to the bath, but also his friends and nobles, sometimes even a crowd of courtiers and bodyguards, so that at times as many as a hundred men or more would be bathing together.

“He loved foreigners, and took the greatest pains to entertain them, so that their number often seemed a real burden, not only to the palace but even to the kingdom.

“He was full even to overflowing with eloquence, and could express all his ideas with great clearness. He was in truth so eloquent that he seemed like a professional rhetorician.

“He was a devout and zealous supporter of the Christian religion, in which he had been instructed from infancy. He regularly attended the church that he had built at Aquisgranum morning and evening, and also in the hours of the night and at the time of sacrifice, as far as his health permitted; and he took great pains that all the rites celebrated there should be performed with the greatest decorum, constantly admonishing the ministers of the church that they should not allow anything dirty or unbecoming to be brought there. He took great pains to reform the style of reading and singing, in both of which he was highly accomplished.”

THE LOWER RHINE



B.V. Baars & Co., Oosterd
1909

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 50 Engl. Miles

Digitized by Microsoft®

Of the genuineness of his piety there can be no doubt. He was anxious not only to further the extension of Christianity but also to purify it of the corruptions that threatened to destroy its vitality. A certain grim humour appears in some of the stories that tradition has handed down of his dealings with worldly and grasping ecclesiastics.

While his sons were provided, as they grew up, with local courts of their own, his daughters remained at home, and travelled with him when he moved about his kingdom. "As those daughters were most beautiful and he loved them dearly, it was strange that he never gave one of them in marriage, either to one of his own people or to a foreigner, but kept them always with him in the house till the day of his death, declaring that he could not dispense with their daily companionship." Einhard hints at scandals that Charles bore with fortitude; and no doubt there was a less pleasing side to the life of the Frankish Court. Charles himself was far from immaculate, judged by the standard of strict Christian principle. But the life of courts has seldom proved a training-ground of domestic virtues, and on the whole the court of Charles the Great stands out in the chronicles of the time as an oasis of cheerful home life amid the wars and turbulence of a rough and uncouth age.

CHAPTER XIX

LAW AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE EMPIRE

CHARLES inherited from his predecessors the administrative system that the Frankish rulers had gradually developed out of the primitive Teutonic arrangements that the Franks had brought with them from their northern home. To this he added from time to time, so that by the end of his reign the Empire was governed by a system of administration that appeared adequate and efficient. But as a matter of fact it was neither, for Charles was unable to develop an efficient and trustworthy body of officials. The Byzantine Empire was strong, even when it seemed most weak, because it was served by a body of well-trained and well-paid civil servants; but the Carolingian Empire was weak, even when it seemed strongest, because Charles had to depend on officers who were untrained and unpaid. But the Byzantine Empire only retained its bureaucratic system by a burden of taxation such as Charles dared not lay on the shoulders of his free Franks, or even on the subject nations of his Empire. The burden of military service, and the tithes that were levied by royal authority for religious purposes, often provoked strong resentment, and the expense of government had consequently to be kept down at all costs. But this

could only be done by acting through unpaid agents who were likely to prove either inefficient or corrupt.

The
Emperor

At the head of the whole system was the Emperor, who as Emperor recognised no earthly superior, but as king of the Franks was bound to act in consultation with his great nobles and, at least nominally, with the armed warriors who assembled every spring at the annual "Mayfield". A smaller gathering was held in the autumn, at which probably only the great magnates attended. It was at these assemblies that fresh laws were promulgated and questions of peace or war decided.

The two most important outlying provinces of the Empire—Italy and Aquitaine—Charles entrusted to his two younger sons, who each had a court of his own and was left free in the administration of his own kingdom, subject to the general control of the Emperor.

Margraves

The dukes of the other great provinces had been dispossessed in favour of the direct authority of the Frankish king, but along all the frontier of the Empire a new and important class of officers had grown up in the Margraves of the Marches. In the South the Duke of Spoleto acted as margrave and carried on a desultory war with the Lombard Duke of Beneventum. The Margrave of Friuli defended the eastern frontiers of Italy, and the province of Istria was also a kind of March on the eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom.

Along the Danube the Ostmark, ruled by two margraves, kept back the flood of Slavonic invasion from Bavaria, and farther north, in Bohemia, the Empire had driven a wedge of conquest into the Eastern

Slavonic world. Along the Elbe, and on the Danish frontier, other margraves kept watch, and the circle of frontier defences was completed by the Breton March, where Roland was at one time warden, and the Spanish March in the south, where the Count of Toulouse waged almost constant war against the Saracens.

To complete the defences of the Empire a Frankish fleet was constructed which guarded the channel, for a while, from the raids of the Norsemen.

Internally the Empire was divided into counties ^{Local} (*pagus*), each ruled by a count nominally appointed by ^{administra-} the Emperor, but really holding the position of a local ^{tion} hereditary magnate. Each count had his court or *mallus* in the central town of his county. The custom of the Frankish kingdom was that every man should be judged by the law of his own nation. But in practice this resolved itself into a sort of equitable jurisdiction based partly on common sense, partly on the personal will of the count, from whom impartial justice could hardly be expected in matters where his own interests were affected. The *pagus* was subdivided into hundreds, each under a local officer appointed by the count.

Into this system the Emperor introduced two changes. ^{The *missi*} The Frankish kings were accustomed to send ^{*dominici*} *missi* on various errands into the provinces of the kingdom. Charles now created a new body of permanent *missi dominici*, leading nobles of the kingdom who travelled around definite circuits supervising the local administration and acting as inspectors of all departments of government. But several things rendered their work ineffective. The circuits were too large for effective

supervision; the *missi* were unpaid and only held office for short periods; and the local counts appear to have evaded their control in various ways—as, for example, by persuading suitors to hold back their cases till the unwelcome intruders had paid their visit.

The other change was the creation of a kind of jury of *scabini*, who were intended to act with the count in the administration of justice. But for various reasons these *scabini* do not appear to have been an effective body, and local justice continued to depend on the count.

Central
govern-
ment

The central government was nominally a bureaucracy, really an autocracy. Charles had his archchaplain for the management of ecclesiastical business and a body of Counts of the Palace (*comes palatii*), one for each nation of the Empire, who were supposed to deal with appeals from the local counts, the most important being referred to the Emperor. But in fact the Emperor, partly because of the dearth of competent officers, and partly through the unwillingness of a strong ruler to delegate power, retained in his own hands the actual work of government. A suitor who could secure access to the Emperor could generally count on justice, and at the Mayfield assemblies Charles mixed freely with his subjects; but a system built up around the person of the sovereign was bound to break down when his powers grew enfeebled with age or his sceptre passed into hands less able to wield it.

The lack of a trained body of secular officials threw Charles back on the support of the great ecclesiastics who were already rising to a position of great wealth and influence. The work of resumption of Church lands,

that had cost Charles Martel the goodwill of the monkish chroniclers, now began to be undone.

Two significant facts appear in the *Capitularies* of ^{Begin-} the closing years of the reign. One is the growing ^{ning of} difficulty of securing from the freemen of the Empire ^{Fendalism} the military service that they were liable to furnish. Now that the wars of the Emperor were no longer wars of conquest, in which plunder and glory might be gained, the interruption of ordinary life caused by military service was resented. To meet this difficulty a new system was adopted that was destined to have far-reaching consequences. Liability to military service was now made territorial instead of personal; a certain area of land being made responsible for furnishing a warrior to the host, the inhabitants sharing the duty or furnishing a deputy.

The other significant fact is the growth of the system of vassalage. Freemen began to commend themselves to the local count or ecclesiastic, securing protection in return for certain services. So begins the feudal system, of the development of which more must be said in a later chapter. The Frankish kingdom had held together while the process of conquest had kept alive the sentiment of loyalty; as soon as the extension of the kingdom ceased, local feeling reasserted itself, and this process of disintegration had begun even before Charles handed on the sceptre to the less masterful hands of his son.

Charles made no attempt to compile a legal code for ^{Legislation} his Empire, but he endeavoured to reduce the various national systems of law, under which the peoples of his

Empire were living, to better order. "After his assumption of the Imperial title," says Einhard, "as he perceived that many things were lacking in the laws of his people, he thought to add those things that were wanting, to reconcile discrepancies, and to correct what was bad and ill expressed. But of all this he accomplished nothing, except that he added a few chapters, and those imperfect ones, to the laws of the Franks. All the legal customs, however, of the various nations under his sway, he caused to be committed to writing, if they were not already written."

But it is in his *Capitularies* that the legislative activity of Charles shows itself. These *Capitularies* were edicts issued by the Emperor from time to time (many of them before his acceptance of the Imperial title), in consultation with his nobles, regulating the affairs of Church and State. They were collected into books in the ninth century, but they are not to be thought of as a code of law. Some of them are royal proclamations, some ordinances, some instructions to the *missi* or answers to their questions. Some appear to be no more than notes, jotted down by the Emperor, of things he wanted to remember. In his *History of Civilisation* Guizot attempts to classify these *Capitularies* according to subject-matter. It would be impossible to deal with them in any detail here. They show the wide range of Charles' administrative activity and the sincerity of his efforts to enforce the Christian moral standard on his people. In all probability many of them remained pious opinions, pointing to a standard of life far in advance of anything that the Frankish kingdom was capable of reaching.

CHAPTER XX

ALCUIN AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING. JOHN SCOTUS

IN the sixth and seventh centuries learning in Europe was reduced to a very low ebb. Schools were rare, and the Church authorities had already begun to frown on secular studies as corrupting to the student.

In the early part of the seventh century Isidore, Bishop of Seville, had a high reputation for learning. He was a voluminous writer, and his books formed the text-books for students in the schools of Western Europe till the tenth century. But there is little in them of real value, and after his death, in 636, no great man of learning appears in Western Europe till the coming of Alcuin.

While, however, the study of the great writers of the ancient world decayed on the continent, it began in Ireland, where the coming of Christianity was accompanied by a great literary revival. The Irish, or "Scots" as Ireland they are called by contemporary chroniclers, became not only messengers of Christianity but also of culture. Till the Norse invasions of the eighth century Ireland remained a home of literature and of students.

From Ireland the lamp of learning was passed on to the neighbouring island. England also received educational stimulus from another source, for Theodore Nor-
thumbria

of Tarsus, sent from Rome to organise the Church in England, brought with him Hadrian, Abbot of St. Peter's, Rome, under whom a flourishing school began at Canterbury. Under his influence an Englishman, Benedict Biscop, founded a great library at Wearmouth, in Northumbria, where the influence of the northern missionaries was still strong. At Malmesbury also a Scottish teacher, Mailduf, set up a school, which grew and flourished. But it was at Jarrow, a daughter house of the monastery of Wearmouth, that English learning found its greatest representative in the scholar whom later ages have loved to call the "Venerable" Bede. Born in 673, Bede spent his whole life at the monastery of Jarrow. "While attentive to the rules of my order and the service of the Church, my constant pleasure lay in learning, teaching or writing." Bede had nothing of the hostility towards secular learning that we find in Gregory the Great and other Church leaders on the continent. He loved Virgil and the other Latin poets, and was familiar with Plato and Aristotle. His life was spent in teaching and writing. Crowds of students flocked to him, and over forty works remained after his death to attest his literary activity. On his death, in 735, the educational centre of England shifted to York, where Egbert, the bishop (afterwards archbishop), developed the school that Wilfred had founded. Northumbria remained the most important centre of learning in Western Europe till the Danish invasions destroyed its prosperity and peace.

. But before this the revival of learning had passed from Northumbria to the Court of Charles the Great.

The earliest men of learning to arrive at the Frankish Court were "Scots" from Ireland, and they were followed by Alcuin.

Alcuin or Albinus, as he called himself, was a Nor-Alcuin thumbrian by birth, and had been brought up in Egbert's school at York, where he became the favourite pupil of the archbishop. Ethelbert, who succeeded Egbert as headmaster of the school, used Alcuin on various confidential missions, one of which brought him to the Court of Charles the Great about the year 773. On this occasion he was apparently sent on by Charles to Rome on some business in which he was concerned. When Ethelbert succeeded as archbishop, Alcuin became practically head of the school, and on the retirement of the archbishop he was sent to Rome for the pall for his successor, Eanbald. On the way he met Charles at Parma and received a pressing invitation to return with him to Francia. He returned home to obtain leave of absence from the archbishop, and then settled down in the dominions of Charles, which he never quitted again except for a short visit of two years to Northumbria, from 791 to 792. At the Frankish Court he became head of the Palace School and practically Minister of Education.

The Palace School, originally established in the days of the Merovingian kings for the education of the kings' sons and the sons of the nobles of the court, was developed by Charles into a kind of court university of learned men whom he gathered from all parts. He himself attended lectures with his sons, and succeeded in learning Latin and Greek. But Charles also desired

to extend education throughout his realm, and in a famous capitulary of 787 he ordered the establishment of schools in connection with every monastery in his kingdom. In the organisation of these schools, and in providing text-books for them, Alcuin took a leading part. He was endowed by the king with the revenues of the monastery of St. Lupus at Troyes and Bethlehem at Ferrières.

He also took a leading share in the theological controversies of the time. It was the outbreak of the Adoptionist heresy that brought him back from England in 792, and at the Council of Frankfort he was the leading champion of orthodoxy. How large a share he had in the events that led to the coronation of Charles in 800 we do not know; but some expressions in his letters to the king suggest that the restoration of the Imperial office in the West had been discussed between them. After 792 he settled at the great monastery of St. Martin at Tours, of which he became abbot, and there he spent the rest of his life, carrying on a constant correspondence with Charles and other friends at the court.

The court
school

The learned men of the court were apparently a merry crew. They bandy jests and exchange riddles, and adopt for epistolary purposes the names of classical or biblical characters. Thus Charles becomes David; Alcuin, Flaccus Albinus; Angilbert, Homer; and the king's daughters and friends appear similarly disguised. The king himself entered with zest into the battle of wits, and loved to perplex his learned men with conundrums.

Several other scholars joined the court at about the same time as Alcuin. Peter of Pisa, who had formerly taught at Pavia, came to Francia about 780, already an old man, and taught grammar there till his death some years later. A more notable man reached Aachen a little later in Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards. He came to the court to plead for his brother, who had been imprisoned, and his property confiscated, for his share in some Lombard rising. He became a special favourite with the king, and stayed at the court for a good many years, finally retiring to Monte Cassino, where he died.

Another literary colleague of Alcuin was Einhard (or Einhard Eginhard), who was educated at the monastery of Fulda and came to the Frankish Court as a young man. He became a close friend of the king, who employed him in various important public works. His skill in all manner of metal work earned him the nickname, in the palace circle, of Bezaleel. About the year 826 he and his wife parted to enter religious houses, and Einhard retired to the monastery of Seligenstadt, where he died about 840.

Part of Einhard's work appears to have been superintending the compilation of the official annals of the reign, but the literary work by which he is now chiefly remembered is his life of Charles the Great. The *De Vita Caroli Magni* is modelled on Suetonius' life of Augustus, and is of course warmly eulogistic. But there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the picture presented to us of the king and his court, as Einhard knew both from personal experience.

Though the ultimate aim of the education given in the palace and monastic schools was the study of theology, Alcuin did not discourage the liberal arts, and the attitude of the Roman authorities towards these grew more favourable. But towards the end of his life, Alcuin seems to have felt some fear lest the study of classical literature might take too prominent a place in the educational system.

The
revival of
learning

One of the most important services that Charles and Alcuin did for sound learning was the collecting and copying of the texts of the classical authors. Many of these had been copied and recopied by ignorant clerks till they had become almost unintelligible. The texts were now revised by competent scholars and then copied in the *scriptoria* of the monasteries in the beautiful Roman characters that now superseded the clumsy uncial letters.

The text of the Holy Scriptures and the service books of the Church were also carefully revised, and in the last year of Charles' life we read of him as "correcting, with the assistance of certain learned Greeks and Syrians, the four gospels of Jesus Christ".

Strenuous efforts were made to encourage sound learning in the monasteries and cathedral schools. In a letter to the Archbishop of Mainz Charles writes: "You are striving by God's help to conquer souls, and yet you are not anxious to instruct your clergy in letters, at which I cannot be too astonished. You see on all sides those who have submitted to your rule plunged in the darkness of ignorance, and you leave them in their blindness." In a kind of Imperial rescript, addressed

to the bishops and abbots of his realm, he says: "We have thought fit that, in all bishoprics and monasteries entrusted by Christ's grace to our government, care should be taken not only to live regularly and in conformity with holy religion, but also to study letters seriously, to teach and to learn, each man according to his ability, and by the help of God, so that the religious rule of life, which brings with it honourable conduct and zeal for teaching and learning, may give regularity and beauty to language".

Efforts were also made to improve the services of the Church, and in 786 Charles brought singers from Italy to Metz and Soissons, where they taught the Gregorian method of chanting to Frankish clerks.

One important result of this literary energy was to restore Latin, which was deteriorating in Northern Europe into an almost unintelligible jargon, once more to the level of a literary language. The Latin prose and verse of Angilbert or Alcuin is often crude and ungrammatical, but it is an immense improvement on the scanty fragments that we have left from the previous period.

Though the mass of the laymen remained unaffected by this literary revival, and could generally neither read nor write, the standard of the education of the clergy was undoubtedly raised, and never again sank as low as it had done in the seventh and eighth centuries. The monastic schools established at this time went on through the dark century that followed, and though the confusion and contests of the time precluded further progress, the ground won through the efforts of Charles and his literary helpers was never actually lost.

John
Scotus
Erigena

Only one thinker of the first rank bridges the gulf that separates Alcuin from the renaissance of the eleventh century. John Scotus Erigena was born just at the date of Alcuin's death. He was apparently a native of Ireland, but of the details of his life very little is known. All that is certain is that he came to the Court of Charles the Bald about the year 847 and remained for some years at Paris, where he is said to have presided over the school. Paris was at this time rising into importance as a political and literary centre, partly through its nearness to the great monastery and Church of St. Denis, which was the burial-place of the West Frankish kings.

One of John's earliest tasks was to translate into Latin a Greek treatise supposed to have been written by Dionysius the Areopagite, the St. Denis who was associated in legend with the first preaching of the Gospel in Gaul. Mr. Poole calls John "the last representative of the Greek spirit in the West". His writings, of which the most important is a Philosophical dialogue called *De Divisione Naturæ*, show a speculative mind, bold even to rashness and little disposed to accept the dogmas of authority. His opinions were pronounced heterodox even in his lifetime, and after his death his name became the battle-cry of theological contest. He has been described as the founder of mediæval scholasticism, but it would probably be more correct to regard scholasticism as a reaction from his dangerous speculative activity.

He is said, in later traditions, to have lived on terms of close friendship with Charles the Bald, much as

Alcuin had done with his great predecessor, and to have returned to England after the death of his patron in 877. According to one legend he became head of the school at Malmesbury and was murdered by his scholars. But it is much more likely that he died in France soon after 877.

Hincmar of Rheims, though primarily an ecclesiastical statesman and administrator, ought perhaps to find a place beside John Scotus in the records of the ninth century. Born in 806, he became a favourite adviser of Louis the Pious, and on his death was taken into favour by Charles the Bald, who appointed him, in 844, as Archbishop of the great See of Rheims. For nearly forty years Hincmar ruled as Primate of the Church in West Francia, the adviser and friend of a series of Carolingian monarchs, with whom he corresponded on familiar terms. He was jealous in maintaining the rights of his order, and did a good deal to strengthen the position of the Church in West Francia. In the literary world he is chiefly known as the author of two treatises on Predestination, written in connection with a controversy in which he became involved with a monk named Gottschalk, who was supported by the Archbishop of Lyons, the ecclesiastical head of Southern Gaul. John Scotus had already, at Hincmar's request, endeavoured to controvert the heresies of Gottschalk, but, in the opinion of the orthodox, had promulgated more heresies than he disproved. Hincmar died in December, 882, at Epernay, whither he had fled from a Norse attack on Rheims.

Hincmar of
Rheims,
806-882

CHAPTER XXI

THE CHARLEMAGNE OF ROMANCE

NO account of the reign of Charles the Great would be complete without some notice of the cycle of romance and legend that gathered around the king and his court. In mediæval literature Charlemagne and his paladins rival the fame of King Arthur and his Round Table.

Early legends

Very soon after the death of the Emperor, men began to look back to his reign as a kind of golden age. They said of him, as later ages said of his great successor Barbarossa, that he was not dead, and that he would come forth from his tomb, when the appointed time had come, to restore good order and peace. He was reported to have been buried seated on a chair of state, with his sword Joyeuse laid unsheathed across his knees. Otto III. is said to have opened the tomb at Aachen and to have found the body of the Emperor, still undecayed, grasping a sceptre, with a gold chain round the neck, which the young monarch removed and kept as a relic. But history throws doubt on the story.

The origin of the Charlemagne romances is to be found in the *chansons* of the minstrels of France, who took floating stories of the heroes of Charles' wars and sang their exploits by the camp fires of the western

lands where the Romance language was beginning to develop. Gradually these ballads grew, as fresh material from other sources was added to them. In the eleventh century these *chansons de gestes* were taken in hand by literary men and woven into connected stories. In these stories Charlemagne appears as the great leader of the Christian cause against the Moslems. They centre largely in Charles' Spanish campaign, which becomes a crusade, in which the Christian king and his knights smite the infidel in great contests through years of war. Of these works by far the best known was the *Chanson de Roland*—not the Song of Roland that Taillefer sang as he led the Norman charge at Senlac, but a much longer and more literary production. Here the Emperor appears as ruler of all Europe, served by a band of heroes, of whom Roland and Oliver are the most famous.

In the age of the Crusades this aspect of the Emperor's work grows more prominent. All other parts of the story are subordinated to the crusading idea. Even Widukind and Desiderius, the Saxon and Lombard enemies of Charles, now appear as Saracen leaders, and Charlemagne is described as voyaging to Jerusalem and visiting Constantinople. Influence of
Crusades

The History of Archbishop Turpin, a prose romance, written in the form of a supposed letter from Archbishop Turpin of Rheims to an archdeacon, adds to the story of Roncesvalles a great war between Charlemagne and an African King Argolander. This book was approved by Pope Calixtus in 1122, and was widely popular.

Two things are to be noticed about the Charlemagne legends of this period. They all regard Charlemagne as a great French king. Charles as
a French
king It is interesting to notice that

of the three great monarchs of a later time who deliberately set the career of Charles the Great before them as a model—Frederick Barbarossa, St. Louis and Napoleon—two were French. The other point of interest is the strongly ecclesiastical character of the stories. “The peers are hardly knights, but mere fighting monks. Both Charlemagne and his nephew Roland are the favourites of heaven, who receive miraculous gifts and enjoy the intercourse of angels. Strong and fearless, they slay their thousands; but they do not joust for the pleasure of it; they do not crave adventures for the honour to be gained; they want the splendid courtesy of the chevalier, and, above all, have no sense for the service of women. Roland does not spare his lady a thought. At his death, he thinks of God and fatherland, of the emperor and his former conquests, and the men of his line; he bids his sword a tender farewell; but he is undisturbed by any grief for the woman who holds him dear.”

In the thirteenth century the Charlemagne stories change their character. It is not now the Crusades, but the struggles between the feudal barons and the kings, that occupy men's thoughts. So Charlemagne becomes a feudal monarch surrounded by his great vassals, who gradually come to fill the foreground as the king recedes. At last he is little more than a shadowy and ineffective figure, capable only of occasional acts of tyranny, while the real heroes of the story are the barons of his court.

Meanwhile the Charlemagne romances found their way to Iceland, where the great *Karlamagnus Saga*

was published in the thirteenth century. Two centuries later this was translated into Danish as the *Kejser Karl Magnus*.

Two final stages follow. The story of Charlemagne passes into Spain, where the Spanish chroniclers, jealous for the honour of their own country, turn Charles' Spanish campaign into a mere marauding expedition, in which the Frankish invaders are driven headlong by the valour of the Spanish leader, Bernard de Carpio. Then the mocking Italian spirit settles on the story, and, in the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, holds up the whole of knight-errantry to ridicule.

Valueless as it is from a historical point of view, all this mass of legendary matter is of interest as showing how great was the impression made on after-ages by the figure of the great Frankish Emperor as he stood armed and consecrated at the opening of that new chapter of world-history that we call the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XXII

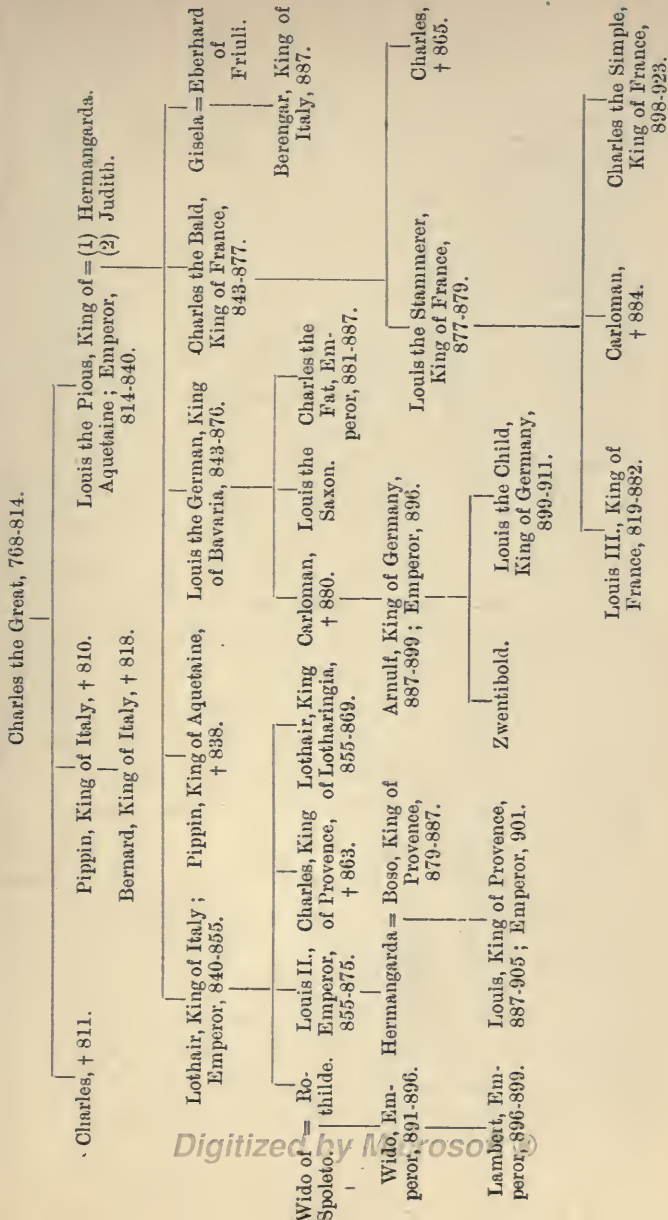
THE REIGN OF LOUIS THE PIOUS

Louis the
Pious, 814-
840

THE death of both Charles' elder sons during his lifetime averted, for a time, the partition of his Empire, and his surviving son, Louis the Pious, succeeded without dispute to the throne of his father. Almost the last act of Charles' life had been the nomination of Louis as his successor at a great gathering of the nobles at Aachen. As soon therefore as the news of the Emperor's death reached him in Aquitaine, Louis set out for Aachen, and there celebrated his accession by taking the Imperial crown from the altar of the cathedral and crowning himself as Emperor—an act of independence of which the Pope was likely to disapprove.

Louis had for many years ruled in Aquitaine with almost unchecked authority. Though his court there was reputed in Francia to be "more like a monastery than a court," he had proved himself an effective ruler, and, with the help of the Count of Toulouse, had carried on vigorous war along the Spanish frontier. But while he had acquired the culture and refinement of Southern Gaul—a refinement that earned for him in later times the name of *Louis le Débonnaire*—he had lost much of the virility and self-reliance of the sterner

THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY



northern lands that were the cradle of his race. There was a certain weak obstinacy in his character that was destined, much more than his religious enthusiasm, to prove fatal to his success.

His first work was the reform of the court, which in the later years of his father had grown corrupt and dissolute. He dismissed his father's ministers in favour of those he brought with him from Aquitaine, and sent his sisters into convents. The influence of his new advisers and of his wife Hermengarda was resented by the Frankish nobles, among whom discontent soon began to grow up. This was fostered by the new monarch's ecclesiastical policy. His efforts were directed to the improvement of the lives of the clergy, especially by checking the tendency to secularisation that already began to show itself among the non-monastic clergy. He granted to most of the monasteries of the kingdom the right to hold their lands free of all condition except that they would "pray for the welfare of the Emperor and Empire". This meant that large tracts of lands became immune from the obligation of military service, and the strength of the Empire was proportionally weakened.

When, soon after Louis' accession, Pope Leo died, his successor Stephen was consecrated without the Imperial sanction. Not only did Louis accept this without protest, he also allowed the Pope to visit Rheims and there recrown him as Emperor—thus implying that his previous coronation was irregular, as lacking the sanction of the ecclesiastical authority.

In the following year, 817, an accident that nearly

cost Louis his life gave a morbid turn to his thoughts, and led him, in view of the uncertainty of life, to make provision for the contingency of his death by arranging a partition of the Empire among his three sons, the oldest of whom, Lothair, was now about nineteen years of age. The division followed the lines of Charles' earlier arrangements—Lothair shared with his father the Imperial dignity, ruling the old Frankish lands and the Italian kingdom, while Aquitaine fell to Pippin and Bavaria to the youngest, Louis. The two younger brothers were to recognise their brother's authority and to pay visits of ceremony to him from time to time.

This partition of Aachen raised one difficult question. Ever since the death of King Pippin his son Bernhard had been ruling in Italy with almost independent authority and with conspicuous success. The young king, seeing in this partition a scheme for ousting him from his inheritance, rose in rebellion. The event that followed was destined to cast a lasting shadow of disgrace and remorse over the reign of Louis. Enticed into negotiation, Bernhard was induced, trusting to an Imperial safe-conduct, to cross the Alps and appear at Châlons-sur-Saône. There he was arrested, sent to Aachen, tried as a rebel and sentenced to death. Louis commuted the sentence to blinding, but the sentence was carried out with such brutality that Bernhard died.

Within a few months of this event Hermengarda died, and her death was regarded by the king as a Divine punishment for his treatment of Bernhard. He sank into a condition of profound melancholy and bitter

remorse, and talked of retiring to expiate his sin in a monastery. To rouse him from this state his ecclesiastics persuaded him to marry again. He selected as his new consort Judith, daughter of Count Welf of Altdorp. Judith was a beautiful, able and ambitious woman, who soon acquired complete mastery over the unstable mind of her husband. In 822 her son Charles the Bald was born, and with him begins the break-up of the Carolingian Empire.

Soon after the birth of his son, Louis, again plunged into melancholy and self-reproach, unwisely recalled the ministers whom he had banished at the beginning of his reign, and set free those who were imprisoned for their share in Bernhard's rising. Not content with thus surrounding himself with implacable enemies, he determined to do public penance at Attigny, near Soissons, for his real and supposed sins. The public self-abasement of the Emperor, who subjected himself to the most humiliating penances, alienated from him the Frankish nobles who had been accustomed to the rough heartiness and masterful rule of his father. The loyalty of the Franks to their sovereign was already undermined when a fatal step let loose the dogs of war and plunged the Empire into fifty years of contest.

Louis and
his sons

In 829, when Charles the Bald was seven years old, the Emperor determined to provide him with a kingdom. He therefore announced, at a great council at Worms, that he proposed to make the Duchy of Alemannia into a kingdom for his youngest son.

The Emperor's second marriage had been resented by his sons, and Judith had apparently become unpopular

throughout the Empire. The new scheme therefore drew together all the discontented elements in the realm, and a great rising was organised while Louis was engaged in subduing a rebellion in Brittany. Pippin of Aquitaine marched on Paris and rallied the nobles of Neustria, while Lothair crossed the Alps at the head of a great army of Lombards. Hemmed in at Compiègne, Louis was obliged to surrender and was imprisoned by his sons, while Judith was forced to take the veil at Poitiers. Next spring a great gathering was summoned to Nimuegen, where the Austrasian nobles, loyal still to the Emperor, appeared in such strong force that Lothair was glad to make peace and to appeal for the forgiveness that Louis was only too willing to grant.

But the interval of peace was of short duration. In 832 the war blazed out again, and this time all three brothers joined against their father. Louis' reply was to declare Pippin and Louis deposed, and to add Aquitaine to the lands allotted to Charles the Bald. But while the Emperor gathered forces to enforce this new partition Lothair, who throughout these contests showed himself the most violent and unscrupulous of the brothers, led a great army from Italy, bringing with him Pope Gregory IV., who was completely devoted to his interests. It was on the celebrated Lügenfeld (*Field of lies*) that the armies met. To avert open conflict, Louis agreed to negotiate with his sons, and while the Pope went to and fro in the guise of a mediator, the loyalty of Louis' army was undermined by secret intrigues, so that it rapidly melted away. At last Louis

found himself completely deserted, and with his wife and child was once more compelled to surrender to his sons. Judith was again consigned to conventual life and the Emperor to prison, while little Charles, protected by his youth, was sent to the monastery of Pruyrn. Louis, cut off from all intelligence about wife or child, was in a pitiable state of misery and helplessness. He was at length dragged from prison before a council of ecclesiastics at Compiègne and there compelled to read a long and humiliating confession of sin and incompetency and submit to public degradation.

Council of
Compiègne

But this humiliation produced a reaction. The loyalty of Northern Germany to the son of their great king was aroused by the spectacle, and a great Saxon and Austrasian army marched against Lothair, who was compelled to flee across the Alps, where many of the leaders of the rebellion, who accompanied his army in its flight, fell victims to a pestilence that men regarded as the vengeance of heaven.

Yet Louis' infatuation still persisted. No sooner was peace restored than, at a council at Cremieux, near Lyons, he proposed a new partition, by which Lothair was to be deprived of all his lands except Italy, and the confiscated territories added to the dominions of Charles. War was averted for the moment by a great Danish raid on the Rhine, but when this was passed Louis assembled a council at Aachen, in 837, and there crowned his youngest son as king, not only of the lands already promised to him, but also of some lands that were in the dominions of Louis of Bavaria.

Just at this crisis Pippin of Aquitaine died, and Louis

put the coping-stone to his folly by ignoring the children of the late king and transferring Aquitaine also to Charles. To this the Aquetanians replied by proclaiming Pippin, eldest son of their late king, as ruler of Aquitaine.

In 839 war flared up in every part of the Empire. But now Louis succeeded in buying the support of his eldest son, by promising him all the provinces of the Empire except Neustria and Aquitaine, which he reserved for Charles. With unexpected vigour, the Emperor himself drove young Pippin and Louis out of their dominions. But the campaign was too much for his enfeebled health, and in the summer of 840 he died.

His reign of twenty-five years had been disastrous for the Empire. By his self-abasement he had undermined the respect of the nobles for the Imperial office, while he had encouraged the pretensions of the great ecclesiastics in a way that was dangerous to the welfare of the State. His rather morbid piety and narrow culture were ill-suited to the needs of a rough and iron age. In his personal character he seems a weaker Edward the Confessor; in his struggles with his sons he reminds us of our own Henry II.; while in his alternations of imprisonment and restoration, and in his subservience to a wife fighting for the rights of her son, he resembles the last Lancastrian king, Henry VI.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BREAK-UP OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

THE seventy years that follow the death of Louis the Pious are the most confused, and at first sight the most unprofitable, in all the annals of Europe. The Empire is partitioned and repartitioned, then at last broken into fragments, every one of which seeks to live its own life. No unity seems left in Europe at all except the unity of a common ecclesiastical organisation and the unity of a common danger.

For while these internal rivalries were going on, the Norseman was burning and pillaging along all the northern rivers, and the Saracen was planting the standards of the prophet on the shores of Sicily.

Yet under this confusion Europe was taking the shape that she was destined to retain through all the history that followed. The Romance lands of the west—Neustria and Aquitaine—were gradually drifting farther from the Teutonic lands of the east—Austrasia, Franconia, Saxony—and between grew up the debatable lands—Burgundy and Lotharingia—which, under their later names of Savoy, Franche-Comté, Alsace, Lorraine, Belgium, have ever since been the battle-ground of the two great peoples.

The death of Louis left Lothair undisputed emperor,

but his authority was scarcely recognised in the outlying kingdoms of Aquitaine, Neustria and Bavaria. Only through war could he hope to put down the practical independence of his brothers.




The first result of his accession was that Louis of Bavaria—Louis the German as he came to be called—made common cause with Charles the Bald of Neustria, while Lothair called young Pippin and his Aquetanian army to his help. The two forces met at the great battle of Fontenay, and there the Austrasian nobles who followed the Emperor's standard perished, as the Scottish nobles perished at Flodden Field. Louis and Charles won a decisive victory—a victory that shattered for ever the supremacy of Austrasia and left the eastern and western parts of the Empire free to fall apart. In the following spring the two kings renewed their alliance at Strasburg, where the famous "oath of Strasburg" was taken, by Charles in the "teudisca lingua," and by Louis in the "romana lingua"—the first beginnings of the languages that we now call German and French—in order that both armies might understand the terms of alliance. The two brothers then marched straight on Aachen, whence Lothair fled to Lyons. At length Lothair consented to treat with his brothers, and the Partition of Verdun finally severed into independent kingdoms the Empire that Charles had founded. This treaty was a decisive indication that the destiny of the Franks was fulfilled. They had served as a link between the Romanised lands of the west and the Saxons and Bavarians of the east. But now the link had been broken; east and west went each its own way; and

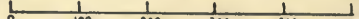
Partition
of Verdun,
843

Lothair was left with an ill-compacted strip of territory, reaching from his northern capital at Aachen to his southern capital at Rome. Though he retained the

PARTITION of VERDUN 843



Kingdom of Charles  Kingdom of Lothar  Kingdom of Louis 

Scale  Engl. Miles

name of emperor, the title was practically meaningless, and meaningless it remained till the great Otho I. raised it from the dust a hundred years later and made

it once more the symbol of authority in Church and State.

For ten years (843-853) peace was kept between the three brothers. Each had enough to do in defending his frontiers against the ceaseless ravages of the Norsemen, who now poured as a devouring host over Northern Europe. But in 853 a fresh war began between Charles and the people of Aquitaine, aided by his brother Louis. Little fighting actually took place, and Louis soon returned to his own kingdom. In the following year Lothair died, and his three sons, after the approved fashion, divided their father's kingdom, Louis, the eldest, taking Italy, where he ruled well, while Lothair acquired Austrasia, which derived from him its later name of Lotharingia, and Burgundy was allotted to the youngest, Charles.

At this point we plunge into a confused story, as the family feud broadens with the rise of a new generation. Lothair's three sons followed in their uncles' footsteps and quarrelled about their inheritance. Then Louis the German, the ablest of the three sons of Louis the Pious, divided up his territories among his three sons, Carloman, Louis and Charles the Fat. They showed their gratitude by keeping the kingdom in perpetual disturbance for twelve years with constant rebellions.

Meanwhile Charles the Bald was dividing his time between schemes for enlarging his dominions at the cost of his nephews and futile efforts to hold back the Viking hosts that were making West Francia almost a desert. In 867 Lothair II., who had just ended a

Charles the
Bald

long struggle of ten years with the Pope by the abandonment of a bigamous union into which he had entered, died, and Louis the German and Charles both fell upon his Lotharingian lands like birds of prey. The result was another partition (870), by which Lotharingia was divided along the line of the Meuse.

The death of the Emperor Louis II., five years later, gave Charles the Bald an opportunity of showing his usual unscrupulous greed. Hurrying into Italy, he induced the Pope to crown him as Emperor. Just at this time Louis the German died, after a reign of sixty years, during which he had done much to develop the national German feeling in his kingdom. He may fairly be called the first king of Germany.

As usual Charles the Bald attempted to seize part of the lands of his brother, but he was completely defeated by Louis of Saxony at Andernach. Soon after, he crossed the Alps on a visit to Italy, and there died, in a hut at the foot of the Mont Cenis pass. He was a cowardly and unprincipled king.

For two years his son Louis the Stammerer strove manfully to make headway against the Viking raiders, and on his death, in 879, his two elder sons succeeded as joint rulers of his kingdom.

In the same year the first breach was made in the Carolingian succession by the successful efforts of Boso, an ambitious Burgundian count, who had married the daughter of the Emperor Louis II., to make himself independent sovereign of the valley of the Rhone.

Within a few years most of the rulers of the Caro-

lingian house died, and the most worthless of them all, Charles the Fat, youngest son of Louis the German, succeeded successively to Italy, Germany and West Francia. But three years of incompetent rule served to undermine whatever loyalty was still felt for the Carolingian dynasty, and West Francia and Germany alike threw off the yoke of the degenerate namesake of the great Emperor, who died in the following year. In Germany Arnulf, Duke of Carinthia, a natural son of Charles' elder brother Carloman, was chosen king, while in West Francia Odo, the heroic defender of Paris, was raised to the vacant throne, and thus, for the time, another breach was made in the continuity of the Carolingian succession. Charles the Simple, the only surviving representative of the West Frankish Carolingians, now a child of eight years old, was sent to England for safety.

But the deposition of Charles the Fat gave the signal for a further disintegration of the Empire. In the western part of what we now call Switzerland Count Rudolph, a nephew by marriage of Charles the Bald, set up as king of Upper or Cisjurane Burgundy. Northern Italy, which was now divided into the four great Margravates of Ivrea, Friuli, Turin and Tuscany, was left to be fought for between Berengar of Friuli and Wido of Spoleto.

During the thirty years that follow, each of these five kingdoms has an independent history of its own. Of Upper Burgundy nothing need be said, for Rudolph's Italian ambitions lie just outside our period. In Lower Burgundy or Provence Louis succeeded his father, 'Boso,

in 887, and governed peacefully till he was lured to his doom in Italy twelve years later.

Arnulf,
887-899

In Germany Arnulf made splendid, and partially successful, attempts to restore order. The other kings in Western Europe gave a shadowy recognition to his supremacy, even though he had not received the Imperial crown. In 891 he was able to do an important service to Europe by winning a great victory over the Norsemen at Louvain—a victory that practically ended their raids on the Upper Rhine.

From the western frontier Arnulf then turned to the East, where the Slavs were in rebellion and devastating the frontier lands. To keep these in check Arnulf entered into an alliance with Suatopluk, the Christian Prince of Moravia, to whom he granted the overlordship of Bohemia, and who became sponsor to Arnulf's natural son Zwentibold. But before long ancient enmities reasserted themselves, and Suatopluk rose in rebellion. The incident is of interest chiefly because it brings us for the first time face to face with the Magyars, with whom Arnulf made an alliance against the Moravians. Pressed thus on both frontiers, the Moravian prince was glad to make peace.

Having thus pacified Germany Arnulf passed, in 894, into Italy, to be recalled by an attack made upon his dominions by Odo of West Francia. In 896 he again crossed the Alps, marched upon Rome, out of which he drove the partisans of the Spoletan faction, and was crowned as Emperor by the Pope. But he dared not stay long enough in Italy to establish any effective authority there, and with his withdrawal the

country sank back into sixty years of disturbed independence, till another German king, Otho the Great, came to claim the Imperial crown.

The closing years of Arnulf's reign were troubled by the disloyalty of his son Zwentibold, who had been appointed as Duke of Lotharingia, and whose turbulent misrule there led the nobles of the province to appeal to the West Frankish king for protection. Arnulf was able to drive out the invaders without any actual fighting, but in the following year (899) he died. Zwentibold continued to rule Lotharingia for a year longer, and then died in battle against his rebellious subjects, and Lotharingia passed for a time into the hands of the West Frankish king, who appointed Reginar Long-neck, the leader of the rebels, as duke.

In Germany Arnulf was succeeded by his son Louis Louis the Child, 899-911 the Child, a boy of seven years old, in whose name Otho, Duke of Saxony, and Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, carried on the government. The whole eastern frontier of Germany was devastated during these years by the Magyars, and internally Germany was divided between the party of Hatto and a body of nobles, of whom Adalbert of Babenburg, Duke of Franconia, was the leader, who took up arms to deliver the realm from the tyranny of ecclesiastics. Adalbert was treacherously seized and executed by Hatto, and Conrad of Rothenburg, nephew of one of Hatto's chief supporters, Rudolf, Bishop of Wurzburg, was made Duke of Franconia. Hatto's treachery caused his name to be execrated in Germany, and hence arose the story of how he burnt the peasants who came to ask him for corn in a time of famine, and

how the rats (or mice) who came out of the burning barn pursued him even into the tower of Bingen in the middle of the Rhine and devoured him.

Conrad of
Franconia,
911-918

In 911 the Carolingian line became extinct in Germany by the death of Louis the Child, and the nobles of the kingdom, assembled at Forchheim, elected Conrad of Franconia as king. But the final break in the Carolingian succession meant the practical end of kingship, for a time, in Germany. Under a king who was as one of themselves, with no claims of birth to raise him above his fellow-nobles, the great dukes became in all but name independent sovereigns. Erchanger in Suabia, Arnulf in Bavaria, and Henry, son of Duke Otho, in Saxony, waged war against Conrad without scruple, and though the king gained a transient success now and then he came no nearer to any real assertion of royal authority. After a troubled reign of seven years, he died in 918. His last act was to assemble his councillors and advise them to offer the crown to his great rival, Henry, Duke of Saxony.

The accession of Henry the Fowler opens a new chapter in the history of Germany. The sceptre of German supremacy had now passed finally out of the hands of the Franks into those of the more purely Teutonic people farther east, and when the son of Henry established the Holy Roman Empire in imitation of the work of Charles the Great, Magdeburg, not Aachen, was its northern capital.

West
Francia

The reign of Odo in West Francia resembled in some respects that of Conrad in Germany. He was surrounded with nobles whose territories had gradually

become hereditary, some of whom could put into the field as large an army as the king. The first few years of the new reign were exclusively devoted to driving back the Norsemen, but as soon as this task was accomplished the great nobles of the kingdom began to plot against Odo, and brought back Charles the Simple from England that they might set him up as a puppet-king, under whom they might enjoy practical independence. Six years of confused war followed, ending in the death of Odo in 898. His brother Robert made peace with Charles, and in return for the acknowledgment of his royal title received from him the "Duchy of France," a new district carved out of the heart of the kingdom with Paris as its capital.

The origin of the new family that became thus the most powerful in the kingdom is obscure. Robert the Strong first appears as a Count at Angers, carrying on with success the local war with the Norse invaders. He was appointed by Charles the Bald in 861 as defender of Paris, and on his death was succeeded by his son Odo (or Eudes). The great siege of Paris in 885 made Odo famous and secured his election as king on the deposition of Charles the Fat. From this time the Counts of Paris became the most dangerous rivals of the restored Carolingian kings, till, a hundred years later, the death of the last direct Carolingian heir left the throne of West Francia vacant for Hugh of Paris to claim.

But the West Frankish Carolingians were by no means *faineant* kings, as the last of the Merovingians had been. Charles the Simple, though he gained his

nickname from his too trustful attitude towards his great vassals, was a vigorous and ambitious ruler, and though he was compelled to cede the valley of the Lower Seine to the Northmen, he succeeded in acquiring Lotharinga from the German kingdom. After 912 West Francia enjoyed nearly ten years of peace under his rule. After that, civil war broke out again, and though Robert of Paris, the leader of the rebellion, was slain at Soissons, Charles was entrapped the same year by one of his vassals, Herbert of Vermandois, and ended his days in prison at Peronne.

Italy,
889-924

In Italy the ninth century is chiefly notable for the long struggle in the South against the Saracens, which will be told in the next chapter. After the deposition of Charles the Fat two claimants arose to dispute the throne of Italy. One of these was Wido, Duke of Spoleto, who also attempted to secure the throne of West Francia, or at least of Burgundy; the other was Berengar, Margrave of Friuli. Berengar came to an arrangement with his rival by which he agreed to support him in his attempt in Burgundy in return for the renunciation of his claims in Italy. When, however, Wido's candidature for the West Frankish throne failed, he returned to Italy to make war on Berengar, with the support of the Pope and of the Margrave of Tuscany. Berengar had been crowned by the Archbishop of Milan, and the Pope, Stephen V., therefore declined to recognise his claims and crowned Wido, not only as king of Italy but also as Emperor (891). After four years of war Berengar retired to his margravate and Wido obliged the new Pope, Formosus, to crown his son Lambert as

joint-emperor with him. Then, on Berengar's invitation, Arnulf descended into Italy, and appeared in 896 before the walls of Rome. Wido's wife defended the city for some days, then Arnulf stormed the "Leonine City," and was welcomed by Pope Formosus as a de-

Margravates of Northern Italy IX Century



liverer from the Spoletan yoke. But ill-health and the pressure of German affairs obliged Arnulf to recross the Alps, and as soon as his back was turned the Spoletan cause revived.

Pope Formosus having died immediately after Arnulf's departure, the anti-German party elected Boniface VII.,

then, on his death fifteen days later, Stephen VI. Stephen had the body of Formosus disinterred, clothed in papal robes and brought to trial before a council of Roman ecclesiastics. Formosus was condemned and his body flung into the Tiber, whence it was rescued and reinterred when a new Pope had reversed the sentence of his predecessor.

The death of Wido and of Lambert brought the Spoletan Empire to an end, and Berengar now became undisputed master of Northern Italy, while in Rome a series of phantom Popes rose and fell as one or another faction prevailed. A year later (901) the enemies of Berengar found a new candidate for the Empire in Louis of Provence, who reached Rome and was there crowned by the Pope. Berengar chased him out of Italy, but in 905 he returned and won some successes, only to be finally captured and blinded by Berengar. Louis l'Aveugle, as he was now called, returned to Provence, and for a few years Berengar ruled unchallenged. In 915 Pope John X. secured his help against the Saracens by offering him the Imperial crown. He did good service in rooting out the Saracen colony on the Garigliano, and ruled with reasonable success till the last year of his life, when Rudolph of Upper Burgundy conceived the idea of securing for himself Italy and the Imperial crown. While besieged in Verona, in 924, Berengar was slain by some of his own followers.

Through all these contests the Margrave of Tuscany played the part of kingmaker, led by his imperious wife Bertha, daughter of King Lothair. While alternately setting up and deserting emperors, Adalbert of Tuscany

also aspired to control the Papacy, which was rapidly sinking into an abyss of degradation unparalleled in its history. Altogether the year 918 shows us the two

WESTERN EUROPE IN 900 A. D.



S.V.P. 1909

Scale
100
50
0
100
200
300
 Engl. Miles

great institutions that had led the advance of Europe a hundred years before—the Empire and the Papacy—at the lowest condition of impotence and discredit. Nearly half a century was to pass before they began to be lifted up again by a new intervention from the north.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NORSEMEN, THE SARACENS AND THE MAGYARS

WHILE the struggles among the descendants of Charles the Great were helping on the disintegration of his Empire, the whole fabric of civilisation in Western Europe was shaken by attacks from north, south and east. From the north came the Norsemen, ravaging and plundering along every river valley up which their long ships could sail; from the south came the Saracens, the pirates of the Mediterranean, to challenge the control of the Byzantine Empire over the lands in Southern Italy that still remained in its possession; and towards the end of the ninth century a foe more fierce and implacable still appeared on the eastern frontier in the Magyars or Hungarians.

The
Norsemen

At what period Scandinavia became peopled by men of Teutonic race we do not know. But we know that at the time when other Teutonic tribes were moving south, a hardy race of the same stock was wresting a precarious livelihood from the fiords and forests of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Until the end of the eighth century the life of these village communities went on with little change; after that the growth of population and the rise of larger political groups drove the more adventurous spirits to a life of piracy. From

the *vics* or fiords from which they came, these daring seamen were known as Vikings. Their earliest raids were made on England and Ireland at the end of the eighth century. Their first attack on the Empire of Charles was in 799, when they raided Aquitaine. But, having once discovered the wealth and weakness of the Empire, their attacks grew more and more frequent. During the reign of Louis the Pious they ravaged the coast of Frisia, and in 835 sacked and burnt the great city of Utrecht. In the following year Antwerp shared the same fate, and in 837 they penetrated up the Rhine as far as Nimuegen.

But Ireland suffered more severely at this period. ^{Attacks on Ireland} With its tribal system, which prevented effective resistance, and its rich monasteries lying undefended near the coast, it offered a tempting prey to the Norwegian adventurers who poured across the seas to plunder and ravage. Ultimately a number of Norse towns grew up along the shore, from which the Vikings carried on constant war with the native Irish.

In England Danish raids were driven off for a time, ^{England} and it was not till 850 that "the heathen army" wintered for the first time in the Isle of Thanet. After that year England had no rest from their attacks.

Excepting Ireland, where the Northmen almost ^{Francia} destroyed the civilisation of the country, no part of Europe suffered more than West Francia and Aquitaine—the two provinces that make up modern France. Easily navigable rivers like the Seine and the Loire carried the ships of the Vikings into the heart of the country, where undefended cities and monasteries

afforded rich plunder. Long before any considerable armed force could be got together to oppose them, they had done their work of destruction and were away with their spoil.

In 841 they sailed up the Seine and burnt Rouen ; a little later they destroyed Nantes, on the Loire. The internal dissensions of the Carolingians served the purpose of the Vikings, who were actually invited into Aquitaine by young Pippin as auxiliaries in his war with Charles the Bald. In 845 they even plundered Paris under the eyes of the king, who was encamped on the heights of Montmartre. Charles the Bald adopted the cowardly expedient of buying them off from time to time—a plan that only gave temporary relief at the cost of greater injury afterwards. In 847 Bordeaux, the greatest city of Aquitaine, was betrayed into the hands of the Vikings and became a tributary city under a Norse chieftain, Jarl Oscar.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the districts harried and towns sacked by the Northmen during this period. Sir Francis Palgrave gives some idea of the extent of their ravages : “ Take the map and cover with vermilion the provinces, districts and shores which the Northmen visited, as a record of each invasion, the colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the dynasty of Charles the Great. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by the pirates, where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they

pillaged, burned, or destroyed, and the valleys and the banks of the Elbe, Rhine and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme and Seine, Loire, Garonne and Adour, and all the coasts and coast lands between estuary and estuary, all the countries between river and streams, will appear bristling as with *chevaux de frise*."

About the middle of the ninth century a new chapter opens in the history of Scandinavia. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden the local independence of tribal chiefs was overthrown by adventurers who succeeded in establishing themselves as kings of the whole country. Gorm the Old became king of Denmark, and Eric of Sweden, while Harald Harfagr won for himself the throne of Norway.

The loss of local independence, and the increasing burden of taxation involved in a more settled system of government, led to a change in the character of the Northmen's inroads. Hitherto they had come to plunder and depart, only establishing at the mouth of the rivers forts to which they could retire with their plunder; but now they began to migrate southwards and westwards as permanent settlers, as the other Teutonic peoples had done centuries before.

Within a short time they had established themselves in the whole of Northern and Eastern England, and their title was recognised by the Peace of Wedmore in 878. They also founded a Norse kingdom in the Orkneys and Shetlands, under the nominal suzerainty of Norway, and planted colonies along the western coast of Scotland. At the end of the ninth century they reached

Iceland, then almost an uninhabited country, and there they settled in little communities, far from the disturbances of European contest.

At about the same time a Swedish chief Ruric accepted an invitation from the Slavonic inhabitants of Russia to come and rule them, and a dynasty of Swedish princes began in Russia. Early in the tenth century the Byzantine emperors also invited some of these sturdy warriors to Constantinople, where they formed the Varangian guard, the Imperial bodyguard among whose privileges was that of plundering the palace on the death of the emperor.

While the Vikings were occupied with the conquest of Northern England, the coasts of France and Germany enjoyed a brief respite, but after 880 the attacks of the Northmen were renewed with redoubled vigour. In that year a great battle was fought near Hamburg, which ended in a disastrous defeat of the Frankish and Saxon army by the invaders. At the same time another detachment of the enemy established itself at the mouth of the Scheldt. Next year they were attacked by the West Frankish king, Louis III., who won the only important victory ever won over the Northmen on Neustrian soil, at Saucourt. The winter of 881 was spent in harrying all the cities of Austrasia, including the great city of Aachen itself, which they plundered and partially destroyed. In the spring, Charles the Fat gathered a great army and marched against the invaders, but when face to face with them he made a treaty by which they were allowed to withdraw unmolested with their plunder and occupy a district at the mouth of the

Rhine, on condition that their leader did homage and was baptised. Four years later he was treacherously murdered by Charles' orders and his followers dispersed.

From the Rhine the centre of Norse activity shifted to the Seine, where already, in 861, Charles the Bald had appointed Robert the Strong as count of a new march which included Paris and the neighbouring district. Fifteen years later the half-mythical hero Rollo the Ganger first appeared in West Francia, and in 885 the Northmen laid siege to Paris, which was defended successfully by Odo, son of old Robert the Strong, and Gozelin the bishop. Forty thousand Vikings are said to have beset the city for nearly a year. At length Charles appeared at the head of a great army, but only to make terms with the enemy, to whom he offered a bribe of 700 lb. of silver and the right to plunder Burgundy, which had repudiated his authority and set up Boso as king. It was this disgraceful treaty that led to the fall of Charles the Fat and the election of Odo in his stead.

After this the Northmen seem to have concentrated their efforts on the task of making themselves completely masters of the valley of the Seine almost up to the very gates of Paris. At last, in 911, Charles the Simple, following the policy of Alfred in England, granted to the Viking chief Rollo all the land from the sea to the river Epte, with the hand of his daughter Gisela, on condition of his accepting baptism and doing homage—the latter requirement being fulfilled by deputy. The Norman chroniclers of a later time record how the soldier chosen to kiss the foot of the king in token of vassalage per-

The siege
of Paris,
885, 886

Foundation
of Nor-
mandy, 911

formed his task so rudely that he overturned the royal seat backward. The story of the settlement of Normandy, after the Treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, belongs to the period treated in the next volume.

While Northern Europe was devastated by the raids of the Northmen the lands of the south were passing

The
Saracens in
Sicily

NORTHERN FRANCE



under the sway of the Moslem power. The Saracens were invited into Sicily by a Sicilian governor Euphemius, who was in rebellion against the Emperor Michael. When his rising was put down, he fled to North Africa, whence he returned with a vast horde of Arabian and Moorish followers of the prophet, who, under their fierce leader Ased, after sweeping away the Imperial army, marched to besiege Syracuse. Disease then broke out in their ranks, and a fresh army from

Constantinople drove them back. For a moment the prospects of the Imperial cause revived, but a fresh force of Africans seized Palermo, while another party relieved the original force and defeated the Imperial army.

The Emperor, involved in war in the East, was unable to do much for the province of Sicily, and though the Byzantine generals stubbornly contested the Moslem advance, they were gradually driven into the south-eastern corner of the island. The conquerors then prepared to carry their arms across to the mainland, whither Radelchis, one of two rival candidates for the Duchy of Beneventum, invited them in 840. His rival sent to Crete to invite a body of Saracens to come to his aid. For nearly ten years the whole of Southern Italy was devastated by Moslem hordes, who in 846 reached the very walls of Rome, and sacked the churches outside the city.

The greatness of the danger brought deliverance. Louis, son of Lothair, who had succeeded his father as Emperor in 844, now put himself at the head of the Italian forces, and with the help of Pope Leo IV. organised a great campaign against the infidels. In 849 an Italian force, under the personal command of the Pope, won a great victory by land and sea at Ostia. In the following year Louis, having settled the dispute between the rival Dukes of Beneventum, began to prepare for a crusade against the Moslems, who had made their capital at Bari. For a long time disunion among his own followers delayed the Emperor's success, but in 867 he began to drive back the invaders, and in 871,

Victories of
Louis II.,
867-875

with the help of a Byzantine fleet lent for a time by the Emperor Basil, he captured Bari, the garrison of which he put to the sword.

The capture and imprisonment of the Emperor by the Duke of Beneventum, who seems to have feared that he was growing dangerously powerful, was followed by a new Moslem invasion, which the Emperor, set free by his treacherous host, drove off in August, 872. Louis had already begun to prepare for a campaign for the recovery of Calabria and Sicily when he died, in 875. Of all the later Carolingians, he inherited most of the qualities that had raised the dynasty to greatness, and his premature death was a fatal blow to the kingdom of Italy.

Byzantine
intervention,
875

Where the Western Emperor had failed, the Eastern Emperor was destined to succeed. Basil sent a splendid fleet in 875 to recover Southern Italy for the Empire, and within ten years the Saracens were driven completely out of the peninsula. For a time Beneventum fell into the hands of the Byzantine Empire, till Wido of Spoleto recovered it in 894.

But while the Empire was reasserting itself in Southern Italy, Syracuse, the last Christian stronghold in Sicily, was stormed by the Moslems in 878, after nearly a year's siege. By the beginning of the tenth century all Sicily was under Saracen rule.

Farther north the territories of Capua, Naples and Gäeta suffered much from Saracen raids, and for thirty years a Saracen colony occupied the banks of the Garigliano. It was in vain that successive Popes appealed to the emperors to help them. Moslem raids extended

into Provence and even into Upper Burgundy, while in the Vaud districts Moslems and Magyars met in conflict.

Finally, in 915, Pope John X. gathered all the resources of the Italian peninsula together, summoned the Dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto to his aid, and induced Berengar, by the gift of the Imperial crown, to join him. The allied armies fell upon the colony at the Garigliano and destroyed it.

The sea had brought the Vikings from the north and the Saracens from Africa. But, as though to complete its record of destruction, the ninth century brought down on inland Europe a foe more savage and ferocious than Viking or Saracen. The Magyars, or Hungarians, first appear on the eastern frontier of the Empire in 884. Five years later, under their chief Arpad, they poured into the district from which their kinsmen the Avars had been driven by Charles the Great a century before. From this basis they carried on a campaign of destruction all along the eastern frontier. Mounted on swift horses, armed with bows, they swept over the country with great rapidity, seldom stopping to besiege a stronghold or risk a battle, but leaving behind them a trail of burning villages and slaughtered people. In 899 they appeared for the first time in Italy, and during the reign of Louis the Child in Germany their raids into Bavaria and Carinthia were incessant and disastrous. Luitpold, Duke of Bavaria, fell in battle against them in 907. Three years later the young king, who took the field against them in person, barely escaped a defeat at their hands. During the reign of Conrad they penetrated

The coming
of the
Magyars,
884

into all parts of the kingdom, carrying their ravages even into West Francia.

In our next chapter we shall see how this disastrous century of ravage and destruction affected the social and political constitution of Western Europe. All the work that Charles the Great had done seemed, for the time, wholly lost. Yet it is probable that if that work had not been done Europe would have sunk back into entire disintegration and barbarism, and Constantinople would have remained the sole surviving refuge of Christianity, culture and the traditions of Imperial Rome.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DARK AGES

THE name "the Dark Ages," which is often applied to the whole of the period covered by this volume, is specially applicable to the ninth century. Yet in the obscure records of the time we can see how the outlines of mediæval Europe are shaping themselves. In place of the union of Western Europe into one Empire, national divisions begin. The middle kingdom dissolves into the independent kingdoms of Boso and Rudolph and the debatable land of Lotharingia, and under Louis III. it seemed as though Italy also might become a kingdom, self-contained and united. In the West the old Latin world absorbs its conquerors, and the very name "Frank" becomes the title of a Romance people, showing little trace of their semi-Teutonic ancestry. The Eastern kingdom, on the other hand, becomes more definitely Teutonic, and finds its strength in the less Romanised Saxons and Bavarians, between whom, though common danger held them together, a deep-seated antagonism existed.

But these new nations were not organised for common action, and the practical work of defence was left to each local baron in his own district. What was needed was a body of horsemen ready at any moment to ride out

The ninth century in Europe

Growth of feudal ideas

in pursuit of Norse or Magyar plunderers. And for the supply of these he naturally turned to the smaller land-owners of his *gau*. So there grew up a new relationship between the smaller freeman and the local noble—a relationship expressed in the idea of homage, by which the overlord undertook to defend his vassal and the vassal became the “man” of the overlord. As a result of this, the obligation of military service gradually became attached to the ownership of land; and a new social order based on land grew up in Western Europe.

Meanwhile the poorer people must have suffered incalculably from the raids that destroyed their homes and swept away their harvests. All provision for the future seemed useless, and all attempts at self-improvement were discouraged. The mass of the peasantry in Western Europe sank to the condition of serfs, whose miserable hovels clustered around the castle of the overlord. For the castle is the one architectural creation of the ninth century. Built originally as places of refuge, to which the population could fly when Viking or Magyar appeared, they gradually became strongholds from which some local baron tyrannised over the country-side.

Serfdom

The Church

The Church, while gaining in material prosperity, declined in moral influence. Great ecclesiastics were statesmen and often warriors; the age of missionaries and saints was, for the time, over. Though the Slavs of the East were gradually acquiring some civilisation, little missionary work had as yet been done among them. Meanwhile the nobles acquired for their children or followers the titles and revenues of bishoprics and abbeys, so that lay abbots abounded, whose only relation to the

abbey was a vague duty of defending it and a definite claim on its revenues. But though the monasteries, where laymen often stored their wealth under the protection of the Church, suffered greatly from the attacks of the Northmen, the lamp of learning did not wholly go out even in these troublous times. At some of the great monastic centres, such as Fulda, St. Gall, Old Corbey, Orleans and Rheims, the monastic schools were kept alive, and the beginnings of German literature are to be found in the translations and paraphrases of portions of the Bible provided by the monks of this period.

In the general breakdown of authority in the ninth The Papacy century, the claims of the Papacy were steadily advancing. The "False Decretals" first appear during this century, and some of the Popes of the time were energetic in maintaining the claims to which these decretals seemed to give their sanction. The most notable of the Popes of the ninth century was Nicolas I. (858-867), who not only humbled King Lothair, but also asserted the supremacy of the Pope over the Archbishops of Ravenna, Cologne, Treves, and even the great Hincmar of Rheims. Nicolas is also associated with the beginning of the schism between the Roman and Byzantine Churches, which grew out of a disputed succession to the patriarchate of Constantinople. One of the candidates, Photius, appealed to the Roman Court, and a long contest ensued, in the course of which the Pope ranged himself on the side of Photius' antagonist, Ignatius. The question was complicated by a dispute about the newly founded Bulgarian Church, which claimed the right to transfer its allegiance from

the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Pope. But behind all immediate causes of dispute lay the larger question of the claim of the Popes to supremacy over the whole Church—a claim that the Byzantine Church declined to admit. For nearly two hundred years the relation between the two Churches remained undetermined, till the final completion of the schism in 1054.

Foundation
of Cluny,
911

At the beginning of the tenth century the first step in the direction of Church reform was taken by the establishment, in 911, of the monastery of Cluny, in Burgundy, on land granted by William, Duke of Upper Aquitaine, to Berno, Abbot of Beaume, who was already known as a monastic reformer. The history of how this grain of mustard seed became a great tree belongs to the succeeding century.

In 918 Europe still had nearly a century of strife to face before the forces of order gained a hardly won victory over the dangers of the time, but with the accession of Henry the Fowler in Germany, the foundation of Cluny, and the rise of fortified strongholds along every river valley of Western Europe, the darkest hour was passed and the period of restoration had begun.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOME CHRONICLERS OF THE PERIOD

IT may be well to close this volume by saying something of a few of the chief original authorities on which we depend for our knowledge of the events of the time. For a considerable part of the period we are dependent on a small number of writers, and these not of the first rank; occasionally we are left almost entirely in the dark about important groups of events.

Among the chroniclers of the Eastern Empire the Procopius only one deserving of specific mention is Procopius. He came from Cæsarea to Constantinople during the reign of Anastasius, and practised for some time as a lawyer. He was advanced by Justinian to various offices of trust, and ultimately became a Senator and Prefect of Constantinople. His earliest important post was that of secretary to Belisarius, whom he accompanied in his Persian, African and Italian wars. On his return to Constantinople in 542 he set to work on the writing of a history of these campaigns. When he had completed these, he wrote a book, *De Ædificiis Justiniani Imperatoris*. A more important work was his *Anecdota*, a gossipy chronicle full of stories of the Court of Justinian. It gives a very unpleasing picture of the Emperor and his court, and is especially bitter

in dealing with Theodora, against whom Procopius seems to have entertained a strong prejudice.

Of his historical works the *De Bello Gothico* is the longest and the most valuable. It is our only source of information for most of the struggle between the Goths and the Empire, and, as the work of a man who was himself in the thick of the contest, it is a record of first-class importance. Gibbon describes Procopius as "the gravest historian of the times," and attaches great value to his work. His book on the buildings of Justinian is full of interest. Though marked by exaggerated laudation of Justinian—a laudation very different from the picture drawn in the *Anecdota*—it gives an accurate account of the buildings that had been erected in all parts of the Empire by the last Emperor who possessed the old Roman passion for building. Incidentally, Procopius gives some useful accounts of the various nations then included in the Empire.

Agathias

The story of the end of the Gothic war and of other events in the later years of Justinian is told by Agathias, a Roman lawyer of Constantinople, who was inspired by the example of Procopius to continue his work. He carries the record down to the year 559. After this time we are dependent on chroniclers of inferior kind for the history of the Eastern Empire.

Liber Pontificalis, etc.

For Papal history our great authority is the *Liber Pontificalis*, which contains lives of all the Popes, from St. Peter to Stephen VI. (891). The lives become much more valuable after the year 600, when they begin to be founded on contemporary records. The book has sometimes, but apparently incorrectly, been regarded as

an official chronicle compiled by order of the Popes. The earlier part is marked by a strong tendency to support the later political claims of the Roman See.

For the relation of the Papacy to Frankish affairs the *Codex Carolinus*, a collection of letters written by the Popes to the Frankish kings, is very valuable. We also have twelve books of letters of Gregory the Great, and a large collection of letters written to successive Popes by Archbishop Boniface.

Paul the Deacon wrote a life of Gregory the Great which provides some useful information about the greatest of the Popes of the period. Of the various lives of the missionary leaders of the Church, the best are the life of Benedict, by Gregory the Great, and that of Columbanus, by Jonas of Bobbio, written about A.D. 650.

For the history of the Goths our chief authority is ^{Jordanes} Jordanes, a monk of the sixth century, who wrote a book, *De Rebus Geticis*, for which he derived the materials from a work of Cassiodorus on *The Origin and Acts of the Goths*. This fact gives to the work of Jordanes a special interest. Cassiodorus was one of the few Roman nobles who threw themselves warmly into Theodoric's idea of uniting Roman and Goth in one political system, and it was probably to further this scheme that the senator collected the traditions of the Gothic people. Jordanes, who was probably of Gothic ancestry, writing his account of the Goths after the fall of the Gothic kingdom, tries to set forth the nobility of the Gothic race, while at the same time celebrating the restoration of the Imperial authority.

Jordanes himself has no claim to be regarded as a

historian. He appears to have been a mere transcriber, and often a bad transcriber, of other men's work. But we are almost entirely dependent on him for our information as to the early history of the Goths.

For the reign of Theodoric the letters and *Varia* of Cassiodorus are a valuable source of information, and some interesting light is thrown on his policy by the *Panegyric* or Oration addressed to Theodoric by Ennodius, the friend and biographer of Epiphanius, about the year 504 or a little later. A great deal of our information about this period is derived from the *Annals of Ravenna*, which are not themselves extant, but form a source from which several writers derive their facts. Among these the most important is a writer whose work is known as *Anonymous Valesii*, because it was first published by Henry de Valois in the seventeenth century. The fragment covers the whole of the reign of Theodoric, and is said by Dr. Hodgkin to show a decided bias in favour of the Byzantine Empire.

Gregory of
Tours

For the sixth century in Northern Europe we are almost wholly dependent on the work of Gregory of Tours. Gregory, who was born in 538, belonged to a noble family of Auvergne, of which diocese his uncle was bishop. In 573 he was appointed Bishop of Tours, where he remained till his death in 594. The position of Tours, just at the meeting-place of the three kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, brought it into the thick of the events of the time. It was the darkest hour of Merovingian misrule, before the race of Clovis had sunk to the condition of *faineant* kings, and through the confusion of the time Gregory had to

steer himself and his diocese as best he could. His history, beginning from the creation, carries the story of the Franks down to nearly the end of his own life. His narrative is artless and often clumsy in style, but it gives a vigorous and living picture of the fierce and strenuous age in which he lived. He has been accused of painting too dark a picture; but at least he writes with intimate personal knowledge.

Our chief authority for the history of the Franks after the close of Gregory's history is Fredegarius, a chronicler of whose life we know nothing, and whose work is a mere record of events with nothing of the personal interest that attaches to Gregory's narrative. Fredegarius carries the story of the Franks down to 641.

For the reign of Charles the Great and the period immediately before it we have much more information. An unknown writer has continued Fredegarius' chronicle to the year 768, and for the latter part of this period the record has a semi-official character, having been apparently supervised by members of the royal house. Another Frankish chronicle, the *Annales Laurissenses*, covers the period from 741 to 829. There is some reason to believe that Einhard himself supervised the keeping of this chronicle for the latter part of the period. To Einhard we are indebted for the *Life of Charles the Great*, from which we derive most of our information as to the personal life and character of the king. About half a century after the death of Charles a monk of St. Gall collected a number of facts and legends about the Emperor and his court into a narrative which is of doubtful value to the historian, though

a good deal of it may be true. Of later Frankish chroniclers Nithard, who records the contests of Louis the Pious, is the best.

Paul the
Deacon

Only one other historical work of the period, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, deserves specific mention. Paul, who was born near Friuli, in 725, belonged to a noble Lombard family. He was educated at Pavia, and subsequently became a monk at the great Benedictine house of Monte Cassino. We next find him acting as literary adviser to Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, the last of the Lombard dukes to retain his independence. He visited the Court of Charles the Great in 782, but returned to Monte Cassino six years later, and died there at about the end of the century. His history of the Lombards takes the story down to 744, and is the source from which we derive most of our knowledge of the early history of the Lombard people.

Most of the chroniclers mentioned in this chapter will be found in Pertz' great edition of the chroniclers of Germany—the *Monumenta Germanicæ Historica*—or in Migne's *Patrologia*. Some of them are also in Muratori's *Scriptorum Rerum Italicarum*. The Byzantine chroniclers are collected in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, edited by Niebuhr. The best edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* is that of Duchesne, whose Introduction is valuable.

APPENDIX

EMPERORS

(a) IN THE EAST

Zeno , 474-491.	Theodosius III., 715-717.
Anastasius I., 491-518.	Leo the Isaurian , 717-741.
Justin I., 518-527.	Constantine Copronymus, 741-775.
Justinian , 527-565.	Leo IV. (the Khazar), 775-780.
Justin II., 565-578.	Constantine VI., 780-797.
Tiberius Constantinus, 578-582.	Irene , 797-802.
Maurice , 582-602.	Nicephorus, 802-811.
Phocas, 602-610.	Stauracius, 811-812.
Heraclius , 610-641.	Michael I., 812-813.
Constantinus , 641-668.	Leo V. (the Armenian), 813-820.
Constantine IV. (Pogonatus), 668-685.	Michael (the Amorian), 820-829.
Justinian II., 685-695.	Theophilus, 829-842.
Leontius, 695-698.	Michael III. (the Drunkard), 842-867.
Tiberius, 698-705.	Basil the Macedonian , 867-886.
Justinian II. (restored), 705-711.	Leo VI., "the Wise," 886-912.
Philippicus, 711-713.	Constantine VII., 912-959.
Anastasius II., 713-715.	

(b) IN THE WEST

Charles the Great, 800-814.	Berengar	} 888-896.
Louis the Pious, 814-840.	Wido	
Lothair, 840-855.	Arnulf, 896-899.	
Louis II., 855-875.	Berengar	} 899-901.
Charles the Bald, 875-877.	Louis of Provence	
Charles the Fat, 881-887.	Berengar, 916-924.	

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Gregory I., 590-604.	
	Stephen V., 885-891.
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Gregory III., 731-741.	Bonifacius V., 896.
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IN SIX VOLUMES

GENERAL EDITOR : A. H. JOHNSON, M.A

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PREFACE

BETWEEN the election of Henry the Fowler to the German throne and the rise of the House of Habsburg to power lies the central and most characteristic period of mediæval history, the "Age of the Imperial Idea." The Carolingian Empire had broken up, but the influence of Charlemagne survived, as an inspiring tradition and a great ideal. If memory thus enshrined a World-State, centred in the city of Rome, hope pointed forward to a World-Church, symbolized by a "City of God." Hence the theory of political and ecclesiastical unity was never lost, even when, in practical politics, the disintegrating tendencies of declining tribalism and growing feudalism were at their height. Though the attempt to realize the Imperial idea in Church and State was an apparent failure, the nations of modern Europe are the direct heirs of the Mediæval Empire, and much that is valuable in current political philosophy may be traced to the theories of government which were formulated during the struggle between Empire and Papacy, and used as weapons

in the strife of the "two Swords." The homogeneity of the Middle Ages, the parallelism of political development among the young European nations, makes it possible to treat the chief movements in mediæval history as connected wholes in various countries, and through long periods of time. The Middle Ages laid stress on distinctions of class and caste rather than of race or nationality. Mediæval society was, in great measure, cosmopolitan. Feudalism, monasticism, chivalry, the Crusades, the early University system, all belong to the history of Western Christendom, and are not bound by local or national limitations. This comparative breadth and simplicity of outlook, with the high thought, the generous, if ill-regulated, effort, and the fresh spontaneous energy of the typically mediæval centuries, gives their history a peculiar charm. They are the ages of Faith, when religion was a political force, and the clergy were the spiritual and intellectual leaders of mankind. They are the ages of Force, when the purest idealism and the grossest materialism jostled one another in a world of contradictions and contrasts, and might and right were apt to be confounded. But they are also the ages of youth and hope. If mediæval society was impulsive and illogical, it combined something of the

gracious promise of childhood with its childish folly and credulity. If its modes of thought and expression were stereotyped, the fervour and the vitality of its intellectual and political life were all its own.

The Bibliography at the end of this book gives a slight indication of the extent to which the results of modern research have been rendered accessible to teachers and students of mediæval history. It may easily be supplemented by reference to the bibliographies of Langlois [*Manuel de bibliographie historique*], Molinier [*Sources de l'Histoire de France*], Wattenbach [*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*], Ulysse Chevalier [*Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-Bibliographie and Topo-Bibliographie*], and Gross [*Sources and Literature of English History*]. The most important original authorities are also published in the collection issued by the Master of the Rolls [*Rolls Series*] and in the "Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum," a cheap reprint from the famous "Monumenta Germaniæ."

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THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE

918-1273

INTRODUCTION

IN the year 918, on the death of Conrad of Franconia, king of the East-Franks or Germans, Henry, duke of the Saxons, was chosen to rule in his stead, the first of that line of Saxon monarchs who were destined to revive the Roman Empire in a new form, and to bind it closely to the German kingdom.

Character-
istics of the
period,
918-1273

In the year 1273 Rudolf, Count of Habsburg, was raised to the Imperial throne, and the fortunes of the Empire were linked with those of the House of Austria.

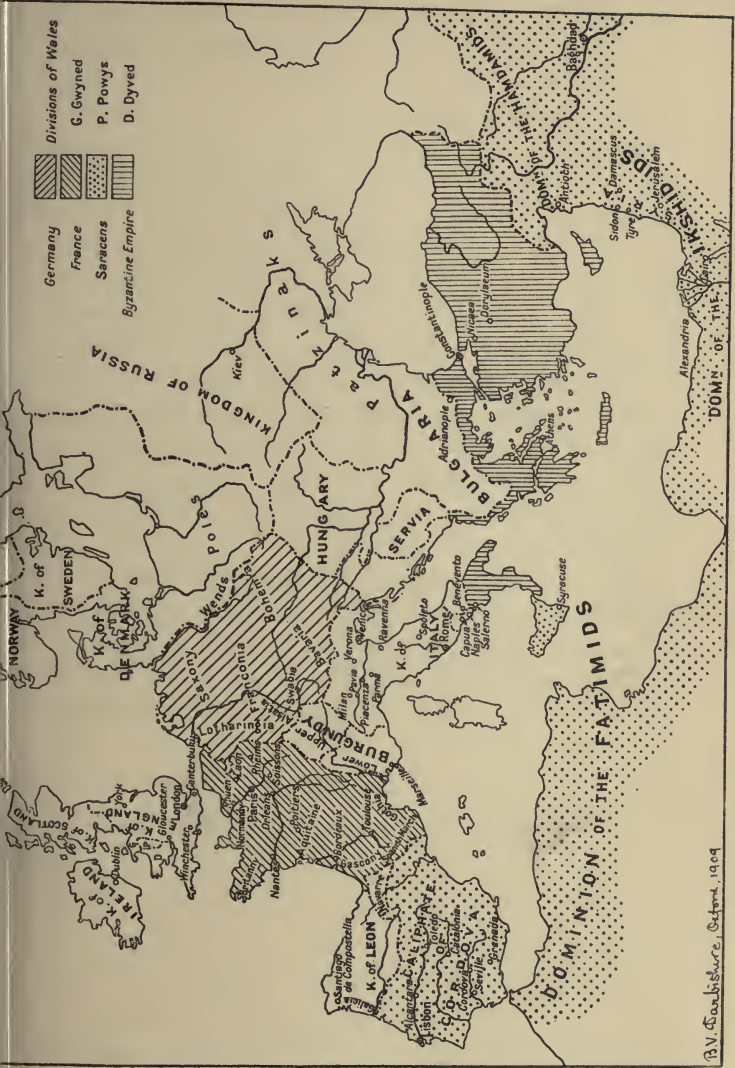
Between these two dates lies the central period of the Middle Ages, a period of great ideas, great men and great movements, the time that saw the perfecting of the mediæval order of society, and the gradual building-up of the nations of the modern world from the ruins of the ancient Empire of Rome. The history of Europe from the early years of the tenth century to the close of the thirteenth century is full of interest, rich in records of splendid daring and romantic adventure, of living faith and high enthusiasm and unquestioning self-devotion. It is the history of a heroic period, the age of feudalism and monasticism, of chivalry and the Crusades, of the development of mediæval art and literature, and the organization of the mediæval University system. Above all, it is the age of the two institutions in which all these

movements centred, the "foundation and the walls" of mediæval society, the Papacy, which represented the idea of a World-Church, and the Empire, which represented the idea of a World-State.

The tenth century opened with gloomy prospects for Western Christendom. The Empire of Charles the Great had long since fallen to pieces in the hands of his degenerate descendants, and the nations of modern Europe were but feebly struggling into life amidst the wrecks of past civilization. By 900 A.D. five kingdoms had formed themselves out of the Carolingian Empire:—the kingdom of the West-Franks, or France, the kingdom of the East-Franks, or Germany, Italy, and the two small kingdoms of Upper Burgundy, and Lower Burgundy, Arles, or Provence. Spain, which had never been fully conquered by Charles the Great, was under Moorish rule, save for the little Christian kingdoms of Leon, in the north-west, and Navarre, on the French frontier.

In England, the West-Saxon kings were winning back the country which the Danes had occupied in the previous century. In the far East, a Greek Emperor, ruling at Constantinople, claimed to be the true successor of the Cæsars. But he was not acknowledged by the kings of Western Europe, among whom the name of Emperor was bandied about as an empty title, which meant little or nothing, for neither Emperors nor kings could give peace and prosperity to their distracted dominions.

On every side danger threatened. From the North, the Scandinavian sea-rovers, the Danish and Norwegian Vikings, had swooped down out of their land of mist and storm on the fertile kingdoms of the south, and had won a permanent foothold in England, Ireland, and



B.V. Danbistur, Octomb. 1909

France. In the south, the Mediterranean Sea was beset by Saracen pirates. To the East were fierce tribes of Slavonic race, and, most terrible of all, the wandering hordes of Hungarians or Magyars, stunted, hideous, and cruel, who swept on their little ponies like a scourge over Germany, from the Danube to the Rhine, leaving devastation and ruin in their track. It was just in this time of peril that the rulers who should have guided and defended their people proved weak and helpless, while the nobles, instead of combining to repel the barbarous invaders, fought and quarrelled with one another, and oppressed the peasants and townsfolk. Poor men gave up their freedom and became the dependents of powerful lords for the sake of protection. Rich and strong men ruled like petty kings over their vassals and tenants. Even the Church was corrupt, and the Papacy itself was a prey to faction.

Such was the Europe of the early tenth century. But the darkest hour comes just before the dawn, and already there were signs that a new and better social order was about to replace the lawless confusion that had accompanied the breaking-up of the Frankish Empire of Charles the Great.

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CHAPTER I

THE SAXON EMPERORS [918-1002]

WHEN, in 911, the young King of Germany, Louis the Child, died, the German nobles chose one of themselves, Conrad of Franconia, to rule over them. Conrad I. of Franconia, 911-918 Seven years later, in the winter of 918, as Conrad lay on his death-bed, he owned that the task he had undertaken had been beyond his strength. Calling his brother to his side, he bade him, says a contemporary chronicler, carry the insignia of royalty, the holy lance, the mantle and golden bracelets, the sword and crown, to his great rival, Henry, duke of the Saxons. "Fortune," murmured the dying man, "has passed over to Henry. He will be King and Emperor of many peoples." Thus it was that "the noble kingdom of the Franks was transferred to the glorious nation of the Saxons," and thus the Saxon duke became the German king. Later legend gave him the name of "Henry the Fowler," and told how the offer of the crown was made to him as he snared birds with his children. Henry I. the Fowler, 918-936 Stories were current, too, of his prowess in battle, which show that his memory lingered long among his Saxon people. Germany was, indeed, in evil case, and Henry was just the man she needed—strong, young, and brave, fitted to lead in war and to rule in peace. Slavs and Magyars were threatening the Eastern frontier, Vikings were hovering about the North-Western coast, while within, the East-Frankish kingdom had split up

into four great duchies or "nations," Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria, governed by dukes who were kings in all but name. Lotharingia, or Lorraine, which afterwards became a fifth German duchy, formed, at this time, part of the dominions of the West-Frankish king.

A twofold problem lay before Henry—the defence of the kingdom against external enemies, and the suppression of the overgrown power of the nobles at home. His reign falls into three divisions—five years of struggle with the dukes; a Magyar invasion in 924, followed by a nine-years' truce, during which the consolidation of Germany went on apace; then, from 933 to 936, three years of fighting with Magyars and Danes, ending in glorious victory.

In the spring of 919 Henry was elected by the nobles King of the "Franks and Saxons." The dukes of Swabia and Bavaria submitted within the next three years, and by 921 Henry was acknowledged as "King of the East-Franks." But, except in Saxony and Thuringia, his sovereignty was little more than nominal. The dukes still ruled their provinces like independent princes. They had their own courts of justice, their own armies, and their special privileges, and Arnulf of Bavaria had even won the royal right of appointing bishops. When in 924 the Magyars invaded and harried Saxony, only the Franks and Saxons rallied round the king. But by releasing one of the barbarian leaders who had fallen into his hands, and paying a heavy tribute, Henry bought a nine-years' truce for his duchy.

Like King Alfred of England in similar circumstances, he used the time of peace to prepare for war. The country lay open to invasion, for the Germans were an agricultural people, who hated cities, and lived in unprotected villages

and farms. Henry then set himself to restore old defences, and to build new towns and fortresses, especially on the eastern frontier, to serve as places of refuge in case of need. He bade the monks surround their monasteries with walls. He attracted the peasants to the towns by ordaining that all meetings and feasts should be held there, and the Saxon chronicler describes how every ninth man of the farmers who owed military service had to live in a town, to build houses for his eight comrades, and to receive and store up the third part of the harvest, while his fellows tilled his land in his absence.

The army also was made more efficient. The Magyars were lightly-armed, swiftly-moving horsemen, against whom the undisciplined Saxon foot-soldiers could do little, while the cavalry levies of great men and their followers were more used to fighting amongst themselves than to uniting against a common foe. Henry now greatly strengthened his cavalry force, and trained his troops to act in combination. The events of the next few years proved his wisdom. Lotharingia submitted in 925. In 928 he defeated the Wends and took their stronghold Brennabor (Brandenburg), while in 929 he subdued Bohemia, and crushed a formidable Wendish revolt in the battle of Lenzen. By the year 932 the land between Elbe and Oder owned the East-Frankish king as lord.

When in 933 the truce ended, and the Magyars once more invaded Saxony, Henry, with his trained horsemen, won a decisive victory over them. The following year saw the defeat of the Danish king, and the establishment of the "march" or frontier-province of Schleswig.

In 936 Henry died, after commending his eldest son, Otto, to the nobles as his successor. A simple slab of marble marks his grave at Quedlinburg. His best epitaph

is found in the words of the Saxon historians, who tell how he was the father of his country (*pater patriæ*) and gave his kingdom welcome peace.

Otto I.
the Great,
936-973

“Henry I. was the greatest of the kings of Europe, second to none in strength of mind and body, but he left a son who was greater than he.” With the accession of Otto I. the horizon widens. It was his hand which, for good or ill, united Germany and Italy. His long reign culminates in 962, in his coronation as Emperor at Rome. From 936 to 951 he was engaged in carrying on the task bequeathed to him by his father, guarding Germany from barbarian attacks, strengthening the eastern frontier, and building up a strong monarchy at home. This was his “German period.” It was followed by an “Italian period,” lasting from 951 to 973, when this work was interrupted by the development of the Italian question, which distracted his energies and occupied his thoughts for the remainder of his life.

Otto I.'s splendid coronation at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) the old Carolingian capital, was significant of his future policy. He was chosen king by the nobles, with the assent of the people, but he was crowned and anointed with holy oil, and took his seat on the throne of Charles the Great, and at the coronation feast the dukes of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria and Lorraine served him as steward, butler, marshal and chamberlain. He showed from the first that he meant to be a king indeed, and to keep the dukes in strict subordination. The problem which confronted Otto I. was the same which all the kings of mediæval Europe were called upon to solve, the problem of establishing a strong government without giving undue power to the great nobles. Otto I.'s policy towards the dukes was threefold: direct suppression;

indirect alliance, by granting the duchies to his own nominees or to members of the royal house; substitution of other powers, in particular of the power of the Church, for the nobles in the work of governing the country.

The first to be dealt with was Eberhard, Duke of Franconia, the brother of King Conrad. Humbled in his pride by being punished for a breach of the king's peace, he joined with Otto's illegitimate brother Thankmar in open revolt. Thankmar fell in the struggle, but the following year saw Eberhard again in rebellion, supported by the Duke of Lorraine and by Otto's discontented younger brother Henry. Otto took the field, the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine were slain, and Henry submitted, only to plot against his brother's life once more, to be once more forgiven, and finally to be endowed with the duchy of Bavaria on the death of the duke his father-in-law, and to become the loyal subject of the king who had known how to be merciful to a fallen foe. Franconia Otto kept under his immediate rule; the Swabian duchy, with the hand of its heiress, he bestowed on his eldest son Liudolf, and Lorraine he entrusted to Conrad the Red, who afterwards married his daughter Liutgarde.

Otto further checked the dukes by the appointment of *Pfalzgrafen*, or Counts Palatine, royal officials who represented the king's interests in the duchies. To guard against the Danes, Slavs and Magyars, who began to stir restlessly on the death of Henry I., he also established *Markgrafen* or Marquises, Counts of the Marches or borderlands, of whom the most famous were Hermann the Billung, whose march stretched from the Bay of Kiel to the mouth of the Oder, and Gero, who ruled to the south of him. Later on, the eastern frontier was defended

by a line of marches—the Billung March, the North March, and the Marches of Lausitz, Merseburg, Zeitz and Meissen, extending from Elbe to Oder. South of these lay the Slav duchy of Bohemia, which was finally subdued in 950, and the duchy of Bavaria, whence Otto's brother Henry watched the Bohemians, and drove back the incursions of the Magyars or Hungarians, now settled on the Danube in the land which was called after them Hungary.

Another check on the power of the nobles, and a help in the restoration of internal unity, was found in the influence of the Church. A wave of religious enthusiasm was at this time sweeping over Germany. Missions to the heathen Slavs were started, bishoprics were founded, monasteries and nunneries were endowed and reformed. The king's mother Matilda, his English wife Edith, daughter of Edward the Elder, and, above all, his youngest brother Bruno, were in the forefront of this movement. Bruno was a man of saintly life, an ardent student, who never travelled without his books, of whom it was said that "in his times of leisure no man was busier, in the midst of business he always found leisure." Himself a priest, and, like St Dunstan of England, both churchman and statesman, he revived and developed the system of education which Charles the Great had established in Germany, and reorganized the king's chancery or chapel, which became a kind of training-school for royal ministers and officials.

By the middle of the tenth century Otto I. was unquestionably the greatest prince of western Europe. The French king sought his help; the English king was his ally; the eastern Emperor and the Moors of Spain sent him gifts and embassies. His court was a refuge for the

weak and oppressed, and when trouble arose in Italy it seemed but fitting that he should intervene.

While Germany had been developing into a united kingdom, the fair Italian provinces across the mountain-barrier of the Alps were torn by civil strife and wasted by Saracen and Magyar raids. "The Italians," wrote one of their own chroniclers, "always wish to have two masters, that they may play one off against the other." Of the three powers which might have given a strong government to Italy—the Papacy, the Eastern Empire, and the great nobles—the Popes were the tools of the Roman aristocracy; the Greek subjects of the Eastern Emperor in the south could barely hold their own against the Saracens, who had conquered Sicily, and constantly threatened the peninsula; the nobles, engaged in struggling amongst themselves for the royal crown of Lombardy and the imperial dignity, frustrated each attempt at national union by their jealous rivalries. Early in the tenth century Berengar, Marquis of Friuli, became Emperor, and seemed about to establish a national kingship, but he was murdered in 924, and the imperial title fell into abeyance. Rudolf II., King of Upper Burgundy, then ruled as King of Italy till 926, when he was succeeded by Hugh, King of Lower Burgundy, or Provence. Hugh bought off Rudolf's opposition by ceding the whole of Burgundy to him. He married his son to Rudolf's daughter, and he obtained a foothold in Rome by himself marrying Marozia, widow of the Marquis of Tuscany, by whose influence the Papal elections had long been controlled, and whose son now sat in the Chair of St Peter as Pope John XI. But Marozia's elder son, Alberic, quarrelled with his stepfather, imprisoned his mother and brother, and made himself master of

Italy in
the Tenth
Century

Rome, as "Prince and Senator of all the Romans"; while in the north Hugh's tyranny raised up a rival, Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, a grandson of the Emperor Berengar. When Hugh died in 947, and was followed to the grave three years later by his young son, Lothair, Berengar and his son Adalbert were crowned joint-kings of Italy at Pavia, the old Lombard capital. Lothair left a girl-widow, Adelaide, daughter of Rudolf of Burgundy. Jealous of her claims and influence, Berengar imprisoned and ill-treated her. Her youth, her beauty, and the lure of the Italian crown were not slow to win her champions. Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, the son of Otto I., were eager to come to her rescue. Liudolf was the first in the field, but a stronger hand was destined to carry off the prize.

Otto I.'s
first Italian
Expedi-
tion, 951

In the autumn of 951 Otto I. crossed the Alps and entered Pavia. Berengar fled before him. Adelaide, who had escaped from captivity after many adventures, joined her deliverer in the capital; and there Otto, whose English wife had died some years earlier, married her, and received the homage of the Italian nobles. He then sent ambassadors to the Pope to negotiate for the restoration of the Empire, but Alberic was still all-powerful in Rome, and Otto was forbidden to enter the city. In the following year a peace was made, by which Berengar received back the Italian kingdom, with Otto as overlord, while the March of Verona and Aquileia was granted to Henry of Bavaria.

Revolt of
Liudolf of
Swabia
and Conrad
of Lor-
raine, 953

During the next few years Otto was fully occupied with the affairs of Germany. His son Liudolf of Swabia, and his son-in-law Conrad of Lorraine, dissatisfied with the results of the Italian campaign, rebelled against him, in concert with the turbulent Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz

(Mayence); and though Henry of Bavaria remained loyal, his subjects revolted under the son of their former duke, while the Hungarians took advantage of the confusion to invade the German dominions. Otto, supported by his brothers and by Hermann Billung, rose to the occasion. His foes were divided among themselves, and by 954 they had all submitted. Conrad and Liudolf were condemned to lose their duchies, and Otto fell back on the policy of using churchmen as a counterpoise to the power of the great nobles. Bruno, now Archbishop of Cologne, was practically supreme in Lorraine, and Otto's illegitimate son William became Archbishop of Mainz on the death of the traitor Frederick. In the Church Otto found well-educated and pious men, trained administrators, whose local attachments were less strong than those of the laity; and who, since they were unmarried, were free from the temptation to found a family and make their offices hereditary.

In 955 the Hungarians, encouraged by the discord in Germany, made a formidable incursion into Bavaria. Otto gathered his forces, and on August 10, in the famous battle of the Lechfeld, he crushed the heathen invaders once and for all. Not for two hundred years, it was said, had so great a victory been gained. It was followed, before the close of the year, by the suppression of a rising among the Wends of the north; and, triumphant and secure in his German kingdom, Otto could once more dream of Italy and of Empire.

Alberic had died in 954, bequeathing his temporal power in Rome to his son Octavian, who, in the following year, was elected to the papal throne, and took the name of John XII. Young, ambitious and worldly, John XII. soon found his schemes for extending the papal authority

Battle of
the Lech-
feld, Aug.
10, 955

in central Italy thwarted by the growing tyranny of King Berengar, who, in Otto's absence, ruled as an irresponsible despot. In 956, Liudolf of Swabia led an expedition against the Italian king and took Pavia, but his premature death in 957 enabled Berengar to regain his former position, and so oppressive was his government that in 960 urgent appeals for help were sent to Otto I. by the Pope and by the prelates and nobles of Northern Italy.

Otto I.'s
Second
Italian Ex-
pedition,
961

Otto I.
crowned
Emperor
at Rome,
Feb. 2, 962

Otto arranged for the administration of his kingdom in his absence, saw his little son and namesake elected and crowned King of the Germans; and then, crossing the Brenner Pass with a great army, he marched unopposed through Pavia to Rome, and on February 2, 962, with his Queen, Adelaide, received the Imperial crown from the hands of Pope John XII. He confirmed to the Papal See the territory granted to it by the Carolingian Emperors, but the Pope had to swear fealty to the Emperor, and Otto made it clear that he regarded the Empire as supreme over the Papacy. He now turned to the task of subduing Berengar and Adalbert, who had taken refuge in their mountain strongholds. Hardly had he left Rome when John XII. treacherously allied himself with Adalbert against the Emperor. Otto hastened back to Rome. The citizens submitted, and renounced their right of electing Popes without the imperial sanction. John XII. was summoned before a synod, accused of murder, perjury, sacrilege, and other grievous crimes, and formally deposed, and the Emperor approved the election of a new Pope, Leo VIII., in his stead. But the next year (964) the fickle Romans veered round once more—John XII. was restored and Leo VIII. was deposed in his turn. When, in May 964, John XII. died suddenly, the Romans,

without consulting the Emperor, elected Benedict V. as Pope. The imperial troops thereupon invested Rome, and starved it into submission. Benedict V. was degraded, Leo VIII. was reinstated, while the citizens swore fealty to Pope and Emperor. With the exile of Berengar, Otto's victory was complete, and he returned in triumph to Germany. The coronation of Otto I. as Emperor at Rome stands out as one of the turning-points in mediæval history, because it marked the foundation of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and began that intimate connexion between Germany and Italy which lasted until the nineteenth century. Yet to Otto's contemporaries the full importance of the event remained hidden. To them it probably seemed natural enough that the illustrious ruler of Germany should follow in the steps of his most famous predecessor, and, like a second Charles the Great, cross the Alps to win the Lombard kingdom, to defend and reform the Papacy, and to revive the Western Empire.

Otto's first Italian campaign had given him the Lombard kingdom of the North; his second had made him master of Rome, the very heart and centre of Italy; his third expedition, in 966, brought him into connexion with the Greek lands in the south of the peninsula. He restored Pope John XIII., Leo VIII.'s successor, whom the Romans had banished, made an alliance with the Lombard prince of Capua, and, after a long struggle with the Greeks of Apulia and Calabria, knit together East and West by marrying his son Otto, who had been crowned as joint-Emperor on Christmas day 967, to Theophano, a princess of the imperial house of Constantinople. This was the last achievement of Otto I.'s long reign. In 973 he died in his native Saxony, and was buried by the side of his

Otto I. s
Third
Italian Ex-
pedition,
966

first wife, Edith, in the cathedral of Magdeburg, the seat of the archbishopric which he had founded as a mission-centre for the newly conquered Slav tribes. Alone among German Emperors the first Otto won the title of "Great," alike from his contemporaries and from those who came after him. His people long remembered his noble presence, his sleepless energy, his dignity, gaiety, and generosity. "Since Charles the Great," wrote a Saxon bishop, "no such ruler or defender of his country has occupied the royal chair."

Otto I.'s brothers, Henry and Bruno, his son William, Archbishop of Mainz, and his faithful servant Hermann Billung, had all preceded him to the grave, and a new generation gathered about the young King-Emperor Otto "The Red" and his Greek wife. Otto II., brought up under the influence of imperial ideas, was resolved to develop his father's policy of close union between Germany and Italy, and to extend the German dominion over the southern Italian provinces. Already, however, the dangers of that policy were becoming apparent, and Otto's short reign was a ceaseless struggle with overwhelming difficulties. In Germany the old spirit of discontent revived in the duchies. Henry the Quarrelsome, son of Henry of Bavaria, revolted against the Emperor, in alliance with the dukes of Bohemia and Poland. Lorraine, now divided into two duchies, intrigued with France, and the Danes invaded Saxony. The Emperor banished Henry the Quarrelsome, and gave his duchy to his own nephew, Otto of Swabia. He further weakened Bavaria by carving two independent marches out of its territory, the *Nordgau* and the East Mark, afterwards Austria, and by forming the new duchy of Carinthia from the marches of Verona and Carinthia.

Otto II.,
973-983

He subdued Bohemia and Poland, repulsed the Danes, and avenged the French king's interference in Lorraine by marching on Paris. But seven years had passed before he had restored order to Germany, and was free to carry out his Italian projects.

Since the death of Otto I. the Saracens had overrun Southern Italy, and Rome had been torn by faction. One Pope had been murdered, another was in exile, and the government of the city had fallen into the hands of Crescentius, an ambitious noble, who aimed at reviving the power of Alberic. Yet when, in 980, Otto II. came down into Italy, all bowed before his imperial authority. The Pope was re-established in Rome, Crescentius retired to a monastery, the Lombard princes of the South made terms with the Emperor, and in 982 the Saracens were defeated in a great battle near Colonne, in Calabria. Unfortunately, this success was followed by a heavy reverse. On the homeward march the Saracens suddenly fell upon the imperial army and cut it to pieces. The flower of German chivalry was left upon the field, and the Emperor himself only escaped as by a miracle. Nothing daunted, Otto II. prepared for a fresh campaign. An Assembly, or Diet, was held at Verona, which marked the reality of the union between Germany and Italy, for German and Italian magnates sat side by side, and together elected as their future king the little Otto, the Emperor's three-year-old son. Full of plans for the conquest of Southern Italy from Greek and Saracen, Otto II. returned to Rome. But mortal illness seized him, and he died on 7th December 983, at the early age of twenty-eight, leaving a young widow and a baby son to bear the burden of empire. His body was laid to rest in the Church of St Peter at

Otto II.'s
Italian Ex-
pedition,
980

Rome. The city of his hopes could only give him a grave.

Otto III.,
the
Wonder of
the World,
983-1002

The minority of Otto III. showed how much still depended on the personal rule of the German king. No sooner did the reins of government fall into the weak hands of a child than the old local dissensions broke out afresh. Yet the work of the founders of the Empire had not been entirely in vain. The union of Germany and Italy stood firm; the hereditary principle, asserted by the coronation of Otto II. and Otto III. in the lifetime of their fathers, was strengthened by the accession of a child-king, and the ecclesiastical policy of Otto I. bore fruit in the support given by the Church to the tottering throne of his grandson.

Scarcely had the young king been crowned at Aachen when a struggle over the regency began. Henry the Quarrelsome reappeared on the scene; claimed, as nearest male kinsman, to rule in Otto's name, and even put forward pretensions to the crown on his own behalf. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland, on the eastern frontier, and the king of the French, to the west, were ready to take advantage of the divided state of Germany, while in the north the Wends shook off the German yoke and abjured the Christian faith. Chiefly owing to the loyalty of the Saxons and Franconians, led by Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, Henry the Quarrelsome was forced to yield, and to entrust the guardianship of the king to his mother, Theophano, though he was invested once more with the Bavarian duchy.

When Theophano died, in 991, the government of the kingdom passed to the young king's grandmother, Adelaide, and a council of nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, including the great dukes, Eckhard, the brave margrave

or marquis of Meissen, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and, most influential of all, Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, the Arch-Chancellor of Germany, a peasant's son, to whom the Church had opened a career. These men ruled and defended Germany through five troubled years of Slav rebellion and Viking invasion, until in 996 Otto III., now nearly fifteen, was declared of age, and took upon himself the responsibilities of his great inheritance.

The story of the six years of Otto III.'s personal government is one of the saddest in all mediæval history—a story of disappointed hope and unfulfilled promise. Trained by Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim in all the learning of the time, the brilliant and gifted boy-king, who was afterwards to be known as "the Wonder of the World," must have felt that he was born to greatness. The son of Otto II. and the Greek Theophano could hardly fail to cherish imperial ideals; the pupil of Bernward and Archbishop Willigis could not but be touched by the religious spirit of the age. When, in 996, Otto III. marched into Italy, he came as the defender of both Church and State, the restorer alike of Papacy and of Empire.

Personal
Govern-
ment of
Otto III.,
996-1002

First
Italian Ex-
pedition,
996

During the minority the Papacy had sunk into the lowest depths of degradation. Weak, ignorant, and vicious, the Popes had forfeited all claims to respect, while in the city of Rome, John, a son of Crescentius, ruled arbitrarily with the title of Patrician, and in Southern Italy the Greeks had reasserted their authority. It was partly in response to an appeal from the reigning Pope, John XV., that Otto III. crossed the Alps in 996, but he was met on the way by messengers from Rome bringing news of the Pope's death, and a request that he would name a successor. With the nomination of Otto's

Coronation
of Otto
III. as
Emperor,
21st May
996

kinsman Bruno, a pupil of Willigis of Mainz, began the first German reform of the Papacy. On 3rd May 996 Bruno was raised to the papal chair as Gregory V., the first of the German Popes. On 21st May he anointed and crowned Otto III. Emperor at Rome. "The widows and the poor rejoiced," wrote a contemporary Roman, "for the new Emperor and the new Pope gave justice once more to the people." Crescentius was deprived of his power, and Otto returned in peace to Germany.

Second
Italian Ex-
pedition,
998

The Emperor had not long withdrawn when the partisans of Crescentius drove Gregory V. out of Rome and set up an anti-pope. In 998 Otto III. entered Rome for the second time, restored Gregory V., and seized and executed Crescentius. When, in the following year, Gregory V. died suddenly, the Emperor chose as his successor the famous Gerbert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name of Sylvester II. Gerbert was one of the most noteworthy men of his time. A Frenchman by birth, he was educated in a monastery at his native place, Aurillac in Auvergne, and so great was his skill in natural science and mathematics that later ages saw in him a magician, in league with the devil. He taught in the cathedral school of Rheims, and was brought under the notice of Otto I. Otto II. made him Abbot of Bobbio in Italy, but the unruly monks drove him out, and he returned to France to take an active part in raising Hugh Capet to the French throne (see chap. iii.). He became Archbishop of Rheims, and after Hugh Capet's death, when he was deprived of his see (see p. 48), Otto III. summoned him to his court and gave him the archbishopric of Ravenna. With such a man as Pope, a man steeped in the knowledge of the past, yet full of ambitious schemes for the future, and exercising a powerful

Sylvester
II.,
999-1003

influence over the mind of a young and ardent Emperor, it might well seem as if the golden days of the Empire were about to return. It was not by chance that Gerbert called himself Sylvester II. The first Pope Sylvester had been the trusted and honoured adviser of the first Christian Emperor Constantine, and Gerbert aimed at being "the new Sylvester of a new Constantine." It was he who encouraged Otto III., "Greek by birth, Roman by imperial power," to dream of the restoration of the ancient glory of Rome. "Spare not our Saxon rusticity," wrote Otto to Gerbert, "cultivate in us Greek subtlety." Otto now revived the old Roman customs and added to them much of Greek ceremonial and splendour. He used the title of "Emperor of the Romans" (*Imperator Romanorum*), and his seal was inscribed with the legend, "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum" (*Renewal of the Empire of the Romans*). He revived the Roman offices of Patrician and Prefect, and aimed at restoring the Roman Senate. He built himself a palace at Rome, on the Aventine Hill, and introduced new high-sounding Greek titles at his court. Yet in all his dreams and projects he thought and worked as a Christian Emperor, in close harmony with the Pope. He called himself "Servant of the Apostles," "Servant of Jesus Christ," and he sought to advance the Empire by firmly establishing the Church of God. He would often turn from the pomp of court life to humble himself with fasting and penance, or to go on pilgrimage to holy places. Meanwhile he relaxed his hold on his northern dominions, and abandoned Otto I.'s policy of consolidation. He freed Poland from tribute, and founded a Polish archbishopric. He allowed Hungary to become a kingdom under Stephen, its first Christian ruler. He thus encouraged

that growth of independent nationalities and national churches which afterwards did much to prevent the union of Germany, while his Italian policy alienated the German nobles and his ecclesiastical policy offended the German bishops.

Third
Italian Ex-
pedition,
1000

In the year 1000, after a hasty visit to Germany, the Emperor set out for Italy for the third and last time. On his way southward he entered the tomb of Charles the Great at Aachen, and gazed, it is said, on the body of the Emperor, sitting enthroned, as in life, with a gold crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand. Less than two years later Otto himself was borne across the snowy Alps to be laid beside the first Frankish Emperor in the capital of the East-Frankish kings.

He returned to Italy, only to find the country restless and disturbed. The South had thrown off his overlordship, a rebellion had broken out at Tivoli, close to Rome, and no sooner was this quelled than Rome itself rose against the Emperor. With bitter words Otto reproached the ungrateful citizens. "Are you my Romans," he cried, "for whose sake I have left my fatherland and my kinsmen, whom I have preferred to my own blood, my Saxons and Germans? You have rejected your father, you have cruelly slain my friends, you have shut me out from your midst." Moved to tears, the Romans submitted, yet Otto thought it wiser to retire to Ravenna, where he tried to strengthen himself by alliances with Constantinople and with the rising sea power of Venice. But this was not to be. On 24th January 1002, as he marched southward from Ravenna, he died of fever at Paterno, within sight of Rome. On the news of his death Italy openly revolted, and his funeral procession had to fight its way to Verona. Pope Sylvester II, did not long survive his

pupil; he died on 12th May 1003, and with his death peace was said to vanish from the earth and the Church to fall into confusion.

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GERMANY under the SAXON and SALIAN EMPERORS



34. Berkshire, before 1909.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE EMPIRE FROM THE SAXONS TO THE SALIANS [1002-1056]

WITH Otto III. ended the direct male line of the Saxon house, and Germany was exposed to the dangers of a disputed succession. The three chief candidates for the vacant throne were Henry, Duke of Bavaria, son of Henry the Quarrelsome, like Otto III. a great-grandson of Henry the Fowler (see Table I.), Eckhard of Meissen, and Hermann, Duke of Swabia. Though Henry had hereditary right on his side, Eckhard had served his country well, and the hereditary principle of succession was not as yet generally accepted. Henry, on the other hand, was supported by the Bavarians and by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, and when Eckhard of Meissen was murdered by his private enemies, the comparatively weak opposition of Hermann of Swabia was easily overcome. On 2nd June 1002 Henry II. was anointed and crowned at Mainz by Archbishop Willigis; the Saxons did homage to him at Merseburg, and the men of Lorraine at Aachen. Before the end of the year he was undisputed king of Germany. But old tribal distinctions revived when each duchy in turn acknowledged the new king, and Henry only won general recognition by lavish promises and concessions to his subjects. It was said by a contemporary of Otto III. that he had attempted a great but impossible task—to restore the Roman Empire to its ancient glory.

Henry II.
the Saint,
1002-1024

With the accession of Henry II. a practical man of action replaced a dreamer and idealist on the German throne. Far-reaching imperial schemes were abandoned, but less ambitious projects were carried out successfully. If Henry II. aimed lower than Otto III., he hit the mark more frequently. The fruits of Otto's policy were at once seen in the rise of a formidable Slav power on the eastern German frontier, where the duchy of Poland was rapidly developing under the able rule of Boleslav Chabry, who, in the hope of founding an independent kingdom, had made himself master of Bohemia and had formed alliances with the discontented German nobles. Though in 1005 Henry II. won back Bohemia and forced the proud Polish duke to acknowledge the German overlordship, two years later Boleslav again revolted, and only in 1013 consented to make terms with the king. Even then he did not keep his promises, and in 1015 war was renewed, to be ended, in 1018, by the Peace of Bautzen, by which Boleslav gained the march of Lausitz, but remained a vassal of the German crown.

Meanwhile Italy also seemed about to break the German connexion and to form an independent state under Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, who was recognized as king by the Lombard nobles early in 1002. When, however, in 1004, Henry II. entered Pavia, many of the bishops and nobles rallied to him, and chose him king, and he received the crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan. If he could have remained in Italy, he might have established his authority, but he was recalled to Germany, and in his absence Ardoin regained his influence in Lombardy, and John Crescentius, "the destroyer of the Apostolic See," ruled as "Patrician" in Rome, where three Popes in succession bowed before his power. When Crescentius

Subjugation of Poland, 1005-1018

First Italian Expedition, 1004

died in 1012, Benedict VIII., a member of the rival house of Tusculum, became Pope. The Crescentian party appointed an anti-pope, and both appealed to Henry II. He espoused the cause of Benedict VIII., came down into Italy, received Ardoin's submission, and on February 14, 1013, was anointed and crowned Emperor at Rome. A rising of the turbulent Romans followed the coronation, and when the Emperor left Italy Ardoin rebelled and had once more to be subdued. In 1021 Henry II. visited Italy for the third time. The southern provinces were distracted by Saracen invasions and revolts against the Greek dominion, while already the Normans, the future conquerors of the South, had appeared in the peninsula. Early in 1022 the imperial army marched south in three divisions, led by the Archbishop of Cologne, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and Henry himself, accompanied by Pope Benedict VIII. The princes of Capua, Salerno, and Naples submitted, and the town of Troja was taken from the Greeks. Then heat and increasing sickness among the troops compelled Henry to retreat. He returned to Germany, never to see Italy again. In July 1024, shortly after the death of Pope Benedict VIII., the Emperor also ended his laborious life, and was buried in the cathedral of Bamberg, the new bishopric which he had founded in Franconia. His last years were occupied with questions of Church reform, and later legends have transformed the stern cautious statesman into a lame and sickly devotee, a mere "king of the priests," while in the twelfth century he and his pious Queen Cunigunde were formally canonized as saints of the Roman Church.

Second Italian Expedition, 1013
Henry II. crowned Emperor, Feb. 14, 1013
Third Italian Expedition, 1021

Death of Henry II. 1024

A truer picture of the last Saxon Emperor is found in a contemporary drawing, which shows Henry II. enthroned

and crowned, with orb and sceptre, supported by two ecclesiastics on the right hand and by two warriors on the left, as if he held the balance between Church and State, while figures representing the nations of Europe:—Rome, Gaul, Germany and “Sclavinia,” the land of the Slavs, approach him with awe and offer him gifts. Though a deeply religious man, he did not scruple to use the Church for political ends, to check and balance the threatening power of the lay nobles. His first thought and care was for Germany, and for the maintenance of German supremacy in Europe. Otto III.’s seal bore the motto, “Renewal of the Empire of the Romans” (*Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*); Henry II.’s seal was, it is said, inscribed with the words “Renewal of the kingdom of the Franks” (*Renovatio regni Francorum*). He restored peace to his people: he held together the restless provinces of his vast Empire, and he handed on to his successors, unimpaired and even consolidated, the imperial heritage of the Ottos.

Conrad II.,
the Salic,
1024-1039

On the death of the childless Henry II. the German prelates and nobles met at Kamba on the Rhine to elect a new king. The choice fell on the Franconian Conrad, a great-grandson of Conrad the Red and Liutgarde, daughter of Otto I. (see Table I.). Conrad was a man of tried courage and experience; his wife was Gisela, the beautiful and wealthy daughter of Hermann Duke of Swabia. He had the support of Aribio Archbishop of Mainz, and of the majority of the magnates: only the Archbishop of Cologne and the Dukes of Upper and Lower Lorraine stood aloof. He was crowned at Mainz on September 8, 1024, amidst the acclamations of the people. “They could not have rejoiced more,” wrote Conrad’s biographer, “if Charles the Great had come

amongst them." The Archbishop of Cologne now submitted, and Conrad and Gisela entered Aachen in triumph, Thus the crown of Germany passed from the Saxons back to the Franks. Yet the change of dynasty did not carry with it a change of policy. Conrad II. was no mere 'king of the barons,' content to be only a little more powerful than the great nobles, who thought themselves his equals. He had a high conception of the royal and imperial office, and was so worthy a successor of the first Frankish Emperor that the saying became current: "Charles the Great's stirrups hang from Conrad's saddle." His first thought was to win the imperial crown. A dangerous conspiracy of the dukes of Lorraine, the king's step-son Ernest of Swabia, his cousin "the younger Conrad," who had competed with him for the throne, and King Robert of France, was discovered and defeated. A treaty with Cnut, King of England and Denmark, secured the northern frontier, and early in 1026 Conrad II. crossed the Alps, and was crowned King of Italy at Milan by Archbishop Aribert, who in 1025 had come to Germany to implore the king to intervene in Italian affairs. After Henry II.'s death Pavia revolted and the Lombard nobles offered the crown of Italy first to the French king, and then to the son of the powerful Duke William of Aquitaine. But the bishops stood firm in their allegiance, and the king's personal energy carried all before it. One by one the nobles and cities submitted, and on March 26, 1027 the Pope crowned Conrad II. Emperor at Rome in the presence of two kings, Rudolf III. of Burgundy and Cnut of England. The Papacy had shaken off the Crescentian tyranny only to become the hereditary possession of the Counts of Tusculum. Benedict VIII. had been succeeded by his brother, John XIX.,

First Italian Expedition, 1026

Coronation of Conrad II. as Emperor, March 26, 1027

“Senator of all the Romans,” a layman who was ordained in order to become Pope. At first inclined towards an alliance with the Eastern Emperor, he finally decided to maintain friendly relations with Germany. The Lombard princes of Benevento, Capua and Salerno also, who had been negotiating with the Greeks, made their peace with Conrad, when, after his coronation, he visited the southern provinces. Having thus confirmed peace throughout Italy, the Emperor returned to Germany, to find Ernest of Swabia and his adherents in open revolt. Only the refusal of the Swabian vassals to follow their duke against their liege lord the king enabled Conrad to stamp out the rebellion. When Ernest of Swabia continued unruly he was outlawed and fled to the Black Forest, where in 1030 he was slain by a band of royal vassals. With his death, internal peace was restored to the German kingdom.

In 1028, the fifth year of Conrad's reign, his power seemed to reach its height with the coronation at Aachen of his little son Henry as King of Germany. Yet five years of intermittent warfare with Hungary and Poland were to follow before, in 1033, the warlike Polish duke, Miesco, son of Boleslav Chabry, who claimed to be a king, was forced to own Conrad's supremacy, and to receive his duchy, shorn of its western territory, to be held as a fief of the German crown. Peace had been made with Hungary in 1031, and while the German overlordship was thus reasserted on the eastern frontier, a new kingdom was added in the south-west to the Roman Empire of the German Nation. Rudolf III., the childless King of Burgundy, had promised the succession to his dominions to Henry II., his sister's son. He renewed the treaty with Conrad II., whose wife Gisela was his niece, and when

he died in 1032, Conrad claimed the kingdom. Odo, Count of Champagne, another of Rudolf's nephews, opposed him, and found support in the lower or French portions of Burgundy. Conrad strengthened himself by an alliance with Henry I., the new King of France, and in 1033 he was elected and crowned King of Burgundy. Though he was very generally accepted in German Burgundy, the struggle with Odo of Champagne continued till 1034, when the French districts at length yielded, and Conrad wore the Burgundian crown in state at Geneva, and received the homage of the nobles. The acquisition of Burgundy, the most important "passage-land" of Europe, gave Germany the command of the Rhone valley and the western Alpine passes. It thus secured the Italian frontier, and placed a buffer-state between Germany and France, while it assured the ascendancy of the German race in Europe.

The first five years of Conrad II.'s reign were spent in establishing his dynasty: in the next five years he had consolidated and extended his Empire: his last five years saw him engaged in the assertion of the superiority of the temporal over the spiritual power. The Papacy reached its lowest pitch of humiliation when, on the death of John XIX. in 1033, his nephew Benedict IX., a boy of twelve years old, became Pope. Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, had long aimed at building up a great ecclesiastical power in northern Italy, with Milan as its centre. In the weakness of the Papacy he saw his opportunity. But so oppressive was his rule that the lesser nobles rebelled against him, and Lombardy was once more a scene of civil strife. In 1037 the Emperor came down into Italy for the second time and held a Council at Pavia. When Aribert bore himself arrogantly

Second Italian Expedition, 1037, and death of Conrad II. 1039

and refused to obey the King's commands, Conrad imprisoned him without a trial. He escaped, fled to Milan, and roused all his followers against the Emperor. Conrad now won over the lesser nobles by a famous edict, which made their fiefs hereditary: he also declared the Archbishop deposed, while Benedict IX. excommunicated him. Aribert defied both Pope and Emperor from his strongly fortified city of Milan, and the struggle was still undecided when, in 1038, Conrad II. returned to Germany, to die in the following year, at Utrecht. "He did so much in so short a time," wrote the historian of the reign, "that none can doubt that since the days of Charles the Great no worthier monarch has sat upon the royal throne."

Henry III.,
the Black,
1039-1056

Henry III., called the "Black" from his dark hair and complexion, succeeded his father without question or opposition. From his childhood he had been trained for the work of government. He had already been crowned king of both Germany and Burgundy, and the duchies of Franconia, Bavaria and Swabia were in his hands. Great things might be hoped from such a prince, and his people greeted his accession with a cry of joy, and hailed him as "Protector of the World." Six virtues, it was said, the virtues of a leader of men, specially graced the young king:—he was humble, pious, peace-loving, noble in mind, dignified in bearing, and steadfast in war. The seventeen years of the reign of Henry III. form a link between the prosperous days of Conrad II. and the troublous times of Henry IV. If these years saw the culmination of the power of the Roman Empire of the German Nation, they also saw the gathering of the forces that were to work the future ruin of that power.

Though Conrad II. had done much to unify the

Empire, much still remained for his son to do:—the pacification of the Slav duchies on the eastern frontier, the confirmation of internal order and peace in Germany, the permanent incorporation of Burgundy with the Empire, and the reform of the Church. Henry turned at once to the settlement of the disturbances on the eastern frontier, where Bretislav, Duke of Bohemia, was reviving the ambitious schemes of Boleslav Chabry, and trying to establish a great Slav kingdom, with an independent archbishopric at Prague. He overran Poland and formed an alliance with Peter of Hungary, who had succeeded his father, the saintly King Stephen, in 1038. It was only after a three-years' struggle that the king marched, ravaging and burning as he went, up to the very gates of Prague, forced Bretislav to make a complete submission, and freed Poland from his domination. Hungary was not subdued till 1045, when, after three campaigns, Henry III. replaced Peter, who had been driven out by a rival, on the throne, as a vassal of Germany. A line of dependent Slav and Magyar states was thus interposed between the eastern frontier of Germany and the wilder tribes of the far East.

On the western frontier, Henry sought by diplomacy to win influence in France and to secure the loyal allegiance of Burgundy. His first wife, Gunhild, the daughter of the English king Cnut, had died in 1038. In 1043 he married Agnes of Poitiers, daughter of William, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, a marriage which brought him into intimate relations with the affairs of France, and also drew closer the connexion with the Burgundian abbey of Cluny, which had been founded by a Duke of Aquitaine. Cluny was the home of religious reform. The Cluniac monks were full of zeal for the

purification of the Church, and the suppression of the two great evils of the time, the marriage of the clergy, and simony, the sin of Simon Magus, the sale of holy offices and ecclesiastical benefices. Henry's religious and emotional nature led him to sympathize with these ideas and to encourage Cluniac teaching. The pardon of the rebellious Aribert of Milan at the beginning of his reign had shown that his Church policy would be more conciliatory than that of his father. In 1045 the whole Christian world was shocked by a flagrant instance of simony in the Papal See itself. The Romans, weary of the vicious Benedict IX., had risen against him and elected an anti-pope, Sylvester III., in his place. The Tusculan party proceeded to restore Benedict IX., who shortly afterwards abdicated, and sold the papal throne to a Roman priest, who succeeded him as Gregory VI. So anarchical was now the state of the Church in Italy that the Archdeacon of Rome convoked a Synod and sent an urgent appeal for help to the king of Germany. In September 1046 Henry III. crossed the Brenner and held a Synod at Pavia. This was followed by a Council at Sutri in which both Sylvester III. and Gregory VI., who seems to have bought the papal office in the vain hope of reforming it, were deposed. In a third Synod at Rome Benedict IX. was also declared deposed and Henry III. appointed the German Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, to the Papal See. He was consecrated as Clement II. at Rome on Christmas-day 1046, and immediately conferred the imperial crown on Henry III. and his Queen. After the coronation the Romans bestowed the office of Patrician on the Emperor and his descendants, an office which carried with it the right of deciding the papal election. In accordance with this

First
Italian Ex-
pedition,
1046

Coronation
of Henry
III. as
Emperor,
1046

right, when Clement II. died in 1047 and Benedict IX. reasserted his claims, the Romans sent to ask Henry III. for a new Pope, and on the death of his nominee Damasus II., a few weeks after his consecration, the Emperor named as his successor a kinsman of his own, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, with whose accession to the papal throne in 1048 as Leo IX. a new and better era began for the Roman Church. Nobly-born, learned and virtuous, Leo IX. was a supporter of the reform party, and a man of strict and holy life. He entered Rome humbly as a pilgrim, and refused to accept the papal office until he had been duly elected by the Roman clergy and people. But no sooner was he consecrated Pope than he applied himself with all the fervour of an ardent nature to the reformation of the Church. Synods were held in Italy, France and Germany; decrees were issued against simony and clerical marriage, and everywhere the Pope appeared in person, to lend the weight of his authority and eloquence to the cause of reform. Yet, though his spiritual influence was so great that after his death he was canonized as a saint, he was fated to end his life in disappointment and failure, in a struggle for temporal power with the Norman lords of Apulia.

In the early eleventh century the Greeks still ruled Apulia from their capital Bari, and the republics of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta recognized their overlordship, but the Lombard duchies of Benevento, Capua and Salerno had thrown in their lot with the Western Empire and the Roman Church, while the Saracens of Sicily kept up a constant series of harassing attacks on Greek and Lombard alike. The distracted state of Southern Italy made it a land of promise for the warlike and adventurous Normans, descendants of the Scandinavian Vikings,

Leo IX.,
 1048-1054

The
 Normans
 in Italy

who were sure of a welcome and of employment as mercenaries on one side or another. In the year 1016 a band of Norman pilgrims, returning from Jerusalem, gave material help in saving Salerno from the Saracens. In 1017 a Norman force took service against the Greeks under Melus, a citizen of Bari, who was supported by Pope Benedict VIII. in an attempt to make himself lord of Southern Italy. Victorious at Civitate in 1017, Melus was defeated at Cannæ in 1018, but the military reputation of the Normans remained unshaken, and they continued to pour into Italy. In 1030, Rainulf, a Norman chieftain, made a permanent settlement at Aversa, near Naples, and in 1038 Conrad II. recognized him as Count of Aversa. It was now that three valiant knights, William of the Iron Arm, Drogo and Humphrey, sons of Tancred of Hauteville, came to seek their fortune in the South. They first entered the Greek service and fought the Saracens, but before long they turned their arms against their former allies, and in conjunction with the duke of Benevento succeeded in conquering Apulia, with its chief town Melfi. In 1042 William of the Iron Arm was proclaimed Count of Apulia, and in 1047 the Emperor Henry III. confirmed the title to William's brother and successor Drogo. The territorial power of the Italian Normans was firmly established. The freebooters had been transformed into feudal vassals. In 1050 the citizens of Benevento, after driving out their Lombard rulers, placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See. Leo IX. willingly received their homage, and entrusted the defence of the city to Norman troops. But this was like placing a wolf in charge of a lamb. The Normans tried to gain Benevento for themselves, and Leo IX., indignant at their presumption, excommunicated them.

Both sides now prepared for war. The Pope entered into negotiations with the Greeks, and won a recognition

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY



of his rights over Benevento from the Emperor Henry III., but his hopes were dashed to the ground by his crushing defeat, on June 18, 1053, at Civitate or Civitella, the scene of the Norman victory in 1017. The German

Battle of Civitate, June 18, 1053

auxiliaries in the Papal army, who had mocked at the diminutive stature of their foes, fell almost to a man before the fierce Norman onslaught, but though the Pope himself was taken prisoner, the victors knelt before their captive, kissed his feet, received his absolution, and conducted him with all reverence to Benevento. Here he remained till 1054, when he returned to Rome to die. He was succeeded on the papal throne by Gebhard, the German Bishop of Eichstädt, who took the name of Victor II.

While these events had been passing in Italy, the peace of Germany had been broken by the intrigues of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Upper Lorraine, who bore Henry III. a grudge because he had separated the two Lorraine duchies, which had been united under the former Duke Gozelo. But by 1050 the Emperor had triumphed over all his enemies, and when in that year his eldest son, the future Henry IV., was born, it seemed as if the power of the Salian dynasty were indeed established on a firm foundation. The six years of life that remained to Henry were to show that this apparent security was deceptive, and that the seeds of future disaster were already sown in the Empire. Even in 1051 fresh disturbances in Hungary, where Peter had been murdered by a rival claimant to the throne, required the Emperor's armed intervention. There was discontent, too, among the German and Burgundian nobles, and in 1054 a dangerous alliance between Lorraine and Northern Italy was formed by the marriage of Henry III.'s old enemy, Godfrey the Bearded, to Beatrix, the widow of Boniface of Tuscany, the most powerful of the Italian magnates. In 1056 the Emperor made a second expedition to Italy, asserted his authority in Tuscany, and, with the new Pope Victor II., held a great reforming Synod at

Second
Italian Ex-
pedition
and death
of Henry
III., 1056

Florence. A rising in Bavaria recalled him to Germany, and though he restored order for the time it was clear that the loyalty of the nobles could not be depended on. It was at this crisis, when a strong government was essential to the welfare of Germany, that the Emperor was struck down by fever and died on October 5, 1056. He was buried beside his parents in the cathedral at Speier, on October 28, his thirty-ninth birthday, and a six-year-old boy mounted the throne of Charles the Great.

In creating the Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Saxon and Salian Emperors were inspired by the memory of the Empire of Charles the Great, even as Charles the Great himself had revived the traditions of imperial Rome. Hence the ideal form of government in the Middle Ages was a World-State, ruled from one centre, like the Roman Empire, while the tendency of the actual order of society which had grown up out of the anarchy of the ninth century was towards local independence, disunion and decentralization. The real rulers of Western Christendom were the great nobles and tribal chieftains who in the general disorder had won land and influence and had wrested royal rights and privileges—military, judicial and financial—from the weak hands of the successors of Charles the Great. Thus the one supreme or sovereign power of the central authority was divided among many local authorities, and the “feudal system,” a system of government by hereditary landlords was gradually developed. In that system the king was the sole proprietor of all the land of the kingdom: the tenants-in-chief of the crown held hereditary fiefs directly of him, and the “mesne” or middle tenants held again of them by “subinfeudation,” a sort of “sub-letting.” The

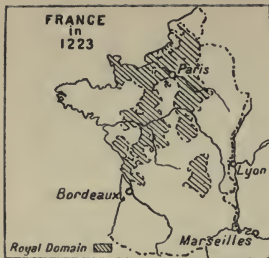
Feudalism, the Church, and the Empire

king only negotiated with his immediate tenants, and they alone were responsible for their under-tenants, leading them to war, taxing them, judging them in their courts and ruling over them like petty sovereigns. The king was thus reduced to a mere overlord and great military and political power was thrown into the hands of the nobles, whose tyranny weighed heavily on the poorer classes. There was truth in the mediæval legend which told how Charles the Great appeared in seasons of plenty, crossed the Rhine on a golden bridge and blessed the cornfields and vineyards. Only the strong centralized government of the great Emperors and kings could give plenty and prosperity to the people, and protect them from the rapacity of a selfish aristocracy. All through the history of the Middle Ages runs, like a central thread, the record of the struggle between the two principles of monarchy and aristocracy, union and separatism, imperialism and feudalism. In that struggle, the German Emperors had relied on the support of the Church against the nobles. They had welcomed the movement against clerical marriage, which checked the tendency to regard ecclesiastical benefices and offices as hereditary fiefs. When the Empire which Otto I. had established on so firm a foundation had been weakened by the early death of his son and the visionary schemes of his grandson, the sagacious Henry II. had found fresh strength in a close alliance between Church and State. When Conrad II. recognized the hereditary character of lay fiefs, tacitly in Germany, and by a written law in Italy, he retained his hold upon ecclesiastical appointments, and filled the bishoprics with men whom he could trust. Though Henry III., who had once held three of the great duchies in his own hand, was forced to grant Bavaria and Swabia to powerful feuda-

tories, he maintained harmonious relations with the Papacy, the German Church and the Cluniacs throughout his reign, and after his death it was a German Pope, his own nominee, who preserved peace in the Empire, and crowned the little Henry IV. at Aachen. But with the increased spirituality of the Church came also a sense of the inferiority of things temporal to things spiritual. The Church, once the docile servant of the State, then its zealous co-worker, now claimed to be its superior. Empire and Papacy were soon to face each other as rival powers, and from the conflict between them the German nobles were to reap their advantage and to secure their victory.

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As for Chapter I.



CHAPTER III

FRANCE UNDER CAROLINGIANS AND CAPETIANS [918-1108]

NOWHERE was the struggle between Monarchy and Aristocracy more marked than in the kingdom of the West-Franks or France. Nowhere did the great fiefs, the "provincial nationalities," become more independent of the central power, more completely "states within a state." The Dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, Normandy and Brittany, the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Champagne and Toulouse, were all more truly sovereigns than the impoverished descendant of Charles the Great, who nominally ruled the kingdom from his rock-bound fortress-capital of Laon. As early as 888, a great feudal noble, Eude or Odo, the deliverer of Paris from the Vikings, had been elected king of the West Franks. Though after his death Charles the Simple, a prince of the old Carolingian line, had recovered the crown of his fathers, he failed to hold his own against his turbulent vassals. In 922, three years after the accession of Henry the Fowler in Germany, Robert Count of Paris, Odo's brother, was raised to the French throne by the help of his powerful sons-in-law, Herbert Count of Vermandois and Rudolf Duke of Burgundy. In the following year, 923, Robert fell in fight with the partisans of Charles the Simple, and Rudolf of Burgundy succeeded him. Charles the Simple was taken prisoner by his enemies, and ended his days in captivity, but his wife

Charles
the Simple,
893-929

Robert I.
(Rival
King),
922-923

Rudolf of
Burgundy
(Rival
King),
923-936

Edgiva, daughter of the West-Saxon king Edward the Elder, fled with her little son Louis to her father's court. When Rudolf died in 936, after a troubled reign, in which Lorraine, which had adhered to Charles the Simple, became part of the German kingdom, the leading man in France was Robert's gifted son, Hugh the Great. But loyalty to the old royal house was still strong, the rival feudatories were suspicious and jealous, and prudence led Hugh to play the part of king-maker rather than that of king. He recalled from his English exile and placed on the throne of France Louis "d'Outre-mer," the son of Charles the Simple, while he contented himself with the substance of power, and the title and authority of "duke of the Franks" (*dux Francorum*). Lord of Neustria, between Seine and Loire, duke of "Francia," north of the Seine, and overlord of Burgundy, Champagne, Blois, Chartres and Anjou, with his capital at Paris, he might well feel himself master of both king and kingdom. But the young Louis developed an unexpected spirit of resistance, and refused to submit to Hugh's guidance. Two parties were formed, and each side sought an alliance with Otto the Great, who gave his support first to Hugh and then to Louis, who married Gerberge, Otto's sister. An accident cut off Louis prematurely in 954, and though his son Lothair was elected king, Hugh was the real ruler of France until his death in 956. His eldest son Hugh, afterwards called Hugh Capet, succeeded him as duke of the Franks: his second son Odo was invested with the duchy of Burgundy. It was doubtless the narrowness of his own patrimony as compared with the vast estates of his vassals that tempted Lothair to take advantage of the death of Otto I. to try to conquer Lorraine. He entered Aachen, but was forced to retire, while Otto II., in

Louis IV.
"d'Outre-
mer,"
936-954

Lothair,
954-986

revenge, invaded France, took Laon and marched almost to the gates of Paris. Lothair came to terms, yet no sooner did the sudden death of Otto II. throw Germany into confusion than he resumed his ambitious schemes and allied himself with Henry of Bavaria, the rival of the little Otto III. (see p. 18). He thus alienated the imperial party in Germany, while Gerbert, now teaching at Rheims, and Adalbéron, Archbishop of Rheims, were intriguing in favour of Hugh Capet. "Lothair, King of France," wrote Gerbert, "is only supreme in name; Hugh is not supreme in name, but in fact." Supported by the Church and by the greater feudatories of France, Hugh was not long in winning the name of king also. In 986 Lothair died. His son and successor, Louis V., survived him for less than a year. The only legitimate Carolingian candidate for the throne was Louis V.'s uncle, Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, a vassal of the Emperor, as much German as French. Hugh's opportunity had come. A great assembly of lay and ecclesiastical magnates was held at Senlis. "The throne," said the Archbishop of Rheims, "is not acquired by hereditary right. He only ought to be raised to it who is distinguished both by nobility of birth and by wisdom of mind, who is fortified by loyalty, and strengthened by magnanimity. . . . If you wish to make the country miserable, choose Charles. If you desire its happiness, crown the glorious duke Hugh as king." Elected unanimously, Hugh Capet was crowned and consecrated by Adalbéron of Rheims on July 3, 987. The accession of the first Capetian king has been regarded as the true beginning of the history of France. There had been elective kings of the same house before:—Odo, Robert, and Robert's son-in-law Rudolf of Burgundy—but none of them had succeeded in founding a

Louis V.,
986

Election of
Hugh
Capet as
King of
France

dynasty, whereas the descendants of Hugh Capet ruled over France until the great Revolution of the eighteenth century. The Capetian kings owed their immediate success and their permanent establishment on the French throne partly to their ability and partly to a fortunate chain of circumstances. They were great feudal princes, "first among their peers," at a time when all society was taking a feudal form; they were great landed proprietors, when to hold land was essential to political power; "rooted in the soil," they stood firm when the Carolingians were swept away. But they were something more than feudal lords; they claimed to be the successors of the Merovingian and Carolingian sovereigns: they represented the old West-Frank monarchy, the close ally of the Catholic Church, that ecclesiastical monarchy which had been founded by Clovis and restored by Charles the Great. The Church was the real prop and stay of the new dynasty. It was to the interest of the Capetian monarchs to figure as the heirs of the ancient line, when the great vassals were anxious to regard them merely as glorified feudatories, the elected heads of the feudal order of society. The Capetians took advantage of both conceptions of kingship, the Roman and ecclesiastical conception of the absolute undivided sovereignty of the divinely appointed monarch, "the Lord's anointed," and the feudal conception of the supreme lord or suzerain. They used both conceptions to extend their authority and influence, moral and material. By long and patient labour they thus finally succeeded in gathering into their own hands the scattered threads of political power, and in building up a strong national monarchy. In the duel between king and feudatories, the king, in France, was the ultimate victor.

The nine years of Hugh Capet's reign were comparatively uneventful. Charles of Lorraine was still master of the old Carolingian capital of Laon, and he found a valuable ally in Arnulf, Archbishop of Rheims, Adalbéron's successor. Not till 991 was the dynastic revolution completed by the betrayal of the city of Laon to Hugh, and the capture of Charles and Arnulf. Charles died in the following year, and Arnulf, in spite of the remonstrances of the Pope, was deprived of his archbishopric, which was given to Gerbert. In 996, when Hugh Capet died, there was no resistance to the accession of his son Robert, who had been crowned in his father's lifetime.

The reigns of the three immediate successors of Hugh Capet—Robert II., Henry I., and Philip I.—which cover the whole of the eleventh century (996-1108), seem at first sight singularly devoid of interest. In reality they are the period when, slowly but surely, the French monarchy was securing its position, regulating its relations to the great feudatories, and extending the royal demesne, the territory under the direct lordship of the king. While the kings of Germany were winning the imperial crown in Italy, reforming the Papacy, or contesting the papal claims to supremacy, the kings of France, surrounded by ambitious vassals, were with difficulty maintaining a bare existence at home by following a hand-to-mouth policy, pressing every claim and seizing every chance in an unequal struggle with the forces of feudalism. "There only remained to them," it has been well said,¹ "the memories of the past, the hope of seeing their virtual power become a reality in the future, and, in the present, the sympathy

Hugh
Capet,
987-996

The Early
Capetians,
996-1108

¹ By M. Luchaire. [Lavissee: *Hist. de France*, ii. 2, p. 178.]

of monks and clerks for the man whom the anointing oil had sanctified." Yet in the end the French monarchy triumphed where the German monarchy failed, for the French kings devoted themselves to the task of establishing a strong central government, while the German kings were distracted by the variety of their interests and the responsibility of their imperial position. In France, too, the national monarchy found its best support in the national Church, while in Germany the fatal rivalry between Empire and Papacy broke the alliance between Church and King.

Robert II.
le Pieux,
996-1031

Robert "the Pious" has often been described as the tool of the clergy, a monk rather than a king, weakly pious and foolishly good-natured. But this is chiefly because, as became a pupil of Gerbert, he was learned and devout, a Latin scholar, and skilled in music and theology. Contemporary chroniclers paint his tall, stooping figure, his gentle, long-nosed face, his smooth hair and beard. They tell how he sang in the service of the Mass, composed church music, and busied himself with "liberal studies," but they also note that he was brave and active, and "excelled in the art of war." His marriage with Bertha, widow of the Count of Blois, early involved him in a quarrel with the Papacy, which ended in the excommunication of the King and his separation from his wife. It was to propitiate the Pope that Robert restored Arnulf to the archbishopric of Rheims in 997, and deprived Gerbert of his See (see p. 20). Robert afterwards married Constance, a daughter of the Count of Arles, an ambitious, violent-tempered woman, whose Aquitanian and Provençal followers shocked the sober men of the northern provinces and the stern Cluniac reformers by their gay clothing, their short hair and high boots, and the frivolity

of their manners. Connected thus with Southern France, Robert maintained friendly relations with Normandy in the west, and though, on the eastern frontier, he could not save the Burgundian kingdom from gradual absorption by the Empire (see p. 31), he reconquered the duchy of Burgundy for the royal house after a fourteen years' struggle with a usurping vassal.

He thought it prudent to refuse the crown of Italy for himself and his son, but he was willing to embarrass the German king by allowing the Duke of Aquitaine to accept the tempting offer of the Lombard nobles (see p. 29). He intervened in Flanders, and planned an invasion of Lorraine. Robert's eldest son Hugh, who had been crowned in 1017, died young, and the King's last days were troubled by the turbulence of his younger sons, Henry and Robert. After their father's death in July 1031, the two princes disputed the succession to the throne. Henry had been crowned in 1026, and was supported by Normandy, Anjou, and Flanders, but Robert had the queen-mother Constance and the Count of Blois on his side. In the end, though Henry succeeded in making good his claim, he had to cede the duchy of Burgundy to his brother.

The reign of Henry I. is one long series of struggles with the great vassals, which brought ruin and desolation to France, and reduced the royal power to a shadow. Had it not been for the disunion of the feudatories among themselves, the monarchy might well have been overwhelmed. As it was, Henry was able to strengthen his own position by playing off one feudal lord against another. Thus he helped the Count of Anjou to win Touraine from the Count of Blois. Thus, when the Norman power grew formidable under William, the

Henry I.,
1031-1060

future conqueror of England, he took advantage of the discontent of the duke's vassals, and the jealousy of his fellow nobles, to organize a coalition against him.

Normandy

The Norman dukes, descendants of the Vikings to whom, in 911, Charles the Simple had granted the land between the river Epte and the borders of Brittany, had always been faithful to the Capetian house. They had done much to raise Hugh Capet to the throne, and had loyally supported his cause. When Robert, the last legitimate duke of the old line, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, leaving a base-born child of seven years old as his sole heir, it was natural that he should commend the little William to the care of his overlord and ally the King of France.

At first Henry was true to the trust. He even fought in person in the battle of Val-es-Dunes in 1047, when William crushed the rebellious Norman nobles. But continued friendship was impossible with a vassal whose duchy commanded the waterway of the Seine, and shut off the royal demesne from access to the sea. The King and the great feudatories, the Dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine, and the Counts of Anjou, Champagne, and Auvergne, made common cause against William of Normandy, and only the warlike ability of the young duke, and his two great victories at Mortemer in 1054 and at Varaville in 1058, saved him from destruction. Yet even while the French feudatories were everywhere shaking off the royal yoke, Henry I. was able to maintain something of the traditional authority of his Carolingian predecessors. He claimed Lorraine from the Emperor Henry III. "by hereditary right." He asserted his authority over the French Church in opposition to the pretensions of Pope Leo IX. He won a Russian princess for his wife, and crowned his little son Philip in his lifetime. When he

died, in 1060, the chroniclers could write of him with truth that he had been "a brave and active soldier."

The reign of Philip I. is one of the longest and most inglorious in the annals of France. Philip himself is often described as a sluggard and a glutton, dissolute and sacrilegious. But it must be remembered that he was at enmity with the Pope, and had offended the reforming party in the Church by his marriage with another man's wife; it is, therefore, hardly fair to judge him by monkish chronicles and papal letters. Fat almost to deformity, he may have been indolent enough, but the facts of his life show that he could rouse himself to activity on occasion, while with a keen wit and a mocking tongue he combined considerable intelligence and not inconsiderable statesmanlike ability. When Henry I. died, Philip was a child of eight years old, and the government of the kingdom was entrusted to the queen-mother and to Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, who had married the late king's sister. In 1067 Philip came of age and ruled independently till about 1098, when he associated his eldest son Louis in the kingship, and left much of the conduct of affairs to him and to the queen, Bertrade de Montfort.

Three great events mark the second half of the eleventh century—the conquest of England by the Normans in 1066; the accession of Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand, to the papal throne in 1073; the First Crusade in 1095-6. Philip I. has been censured for not interfering to prevent the Norman Conquest of England, for embroiling himself with Hildebrand and the party of ecclesiastical reform, and for not going on crusade. No doubt it was an error on the part of France to stand neutral while Normandy, its most formidable rival, trans-

Philip I.,
1060-1108

formed itself into a powerful kingdom with dominions on both sides of the Channel. Yet the fault lay rather with Philip's guardian and regent, Baldwin V. of Flanders, than with the king himself, who was but a boy of fourteen at the time. After the mischief was done, Philip did his utmost to avert its evil consequences. In alliance with the new Count of Flanders, Robert le Frison, he endeavoured in every way to check the ambitious projects of William the Conqueror. He did what he could to keep Normandy apart from England and to foster the dissensions in the Conqueror's own family. He helped the Bretons to repulse the invading Normans in 1076. In 1087 he defended the French Vexin, the border-land between Normandy and the royal demesne, from the pretensions of the English kings, and finally added it to the dominions of the French crown. It was while pressing his claims to the Vexin that William the Conqueror was mortally wounded at Mantes, and though his successor, William Rufus, continued to intrigue against France, and is even said to have aimed at the French throne, a year's unsuccessful campaigning was the only fruit of his schemes. Philip's quarrel with the Church was the inevitable result of his marriage, in 1092, with Bertrade de Montfort, wife of the Count of Anjou, "a scandalous event," which "caused trouble in the kingdom." In defiance of repeated papal excommunications, Philip refused to give up his wife, and it was only on his death-bed, in the year 1108, that he was finally reconciled with the Church, and assumed the habit of a Benedictine monk in the hope of saving his soul.

As an excommunicated king, Philip could not well have gone on crusade, even had he wished to do so, but it was really better for France that he should stay at home and

steadily, if slowly, build up the royal power. The forty-eight years of his reign are a period of transition, for he gradually abandoned the merely defensive policy of the three first Capetians towards the great feudatories, and began that aggressive policy of definite annexation of territory which was continued by his successors. Not only did he win the Vexin and Valois, but on the death of the Count of Vermandois, that important fief was given to the king's brother Hugh. Thus on the west and north the royal demesne was protected against attacks from Normandy or Flanders, while in the south Philip gained a footing by the purchase of Bourges. But in spite of this territorial expansion, the king's real authority, even in the royal demesne, remained lamentably weak. On every side rose, dark and threatening, the castles of haughty feudatories, those square stone towers which made life a terror to the peaceful merchant, the monk, and the peasant. Some fifteen miles south of Paris the picturesque ruins of one of the most famous of these robber strongholds still crown the hill above the ancient town of Montlhéry. When, at the close of his reign, Philip I. succeeded in getting the fortress of Montlhéry into his power, he felt, in the words of a contemporary chronicler, like a prisoner whose dungeon door has been opened. "Guard well this tower," he said to his son Louis, "it has made me old before my time." It was fortunate indeed for France that as the reins of government slipped from Philip's nerveless hands, they were gathered up by a strong and capable man, the soldier-king, Louis VI. "The Fighter" (*Le Batailleur*).

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CHAPTER IV

CLUNY AND MOVEMENTS OF REFORM

MEDIÆVAL history can only be understood by trying to enter into the spirit of the Middle Ages, and to think the thoughts of the past. Only the breath of sympathy and the light of imagination can quicken the dry bones of ancient controversies and enable us to appreciate the attitude of mind of the men and women who lived in the Ages of Faith, when the Universal Church was a visible reality, and all great political and social movements tended to take a religious form. In the struggle between the principles of monarchy and aristocracy which characterized the history of the Middle Ages, the Church stood for monarchy and for unity, as the heir of imperial Rome, and the guardian of the Roman traditions of centralized government. It was the support of the Church which gave the first German Emperors strength to hold their own against the disruptive forces of feudalism. It was the influence of the Church which raised the Capetian dynasty to the throne of France. But this political power brought its own danger, the danger that the Church itself would be secularized and feudalized, and become a mere department of the State. Churchmen held land as a necessity of existence, and held it on feudal conditions. Bishops and abbots were hardly to be distinguished from barons. They were nominated by secular lords, did

homage to them, and were invested by them with spiritual offices and jurisdiction, through the gift of the symbolic ring and pastoral staff. The prelate was a feudatory, the benefice was a fief. The Church was drawn into the feudal system. Moreover, benefices came to be regarded as property, to be bought and sold. Simony, the sale of holy offices, was widely spread, and practised without shame, and since the clergy were permitted to marry, there was even a tendency for ecclesiastical benefices to become hereditary, like lay fiefs. In the tenth century the secularization of the Church was but one aspect of the prevailing moral and intellectual degradation. Religion degenerated into superstition, learning almost became extinct, and while the mass of the clergy sank into gross ignorance and vice, the few intelligent churchmen sought advancement in the service of the State. Even the monks, who, far more than the secular clergy, were separated by their vows from worldly cares and interests, were corrupt and self-seeking, and the invasions of the Northmen, Hungarians and Saracens completed what internal deterioration had begun. Monasteries were harried and burnt, and their inmates were scattered abroad.

Yet already, in the early tenth century, signs of a moral revival were apparent, and with moral revival went monastic reform. In the year 910 A.D. William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, founded a Benedictine monastery at Cluny, near Mâcon, in French Burgundy, and placed it under the direct protection of the Pope. The monks of Cluny were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Mâcon, and independent of all secular authority, even that of the King of France. In the eleventh century a new rule, the "Ancient Customs of

Monastic
Reform,
Cluny

Cluny" (*Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*), was drawn up, "the first example of the establishment of an Order within an already existing Order, of which it still formed part," and the "Congregation of Cluny" was gradually organized. The Cluniacs were always Benedictines, but they observed the Benedictine Rule with a difference. In the older system each religious house was an isolated community; in the new system, the original monastery kept in touch with its offshoots. It became the centre of a kind of federation, of which all the members were governed by the same statutes, rules and discipline, the Rule of St Benedict in more than its original strictness. The chapters-general or central assemblies of Cluny were attended by delegates from Italy, Germany, France, Aquitaine, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Poland and England. From the chapters-general "visitors" went out to inspect and supervise provincial administration. The abbot-general, though he was elected by the monks, ruled as an absolute monarch. The daughter-houses were, with some exceptions, simply called "priors," and the priors were nominated by the abbot-general. Cluny became the type of monastic power, a sort of "monastic empire." The Order was fortunate in falling under the guidance of a succession of great leaders. The first five abbots—Berno (910-927), Odo (926-948), Majolus (948-994), Odilo (990-1049), Hugh (1049-1109)—were men of considerable administrative ability and of saintly life. Four of them were actually canonized, and round them all grew up pious legends of marvels and miracles which witness to the popular reverence in which they were held. Odo had a tame wolf, which followed him wherever he went. Odilo walked on the water like St Peter, and turned

water into wine like Christ. Hugh, the friend of Pope Gregory VII., who had himself refused to be Pope, lived in a wonderland where nothing seemed impossible. But this passion of mystic devotion did not prevent the early Cluniacs from becoming a great force in practical politics. As monks, bound by the threefold vow of chastity, poverty and obedience, they were peculiarly fitted to fight against simony, the marriage of the clergy, and lay investiture. As exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, they, better than the secular clergy, could protest against the feudalization of the Church. As directly subordinate to the Pope, they were untrammelled by national loyalty in advocating the claims of the spiritual power.

Monastic reform was but one side of a general moral and intellectual revival, a reawakening of the human mind and spirit, which, dimly perceived in the tenth century, may be clearly traced from the middle of the eleventh century to its culmination in the "twelfth century Renaissance." Another sign of this reawakening was an increased interest in education, and a love of learning for its own sake. It was said of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, the brother of Otto I., that he "restored the long-ruined fabric of the seven liberal arts." Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., the friend of Otto III., who was schoolmaster (*scholasticus*) at Rheims, was so learned that he was supposed in after times to have sold his soul to the devil in return for knowledge. Education in the tenth and eleventh centuries was entirely in the hands of the secular clergy and the monks. The cathedral schools of Rheims, Chartres, Paris and Laon, were particularly famous, and the monastic schools of Cluny, of Fleury, and of Le Bec in Normandy, where first Lanfranc, and then St Anselm, attracted eager crowds of students by their teaching.

Revival of
Learning
and
Education

In Germany, Bruno's school at Cologne, and the monastic schools of Reichenau and St Gall in Swabia, and of Fulda and Hersfeld in Franconia, with the Saxon nunneries of Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, won special renown as educational and literary centres. Here current events were recorded in chronicles and annals, the lives of the saints were written, and the authors of classical antiquity were studied and imitated. Bruno of Cologne even learnt Greek. Hrotswitha, abbess of Gandersheim, worked up the legends of the saints into Latin comedies in the manner of Terence. Gerbert expounded Virgil, Juvenal and Horace. In Italy the study of Roman law seems never to have been wholly neglected, and Pavia had a school of law as early as the tenth century. It is pleasant, in reading the records of the fierce turmoil of mediæval life, to come upon passages which tell how Bruno of Cologne would retire from the noisy supper-table to the companionship of his treasured books, or how Fulbert of Chartres, the disciple of Gerbert, himself master of all the learning of his time, would, even after he became a bishop, teach his pupils in the chapel garden, or in quiet walks about the cathedral, so that after his death they remembered him as "our Socrates." Teachers such as these formed the great men who led the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Leo IX. and Gregory VII. drew strength from the educational revival no less truly than from the monastic reformation.

In Germany the spirit of moral and ecclesiastical reform found practical expression in educational and missionary activity. The Church worked hand in hand with the State in the extension and consolidation of the kingdom. Under Otto I. bishoprics were founded, for the Danish march at Aarhus, Ripen and Schleswig, and for the Wends

at Oldenburg, Havelberg and Brandenburg. At the end of the tenth century, Adalbert, the Bohemian bishop of Prague, the "Apostle of Prussia," gave his life in an attempt to convert the heathen Slavs.

In Italy the spiritual revival was more mystic in character, and influenced individuals rather than communities. Devout and sensitive men, shocked at the profligacy around them, withdrew into the wilderness, and dwelt as solitaries, or in congregations of hermits, in mountain caves or in wild and lonely places, where they gave themselves up to meditation, and to penitential observances. Such were St Nilo, the Calabrian hermit, whom Otto III. visited in his retreat near Gaeta, and St Romuald of Ravenna, the founder of the hermit Order of the Camaldoli, who tried to win Otto III. for the monastic life. Such, too, was the Tuscan noble, St Giovanni Gualberto, who, in 1039, founded the Order of Vallombrosa, and of whom it was told that the sculptured Christ upon the Cross had bent towards him in approval when he spared his brother's murderer. His legend was a favourite subject with the artists of his native town of Florence, and in the fifteenth century, when the great painter Fra Angelico represented the founders of western monasticism in a fresco in the chapter-house of the Florentine monastery of San Marco, he introduced both St Romuald and St Giovanni Gualberto into the group gathered below the Cross of Christ. This mysticism and enthusiasm, the asceticism of the hermits, their scourgings and penance, their dreams and visions, were not without their effect on the later reform movement. They gave it warmth, and zest, and inspiration. Peter Damiani, the friend of Hildebrand, and one of the leaders of the reform

Mysticism
in Italy

party, was himself a hermit of the Order of Camaldoli. Under his direction, and that of men like-minded, a regular campaign was opened against those "cankers" of the age, simony and clerical marriage. Leo IX. condemned them in a Council at Rome, and again, with great solemnity, in the Council of Rheims in 1049. The treatise on simony, which was written somewhat later by Humbert, an Italian cardinal-bishop, shows the feeling of the reformers on the subject. Humbert does not scruple to compare the king of France, Henry I., to Simon Magus himself, and to accuse all the Emperors, except Henry III., of encouraging simony. He proceeds to denounce lay investiture as the root of the evil, and from this time onwards the attack on the marriage of the clergy and simony widened into a determined attempt to free the Church from State intervention by absolutely prohibiting the grant of spiritual symbols by lay hands. This attempt made a breach between Church and State inevitable, for the prohibition of lay investiture carried with it the refusal of churchmen to do homage to laymen for ecclesiastical fiefs, set the Church altogether apart from the State, and completely severed it from the secular duties and feudal obligations by which it was bound. Thus, by monastic and educational revival, by the ecstatic fervour of mystics and visionaries, by the practical training of ecclesiastical lawyers and statesmen, and by the quickening and deepening of the popular conscience and moral sense, the way was prepared for the Hildebrandine reformation, and for the war of Investiture.

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CHAPTER V

THE EASTERN EMPIRE AND THE SELJUK TURKS [912-1081]

WESTERN Christendom was brought into touch with the Eastern world through "New Rome," or Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, which, from its Thracian headland commanded the Bosphorus, and stood, as it were, on the bridge between Europe and Asia, where the commerce and civilization of two continents met and mingled. The city of Constantinople was renowned throughout Europe for its size, its strength, and its splendour. As the phrase, "See Rome and die," passed into a proverb, so did the "New Rome" become the centre of the northern legend of "Micklegarth," the "great city," the goal of barbarian ambition. At the opening of the tenth century, the Byzantine Empire, of which Constantinople was the capital, lay, a highly centralized, united and civilized state, between the tumultuous, disorderly, half-feudal and half-barbarous nations of the West, the shattered fragments of the Empire of Charles the Great, and the no less troubled and loosely-knit Caliphate of the East, which had reached its highest point of glory in the days of Charles the Great's famous contemporary, Haroun al Raschid. The Eastern Empire included at this time the whole of Asia Minor, with the exception of Cilicia; and, in Europe, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonica, and the Greek peninsula, with a long, narrow strip of territory on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, running up beyond Dyrrachium or

Durazzo. It included also the "Themes" or provinces of "Langobardia" or Apulia and Calabria, the "heel and toe" of Italy, the islands of the Ægean, and the detached theme of Cherson in the Crimea. Venice, too, and the South Italian Republics of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi were under Byzantine overlordship (see p. 35). But the European dominions of the Emperor of Constantinople had been considerably curtailed by the settlement in the Balkan peninsula of the warlike race of the Bulgarians, who in the seventh century had established a strong kingdom between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, while in the ninth century the Saracens conquered the important islands of Sicily, Crete and Cyprus.

Constantine VII.,
Porphyrogenitus,
912-958

In 912, while Conrad the Franconian was still struggling with the unruly factions of Germany, a boy of seven years old, Constantine VII., called Porphyrogenitus (*born in the purple*), peacefully ascended the imperial throne of Constantinople, in the place of his father, Leo VI., "the Wise." Gentle, studious and artistic by nature, Constantine's long minority accustomed him to leave the administration of the Empire to stronger hands. Six years after the death of his uncle, the Emperor-regent Alexander, the grand-admiral Romanus, whose daughter Constantine had married, seized the imperial position, and, in 919, was crowned as joint-Emperor. It was not till 945 that the quarrels of Romanus and his sons brought about their downfall, and set Constantine free to rule as sole Emperor. He had spent the years of his subjection in a peaceful, refined seclusion, devoting himself to painting, music, and literature. He has left books which are still full of interest to historians, "On the Themes," or military provinces, "On the Administration of the Empire," and on Court Ceremonies. He died in

(Co-regent
Emperors—
Alexander
912-913;
Romanus I.
Lecapenus,
919-945)

958, after thirteen years of just and moderate, if somewhat weak, personal government, and was succeeded by his son, Romanus II.

A tempting opportunity for territorial expansion was now offered to the Byzantine Emperors by the divided condition of the Mohammedan East. The military and religious Empire founded in the seventh century by Mohammed and his immediate descendants had broken into three caliphates—the Abbasside caliphate of Bagdad in Asia, the Ommeyad caliphate of Cordova in Spain, and the Fatimite caliphate of Cairo in Egypt. The Abbasside caliphate was further weakened by internal disruption. In the middle of the tenth century the Buhawid (*Bowide*) prince, who had conquered Persia, subdued the caliph of Bagdad, under pretence of delivering him from the tyranny of his own subjects, and established himself as Emir of Emirs (*Amir al Omara*). The Caliphs, once the spiritual and temporal heads of Islam, Popes and Emperors in one, were now the mere tools of their Buhawid emirs, who usurped the whole temporal power, and ruled despotically over Persia and Lower Mesopotamia. Meanwhile the Emirs of Aleppo and Mosul governed North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia as independent sovereigns, while the dynasty of the Ikshides made themselves masters of Southern Syria and Egypt. There were thus four rival Mohammedan States in Asia, where there had formerly been but one strong consolidated power, and the weakness of disunion opened the way to Byzantine ambition. In 961 the great general Nicephorus Phocas won the island of Crete, the refuge of pirates, and took the Cretan Emir prisoner. In 962 he conducted a successful campaign in Cilicia and Northern Syria. When, in 963, Romanus died, Nicephorus Phocas, the victorious and popular com-

Romanus
II,
958-963
State of
Islam

Basil II.,
Bulgarok-
tonos,
963-1045
(Co-regent
Emperor—
Nice-
phorus II.
Phocas,
963-969)

mander, became the guardian of his two little sons, Basil II. and Constantine VIII. He was crowned as joint-Emperor with them, and married their mother, Theophano, the beautiful widow of Romanus. As Emperor, Nicephorus completed the conquest of Cilicia, the island of Cyprus, and a great part of Northern Syria, with Aleppo and Antioch. A born soldier, the son of a race of hardy and warlike Cappadocian landowners, and himself the author of a treatise on military organization, he was the idol of the camp; but at court and in the capital he was dreaded and disliked for the rigour of his justice, his stern rule, and the severe simplicity of his life. He quarrelled with the Patriarch, and offended the clergy. He taxed heavily, but his revenues were spent on the army, and the pomp and show which the Byzantines loved were ruthlessly suppressed. When in 969, after his last glorious campaign in Syria, he returned to Constantinople, his wife, Theophano, who had long since grown weary of her unresponsive husband, conspired against him with her favourite, his own nephew, John Zimisce, a young and distinguished officer. Zimisce had a private grudge against his uncle, who had refused to make him heir to the Empire in the place of Basil II., and he readily yielded to Theophano's persuasions. One winter night in 969 the Emperor awoke to find his murderers forcing the door.

(Co-regent
Emperor—
John I.,
Zimisce,
969-976)

John Zimisce threw him to the ground, and as he cried to God for mercy the assassins stabbed him to death. John Zimisce was now crowned Emperor, and enjoyed the fruits of his crime for seven years. He shut up Theophano in a nunnery, and reigned, like his uncle, in conjunction with Basil and Constantine. A brave and accomplished soldier, he saved the Empire from the serious danger of Russian conquest and occupation. To Russia,

as to France, to Southern Italy, and to England, Viking invasion had come as a sharp but salutary discipline, a consolidating and unifying force. In the ninth century Swedish adventurers, under their valiant leader Rurik and his descendants, had gradually united the scattered Slav tribes of Eastern Europe into a strong Russian kingdom, with its capital at Kiev on the Dnieper. The Russians retained their old love of fighting and adventure, and soon found their way down the Dnieper into the Black Sea, whence they could harry the Byzantine provinces. But the attack of Sviatoslav, King of the Russians, in 970, was made in force from the land side, and was preceded by the conquest of Bulgaria. John Zimiscez returned from Asia Minor to take the field against this new enemy. In two great battles at Presth-lava and Silistria he completely defeated the Russians, whose massed columns of infantry, like the Saxon square at Hastings, could not stand against the combined attack of the heavy cavalry and the bowmen and slingers of the Byzantine army. Blinded by the rain of arrows and stones, and weakened by the charges of the mailed horsemen, they broke their ranks, and were ridden down by the Greeks. After the second battle Sviatoslav was besieged in Silistria, and forced to surrender. Terms of peace were agreed upon, and Russia entered on a period of friendly relations with the Eastern Empire. Commercial intercourse was revived; the Russians were converted to Christianity, and became, as they have remained, members of the Greek or Orthodox Church. Bulgaria accepted the overlordship of Constantinople; the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas in Syria were secured and extended, while in Europe the marriage of Theophano, the sister of the two young Emperors, to the

future Otto II. (see p. 15), cemented the friendship with the West Roman Empire. In 976, in the midst of these successes and triumphs, Zimisce died suddenly, not without suspicion of foul play; and Basil II., now a young man of twenty, became Emperor in his own right, with his younger brother Constantine as his nominal colleague.

Conquest
of
Bulgaria

Basil II., who reigned independently from 976 to 1025, earned the title of "Slayer of the Bulgarians" (*Bulgaroktonos*), from his long struggle with Samuel, the Bulgarian king. Samuel, the founder of a new dynasty, was an able and ambitious ruler, who had quite shaken off the Byzantine suzerainty, and with his Bulgarian and Slav troops menaced the Empire from his capital of Ochrida. The trial of strength between the Bulgarian king and the Byzantine Emperor lasted for thirty-four years, but in 1014 Samuel was forced to own himself defeated, and died broken-hearted.

By 1018 all Bulgaria was incorporated with the Eastern Empire, and the northern Byzantine frontier ran from Belgrade to the mouth of the Danube. Basil next resumed the work of his predecessors in the East, and conquered much territory from the Armenians, an impolitic step, since it weakened the Christian kingdom of Armenia, which acted as a bulwark to the Empire against the Mohammedan powers of the East.

In 1025 Basil II. died, whilst he was preparing for a Sicilian expedition. With him ended the glory of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. He had been a worthy successor of the strong and warlike Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisce, a good soldier, a just, though harsh, ruler, and a pious, if fanatical, son of the Church. He was succeeded by his brother Constantine VIII., an elderly, feeble, self-indulgent man, who died in 1028,

Constantine VIII.,
1025-1028

leaving as his sole heiresses his two middle-aged daughters, Zoe and Theodora. Zoe had been married, when her father was on his deathbed, to Romanus III., who now became the nominal head of the Empire; though Zoe, vain, clever and unscrupulous, kept the real power in her own hands. When Romanus died in 1034 the Empress married Michael the Paphlagonian, a good-looking young courtier, and a successful soldier. On his early death seven years later, Zoe hesitated whether to marry a third husband, or to adopt a son. She decided to adopt her late husband's nephew and namesake, and Michael V. was crowned as joint-Emperor in 1041. In the following year his ingratitude to his benefactress provoked the anger of the mob of Constantinople, and Michael was blinded and thrust into a monastery. Zoe now tried a third marriage with Constantine Monomachus, who reigned as Constantine IX. till 1054, four years after the death of the aged Empress. This period saw the beginning of troubles in the Byzantine Empire: Norman conquests in Southern Italy (see p. 36), rebellions in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, and at home misgovernment and financial maladministration, and the final breach between the Eastern and Western churches. After the death of Constantine IX., Zoe's sister Theodora, who was still vigorous in spite of her seventy years, mounted the imperial throne. The best part of her life had been spent in a convent, and her ascetic virtue contrasted strangely with the levity and worldliness of her sister. She died in 1057, after a brief spell of authority, naming as her successor her own contemporary, Michael Stratoticus.

With the extinction of the Macedonian dynasty the Empire fell into anarchy. Within a year Michael Stratoticus was deposed in favour of the popular Isaac

Zoe and
her
Husbands
Romanus
III.,
Argyrus,
1028-1034

Michael
IV. the
Paphla-
gonian,
1034-1041

Michael
V., 1041-
1042

Constan-
tine IX.,
Mono-
machus,
1042-1054

Theodora,
1054-1057

Michael
VI., Strati-
oticus,
1057

Isaac I.,
Comnenus,
1057-1059
Constantine X.,
Ducas,
1059-1067

Comnenus. He in turn vanished into a monastery, to give place to a Cappadocian noble, Constantine Ducas, who reigned till 1067. Constantine's policy of saving money by disbanding a large part of the army was peculiarly disastrous at a time when the Empire needed all its military strength to meet the most deadly peril which had threatened it for centuries.

The
Coming
of the
Seljuks

The Seljuk Turks, fierce nomads from the steppes beyond the Oxus, swept, in the eleventh century, with irresistible power, over Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor. Zealous converts to the orthodox form of Mohammedanism, they overthrew the Buhawid Emirate of Bagdad, and their leader, Toghrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, became in his turn "defender of the faith" and protector of the helpless Abbasside Caliph, who made him his "Sultan," or temporal viceroy. In 1064 Alp Arslan,

Alp
Arslan,
1063-1072

the nephew and successor of Toghrul Beg, carried his victorious arms to the Byzantine frontier, and took Ani, the ancient Armenian capital. Three years later, in

Michael
VII.,
Ducas,
1067-1078
(Co-regent
Emperor—
Romanus
IV.,
Diogenes,
1068-1071)

1067, the young son of Constantine Ducas became Emperor under the guardianship of his stepfather, Romanus Diogenes. The new Emperor-regent devoted himself to the task of rolling back the tide of Turkish conquest, but, though a brilliant soldier, he was an imprudent general. In the summer of 1071 he found himself, with a reduced and wearied army, faced by the

Battle of
Manzikert,
1071

whole Seljuk force under Alp Arslan at Manzikert, on the Armenian frontier. The battle which followed was a turning-point in Byzantine history. All day long the fight raged, but as fast as the Greek cavalry broke the lines of the Turkish bowmen the ranks were closed up by newcomers, till at last, as evening fell, the Turks succeeded in dividing the imperial army and almost

destroying it. Romanus Diogenes was taken prisoner and led into the presence of the Sultan, who placed his foot on the prostrate Emperor's neck in token of victory, but allowed him to return to Constantinople. Here John Ducas, who had usurped the regency in the absence of Romanus, caused him to be seized and blinded so roughly that he died. The Empire now seemed about to break up altogether. For ten years the imperial title was the prey of any military adventurer who dared to assume it. The legitimate Emperor, Michael VII., was displaced in 1078 by one of these pretenders, Nicephorus Botaniates. He ruled in name rather than in fact for three years of mismanagement and confusion. Then, in 1081, a fresh revolution drove Botaniates into a monastery, and placed Alexius, nephew of Isaac Comnenus, on the imperial throne, which his descendants were to occupy for a century. His accession marks the opening of a somewhat happier and more prosperous epoch in the history of the Eastern Empire.

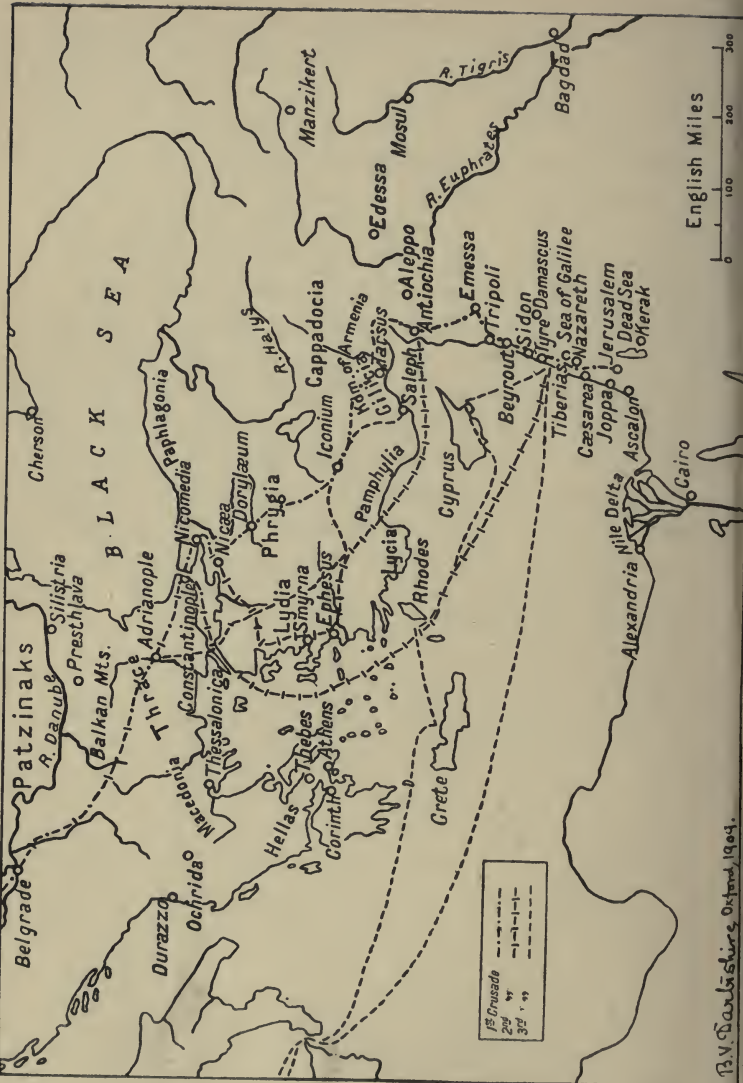
Nicephorus III., Botaniates,
1078-1081

Alexius I., Comnenus,
1081-1118

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EASTERN EMPIRE XI & XII CENTURY



English Miles

13.V. Constantinople, Oct. 1904.

CHAPTER VI

THE WAR OF INVESTITURE [1056-1125]

THE premature death of the Emperor Henry III., <sup>Henry IV.,
1056-1106</sup> which plunged Germany into feudal anarchy, opened to Italy new prospects of liberty and national independence. When Henry III. reformed the Papacy, and set Leo IX. on the papal throne, he was raising up a force which was destined eventually to overwhelm the Empire. In the weakness of Germany under the child-king Henry IV., the Papacy stood forth as the champion of the "freedom of the Church," the immunity of the ecclesiastical power from all secular control. The theory of the "Sovereignty of the Church," the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal power, had long floated before the eyes of the party of reform. It was now to be clearly formulated and put into practice by the inspiring genius, the leader and organizer of that party, Hildebrand, one of the great men of the world's history. Little is certainly known of Hildebrand's early life. Born in Tuscany, he was educated in the monastery of St Mary on the Aventine hill at Rome. Here he came under the influence of reforming ideas, assumed the monastic habit, and, in all probability, took the monastic vows. He left the monastery to act as chaplain to Pope Gregory VI., and after Gregory's deposition (see p. 34) he shared his exile. When Gregory died, Hildebrand withdrew from Rome, but he returned

Early
Career of
Hilde-
brand

in 1049 in the train of Bruno of Toul, the future Leo IX. Henceforth, his fortunes were indissolubly united with those of the reform party in Italy. A true enthusiast, Hildebrand dreamed of making Rome mistress of the world under the successors of St Peter, in a deeper, more spiritual sense than she had ever been under the successors of Augustus. This meant the purification of the Church from all internal corruption, and emancipation from all external authority; the rooting out of simony and clerical marriage, and deliverance from the domination of German kings, Roman nobles, and Norman adventurers. But in the eleventh century, no cause, however spiritual, could be maintained without material support. The Papacy needed land, money and soldiers to establish its supremacy, and when it broke off its connexion with the Empire, it was forced to seek alliances elsewhere, first with the house of Lorraine and Tuscany in northern Italy, and subsequently with its old enemies, the Normans of Apulia and Calabria.

On the sudden death, in 1057, of Pope Victor II., the friend of Henry III., the Roman clergy and people elected as his successor Frederick, abbot of Monte Cassino, the brother of Godfrey of Lorraine. Godfrey had been reconciled to the little king of Germany through the intervention of the Pope, and had been reinstated in his possessions and dignities both in Lorraine and in Tuscany. He was a zealous supporter of ecclesiastical reform, and his brother, the new Pope, Stephen IX., shared his views. It seemed as if the house of Lorraine were about to build up an irresistible power in Italy, when the death of Stephen IX. in 1058 dissolved the formidable combination, and revived the hopes of the enemies of reform. No sooner was Stephen's death known than the old aristo-

cratic Tusculan and Crescentian factions reappeared in Rome, and elected a candidate of their own, Benedict X., to the vacant Papal See. But now were seen the fruits of Hildebrand's policy. Formerly, the only refuge from a "Tusculan" or "Crescentian" Pope had been an "Imperial" Pope. Now the reform party showed itself capable of acting independently. The cardinal-bishops of Rome assembled at Siena under Hildebrand, and, strengthened by the support of Godfrey of Lorraine and the approval of the Empress Agnes, chose Gerhard, the Burgundian bishop of Florence, as Pope. A Synod was then held at Sutri, in which Benedict X. was excommunicated and deposed. Awed by the troops of Godfrey of Lorraine, and bribed by the gold of Hildebrand, the Romans allowed the reformers to enter the city of St. Peter. Benedict X. fled, and Gerhard of Florence was enthroned as Nicholas II.

The election of Nicholas II. meant a victory for Hildebrand's party over the Roman nobility. With Godfrey of Lorraine and Tuscany already their friend, if they could secure the alliance of the Lombard towns of the north and the Norman princes of the south, the reformed Papacy might fairly claim to be the centre of national life in Italy. The short pontificate of Nicholas II. saw the conclusion of both these alliances. The new Pope began by legalizing his somewhat irregular election. In a great Council, held in the Lateran Palace at Rome in 1059, a decree was passed vesting the right of electing the Pope in the cardinal-bishops, assisted by the cardinal-clergy.¹ The ordinary clergy and people might only

¹ The College of Cardinals included seven cardinal-bishops, twenty-eight cardinal-presbyters, two abbots, and twelve cardinal-deacons, with six Palatine deacons. The bishops held the Sees

ratify the choice by their assent, and though the imperial right of confirmation was admitted, it was expressed in the vague phrase "saving due honour and reverence to our beloved son Henry, at present king, and, it is hoped, to be Emperor in the future by the grace of God." The Pope was as a rule to be chosen from the Roman Church, and elected at Rome, but foreigners were eligible for the Papacy, and any place of election was recognized as legal in which the cardinals, clergy, and Catholic laity were gathered together. At this same Council appeared the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragan bishops, the "stiff-necked bulls of Lombardy," to make submission to Rome. In the Lombard towns the reform movement had found a response in the lower classes alone. The nobles and clergy stood aloof, and scornfully called the reformers "Patarini," or "rag-bags." In Milan especially, the proud rival of Rome, the opposition to reform was so violent that it called for the intervention of a papal legate, the famous monk and zealot, Peter Damiani, cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Damiani warmly upheld the cause of the "Patarini," and it was through his efforts that the Lombard prelates were induced to yield and to renounce simony and the clerical marriage which Milan had always claimed as a peculiar privilege.

The
"Patarini"

Even more important than the victory of the reform party in Lombardy was the alliance between the Papacy and the Norman lords of southern Italy, Robert Guiscard, a younger son of Tancred of Hauteville, and his brother-in-law, Richard of Aversa. Robert Guiscard, the "Wise-acre" or "Crafty One," was an ideal hero of mediæval romance. Tall, strong, and graceful, with sparkling eyes lying immediately round Rome. The priests or presbyters, and the deacons, generally took their titles from churches in Rome.

and fair flowing hair and beard, he was skilled in all manly exercises and knightly accomplishments. After many adventures and hardships, he succeeded his half-brother Humphrey as Count of Apulia and Calabria, while Richard of Aversa won Capua from the Lombards. These were the men whom Hildebrand, in defiance of the policy of Leo IX. and Stephen IX., enlisted in the papal cause. By their help Benedict X. was subdued and degraded, and Nicholas II. was not slow to recognize their services. In a Council held at Melfi in 1059, Robert Guiscard took an oath of fealty to the Pope as Duke, "by the grace of God and of St Peter," of Apulia and Calabria, and, "in the future," of Sicily, and swore to pay a yearly tribute for the lands held by him of St Peter, to defend the rights and possessions of the Holy See, and to protect the Pope and promote his canonical election. At the same time Richard was confirmed in the principality of Capua, and the Normans were formally released from the ban of the Church.

The value of the new alliance was seen when, in 1061, on the death of Nicholas II., Hildebrand, now archdeacon of Rome, found himself confronted by the threefold opposition of the Roman nobles, the Lombard anti-reform faction, and the German magnates. It was only the presence of Norman troops in Rome that enabled Hildebrand to place his own candidate, Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, on the papal throne. Anselm, who was consecrated as Alexander II., was elected by the cardinal-bishops without reference to Henry IV. This offended the Germans, while the Lombards were alienated by the papal support of the Patarini. The Romans had already sent the insignia of the patriciate to Henry IV., and had begged him to exercise his rights. Now, in a Council

at Basle, at which the young king was present, a rival Pope was chosen, Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, who is known as Honorius II. After three years of schism and civil war, the Hildebrandine party finally triumphed, and Alexander II. was recognized as the lawful Pope at the Council of Mantua. This result was mainly due to a change of policy in Germany, where Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, an adherent of Alexander II., had usurped the regency of the kingdom. Cadalus died in 1072, and was followed to the grave by Alexander II. in 1073. The moment had come for Hildebrand, so long the power behind the papal throne, to mount that throne himself as Pope Gregory VII.

Gregory
VII. (Hil-
debrand),
1073-1085

On April 22, 1073, while the funeral rites of Alexander II. were being celebrated in the Lateran Church of St Saviour, the assembled multitude raised the cry: "Let Hildebrand be our bishop!" Hildebrand himself tried to check the excitement, but the cardinal Hugh the White, prevented him. "Brothers," he said, addressing the assembly, "you know that from the days of Pope Leo, Hildebrand has exalted the Roman Church, and has given freedom to this city. Wherefore, since we can find no better man, nor one who is his equal for the Roman pontificate, we elect him who has been ordained in our Church, and whom we have known and proved." A great shout went up: "St Peter has elected Pope Gregory!" The people seized the unwilling archdeacon and dragged him to the Church of St Peter ad Vincula, where they enthroned him. "They rushed upon me like madmen," wrote Hildebrand, "and with violent hands forced me into the seat of apostolic government." Irregular and hurried as was the manner of his election, it was thoroughly popular, and Hildebrand accepted it as

a call from heaven. He took the name of Gregory VII., which the people had given him at his election, a name associated with the founder of the papal power, Gregory the Great, and at once assumed the full responsibilities of his position. Only God and the prayers of good men, he wrote, kept him from sinking beneath the weight of care which pressed upon him. So lofty were his aims, so bold were his schemes, that his followers likened him to the eagle that soars above the earth and dares to gaze upon the sun.

All eyes now turned to Rome as the political centre of Italy and the spiritual centre of Western Christendom. In Lombardy the feud between the Patarini and the anti-reform party had revived during the papal schism. A disputed election to the archiepiscopal see of Milan was the signal for an outbreak of civil war, in which the "rag-bags," organized under a knightly leader called Erlembald, were warmly supported by the Pope.

In Tuscany, the death of Godfrey of Lorraine in 1069 had thrown the chief power into the hands of his step-daughter Matilda, the "Great Countess," the beautiful and high-spirited heiress of the Marquis Boniface (see p. 38). The connexion between Lorraine and Italy was not broken, for Matilda had married Godfrey's successor, his son by his first marriage, Godfrey the Hunchbacked, but the hold of the Papacy on Tuscany was strengthened, since both Matilda and her mother Beatrice were religious enthusiasts, and the devoted partisans of Gregory VII. In southern Italy, the alliance with the Papacy had given a religious sanction to the extension of the Norman dominion over schismatic Greeks and infidel Saracens. In 1071 Robert Guiscard took Bari, the last Apulian stronghold of the Eastern Empire, and as early

The
Countess
Matilda of
Tuscany

Extension
of Norman
power in
southern
Italy

as 1061 he and his younger brother Roger began the systematic conquest of Sicily. "I desire," said Robert, "to free the Christians who are sighing under the Saracen yoke. I long to end their slavery, and to avenge the offence to God." In 1066 another Norman adventurer, William the Conqueror, crossed the English Channel, with the papal approval and blessing, to win a kingdom, and to replace the schismatic archbishop Stigand¹ by the orthodox reformer Lanfranc. Both William in England and Roger in Sicily fought under banners consecrated by the Pope. When the wild Viking spirit had been thus subdued, and the swords of the freebooters had been dedicated to the service of the Church, the era of the Crusades and of "militant Christianity" was at hand. The first care, indeed, of Gregory VII., was to secure his temporal and military power in Italy by reclaiming the alienated lands of the Patrimony of St Peter, by forming a papal guard from his vassals, and by receiving the fealty of the Lombard Prince of Benevento and of the Norman Richard of Capua.

Affairs of
Germany

While Italy was thus struggling towards political unity under the strong rule of the reformed Papacy, Germany was a scene of lawlessness and disorder. The death of Pope Victor II. left the young Empress, Agnes of Poitou, sole regent of the German kingdom, where already the nobles were beginning to revolt against the government of a woman and a child. "There was no fear of the law," wrote the biographer of Henry IV., "for law had little authority under a boy-king." The great dukes were either hostile to the royal house or too weak to lend effectual support to the throne, and the prelates were

¹ He had received his archbishop's pall from the anti-pope Honorius II. (Cadalus).

divided amongst themselves, and at feud with the lay nobles. The general discontent came to a head in 1062, when Anno, the powerful archbishop of Cologne, conspired with Count Ekbart of Brunswick and with Otto of Nordheim, the new duke of Bavaria, to seize the person of the twelve-year-old king. A picturesque story tells how, while Henry IV. was at his palace of St Suibert or Kaiserswerth, on an island in the Rhine, he was enticed on board a boat belonging to Archbishop Anno, and carried off to Cologne. In his terror at finding himself kidnapped, the young king plunged into the river, but he was rescued, and flattered and soothed into submission.

The Empress now retired from public life, and the conduct of affairs fell into the hands of the German prelates, led by the archbishop of Cologne, till the middle of 1063, when the kingdom was governed by two ecclesiastical regents, Anno of Cologne, to whom was entrusted the education of the King, and Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between these two great churchmen. Anno, the architect of his own fortunes, a man of stately presence, shrewd, stern, and dignified. Adalbert, the nobly-born courtier, witty and accomplished, but vain, passionate, and extravagant. Yet both were alike in their boundless ambition, and in devotion to the interests of their dioceses. It has been said that Anno wished to make Cologne the Rome of Germany, while Adalbert aimed at making Bremen the Rome of the Scandinavian North. But Adalbert's pride and avarice wrecked his schemes, and brought about his ruin. In 1066 he fell a victim to a conspiracy of the chief nobles and prelates, and was banished from Court. Once more Henry IV. found him-

self almost a captive in the hands of the great feudatories, and once more he was forced to submit to the dictation of Anno of Cologne and Otto of Nordheim. Time worked his deliverance. Anno's influence weakened as he fell into disfavour with Pope Alexander II. on account of simoniacal practices, and in 1070 Otto of Nordheim, accused of plotting against the king, rebelled, and was deprived of his duchy. With his disgrace in 1071, the death of Adalbert of Bremen in 1072, and the final retirement of Anno of Cologne from Court, Henry IV. really began his personal reign. He was now in the full strength of early manhood, tall and handsome, dignified in manner, quick of wit, weighty in speech, brave, active, and warlike. But he had never learnt to curb his passions or discipline his will, and the bitter experiences of his boyhood had made him suspicious, arrogant, and harsh of judgment. Married against his will in 1066 to Bertha, daughter of the Marquis of Turin, he took a violent and unreasonable dislike to his young wife, and would have divorced her had not Peter Damiani, as papal legate, intervened, and brought him to a better mind. He alienated the nobles by his severity, and by giving his confidence to his personal friends and to low-born counsellors. To the general uneasiness and distrust the Saxons added special grievances. Their duchy was left vacant, while the son of their late duke languished in captivity. The king resided constantly in Saxony and took tribute. From the Saxon and Thuringian hill-tops frowned the castles built by Henry to overawe the land, whence Swabian garrisons sallied forth to plunder and oppress the people. Free men were compelled to forced labour; even wood and water, it was said, were taxed, and the free Saxons were being degraded to the position

Personal
Rule of
Henry IV.

The Saxon
Revolt,
1073

of slaves. When the king, who was preparing for an expedition against Poland, failed to listen to their complaints, the Saxons held a mass meeting of nobles and peasants, took up arms under Otto of Nordheim, besieged Henry in the Harzburg, and forced him to escape by night to the Abbey of Hersfeld. All through the autumn and winter of 1073 negotiations and fighting went on side by side. While the Saxons were destroying the castles, which were to them the visible signs of royal tyranny, grave accusations of private vice were brought against the king. He was said to have plotted the murder of the dukes of Swabia and Corinthia, and his deposition was seriously discussed. The great nobles were suspected of intrigues with the rebels, and the rebels themselves actually offered the crown to Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, Henry's brother-in-law. But the loyal burghers of Worms opened their gates to the king and promised to stand by him to the death, and early in 1074 he won over the Saxon magnates to conclude the peace of Gerstungen. The king promised to demolish the remaining castles, to guarantee the Saxon liberties, and to restore Otto of Nordheim to the duchy of Bavaria. Unfortunately, in dismantling the Harzburg, the Saxon peasants went beyond their instructions, pulled down the royal palace, and rifled the tombs of Henry's brother and of his baby son. This act of violence alienated sympathy from the Saxon cause. War was renewed, and on June 9, 1075, the Saxon army was completely defeated with appalling slaughter by the royal troops at Hohenburg, on the river Unstrut in Thuringia.

Battle of
Hohen-
burg 1075

In the following October the rebels surrendered unconditionally. The castles were rebuilt, the insurgent leaders were imprisoned, and Henry remained master of the situa-

tion. Yet his triumph was apparent rather than real. Fresh clouds were already gathering on the horizon, and the thirty-one years of life which remained to the ill-fated king were to be one long tragedy:—a ten years' duel with Gregory VII., a fierce struggle with the Countess Matilda and with his own rebellious son Conrad, and a closing scene of defeat and humiliation at the hands of his youngest and last surviving son Henry.

The Saxon revolt had diverted the attention of Henry IV. from Italian affairs. He had acquiesced in the election of Gregory VII., and had written humbly and submissively to the new Pope. Gregory, too, full of ambitious schemes, and confronted with many practical difficulties, had but little leisure to spare for Germany. Two great ideas now possessed his mind: the purification of the Church by the suppression of simony and clerical marriage, and the extension of the Christian faith by the conquest of the infidel Turks, who were threatening the very existence of the Eastern Empire (see p. 68). But the Pope's appeals to Western Christendom to take up arms in defence of the East fell on deaf ears; his decrees against simony and clerical marriage, with the famous edict of 1075 forbidding all lay investiture, were disregarded. His allies failed him. Erlembald, leader of the Patarini, was killed by his opponents, and Robert Guiscard incurred excommunication by invading Capua and the papal territory of Benevento. Gregory's enemies in Rome even attempted to assassinate him, while Henry IV. openly invested prelates by ring and staff, and refused to abandon his simoniacal counsellors, who had been excommunicated by the Pope. Gregory felt that the time for decisive action had come. He wrote a warning letter to the German king, accompanied by a message urging him,

on pain of excommunication, to amend his ways and dismiss his excommunicated advisers. Furious at this interference, Henry summoned a Council at Worms, in January 1076, in which, after the cardinal Hugh the White, now bitterly hostile to Gregory VII., had made an infamous attack on his character and policy, sentence of deposition was pronounced upon the Pope, as unworthy of his high office. The German bishops renounced their obedience to Gregory, and wrote to "brother Hildebrand" to explain their reasons: his irregular election, his despotic government, and his scandalous life. Even more insulting was the letter in which "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the holy ordinance of God," bade "Hildebrand, no Pope, but a false monk," relinquish the seat of the Apostles to another, who would not cover violence with a cloak of religion, but would teach the wholesome doctrine of St Peter. "I, Henry," ran the conclusion of this haughty challenge, "king by the grace of God, with all our bishops, say to thee, 'Come down, come down.'" The decisions of the Council of Worms were approved by the Lombard bishops and were then sent to Rome. In February 1076, at a great Synod in the Vatican, Roland, a clerk of Parma, delivered the letters, and cried aloud to the Pope, in the name of the King and bishops of Germany, to come down from the chair of St Peter, which he had won by robbery, not by canonical right. Then, turning to the cardinals, he told them that Henry IV. would come to Rome at Whitsuntide to give them a new Pope, "for this man is no Pope, but a ravening wolf." At these daring words Roland would have been cut to pieces, had not Gregory himself stood between him and the indignant Romans. The Pope now excommunicated the German and Lombard bishops, formally excommuni-

Council
of Worms,
1076.

Gregory
VII. sen-
tenced to
deposition

Excom-
munication
and de-
position of
Henry IV.

cated and deposed Henry, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him. After claiming, as the representative of St Peter, the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, Gregory pronounced the terrible sentence: "In the name of Almighty God, I prohibit Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, who has risen with unheard-of arrogance against the Church, from ruling in Germany and Italy. I release all Christians from the obligation of the oaths which they have taken, or may hereafter take, to him; I forbid all men to serve him as king . . . and I bind him with the bonds of anathema."

By this decree Gregory VII. openly proclaimed the supremacy of the Church over all temporal States. If the Pope possessed "the power of the Keys," the right to bind and loose, he could at any moment break the bonds of allegiance, homage, and fealty which held together feudal society, and sever alike the vassal from his lord and the subject from his sovereign. The prohibition of lay investiture had freed the Church from secular control, the power of the Keys placed all secular government under the authority of the Papacy.

Gregory realized that his declaration meant war. He strengthened his military forces in Rome, and opened negotiations with Robert Guiscard and Roger of Sicily, while the Countess Matilda placed her troops unrereservedly at his disposal. The Pope's best hopes, however, lay in the disunion of Germany, where the king's excommunication had revived all the elements of discord. Though sentence of excommunication was pronounced on Gregory VII. by the Bishop of Utrecht, the great nobles, always lukewarm in their loyalty, fell away from the discredited king, the Saxon revolt broke out afresh,

the reforming party in the Church supported the papal cause, and even the bishops began to waver. In the autumn of 1076 the nobles and prelates met, with the Pope's approval, in Council at Tribur on the Rhine, while Henry took up a position at Oppenheim, on the opposite bank. The mediation of Hugh of Cluny, the King's god-father, brought about an agreement. Henry humiliated himself and promised amendment, yet he had to submit to hard conditions. The nobles demanded that he should obtain release from excommunication by the anniversary of his sentence, or forfeit his right to the throne. The Pope was to hold a Council at Augsburg in the following February, and until then the King was to remain at Speier (Spire) without royal state or power. Henry now begged the Pope to receive his submission at Rome, and when Gregory bade him wait for the Augsburg Council, he determined on prompt action. Taking with him his wife and his three-year-old son Conrad, he crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis pass, in spite of the rigour of an unusually severe winter. The queen and her women were dragged over the slippery ice and snow on ox-hides, and the little band safely reached Italy, where the King's partisans eagerly flocked round him. Gregory had retired with Countess Matilda to her castle of Canossa, in the Apennines, and here, on January 21, 1077, Henry appeared to sue for absolution from the relentless Pope. Only after long negotiation and three days of humiliating waiting, in the bitter weather, in the garb of a penitent, was the King, through the intercession of Countess Matilda, admitted to Gregory's presence. Prostrate and in tears at the feet of the Pope, after promising to abide by the papal decision in his quarrel with the German nobles, he received the longed-for absolution. It was an

Council of
Tribur,
1076

Canossa,
Jan. 21,
1077

impressive scene. In the presence of the great Countess and of the saintly Hugh of Cluny, the small fallow Pope, only redeemed from insignificance by the flashing eyes that bespoke his fiery soul, stooped to raise and pardon the royal penitent, the representative of the highest earthly dignity. So dramatic, indeed, was the reconciliation, that the importance of the submission at Canossa has been overrated, and historians have seen in it the crowning triumph of the Papacy. It was, much more truly, merely a link in a long chain of events, a deliberate surrender, whereby Henry won, through a passing mortification, a permanent advantage. He forced the Pope's hand by wringing the absolution from him before the Augsburg Council. He turned the tables on the German nobles, who could no longer plead the papal sanction for their refusal to obey an excommunicated king, and he put Gregory in the wrong by posing as a repentant sinner before a ruthless judge.

The absolution at Canossa drove the German nobles into open revolt. On March 13, 1077, they met at Forchheim, near Bamberg, and, before the papal legates, but without waiting for the Pope's sanction, declared Henry IV. deposed, and elected Rudolf of Swabia in his place. On March 15, Rudolf was proclaimed king, after he had renounced all hereditary claim to the throne for his heirs, and had conceded freedom of election to all bishoprics. But Rudolf's partisans underestimated the strength of the attachment to the old royal house. Henry's Lombard supporters, at first indignant at his submission, now rallied to him, and his release from excommunication, with the election of the anti-king, gave him a formidable party in Germany. When he returned from Italy, troops gathered round him from

Meeting of
Forchheim,
March 13,
1077

Deposition
of Henry
IV.;
Election of
Rudolf
of Swabia

Bavaria, Carinthia, and Bohemia. Even the Swabians supported him against their own duke, the great Rhine cities were on his side, and Rudolf was forced to retire to rebellious Saxony. Two years of civil war followed, while the Pope temporized and vacillated between the rival kings. At last, in 1080, the defeat of Henry's army at Flarchheim, near the Unstrut, encouraged Gregory to declare for Rudolf. He again excommunicated Henry, and deprived him of his German and Italian dominions, definitely claimed the right "to give or take away kingdoms," and threatened all those guilty of lay investiture with excommunication. Henry retaliated by deposing Gregory, excommunicating both Gregory and Rudolf, and setting up an anti-pope, Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, the leader of the royal party in Lombardy. There were now two Popes and two German kings, and open war was renewed between Gregory and Henry, a war in which fortune seemed to have turned against the Papacy. On October 15, 1080, Henry was defeated on the river Elster in Saxony, but Rudolf was mortally wounded in the battle, and his death threw his party into confusion. A new anti-king, Hermann of Luxemburg, was chosen in the following year, and was the nominal leader of the papal party in Germany until 1088. • In the spring of 1081 Henry could venture to leave Germany and march on Rome. Twice, in 1081 and again in 1082, he attacked and beleaguered the city in vain, but in 1083 he effected an entrance and opened negotiations with the Romans. On Palm Sunday, 1084, after the renewal of the sentence of deposition and excommunication on Gregory VII., Wibert of Ravenna was consecrated as Pope Clement III., and on Easter Day he crowned Henry IV. Emperor in St Peter's. Gregory, besieged in the castle of St

Angelo, sent an appeal to Robert Guiscard, who, though reconciled to the Papacy, had hitherto been too much absorbed in his designs upon the Eastern Empire (see chap. x.) to come to the help of the Pope. Now, alarmed at the near approach of the Germans, he took the field with a force of Normans, Lombards, and Sicilian Saracens. Henry, outnumbered, withdrew to the north, and left Rome to its fate. The gates were opened by Robert's friends within the city, and with cries of "Guiscard! Guiscard!" his troops poured over St Peter's bridge and rescued Gregory from the castle of St Angelo. A quarrel, in which a Norman was slain, gave an excuse for a savage revenge. The city was sacked and burned, and thousands of men and women were sold into slavery. Ten years later Rome was still in ruins. The cruelty of the Normans, wrote a contemporary, won more hearts for the Emperor than he could have purchased with a hundred thousand gold pieces. When Robert Guiscard returned to the south, Gregory VII. accompanied him. Less than a year later, on May 25, 1085, the great Pope passed away at Salerno, saying with his last breath:—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." Robert Guiscard did not long survive him. He died at Corfu on July 17th, as he was preparing for an expedition against Constantinople. On his tomb were inscribed the words: "Here lies Guiscard, the terror of the world." (*Hic terror Mundi Guiscardus.*)

Gregory VII.'s last words betray the bitterness that filled his soul at the downfall of his hopes. Yet his was one of those "high failures" which are sometimes worth more than success. He was not a great creative genius, but he put into words what other men could only dumbly feel, he gave form and definition to the vague theories and

The Pope rescued by the Normans under Robert Guiscard

Death of Gregory VII., May 25, 1085

Death of Robert Guiscard, July 17, 1085

aspirations of the party of reform in the Church (see chap. iv.). He saw the world divided and distracted by feudal strife and conflicting beliefs. He tried to give it peace and unity and centralization by making the divinely-instituted Papacy supreme over all human and temporal powers, and thus establishing a spiritual Empire of God upon earth. To this ideal, noble if impracticable, he devoted his life. To him the Pope was the Vicar of Christ, the direct representative of the Apostles, and as such superior to all Emperors and kings. He was ambitious for a cause, not for himself; he was obstinate and unyielding from the very intensity of his faith in the righteousness of his aims; he sought temporal authority only as a means to spiritual influence. His personal charm, and the mixture in his character of shrewd worldly wisdom with religious mysticism, is seen in Peter Damiani's half-reluctant attraction towards him. He called him his "Holy Satan," whose will had ever been to him "a command, evil yet lawful."

After the death of Gregory VII. the prospects of the papal party looked gloomy enough. A year passed before a new Pope was elected, and then the choice fell upon the Abbot of Monte Cassino, an old feeble man, quite unfit to cope with the difficulties of the position which was forced upon him. He was consecrated at Rome as Victor III., under the protection of the Norman troops of the prince of Capua, and died at Monte Cassino in a few months. His successor, Urban II., the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was a Frenchman, a monk of Cluny, and a devoted follower of Gregory VII. He was consecrated in 1088 at Terracina, for the imperialists had regained possession of St Peter's, after a fierce fight with the forces of Countess Matilda. The papalists had now

Urban II.,
1088-1099

once more an able and energetic leader. Gregory VII. was dead, but his ideals lived on, and his cause found champions in Urban II. and the Countess Matilda, "the Deborah of the Papacy." Matilda, whose first husband, a loyal imperialist, Godfrey the Hunchbacked, had died in 1076, married in 1089 the young son of Welf, Duke of Bavaria, one of the chief leaders of the anti-imperial party in Germany. Bavaria and Tuscany were thus united against the Emperor. Germany was a hotbed of sedition and treason. The Normans of Southern Italy, Jordan of Capua, Robert Guiscard's son Roger, the Duke of Apulia, and his uncle "the great Count," Roger of Sicily, were partisans of Urban II. The first seven years of Urban's pontificate were occupied with a tedious struggle between Henry IV. and the Countess Matilda in Lombardy. The Emperor took Mantua in 1091, but in 1092 he was repulsed from Canossa. A heavier blow was to follow. Matilda won over the young Conrad, who had been crowned King of Germany in 1087, to rebel against his father and join his enemies. In 1093 he was crowned King of the Lombards, and town after town of Northern Italy, where the Patarini were still active, declared for him. When Henry heard of his son's revolt his spirit seemed broken, and he was with difficulty restrained from putting an end to his life. To add to his misfortunes, his second wife, the Russian princess Praxedis, accused him openly of the grossest cruelty, and the popular feeling began to turn strongly against him. In 1095, while the Emperor, powerless and heart-sick, dragged out his inactive days in north-east Italy, Urban II. made a kind of triumphal progress through Tuscany, Lombardy, Burgundy, and France. At Piacenza he held a Council, in which the excommunication of the anti-pope was

Revolt of
Conrad,
son of
Henry IV.,
1093

Councils of
Piacenza
and Cler-
mont, 1095

renewed, and ambassadors from the Eastern Emperor appeared, seeking for help against the Turks. At Cremona he received an oath of fealty from King Conrad. At the great November Council of Clermont he stood forth to the world as the preacher of the First Crusade (see chap. x.). In the winter of 1096 he entered Rome, where in 1099 he died. No unworthy successor of the great Gregory VII., Urban II. carried the Hildebrandine principles to their logical conclusion. He absolutely prohibited not only simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture, but the homage of ecclesiastics to laymen. He did not hesitate to excommunicate the king of France (see p. 52) for carrying off Bertrade of Anjou, or to set up the young King Conrad as a rival to his father. With him the projects of Gregory VII. for the rescue of the Holy Land from the Turks took shape and substance in the organization of the crusading movement. The death of Urban II. and the election of Cardinal Rainerius, a rigid Gregorian, as Pope Paschal II., opened the last scene of the tragic drama of Henry IV.'s reign. The anti-pope Clement III. died in 1100, and his three insignificant successors had little influence. Conrad, the young king, also died in 1101, deeply repenting of his rebellion against his father. Henry IV. had won over the Welfs to his side, and his second son Henry had been crowned at Aachen, and had sworn not to interfere in the government of the kingdom during his father's lifetime. But the brighter prospects which seemed to be dawning for the Emperor were soon overshadowed. There could be no lasting peace for him while the unbending Paschal II. sat upon the papal throne, and the great nobles, strengthened by the long civil war, were all-powerful in Germany. His reign ended, as it had begun, with feudal revolt and

Death of
Urban II.,
1099

Revolt of
Henry, son
of Henry
IV., 1104

intrigue. In 1104 the young King Henry put himself at the head of a widespread conspiracy to depose Henry IV. The Pope granted him release from the oath which he had sworn to his father, and in 1105, by a feigned submission, he succeeded in entrapping the Emperor and imprisoning him in the castle of Böckelheim. On December 31, 1105, Henry IV. abdicated at Ingelheim, and a week later his son received the royal insignia at Mainz, and was recognized as king by the magnates. Yet the Emperor still had many friends, especially in the great towns. The Duke of Lorraine and the Bishop of Liège supported him, and he had hopes of aid from France and Flanders. He was at Liège engaged in negotiations with his son when, on August 7th, 1106, after a few days' illness, he peacefully ended his toilsome life. The papal legate refused to allow the body of the excommunicated Emperor to be buried in consecrated earth, and for nearly five years it rested in an unconsecrated chapel. Not till 1111 was the unhappy Henry IV. laid by the side of his father and grandfather in the cathedral church of Speier.

Abdication
and death
of Henry
IV., 1105

In all German history there is no king more worthy of pity than Henry IV., neglected by his guardians in his fatherless childhood, defied by his subjects in his early manhood, betrayed by his sons in his declining years, engaged throughout his life in a hopeless struggle with the forces, irresistible when united, of the reformed Papacy and the feudal aristocracy. Like Gregory VII. he fought for an ideal, the supremacy of the Empire over the Papacy, the restoration of the imperial power of his ancestors in its fulness. It was inevitable that he should fail, for this ideal was alien alike to the religious feeling of the age and to the feudal spirit of independence. Yet he triumphed in defeat. He held the fort of Empire

against all attacks, and it was largely due to his courage and pertinacity that, sixteen years after his death, the war of investiture ended in a "concordat," a compromise, not an unqualified victory for the Papacy.

The settlement of the investiture question lends interest <sup>Henry V.,
1106-1125</sup> to the otherwise dull and monotonous reign of Henry V. He had dissembled while he needed help from the Pope and the German nobles, but no sooner had he won the throne than he showed himself in his true colours—stern, ambitious, and bent on restoring the imperial power. A breach with the Papacy could not long be delayed, since Henry persistently disregarded Paschal II.'s repeated decrees against lay investiture.

In August 1110 Henry marched into Italy, to claim the imperial crown. The Pope could not trust the fickle Romans, and the Normans did not respond to his appeal for help. In his perplexity he sent legates to Sutri to propose to Henry that he should renounce the right of lay investiture and that the clergy in return should surrender all temporalities held of the crown, "duchies, marquisates, counties, . . . rights of coinage, tolls, market-rights, and rights of jurisdiction." Only the Patrimony of St Peter, the Pope's own demesne, was excepted from the renunciation.

On February 12, 1111, Henry V. entered Rome and went in state with the Pope to St Peter's, where Paschal's proposal was publicly read aloud. A wild scene of confusion followed. Prelates and nobles protested against the spoliation of the Church. The suggested compromise was rejected. The King renewed his claim to invest, and imprisoned the Pope and Cardinals, while the Romans rose and fiercely attacked the Germans. After three tumultuous days Henry retired from the city, but he took

Coronation
of Henry
V. as
Emperor,
April 1111

with him the Pope and sixteen cardinals, and would not release them till Paschal had formally granted him the right of investiture. "For the peace and freedom of the Church," said the Pope, "I do what I would not have done to save my own life." On April 13, 1111, Henry was crowned Emperor in St Peter's, and then returned in triumph to Germany. The general feeling of the Church was, however, strongly adverse to the Pope, and in the Lateran Council of 1112 he withdrew his concession to the Emperor and declared his entire sympathy with the principles of Gregory VII. and Urban II. A French synod at Vienne actually excommunicated Henry V., and the sentence was repeated by the papal legate. In Germany, too, Henry's harsh rule had produced disaffection. The Saxons revolted under their new duke, Lothair of Supplinburg, Cologne rose against the Emperor, and his trusted adviser, Adalbert Archbishop of Mainz, joined the insurgents.

Second
Coronation
of Henry
V. at
Rome, 1116

When in 1115 the death of the Countess Matilda recalled Henry to Italy, the Pope once more openly repudiated his grant of the right of investiture. A tumult in Rome soon afterwards drove Paschal from the city, and, on March 25, 1116, the Archbishop of Braga, as papal legate, crowned Henry and his young wife, Matilda of England, in St Peter's. The Pope returned to St Angelo in the last days of 1117, only to die early in the following year.

His successor, Gelasius II., died at Cluny after a troubled reign of less than a year. In 1119 the nobly born Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, became Pope Calixtus II. A secular priest and a statesman, he was destined to end the long investiture struggle. Henry V. had set up an anti-pope, Gregory VIII., the Archbishop

of Braga, but he was not unwilling to treat with Calixtus. A Council was held at Rheims in October 1119 in the presence of the Pope, while the Emperor encamped with an armed force in the neighbourhood. The discussion lasted long, since neither side would concede enough to make an agreement possible, though a decree was passed restricting the prohibition of lay investiture to bishoprics and abbacies. The Council closed with the solemn excommunication of Henry and the anti-pope. Calixtus returned to Rome, and in the following year the unfortunate anti-pope was captured and consigned to a monastery. Peace seemed as far off as ever, but both Pope and Emperor were heartily weary of strife, and negotiations were soon reopened. Terms were made with the Archbishop of Mainz and the Saxon rebels in 1121, and the investiture question was referred to a general Council, to be held by the Pope in Germany. On September 8, 1122, this Council met at Worms. After eight days' deliberation a satisfactory compromise was at last effected. Henry promised to give up investiture by ring and staff on condition that the election of prelates should take place in his presence or in that of his representative. The temporalities were to be conferred by the touch of the royal sceptre, before consecration in Germany, and in the other parts of the Empire within six months after consecration. This settlement, which was confirmed in the Lateran Council of 1123, was not unlike the agreement which Henry I. of England had concluded fifteen years earlier with Archbishop Anselm. In both cases the Church reserved to itself the spiritual supremacy while the State retained the temporal sovereignty. In both cases the compact was followed by a truce rather than by a lasting peace. The strife between Empire and Papacy,

Council of
Worms,
1122
Concordat
of Worms

Church and State, had, indeed, to be fought out to the end, for it was a strife between two irreconcilable principles. It took the feudal form of the investiture struggle in a feudal age. It would revive under other forms in later centuries. Calixtus II. did not long enjoy his triumph. He died in 1124, the year which saw the Emperor's invasion of France in the interests of his father-in-law, Henry I. of England. In 1125 Henry V. also passed away, at Utrecht, and was buried by his father's side in the cathedral of Speier.

Deaths of
Calixtus
II., 1124,
and Henry
IV., 1125

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CHAPTER VII

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS VI. AND LOUIS VII.

[1108-1180]

LOUIS VI., the eldest son of Philip I. by his first wife, Bertha of Holland, was crowned King of France at Orleans on August 3, 1108, five days after the death of his father. This almost unseemly haste was justified by the critical situation of the young king, whose stepmother Bertrade de Montfort was always ready to intrigue against him in favour of her own sons, while the restless and discontented feudatories hoped to find their opportunity in a disputed succession. At no period in the history of France were the nobles more nearly independent of the crown than at the opening of the twelfth century. The king, though he had the advantage of a central position, was, in actual wealth and in the extent of the territory under his rule, inferior to many of his subjects. The greater feudatories were really sovereign princes, firmly rooted in the soil, with hereditary succession and the royal rights of declaring peace and war, coining money, taxing and judging their tenants. They sought to govern as well as reign, to found dynasties, to extend and consolidate their territory, to unify and centralize their authority, to do for each province what the king of France was attempting to do for the nation. Hence the struggle between Monarchy and Aristocracy in general resolved itself, in twelfth-century France, into a

Louis VI.,
Le Gros,
or *Le*
Batailleur,
1108-1137

series of particular struggles between the king and each of his great vassals in turn. As was to be expected, the most deadly of all these contests was waged with the most formidable of the tenants-in-chief of the Crown, the Duke of Normandy, who was also King of England, and was soon to become Count of Anjou and Duke of Aquitaine.

The Great
Fiefs

The great French fiefs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fell into two main groups, northern and southern.

In the north, the royal demesne, the Ile de France and the immediately surrounding districts, was shut in and almost crushed out of existence by its powerful neighbours, Flanders, Blois, Champagne, and, above all, Normandy. Capetian dynasties ruled in Vermandois and Burgundy, and the bishops of Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Châlons and Langres, with the archbishop of Rheims, were the immediate vassals of the king, but his dominions sank into insignificance when compared with the wide and fertile territory of the Norman dukes, the lower Seine valley, the city of Rouen, the towns of Evreux, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux and Coutances, and the port of Dieppe.

Normandy

The Scandinavian settlers in Normandy, the "French Danelaw," had prospered exceedingly under the strong rule of their "pirate-dukes," the Viking Rollo and his descendants. After the treacherous murder by the Flemings of Rollo's son, William Longsword, Louis d'Outre-mer profited by the weakness of the "Little Duke," his boy-successor, Richard the Fearless, to enter Rouen and assert his rights of sovereignty over the duchy. The Normans called Harold Blue-tooth, the Danish king, to their aid, Louis was defeated, taken prisoner, and delivered to his enemy Hugh the Great, who kept him in captivity

for a year. Norman chroniclers and poets have worked up a pretty story of the crafty king beguiling the fatherless Richard to his court at Laon, under the pretext of educating him with his own sons, while he secretly plots to deprive him of his heritage. The Little Duke is saved by his faithful squire Osmond de Centeville, who carries him out of the palace hidden in a truss of hay. Then the Danes come to the rescue, and the treacherous French are crushed in a great battle. The true history of the early dukes of Normandy is mingled with legend and romance, but it is certain that they preserved the memory of their northern origin, and maintained friendly relations with their Scandinavian kinsmen, though, with the quick receptiveness of their race, they assimilated French culture and became civilized and Gallicized. It is also certain that while Rollo and William Longsword supported the Carolingian dynasty, Richard the Fearless threw in his lot with the Capetians, and married the daughter of Hugh the Great. The alliance lasted till the middle of the eleventh century, but the conquest of England made the Norman dukes at once the rivals and the permanent enemies of the kings of France.

Immediately to the south of Normandy lay the Celtic ^{Britanny} province of Brittany, the "French Wales." In the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte Charles the Simple had given Rollo indefinite rights over Brittany, rights which the Normans proceeded to interpret by making themselves masters of the country. Some twenty-five years later, in 958, the Bretons shook off the Norman yoke, and their leader, Alan of the Twisted Beard (*à la Barbe Torte*), became duke of Brittany. North of Normandy stretched the county of Flan- ^{Flanders} ders, in 1108, under its crusading Count, Robert of Jerusalem, a faithful ally of the French monarchy. The

Blois and Cham-
pagne Counts of Blois and Champagne, on the contrary, who ruled to the south and east of the royal demesne, were steadily hostile to the Capetian house, while the "demon-race" of the Counts of Anjou were the constant rivals of Blois and of the Norman dukes, with whom they disputed the possession of the county of Maine.

Anjou

Aquitaine South of the Loire, the old kingdom of Aquitaine had broken up into a number of independent lordships. In the tenth century the title of Duke of Aquitaine gave practically no real authority over the southern provinces. Like the title of King of France, it only won respect when borne by a wealthy and able landed proprietor. The two great rival powers in the south were the Counts of Poitou and the Counts of Toulouse, and sometimes one bore the ducal title and sometimes the other. At last, in 951, Louis d'Outre-mer gave the title to William Tow-head (*Tête d'Etoupes*), Count of Poitou. In spite of the claims to the lordship of the South advanced by the Capetian kings, he founded the great ducal house of Aquitaine, in whose dominions were included the counties of Auvergne, Poitou and the Limousin. He was the first of that famous line of Williams, the tenth of whom left as sole heiress Eleanor, who married successively Louis VII., King of France, and Henry II., King of England. Languedoc was similarly broken into small lordships, but the Counts of Toulouse were the great lords of the extreme south, while the Dukes of Gascony ruled over the country south of the Gironde, and the Counts of Barcelona watched the Spanish frontier. Provence, with the Rhone valley, had been severed from the French kingdom in the ninth century, and formed part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which in 1034 was united to the Empire (see p. 31). These southern provinces were

Poitou and
Toulouse

Languedoc, Gascony, and
Provence

even more independent of the king of France than the North. The Counts of Toulouse did not do homage to the Capetian kings till the twelfth century. The Duke of Aquitaine refused to recognize Louis VI. on his accession. The early Capetians often styled themselves kings of "the Franks and the Aquitanians," as if they ruled over two separate nations, and in truth the Aquitanians were completely different from the men of the North in their speech, the "langue d'oc," which was quite distinct from the northern "langue d'oïl," in their manners, and in their interests.

The tall, stout, pale-faced, dim-eyed man whom his contemporaries called Louis the Fat (*Le Gros, Grossus*), or Louis the "Wideawake" (*L'Eveillé, Non dormiens*), is well known to us from the biography written by his faithful friend and minister, Suger, Abbot of St Denis. Ready of speech, sweet of temper, and, in spite of his unwieldy bulk, of an extraordinary activity of body, Louis was worthy of the affectionate respect in which his people held him. His touch was said to heal the sick, and in the thirteenth century he was still remembered as the "Justiciar" (*Le Justicier*). When he mounted the throne in 1108 he was already trained and disciplined by the experience of life. A childhood overshadowed by his stepmother's dislike had been succeeded by a youth of hardships and dangers. Entrusted from his sixteenth year with the defence of the Vexin, the Norman "march" or frontier, he had early won fame as a soldier, "an incomparable athlete and eminent gladiator," as Suger calls him. In his struggle with the hostile party at Court, he had learnt patience and caution. The peculiar pallor of his complexion was attributed to poison given him by his stepmother, who

Character
and policy
of Louis
VI.

did not scruple to plot against his life in the interests of her own sons. For eight years before his actual accession he had been the real king of France, but a king hampered on every side by restrictions. His father's death gave him undivided authority and left him free to meet his difficulties in his own way. With the coronation of Louis VI. the French monarchy entered definitely upon a new phase of development. Henceforward the kings of France were to pursue an aggressive policy, to advance steadily and boldly, until by conscious and deliberate effort they had built up the strong fabric of royal absolutism which was not shattered until the Great Revolution of the eighteenth century.

In his relations with the feudatories, Louis VI. followed a double policy. He directly repressed the military power of his rebellious vassals, and he weakened their influence in the government of the kingdom by employing his own officials in the work of administration. At first, indeed, he relied to a dangerous extent on his ministers and courtiers, especially on three brothers of the house of Garlande, of whom one, a clerk, Etienne de Garlande, became both Chancellor and Seneschal, and for nearly twenty years was rather the master than the servant of the king. The influence of the queen, Adelaide de Maurienne, and of the holy St Bernard at length overthrew the power of the favourite, and Louis VI. found more trustworthy instruments of government in his cousin, Raoul de Vermandois, to whom he confided the chief military responsibility in the kingdom, and in Suger, the wise and prudent Abbot of St Denis.

The direct reduction of the threatening power of the feudal lords began with the suppression of the petty

tyrants of the royal demesne. Chief among these were Hugue du Puiset, the type of the robber-baron, and Thomas de Marle, a wild beast among men, a monster of savage cruelty. Hugue du Puiset ended his days in the Holy Land. Thomas de Marle died, the wounded captive of the King, refusing to the last to free the merchants languishing in his dungeons. The helpless victims of such men as these might well look to their soldier-king as their protector, but it was only after years of constant fighting and untiring activity that, at the close of his life, Louis VI. succeeded in restoring peace and order to his immediate dominions.

Outside the royal demesne the great feudatories ruled like sovereign princes and treated with the king of France on terms of equality. The battle of Tinchebrai, in 1106, had consigned Robert Curthose, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, to a lifelong imprisonment, and had united England and Normandy under his brother Henry I., "a hero illustrious alike in peace and war." In alliance with his nephew Theobald IV. Count of Blois, he waged almost constant war with France for twenty-five years (1109-1135). Louis VI. fostered the opposition of the Norman vassals to Henry's rule, and supported the claims of William Clito, son of Robert Curthose, to the Norman duchy. Henry and Theobald retaliated by encouraging the rebellious feudatories of the Ile de France to revolt against their king. The English victory at Brémule in 1119 and the death of Baldwin VII. of Flanders, the ally of Louis VI., were neutralized in 1120 by the heavy blow which fell on Henry I., when his only son William the Ætheling was drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship* in which he was crossing to England. The hopes of the partisans of William Clito revived, and his cause was

warmly taken up by the King of France and the Count of Anjou. But Henry I. diverted the troops of Louis VI. from Normandy by inducing his son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V., to invade France from the east. The French levies "covered the earth like clouds of grasshoppers," says Suger, and the Germans retreated before them, while Henry I. crushed the Norman rebellion without fear of French interference. In 1127 the assassination of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, the successor of Baldwin VII., enabled Louis VI. to make a final effort on behalf of William Clito by investing him with the vacant fief. But Clito died in the following year from the effects of a wound, and in 1129 the reconciliation of Anjou to England was sealed by the marriage of the widowed Empress Matilda, the daughter and heiress of Henry I., to Geoffrey the Fair, son of the Angevin count, Fulk V. The future looked dark for France when the death of Henry I. in 1135 plunged England into civil war, and gave Louis VI. a breathing-space. Two years later, in 1137, an unexpected turn of fortune doubled the royal demesne and opened a dazzling prospect to the French monarchy. William X., Duke of Aquitaine, died on pilgrimage, and, in accordance with his last wishes, his daughter Eleanor, who inherited his vast possessions, was betrothed to Louis, the eldest surviving son of the king of France. In July 1137 the young prince set out for the south with a splendid retinue, to conclude the marriage which was to have such far-reaching consequences. Less than a month after his departure, on August 1, 1137, Louis le Gros ended his strenuous and restless life at Paris. To the last he was a fighter, and his eager spirit chafed against the infirmities of his body. "Had I but had knowledge when I was young, had I but strength

Death of
Louis VI.,
1137

now that I am old," he would say with a sigh, "I should have subdued empires!"

Louis VI. died clothed in a monastic habit and surrounded by bishops and abbots. The Church, which thus consoled him in death, had throughout his life been his chief ally in the ceaseless struggle with the forces of feudalism. The Church supplied him with money and with soldiers. The village priests led out their parishioners to fight the robber-barons of the royal demesne, and a regular crusade was preached against Thomas de Marle by the papal legate. From the Church came the ministers and officials on whom Louis VI. relied in the work of government, while the direct relations between the king and many of the great prelates gave him a pretext for intervention in distant fiefs. If Louis le Gros gained much from the Church, he gave much in return:—lands, charters and privileges. Yet he always maintained a position of supremacy in ecclesiastical matters: he would be master both of Church and State. The Church courts were forced to recognize the superiority of the king's court; the king gave permission to elect bishops and abbots, and by the bold assertion of his rights he even incurred the anger of St Bernard and the party of reform. With the Papacy, also, Louis VI.'s relations were friendly. The Popes, since their breach with the Empire, had gradually drifted into a closer connexion with France. More than one fugitive Pope had taken refuge in Louis VI.'s dominions, and it was largely due to French support that in the schism of 1130 (see p. 123) Innocent II. triumphed over his rival Anacletus.

Louis VII., who was only sixteen when he mounted the throne, has suffered from comparison with his great minister Suger, his great rival, Henry II. of England,

Louis VII.,
Le Jeune,
1137-1180

and his great son, Philip Augustus. A chronicler describes him as "fairly intelligent, but pious and soft." With him, as with the English king Stephen, his defect lay in being "mild and soft and good," when the qualities which were needed in a king were strength and decision. Fortunately for France, what was lacking in Louis was supplied by his faithful adviser, Suger, the abbot of St Denis, the typical statesman-ecclesiastic of the twelfth century. A spare, sickly little man, of mean aspect and lowly birth, Suger won the confidence of the king by his eloquence and tact, his knowledge of men and affairs, his administrative and financial ability and his constant vigilance and activity, and was the true ruler of the kingdom till his death in 1151.

The first years of the young king's reign were occupied with a quarrel with Pope Innocent II. over the election to the archbishopric of Bourges, and with a struggle against the old enemy of the royal house, Theobald IV. of Champagne. Louis invaded Champagne and took Vitry, but through the intervention of St Bernard a peace was patched up in 1144. In the capture of Vitry a church to which hundreds of innocent persons had fled for refuge, had been burnt, and this sacrilege seems to have weighed on the king's mind and to have confirmed his resolution to take the cross. In 1146 France and Germany were stirred by St Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade. At Whitsuntide 1147 Louis VII. received the banner of St Denis from the Pope's hands at Paris, and in June he and Queen Eleanor started for Palestine by the land route. Of their ill-fated expedition the story will be told elsewhere (see chapter x.). In the absence of the king Suger governed France prudently, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Rheims and the Seneschal, Raoul

The
Second
Crusade,
1146-1149

de Vermandois. He suppressed an attempt of the King's brother, Robert of Dreux, to seize the crown, and Louis VII. returned in 1149 to find his dominions prosperous and at peace.

Suger, the "father of his country," died early in 1151.

It was perhaps owing to the loss of his guidance that in the following year Louis VII. committed the fatal error of divorcing his queen, on the plea that their union was within the forbidden degrees of relationship. He had

Divorce of
Queen
Eleanor,
1152

drifted apart from his wife during the crusade and she had given him no male heir to the throne, but the separation had disastrous consequences, for almost immediately Eleanor married Henry Plantagenet, Duke of

Marriage
of Eleanor
to Henry
of Anjou,
1152

Normandy and Count of Anjou, son of Geoffrey of Anjou and of the Empress Matilda, and grandson of Henry I. of

England. In 1154 Henry succeeded Stephen on the English throne, and became, without question, the most powerful prince in Europe. Henceforward the relations

with the Anglo-Angevin power were the chief concern of Louis VII. In 1158, Margaret, his baby-daughter by his

second wife Constance of Castile, was betrothed to the three-year-old son of Henry II. and Eleanor, and in 1160

the marriage was celebrated, and the Norman Vexin was handed over to England as the little bride's dowry.

Meantime, Henry II. was pressing Eleanor's claims to overlordship in Southern France, where only the personal

assistance of Louis VII. saved his brother-in-law, the Count of Toulouse, from complete defeat, while in the

North, English influence was used to detach the great feudatories from their allegiance to the French king.

But a few years later the tide of fortune turned in favour of France. The quarrel between Henry II. and Becket,

Archbishop of Canterbury, enabled Louis VII., already

Birth of
Philip
Augustus,
1165

the protector of the fugitive Pope Alexander III., to give shelter to the exiled English prelate, and to make his profit out of the difficulties of his rival. In 1165, too, his third wife, Adela of Champagne, daughter of his former enemy Theobald IV., gave birth to a son, the "God-given" (*Dieudonné*) Philip Augustus. Contemporary chroniclers describe the joy which spread throughout France when the news of the birth of the heir to the throne was known. Bells pealed, the churches echoed with songs of thanksgiving, and the streets of Paris blazed with torches and wax lights. The Welsh historian, Gerald de Barry, then a student at Paris, tells how he saw two old women with tapers in their hands running madly along the street, and how, in answer to his questions, they cried out that God had given them a king, "a right royal heir," through whom shame and misfortune should one day befall the English king.

War was declared between France and England in 1167, and continued intermittently till 1172. The negotiations between Henry II. and Becket dragged slowly on, for though Louis VII. consistently supported the archbishop, the Pope, Alexander III., afraid of driving the powerful English king into the arms of the imperial party and the anti-pope, pursued a cautious and hesitating policy. At length, in 1170, Becket was allowed to return to England, but the murder of the archbishop, which followed at the close of the year, put Henry II. entirely in the wrong, and greatly strengthened the hands of his enemies. In 1173 Louis VII. was able to strike another blow at England by supporting Henry's rebellious sons in their revolt against their father. The faithfulness of Henry's English ministers, his personal promptitude and energy and

the incapacity of his opponents, alone enabled him to hold his own against the dangerous coalition of the young princes and their mother Eleanor, the chief feudatories of France and England, and the kings of Scotland and France. As it was, the Earls of Chester and Leicester and the King of Scots were taken prisoners, the rebels were everywhere defeated, Louis VII. was forced to abandon the siege of Rouen, and in 1174 peace was concluded. The last six years of the life of Louis VII. were uneventful. A definitive peace was made with England in 1177 by the intervention of the Pope. In 1179 the young Philip fell dangerously ill, and Louis made a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb at Canterbury to pray for his son's restoration to health. The prince recovered, and legend soon told how St. Thomas had appeared and had declared that he had chosen Philip to be the avenger of his death and the despoiler of his murderers. When on All Saints' Day (November 1) 1179 Philip was crowned and anointed joint-king at Rheims, in the presence of a great assembly of nobles and ecclesiastics, his father, the actual king, was absent from the ceremony. He had been struck down by paralysis, and in less than a year, in the autumn of 1180, he died, and Philip II. reigned in his stead.

Coronation
of Philip
Augustus,
1179

Though Louis VII. cannot lay claim to greatness, his reign saw a considerable advance in the power of the French monarchy. He intervened in the affairs of southern France, married his sister to the Count of Toulouse, and himself took as his second wife a daughter of the King of Castile. He had relations with Auvergne and with Burgundy, and his alliance with the Church gave him both moral prestige and national influence. Under Louis VI. and Louis VII. may be traced the

Rise of the
Communes

beginning of that great movement of municipal development which covered France with free self-governing *communes* and privileged towns, the *villes neuves* of the North, the *bastides* of the southern provinces. The towns of southern France, like the Lombard communes, early rose to independence. They won charters and rights of self-government from the king, granting them such privileges as the election of their magistrates, the collection of their taxes, or the control over their militia. Of these charters Louis VI. issued not a few, and Louis VII. followed his example, while the minister Suger is said to have been the first to found a *ville neuve* or *bastide*, a privileged town to which settlers were attracted by the offer of exceptional advantages. If Louis VI. and his son were not the originators of the communal movement, they were patrons of the trading classes and protectors of the weak and oppressed. Louis VII., in particular, founded many communes and *villes neuves*, and his reign marked the alliance of the king with the people and the Church against the overbearing and tyrannical feudal nobles. Like his great contemporary Henry II. of England, he relied on the middle class in his struggle with the baronage, and raised up "new men" (*novi homines*), often of lowly origin, to help in the work of government and to act as a check on the judicial and administrative power of the aristocracy.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RENAISSANCE

THE monastic and educational reforms of the eleventh century were but the prelude to that great revival of religion and learning, that "wonderful deepening and broadening of the stream of human culture," which has been called the "twelfth-century Renaissance." The new life first made itself felt in a movement of monastic expansion and reorganization in which Cluny, fallen from her early purity, had to yield to younger rivals. The last years of the eleventh century and the opening of the twelfth century were marked by the foundation of many new religious Orders, offshoots from the reformed Cluniac Benedictinism, but distinguished from the original congregation by special individual characteristics.

Monastic
Revival

The Order of Grandmont (1073-1076) preserved the Cluniac congregational idea of affiliation or federation (see p. 56), but followed no fixed system. The Order might possess neither land nor churches, nor any animals, "except bees." The monks lived on alms, or, like the later Mendicant Friars, begged their daily bread. About 1084 St Bruno, a German, founded the Carthusian Order, which had its first home in a rocky mountain valley near Grenoble in Dauphiné. Bruno retained the congregational idea, but he tried to unite it with the idea of the hermit life. The Carthusians were communities of solitaries. They had common buildings and a common rule, but each

monk had his separate cell, where he worked, ate and slept, and lived in almost perpetual silence, a life of prayer and meditation. A third Order, founded at Fontevrault by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel, combined religious houses for men and women in one organization, over which, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, a woman presided, as abbess. A similar idea is found in the one English Order, founded by Gilbert of Sempringham in the first half of the twelfth century, a period which also saw the institution of the Order of the Trappists. More important than all in its influence on society was the great Cistercian Order. In 1098 Robert, a monk of Molême, founded the abbey of Cîteaux near Dijon, for the strict and literal observance of the Benedictine rule. Under the masterly direction of the second abbot, the Englishman Stephen, or Harding, the monastery became the centre of a widespread religious Order. In 1119 the Pope sanctioned the "Charter of Charity" (*Carta Caritatis*), the constitution which Stephen had devised for Cîteaux and its branches. The congregational idea was maintained: all the houses of the Order were affiliated, directly or indirectly, to the central abbey, and were subject to supervision and visitation; but the absolute power of the chief abbot was limited by the introduction of an aristocratic element. The abbots of the first four daughter-houses of the Order, La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115), and Morimond (1115) were empowered in case of need to admonish the Abbot of Cîteaux, and to depose him in a General Chapter. The Cistercians carried the old Benedictine principles to excess. They introduced asceticism even into the sacred rites of worship. Their churches were bare and plain, their vestments of linen or fustian, their holy vessels of

The
Cistercian
Order

silver, their crosses of wood. Stained-glass windows, pictures and images were prohibited, and the divine services were celebrated with the utmost simplicity. Their monasteries also were severe in style, and situated in remote valleys, forests or marshy places, far from all civilization. They wore garments of undyed wool, woven from the fleeces of their own sheep. Hence they were called "white" or "grey monks," in contradistinction to the Black Benedictines. As an early satirist of the Order unkindly hints, they suggested those false prophets in sheep's clothing, who within were ravening wolves. Living thus, withdrawn from the world, in hardship and self-mortification, the Cistercians seemed to be concerned with the salvation of their own souls rather than with the regeneration of humanity. Yet perhaps no monastic body has done more for the material welfare and social development of Christendom than the Cistercian Order. They, even more than the Benedictines, were the "first settlers," the "pioneers" of the waste places of Western Europe. They were the founders of the great wool trade, the sheep farmers of the early Middle Ages. Noble and peasant, clad in the same rude dress, worked side by side in clearing and cultivating the land, draining marshes, tending flocks and herds, and, in the words of a twelfth-century writer "turning thickets into cornfields, and osier-beds into vineyards." The Order spread with amazing rapidity, among all classes, and in all the countries of Europe. As early as 1115 St Bernard went forth from Cîteaux to found the daughter-house of Clairvaux. There were soon two thousand Cistercian monasteries and nunneries in existence, each with some five or six dependent "cells" or "granges." Before the first half of the twelfth century was at an end,

William of Malmesbury, an English Benedictine, could write:—"The Cistercian Order . . . is now both believed and asserted to be the surest road to heaven. The Cistercian monks at the present day are a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent."

The
Regular
Canons or
Austin
Canons

Another Order, the Regular Canons or Austin Canons, was instituted to introduce a stricter discipline into the chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches.¹ The Austin Canons, called after St Augustine of Hippo, formed a link between the monks proper, or regular clergy, and the non-monastic or secular clergy. They were clerks who led the life of monks, who were bound by a rule, and took the threefold monastic vow. Before long communities or congregations of the Order were established: the Regular Canons were organized in religious houses governed by abbots. The two most famous abbeys of Canons were St Victor at Paris and Prémontré near Laon, which was founded in the twelfth century by the German St Norbert, the "new apostle" of the Order. Norbert saw in a vision the site of his famous abbey, the "pré montré" (*pratium monstratum*: *the field* "shown or revealed"), a lonely marsh in a wild forest. Here he planted his white-robed "Order of clerks," who combined the pastoral care of souls, the "parish work" of the secular clergy, with the personal asceticism and self-denial of the monk. When the Emperor Lothair made Norbert Archbishop of Magdeburg, he founded a Premonstratensian house in his

St Norbert
and the
Premon-
straten-
sians

¹ The name of "chapter" was given to the body of clerks attached to the church of the cathedral, where there was a bishop's seat (*cathedra*), or to the "colleges" of priests who officiated in towns where there was no cathedral.

cathedral city, which became a centre for mission-work among the Slavs.

The whole spirit of the reformed Benedictinism, its mystic fervour, its passionate zeal, its fanatical self-mortification, found expression in St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the typical monk of the best days of monasticism, "a man to be held in undying remembrance, the mirror of honest conversation." The events of the first half of the twelfth century group themselves round St Bernard as about a natural centre. Born in 1091, in the midst of the investiture controversy, he died in 1153, at the opening of the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. It was he who ended the papal schism of 1130, and won general recognition for Innocent II. The Pope Eugenius III., a Cistercian monk, was his pupil and friend. He preached the Second Crusade and induced the Emperor Conrad III. to take the cross. He was the chief founder of the Order of the Templars, and their rule was to a great extent his work. Though he was ardent in the cause of religious and moral reform, he was always the champion of orthodoxy and the determined opponent of innovations in doctrine, and of heresy of every kind.

St Bernard was a Burgundian of noble birth, the son of a brave and chivalrous father, a knight of Fontaines near Dijon, and of a devout and tender mother. Fragile in body and sensitive in spirit, Bernard early turned from the turmoil of the world to the repose of a religious life. His brothers, his kinsmen and his friends, moved by his exhortations, followed him to the monastery of Cîteaux, and women hid their husbands and sons, lest they should become converted to monasticism by the persuasive words of the fiery young preacher. At Cîteaux Bernard threw himself eagerly into the life of

St Bernard
of Clair-
vaux,
1091-1153

labour and worship and carried abstinence and self-denial even beyond the strict requirements of the rule. When in 1115 a new community was started, he became the abbot of the daughter-house, the rude building in a lonely valley which was destined to grow into the great monastery of Clairvaux. The abbot's cell, in an angle between the stairs and the roof, was so low that a man could scarcely stand upright in it; his bed was of planks, with logs for pillows, his seat was roughly hewn out of the wall. From this humble retreat Bernard went forth to dictate to Popes and Emperors, and to stir the whole of Western Europe by the force of his eloquence and the charm of his personality. Miracles were soon attributed to him: he was supposed to have the power of healing the sick and of casting out devils; his preaching, it was said, could arouse the sleeping and might almost quicken the dead. Something of the secret of his influence may be gathered from his own writings, treatises, sermons and letters, and from the stories told of him by his biographers. In these he shows himself vehement and yet gentle, inspired and poetic, yet shrewd and racy; rhetorical and fanciful, yet weighty and serious. He reduced his body to a shadow by austerities, and so detached himself from the world of sense that he could drink oil for water without noticing the difference. Yet he was a friend to animals and a lover of nature, and could write to a pupil:—"You will find more in woods than in books. Trees and stones will teach you what you could never learn from masters." Inflexible even to cruelty in his treatment of heretics, he was nevertheless the protector of the persecuted Jews. But with all these seeming inconsistencies he remained the single-minded and devoted son of the Church which canonized him after his death.

He was the embodiment of the orthodox religious spirit of the age, and a great modern historian (Giesebrecht) has traced his influence to his gift for expressing the thoughts that lay, more or less consciously, in the minds of all his contemporaries.

The three great events in which St Bernard's public activity was chiefly seen were the papal schism of 1130, the struggle with the "philosophical heretic" Abélard, and the Second Crusade. Six years after the failure of the unfortunate expedition to the Holy Land, three years after the death of his friend Suger, Abbot of St Denis, the Abbot of Clairvaux passed away, raising his "dove-like eyes" to heaven. "He was," wrote the chronicler Otto of Freisingen, "venerable in life and manners, skilled in the knowledge of letters, renowned for signs and wonders."

Side by side with this quickening of the orthodox religious life went a development of the spirit of free enquiry and speculation, which led to heresy and revolt against the old traditional beliefs. In the middle of the eleventh century Berengar, the schoolmaster (*scholasticus*) of the cathedral church of Tours, had questioned the accepted doctrine of the Eucharist, and had been confuted by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and forced to recant. Somewhat later the bold thinker Roscelin, the "herald of the Renaissance," attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, and was answered by St Anselm, who taught that belief must come before understanding (*credo, ut intelligam*). Berengar and Roscelin were the precursors of the far greater Abélard, a restless, many-sided, brilliant genius, the typical child of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

Scholastic
free-
thought

Peter Abélard, the eldest son of a noble Breton family, Abélard

was possessed from his childhood by a burning zeal for knowledge which led him to give up all else in its pursuit. He has been called "the knight-errant of dialectic," or logic, the favourite subject of mediæval study. "I scoured the provinces," he wrote of himself, "hastening wherever I heard that the study of this art (logic) flourished, in order to argue and dispute." He worked under the most renowned teachers of the day, Roscelin, William of Champeaux, the logician of the cathedral school of Paris, and Anselm, the theologian of Laon. Everywhere he came as a disturbing element, to show himself wiser than his masters and to expose the weak points in their systems of philosophy. His own school on the Mont Ste Geneviève at Paris was crowded with eager students, and the fame of his lectures drew scholars from all parts of civilized Europe. When a romantic and unhappy passion for his pupil and future wife Heloisa drove him from Paris, he became a monk at St Denis, yet he continued to dispute and lecture, till in 1121 the Council of Soissons condemned his opinions as unorthodox. In 1122 Abbot Suger permitted him to retire from St Denis to a solitary place at Quincey, near Nogent in Champagne, where he built himself a little oratory of reeds and thatch, and dedicated it to the "Paraclete," the "Comforter." Even here students thronged around him, and the lonely oratory was soon the centre of a cluster of rude huts and cabins. After a short experience of this novel kind of hermit life, Abélard was appointed Abbot of St Gildas in his native Brittany. Here, amidst savage and unruly monks, in a wild and desolate country, he dragged out several miserable years, until he succeeded in escaping from his uncongenial surroundings and resuming his lectures in Paris. To

this period apparently belong many of the logical and philosophical works which have made him famous. He tried to steer a middle course between the extreme views of conflicting schools of philosophy, but he alarmed the orthodox party by his daring methods of thought. He was not afraid to question: he would not accept conclusions until they had been tested by reason. "By doubting," he wrote, "we are led to enquire: by enquiry we perceive the truth." This fearless trust in human reason as a guide to truth brought upon him the enmity of St Bernard, the champion of unquestioning faith and of submission to the authority of the Church. Condemned by the Council of Sens and by Pope Innocent II., Abélard found a refuge in the Abbey of Cluny. "Renouncing the tumult of schools and lectures, he chose for himself a lasting dwelling-place." In 1142 he ended his chequered career in a Cluniac priory at Châlons. He was buried at the Paraclete, his former oratory, now transformed into a nunnery, under the rule of Heloisa. For the moment St Bernard and the orthodox party had triumphed, but the final victory was destined to fall to the supporters of free thought and rational enquiry. The devout monk Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, could write of Abélard that he was "the servant of Christ and truly Christ's philosopher." His pupils remembered him as "an illustrious teacher, admired of all men." When in 1148, at the Council of Rheims, St Bernard tried to procure the condemnation for heresy of another liberal philosopher, Gilbert de la Porrée, the learned Bishop of Poitiers, the cardinals present at the Council opposed him, and Gilbert was allowed to return in peace to his diocese. In the next generation, Peter the Lombard, Abélard's disciple, was made Bishop of Paris, and his

Gilbert de
la Porrée

“Sentences” (*Sententiæ*) became the standard text-book of mediæval theology.

Theologi-
cal and
moral
Reformers
and
Heretics

Berengar, Roscelin and Abélard were scholars who criticized theology from the standpoint of philosophy. There were other twelfth-century reformers who sought to purify the Church from within, while others, again, attacked the dogmas of Christianity, and aimed at replacing the ancient faith by a new religion. Among Christian reformers the most famous were the *Vaudois*, Waldenses, or “Poor Men of Lyons,” the followers of Peter Valdo, a Lyons merchant who devoted himself to a life of poverty, wandered about the country preaching the Gospel, and caused portions of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue. Excommunicated as heretics by Pope Lucius III., the Waldenses found sympathizers in Burgundy and Dauphiné, and soon spread into Lorraine, Provence, Italy and Spain. Like the later Protestants they desired to restore the primitive simplicity of the Catholic Church, rejected the ordination of priests, the worship of saints, the belief in purgatory and the doctrine of transubstantiation, and laid stress on the reading of Scripture, on prayer and on preaching.

The
Vaudois or
Waldenses

The
“Cathari”

Far more dangerous were the heretics who dared to question the truth of Christianity itself. From the beginning of the eleventh century, the growth of heretical opinions can be traced in Northern France, and under Robert the Pious men were burnt at the stake for their religion. It is difficult to discover the origin or to define the beliefs of these early heretics, the *Cathari* as they are often called, but they seem to have had much in common with the Albigenses of the thirteenth century. The *Cathari* held that the world was governed by two principles, one good and one evil, and they regarded the

whole material universe as the work of the devil, the father of evil. Hence they condemned all bodily pleasures, worldly cares and family ties, and the "perfect" Cathari were celibates and ascetics. These were the priests and leaders of the sect, who preached to the "believers," or ordinary members, and administered the *consolamentum* (consolation), a sort of baptism, conferred by the laying on of hands. The "Cathari" did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Humanity of Christ. They did not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and their activity in denouncing the laxity of the orthodox clergy and in spreading the new teaching was felt to be a serious menace to the influence of Catholicism in France. During the first half of the twelfth century, also, Provence and Languedoc were roused by the preaching of Peter de Bruis and his disciple Henry of Lausanne, who had wandered from Burgundy and Switzerland to Maine and Aquitaine, declaiming everywhere against the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Though St Bernard visited Toulouse in person, to undo the harm done by "the cunning serpent," Henry of Lausanne, heretical opinions spread rapidly, and the "Petrobrussians" and "Henricians" prepared the way for the "Albigenses" of the southern provinces.

Peter de
Bruis and
Henry of
Lausanne

AUTHORITIES

CHURCH : St Anselm.
MORISON : St Bernard.

CHAPTER IX

GERMANY AND ITALY UNDER LOTHAIR II. AND CONRAD III. [1125-1152]

Lothair II.,
1125-1137

ON St Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1125, the princes of Germany assembled at Mainz to elect a king in the place of Henry V., who had left no child to succeed him. Forty electors, chosen from the four "nations" of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia and Saxony, selected three candidates, Frederick Duke of Swabia, Lothair Duke of Saxony, and Leopold Marquis of Austria. Frederick was the nephew of Henry V., the son of his sister Agnes and of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia. He was in the prime of life, brave, generous and popular. He had inherited Henry V.'s private property and had been named by him as his successor, and he was connected by marriage with the powerful Welfs of Bavaria. Since, however, he represented the imperial traditions of the Salian dynasty, the enemies of that dynasty, the feudal party and the papal party, led by Adalbert Archbishop of Mainz, combined to secure the election of Lothair of Saxony, who had grown old in opposition to Henry V. Though Lothair is often called a "king of the priests," his accession was in truth a triumph for the party of feudal reaction. The elective character of the German monarchy had been emphasized and the right to make and unmake kings had been successfully asserted by the great feudatories. "The proclamation of

the elective monarchy gave the future into the hands of the princes."

Frederick of Swabia acquiesced in his defeat, but his refusal to give up some of Henry V.'s estates soon brought upon him the ban of the Empire and led to civil war. In 1127 Conrad of Franconia, Frederick's younger brother, was proclaimed as anti-king, and in defiance of the Pope's sentence of excommunication, went down into Italy and received the iron crown of the Lombards from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan.

In Italy, meanwhile, Roger of Sicily, son of the great Count Roger, had taken advantage of the death without direct heirs of William Duke of Apulia, Robert Guiscard's grandson (see Table IV.), to make himself master of the Apulian duchy. The Pope, Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus II., vainly attempted to prevent the union of Sicily and Southern Italy under one ruler. In 1128 he unwillingly consented to invest Roger with Apulia and Calabria, only reserving Benevento for the Holy See, and stipulating for the independence of Capua. When Honorius II. died in 1130, the Papacy became once more the prey of aristocratic factions. The noble house of the Frangipani, the leaders of the imperial party in Rome, with a minority of the cardinals chose the cardinal-deacon Gregory of St Angelo to be Pope Innocent II., while on the same day the papal party elected the cardinal-priest Pierleone, the son of a wealthy and influential converted Jew, as Pope Anacletus II. As in the days of Henry III. the Papacy was divided and the rival Popes bid for the favour of the German king. Anacletus obtained possession of the city of Rome, yet though Innocent was forced to fly to Pisa, he was accepted as rightful Pope in France, England and Spain. The monastic Orders were

Roger of Sicily

Papal Schism of 1130

on his side, and, above all, he had the sanction of the two great leaders of religious thought, St Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians, and St Bernard, the founder of the Abbey of Clairvaux (see Chap.VIII.). After some hesitation, Lothair also declared for him, and Anacletus had to fall back on an alliance with Roger of Sicily, whom he rewarded with the title of King. In 1132 Lothair crossed the Alps. Innocent II. joined him in Italy, and together they entered Rome, supported by the Pisan and Genoese fleets.

Lothair II.
crowned
Emperor
by Inno-
cent II.,
1133

On June 4, 1133, Innocent II. crowned Lothair Emperor in the Lateran, since Anacletus held St Peter's and the castle of St Angelo. On June 8th the Pope confirmed the Concordat of Worms and invested Lothair and his son-in-law, Henry of Bavaria, with the vast estates of the Countess Matilda, in return for a yearly rent. The great Countess had given her property to the Holy See in her lifetime, but she also seems to have recognized Henry V. as her heir, and on her death he took possession of her lands without opposition or protest from the Pope. Now, by accepting investiture from Innocent II., Lothair acknowledged the papal right to the Matildine inheritance, and prepared endless difficulties for his successors. For the time, however, he had greatly strengthened his position in Northern Italy, and he returned to Germany to receive the submission of the Hohenstaufen brothers, Frederick of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia, to give peace to his kingdom and to extend German influence to the east and north. In later days Innocent II. caused a picture to be painted in which Lothair was represented as doing homage to the Pope and receiving the imperial crown from his hand. In reality, in 1134 the Pope was too weak to stand alone, and when the Emperor

Frederick
of Swabia
and Conrad
of Fran-
conia

withdrew from Rome, he took refuge once more in Pisa. In 1136 he induced Lothair to intervene in the affairs of Southern Italy. With the assistance of German troops Roger was driven out of the peninsula, while Rainulf Count of Alife received a grant of the duchy of Apulia, and Robert of Capua was confirmed in his principality. But Pope and Emperor quarrelled over Rainulf's investiture, and Lothair returned to Germany, to sicken of Italian fever and die on December 3, 1137, in a poor cottage in the Tyrol. His epitaph recorded that he was "a man ever faithful in Christ, true, steadfast, peaceable, and a dauntless warrior." "Had he not been prevented by death," wrote the chronicler Otto of Freisingen, "his courage and perseverance would have restored the imperial crown to its former dignity."

Death of
Lothair II.,
Dec. 3,
1137

On his death-bed Lothair II. delivered the royal insignia to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, the Welf Duke of Bavaria, whom in 1127 he had married to his only daughter and heiress, Gertrude of Supplinburg. To this union of the Saxon and Bavarian duchies Lothair had mainly owed his successful establishment on the throne of Germany. Henry the Proud had become Marquis of Tuscany since the death of the great Countess, and everything seemed to mark him out as Lothair's successor. But his very power alarmed the Church party, who feared to find in him a master and a tyrant. The papal legate and the Archbishop of Trier (Treves) made overtures to Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and he was hurriedly chosen king by an assembly in which neither Saxony nor Bavaria was represented. With the struggle between Conrad III. and Henry the Proud began the historic feud of Welf and Waiblingen, "Guelf and Ghibeline," which widened from a dynastic quarrel into the irreconcilable antagonism

Henry the
Proud and
the alli-
ance of
Lothair II.
with the
Welfs

Election of
Conrad
III., 1138

between the Papacy, represented by the Welfs, and the Hohenstaufen monarchs, on whose ancestral lands lay the village of Waiblingen. At first, however, the Pope and the Church supported the Hohenstaufen. Though Henry resigned the royal insignia to Conrad, there could be no peace with the proud duke who boasted that his dominions stretched "from sea to sea," from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. In 1138 Henry was deprived of his duchies. Saxony was given to the able margrave of the North March, Albert the Bear, and Bavaria to Conrad's half-brother, Leopold of Austria. The Welfs drove Albert out of Saxony, but in 1139 Henry the Proud died prematurely, leaving his claims to a ten-year-old son, Henry "the Lion." In the following year Conrad defeated the Welf forces at Weinsberg,¹ and in 1142 a treaty was concluded whereby Henry the Lion recovered the Saxon duchy. The duchy of Bavaria, vacant since the death of Leopold of Austria in 1141, was granted in 1143 to Leopold's brother Henry, who had married Gertrude, the mother of Henry the Lion. Two years later, private ambitions and jealousies were forgotten in the enthusiasm roused by St Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade (see Chap. X.). Conrad III. took the cross in 1146. In 1147, after the solemn election and coronation of his young son Henry as joint-king of Germany, he started for the Holy Land. With him went his nephew, Frederick of Swabia, and a great company of German nobles, while the Saxons and the North-German princes, amongst them Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear, turned their arms against the heathen Slavs of the north-eastern frontier, and organized a crusade on European soil which resulted

¹ It is at this battle that the cries "Hie Welf," "Hie Waiblingen" are, probably erroneously, said to have been first raised.

in the conversion of Pomerania and the eastward extension of the German power. Conrad III. returned from Syria in 1149 to find Count Welf, uncle of Henry the Lion, in open revolt. In 1150 the young king, who had won fame by defeating the Welfs in a pitched battle, died suddenly. His brother was a child of six years old, Henry the Lion was renewing his claims on Bavaria, and the future of Germany looked dark and uncertain, when in February 1152, in the midst of his preparations for an expedition to Italy, Conrad breathed his last at Bamberg, naming as his successor his brave and experienced nephew, Frederick, Duke of Swabia.

The fifteen years of the reign of Conrad III., for Germany years of "much sadness and the tumult of many wars," were for Italy also a time of discord and civil strife. The commanding figures of Popes and Emperors, which in the eleventh century occupy almost the whole stage of history, fall into the background in the first half of the twelfth century, and interest centres in St Bernard, the inspired monk, in Abélard and Arnold of Brescia, the scholastic and political reformers, in the rising liberties of the Lombard communes, and in the growth of the Sicilian monarchy under Roger I., the statesman-king.¹

Affairs of
Italy

The papal schism was ended by the mediation of St Bernard in 1139, and all the princes of Europe recognized Innocent II. as Pope except Roger of Sicily, who had reconquered Southern Italy since Lothair's death. Innocent tried to subdue him by force of arms, but, like Robert Guiscard before him, Roger succeeded in taking the Pope prisoner, and while he treated him with the utmost respect, he wrung from him a confirmation of his title to Sicily,

¹ He is sometimes called Roger II., and "the Great Count" is reckoned as Roger I.

Roger I.
acknowledged as
King of
Sicily

Apulia and Capua. Henceforward Roger styled himself "King of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia and of the principality of Capua." Yet he held his kingdom of the Pope, not of the Emperor, and he acknowledged the papal overlordship by a yearly tribute. Thus the kingdom of Sicily was definitely established, and Roger could devote himself to the internal administration and the external expansion of his dominions. He was a true Norman, energetic and self-willed, resolute and ambitious. A born administrator and a subtle politician, he had the grasp of detail and the capacity for taking pains which often characterize great practical statesmen. He towered over the crowd of officials who carried out his decrees, a commanding figure, stern and self-contained, slow to decide, but prompt to act. In his dealings with the varied races under his rule he showed a wise tolerance. Greeks, Arabs, Normans, and Englishmen were alike employed in the work of government, which was carried on by means of a highly organized administrative system. Mohammedan infidels and Greek schismatics practised their religion side by side with orthodox Latin Catholics. As a lawgiver Roger borrowed from Roman law, yet kept what was good in the customs of his own people. His official documents were drawn up in Latin, Greek and Arabic, his coins bore Arabic inscriptions, he patronized Arab and Greek writers and men of science, and the architecture of Sicily still bears traces of Byzantine and Saracen influence. Nor was his energy confined to his Italian provinces. Malta was made subject to Sicily, and the commercial routes between East and West were secured by the Sicilian conquests in Northern Africa. In Europe Roger held Conrad III. in check by his intrigues with the Welf party, while he took advantage

of the Second Crusade to invade the Byzantine Empire. Thebes and Corinth were sacked, and the Emperor Manuel Comnenus was forced in self-defence to ally himself with Germany. When Roger I. died in 1154, the kingdom of Sicily ranked among the great powers of the Western world. While the Normans were thus building up a strong monarchical power in Southern Italy, the north of the peninsula saw a political development of another kind, the growth of municipal liberty and of independent city states. Northern Italy seems formed by nature to be a land of cities. Between the mountain-walls of the Alps and the Apennines the great plain of Lombardy, watered by the river Po and its tributaries, sweeps down to the Adriatic Sea. The passes which are the gates into Italy from the outside world are set in the mountain barrier, and cities have sprung up where the roads from these defiles converged, or at the passage of rivers, or on the sea-coast of Adriatic or Mediterranean. The dwellers in the plain, too, from early days clustered together in close-packed groups, on rising ground, lifted above the malarious vapours of the marshy flats, and still the traveller in Northern and Central Italy comes upon these half-forgotten towns, often mere villages in size, yet each with its crown of towers, its walls and gates, its public buildings and churches, its own peculiar history and traditions. The mediæval roads from France into Italy crossed the Mont Cenis and Mont Genève to Susa and Turin, or the Great and Little St Bernard to Aosta. They met at Pavia on the Ticino, the political capital of the Gothic and Lombard kings and of their Frank and German successors. Immediately to the north of Pavia lay its rival Milan, at the point of con-

Rise of the
Lombard
Communes

vergence of the roads from a group of central Alpine passes and defiles, the St Gotthard, the Splügen, and the valleys, which led from Burgundy and southern Germany into the lovely country of the Italian Lakes. Milan was the Rome of the North, the ancient capital of the Roman Emperors, the later ecclesiastical centre of Northern Italy, the city of St Ambrose, as Rome was the city of St Peter. South of Pavia, Piacenza gathered up the roads from the west, and held the passage of the Po at the head of the wedge of marsh which ran inland from the Adriatic, and made the river difficult to cross in its lower waters. Far to the east, Verona commanded the Adige and the junction of the eastern road with the road from the Tyrol which crossed the Brenner Pass. Another road from the Brenner ran to Venice, "Queen of the Adriatic," while on the western Mediterranean shore coast roads led southwards from Genoa to Pisa and Rome.

The tenth century saw Northern Italy a prey to the raids of Saracen pirates and of the Magyar hordes who in 924 sacked Pavia. The cities, in self-defence, surrounded themselves with walls, and trained their inhabitants in warlike exercises. In the break-up of the Empire of Charles the Great, the bishops of Lombardy gradually replaced the feudal counts and margraves as rulers of the cities. In the eleventh century the citizens began to free themselves from the yoke of the bishops and to become independent "communes" with a well-organized municipal government, and rights and privileges guaranteed by Imperial charters. At the head of the city-state were the "consuls," elective officers generally chosen annually, varying in number in the different cities. They acted with the advice and approval

of the Council "di Credenza," and two other assemblies, the Senate or General Council, representing the free citizens, and the "Parlamento," the general gathering of the burgesses, summoned by the city bell on great occasions. The non-military class of free tradesmen also formed guilds or trade associations, and the military class of nobles who lived in the cities, had their own associations and their fortified houses and towers. By the early years of the eleventh century the Lombard cities were well established in self-government and independence, and were beginning to use their new strength in rivalry with one another. When Henry II. came down into Italy in 1013 (see p. 27) Pavia and Milan were already rivals. Pavia rebelled against Conrad II. (see p. 29) and Milan supported him. Then, when Milan revolted under Archbishop Aribert, Pavia went over to the Emperor, and remained to the end the faithful supporter of the imperial cause. During the investiture struggle the cities sided either with Pope or Emperor, while the development of the reform-party of the Patarini divided them within themselves (see p. 74). The Patarini took up the papal cause; the Lombard bishops and nobles, on the whole, tended to favour the Emperor. About this time, too, began the open strife of city against city, and the struggle between the cities and the nobles of the country districts. There were six wars between Pavia and Milan in a hundred and thirty-seven years (1013-1150). Early in the eleventh century Milan quarrelled with Lodi, and razed it to the ground, and scattered its inhabitants among six neighbouring villages. The years from 1117 to 1127 were shadowed by the fierce struggle between Milan and Como, which has been compared to the ten years' Trojan War.

The beautiful shores of the Lake of Como were the scene of endless fighting and bloodshed before, in 1127, Como too submitted to Milan, the "hammer of her neighbours" (*Malleus Conterminorum*). Meanwhile the cities had gradually absorbed the smaller nobles, and forced them to spend at least a part of the year within their walls. When Otto of Freisingen, the uncle of the Emperor Frederick I., wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, he could declare that almost all the Lombard nobles, except the Marquis of Montferrat, owned the supremacy of the cities. There was thus in Italy a sort of civic nobility, with estates and castles in the country, and the nobles seem to have mixed freely with the citizens proper, so that Otto of Freisingen noted with surprise that the Lombards did not disdain to admit those young artisans to the honour of knighthood whom other nations excluded "like the plague" from the more honourable and liberal callings.

The cities of Tuscany, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and their neighbours, won independence in much the same way as the Lombard communes, if somewhat more slowly. The rival coast-towns of Pisa and Genoa, enriched and stimulated by the crusading movement (see Chap. X.), early rose to power and importance, while Venice, proudly aloof among the lagoons of the Adriatic, turned her face to the East, and built up her Empire of the sea.

Rome

At Rome, impatience of papal and aristocratic rule led to a civic revolution, and the establishment of a republican form of government. In 1143 the Romans, incensed at the Pope's refusal to deliver up to their vengeance the rival town of Tivoli, shook off the papal yoke, freed themselves from the despotism of the great noble families,

seized the Capitol and restored the ancient Senate. Innocent II. died in the midst of the tumult; of his three immediate successors, one, Celestine II., only lived for a few troubled months, another, Lucius II., was mortally wounded in besieging the Capitol, and the third, the pupil of St Bernard, Eugenius III., was forced to fly from Rome. The new hopes and dreams of the Roman citizens found expression in the teaching of the "political heretic," Arnold of Brescia, the eloquent and devoted disciple of Abélard. Excommunicated and exiled from his native Brescia, where he had supported the citizens against the bishop, Arnold went to Paris, and when Abélard retired from the school on the Mont Ste Geneviève, he for a while took his place. Driven from Paris also by the hatred of the orthodox party, he sought a refuge in Switzerland. He was then reconciled with the Church and returned to Italy in time to become the leader of the reform movement in Rome. He taught that the Church ought to return to her primitive poverty and that the Pope should abandon his temporal dominion, and confine himself to spiritual and ecclesiastical duties. St Bernard, too, had deplored the wealth and corruption of the Church, and sighed for the days "when the Apostles cast their nets to catch, not gold or silver, but souls." But St Bernard believed in the supremacy of the Papacy over all temporal powers; he warned the Romans that Rome without the Pope was like a body without a head, and he denounced Arnold of Brescia as "the armour-bearer of the Goliath Abélard," a man "whose speech was honey, but whose teaching was poison."

Arnold of
Brescia,
"the
armour-
bearer of
Abélard"

Both the Pope and the Roman Senate appealed to Conrad III. for support. The "Senate and People of Rome" urged him to hasten to their aid with imperial

power. The city, they said, was at his command, and he might dwell in Rome, the capital of the world, and rule over the whole of Italy and the German Empire. These tempting offers fell on deaf ears. When at last Conrad III. made ready to go down into Italy and claim the imperial crown, it was rather as the friend of the Pope than as the ally of the Roman republic, and when death prevented the realization of his schemes, his policy was carried on with greater vigour and decision by his successor, Frederick Barbarossa.

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CHAPTER X

THE COMNENI AND THE TWO FIRST CRUSADES

[1081-1192]

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, whom a successful rebellion had placed on the imperial throne of Constantinople in 1081, was at the time of his accession a short, stout young man of insignificant appearance, but of considerable force of character. Quick, subtle, and highly educated, he needed all his strength of will and intellect to meet the difficult situation in which he was placed. The Byzantine court was teeming with intrigue, the Seljuk Turks had seized Nicæa in Asia Minor, and were established within a hundred miles of Constantinople, while the Normans of Southern Italy were threatening the western provinces of the Empire. In 1071, the year of the battle of Manzikert (see p. 68), Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke of Apulia, had taken Bari, the last stronghold of the Eastern Empire in the south of Italy. He regarded himself as the successor of the Byzantine Emperor in the Italian provinces; his daughter was betrothed to a prince of the imperial house. Naturally enough, he dreamt of a further extension of his power, and even of seating himself on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars, as, in 1066, another Norman duke, William the Conqueror, had made himself King of England. In 1081 the weakness of the Empire gave him the opportunity he sought. A Norman army crossed the

Alexius I.,
Comnenus,
1081-1118

Norman
Invasion
of the
Byzantine
Empire
Battle of
Dyrrach-
ium, 1081

Straits of Otranto, and Guiscard won a great victory over the Greeks before Dyrrachium or Durazzo, the important seaport which was the key to the Byzantine Empire on its western frontier. The "Varangians," or Imperial bodyguard of mercenaries, Russian, English and Scandinavian, made a gallant stand on a mound by the sea, much as, in 1066, Harold's men had held out on the hill of Senlac, till they were overpowered by the Norman archers and cavalry, and Alexius himself had to fly from the field. Durazzo fell into Guiscard's hands, success followed success, and the way to Constantinople seemed open, when he was recalled to Italy by the crisis in the affairs of the Papacy (see p. 88). His son Bohemond carried on the Eastern campaign with much ability for some time, and Alexius, constantly defeated in pitched battles, was forced to fall back on a policy of intrigue, and of petty harassing attacks. In 1083 the allied Greek and Venetian fleets retook Durazzo, Alexius managed to raise the siege of Larissa, and Bohemond returned to Italy to seek reinforcements. In 1085 the death of Robert Guiscard relieved the Eastern Empire from all immediate danger of a Norman conquest.

Wars with
the
Patzinaks,
Slavs, and
Seljuk
Turks

Malek
Shah,
1072-1092

The next ten years of the reign of Alexius were occupied with struggles with the Patzinaks and Serbs, the unruly tribes of the Balkan peninsula, and with the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor. The Sultan Alp Arslan (see p. 68) had been succeeded in 1072 by his eldest son, Malek Shah, one of the greatest rulers of the eleventh century, the model of a Mohammedan sovereign. For twenty years he governed his people as a despot indeed, but a just and beneficent despot, in concert with his Vizir or minister Nizam-el-mulk, an enlightened statesman and a patron of art, literature and science. Jerusalem, the Holy City,

and Antioch, the capital of Syria, were taken by the Turks, and Malek Shah could give thanks to God for permitting him to reign from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. On the death of the great Sultan, the "Master of the World," civil war broke out among his descendants and his Empire was weakened and divided by internal dissensions. The fervour of religious zeal, the sanctification of military service in the cause of God, which had made the Mohammedan armies irresistible, were now transferred to the Christians of Western Europe. The third anniversary of the death of Malek Shah, November 18, 1095, saw the opening of the Council of Clermont in Auvergne, in which Pope Urban II. initiated the crusading movement and gave form and reality to that idea of a Holy War for the recovery of Jerusalem which had long floated dimly before the eyes of devout churchmen and Catholic statesmen. Urban II. made his appeal to a vast multitude, assembled outside the walls of Clermont. He dwelt on the shame and danger of leaving the holy places in the hands of the infidel, and urged his hearers to lay aside their private quarrels and to turn their warlike energy into a better channel by going forth to fight the enemies of the Cross. As he ceased speaking a great cry was heard: "God wills it: God wills it" (*Deus vult: Deus vult*). "This," said the Pope, "is the voice of God. Let these words, *Deus vult*, be your war-cry in the day of battle." The people crowded to receive the red crosses, of cloth or silk, which, worn on the shoulder, back, or breast, marked them as Crusaders, and to take the vow which bound them to follow the "way of the Holy Sepulchre." Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, was appointed papal legate, to lead the host "like another Moses," and as the news of the great

Council of
Clermont,
1095

The First
Crusade
preached
by Urban
II.

enterprise spread abroad, the enthusiasm became general. Even in far-off England a chronicler could describe the "mickle stirring of the people." "It was," wrote a French monk, "the work, not of man, but of God."

Urban's eloquence met, indeed, with a ready response. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had familiarized Western Christendom with the East, while the conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity in the eleventh century had opened up a land route to Syria, along which pilgrims flocked in ever-increasing numbers, until the advance of the Turks and the capture of Jerusalem threw new difficulties in their path and turned peaceful devotees into armed warriors. Yet the Crusaders continued to regard themselves as "God's pilgrims" (*peregrini Dei*), and a contemporary chronicler calls the First Crusade a "happy pilgrimage." The blending of religious purpose with the gratification of the fighting instinct was peculiarly acceptable, also, to an age which was both fiercely warlike and fervently devout. Before the middle of the eleventh century an attempt had been made, under the influence of the Church, to check the growing ferocity of society by the formulation of the Truce or Peace of God, by which hostilities were suspended on the great ecclesiastical festivals, and every week, during the days of Christ's Passion and Resurrection, from Thursday night to Monday morning. The Church Councils supported the movement, and at Clermont the Pope enforced the Truce of God in connexion with the preaching of the Crusade. But whereas the Truce caused private wars to cease temporarily, the Holy War afforded a permanent outlet for the military spirit, and gave peace to Europe by turning the weapons of the combatants against a common infidel foe.

The
Truce of
God

The First Crusade, though organized and directed by the Pope, was inspired by a real impulse of popular religious feeling. The excitement ran like wildfire through Western Europe. Peasants yoked their oxen to their farm-carts and went forth with their wives and their little ones and all their scanty household store, in simple faith, seeking Jerusalem. Some fanatics took a goose, others a goat, as their guide, "saying that these were possessed by the Holy Spirit." In northern France Peter the Hermit, a pilgrim returned from the Holy Land, preached the Crusade with such extraordinary success that he has become the hero of legend and romance, and later historians have seen in him the chief instigator of the Holy War. Barefooted and clothed in a rude monastic habit, he rode on a mule from village to village and town to town, speaking to the people with a fiery vehemence which won thousands to take the cross at his bidding. In March 1096 the first band of Crusaders started for the Holy Land under Walter de Poissy and his nephew Walter the Penniless (*Walterus Sinehabere* or *Sansaveir*). Peter the Hermit followed with a great and disorderly host, and after him came bands of Germans whose passage through the towns of Lorraine and southern Germany was marked by terrible massacres of the Jews, the enemies of Christ. While many of these undisciplined troops of Crusaders were scattered or destroyed by the Hungarians, Bohemians and Bulgarians whom they robbed and insulted as they passed through their territory, Peter the Hermit, after some fighting, led his men to Constantinople, where he joined forces with Walter the Penniless. Alexius Comnenus viewed with anxiety the approach of this horde of fanatical adventurers. He at first advised Peter to wait in Constan-

Peter the
Hermit

tinople till the arrival of the main crusading body, but when the Hermit's followers began plundering and burning, and stripping lead from the roofs of the churches, the Emperor hastily shipped them all across the Bosphorus. Here, in the absence of Peter at Constantinople, the Turks fell on the hapless pilgrims, and slew them almost to a man. Meanwhile, the more orderly and regular armies of the chivalry of Western Europe were marching on Constantinople in four main divisions. First came the Germans under Godfrey of Bouillon or Boulogne, Duke of Lower Lorraine, son of Eustace II, Count of Boulogne and grandson through his mother of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lorraine. With him were his brothers Baldwin and Eustace. They traversed Hungary and reached Constantinople in safety, hearing on the way that Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, brother of the King of France, who had started independently on the Crusade, had been taken prisoner by the governor of Durazzo, and handed over by him to Alexius Comnenus. Though Alexius probably did not deserve all the accusations of treachery and perfidy which the Crusaders afterwards heaped upon him, he doubtless intended to turn the crusading movement to his own advantage. He was resolved that all the lands won back from the Turks which had once formed part of the Eastern Empire should be restored to him, and he determined from the outset to bind the crusading leaders to himself by the close feudal tie of homage. After some misunderstanding and even fighting, Godfrey of Boulogne was induced to take the required oath, and to transport his troops to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, before the approach of the second army of Crusaders, the South Italian Normans, under the Emperor's old enemy Bohe-

The
Leaders of
the Main
Host

mond and his kinsman Tancred. Bohemond was besieging Amalfi with his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily, when news was brought to him that an innumerable company of Frankish warriors were on their way to the Holy Sepulchre. "Straightway," writes a contemporary, "moved by the Holy Spirit, he ordered his costly cloak to be cut up and made into crosses. Then there eagerly flocked unto him the greater part of the knights who were engaged in the siege, so that Roger the Count remained almost alone." Alexius won Bohemond to take the oath of homage by lavish gifts and promises. He had more difficulty with the leader of the third army, Raymond of St Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who, with Adhémar Bishop of Le Puy and the southern French Crusaders marched over the Dalmatian mountains, and crossed the Balkan Peninsula in the spring of 1097. Raymond refused to do homage to Alexius, or to serve any lord save Christ, and it was only after much persuasion that he consented to take a modified oath of fealty to the Emperor. Meanwhile the fourth army, of northern Frenchmen, had wintered in Italy. Robert Count of Flanders, one of the leaders, impatient of delay, pressed on in advance, but the main force, under Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, only arrived at Constantinople in May 1097. All these princes received gifts from the Emperor and took the oath of homage, while Alexius, in return, promised to take the cross himself, to protect the Crusaders and to support them with troops. By the summer the whole crusading host had assembled before Nicæa in Asia Minor, one of the chief cities of the sultanate of Roum or Iconium, which was now a practically independent state under

Siege of
Nicæa,
May 1097

Kilij Arslan, a prince of the house of Seljuk. On June 19th Nicæa capitulated to the Greeks, and the Franks found themselves outwitted. Alexius had negotiated secretly with the inhabitants, and just when the Crusaders were hoping to storm the city they saw the imperial standard floating from the walls. They now started for Syria, and after defeating the Turks at Dorylæum, and struggling in the summer heat through an arid mountainous country to Iconium, they reached Antioch on October 21st and encamped before the city, which was strongly fortified and held by a Turkish garrison. The Crusaders blockaded the city, but its great gates and towered walls defied their feeble siege engines, and they were constantly harassed by the attacks of the Turks from without and by the sallies of the garrison from within. Though ships from Genoa and from England brought reinforcements, the crusading leaders were divided among themselves, the native Syrians and Armenians could not be relied on for supplies, and in the summer of 1098 news came that a great host under Kerboga, the Emir of Mosul, was approaching from the east to the relief of Antioch. At this crisis a Turk called Firouz or Pyrrhus, who guarded three of the towers on the wall, offered to betray the city to Bohemond. After wringing a promise from the other princes that Antioch should belong to him if he succeeded in taking it, Bohemond led a small band of his men to the ramparts by night. They scaled the walls by means of a rope-ladder, were admitted to the towers, and opened a gate to their companions. When morning broke Bohemond's standard was seen flying from a height within the city. A general attack followed, the Crusaders swarmed in through the gates which were left unguarded, and Antioch was won. Yet

Battle of
Dory-
læum, July
1, 1097

Siege of
Antioch,
Oct. 1097
to June
1098

the Turks still held out in the citadel, the strong fortress to the south of the city, and the very day after the Crusaders' victory, the vanguard of Kerboga's army appeared before the walls and the besiegers were in their turn besieged by the Turks. Some of the leading Crusaders now lost heart, let themselves down from the ramparts by ropes and fled from the city. "Wherefore, to their undying shame, they were called 'ropedancers.'" Amongst these deserters was Stephen Count of Blois, the brother-in-law of Robert of Normandy. Soon pestilence and famine began to do their deadly work among those who remained, until the besieged were glad to eat the flesh of horses and asses, and to cook the leaves of trees and the hides of animals, to stay their hunger. It was just when the courage of the Crusaders was at its lowest ebb that a seeming revelation from heaven revived their drooping spirits. St Andrew appeared to a Provençal priest called Peter Bartholomew, and told him that the Lance with which the centurion pierced Christ's side was buried in one of the churches of Antioch. After a long day's digging on the spot indicated, as the light began to fail, the Lance was uncovered. "When as yet only the tip appeared above the ground, I kissed it," wrote a Provençal chronicler who was present at the scene. The "Invention" or "Finding" of the Holy Lance gave the Crusaders the stimulus and enthusiasm which they needed, and roused them to further effort. On June 28, 1098, the whole army issued forth from the city, bearing the "Lord's Lance" as a standard, and utterly routed Kerboga's troops. The citadel surrendered shortly afterwards, and the victory of the soldiers of the Cross was complete. The feeling that God was on the side of the Franks, the sense of awe and mystery, and of spiritual forces fighting for

Battle of
Antioch,
Defeat of
Kerboga,
June 28,
1098

the crusading cause, is clearly seen in the contemporary records of the battle of Antioch. "There came forth from the mountains," writes one chronicler, "a countless host, having white horses, with standards all white. And our men knew not what these might be, until they perceived that they were the hosts of Christ, led by St George, St Mercury and St Demetrius." It was this strong vivid faith which made the rank and file of the Crusaders insist on the advance to Jerusalem, and threaten to destroy the walls of Antioch when the princes fell to quarrelling over the spoil. The leaders themselves lost sight of the religious character of the expedition in their haste to gratify their personal ambitions. Even before the crusading host entered Syria, Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey of Boulogne, had left the main army, to win for himself the Armenian lordship of Edessa, and no sooner was Antioch taken than Bohemond and Raymond of Toulouse began to dispute over its possession. When, in November 1098, the Crusaders at length started for the Holy City, this unseemly wrangling continued. After the capture of Marra, the common soldiers actually pulled down part of the town, to compel the princes to go forward. At the siege of Arkah, the next stage on the route, Peter Bartholomew went through an ordeal of fire to prove the genuineness of the Holy Lance to the scoffers in Bohemond's party, and died in a few days of his burns. Not till the beginning of June 1099, nearly a year after the battle of Antioch, did the Crusaders reach Jerusalem, which had recently been taken from the Turks by the troops of the Fatimite Caliph of Cairo. A five weeks' siege followed. On July 8 the crusading army, preceded by the clergy, went in solemn procession round the city. A few days later, on July 15, Godfrey of

Siege of
Jerusalem,
June-July
1099

Boulogne wheeled his wooden siege-tower close to the walls, and threw a bridge on to the ramparts, and, after a fierce struggle, Jerusalem was taken by assault. The Crusaders celebrated their victory by a terrible massacre of the Mohammedans, passing from the streets heaped with dead and the blood-stained courts of the Temple of Solomon to worship with tears of joyful thanksgiving at the Holy Sepulchre.

The goal of the Crusade seemed now to have been reached. Jerusalem was once more in Christian hands, and the leaders of the expedition met to organize their conquest and to elect a king. The offer of the throne is said to have been made in vain to Raymond of Toulouse, who would not be called king in the Holy City, and to Robert of Normandy. Godfrey of Boulogne at length accepted it, though he, too, refused to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and styled himself merely "Duke" (*Dux*) or "Advocate" of the Holy Sepulchre. His brief reign was marked by the defeat of the Egyptian army at Ascalon and by the fortification of the port of Joppa. He died in 1100, and a fame which he had hardly deserved in life was accorded to him after his death. Legends soon began to gather about his name. He was numbered among the "Nine Worthies of Christendom," he was connected with the story of the Knight of the Swan, or Lohengrin, and in after days he and Tancred were taken by the great Italian poet Tasso as the heroes of his "Jerusalem Delivered."

Godfrey of Boulogne elected King or "Duke" of Jerusalem, 1099-1100

Battle of Ascalon, August 1099

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which gradually grew up under Godfrey and his two immediate successors, comprised, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem proper, with its dependent fiefs of Jaffa [Joppa] and Ascalon,

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Kerak and Montreal, Galilee, and Sidon, the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa. A long narrow strip of territory, it communicated with the sea on the west, and the Genoese, Venetian and English ships rendered valuable help to the Latins in the early days of the kingdom, but on the east, the important towns of Aleppo, Hamah, Emesa and Damascus were in the hands of the Turks, and to the south there was constant danger from Egypt. Within, the new kingdom was governed on strictly feudal lines. Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli were fiefs of the Crown, while Baldwin at Edessa, Bohemond at Antioch, and Raymond of Toulouse at Tripoli were practically sovereign princes. The government of the kingdom is probably well enough represented by the thirteenth century compilation of customs called the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which professed to be the usages ordered by Godfrey of Boulogne to be maintained in his dominions. At the head of all was the King with his great officers—Seneschal, Marshal, Chamberlain, Chancellor, and the like. Justice was done by a High Court or Curia Regis; there were also special civil courts for burgesses, commercial and maritime courts, and a court for the native Syrians. There was an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, too, under the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. The chief defect in the system was a defect common to all feudal states, the lack of political unity, and the division of the sovereign power among many powerful nobles. It seems, indeed, wonderful that so small a kingdom, set in the midst of so many foes, could hold its own at all. That it was able to do so was probably largely owing to disunion among the Turks, but it was also due in no small measure to the religious enthusiasm and warlike efficiency of the two

Assizes of
Jerusalem

great Military Orders, the soldier-saints, the Knights Hospitallers, and the Knights Templars. The Hospitallers, or Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, originally founded in the eleventh century for the purpose of tending sick and poor pilgrims to the Holy Land, took on a military organization early in the twelfth century. The Templars were instituted in the twelfth century by Hugh de Payens, a Burgundian knight, to protect the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem. The Rule of the Order, which was probably in the main due to St Bernard, was definitely recognized by the Pope in 1128. The Knights of the Temple, who derived their name from their house near the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, took the threefold monastic vow of chastity, obedience and poverty. They were governed by a Master and provincial commanders or preceptors. The Order included knights, sergeants, or serving brothers, and priests. On its seal were engraved two knights riding on one horse, to symbolize the original poverty of the brethren. The habit of the Templars was white, with a red cross on the mantle. "Lambs in the house, but lions in war," they bore before them in battle a banner called "Beauséant," half white and half black, "because they are fair and favourable to the friends of Christ, stern and black to His foes." The Hospitallers also lived by rule as soldier-monks, organized in provinces or *langues* under a Grand Master. Their Order, too, included knights, serving-brothers and chaplains, and they wore a black mantle with an eight-pointed white cross.

Godfrey of Boulogne was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin I., Baldwin of Edessa, who took the title of King, and did much to make it a reality. During his reign a fresh crusading host started from Europe under William, Duke of Aquitaine, and other distinguished leaders, only to

The
Military
Orders

Baldwin I.,
1100-1118

The Aquitanian
Crusade,
1101-1102

perish miserably in the passage across Asia Minor. Italian, Norwegian and English crusading fleets, however, gave active support to Baldwin by sea, and with their help he conquered Cæsarea, Acre and Sidon. He took Ramleh also, but his last years were clouded by disaster, and he died in 1118 before he could carry out a projected attack on Egypt. In the same year died Alexius Comnenus. Though in apparent fulfilment of his contract with the Franks he had led an army into Asia, he had followed the Crusaders, it has been said, much as the jackal follows the lion, picking up the spoil won by the nobler animal. In the end he recovered Nicæa and a large part of Asia Minor, yet he was unable to establish his claims to supremacy in the Holy Land, and the Eastern trade of Constantinople suffered considerably from the privileges accorded to Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles in the Syrian ports. He was succeeded by his son, John Comnenus, a brave and prudent prince, who reigned till 1143.

After the death of Baldwin I. his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, Count of Edessa, became King of Jerusalem. In spite of the one great misfortune of his capture and imprisonment by the Turks, his reign was prosperous, and the Latin kingdom had reached its greatest extension when he died in 1131. Baldwin II. had no son, but he married his daughter Melisend to Fulk V., Count of Anjou, the grandfather of Henry II. of England, a man of statesmanlike ability, piety and courage. Unfortunately for the future of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Fulk was killed accidentally in 1143, and his son Baldwin III., a boy of thirteen, was left to face the most serious crisis which the Syrian Franks had as yet experienced.

The fatalism, amounting to indifference, or even leading

to alliance with the Christians, which had often characterized the Turks in the First Crusade, had gradually been replaced by a more patriotic attitude as the pressure of Frankish conquest made itself felt. "The Franks," wrote a Mohammedan historian, "raided the land daily; they wrought unspeakable harm to the Moslems." Yet the enthusiasm for the holy war, the *Jihad* of the Mohammedans, was reviving. Only a leader was needed to unite the jealous Turkish lordships in one strong hand. Then, in the words of an Arabic chronicler, "God resolved to raise up against the Christians a man fit to punish their crimes. . . . He saw none more meet for His designs than Imad-ed-din Zengy." Zengy, called Imad-ed-din, or "Pillar of the Faith," the son of a trusted counsellor of Malek Shah, was noted for courage and resolution, and had been promoted to be governor or "Atabek" of Mosul. After subduing his Mohammedan rivals and establishing his authority in Northern Syria, he succeeded in 1144 in taking Edessa in the absence of its indolent Count, Joscelin II., the unworthy son of Joscelin I., who was called by the Turks "a Satan among the infidels." Though Zengy himself did not live to see the full results of his victory, when in 1146 he was assassinated by his own slaves his biographer could declare that the Trinitarians were deprived of keep and fortress, and the worship of the One was restored in the regions of Syria.

Capture of
Edessa by
Zengy,
1144

The tidings of the fall of Edessa, the "conquest of conquests," were received with consternation in Western Europe, where St Bernard preached a new Crusade with such impassioned eloquence that at the Assembly of Vézelay, in the spring of 1146, he was forced to cut up his garments to supply his hearers with crosses. Both Louis VII. of France and the Emperor Conrad III.

The
Second
Crusade

took the cross, and many French and German nobles followed their example. From the first, however, there were some who thought the expedition ill-advised, and even St Bernard's influence, and the miracles which were said to accompany his preaching, could not revive the popular fervour of the Crusade of 1095. The Germans under Conrad III. started in May 1147, and marched through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople. The Emperor John Comnenus had been succeeded in 1143 by his son, Manuel I., but though he and Conrad had married sisters, they distrusted one another, and there can be little doubt that the Byzantines behaved towards the Franks with much duplicity. Deserted by their Greek guides, distressed by lack of supplies, and harassed by the Turks, the German Crusaders, who had attempted to cross Asia Minor, made their way back to Nicæa, while Conrad returned to winter at Constantinople. The French pilgrims chose the coast road through Asia Minor, where, in a rocky pass near Laodicea, the Turks fell on them and inflicted terrible slaughter. The remnant reached the port of Attalia, whence the King and the more important crusaders sailed to Antioch, leaving the rest of the host to struggle on painfully by land, betrayed by the Greeks and suffering grievously from famine. In the spring of 1148 Conrad III. arrived at Acre by sea, and the King of Jerusalem joined with the French and German Crusaders in an attack on Damascus. "The siege," wrote the contemporary historian William of Tyre, "would have been successful, had it not been for the greed of the great princes, who entered into negotiations with the citizens." As it was, the attempt to take the city was abandoned, and the jealousy of the Syrian Frank nobles, who feared to see the fruit of their conquests snatched from them by

the Crusaders, with the ambitions and rivalries of the western leaders, caused the whole expedition to end in disastrous failure. The Emperor Conrad and the King of France returned home, and St Bernard saw, with bitter sorrow, in the overthrow of all his hopes, the judgment of God for the sins of the people.

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CHAPTER XI

FREDERICK I. AND THE LOMBARD COMMUNES [1152-1190]

Frederick
I., Bar-
barossa,
1152-1190

THE death of Conrad III. marked the end of the "Age of St Bernard" and the beginning of a new era in the history of Western Christendom. The Empire once more became the political centre of Europe, and the Papacy fell into a subordinate position. The mantle of the great Pope Gregory VII. seemed to have descended upon the great Emperor, the "imperialist Hildebrand," Frederick I. Frederick was the son of Conrad III.'s elder brother, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, and of Judith, sister of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria. He thus reconciled the conflicting claims of Guelf and Ghibeline, and he had all the qualities of a leader of men, beauty of person, charm of manner, strength of will, and force of character. German songs and legends still fondly recall the ruddy, golden-haired, bright-eyed "Redbeard" (*Rothbart, Barbarossa*), the impersonation of all that is best in the Teutonic race.

Frederick was unanimously chosen King in an assembly of the princes which met at Frankfurt on March 4, 1152. "The essential principle of the law of the Roman Empire," wrote Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, the young king's uncle, "is that kings are appointed, not by right of blood, but by the election of the princes." Frederick was chosen not only on account of his energy and courage, but because he was of the blood of the two

rival families, the "Henries" of Waiblingen and the Welfs of Altorf, and "like a cornerstone would unite their walls, and thus, by God's help, end their ancient feud." Frederick, indeed, began his reign by conciliating the Welfs. Saxony and Bavaria were again united in one hand when, in 1154, the princes adjudged the Bavarian duchy to Henry the Lion, while Count Welf, Henry's uncle, became Marquis of Tuscany. From Germany the new King turned to Italy. He had resumed the negotiations which Conrad III.'s death had interrupted, and had made a treaty with the Pope, but it was not till the end of 1154 that he was free to cross the Alps and claim the imperial crown. Meanwhile Eugenius III. had died peacefully at Rome, and after the short reign of his successor, Anastasius IV., the Englishman Nicholas Breakspear was raised to the papal throne as Adrian IV. A determined opponent of the pretensions of the Senate, a riot in which a cardinal was killed gave him an excuse for laying Rome under an interdict, and forcing the citizens to submit, and to banish Arnold of Brescia. Yet he was still surrounded by enemies, and he looked for deliverance to the German king. Frederick crossed the Brenner with a small force in October 1154, and encamped in the plain of Roncaglia to receive the homage of his Italian vassals and to hear the complaints of those aggrieved. From the first he showed that he would brook no defiance. The towns of Asti and Chieri, which refused redress for wrongs done, were burned; Milan, the oppressor of Lodi and Como, was put to the ban of the Empire; Tortona, her ally, was besieged, sacked and destroyed. After receiving the Lombard crown at Pavia, Frederick marched upon Rome. Adrian IV. came out to meet him, and very reluctantly the king

Frederick
I.'s First
Italian Ex-
pedition,
1154

consented, in accordance with old custom, to lead the Pope's horse, and hold the stirrup for him to dismount. To the Roman citizens he showed himself less complaisant. When ambassadors from the "Senate and People of Rome" approached him, and demanded in the name of the "illustrious mistress of the world" that he would observe their ancient customs and laws and bestow on them a largesse of 5000 pounds, Frederick haughtily interrupted them. "Will you know," he is reported to have said, "where the ancient glory of your Rome, the grave dignity of your Senate, the tactics of your camp, the strength and discipline of your knighthood, your undaunted and invincible courage in battle, have gone? All these are with us Germans . . . with us are your consuls, your Senate, your soldiers. Charles and Otto wrested the city, with Italy, from Greek and Lombard, and brought it into the Frankish realm. I am the rightful possessor. Let him who can snatch the club from Hercules." Having thus thrown down the gauntlet to the Republic, Frederick entered Rome, and on June 18, 1155, the Pope crowned him Emperor in St Peter's. A fierce fight between the Romans and the Germans followed. "You might see," wrote Otto of Freisingen, "our men slaying the Romans, as if they were saying: 'Receive now, Rome, German steel for Arab gold. . . . Thus do the Franks buy the Empire.'" Though the Romans were repulsed, they held the city against the Emperor, refused to supply him with provisions, and compelled him to retreat. It was probably at this time that Arnold of Brescia, who had been taken prisoner and delivered up to Pope and Emperor, was put to death. His body was burned, and his ashes, it is said, were cast into the Tiber, lest the people should worship him as

Frederick
I. crowned
Emperor,
June 18,
1155

Execution
of Arnold
of Brescia

a martyr. When, in the summer of 1155, Frederick I. returned to Germany, he had made it clear that the Italian communes had nothing to hope from him. It could not, indeed, be otherwise with one who regarded himself as the heir of the Cæsars, and whose chief aim was to restore the Roman Empire to its ancient glory, Arnold of Brescia might dream of the austere freedom of the early Republic, but Frederick's visions were all of the splendid despotism of Imperial Rome.

To Germany the young Emperor came as a peace-maker, "Frederick the Pacific" (*Pacificus*).¹ Disorder and lawlessness were sternly repressed, and old feuds were healed. Bavaria was formally ceded to Henry the Lion, and the claims of Frederick's uncle, Henry Jasomirgott, were satisfied by the creation of the hereditary and privileged duchy of Austria from the old Bavarian East Mark (see p. 16) with the addition of certain counties. The Emperor's own position was strengthened by his marriage with Beatrix, the rich and beautiful heiress of the Count of Upper Burgundy.² The King of Denmark owned his overlordship, rebellious Poland was subdued, and the faithful Duke of Bohemia was rewarded with the royal title. By 1158 Frederick was ready to cross the Alps for the second time, to subdue, as he wrote, "the pride of the Milanese, which had lifted up its head against the Roman Empire." If his presence had given peace to Germany, his absence had led to a renewal of civil war in Italy. Tortona had been rebuilt, and Milan had resumed her struggle with Pavia, and her oppression of her weaker neighbours. The Pope, deserted by the

German
Policy of
Frede-
rick I.

¹ There is a play here upon the name Friedrich, "rich in peace."

² The later Franche Comté, between the Saone and the Jura. Its capital was Besançon.

Diet of
Besançon,
1157

Emperor, joined the Byzantine Greeks against the Sicilian Normans, but he was forced to come to terms with William the Bad, the son of the great Roger, and to invest him with Sicily, Apulia and Capua. With William's help he made peace with Rome, where hatred of the Empire was now stronger than distrust of the Papacy. The strained relations between Pope and Emperor came to an open breach in 1157, when at the Diet of Besançon a letter from Adrian IV. to Frederick was read, in which he wrote of the imperial crown as "conferred" by the Church, and alluded to the still greater "benefits" (*beneficia*) which he would willingly have bestowed on the Emperor. The word "*beneficium*" was legally used for a fief and the imperialists saw in the letter a claim on the part of the Pope to treat the German kings as their feudal vassals for the Italian kingdom and the Empire. They remembered the picture in the Lateran Palace of the Emperor Lothair II. receiving the imperial crown from Innocent II. (see p. 124) and a great uproar arose, which increased when Cardinal Roland, afterwards Pope Alexander III., exclaimed: "From whom, then, if not from the lord Pope, is the Empire held?" Frederick calmed the tumult by his personal authority, and proceeded to issue a manifesto, in which he declared that he held the kingdom and the Empire from God alone, "by the election of the princes," and that to say that he had received the imperial crown from the Pope as a "benefice" or fief was to speak falsely, and to oppose the divine decree and the teaching of St Peter. Adrian IV. afterwards tried to explain away the offensive words, but it was plain that the revival of the strife between Empire and Papacy was only a question of time.

In the summer of 1158 Frederick marched into Italy

with a great army. Pavia, Cremona, Bergamo, Como and Lodi rallied to the imperial standard, while Piacenza, Crema, Brescia and the islanders of the Lake of Como supported Milan. The Emperor assigned the fugitive men of Lodi a new site on which to rebuild their ruined town, and then advanced in force upon Milan. After a month's siege the haughty city yielded, and was granted easy terms, but Como and Lodi were freed from her yoke, and she had to admit the Emperor's supremacy, and to obtain his ratification of the appointment of her consuls. A solemn assembly or Diet was then held on the Roncaglian plain, in which Frederick's imperial pretensions were clearly defined, and the Archbishop of Milan is said to have applied to him the maxims of the Civil Law of Rome that the law-making power had been entrusted to the Emperor by the people and that the prince's will had the force of law (*Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*). The four most famous doctors of the great Civil Law School at Bologna (see Chap. XVI.), with consuls from the cities, formed a committee to enquire into the imperial rights, and drew up a list of "regalia" or royal privileges, to which Frederick was entitled:—rights over highways and rivers and in ports and markets, tolls and fines, rights of coinage, fisheries, mines, and the right of "*fodrum*" or provision for the royal army. Many of these dues had lapsed, or had been appropriated by the nobles and cities, and the resumption of them by the Emperor was bitterly resented. Still more irksome to the cities was Frederick's scheme of superseding the authority of the municipal consuls by the appointment of a representative of the imperial power called podestà (*potestas* : power). These magistrates were generally strangers to the town in which they ruled, and

Frederick I.'s Second Italian Expedition, 1158

First Siege and Surrender of Milan

Assembly of Roncaglia

were supposed to be superior to local feuds and jealousies, and to wield impartial justice. The idea of setting up a sort of dictator as arbiter among the jarring city factions does not seem to have been new, but the imperial *podestà* was hated as the minister of an alien and despotic power. The Lombard cities began at once to rebel against the new order and to feel the weight of the Emperor's displeasure. Crema was destroyed after a terrible siege, and Milan was once more put to the ban of the Empire. For three years, from April 1159 to March 1162, the city held out against the imperial forces, then, overpowered by superior numbers and worn by famine, it surrendered unconditionally. The Emperor was at New Lodi, and thither came the consuls, the chief citizens and the people of Milan, bringing with them the keys of their city, their banners, and, most precious of all, their *carroccio* or "standard," the rallying-point of their armies, the sacred car with a mast in the centre bearing a crucifix and the flag of St Ambrose. When the city trumpeters, standing on this car, sounded a blast for the last time, it seemed, wrote an eye-witness, as if the dirge of Milan's pride were being sung. When the mast of the *carroccio* was lowered before the Emperor, while the citizens prostrated themselves and begged for mercy, the bystanders were moved to tears. Only the Emperor remained cold, and "set his face as a flint." The lives of the citizens were spared, but they were no longer to live in Milan, their chief men were kept as hostages, and the stately city was given up to the vengeance of Lodi, Como, Cremona and its other enemies, to be wrecked and despoiled. "God," said the Archbishop of Salzburg, as he stood among the ruins, "has done unto this city as she did unto others."

Second
Siege of
Milan,
1159-1162

The Emperor's insistence on his rights made him enemies, not only in Lombardy, but in Tuscany, where the old question of the title to the Matildine inheritance was revived. At Rome Pope Adrian IV. formed a league against Frederick with William of Sicily, and was negotiating with the Lombard cities when, in 1159, he died suddenly. The only Englishman who ever occupied the chair of St Peter, Nicholas Breakspear had risen from poverty to his great position, yet he often sighed for his early obscurity and thought the hardships of his past life slight in comparison with those which he had to endure upon the papal throne.

His death was the signal for a schism in the Papacy: ^{Papal Schism} Party spirit ran high among the cardinals, and while the anti-imperialists elected Cardinal Roland as Alexander III., the imperialists on the same day chose Cardinal Octavian, who took the title of Victor IV. The Emperor supported Victor, and his election was ratified in a Council at Pavia, where his rival was excommunicated. The King of Sicily and the rebel Lombard cities, however, declared for Alexander III., and he, in turn, excommunicated the Emperor. Although, unable to resist the power of Frederick, he was forced, early in 1162, to take refuge in France, he succeeded in winning over to his side both the French king, Louis VII., and Henry II. of England, while by degrees the feeling in Italy changed towards him, and in 1165 he was able to return to Rome.

The second act in the great tragedy of the strife between Empire and Papacy opened with the schism of 1159. The eleventh century had seen the struggle of the Papacy for spiritual independence, the thirteenth century was to see a struggle for temporal supremacy: the twelfth century saw the Pope allied with the com-

munes of Italy, the schismatic Emperor of the East and the orthodox kings of Western Europe against the absolutism of the "German Cæsar." In the eleventh century the conflict between Pope and Emperor was a sort of duel, in which the other powers took part merely as onlookers; in the twelfth century, it was more of the nature of a battle, in which the other powers acted as auxiliaries. To understand the complicated history of the latter half of the twelfth century, the growth of national consciousness in Western Europe and the development of international relations must always be remembered, with the close connexion between Eastern and Western Christendom. Louis VII. of France, Henry II. of England and Thomas Becket, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I., and the kings of Sicily, William the Bad and William the Good, all gather about the shrewd and politic Pope, Alexander III., who reigned from 1159 to 1181, outlived four anti-popes, and saw the triumph of his cause in the Peace of Venice in 1177, and the end of the schism in 1180.

Frederick
I.'s Third
Italian Ex-
pedition,
1163

The Emperor paid a peaceful visit to Italy in 1163, yet he did nothing to appease the increasing discontent of the Lombard communes. Alexander III., also, was unceasing in his efforts to build up a great coalition against the imperial power, and by 1166 armed intervention had become necessary. The Pope, the Roman republic, the King of Sicily, the young William II., who succeeded his father early in 1166, the Emperor Manuel, and the republic of Venice were all hostile to Frederick: the anti-pope Victor was dead and his successor had little influence: above all, the precursor of the famous Lombard League was seen in the union of Venice with

Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Treviso to resist the Emperor's oppression. The cities had realized that their strength lay in co-operation. Frederick entered Italy towards the close of the year 1166. "As if despising the complaints of the Lombards," wrote a contemporary, he did nothing to redress their grievances, but marched upon Rome. The city was taken after a fierce siege, and on August 1, 1167, Frederick and his wife Beatrix were crowned in St Peter's by the anti-pope Paschal III. Alexander III., disguised as a pilgrim, fled to the Sicilian Normans, and the Emperor made terms with the Senate. His triumph, complete as it seemed, was destined to be short-lived. A terrible pestilence broke out in Rome, and almost destroyed the imperial army. The flower of the German nobles perished, among them Frederick's trusted adviser Rainald Archbishop of Cologne, and his young cousin Frederick of Swabia, the son of Conrad III. On August 6th the Emperor broke up his camp, and with difficulty led the enfeebled remnants of his great host to Pavia. "Never since the world began," wrote Thomas of Canterbury to Alexander III., "have the power and justice of God been more clearly manifested than in the destruction by so shameful a death of the authors of this great persecution."

Frederick I's Fourth Italian Expedition, 1166

Siege and Capture of Rome

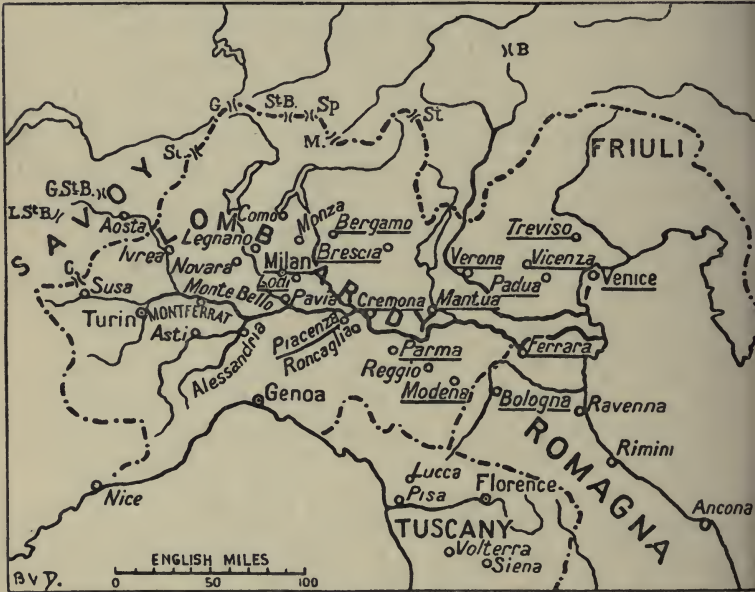
Coronation of Frederick and Beatrix, 1167

Behind the Emperor, during his absence from Lombardy, the communes, oppressed beyond measure by the imperial officials, were beginning to organize their resistance. Early in 1167 the four towns of Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo and Mantua, thinking it "better to die than to live in such shame and ignominy," formed a league, and bound themselves to help each other against unreasonable exactions on the part of the Emperor or his representatives,

The Lombard League

and to restore the exiled Milanese to their homes. Milan was rebuilt in the spring of 1167 and the League spread rapidly: even Lodi was forced to join it, and though Frederick put the cities to the ban of the Empire, he was

NORTH & CENTRAL ITALY XII CENTURY



Cities of Lombard League 1167 = Lodi

G. St. Bernhard	C. Mt. Cenis	St. Bernhardin	M. Maloja	G. St. Gotthard
L. St. Bernhard	Si. Simplon	Sp. Splügen	St. Stelvio	B. Brenner

powerless to check the movement. In December 1167 the Veronese League and the Lombard League, sixteen cities in all, united in the "Lombard Society" (*Societas Lombardiae*), renewed their oaths and vowed to resist all exactions to which they had not been subject between the reign of Henry V. and the accession of Frederick I. In March 1168 the Emperor, with a scanty following, retreated

over the Mont Cenis, and returned to Germany almost like a fugitive, with disappointed hopes and diminished reputation. Nearly seven years passed before he saw Italy again, years in which the Lombard League grew rapidly in strength and popularity. A town called Alessandria in honour of Pope Alexander was built at a point of great strategical importance at the junction of the rivers Tanaro and Bormida, commanding the northern road from Genoa to Milan, and the road to Turin and the Mont Cenis, in a marshy district between the territories of the two most formidable imperial powers, Pavia, and the Marquis of Montferrat. By 1174, when the Emperor could once more turn his attention to Italian affairs, both Pavia and Montferrat had deserted his cause, and the League numbered thirty-six towns and all the feudal lords of the Po valley. It was governed by rectors, chosen to represent the various cities, had a common army, and was pledged to common action in resisting oppression.

In October the Emperor, finding the northern and eastern passes blocked by the confederates, entered Italy by the Mont Cenis route, which was held by his ally the Count of Savoy. He burnt Susa and advanced through Turin and Asti upon Alessandria. The imperialists laughed at the feeble defences and thatched roofs of the new town, and called it "the city of straw," yet the brave inhabitants held out all through the winter, and when, in the spring of 1175, the army of the League marched to its relief, Frederick was compelled to raise the siege. "The city of straw had shown itself a city of iron." The Lombards hesitated to attack the imperial army, and a truce, the "Peace of Montebello," was concluded in hopes of arriving at a peaceful settlement. Neither side, how-

Frederick
I.'s Fifth
Italian Ex-
pedition,
1174

ever, would yield enough to make agreement possible, and hostilities were resumed. Though reinforcements came to Frederick from Germany, his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion, refused his help, unmoved by a personal appeal from the Emperor. But Pavia, the Marquis of Montferrat and Como had returned to their allegiance. Genoa and Pisa supported Frederick, and his lieutenant, Christian Archbishop of Mainz, had won over a great part of Central Italy and was holding the Sicilian Normans in check. The fate of the League hung in the balance when the Emperor marched south from Como to effect a junction with the forces of Pavia and Montferrat. The Milanese determined to prevent this combination at all costs, and, with their allies, prepared to intercept the imperial army. Three hundred noble Milanese youths vowed to defend the *carroccio* with their lives, and a band of nine hundred formed the "Company of Death," sworn to conquer or to die. On May 29, 1176, the great battle of Legnano was fought on the plain between the rivers Olona and Ticino, to the north-west of Milan. The Lombards broke under the charge of the German cavalry, and the *carroccio* itself was in danger, when the "Company of Death" rushed forward and retrieved the fortunes of the day. The imperial standard-bearer fell before their impetuous onslaught, the waverers rallied, and the imperial army was thrown into disorder and completely routed. The Emperor escaped to Pavia, though for several days it was thought that he had been killed, and his wife put on mourning for him.

Battle of
Legnano,
May 29,
1176

With his usual wisdom, Frederick now bowed to necessity, and recognized the impossibility of crushing the Lombard cities. He reconciled himself with Alexander III. and was released from excommunication, and

in a solemn Congress at Venice he concluded a six years' truce with the League and a fifteen years' truce with the King of Sicily. On August 1, 1177, just a hundred years after the scene at Canossa, Pope and Emperor met at Venice, before the splendid Cathedral of St Mark. Frederick, in the words of a contemporary historian, "touched by the Spirit of God, laid aside his imperial dignity, and prostrated himself at the feet of the Pope." Alexander, with tears in his eyes, raised the Emperor from the ground, gave him the kiss of peace and led him into the cathedral, to the sound of the *Te Deum* and the pealing of bells. The story that the Pope set his foot on Frederick's neck, with the words, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet," is of later growth. The Pope's own letters show that he had no thought of triumphing over the Emperor, or of endangering his hard-won victory by pride and arrogance. He returned to Rome, where the anti-pope submitted to him, and his feeble successor, a nominee of the nobles, was banished to a monastery. When Alexander III. died in 1181, the schism was at an end, and he was recognized as Pope by the whole of Western Christendom.

The conclusion of the Peace of Constance between the Emperor and the League in 1183, after the expiration of the six years' truce, set the seal upon the proceedings at Venice in 1177. Frederick gave up to the cities all the "regalia" or royal rights which they then enjoyed, or had enjoyed in the past. These included rights of peace and war, of erecting fortifications and of exercising criminal and civil jurisdiction. The cities were to elect their consuls, who were then to be invested by the Emperor, and this investiture was to be repeated every

Peace of
Venice,
1177

Peace of
Constance,
1183

five years. All citizens between the ages of fifteen and seventy were to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor and all imperial vassals were to do him homage. Judicial appeals were, in the more important cases, to go to the local representative of the Emperor. The cities were to help the Emperor to maintain his rights against all who were not members of the League; when he came into Lombardy they were to render the customary *fodrum*, to keep the roads and bridges in repair, and to provide him with a market. The Emperor, on his side, was not to make an unnecessary stay in any town or diocese. The right of the cities to fortify themselves was specially recognized and their right to maintain the League and to renew it, but they were to take an oath of fealty to the Emperor every ten years. These terms were granted to seventeen cities. Venice was independent, and eight cities were already the Emperor's allies. Among them was Alessandria, which had made a separate peace earlier in the year, and had tried, without much success, to change its name to "Cæsarea," as a compliment to the Emperor. The Peace of Constance represented a compromise in which, on the whole, the cities were the gainers. The Emperor was still their overlord and sovereign, to whom they owed allegiance, obedience and tribute, yet they had won important local privileges and legal recognition of their position as an order of free self-governing communities, a factor which would have henceforward to be reckoned with in all political calculations.

When Frederick Barbarossa returned to Germany in 1178, after the Peace of Venice, he found that local feuds had revived and private wars had been resumed as soon as his strong hand was withdrawn. The long absences

of the Emperor in Italy, and his preoccupation with the affairs of the south, had left Henry the Lion free to build up an almost royal power in the north, which had provoked the jealousy of the Saxon nobles. The descendant of the Billungs and of Lothair II. (see Table II.), Henry seemed foreordained to carry on the policy of the Saxon Emperors, to extend the German frontier to the east, and to subdue and civilize the Slavs. He had taken an active share in the Emperor's early Italian expeditions in 1154 and 1159, but from 1161 onwards he devoted himself to the administration of his duchies and the establishment of his authority in Bavaria and Saxony. In the north he utterly broke the power of the Slav princes. They learnt, said a contemporary, that "the 'lion' is strongest among beasts and turneth not away from any."¹ He colonized and Christianized the lands which he conquered. Germans and Flemings settled among the Slavs, and new bishoprics were founded in the north-eastern provinces. He made an alliance with the King of Denmark against the Slav pirates of the Baltic Sea, encouraged naval enterprise and commerce, wrested the port of Lübeck from Count Adolf of Holstein, gave it great privileges, and opened up the Baltic trade. In Bavaria he pursued a similar policy of eastward expansion and commercial development, and Munich owes its foundation to him. "He was the prince of the princes of the land," wrote a German chronicler; "he bowed the necks of the rebels, and broke their castles and made peace in the land; he built strong fortresses and gathered together a monstrous fortune." It was this "monstrous fortune," with the avarice and pride of Henry, and his vast territorial power, which made his

Growth of
the power
of Henry
the Lion

¹ Proverbs xxx. 30.

rule intolerable to the Saxon nobles. As early as 1166, led by Albert the Bear, they conspired against him, and not till 1168, when the Emperor himself intervened, was peace restored. In this same year Henry was married to the daughter of Henry II. of England, and when in 1170 death relieved him of his hereditary adversary, Albert the Bear, he, rather than Frederick Barbarossa, seemed to be the king of Northern Germany. The Slav lands from Elbe to Baltic, as far as Schwerin and Mecklenburg, were a Saxon colony, studded with towns, castles and churches. The wild Slav tribes obeyed the great duke as a horse obeys his rider. In 1172 he was even able to leave Saxony and to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Six years later all was changed. The Emperor was assailed, on his return from Italy, with complaints of the oppression and tyranny of the "Lion of the North." Though there is no evidence to show that Frederick bore malice for Henry's refusal to follow him to the south, he no longer took his side against his enemies. Summoned to answer before the Diet, Henry three times failed to appear. He was put to the ban of the Empire, declared guilty of high treason, and sentenced to forfeit his duchies. He held out until 1181, when, after the capture of Lübeck, he made humble submission to the Emperor, and was exiled for three years. The Saxon duchy was divided, and relapsed into feudal anarchy. In 1185 Henry, who had found a refuge with his father-in-law, the King of England, returned to Germany, only to be exiled again in 1188, and from 1189 to 1190 to engage in a hopeless struggle to recover his lost duchy. In 1190 he was reconciled to the new king, Henry VI., and five years later he died at Brunswick, where a bronze lion,

Fall of
Henry the
Lion

set up during his lifetime, still commemorates his fame.

The years of Henry the Lion's deepest humiliation

GERMANY under the HOHENSTAUFEN



were the period of Frederick Barbarossa's greatest power.

In 1184 he went to Italy for the sixth time, and on January 27, 1186, the city of Milan, once the victim of the Emperor's stern justice, saw the marriage of Frederick's eldest son Henry to Constance, the heiress

Frederick I.'s Sixth Italian Expedition, 1184

of the Sicilian throne, and his coronation as "Cæsar," or joint-Emperor with his father. With the Pope, Lucius III., and, after his death in 1185, with his successor Urban III., Frederick's relations were unfriendly. They quarrelled over the Matildine lands and over the coronation of the young king Henry, but the Popes were weak and Frederick had the Romans on his side. The States of the Church were ravaged by the Germans, and the excommunication of the Emperor was only prevented by the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks (see Chap. XIV.), which reached Europe in the autumn of 1187. All else was forgotten in the desire to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick, who, forty years earlier, had followed Conrad III. in the Second Crusade, took the cross in 1188 and started for Syria in 1189, at the head of a great host. On June 10, 1190 he was drowned in the river Saleph in Asia Minor, at a spot where, it was said in after days, a rock bore the prophetic inscription:—"Here shall perish the greatest of men" (*Hic Hominum Maximus Peribit*). He died for what, to a Christian knight of the twelfth century, was the noblest of causes, and it was no unworthy end for one who, with all his practical ability, had never, throughout a long life, lost sight of his youthful ideals. The legend that "the old Barbarossa" was not dead, but sleeping an enchanted sleep till the time should come for him to restore Germany to her former glory, was first told of Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II. (see p. 226), and was only transferred to Frederick I. in the sixteenth century, and made popular by a nineteenth-century ballad.¹ Yet the "Redbeard" has lived in the memory of the German people as the type of a good king and a great Emperor.

¹ By Rückert: "Barbarossa," written in 1813.

The Third
Crusade,
1189

Death of
Frederick
I., June
10, 1190

A warrior who loved war as a means to peace, prompt in action, wise in counsel, devout, charitable, business-like, a mighty hunter, a builder of churches and palaces, a student of history and of the brave deeds of his ancestors, simple in his tastes and strenuous in his habits, his biographer records as his most marked characteristic that "throughout his reign nothing was dearer to him than the restoration of the Roman Empire to its ancient power" (see p. 155). He looked on himself as in a very real sense the heir of Charles the Great, who was canonized at his request in 1164 by the anti-pope Paschal III. His decrees were inserted in the Roman Civil Law, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*; in his reign the phrase "Holy Roman Empire" (*Sacrum Imperium*) was first officially used. Yet this period of revival of imperial claims was also a time of prosperity for the German kingdom. Peace was enforced by imperial ordinances (*Landfrieden*), agriculture and commerce developed, and towns grew in wealth and importance. National pride and patriotism found expression in popular vernacular literature, in the splendid epic of the *Nibelungenlied*, instinct with "the whole spirit of chivalry, of love, and of heroic valour," in the lyrics of the *Minnesinger*, or love-poets, and in the songs of the wandering minstrels, or *jongleurs*, while side by side with the Latin histories of Otto of Freisingen and his continuators appeared a rhymed chronicle in the German tongue, the famous *Kaiserchronik*.

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CHAPTER XII

HENRY VI. AND INNOCENT III.

[1190-1216]

Henry VI.,
1190-1197

THE fame of Henry VI., the successor of Frederick I., rests as much on what he dreamed of doing as on what, in his short reign of seven years, he actually accomplished. Small and fragile in body, he was quick and keen in mind, resolute of will and definite of purpose. Brave and accomplished, he had inherited much of his father's ability. He dabbled in poetry, seriously studied Latin, history, and law, and showed himself a good general and a shrewd politician. Too self-contained and calculating to be generally popular, the violence, treachery, and cruelty with which he carried out his schemes, made him many enemies, yet he was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the mediæval Emperors, a statesman of constructive genius, an idealist gifted with practical ability.

Henry had been early trained for the responsibilities of Empire. Crowned king of Germany in his childhood, he had been associated with his father as "Cæsar" in 1186, on his marriage with Constance of Sicily (see p. 169), and had been appointed regent when Frederick Barbarossa went on crusade. When news of the tragic death of the Emperor was brought to Germany, the young king had just concluded a treaty with the ever-restless Henry the Lion (see p. 168), and was preparing for an expedition to

southern Italy, where his presence was urgently needed. In November 1189 William the Good, King of Sicily, had died childless, and the kingdom had fallen to his aunt Constance, the daughter of Roger I., and to her husband, Henry VI. The national party in Sicily, led by the Chancellor Matthew, dreading the German yoke, thereupon revolted, and raised Tancred, Count of Lecce, an illegitimate grandson of Roger I., to the throne (see Table IV.). Tancred's cause was further strengthened by his alliance with Richard I. of England (see p. 206) and by the support of the Pope, Clement III., the fourth of the five undistinguished successors of Alexander III. In the winter of 1190 Henry VI. entered Italy with a great host. Clement III. died in the following March, and the new Pope, the aged Cardinal Hyacinth, deferred his consecration in order to avoid bestowing the imperial crown on the German king. Henry, however, bought over the Romans by basely surrendering to their vengeance the rival town of Tusculum, which had trusted to his protection. Pressure was brought to bear on the Pope: on April 14 he was consecrated as Celestine III., and on April 15 he crowned Henry and Constance in St Peters. The Emperor now advanced into Apulia and besieged Naples, with the help of the Pisan fleet. But the valour of the Sicilian admiral Margarito, who drove away the Pisans and broke the blockade, with the fierce heat of the southern summer, which bred pestilence in the besieging army, forced Henry to retreat. He returned to Germany, where, in his absence, disaffection had appeared among the nobles of the north and west. Henry of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, was conspiring with Tancred of Sicily, and the deposition of the Emperor was even proposed.

First
Italian Ex-
pedition of
Henry VI.,
1190

Coronation
of Henry
VI. and
Constance
at Rome

Capture
of Richard
Cœur de
Lion

At this critical moment, a sudden turn of fortune changed the whole situation. Richard of England was taken prisoner on his return from the Crusade by Leopold of Austria, whom he had offended in the Holy Land, and the duke delivered him up to Henry VI. After nearly two years' captivity, he consented to do homage to Henry, and to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the Empire. The marriage of Henry of Brunswick to the Emperor's cousin dissolved the confederacy of rebel German nobles. Finally, a premature death carried off Tancred's eldest son Roger, joint-king of Sicily, and he was quickly followed to the grave by Tancred himself. Although the Sicilian crown was placed on the head of the child William III., Tancred's younger son, the rebellion of the South was practically at an end. When, in May 1194, Henry VI. returned to his southern kingdom, he found its reduction an easy task, and on Christmas Day he was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo. A conspiracy amongst the nobles gave an excuse for exiling the young King William and his mother and sisters. Sicily lay at the feet of its conqueror. This was the supreme hour of Henry's triumph. A son, the future Frederick II., had been born to him on the day after the coronation at Palermo. He was lord over all Italy. Rome, where a single Senator now represented the commune, was his ally; the fleets of Pisa and Genoa were at his service; he had taken advantage of the renewed feuds and rivalries among the Lombard cities to organize an imperial party in the north; his brother Philip ruled the Matildine lands as Duke of Tuscany; Ravenna, the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto were in his hands; Germany was submissive; the King of England was his vassal. In the East, the King of Armenia offered him

homage, and the Moorish princes of Northern Africa sent him tribute. It was no wonder that daring schemes now took shape in his mind, and that he dreamed of making the Empire hereditary in his house, and uniting for ever the German and Sicilian kingdoms, of ruling Europe from Italy, and of extending his sovereignty over the Byzantine Empire and the far East. A Greek historian, the Emperor's bitter opponent, has recorded how, pale and careworn, he neglected ease and pleasure, and laboured, like a second Alexander, to make himself lord of all the kingdoms of the world. It seemed as if the visions of Otto III. were about to be realized nearly two hundred years after his death.

Henry began by preparing to invade the East under pretext of a Crusade, a project which won him the approval of the Pope. He next tried to persuade the German princes to consent that the succession to the Empire should be hereditary, "as in France and other kingdoms," and that the Sicilian kingdom should be permanently united with the Empire. He offered the princes in return full rights of hereditary succession in their own fiefs, and the remission of certain dues. But this "new and unheard-of decree" met with so much opposition that it had to be abandoned, though the princes elected the baby prince Frederick as king at Frankfurt in 1196. Soon after the election the Emperor went down into Italy for the last time, "bent on obtain-

Third
Italian Ex-
pedition of
Henry VI.,
1196

Greece and the Empire of Constantinople." The oppression of the German officials in Sicily had roused the people against their new rulers, and even the Empress Constance was implicated in the revolt which now broke out. An anti-king was chosen, and a plot to murder the Emperor was set on foot. With ruthless severity Henry

stamped out the rebellion, and sanctioned the infliction of hideous tortures on the unfortunate Sicilians. Meanwhile a great fleet and army had gathered in the south in readiness for the Crusade, and some of the ships had already sailed for the Holy Land. The King of Cyprus had become Henry's vassal, the Eastern Emperor Alexius III. had bought off his claims with tribute (see p. 209), and his brother Philip of Swabia had married the Byzantine princess Irene, the widow of the young Roger of Sicily. The Emperor was at the height of his glory, "potent by land and sea," when he was suddenly cut off by malarial fever. He died at Messina on September 28, 1197, at the early age of thirty-two, and all his great hopes and lofty ideals were buried with him in his stately tomb at Palermo. "If he had not been prevented by death," wrote a chronicler, echoing, with more reason, the lament of Otto of Freisingen over Lothair II. (see p. 125), "he would have exalted the German people far above other nations, and by his energy and courage the splendour of the Empire would have been restored to its ancient dignity."

Death of
Henry VI.,
Sept. 28,
1197

Some three months after the death of Henry VI., on January 8, 1198, the decrepit Celestine III. passed away at Rome, and on the same day the Cardinals unanimously elected in his place the youngest of their number, Lothair of Segni, who, as Innocent III., was destined to be remembered as one of the most powerful of mediæval Popes. The whole course of history was changed when the active and vigorous Emperor was replaced by a helpless little child, and the feeble old Pope by a young and ardent enthusiast, who was also a man of genius. The wheel of fortune had turned once more, and had brought the Papacy to the top. Innocent III. was the true heir of Henry VI., the

Election of
Innocent
III., Jan.
8, 1198

ITALY under INNOCENT III



heir of his wide ambitions and world-embracing schemes. The son of a noble Italian family and the nephew of Pope Clement III., Lothair of Segni had from his childhood every advantage which wealth and social position could give. He studied in Rome, in Paris and in Bologna, steeped himself in the learning of his time, and, if his biographer may be believed, "surpassed all his contemporaries by his successes in philosophy, theology, and law." Made a Cardinal by his uncle before he was thirty, and consecrated Pope before he was forty, it was clear from the first that his conception of his holy office was no whit less exalted than that of the boldest of his predecessors. He, "the servant of the servants of God," claimed also to be the Vicar of Christ, the successor of St Peter, to whom the keys of heaven had been committed, whose seat was above the seat of kings, who stood between God and man, "less than God, but more than man." "God," he wrote in a famous letter, "has set two great lights in the firmament, the sun to rule the day, the moon to rule the night. So, in the firmament of the universal Church, He has instituted two high dignities: the Papacy, which reigns over the souls of men; and Monarchy, which reigns over their bodies. But the first is far above the second. As the moon receives light from the sun . . . so does the royal power derive all its glory and dignity from the papal power." Innocent's own letters and the writings of his contemporaries show him as a man of untiring energy, thorough and conscientious in all the details of life, business-like, decided, inflexible when once his mind was made up, scrupulously honourable in an age of corruption, and with all this an idealist, as ardent in the cause of the Church as Gregory VII., but with wider opportunities

and a more intimate knowledge of the world than his great eleventh-century forerunner. An early fresco and a fragment of mosaic have been preserved which represent the famous Pope with a smooth oval face, straight features, a small mouth, and large thoughtful eyes under arched brows. He was, as is known from other sources, small in stature, but he had a sonorous and penetrating voice, and was eloquent, and ready of speech. In the general confusion which followed the untimely death of the great Emperor, the figure of the great Pope stands out as a landmark: his high and definite aims, pursued with the insight of a statesman and the precision of a trained lawyer, give a clue to the labyrinth of European politics. Like Henry VI., Innocent III. wished to rule Christendom from Italy as a centre, but whereas Henry had sought to achieve his end by Germanizing Italy, Innocent sought rather to Romanize Europe, and to rouse the Italians to a sense of national unity. Italy, he wrote, was the seat of the "two powers," the Papacy and the Empire, "by divine dispensation the head of the world," and Rome was the apostolic and imperial city. He began, then, by making his power a reality in Rome itself. The imperial prefect became a papal official, and the Pope obtained control over the appointment of the Senator, the civic representative. He won over the people by lavish charity, and the turbulent nobles, after a fierce resistance, were forced to recognize his supremacy. From Rome Innocent turned to the States of the Church and the Matildine lands. Philip of Swabia had returned to Germany, and in his absence the Tuscan cities formed an anti-imperial league, while the great German feudatories, the seneschal Markwald, Marquis of Ancona and Duke of Ravenna, and Conrad Duke of Spoleto, were com-

pelled to abandon their fiefs and to leave central Italy. By the end of 1198 the Patrimony of St Peter with Ancona and Spoleto had been recovered for the Papacy. In southern Italy, where the little Frederick had been crowned at Palermo after his father's death, the Empress Constance sought safety and protection for herself and her child by consenting to hold the kingdom of Sicily as a fief of the Holy See and by renouncing the exceptional ecclesiastical privileges which the Norman kings of Sicily had enjoyed. In November 1198 she died, leaving the infant king to the guardianship of the Pope. For ten years Innocent III. struggled on behalf of his ward against the ambition of German nobles and the intrigues of the Sicilian chancellor, Walter Bishop of Troja. Sicily and Apulia were devastated by a civil war in which French and German adventurers, Saracen mercenaries, and the sea powers of Pisa, Genoa and Venice all played a part. When the Germans found a leader in Markwald of Ancona, the Pope called French troops to his help under Walter of Brienne, a son-in-law of Tancred of Sicily. Markwald died in 1202 and Walter of Brienne was killed in 1205, but it was not till 1208, when the young king Frederick was growing to manhood, that comparative peace and order were restored to the southern kingdom. Meanwhile in Germany it seemed as if the Empire itself were about to fall to pieces. On the death of Henry VI. the Ghibelines put forward his brother Philip of Swabia as a candidate for the German kingship and the Empire, while the Guelfs, led by the Archbishop of Cologne, upheld the claims of Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. The times needed a strong man, and it was an irony of fate that the baby Frederick, for whose hereditary succession his father had taken such anxious

Death of
Constance
of Sicily,
1198

Philip of
Swabia and
Otto of
Brunswick

thought, should be set aside even by his uncle. Philip was elected by the majority of the princes at Mühlhausen, but another assembly met at Cologne and chose Otto, who was crowned at Aachen. Philip was supported by the adherents of the Hohenstaufen in southern Germany, by the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria and by the King of France. On Otto's side were his uncles, Richard Cœur de Lion and John of England, the King of Denmark, the Count of Flanders, the city of Cologne, and a great part of north-west Germany, the old home of the Guelf party. Both Guelfs and Ghibelines negotiated with Innocent III., and in 1201 he declared for Otto, who confirmed the Papacy in the possession of the States of the Church, with Ancona, Spoleto, the Matildine lands and the overlordship of Sicily. In Germany, however, fortune favoured the Ghibelines. The Archbishop of Cologne changed sides, and in 1205 crowned the Duke of Swabia at Aachen. Otto's forces were defeated, Cologne was compelled to make terms, and even the Pope began to incline towards Philip, released him from excommunication, and endeavoured to mediate between the rival kings. The hopes of the Hohenstaufen party were at their height when, in the summer of 1208, they were suddenly blighted by the assassination of Philip of Swabia by a private enemy, Otto Count of Wittelsbach. There now seemed to be no further obstacle to the recognition of Otto. He was acknowledged as king at an assembly at Frankfurt in 1208, conciliated the Ghibelines by his marriage with the daughter of Philip of Swabia, and in 1209 was crowned Emperor at Rome by Innocent III. But the acceptance of the imperial crown inevitably implied the acceptance of the imperial tradition of antagonism to the haughty pretensions of the Papacy. Otto IV., the Guelf, followed

Assassina-
tion of
Philip of
Swabia,
1208

Imperial
Coronation
of Otto IV.
at Rome,
1209

in the footsteps of his Ghibeline predecessors. He revived the claims of Henry VI. He gave the marquisate of Ancona to his Italian partisan Azzo d'Este, and the duchy of Spoleto to his German vassal Diepold of Acerra. He occupied the Matildine lands, and invaded southern Italy in defiance of the papal excommunication. Almost all Apulia and Calabria had submitted, and the Emperor had hired Pisan ships to take his troops to Sicily, when he was recalled to Germany by the news that the opposition, led by the Archbishop of Mainz, had induced the princes to elect Frederick of Swabia as their king. The Pope approved the choice, and in 1212 the son of Henry VI. crossed the Alps for the first time, and after a formal election at Frankfurt was solemnly crowned at Mainz. In 1213, by the Golden Bull of Eger, Frederick renewed the territorial concessions which Otto had made to the Papacy, and promised obedience to Innocent III., his "protector and benefactor." Otto now threw himself on the support of Saxony and Cologne, and formed a sort of northern league with England and the princes of the Netherlands, while Frederick entered into alliance with France and the Papacy. In 1214 the battle of Bouvines shattered Otto's hopes (see p. 192). On July 25, 1215, Frederick was crowned at Aachen, and shortly afterwards Cologne fell into his hands. The Lateran Council of November 1215 saw the consummation of the power of Innocent III. Summoned for the reform of the Church and the recovery of the Holy Land, a great assembly of ecclesiastical and lay magnates, gathered from all parts of Christendom, met in Rome to discuss, under the presidency of the Pope, the religious and political questions which were agitating Europe. Thither came the patriarchs of Jerusalem and

Corona-
tion of
Frederick
II. at
Mainz, 1212

Corona-
tion of
Frederick
II. at
Aachen,
1215

Fourth
Lateran
Council,
1215

Constantinople, representatives of the triumphs of Latin Christianity in the East, the fugitive Count of Toulouse and his son, victims of the rigour of Latin orthodoxy in the West; St Dominic, the herald of the new spirit of apostolic zeal within the Church, and ambassadors from all the kingdoms of Europe, from Cyprus and Palestine, and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, witnesses to the political influence of the Papacy. The Council passed a long series of canons against heresy, superstitious observances, and ecclesiastical ignorance and disorder, confirmed the excommunication and deposition of Otto IV. and the election of Frederick II., and proclaimed a Crusade for the year 1217. Before that date, Innocent III., who had hoped to give his blessing to the expedition, was no more. Struck down by fever, he died at Perugia in the summer of 1216. He was happy in the moment of his death. He saw the present success of his life-work and he was spared the knowledge of its future failure. He seemed when he died to have almost achieved his aim of making the Pope the sovereign of the world. The King of France had consented to take back his divorced wife, the Kings of Navarre and Aragon had owned themselves the Pope's vassals, the rulers of Hungary and of distant Armenia had sought his protection and intervention. In 1213 John Lackland did homage to him for the kingdom of England, and in 1215 he saw his ward Frederick of Sicily seated on the throne of Germany. The Fourth Crusade had effected the nominal union of the Eastern and Western Churches, the Albigensian heresy seemed about to be extirpated in southern France, and the new Crusade might recover the city of Jerusalem for the Christians. Time was to show that in this very completeness of realization of the papal ambitions lay elements

Death of
Innocent
III., 1216

of danger. The national forces which Innocent had called to his aid in Italy and Sicily were active also elsewhere, and were destined to prove too strong for the World-State and the World-Church. Even in Italy the cities were restive under autocratic rule, while in England, if the king submitted, the people revolted against subjection to Rome. The temporal power of the Pope, established by the consolidation of the States of the Church, was in the end to work the downfall of the Papacy. The young Frederick of Hohenstaufen was to become the deadly foe of the power which had watched over his childhood and to which in early youth he had shown such loyal devotion. Yet, in spite of errors and misconceptions and faults of pride and ambition, Innocent III. was a great and noble Pope, "a man most learned and eloquent, high-hearted and of lofty counsel."

AUTHORITIES

As for Chapter IX.

MILMAN: Latin Christianity.

CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE UNDER PHILIP AUGUSTUS, LOUIS VIII., AND

ST LOUIS

[1180-1270]

FRANCE won the first place among the nations of Philip II.,
Augustus,
1180-1223 mediæval Europe in the ninety years between 1180 and 1270, the period of the reigns of Philip II., the "Wise," his son Louis VIII., and his grandson Louis IX., the "Saint."

Philip II., called "Augustus" by his contemporaries, who saw in his fame a revival of the glories of imperial Rome, really began to reign from the day of his coronation in 1179, though it was not till September 1180 that the death of his father, Louis VII., made him sole king in name as well as in fact. From the first he dreamt dreams of Empire, and set one goal before himself, the extension and consolidation of the French monarchy. In carrying out his ambitions he was confronted by three great feudal powers, the allied houses of Blois and Champagne, the Count of Flanders, and the King of England, Henry II., with his vast dominions on both sides of the Channel.

During the lifetime of Louis VII., the Courts of Champagne and of Blois, who were the brothers of Queen Adela, had aimed at governing the kingdom in their own interests, and at using the young king Philip as their tool. In self-defence Philip had allied himself with the Count of Flanders, whose niece, the heiress of the province of

Artois, he married in June 1180. But after the old king's death a treaty was concluded between France and England, which gave offence to the French nobles. A coalition was formed against Philip II., led by the Counts of Flanders, Champagne and Blois, and the Duke of Burgundy, and for nearly five years, from 1181 to 1186, France was torn by civil war. No sooner had the king subdued the last of his rebellious vassals than fresh complications arose with his former friend and supporter, Henry II. of England. The extent and importance of the English possessions in France made permanent peace between the two kingdoms impossible, and there was no lack of pretexts for a quarrel. When the eldest son of Henry II., the "young king" Henry, died in 1183, the Norman Vexin, the dowry of his wife, Margaret of France (see p. 107), was retained by the King of England. The contract of marriage between Philip's half-sister Alice and Richard Count of Poitou, the second son of Henry II., had not been fulfilled, while the third son, Geoffrey Count of Brittany, was discontented, and ready to conspire against his father with the King of France. So close was the bond between the two young men, that after Geoffrey's sudden death in 1186, Philip was with difficulty restrained from throwing himself into his friend's grave. Yet he soon transferred his affection to Richard of Poitou, and intrigued with him against Henry II., until the news of the fall of Jerusalem and the preaching of the Crusade (see p. 205) silenced all private dissensions and fired princes and people alike with enthusiasm for the Holy War. Richard of Poitou took the cross, and the Kings of France and England followed his example. The feud between Philip and Henry II., however, was not so easily ended. Though the year 1188 opened with busy

The Third
Crusade

preparations for the Crusade, by the summer the truce had been broken, the expedition to the Holy Land had been postponed, and hostilities against the English had been resumed. Richard of Poitou, jealous of the favour shown by Henry II. to his youngest son, John "Lackland," now openly allied himself with the French king, and at last, in July 1189, Henry II., betrayed by his children and deserted by his vassals, was forced to submit, to meet Richard and Philip at Colombiers, between Azai and Tours, and to agree to the Treaty of Azai, by which he consented to do homage to the King of France for his continental fiefs, and to recognize Richard as heir to the English crown. Broken down by the shame of defeat and the shock of finding that even his favourite son John had been unfaithful to him, he died at Chinon on July 6, 1189, and was laid to rest in the abbey-church of Fontevrault, where his tomb may still be seen. The death of Henry II. made Richard of Poitou King of England. His first care after his coronation was to prepare for the long-delayed Crusade. He and Philip of France entered into a covenant of mutual friendship and loyalty, renewed their crusading vows, arranged for the government of their dominions in their absence, and, in the late summer of 1190, set sail for the Holy Land, Richard from Marseilles and Philip from Genoa. The history of the Third Crusade need not here be repeated. (See Chap. XIV.) After a winter spent in Sicily in futile disputes, the two kings reached Syria in time to take part in the siege of Acre. The city capitulated on July 12, 1191, and some three weeks later Philip II. abandoned the expedition on the plea of ill-health, and returned to France. Before he left the Holy Land he swore to do no harm to the lands and subjects of the English king in Europe. "How faithfully

he kept his oath," wrote a contemporary, "the whole world knows."

A practical statesman and a man of business, Philip had indeed little sympathy with the chivalrous ideals and generous impulses of Richard of England. Regardless of his oath, on his arrival in France he began at once to plot with John, who was trying to secure the English crown in the absence of his brother. Fortune seemed to favour their schemes, for Richard was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria on his homeward journey, and was handed over by him to the Emperor Henry VI. Philip and John tried to bribe the Emperor to prolong Richard's captivity, and when in 1194 he was set at liberty after doing homage to Henry VI. for the kingdom of England, Philip is said to have written to John:—"Take heed to yourself, for the devil is loose."

The war with France which began on Richard's return, lasted, with brief periods of truce, till 1199. In the course of it Richard built his famous fortress on the Seine, Château-Gaillard, the "Saucy Castle," which covered the approaches to Rouen from France. Several of the great French feudatories sided with the English, Philip was defeated in Flanders and in Normandy, and Richard's cause was further strengthened when his nephew Otto IV. became the papal candidate for the imperial throne (see p. 181). At length, in 1199, a five years' truce was concluded by the intervention of the legate of Pope Innocent III. Shortly afterwards Richard was mortally wounded whilst besieging one of his rebellious vassals in the castle of Châlus in the Limousin. Minstrels and troubadours lamented the flower of chivalry, the gallant soldier and open-handed leader, himself a poet and the patron of poets, but the King of France must have

Death of
Richard I.
1199

breathed more freely when Richard "Cœur de Lion" was no longer his rival. The disputes concerning the succession to the English throne which arose on the death of Richard gave Philip II. an opportunity of which he was not slow to take advantage. Though John was crowned Duke of Normandy and King of England, the claims of his nephew Arthur of Brittany found many supporters, and John's own folly and wickedness went far to ruin his cause. He alienated the English nobles by divorcing his wife Hawisa of Gloucester, and the French nobles by carrying off the affianced bride of the son of the Count of la Marche. He refused to appear when summoned before the French king's court, and thus afforded Philip an excuse for declaring his fiefs forfeited, and invading Normandy. Finally, the mysterious disappearance of Arthur of Brittany, who had been taken prisoner by the English, gave rise to the rumour of his murder, and turned all hearts against the unnatural uncle who was said to have killed the young prince with his own hands. Philip II. marched into Normandy and took Château-Gaillard in 1204, after an eight months' siege. The surrender of Rouen and the conquest of the whole duchy followed. John's great Empire slipped away from him while with strange recklessness he spent his days in hunting and feasting and playing chess. Anjou, Touraine and Maine were easily won by Philip, and in the autumn of 1204 he crossed the Loire. John was roused to make an effort to save his southern provinces, but his French subjects were disloyal, the English nobles were sullen and unwilling to fight, and the greater part of Poitou was soon in the hands of the King of France. Well might the troubadours reproach the "shameless King John," who left Poitiers and Tours to Philip and allowed himself to

Conquest
of Nor-
mandy and
Anjou by
Philip II.,
1204

be driven out of his fair inheritance. In 1206 Brittany owned the French over-lordship, and by 1208 Philip's conquests were secured by a treaty of peace.

Relations
of Philip
II. with
Innocent
III.

In the struggle with John "Lackland" Philip II. had shown energy, promptitude and tact. On the wider field of European politics he proved his ability and power in his dealings with that subtle master of statecraft Pope Innocent III. As early as 1193 Philip had incurred the censure of the Papacy by divorcing his second wife, Ingeborg, sister of the King of Denmark, and marrying Agnes of Meran, the beautiful daughter of a German noble. Ingeborg appealed to Rome, and when Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 he at once intervened on her behalf, and forced the king to a seeming reconciliation by laying France under an interdict. Yet it was not till 1213 that Ingeborg was restored to her full honours as queen, and after the death of Agnes of Meran the Pope consented to legitimate her children. Innocent III. was, doubtless, fully alive to the importance of keeping on good terms with the King of France, and winning him as an ally in his strife with the house of Hohenstaufen. Philip II. was throughout a consistent Ghibeline. He supported Philip of Swabia, and after his assassination put forward a candidate of his own, Henry of Brabant, in opposition to Otto of Brunswick. Then, when Otto quarrelled with the Pope, Philip II. and Innocent III. united in pushing the claims of the young King of Sicily, Frederick of Hohenstaufen. A further reason for the alliance between France and the Papacy was the breach between the King of England and Innocent III. which resulted from John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton, the papal nominee, as Archbishop of Canterbury. The great political forces of Europe now grouped themselves in new combinations.

On the one side were the Pope, the French king and Frederick of Sicily, with the discontented English barons; on the other, King John, his nephew the excommunicated Emperor Otto IV., the untrustworthy Count of Boulogne, and Ferrand Count of Flanders, who had grievances against his over-lord Philip II., and derived important commercial advantages from his relations with the English. In 1212 England was laid under an interdict; in 1213 John was excommunicated by the Pope, his deposition was decreed, and the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the King of France. The expedition was looked on as a holy war. Like a second William the Conqueror Philip II. gathered his troops and ships and prepared to march under the papal banner against a rebellious son of the Church. It does credit to John's worldly wisdom that at this crisis of his fortunes he saved himself by completely submitting to the Pope, resigning his crown into the hands of the papal legate and receiving it back on condition of holding his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. Innocent III. did not hesitate to throw Philip over when he no longer needed him, though the French king "had great wrath in his heart against the Pope, who had closed the road to England to him." The army which had been intended for the English campaign was now turned against the Count of Flanders, but his allies, Otto IV., the Count of Boulogne, and the English king came to his help, with many of the feudal lords of Holland and Lorraine, while John invaded Poitou in the hope of recovering some of his lost territory. Caught between two armies, the position of the King of France was very serious. His son Louis, however, defeated the English in the south, and on July 27, 1214, Philip himself dealt a crushing blow at the allied forces in the famous

Battle of
Bouvines,
July 27,
1214

battle of Bouvines near Tournai. The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne were taken prisoner, and Otto IV. fled from the field. Great was the enthusiasm among the subjects of Philip II. when the results of the battle were known. The victory of Bouvines meant, indeed, not only the ruin of the cause of Otto IV. in Germany and the final overthrow of the Angevin dynasty on the Continent, but the firm establishment of the Capetian monarchy, and the recognition of France as a united and powerful nation, a leader among European States.

Expedition
of Louis of
France to
England
and death
of John,
1216-1217

In England, the defeat of the allies at Bouvines left John alone to face the armed opposition of his subjects, and he found himself obliged to yield to their demands and to grant the great Charter of Liberties. When Pope Innocent III. came to the aid of his new vassal, released him from his promises and annulled the Charter, the English barons offered the crown to Louis of France, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, who had married Blanche of Castile, a grand-daughter of Henry II. Louis led an expedition to England, but the sudden death of John in 1216 altered the whole situation. The French troops were defeated at Lincoln, the French fleet was scattered off Dover, and in September 1217 Louis signed the treaty of Lambeth and returned to France. If the Plantagenets had to submit to be stripped of their French fiefs, at least they were spared the humiliation of seeing a Capetian on the English throne.

Internal
Government
of
Philip II.

A thirteenth-century chronicler tells us that after the battle of Bouvines, Philip Augustus lived in great peace and no man durst make war upon him. During the remaining nine years of his reign he occupied himself with the internal affairs of his kingdom, and with the consolidation and organization of his dominions. He gave France the three

essential instruments of good government, a strong army, a full treasury and a well-regulated administrative system, and he did much to weaken the great feudatories and to strengthen the monarchy by his encouragement of the official and commercial classes. His army was largely composed of hired soldiers and professional mercenaries, and though the feudal levy was still sometimes called out and the militia of the towns still often served in person, it was becoming more and more the custom to commute service, whether military or non-military, and payments in kind, for money payments. The crown was further enriched by the extension of the royal demesne, through marriage, through treaty, and through conquest, and Philip II. knew how to amass treasure by taxing clergy and laity alike, by selling privileges to towns, and protection to the Jews whom in the beginning of his reign he had banished from the country, and by transforming old feudal or servile obligations into profitable money rents and dues. In his relations with the feudal nobles Philip showed that he was determined to be master. He forced them to recognize the jurisdiction of the king's court of justice and to accept his legislative ordinances. By the sheer force of his wealth, influence, and dominant personality he bowed his vassals to his will. He protected and flattered the clergy, and yet did not scruple to wring money from them, and to limit the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. To the towns he was a great benefactor. He renewed and confirmed charters and created many communes, both in his own demesne and in the newly conquered provinces. He favoured trade, too, throughout the kingdom, and called burgesses to his feudal councils. He extended his protection to foreign merchants, and granted special privileges to the *hanse* or

merchant corporation of Paris. In all these measures he had his own profit in view. The towns gave him military and financial support, and he found a valuable political ally in the commercial class. In the work of administration he relied even more than his predecessors on the middle class, as a check on the feudal magnates. All real power was entrusted to the king's intimate councillors, the officials of court and palace, the *curiales* and *palatini*, knights, clerks and lawyers, members of the *curia regis* or king's court, in the narrower sense. The *curia regis* in the wider sense, the great feudal council of nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, met less frequently than heretofore, and the representatives of the towns were more prominent in it. In the local government of the royal demesne Philip II. instituted a new officer, the *bailli*, who was placed over the existing officials, the *prévôts*, and was directly responsible to the crown. The *baillis*, like the itinerant justices in England, were the financial, judicial and administrative agents of the king. The whole system centred in Paris, which was fast becoming the capital of a great kingdom. Philip Augustus surrounded the city with a wall and built the castle and tower of the Louvre. The thirteenth-century fortress has given place to the stately palace of Francis I. and his successors, but the ground-plan of the older building may still be traced in one of the courts of the Louvre, as we know it to-day.

Death of
Philip II.,
1223

Philip II. died in 1223, and was buried in the abbey of St Denis. The French historians vie with one another in praising the great king, while the English chroniclers paint him as the perfidious rival of the gallant Cœur de Lion. From these contradictory accounts it is difficult to form a clear idea of Philip's character and personality,

but an unbiassed contemporary has left us what is probably a true description of the handsome, stalwart prince, high-coloured and fond of good living, generous to his friends, stern to those who resisted him, strong-willed, shrewd and resolute, loving to use small men and to abase the proud, the defender of the Church and the protector of the poor. In truth Philip was neither a model of virtue nor a monster of iniquity, but an able and unscrupulous politician, a crafty diplomatist, a prudent and experienced soldier, a wise ruler and one of the founders of the French monarchy.

In person the new king, Louis VIII., a small, thin, delicate man, already past his first youth, was a striking contrast to the florid, vigorous Philip Augustus, yet he shared his father's ambitions and carried out his policy with energy and decision. The three years of the brief reign of Louis VIII. are chiefly noteworthy for the war with the English in Aquitaine, and for the crusade against the Albigensian heretics in southern France.

Louis took advantage of the youth of Henry III. and of the troubles in England to secure and extend his authority in Poitou, Saintonge, the Limousin and Périgord. Only Gascony, with the city of Bordeaux, remained to the English. By 1226, the last year of his life, the French king was able to turn his attention to the affairs of Languedoc. While Philip Augustus and his son were establishing the royal power on a firm basis in the North of France the submission of the South was prepared by the long agony of the Albigensian crusade. The free spirit of the men of Languedoc was broken and their independence was crushed by the horrors of a "holy war," preached by Popes and Churchmen against the heretic enemies of the faith. The South of France was

Louis VIII.,
1223-1226

War with the English in Aquitaine

The Albigensian Crusade

cut off from the North by language, by race, by ways of life and by habits of mind. The sunny lands between the Rhone and the Bay of Biscay were the home of romance and chivalry, inhabited by a gay, pleasure-loving, poetic, eloquent people, sensitive, imaginative and alert. East and West touched in the busy cities along the Mediterranean shore, and the intercourse with alien civilizations quickened and stimulated intellectual curiosity. Such a soil was well fitted for the growth of new and original modes of thought, and the teaching of *Cathari*, "Petrobrussians," and "Henricians" (see p. 121) found a ready response in the southern provinces. Before the end of the twelfth century the Count of Toulouse, Raymond V., wrote that the new beliefs had penetrated everywhere, and had sowed discord in all households. His son, Raymond VI., was himself a friend to heretics. The "Albigenses," as the thirteenth-century southern *Cathari* were called, from the town of Albi, believed in the dual government of the world by a good and an evil power, and rejected many of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. As founders of what was practically a new religion, as daring innovators and rebels against authority, they were early recognized as a source of serious danger to the unity of the faith. When Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 he set himself to the task of rooting out the Albigensian heresy. But ten years of peaceful exhortation, of missions and preaching in which St Dominic took an active part, and of threats of excommunication, had produced comparatively little effect when, in 1208, the murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, by the heretics gave an excuse for adopting more violent measures. A crusade was preached, Count Raymond VI. was excommunicated, and the armed

chivalry of the North of France poured into Languedoc, to fight the battles of the Church. It was in vain that Raymond VI. made humble submission to the Pope: his lands were conquered by Simon, lord of the northern fief of Montfort l'Amauri, the father of the later champion of English freedom, his ally Peter King of Aragon was killed at the battle of Muret in 1213, and in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council confirmed to Simon de Montfort the greater part of his conquests, but left to the son of Raymond VI. the lands beyond the Rhone. Though this decree closed the first stage of the war, hostilities began again almost immediately, when Raymond and his son tried to recover their fiefs. Toulouse revolted; in the siege which followed Simon de Montfort was killed, and his death renewed the war all along the line. The struggle now to a great extent lost its religious character and became a mere dynastic and political contest. When Louis VIII. came to the throne the Pope, Honorius III., and the southern bishops begged him to intervene. He consented on condition that all the forfeited lands of the Count of Toulouse and the other feudatories should be placed at his disposal. He had already, before his accession, twice visited Languedoc during the war, and in May 1226 he marched south, for the third time, at the head of an army of Crusaders. Avignon was blockaded, and surrendered at the end of August. The King rode unopposed through the troubled districts, made provision for the government of the country as a royal fief, and in October prepared to return to Paris through Auvergne. He had reached Montpensier when he succumbed to a sharp attack of illness. He died on November 8th, commending the regency of the kingdom to his wife, Blanche of Castile.

Crusade
and death
of Louis
VIII.,
1226

Louis IX.
(*St Louis*),
1226-1270

France was now faced with the perils of a minority, for Louis, the young king, was only twelve years old, and the feudal nobles, seeing the country in the hands of a woman and a child, were eager to recover the power which they had lost under Philip Augustus. The king's uncle, Philip Hurepel Count of Boulogne, Pierre Mauclerc Count of Brittany, Raymond VII., now by his father's death Count of Toulouse, the Duke of Burgundy, and others, formed a league against "the Spaniard," the foreign queen-regent, and allied themselves with England.

With masterly decision, Blanche of Castile, "a woman in sex, but a man in counsel," caused her son to be consecrated at Rheims, and threw herself on the support of the clergy and the people, the one faithful feudatory, Theobald of Champagne, and the Pope, Honorius III. The Emperor Frederick II. remained neutral, Henry III. of England was dilatory, and by diplomacy and energy Blanche succeeded in breaking up the feudal coalition.

Treaty of
Meaux,
1229

In 1229 Raymond of Toulouse, by the Treaty of Meaux, was secured in the possession of a portion of his father's dominions, on condition of giving his daughter and heiress in marriage to the king's brother, of reconciling himself with the Church, and of continuing the persecution of the heretics. The establishment of an "Inquisition" or organized system of ecclesiastical examination of suspected heretics completed the subjugation of the South of France. In 1233 the Pope entrusted the management of the Inquisition to the Dominicans, to be exercised in his name. One last desperate attempt on the part of Raymond VII. to shake off the French yoke in 1243 failed signally. The Albigensian tragedy ended with a horrible massacre of heretics at Mt. Ségur in 1244, and in 1247 the death of Raymond

Last
Revolt of
Raymond
VII., 1243

gave the County of Toulouse to his son-in-law, the king's brother, Alphonse of Poitou.

Louis IX. came of age in 1234, and assumed the personal government of the kingdom, though the queen-regent retained much influence till her death in 1252. For nearly forty years, till his lonely death in 1270, he stands out, a singularly attractive figure in his purity and integrity, as a simple follower after righteousness among worldly Popes, ambitious Emperors, self-seeking princes, and intriguing politicians. The formal canonization of the Church was hardly needed to win him recognition as a saint. A favourite subject of mediæval art, his portrait, more or less idealized, appears in frescoes, in sculpture, and in stained-glass windows, while chroniclers and historians are unanimous in his praise. He was tall, slight and fair, with thick light hair, soft eyes and an "angelic" expression. Simple though daintily refined in dress and manners, so devout that he was reproached as being more fit for a king of the Friars than of the French, ascetic, charitable, energetic, pitiful to the poor, but high-spirited and even hasty-tempered on occasion, Saint Louis seems to have deeply impressed his age by the mere power^{of} of unpretending goodness, rather than by any specially brilliant gifts of intellect and imagination. In the charming pages of his friend and biographer, the Sieur de Joinville, he is described as a lover of God, of his people, and of truth, and the friar who preached his funeral sermon called him "the most loyal man of his time."

At the opening of his period of personal rule Louis IX. found himself in a strong position. His father, following a policy which afterwards proved fatal in its results, had portioned out the great fiefs among his sons. Alphonse was Count of Poitou and Auvergne; his wife

Personal
Government of
Louis IX.,
1234-1270

was the heiress of Toulouse. Robert was Count of Artois, and Charles ruled over Anjou and Maine. Louis himself was married to a daughter of Raymond Berenger, Marquis of Provence, and her sister was the wife of Charles of Anjou. Thus a royal nobility was formed which, whatever its later dangers, for the moment, supported the crown. A feudal rising in Poitou, in alliance with England, was suppressed. The Count of Toulouse was reduced to submission, and by 1248 Louis felt himself at liberty to carry out his cherished scheme of a Crusade for the relief of the Holy Land, where in 1244 Jerusalem had been taken by the Charismians, the fierce Turkish mercenaries of the Sultan of Egypt. Louis determined to strike directly at the Egyptian power. He captured the port of Damietta without much difficulty, but in attempting to press on to Cairo his troops suffered a severe defeat at Mansourah, and Robert of Artois was killed. Forced to fall back on Damietta, Louis himself was taken prisoner, and only regained his freedom on payment of a heavy ransom. After spending nearly four years in Syria, fortifying the seaports, he returned to France in 1254.

During the next sixteen years Louis IX. played a leading part in European politics. He refused the Sicilian crown for himself, but saw his brother Charles of Anjou ruling as King of Sicily. He tried to mediate between Frederick II. and the Papacy, and in the troubled times after Frederick's death he supported Alfonso of Castile against Richard of Cornwall. He was called in to arbitrate by the Mise of Amiens between Henry III. and the barons in the civil war in England. At home his feudal vassals submitted their differences to him. To the Papacy his attitude was

First
Crusade of
Louis IX.,
1248-1254

Home and
Foreign
Policy of
Louis IX.

reverent, but never servile, and though he protected the Gallican Church, he would not suffer the clergy to usurp privileges, or unduly extend their jurisdiction. To the Friars he was always a friend and patron. He was himself a member of the "Third Order" of the Franciscans (see p. 230), and he relied on their help in his administrative reforms, and in return lavished favours and privileges upon them.

His reign marks an important stage in the centralization and organization of the administrative system. Joinville tells how he would do justice in person, seated under an oak tree in the forest of Vincennes, but he could also legislate for wider interests, and make the royal justice felt as a reality throughout the kingdom. The local officials, the *baillis* and *sénéchaux* of Philip Augustus, were more closely connected with the central authority by means of regular circuits of *enquêteurs* or itinerant justices charged with the supervision of local government. The Central Court began to specialize its functions, and to divide into the *Grand Conseil*, for the ordinary administrative and political work of the kingdom, the *Parlement* or judicial department, and the financial committees which were afterwards developed into the *Chambre des Comptes*. The *Parlement* acted as a court of final appeal, and the power of the King's Court was greatly strengthened by the increase in *cas royaux*, cases which, like the "Pleas of the Crown" in England, were specially reserved for the royal jurisdiction. Provision was made for the strict supervision of the local officials, and the coinage was reformed and regulated. Well might Joinville write that Louis "considered and thought that to amend the kingdom of France was a right fair thing."

Amidst all these manifold activities the king had never

Second
Crusade
and death
of Louis
IX., 1270

lost sight of the needs of the Holy Land, and in 1270, accompanied by his three sons, he embarked at Aigues-Mortes on a second crusading expedition. Tempted by the hope of converting the ruler of Tunis to Christianity, he landed in Africa in the scorching summer heat. Soon pestilence was devastating his army, and on August 25 Louis himself passed away, murmuring, "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" as he lay dying. His eldest son, Philip III., brought back his body to France to be buried at Saint-Denis, "where," in the words of Joinville, reflecting the belief of the time, "God wrought many fair miracles for him and by his merits."

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CHAPTER XIV

THE THIRD AND FOURTH CRUSADES AND THE LATIN EMPIRE OF THE EAST [1149-1261]

FORTY years after the loss of Edessa a still heavier blow fell upon the Syrian Franks in the capture of the Holy City itself by the Turks, and once more the call to a Crusade sounded throughout Western Christendom. The years which followed the failure of the Second Crusade saw the gradual decline of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin III. and his brother and successor Amalric I. were brave and able, but they died young, and Amalric's son, Baldwin IV., was a leper from his childhood. The great Frank nobles were selfish and ambitious, the Military Orders grew headstrong and arrogant, and the European settlers, enervated by the hot climate and the luxurious Oriental life, intermarried with the Syrians and adopted their customs. "God," wrote the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, "has poured the West into the East; we who were Westerns are now Easterns." The Emperor of Constantinople and the King of Sicily were too intent on their own interests in Africa and Asia to combine effectually with the Franks of Palestine, and while the Christians were thus divided among themselves, Zengy's son Nur-ed-din, lord of Aleppo and Damascus, and his greater follower Saladin were building up a strong united Mohammedan State in Syria and Egypt which hemmed in the Latin kingdom and threatened its very existence.

The Latin
Kingdom
of Jeru-
salem
Baldwin
III.,
1143-1163
Amalric I.,
1163-1174
Baldwin
IV.,
1174-1183
(resigned
the Crown)

Condition
of Egypt

The situation of Egypt in the middle of the twelfth century invited the intervention of foreign powers, and both Amalric of Jerusalem and Nur-ed-din of Syria were anxious to win a permanent foothold in the fertile and wealthy valley of the Nile. The Fatimite Caliph was now a mere puppet, completely overshadowed by his grand vizir, or chief minister. A quarrel between two rival vizirs led one of them, Shawir, to take refuge with Nur-ed-din, who sent an army to reinstate him, under the command of Shirkuh, Saladin's uncle. Dreading the ambition of Shirkuh, Shawir opened negotiations with the King of Jerusalem, but when the Franks invaded Egypt Nur-ed-din regained his former influence, and in the end Shirkuh brought about the death of Shawir and succeeded him in the office of grand vizir. On Shirkuh's death in 1169, his place was taken by his famous nephew Saladin or Salah-ed-din, "Honour of the Faith." In vain did the Emperor Manuel and Amalric of Jerusalem make a joint attack on Damietta in 1169. They were forced to retire, and by 1171 Saladin felt himself sufficiently strong to suppress the Fatimite Caliphate and to restore Egypt to the orthodox faith. Three years later, in 1174, the deaths of Amalric I. and of Nur-ed-din, "the just prince," opened the way for the lord of Egypt to win Syria also. In 1174 Saladin took Damascus. In 1175 the Caliph of Bagdad recognized him as King of Egypt and Syria. By 1183 he had conquered Aleppo and was revered far and wide as "King of all the kings of the East," "Sultan of Islam and of the Moslems."

Death of
Nur-ed-
din, 1174

In that same year, 1183, Baldwin IV., the leper-king of Jerusalem, resigned his crown to his baby nephew, Baldwin V., son of his sister Sibylla and of her first husband, William of Montferrat. By 1186 both the

child-king and his unhappy uncle were dead, and the kingdom was a prey to rival factions. A party headed by the Grand Master of the Templars and the Patriarch Heraclius procured the coronation of Sibylla and her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, but the powerful Count Raymond of Tripoli remained in opposition, and in the dissensions of the Christian princes Saladin saw his opportunity. The capture of a Saracen caravan by the lord of Kerak gave an excuse for the proclamation of the Holy War. Palestine was invaded, and on July 4th, 1187, the Franks were utterly defeated in the great battle of Hattin, near Tiberias. King Guy was taken prisoner, and the Holy Cross, the venerated standard in which was enclosed a piece of wood believed to be part of the cross on which Christ suffered, fell into the hands of the Turks, Town after town and fortress after fortress now surrendered to Saladin, until on September 20th he appeared before Jerusalem. On October 2nd, 1187, after a short siege, the Holy City, the crowning conquest of the First Crusade, was restored to the Mohammedans, and Saladin was honoured as the champion of the faith and the vanquisher of the worshippers of the cross. When the Archbishop of Tyre, in a black-sailed ship, brought the news of the Battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem to the West, Europe was stirred by something of the generous enthusiasm of the early crusading days. France rang with the lament of the poet Berter of Orleans for the "Wood of the Cross" which had so often led the Christian hosts to victory. A "Saladin tithe" was levied in France and England for the rescue of Jerusalem, and women urged their sons and husbands to offer themselves for the Holy War. Throughout Western Europe great preparations were made. Among

Coronation
of Sibylla
and Guy of
Lusignan,
1186

Battle of
Hattin or
Tiberias,
July 4,
1187

Capture of
Jerusalem
by the
Turks, Oct.
2, 1187

Preaching
of the
Third
Crusade

the first to take the cross were Richard of Poitou, his father, Henry II. of England, and Philip Augustus of France. William the Good, King of Sicily, sent a fleet to the relief of the Syrian ports. The aged Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, led the German Crusaders through Hungary and Bulgaria in the spring of 1189, only to meet a tragic death in a river of Asia Minor, in the following year (see p. 170). The English and French Crusaders, delayed by the quarrels of their rulers, did not start till June 1190, nearly a year after the death of Henry II. (see p. 187). The two kings, Richard I. and Philip Augustus, took the Mediterranean route and met in Sicily, where they spent the winter in undignified wrangling. William the Good had recently died, and the Sicilian crown had been seized by Tancred of Lecce, an illegitimate prince of the royal house. The late king's widow was Richard's sister, and a dispute with Tancred over her dowry led to the English taking Messina "quicker than a priest could chant matins," an exploit which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace and alliance between Tancred and the King of England. Philip Augustus sailed for the Holy Land in the spring of 1191, while Richard followed in leisurely fashion, pausing on the way to conquer Cyprus and depose and imprison the so-called "Emperor" of the island, Isaac Comnenus. At Cyprus, too, he celebrated his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre, who had joined him in Sicily.

The French and English hosts met once more beneath the walls of Acre, the gathering place of all the forces of the Crusade. The siege of Acre, which lasted nearly two years, was the central event of the Third Crusade. The strongly-fortified city, with its excellent harbour, was, next to Jerusalem, the most valuable of the Turkish

Death of
Frederick
Barbar-
ossa, 1190

The
English
and French
hosts in
Sicily

Siege of
Acre,
August
1189 to
July 1191

conquests, and King Guy, now released from captivity and absolved by the clergy from his oath not to bear arms against Saladin, led his small army against it in the August of 1189. Though the Christians were strengthened by the arrival of the various crusading contingents, Scandinavians and Flemings, English, and French, with the survivors of the German expedition, it was found impossible to isolate the city completely, and Saladin hemmed in the besiegers from without till they were themselves besieged, and began to suffer from famine and pestilence. They beat back Saladin's troops and fortified their camp with earth works, but the Turks destroyed their siege engines with the deadly "Greek fire," and their position seemed desperate when the two great kings of France and England arrived—Philip at the end of April 1191, Richard at the beginning of June. Philip was welcomed "as if he were an angel," and when Richard appeared, "there was great joy, because the desired of all nations had come." The besieged lost heart, and on July 12th Acre surrendered. The Crusaders had gained a great victory, yet party spirit lost what courage and perseverance had won. To the feuds between the French and English was added a dispute over the succession to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Queen Sibylla and her children had died in 1190, and the crown was claimed by Guy of Lusignan, supported by the English, and by Conrad of Montferrat, who married Sibylla's sister Isabella, and was favoured by the French. Soon after the capture of Acre Philip Augustus pleaded ill-health as an excuse for returning to Europe, and though Richard pressed on to Jaffa (Joppa), defeating the Turks on the way at Arsuf, he failed in two attempts to reach Jerusalem, and had to rest content with rebuilding Ascalon and repulsing Saladin's

Battle of
Arsuf

troops from Jaffa. A later tradition tells how, when he was within sight of the Holy City, he refused to look upon it, since he could not reconquer it. Early in 1192 the recognition of Conrad of Montferrat as King of Jerusalem was followed by his murder by the emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain," the chief of the sect of the Assassins, and the succession question was compromised by the election of Henry of Champagne, a nephew of both Richard of England and Philip of France, to the throne of Jerusalem, by his marriage with Conrad's widow Isabella, and by the grant of the island of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan as compensation for the loss of the kingdom. Meanwhile, things were going badly in Richard's European dominions, and in the autumn of 1192 he made peace with Saladin, and left the Holy Land, amidst the lamentations of the people. A few months later his generous rival Saladin died at Damascus.

Romance has made the Third Crusade its own, and has woven a tissue of legend about the gallant Richard Cœur de Lion and the chivalrous Saladin. In reality, the great expedition, led by an Emperor and two kings, effected little, though the narrow strip of coast, from Tyre to Jaffa, which the Christians retained, kept the Syrian ports open to western trade, and the Mohammedan advance was checked until, on Saladin's death, the Turkish power ceased for a while to be a danger to Christendom. The division of Saladin's Empire among his descendants might have been turned to profit by the Christians of the East, but for the internal dissensions which troubled both the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire. Shortly after the death of Manuel I. in 1180 his young son Alexius II. was strangled by his kinsman, the regent

State of the
Eastern
Empire

Andronicus Comnenus, who seized the throne, only to fall a victim in his turn to the fury of the mob. With him ended the great line of the Emperors of the house of Comnenus, and Isaac Angelus, a noble whose wrongs had given occasion for the revolt against Andronicus, succeeded to the imperial dignity. After ten disastrous years, in which Bulgaria and Cyprus were lost to the Empire, Isaac was deposed, blinded, and shut up in a monastery by his equally incompetent brother Alexius III., who was proclaimed Emperor in 1195. In 1197 the far-reaching schemes of eastern conquest of the Hohenstaufen Henry VI. were only frustrated by his untimely death (see p. 176). Six years later the blow fell, and the Fourth Crusade resulted in a Latin conquest of Constantinople.

When Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 it was in keeping with his lofty ambitions that he should seek to reunite the Eastern and Western churches, to revive the crusading enthusiasm, and to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre. He negotiated with Alexius III., and encouraged the preaching of a Crusade by the eloquent French priest Fulk of Neuilly. A crusading force was organized under the leadership of Theobald of Champagne, an attack on the Holy Land was planned by way of Egypt, and an arrangement was made with Venice for a supply of ships and provisions in exchange for a large sum of money and the promise of a half share in the lands conquered from the Turks. But the shrewd Venetians cared more for their own interests than for the Holy War. When the Crusaders failed to raise the sum for which they had covenanted, they were induced to defray their debt by the capture of the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which the Hungarian king had taken from the Venetian republic. While they lingered at Zara, an appeal for aid was made to

Isaac
Angelus,
1185-1195

Alexius
III.,
1195-1203

Innocent
III. and
the Fourth
Crusade

them from another quarter. Alexius, the son of the deposed Isaac Angelus, had fled to his brother-in-law, Philip of Swabia, and had long been seeking help from the princes of Europe. He now proposed that the Crusaders should replace his father on the throne of Constantinople, in return for future support in the conquest of the Holy Land. In vain did Innocent III. refuse to sanction this diversion of the crusading army; in vain did the more single-minded Crusaders protest against the abandonment of their sacred aim. Theobald of Champagne had died before the expedition started, and his place had been taken by Boniface of Montferrat, the brother of Conrad of Jerusalem, an able soldier of fortune, who now, with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and the Doge of Venice, led the crusading hosts against Constantinople. Though a land attack on the city was repulsed, the Venetians were successful in effecting an entrance from the side of the sea. Alexius III. fled, and Isaac Angelus was reinstated. The demands of the Crusaders, however, drove Isaac and his son to intolerable exactions, and in January 1204 the mob rose under Alexius Ducas, called "Murtzuphlus" from his shaggy eyebrows, and shut the gates on the Crusaders. Isaac II. died of shock, his son Alexius was put to death, and Alexius Ducas was hailed as the Emperor Alexius V. His reign was of brief duration. Two months of careful preparation enabled the Crusaders to attack Constantinople in force. The city was taken and ruthlessly sacked, its priceless treasures of classic art were carried off or destroyed, and its churches were despoiled of their relics. Alexius Ducas was captured and executed, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was elected Emperor, while Boniface of Montferrat became "King of Thessalonica," and the Venetians received "a quarter and

Capture of
Constanti-
nople, 1203

Alexius V.,
1204

Second
Siege,
Capture
and Sack of
Constanti-
nople, 1204

Baldwin I.,
1204-1205

half a quarter" of the Empire, including Crete, the Ionian Islands, many of the islands in the Ægean Sea, and valuable ports and harbours in Greece and on the Dardanelles. A Venetian was consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople, and word was sent to the Pope that the churches of the East and West were united.

A feudal state on the Latin model, with many powerful princes under the nominal overlordship of the Emperor, now replaced the highly centralized Byzantine despotism. While fiefs which had not as yet been conquered from the Greeks were granted out to Latin nobles, independent Greek Empires were established by the General Theodore Lascaris at Nicæa, and by a Comnenus at Trebizond, and an Angelus ruled as "despot" at Epirus. For fifty-seven years the Latin Empire of Constantinople dragged out a feeble existence. Baldwin I. was killed by the Bulgarians a year after his accession; he was succeeded by his brother Henry, and on his death in 1216 the Empire came into the incapable hands of his brother-in-law Peter of Courtenay, who fell a victim to the Epirots, and was followed in quick succession by his sons, Robert, who died in 1228, and Baldwin II. The Latin Empire was now at its last gasp, destitute of money and resources, and Baldwin spent most of his time wandering about Europe, begging for assistance. In 1235 a Greek attack on Constantinople was successfully resisted, but the final catastrophe was only averted. The Emperors of Nicæa, Theodore Lascaris and his son-in-law John Ducas, had built up a strong and prosperous state in Asia Minor, and had subdued the despot of Epirus, who had assumed the title of Emperor after his conquest of the kingdom of Thessalonica. When in 1258 Theodore II., the successor of John Ducas, died, the able and unscrupulous Michael Palæologus deposed

The Latin
Empire of
the East

Empires of
Nicæa and
Trebizond

The
"Despot"
of Epirus

Henry,
1105-1216
Peter of
Courtenay,
1217-1219

Robert,
1219-1228

Baldwin
II., 1228-
1261

Death of
John III.,
Ducas, 1254

Death of
Theodore
II., Ducas.
1258

Deposition
of John
IV., Ducas,
1259
Michael
VIII.,
Palæolo-
gus, 1259-
1282

his little son John IV. and usurped his throne. In 1261 Michael's troops suddenly attacked Constantinople in the absence of the protecting Venetian fleet, and the city submitted almost without a blow. Palæologus was recognized as the Emperor Michael VIII., and the Latin Empire of the East came to an inglorious end.

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CHAPTER XV

FREDERICK II. AND THE STRIFE WITH THE PAPACY

(1216 -1250)

THE story of the life and death of the Emperor Frederick II. has all the dramatic interest of a great tragedy. The "child of Apulia," the son of a Sicilian-Norman mother and of a German father, educated in the half-oriental atmosphere of southern Italy, transplanted while still a youth to the ruder harsher north, a genius checked and thwarted by untoward circumstances, he embodied in his restless versatile complex nature the very spirit of the thirteenth century, keen, passionate, eager, subtle, and sceptical.

The fifty-six years of Frederick's life may be divided into four periods, each connected with the figure, friendly or hostile, of a powerful Pope. In his orphaned childhood and early youth he was the ward and favourite of Innocent III. From 1216 to 1227 he appears as the wily politician, skilfully managing Honorius III. From 1227 to 1241 he is the warrior, entering the lists against the redoubtable Gregory IX., and the close of the half-century saw him worsted in the final struggle with the still more formidable Innocent IV. The childhood of Frederick II., King of Sicily at three years old, was passed amidst stormy scenes. Contemporary chroniclers give us glimpses of him as a boy, carried off by Markwald

of Ancona and striking his captors in impotent rage, or curbing his spirited horse and brandishing his sword in mimic warfare, or reading history in the long evenings. Of medium height, but strong and well-knit, he inherited the fair complexion and reddish hair of his Hohenstaufen grandfather Barbarossa. His naturally quick intelligence was carefully trained and developed under both European and Saracen masters, and the cosmopolitan court of Palermo, the "trilingual town," Latin, Greek, and Arab, was in itself a school of politics and diplomacy, of science and philosophy, languages and art. Married at the age of sixteen to Constance, sister of the King of Aragon, Frederick was crowned King of Germany two years later, in 1212, but it was not till the death of Innocent III. in 1216 that he began to rule in fact as well as in name, and was able to gather up into his capable hands the threads of many conflicting interests, Sicilian, Roman, Lombard, and Eastern, and to weave them into a strong and systematic policy.

Innocent's successor on the papal throne was Honorius III., of the Roman house of Savelli, who had been Frederick's tutor. His heart was set on carrying out Innocent's crusading project. Though the Fourth Crusade had been diverted from its object, soldiers of the Cross were fighting, in the early years of the thirteenth century, against the heretics of Southern France, the Moors of Spain and the heathen Prussians of the North. In 1212 and 1213 the strange phenomenon of the "Crusade of Children" recalled the extravagant fervour of the days of Peter the Hermit. Thousands of hapless children and peasants embarked for the Holy Land at Marseilles, under the guidance of a shepherd boy of Vendôme, or followed a young German visionary across the Alps into Italy,

The
Crusade of
Children,
1212-1213

hoping to reach Palestine by way of Brindisi. Many were lost at sea, many were sold into slavery in Africa, while others perished of hunger and exhaustion. But their enthusiasm proved that the crusading spirit was not dead, and in 1215, after the coronation at Aachen, Frederick II. took the cross, "to show his gratitude to God." When in 1218 the death of Otto of Brunswick freed him from his once dangerous rival, the Pope urged him to fulfil his vow and to join the expedition which, in accordance with the decree of the Lateran Council, had left Europe in the preceding year. The King of Jerusalem at this time was John, brother of Walter of Brienne, and husband of the daughter of Queen Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat (see Table V.). With the help of a contingent of Dutch, Scandinavian, and German Crusaders he was now besieging Damietta, and Frederick's arrival in Egypt was eagerly expected. Sicily and the Empire, however, were more to the son of Henry VI. than the needs of the Holy Land, or even his plighted word. He had promised Innocent III. to renounce the title of King of Sicily, to confer the kingdom on his young son Henry, to be held as a fief of the Papacy, and to keep the Sicilian kingdom and the Empire apart. Yet in 1220 he induced the German princes, by lavish grants of privileges, to elect Henry King of the Romans, and in the same year he crossed the Brenner into Italy, was crowned Emperor at Rome, and persuaded the Pope to allow him to hold Sicily for his lifetime, on condition that the personal union of the two crowns should not become a real administrative union of the German and Sicilian kingdoms. In return, Frederick made extensive concessions to the Papacy; the clergy were exempted from taxation and lay jurisdiction, all municipal statutes and customs which were opposed to

Corona-
tion of
Frederick
II. as
Emperor
at Rome,
1220

ecclesiastical liberty were annulled, and the secular power was placed at the disposal of the Church for the extirpation of heresy. In addition, the Emperor renewed his crusading vow. Meanwhile, the Crusaders in Egypt had won Damietta, only to lose it again. Frederick, instead of hastening to the rescue, occupied himself in subduing a revolt of the Saracens in Sicily, and won the Pope's unwilling consent to the postponement of the fulfilment of his pledge. Finally the Emperor took an oath to start in 1227, on pain of excommunication, married as his second wife Yolande, or Isabella, daughter and heiress of John de Brienne, and in her right assumed the title of King of Jerusalem.

The preparations for the long-delayed Crusade were approaching completion, when, in March 1227, Honorius III. died, and was succeeded as Pope by a kinsman of Innocent III., the aged but fiery and resolute Gregory IX. In August 1227 Frederick II. set sail from Brindisi for the Holy Land. Three days later, on the pretext of illness, he returned to Italy, and was forthwith excommunicated by the Pope. Nothing daunted, he started again in June 1228, and reached Acre in September. The Military Orders held aloof from the excommunicated Crusader; the friars preached against him, and many of his followers deserted him. Public opinion was still further outraged by the means he took to gain his ends. He entered into negotiations with the Sultan of Egypt, and induced him to grant a ten years' truce and to cede Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem to the Christians, with the exception of the Mosque of Omar on the site of the Temple. On March 18th, 1229, Frederick marched into the Holy City as king, and on the following day, since the Patriarch of Jerusalem would not crown him, he lifted the royal crown

Gregory
IX.,
1227-1241
Crusade of
Frederick
II.,
1227-1229

from the altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and placed it on his own head, without "prelate, priest, or clerk." He then took ship for Italy, and arrived at Brindisi early in June. Even before his departure for Palestine the renewal of the quarrel between Empire and Papacy had led to the issue of manifestoes on both sides, while the imperial partisans had stirred up so fierce a tumult in Rome that Gregory IX. had been forced to fly from the city. While the Emperor was in the Holy Land the Pope was preaching a crusade against him at home. The papal troops, with the keys of St Peter on their banner, led by John de Brienne, the ex-king of Jerusalem, and by two cardinals, invaded Southern Italy, and the Mendicant Friars exhorted the people to maintain the cause of the Church. But when Frederick returned he quickly recovered all that he had lost, and in 1230 the Pope accepted the peace of San Germano, and released the Emperor from excommunication.

Peace of
San
Germano
1230

The next five years were the most tranquil time in Frederick's troubled life, when an interval of comparative peace allowed him to regulate the internal affairs of his Empire, and to prove himself a statesman of no mean capacity. In Sicily he ruled as a beneficent despot, and established a strong, centralized, absolute government. Three things, he said himself, ought to go hand in hand, learning, law, and arms, and these three he gave to his Italian subjects. He provided himself with a valuable force of mercenary soldiers by transporting large numbers of rebellious Sicilian Saracens to the mainland and establishing them as a military colony at Lucera in Apulia. He founded the University of Naples, and patronized the school of medicine at Salerno. Learned men—Jews, Arabs or Europeans—crowded his Court, among them the famous

Govern-
ment of
Sicily

astrologer and translator of Aristotle, Michael Scott. He was himself a poet, and wrote verse in the vulgar tongue, so that Dante could see the source of Italian poetry in the Sicilian Court. If in this he resembles the royal troubadour Richard Cœur de Lion, in his administrative ability and activity he recalls Richard's greater father, Henry of Anjou, or his own grandfather, Roger of Sicily. Like them he was an organizer and a unifier, bringing different laws and customs, Greek, Roman, or Lombard, into harmonious order. In 1231 he issued a celebrated series of ordinances from Melfi, the "constitutions of the kingdom of Sicily," for the better government of his dominions. Nobles, ecclesiastics, and cities were subjected to the High Courts of justice and finance, and the Grand Justiciar made an annual visitation of the kingdom, to supervise the local officials, justices, financial "chamberlains" (*camerarii*), and bailiffs. Representative general assemblies foreshadowed a parliamentary system. The towns were placed under royal control, and everywhere the king's hand was heavy on the feudal nobles. Royal grants of land were resumed, royal castles overawed the country, while feudal dues were strictly exacted, feudal privileges were curtailed, ecclesiastical jurisdiction was regulated, and constant aids and subsidies filled the king's coffers.

Government of
Germany

Very different was Frederick's policy in Germany, where he bribed the princes with concessions and privileges to support the Ghibeline house, and encouraged the tendency to feudal disruption and the rule of the aristocracy. The year 1231, which saw the issue of the Sicilian ordinance, saw also the promulgation at Worms of the "Statute in favour of the princes" (*Statutum in favorem principum*), which gave

almost complete judicial and military independence to the territorial magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, and restricted in their favour the liberties of the imperial cities. In 1232, also, a severe edict was directed against the German communes and confraternities. The long absences of the Emperor gave further opportunity to the nobles to extend their power. The young king Henry VII. was formally crowned in 1222, and the government of Germany was carried on in his name, but after the assassination in 1225 of his wise counsellor, Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, "the pillar of the Church and the shield of the State," the country fell into utter anarchy, aggravated by the terrible persecutions of heretics which Frederick had sanctioned, to win the approval of the clergy. Henry VII., weakly ambitious, and impatient of his father's authority, tried to organize an opposition party by allying with the towns and the smaller nobility against the princes. In 1232 the disagreement between father and son ended in an actual revolt, but Henry was easily subdued, and condemned to perpetual seclusion in Apulia, where ten years later he died. His place as nominal ruler of Germany was taken by his young brother Conrad, son of Yolande of Brienne.

Revolt of
Henry
VII., 1232

Frederick II. reached the climax of his power in 1235, when, after his marriage with his third wife, Isabella, sister of Henry III. of England, he held a great assembly at Mainz, where "peace was sworn, ancient laws were established, and new laws were decreed." An attempt was made to give Germany a centralized judicial organization on the Sicilian model, but the confirmation of the sovereign rights and privileges of the princes prevented any effectual administrative consolidation.

The real development of Germany in the thirteenth

Social and economic development of Germany

century was social and economic rather than political, provincial rather than imperial. The quarrel with the Welfs was healed, and the heir of Henry the Lion was established in the new duchy of Brunswick. The King of Denmark was forced to cede the lands he had conquered in the north, and a way was opened for further expansion towards the east. The marquises of Brandenburg won and colonized Pomerania. The military Order of the "Knights of the Sword" conquered Livonia and Curland. The great Teutonic Order, with which the Knights of the Sword were subsequently united, abandoned the defence of the Holy Land, the work for which it had been founded in the twelfth century, to support the Poles in the subjugation of heathen Prussia, and Hermann of Salza, the Grand Master of the Order, the loyal friend of Frederick II., received from the Emperor a confirmation and extension of the grants of Prussian territory already made by the Polish duke to the Teutonic Knights.

The "Knights of the Sword" and the Teutonic Order

Meantime, in spite of opposition, the German cities grew in wealth and independence, the old German laws and customs were written down in the collections called the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel*, and the writings of lyrists like Walther von der Vogelweide and romantic poets like Wolfram von Eschenbach gave literary distinction to the German language, while great princes like Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of the holy Saint Elizabeth, and Frederick, Duke of Austria, posed as the patrons of men of letters, and surrounded themselves with *Minnesinger* and courtly satirists.

Second Lombard War

If in Sicily Frederick II. ruled as an absolute monarch and in Germany as the feudal chief of a federation of princes, in both kingdoms, by coercion or conciliation, he

had made himself master. Defeat and a tragic downfall were to come to him from his North Italian dominions, from the Lombard cities and the ever-hostile Papacy. As early as 1226 the cities of northern Italy, uneasy at Frederick's growing power in the south, had renewed the Lombard League, and had been put to the ban of the Empire. In 1234 they had supported Henry VII. in his revolt, and had recognized him as King of Italy. In 1235 Henry again solemnly renewed the League, the "Society of Lombardy, the March and Romagna" (*Societas Lombardiæ, Marchiæ et Romagnæ*), while the Emperor declared war upon them in the assembly at Mainz. In 1236 he crossed the Alps into Italy, "to avenge the wrongs of his father and grandfather, and to root out the hateful plant of liberty." In the war which followed, Milan was the leader of a strong anti-imperial party, while Frederick was supported by Pavia, Parma, Cremona, and a few other cities, and by the powerful Ezzelino da Romano, the lord of Verona, the city which commanded the road from Germany to Italy over the Brenner Pass. In 1236 the imperialists sacked Vicenza, and in 1237 they won a great victory at Cortenuova, between Brescia and Milan. The Milanese *carroccio* was taken, and dragged in triumph by an elephant through the streets of Cremona, with the podestà of Milan bound to the standard pole. It was significant that Frederick, whose soldiers had gone into battle crying "Rome and the Emperor" (*Miles Roma, miles imperator*) afterwards sent the *carroccio* as a gift to the Romans. The League would now have made peace had not the Emperor demanded such stringent conditions that the Milanese chose rather to perish sword in hand than to submit. Brescia made a heroic resistance, and in 1239 the Pope

Battle of
Corte-
nuova, 1237

openly declared for the cities and excommunicated Frederick. In letters and manifestoes both parties appealed to public opinion, and once more the kingdoms of Europe took sides in the duel of Empire and Papacy. Frederick wrote to the princes of Christendom, describing the Pope as "a proud priest and false prophet," and reminding them that in an attack on one of their number the honour of all was concerned. Gregory compared the Emperor to the beast that rose up out of the sea in the book of Revelations, and accused him of blasphemy and heresy. For two years the war raged with extraordinary bitterness. Frederick stirred up strife in Rome and the Papal States, while Gregory tried to rouse discontent in Germany. Venice and Genoa lent their aid to the Papacy, but on the whole fortune favoured the Emperor, and in 1240 only the unusual loyalty of the Romans to the Pope prevented the imperialists from entering the Eternal City. When, in 1241, Gregory summoned a General Council to meet at Rome, the imperial fleet captured the Genoese ships in which the foreign prelates had embarked, and took prisoner so many ecclesiastical dignitaries that the Council had to be postponed. The Milanese were defeated by the citizens of Pavia, and, encouraged by these successes, the Emperor again advanced on Rome, and was within sight of the city when he heard of the death of the Pope. Gregory IX. had nearly reached his hundredth year when, indomitable to the last, he succumbed to age and infirmities, with the enemy at his gates. An intrepid politician, a zealot and persecutor, a great Canon lawyer, with a profound belief in the papal supremacy, his struggles with the rebellious Romans, who more than once drove him from the city, and the long war with the Emperor, could not shake his

Death of
Gregory
IX.

courage or bend his iron will. "He is dead," wrote Frederick II., "who deprived the earth of peace, and by whom discord flourished." Celestine IV., the Pope elected in Gregory's place, died before he could be consecrated, and for a year and a half the papal throne was vacant. Then it was filled by a friend of Frederick II., Sinibaldo Fieschi, destined to become famous under the name of Innocent IV., 1241-1254. Frederick's exclamation on hearing of the election, "I have lost a friend, no Pope can be a Ghibeline," was probably put into his mouth by later historians, yet it expresses the truth.

After some feeble attempts at making peace, Innocent IV. fled to Genoa, and retired thence to Lyons, where in 1245 he held a General Council, in which sentence of excommunication and deposition was pronounced on the Emperor, for breaking peace with the Church, for sacrilege in taking prelates prisoner on their way to a Council, for heresy and for perjury. "Day of wrath and day of mourning" (*Dies ista, dies iræ*), cried the imperial advocate, Thaddeus of Suessa, as the Pope and the assembled prelates reversed and extinguished the lighted candles they held, and declared Frederick excommunicate. "What audacity," said the Emperor, when the news was brought to him, and placing his crown on his head, he added, "I have not yet lost my crown, nor will I lose it without a bloody struggle." Once more Pope and Emperor appealed to Europe. Frederick denied the papal right of imperial deposition, Innocent insisted on the elective character of the Empire and on the Pope's power to bestow the temporal sword on the Emperor, which carried with it the power of deprivation. The attempt of St Louis to act as mediator proved a failure, and the last fight began. In Germany the young king

The
Tartars

The anti-
kings,
Henry
Raspe and
William of
Holland

Death and
charac-
ter of
Frederick
II., 1250.

Conrad IV., aided by the Archbishop of Mainz, had held his own in spite of papal intrigues and the terrible raids of the Tartars upon the eastern frontier (see p. 252). In Italy, Frederick's illegitimate son Enzo had been married to a great Sardinian heiress, and was governing Italy as his father's vicegerent, with the title of "King of Sardinia." The papalists now elected an anti-king in Germany, Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death in 1247 they replaced him by William of Holland. A regular crusade was preached against the Emperor, and the Mendicant Friars actively supported the Pope. In Italy a conspiracy gave the papalists the Ghibeline city of Parma, the key of the road to Rome, and when Frederick blockaded it, the besieged, by a daring sally, set fire to the town of "Vittoria," which he had built outside the walls, seized his treasure, and forced him to retreat. This repulse was the turning-point of Frederick's fortunes, the first of a succession of reverses. His trusted counsellor, Peter de la Vigne, who "held the two keys of the Emperor's heart," was accused of treason, disgraced and blinded, and, in despair, committed suicide. His favourite son, the young and gallant Enzo, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and condemned to lifelong captivity. But the imperialists continued to hold out bravely in northern and central Italy, and Frederick himself, in his southern kingdom, gathered his Saracen troops about him, and was preparing for a final attack on the States of the Church and Lombardy, when death cut short his hopes and plans. He died on December 13th, 1250, at his castle of Fiorentino, near Lucera, guarded by Saracens, and tended by his illegitimate son Manfred and by the Archbishop of Palermo. Thus "he whom men could not overcome was conquered by the divine power."

“At this time,” wrote the English chronicler Matthew Paris, “died the greatest of the princes of the world, Frederick, the Wonder of the World (*stupor mundi*), the marvellous revolutionist (*immutator*), absolved from the sentence which bound him, in the habit, it is said, of the Cistercians, and full of contrition and humiliation.” The papal historian, on the contrary, describes him as dying excommunicated and deposed, gnashing his teeth and foaming at the mouth, with loud crying and groaning. He was buried in a splendid tomb by the side of his parents, in the cathedral of Palermo, the capital of his beloved Sicily.

The phrase *Stupor Mundi*, the “Wonder of the World,” well expresses the feeling of the contemporaries of Frederick II. towards the great Emperor. Otto III. had been a world-wonder, too (*mirabilia mundi*, see p. 19), a marvel of precocious talent, but the genius of Frederick II. inspired terror and awe. Men stood amazed and stupefied before him, and regarded him as something portentous and almost superhuman. To the papalists he was an atheist, a monster of iniquity, Antichrist himself. He was accused of denying the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, of rejecting the mystery of the Incarnation, and of believing only what could be proved by physical science and natural reason. He was said to have declared that the world had been deceived by three impostors — Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. In later days Dante, in the *Divinia Commedia*, placed him in hell among the misbelievers. Yet even his enemies admitted his extraordinary ability. The Franciscan, Fra Salimbene, wrote that if he had been a true Catholic, and had loved God and the Church, few Emperors would have been his equals. His followers

seem to have looked on him as a kind of Messiah, a mystic incarnation of divine power. They compared him to Christ, and punned on the name of his minister, Peter de la Vigne, the "corner-stone," the "fruitful vine," the Peter who would not betray his Master. He himself spoke of his mother as "holy," and called his birth-place "Bethlehem," and he was hailed as "Sanctus Fridericus." How far these claims were serious, how far they represent mere extravagant adulation, is doubtful. Frederick posed deliberately as the successor of the ancient Roman Emperors, the heir of all their rights and dignities, but he always professed his loyalty to the Church which had excommunicated him, though he advocated ecclesiastical reforms, and, in particular, a return to apostolic poverty. "The primitive Church," he said, "was based on poverty and simplicity." If his tolerance of Jews and Mohammedans, his rationalism and love of scientific study were enough to condemn him in the eyes of the orthodox, the visionary poetic strain in his character, and his daring intellectual originality fascinated the imagination of the dreamer and the fanatic. Men were loth to believe that he was really dead. The prophecies of the Abbot Joachim were applied to him (see p. 234), and it was believed that he would come again, whether for evil or for good, as Antichrist, or as the defender of the Church and the saviour of Germany. He was more than once personated by impostors, and, in the fifteenth century, legend told how he waited, hidden in a Thuringian mountain, for the day of the deliverance of Germany (see p. 170).

The
Legend of
Frederick
II.

Modern historians differ in their judgments of Frederick II. almost as much as the men of his own time. To some he seems a sort of Protestant reformer, like Henry VIII. of England, subordinating the Church to the State.

Others see in him a precursor of the sceptical, cultivated, autocratic princes of the Renaissance ; others, again, an oriental despot, a kind of Caliph, or Pope-Emperor, supreme over both Church and State. But on one point all are agreed. He " whose heart beat only to be lord and sovereign of the whole world " was the last of the great mediæval Emperors, and with him closed the most heroic and most characteristic period of the Middle Ages.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE COMING OF THE FRIARS

THE religious revival of the eleventh century resulted in the triumph of Cluniac reforms and Hildebrandine political theories. The religious revival of the twelfth century resulted in the foundation of the Cistercian Order. Its leading spirit was St Bernard, the guide and counsellor of the Papacy, himself more powerful than any Pope. As the renown of Cluny paled before that of Cîteaux, so in the thirteenth century a new religious revival embodied a new conception of monasticism in the two great Orders of Mendicant Friars, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The older monastic Orders had met the most pressing social needs of their time. They had softened the rudeness of secular life, and had reclaimed and cultivated the waste places of the earth. But they had failed to advance with the times. It was reserved for the Friars to appreciate and direct the new tendencies of the thirteenth century, when Western society was threatened by subtle and peculiar dangers. The first throes of the dissolution of the old order had been felt. The stable aristocratic feudal system was becoming too narrow a frame for the rapidly developing popular spirit. Land and landholders lost their exclusive importance as commerce grew and towns gained weight and influence. There was a spirit of political discontent abroad, and with it went a spirit of religious and intellectual unrest. The

Crusades had done much both to extend the commercial sphere and to widen the mental horizon. Contact with Oriental modes of thought stimulated intellectual curiosity in the West, fostered imagination, and led to the formation of broader and more sympathetic views of life and humanity. These new ideals, this spiritual stir and ferment in western Christendom, found expression in heresies, such as that of the Albigenses, or in the assertions of municipal liberty which threatened the supremacy of the feudal aristocracy, or again, in the daring philosophical speculations which were current in the Universities. The early monks had been charitable, orthodox, and dogmatic: reformers, though Conservative reformers. The new religious teachers, if they were to succeed, would have to be something of popular revolutionaries, to add to charity enthusiasm, to orthodoxy and dogmatism, fervour, devotion, eloquence and controversial zeal. It was the great merit of the Friars that they recognized the needs of their age. St Dominic, a Spaniard, founded a preaching Order, which should meet heretics and the enemies of Catholicism on their own ground, and give believers a reason for their faith. St Francis, an Italian, sought to humanize the Church, and to restore Christianity to its primitive simplicity and unity by the pure force of love. The Dominicans persuaded the reason, the Franciscans touched the heart. St Dominic was the "Hammer of the heretics," St Dominic St Francis was the "Father of the poor." Dominic Guzman of Osma in Castile, a Canon Regular, first made his mark as a missionary to the Albigensian heretics of Southern France. "Zeal," he taught, "must be met by zeal, preaching falsehood by preaching truth." In 1215 Innocent III. approved his plan of founding a preaching Order. In 1216 Honorius III. confirmed the Order of Friars Preachers

(*Fratres Prædicatores*) or Black Friars. The Dominicans at first adopted a modification of the rule of the Austin Canons, but they afterwards borrowed the doctrine of mendicant poverty from the Franciscans. Like the Franciscans, too, they had an Order for women and a "Third Order" for lay brethren. When St Dominic died in 1221 more than sixty houses of Friars Preachers had been established in Europe.

St Francis
of Assisi

While St Dominic was labouring among the heretics of Southern France, St Francis was beginning his work of love in Italy. Francis, son of Peter Bernardone, a wealthy merchant, was born in 1182 in the little Umbrian town of Assisi. Inspired by an irresistible passion of spiritual devotion and pity for humanity, he renounced his family and friends, stripped himself of all worldly possessions, and went forth as a barefooted beggar to minister to the poor. He chose "Lady Poverty" for his bride, and his first simple rule began with the words, "If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." His sweet temper, his merry humour, his intensity of conviction, and his sensitive poetic nature, gave him extraordinary power over his contemporaries, and he soon found followers. The Order of the Friars Minor, Minorites, Grey Friars, Franciscans or Poor Men of Assisi was sanctioned by the Pope in 1210, received a more elaborate rule in 1221, and was fully organized in 1223. The Order of the "Poor Clares" for women was the outcome of the conversion of St Clara of Assisi, the friend and disciple of St Francis, and the "Third Order" was founded for laymen who wished to follow the Franciscan teaching without entirely separating themselves from the world. St Francis himself lived in a happy communion with God and nature, a rapture of love, which lifted him

above hardship and suffering. Men and women, animals and birds, trees and flowers, were alike his friends. He preached a sermon to birds, and begged his "little sister," the mountain stream, not to disturb his prayers by her babbling. He wrote a hymn in Italian to praise God for his brothers the sun, the wind, and the fire, and his sisters the moon, the water, and the earth; and when he was told that he had but a short time to live he exclaimed, "Welcome, Sister Death!" To him the highest grace was self-conquest, and the will to suffer for the love of Christ, and he spent himself in tending the poor and the sick, or in such ecstatic meditation on the Passion of Christ that he apparently produced in his own body the marks of the Crucifixion, the "stigmata," in hands and feet and side. He died in 1226 in his little cell at the foot of the hill on which Assisi is built. He was canonized in 1228, and Pope Gregory IX. laid the foundation-stone of the splendid church of San Francesco which rose over his remains, a strange resting-place for the "*Poverello*," the "Little Poor One" of Assisi.

A beautiful bas-relief in Florence commemorates the meeting of St Francis and St Dominic, and Dante places them together in heaven, "for their deeds were to one end." The two great founders of the Mendicant Orders were, in truth, both working for the purification of the Church and the reform of society. Dominicans and Franciscans were alike grouped in congregations under local heads or provincials, with a superior general over all, but within these limits they enjoyed great freedom. Unlike the cloistered monks, they were "itinerant," wandering from place to place, and preaching as they went. They were "mendicants," too, vowed to absolute poverty, begging their bread from door to door, and

wearing the dress of the poorest of the people. In the flexibility of their organization, and in the popularity of their attitude, lay their strength. Unfettered by class privileges or ties of property, they brought the ideal of humility, poverty, and self-sacrifice into the daily life of court and castle, lonely farm and outlying hamlet, crowded street and busy workshop. Their mission was specially to the towns, the new centres of intellectual and social activity; but whereas the Black Friars appealed chiefly to the educated classes, the Grey Friars ministered to the inhabitants of the "slums."

The Dominicans were, from the first, the representatives of reason and science within the Church, the "watch-dogs of the Lord" (*Domini canes*), the protectors of the true flock against heretic wolves. They won a commanding theological position in the University of Paris, and gave to the world one of the most influential of mediæval thinkers, St Thomas Aquinas, while as the directors, officials and promoters of the Inquisition they waged unremitting war against scepticism and incredulity. The Franciscans were, primarily, social reformers, renouncing human learning with all other worldly cares. Yet they, too, were soon drawn into the current of intellectual life. They became celebrated as teachers, and obtained on the University of Oxford almost as great a hold as the Dominicans on the University of Paris. Constant observation of the diseases of the poor led them to the study of medicine and physical science, and in later days the scientific fame of the English friar, Roger Bacon, won him the reputation of a wizard. In politics the friars of both Orders played no unimportant part. They, in the thirteenth century, were the "free lances" of the papal army, preachers of crusades, collec-

tors of money for the Pope's wars against the Emperor, diplomatic emissaries, sellers of indulgences, papal missionaries to distant lands. They intervened in national affairs, and acted as negotiators and peacemakers, and as the confessors and advisers of kings and queens. In the war between Henry III. of England and his barons, the Franciscans were on the constitutional side, while the Dominicans tended to support the king. With this growing secular activity and the vast extension of the Mendicant Orders went a corresponding spiritual deterioration. The old ideal of poverty was forgotten, as the friars became wealthy and self-indulgent. Disputes arose between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and dissension and schism within the Franciscan Order itself. The "Spirituals" or brethren of the "Strict Observance" under St Anthony of Padua maintained the doctrine of St Francis in its purity, while the "Conventuals," led by Elias of Cortona, the General of the Order, relaxed the severity of the early rule. The new Mendicant Orders of the Carmelites or White Friars and the Austin Friars were founded in imitation of the original societies, but by the end of the thirteenth century the religious revival which had produced such wonderful results had spent its force, and the exalted mysticism of the first friars had degenerated into extravagance and superstition. On the one hand, the common people were agitated by outbursts of fanatical emotion, on the other, the strongholds of learning were shaken by intellectual sedition. During the captivity of St Louis in Egypt, France and Flanders were overrun by the *Pastoureaux*, or Shepherds, bands of peasants led by a zealot called the "Master of Hungary," who declared that they had a mission to rescue the king from the Mohammedans,

The
"Spirituals" and
"Conventuals"

The
Carmelites
and Austin
Friars

The
Pastoureaux

and denounced the worldliness of clergy, monks and friars. Later in the century was seen the still stranger phenomenon of the "Flagellants," men, women and children, marching in penitential procession, scourging one another as they went, to the sound of doleful chants. Amongst the more educated classes fanaticism took the form of prophecy and allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Even before the institution of the Mendicant Orders the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore had taught the doctrine of the Eternal Gospel, whereby the world had to go through three stages, corresponding to the Persons of the Trinity. The age of the Father had passed, the age of the Son was drawing to a close, the age of the Holy Ghost was at hand, when the poor and humble would be exalted, and the tyrants would be cast down. These visionary speculations were further elaborated in the middle of the thirteenth century by a Franciscan friar, in the "Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel." The secular clerks of the University of Paris, at feud with the Mendicants, called attention to the dangerous character of the "Joachite" opinions in this book, and procured its condemnation. The friars retaliated by attacking the "Perils of the Last Days," a scathing criticism of the Mendicant Orders, the work of William de St Amour, the spokesman of the secular party. Louis IX. supported them, and the Pope, Alexander IV., always a friend to friars, had William de St Amour tried before a Roman tribunal. Though his writings were pronounced scandalous but not heretical, he was suspended from teaching, and banished from France.

In this struggle between the regular and secular clergy, the University of Paris appears as a powerful, well-organized body. It had reached this position by a long

The
Flagellants

The Abbot
Joachim

The
"Perils of
the Last
Days"

The
Mediæval
University
System

process of gradual development and continuous effort. A mediæval writer has described the three mysterious powers or virtues by whose harmonious co-operation the life and health of Christendom are sustained: *Sacerdotium*, or the Papacy; *Imperium*, or the Empire; and *Studium*, or the Universities. These represent the three great forces of Ecclesiasticism, Imperialism and Scholasticism or Learning, by which the visible Church of God is built up. To the Italians belongs the Papacy, to the Germans the Empire, and to the French "Study" or Learning, with its seat at Paris. The mediæval University system was the direct outgrowth of the twelfth century Renaissance, which created a demand for tuition, and met that demand by a supply of teachers, and of the instinct of association which led students and teachers to organize themselves in groups for purposes of self-defence and the protection of professional interests. Such organization was first found at the two central points of the revival of learning—Bologna, the centre for the study of law, and Paris, the theological centre. At Bologna the students, at Paris the masters, formed what may be called scholastic guilds or trade-unions, and the germ of the Paris University was this guild of masters. Crowds of students had been drawn to Paris in the twelfth century by the fame of Abélard's teaching: their presence rendered necessary an increase of masters. The Chancellor of Notre Dame, to whom the superintendence of the Cathedral schools was entrusted, began to grant formal permission to other masters to open schools. This *licentia docendi*, or licence to teach, at first a matter of favour, became a matter of right, and could not be denied to a properly qualified applicant. Teachers multiplied rapidly, and their unwritten laws and professional customs

crystallized into the Statutes of an organized University. The birth of the University of Paris may be placed between 1150 and 1170, but the society had no written Statutes till about 1209, and no head or presiding officer till much later. The University, in fact, grew into a legal, self-acting, self-governing corporation through the great struggle on which it entered in the thirteenth century with the Chancellor of Notre Dame, who claimed jurisdiction over the scholars as clerks. In this struggle the Chancellor, backed by the Bishop and Chapter, would possibly have been victorious, had not the Papacy supported the University. As it was, the Church party was defeated, and the Chancellor lost his judicial power. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Church made a second attempt to seize on the citadel of learning through the Mendicant Friars, and this time it succeeded, for the Papacy threw its weight on the side of its faithful "free lances," the Friars, and St Louis also sided with them. It is to this period that the incident of St Amour's resistance and defeat belongs. The city of Paris supported the seculars, as is shown by the bitter satires on the Mendicants of the Parisian *trouvère* Rutebœuf. The triumph of the Friars and their establishment as theological teachers within the University was doubtless furthered by the great fame of two of their number, the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas, in particular, holds a unique position in the history of mediæval thought, for he effected a lasting reconciliation between philosophy and theology. By the beginning of the thirteenth century almost all the works of Aristotle had found their way into the western world. Some were directly translated from the Greek, others from Syriac or Arabic. Hence a new intellectual

element was introduced into the schools of the West, for the "New Aristotle," the "Bible of the Schoolmen," came to Paris from Moorish Spain, in an oriental dress, and accompanied by the writings and commentaries of Arabic philosophers and men of science. The orthodox authorities tried at first to prohibit the study of Aristotle altogether, but a more effectual remedy was supplied by the development of a system of orthodox Aristotelianism, and this was supplied by the friars, the Franciscan Alexander of Hales and the Dominicans, the German Albert the Great, and the Italian St Thomas of Aquino.

The University of Paris, when fully developed, was a ^{Paris} sort of federation. It included four faculties: three superior faculties, Theology, Canon Law, and Medicine, each under a dean, and one inferior faculty, Arts, divided into the four nations, French, Normans, Picards, and English, each under a proctor. At the head of all was a Rector, who was elected by the Faculty of Arts. The University of Oxford, and all the Student Universities, were organized on much the same lines as Paris. Bologna was a Masters' University, and formed a model for all other Universities of the same kind. The course of mediæval study was based, in the Faculty of Arts, on the Seven Liberal Arts, the Trivium, or "threefold way," of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, and the Quadrivium, or "fourfold way," of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. Comparatively little was known of these last four subjects. The real heart and centre of mediæval education lay in the Trivium, and more particularly in Logic or Dialectic, which, dull and dry as it may seem to modern minds, did at least train students in precision, accuracy, and the right rules of reasoning, and led them on to metaphysical speculations and philosophical disputations.

Bologna

The University of Bologna gradually developed out of the law-school, which first rose into prominence with the revived interest in the Roman Civil Law, which was a marked feature of the twelfth-century Renaissance. The teaching of the great jurist Irnerius made Bologna famous, and Frederick Barbarossa patronized the Bolognese doctors of law, and granted a privilege to the School. From Bologna, too, came the monk Gratian, who, in the middle of the twelfth century, drew up the *Decretum* or *Concordantia discordantium canonum*, the most celebrated text-book of mediæval Canon Law. The Canon Law became to the Papacy what the Civil Law was to the Empire. If the Emperors based their claims to temporal supremacy on the imperial law of Rome, the Popes supported the theory of the supremacy of the Church by the decrees and letters of their predecessors, and the canons of ecclesiastical Councils. Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV. were all trained canonists, and Gregory IX. even added a new collection of papal decretals to the existing body of Canon Law.

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CHAPTER XVII

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE history of Christian Spain has been described as one long crusade against the African Moors or Arabs who, in the eighth century, supplanted the ancient Visigothic kings, and established an Ommeyad caliphate at Cordova. It would be equally true to speak of it as one long process of political consolidation, the gathering up of the many petty Iberian States into a strong united Spanish kingdom. It is a history of civil war and religious persecution, of intrigue and bloodshed, of battles and revolutions. Yet there is grandeur in the contrast between the Christian chivalry of the north and the splendid Mohammedan civilization of the south, and there is a special interest in the record of that struggle of races, creeds, and political systems which produced the Spain of the sixteenth century. In the early tenth century the Iberian peninsula was divided among the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, the counties of Barcelona and Castile and the Moorish caliphate. These were the elements out of which the four kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Leon, and Portugal were to be formed. The tenth century saw a succession of great rulers at Cordova, the caliph Abd-er-Rahman III., a beneficent despot and an enlightened ruler, his son Hakam II., a patron of learning and culture, and the able soldier Almansor-al-Allah, "the Victor of God," who reduced the young

The
Caliphs of
Cordova

caliph Hishem II. to a puppet, and in his name overran the kingdom of Leon and took its capital by storm; while the Christian princes wasted their strength in internal dissension. But the death of Almansor in 1002 was followed by the decline of the Mohammedan power. The caliphate became the prey of contending factions until, in 1031, on the death of the last caliph of the old line, it broke up into a number of small kingdoms or emirates. The disruption of the Mohammedan State left the field open to the Christians, and Navarre rose into prominence under Sancho the Great, who extended his rule over Castile, Aragon, and Leon. After his death, in 1035, the supremacy passed to Castile, now a kingdom under Ferdinand I., son of Sancho of Navarre. Ferdinand subdued Leon, and handed on to his son, Alfonso VI., the task of unification. In 1085 Alphonso took advantage of the weakness of the Mohammedans to conquer Toledo, the capital of the old Gothic kings, commanding the valley of the Tagus. His daughter married the king of the new state of Aragon, and the union of Spain seemed about to be effected, when the Moors called to their help the fanatical Almoravides from Africa, the fierce Berber tribes who had recently conquered Morocco. At the battle of Zalaca, in 1086, the Castilians were completely defeated, the army was almost wiped out, and Alfonso fled to Toledo with a mere handful of followers. To this period belongs the legend of the Spanish national hero, the Cid Campeador, or "Lord Challenger," Roderic or Ruy Diaz de Bivar. In real history he appears as a swashbuckler and soldier of fortune, "fighting to eat," brave and capable, yet arrogant and avaricious, and willing to do battle in any cause for pay. He was banished from Castile, served with the Mohammedans

Sancho the
Great,
970-1035

Ferdinand
I. of
Castile,
1033-1065

Alfonso
VI.,
1073-1109

The Al-
moravides

The Cid
Campeador

against the Christians, and finally, in 1094, conquered Valencia from the Moors, and ruled there as a practically independent sovereign till his death in 1099. Such was the man who has become the centre of a cycle of heroic and romantic legends, and has been glorified as the champion of Spanish Christianity and the model of a chivalrous knight.

At the close of the eleventh century the Almoravides, under their great leader Yusuf, subdued the degenerate Spanish Mohammedans, and made Moorish Spain a province of the Empire of Morocco. The only son of Alfonso VI. fell fighting against the invaders, and when Alfonso himself died in 1109 Aragon became the predominant Christian power, under the warlike Alfonso I., the "Fighter." Throughout the twelfth century the war of Christians and Moors in Spain bore the character of a regular Crusade. The Empire of the Almoravides was threatened by the rise of a new sect of stern Berber reformers, the Almohades, and its embarrassment gave an opportunity to the Christians which they eagerly seized. Crusaders from France, England and Italy, Templars and Hospitallers, flocked to the help of the King of Aragon, and, when Alfonso the Fighter was killed in 1134, the struggle was continued under the King of Castile, Alfonso VII. In 1147 a fleet of English, German and Flemish Crusaders saved Lisbon for the King of Portugal, and later in the century the Spanish Military Orders of Calatrava, Alcantara and Santiago, with the Portuguese Order of Evorá, were founded, in imitation of the Templars and Hospitallers, to carry on the Holy War. So great was the power of Alfonso VII. that he formally assumed the title of Emperor, but the supremacy of Castile ended with his death and the death of

Alfonso I.
of Aragon,
the
"Fighter,"
1104-1134

Rise of the
Almo-
hades

Alfonso
VII. of
Castile, the
"Emper-
or," 1126-
1157

Alfonso
VIII. of
Castile,
1158-1214

his son and the accession of the child-king Alfonso VIII. in 1158.

In the West the great victory over the Moors at Ourique in 1139 had enabled Alfonso of Portugal to transform his county into a hereditary monarchy. Aragon broke away from Castile and formed a close union with Catalonia, and even Leon was separated from Castile on the death of Alfonso VII. Dynastic quarrels and civil war weakened the Christian states, while the Almohades, who had supplanted the Almoravides in Morocco, established a strong Moorish government in southern Spain, and in 1195 inflicted a severe defeat on the Castilians at Alarcos. Seventeen years later, in 1212, the Christians took their revenge when, in the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the allied forces of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, strengthened by large contingents of foreign Crusaders and by the Military Orders, crushed the power of the Moors, destroyed the prestige of the Almohades, and ended for ever the Moorish domination in Spain.

Battle of
Las Navas
de Tolosa,
June 28,
1212

The history of Spain in the thirteenth century may be grouped round the figures of three great kings, James I. of Aragon, and Ferdinand I. and Alfonso X. of Castile.

James I. of
Aragon,
the "Con-
queror,"
1213-1276

James I., the "Conqueror," the son of the King of Aragon who fell in the battle of Muret (see p. 197), was a fine soldier, who extended the boundaries of Aragon and subdued Valencia and the Balearic Isles, a legislator and an administrator. He prepared the way for the future connexion between Aragon and Sicily by the marriage of his son to the daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen. He was a patron of commerce and a man of letters, who wrote a history of his own conquests in the Catalan tongue. Yet the aristocracy of Aragon was too strong

for him to build up a highly centralized monarchy, and he had to submit to constitutional checks on his power. These were imposed by the *Justicia*, or supreme judge, who was appointed to arbitrate between the king and his subjects and to protect the national liberties, by the *Cortes*, or States General, in which the towns were represented, and by the leagues (*hermandades*) of the towns among themselves.

Ferdinand I., the "Saint," who inherited Leon from his father and Castile from his mother, conquered Cordova and extended the Christian rule over the whole of Spain, with the exception of the little kingdom of Granada. He consolidated Leon and Castile, and began that revision of the existing law which led, under Alfonso X., to the issue of one of the most famous legal codes in the world, the *Siete Partidas*, or "Seven Parts." Alfonso X., the "Wise," the son of St Ferdinand, the rival of Richard of Cornwall in the contest for the imperial crown (see p. 248), was remarkable even in an age of great rulers. Learned and scientific, an astronomer and a philosopher, he encouraged men of parts and ability without distinction of creed or race. Though the Castilians had more respect for royalty, and were less independent than the Aragonese and Catalans, here, as in Aragon, the king found himself compelled to summon the *Cortes*, to consult the nobles, and to grant privileges to the towns. By 1273 the *reconquista* or reconquest of Spain was at an end, but the long war against the infidel had created a new Spain, orthodox, aristocratic and ambitious, and while Navarre turned more and more towards France, Castile, Aragon and Portugal threw themselves as independent powers into the vortex of international politics.

Ferdinand
I. of Cas-
tile, the
"Saint,"
1214-1252

Alfonso X.
of Castile,
the
"Wise,"
1252-1284

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SPAIN & PORTUGAL XI-XIII CENTURY.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN AND THE GREAT INTERREGNUM [1250-1273]

A PROPHECY was current in the thirteenth century that the Empire would end with Frederick II. It was a truer saying than the men who repeated it knew. The dreams of Otto III., the ambitions of Frederick Barbarossa, the splendid visions of Henry VI., were all buried in the grave of the "Wonder of the World." When, after twenty-three years of anarchy, the Empire was reconstituted under the Habsburg dynasty, its great days were over, its commanding position was lost, and there only remained to it a future of lingering and ignoble decay.

The history of the final fall of the Hohenstaufen is soon told. Pope Innocent IV. had vowed never to make peace with Frederick II. and his "viper brood," and he kept his word. Though, when he came down in triumph into Italy after Frederick's death, he found himself almost a prisoner in Rome, under the domination of the powerful Senator Brancaleone, he never ceased to plot against the Hohenstaufen. He offered the crown of Sicily in succession to Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX. of France; to Richard of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III. of England; and to Edmund of Lancaster, the younger son of Henry III., a boy of eight years old. Frederick II. had bequeathed the imperial and Sicilian

Conrad
IV.,
1250-1254

crowns to his eldest legitimate son, Conrad IV., and had appointed his illegitimate son, Manfred, Prince of Tarentum, viceroy of the kingdom of Sicily in Conrad's absence. In 1251 Conrad IV. entered Italy, and made himself master of Apulia. He was planning an advance on Lombardy when, in May 1254, a sudden fever cut him off in the flower of his youth. His half-brother Henry had died in the previous year, and only the little Conradin, Conrad's two-year-old son, was left to carry on the legitimate line of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Still, the cause of the Ghibelines was not hopeless while Manfred of Tarentum remained. Brave, accomplished and talented, he resembled his father in person and in character, and seemed born to be a king.

Conradin,
1254.1268

Manfred of
Tarentum

Death of
Innocent
IV., 1254.

The
"Great
Inter-
regnum,"
1256-1273

The death of Innocent IV. in the winter of 1254, and the accession of the more peaceable Alexander IV., further raised the hopes of the imperialists, while in 1256 the "anti-Cæsar," William of Holland, was killed, and the "Great Interregnum" began in Germany. In Italy Manfred ignored the claims of his little nephew, and ruled the Sicilian kingdom as an independent sovereign, bidding defiance to the papal excommunication which was hurled against him. He found partisans in Central and Northern Italy, and the Ghibeline victory of Montaperto in 1260 gave the important city of Florence to the imperialists, while the Ghibelines of Rome proclaimed Manfred Senator, in opposition to Richard of Cornwall, the Guelf candidate. Even the fall of Frederick II.'s son-in-law, the cruel tyrant of Verona, Ezzelino da Romano, who died, defeated by the Guelfs, in 1259, rather strengthened Manfred's position, by freeing him from a dangerous ally and possible rival. In 1261, however, Alexander IV. was succeeded by Urban IV., a French-

man, who called his countrymen to his aid, and offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. The Guelf party in Rome chose Charles Senator, a Crusade was preached against Manfred and his Saracen troops, and though Urban IV. died in 1264, his successor, Clement IV., continued his policy. In 1265 Charles of Anjou entered Rome. In 1266 he was crowned King of Sicily in St Peter's, and a few weeks later he completely defeated the Sicilian army on the plain of Grandella, near Benevento. "Where are my Ghibelines?" cried Manfred, when he saw the splendid Tuscan cavalry arrayed against his Germans and Saracens. When he realized that the day was lost, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell on the field of battle.

Interven-
tion of
Charles of
Anjou

Battle of
Grandella
or Bene-
vento, Feb.
26, 1266

Crushed under the yoke of the stern Charles of Anjou, the Sicilians bitterly deplored the young king whom in life they had not appreciated, and they and the Ghibeline cities of Tuscany and Lombardy sent envoys to Germany to "rouse the half-fledged eaglet" Conradin, now a high-spirited boy of fourteen. Fired with the hope of winning back the heritage of his fathers, Conradin led an army over the Brenner Pass into Italy, and entered Pavia, the old Ghibeline capital, early in 1268. The Pope denounced the "poisonous little king (*regulus*)" of the "viper-brood," and thundered excommunications against his followers. But Pisa gave him a fleet, Siena supported him, and Rome received him with acclamation. Clement IV. looked on unmoved. "This expedition will pass like smoke," he said; "let the lamb be led to the slaughter." The end was, indeed, at hand. Conradin advanced from Rome upon Apulia. At Tagliacozzo, on the borders of the southern kingdom, Charles of Anjou gave him battle,

Battle of
Taglia-
cozzo, Aug.
23, 1268

Execution
of Con-
radin, Oct.
29, 1268

and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Ghibeline forces. Conradin, flying from the field, was taken prisoner, and after a short captivity, was beheaded at Naples on October 29, 1268. Italian and Provençal poets sang of the piteous death of the young "Corradino," while Germany mourned for the last of the Hohenstaufen.

Death of
Clement
IV., 1268

A month later Clement IV. died, and the Papacy remained vacant for more than two years. In the south, Charles of Anjou, elected Senator of Rome for life, and ruthless in his victory, governed the hapless Sicilians in so tyrannical and despotic a fashion that it ultimately lost him the kingdom. Northern Italy, meanwhile, fell back into civil war, and the strife of city against city, of Guelf against Ghibeline, raged more fiercely than ever, so that Dante, the great Italian poet of the fourteenth century, could only compare his country to a ship without a pilot, drifting in the storm.

Double
election of
Richard of
Cornwall
and
Alfonso X.
of Castile

Nor was Germany in much better case. The death of William of Holland in 1256 was followed by a double imperial election. Of the seven great magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, who now alone acted as electors, four chose the papal candidate, Richard of Cornwall, and three voted for Alfonso X. of Castile. Alfonso never set foot in Germany. Richard was crowned at Aachen, but he did not receive the imperial crown at Rome, and in 1272 he died, after playing a somewhat ignominious part in the war in England between Henry III. and his barons. Germany was now a prey to all the horrors of feudal anarchy. The princes, the lesser nobles and the prelates fought and struggled for wealth and power, and the people were helpless before them. The one gleam of hope was to be found in the cities, which, united in defensive leagues, grew strong, free and independent amidst

the general confusion. At length Pope Gregory X., the successor of Clement IV., threatened that if the Electors did not end the Interregnum he would choose an Emperor on his own responsibility. This moved them to action, and in 1273 they met at Frankfurt and elected Count Rudolf of Habsburg, the founder of the great Austrian dynasty. With his accession began a new era in the history of the Empire.


Election of
Rudolf of
Habsburg,
1273

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THE EMPIRE in 1273



Habsburg Lands 

Possessions of King Ottokar 

CONCLUSION

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE three centuries and a half which lay between 919 and 1273 saw many changes in Western Europe. The attempt to realize the imperial idea of a World-State, and the attempt to establish a kingdom of God upon earth in a World-Church had alike failed, and the great Popes and Emperors had given place to lesser men. The monastic Orders had lost their early fervour, the religious enthusiasm which had inspired the First Crusade had been diverted to worldly ends, the feudal bonds of vassalage and land tenure were weakening; all the most distinctively mediæval institutions were in process of transformation. Yet the Middle Ages were the link between the ancient and the modern world, the dark rich soil into which fell the ripe fruits of classic antiquity, there to quicken into new forms of life. Under the shadow of Empire and Papacy the nation states of Europe were developing. France, in 919 a loose federation of provinces, with a shadowy claim to an imperial mission, was by 1273 a strong centralized monarchy with a splendid future before it. England had entered into the company of Western nations as one of the great Continental powers. Spain, Italy, Germany were, each in its own way, working out their national destinies and finding expression for a growing national feeling in vernacular language and patriotic literature.

State of
Europe in
1273

In the far north, Denmark, Norway and Sweden had become Christian kingdoms. On the eastern frontier of Germany the Slav monarchies of Bohemia and Poland and the Magyar sovereigns of Hungary were interposed between the advancing tide of Teutonic colonization and the vast incalculable forces of Russia and the "near East." Bohemia, in particular, under its "iron King" Ottokar II., absorbed Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and extended its frontier to the Adriatic. Meanwhile the Eastern Empire was slowly tottering to its fall, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was a scene of anarchy. Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese and Pisans, wrangled and fought and disputed over their rights, while after the death of Conradin, the last direct descendant of Yolande (see p. 216), the Lusignans of Cyprus claimed the crown. The Turks would doubtless have brought the feeble kingdom to a speedy end had not the invasion of the Tartars occupied their whole attention.

The
Tartars or
Mongols

In the early thirteenth century the Tartars or Mongols, a race akin to the Turks, had built up a great Empire in China and Persia under the "Inflexible Emperor," Genghiz Khan, and his successors. In 1224 the Tartars invaded Europe and defeated the Russians. All through the first half of the thirteenth century they were the scourge and terror of Eastern Christendom. The days of the Magyar raids seemed to have returned. Bulgaria and Russia, Poland and Hungary were devastated, the settlement of the "Golden Horde" in the valley of the Volga was effected, and for several centuries Russia bowed beneath the Mongol yoke. In 1258 the Tartars took Bagdad, and the orthodox caliphate came to an end. In 1259 they invaded Syria and captured Aleppo and

Damascus. The Pope and Louis IX. of France, hoping to find a new ally against the Turks, entered into negotiations with them, but in 1260 the Sultan Kutuz won a great victory over them at Ain Talut, a battle which sealed the fate of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. When, a few weeks later, the Sultan was murdered by his Mamelukes, their leader, Bibars Bendocdar, the "Panther," became ruler of Egypt and began the deliberate piecemeal conquest of the Christian states of Syria, which ended with the fall of Acre in 1291. The last outposts of Latin Christianity in the far East were thus lost, and the last checks on the power of the Turks were removed. The extinction of the typically mediæval feudal kingdom of Jerusalem is a fit close for the history of the Central Period of the Middle Ages.

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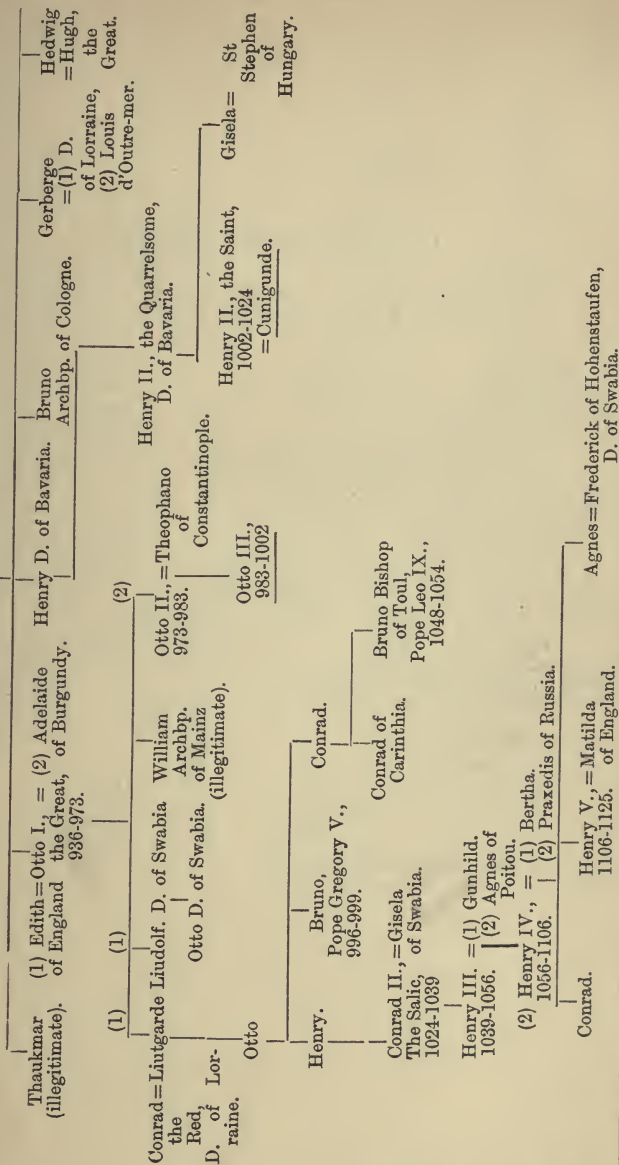
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I. THE SAXON AND SALLIAN EMPERORS

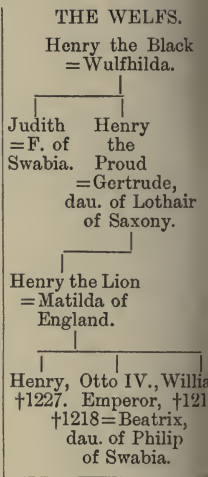
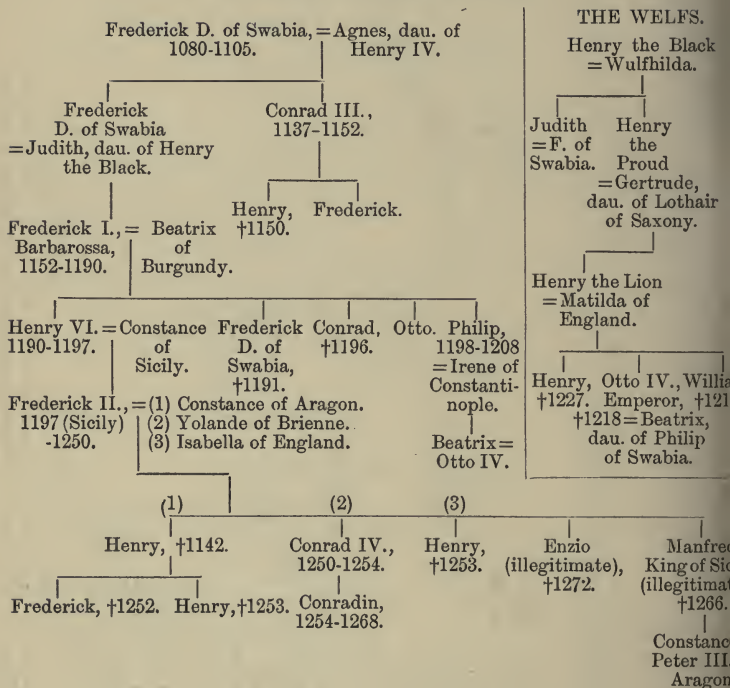
Henry I., the Fowler = Matilda, 919-936



Lothair of Supplinburg, 1125-1137. D. of Saxony = Richenza, grand-daughter of Otto of Nordheim.

Gertrude = Henry the Proud.

II. THE HOHENSTAUFEN



III. THE CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE

Hugh the Great = Hedwig, dau. of Henry the Fowler.

Hugh Capet,
987-996.

Robert II., = (1) Bertha.
996-1031. | (2) Constance of Toulouse.

Robert Duke
of Burgundy.

(1) Richard III., Duke of
Normandy.
(2) Baldwin V., Count of
Flanders.

Hugh, Henry I., 1031-1060 = Anne of
Russla.

Philip I., 1060-1108 = (1) Bertha of Holland,
| (2) Bertrade de Montfort.

Louis VI., 1108-1137 = Adelaide de Maurienne.

Louis VII. = (1) Eleanor of Aquitaine,
(2) Constance of Castile,
(3) Alice of Champagne.

(1) (1) (2) (3)

Mary = Henry I.,
Count of
Champagne.

Alice = Theobald II.,
Count of
Blois.

Margaret = Henry,
son of Henry II.
of England.

Philip II., = (1) Isabella of Hainault,
Augustus, (2) Ingeborg of Denmark,
1180-1223. (3) Agnes of Meran.

Louis VIII., = Blanche of
Castile.

Louis IX., = Margaret of
St Louis,
Provence.
1226-1270.

Robert
Count of
Anjou.
11250.

Alphonse = Jeanne, dau. and heiress of
Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse.

Philip III.,
1270-1285.

11271.

THE "ROBERTIANS."

Robert the Strong, 1866.

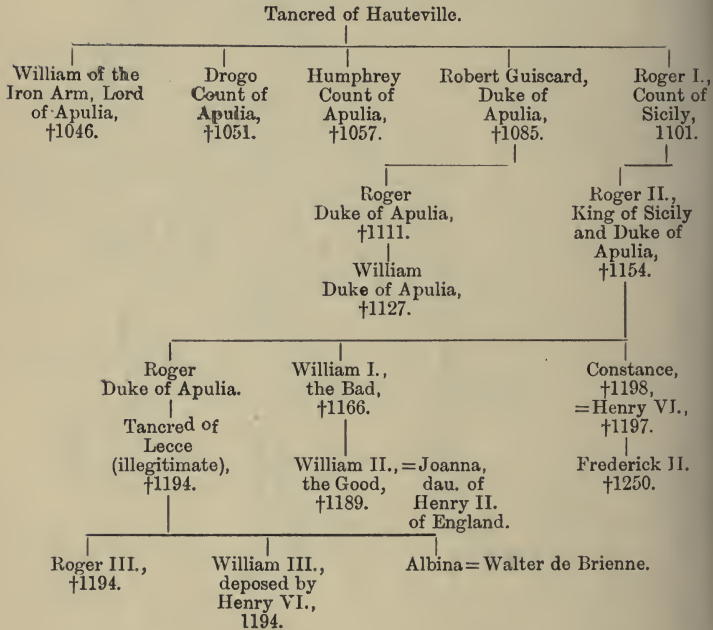
Eude or Odo,
King, 887-893.

Robert,
King, 912-923.

Emma = Rudolf, Duke of
Burgundy, King, 923-936.

Hugh the
Great.

IV. THE NORMAN KINGS OF SICILY



V. THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM

(i) Godfrey the Bearded,
Duke of Lower Lorraine,
†1069.

Matilda Countess=
of Tuscany. Godfrey the Hunchback,
†1076. Ida=Eustace II.
of Boulogne.

Godfrey de Bouillon,
King, 1099-1100. Baldwin I.,
King, 1100-1118. Eustace,
Count of Boulogne.

(ii) Baldwin II., du Bourg,
1118-1130 [or 1131 or 1132].

Melisend=Fulk of Anjou,
1132-1143.

Baldwin III.,=Theodora Amalric I.=(1) Agnes de Courtenay.
†1143-1163. Comnena. 1163-1174. | (2) Maria Comnena.
(1) (1) (2)

Baldwin IV., Sibylla=(1) William Isabella,=(1) Henfrid IV. of Toron
†1184 or 1185. of Montferrat. †about (marriage dissolved),
(2) Guy of Lusignan, †1194. †1190.
(1) (2) (2) Conrad of Montferrat,
Baldwin V., †1186. Several children †1192.
died young. (3) Henry of Champagne,
†1197.
(4) Amalric of Cyprus,
†1205.
(4) (Amalric II.) (4)

Mary=John de Brienne. Alice=(1) Hugh I. Amalric III., Melisend=
Yolande or=Frederick II., †1206. Bohemond IV.
Isabella, †1228. †1250. of Cyprus. of Antioch.
(2) Bohemond V.
(3) Ralph de Soissons.

Conrad IV., †1254.
Conradin, †1268.

VI. THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST

	A. D.
Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus)	912-958
[Co-regent Emperors—	
Alexander	912-913
Romanus I. (Lecapenus)	919-945]
Romanus II.	958-963
Basil II. (Bulgaroktonos)	963-1025
[Co-regent Emperors—	
Nicephorus II. (Phocas)	963-969
John I. (Zimisces)	969-976]
Constantine VIII.	1025-1028
Romanus III. (Argyrus)	1028-1034
Michael IV. (the Paphlagonian)	1034-1042
Michael V.	1042
Constantine IX. (Monomachus)	1042-1055
Theodora	1055-1057
Michael VI. (Stratioticus)	1056-1057
Isaac I. (Comnenus)	1057-1059
Constantine X. (Ducas)	1059-1067
Michael VII. (Ducas)	1067-1078
[Co-regent Emperor—	
Romanus IV. (Diogenes)	1067-1071]
Nicephorus III. (Botoniates)	1078-1081
Alexius I. (Comnenus)	1081-1118
John II. (Comnenus)	1118-1143
Manuel I. (Comnenus)	1143-1180
Alexius II. (Comnenus)	1180-1183
Andronicus I. (Comnenus)	1183-1185
Isaac II. (Angelus)	1185-1195
Alexius III. (Angelus)	1195-1203
Isaac II. (restored)	1203-1204
Alexius V. (Ducas)	1204
Latin Emperors—	
Baldwin I.	1204-1205
Henry	1205-1216
Peter	1216-1219
Robert	1219-1228
Baldwin II.	1228-1261
Nicean Emperors—	
Theodore I. (Lascaris)	1204-1222
John III. (Ducas)	1222-1254
Theodore II. (Ducas)	1254-1258
John IV. (Ducas)	1258-1259
Restoration of the Empire—	
Michael VIII. (Palæologus)	1259-1282

VII. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF POPES AND ANTI-POPES

Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.
John X., 914-928	...	John XV., 985-996	...	Stephen IX., 1057-1058	Benedict X., 1058-1059
Leo VI., 928-929	...	Gregory V., 996-999	...	Nicholas II., 1058-1061	...
Stephen VII., 929-931	...	(John XVI., 997-998)	...	Alexander II., 1061-1073	Honorius, 1061-1062
John XI., 931-936	...	Sylvester II., 999-1003	...	Gregory VII., 1073-1085	Clement III., 1080-1100
Leo VII., 936-939	...	John XVII., 1003-1009	...	Victor III., 1086-1087	...
Stephen VIII., 939-942	...	Sergius IV., 1009-1012	...	Urban II., 1088-1099	...
Martin III., 942-946	...	Benedict VIII., 1012-1024	...	Paschal II., 1099-1118	Albert, 1102
Agapetus II., 946-955	...	John XIX., 1024-1033	...	Gelasius II., 1118-1119	Theodoric
John XII., 956-963	Benedict V., 964-965	Benedict IX., 1033-1046; deposed in 1046.	Sylvester III., 1044-1046, deposed in 1046	Calixtus II., 1119-1124	Sylvester IV., 1105-1111
Leo VIII., 963-965	...	Gregory VI., 1044-1046, deposed in 1046	...	Honorius II., 1124-1130	Gregory VIII., 1118-1121
John XIII., 965-972	...	Clement II., 1046-1047	...	Innocent II., 1130-1143	...
Benedict VI., 972-974	Boniface VII., 974-984 (Anti-Pope) (recognized), 984-985	Damasus II., 1048	...	...	Anacletus II., 1130-1138
John XIV., 983-984	...	Leo IX., 1048-1054	...	...	Victor, 1138
	...	Victor II., 1055-1057	...	...

VII. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF POPES AND ANTI-POPES—continued

Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.
Celestine II., 1143-1144	...	Lucius III., 1181-1185	...	Alexander IV., 1254-1261	...
Lucius II., 1144-1145	...	Urban III., 1185-1187	...	Urban IV., 1261-1264	...
Eugenius III., 1145-1153	...	Gregory VIII., 1187	...	Clement IV., 1265-1268	...
Anastasius IV., 1153-1154	...	Clement III., 1187-1191	...	Gregory X., 1271-1276	...
Adrian IV., 1154-1159	...	Celestine III., 1191-1198	...	...	...
	Victor IV., 1159-1164	Innocent III., 1198-1216	...	...	...
	Paschal III., 1164-1168	Honorius III., 1216-1227	...	...	...
Alexander III., 1159-1181	Calixtus III., 1168-1178	Gregory IX., 1227-1241
	Lando, 1178-1180	Celestine IV., 1241
		Innocent IV., 1243-1254

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of Europe from 1273 to 1453 is of noteworthy interest and importance ; but it is also so extraordinarily complex that it is impossible to tell the story in orderly or chronological sequence. Europe had lost by this time such unity as was given to it in the earlier Middle Ages by the prominence of the Papacy and the Empire ; and it had not yet gained such an approach to unity as it acquired by the formation of distinct national states, whose relations with each other, whether of friendship or of hostility, render it possible to construct a history of international wars and diplomacy from the sixteenth century onwards.

The essential thing to grasp is that the period was one of transition—a time in which mediæval characteristics were decaying and modern characteristics were growing up ; but in which the

former had not disappeared and the latter were not yet strong enough to take their place. Popes and Emperors still claimed to be the joint heads of Western Christendom, and sometimes acted as if their supremacy were still recognised. But their claims were practically obsolete. Some Emperors, such as Rudolf I. and Charles IV., recognised the change and tried to devise a new policy to suit the altered times. Others, such as Henry VII. and Sigismund, talked and acted as if the old traditions were still unshaken. So, again, we find a Pope, like Boniface VIII., defying national independence in the tones of an Innocent III. or a Honorius IV.; whereas a more prudent pontiff, Martin V., evaded the control of the Council of Constance by making separate terms with the various states of Europe, and devoted himself, not so much to the task of ruling the Church, as to that of restoring the temporal power in the papal states.

It is the same with the growth of nations which ultimately shattered the mediæval conception of a united Christendom. England was the only state which was really organised in the early part of the period: and even England passed in the fifteenth century through a prolonged civil war—the Wars of the Roses—which for a time

seemed almost fatal to national unity. France underwent horrible convulsions during this period; but the dawn of better things began with the inspiring career of Joan of Arc and with the administrative reforms of the reign of Charles VII. Spain was still non-existent by 1453; but the prolonged war against the Moors had given to the various kingdoms of the peninsula such a community of interests and general character as facilitated their later union. The growth of German unity was obstructed by the endless diversity of its political organisms and by the fatal union of its crown with the shadowy dignity of the Roman Empire. But the tendency of the age towards unity and consolidation is to be traced, even at this early date, in some of the separate states of Germany—notably in Brandenburg. Italy, the teacher of Europe in art, in literature and in political philosophy, was the most hopelessly divided by its geography and by the strong individuality of many of its component parts; and Italy remained a mere geographical expression until the nineteenth century.

Like all periods of transition, the age is one of numerous and bold experiments. Many of these experiments were successful, and many failed: but the history of the failures is often as im-

portant and instructive as that of the successes. The great Slav race, which for generations had been conquered or driven back eastwards by the Germans, made a great and for a time successful effort to recover its independence and extend its power. We can trace this movement in the Hussite wars in Bohemia and the union of Poland and Lithuania under the strong house of Jagello. The Teutonic knights strove to utilise the last crusading impulse of the Middle Ages to found a great state on the Baltic. They failed, because their organisation was ill-suited for civil government. The age of crusades was over, and the united Slavs were too powerful. But the state of Prussia, after all, survived the ruin and dissolution of its creators. A notable experiment was the attempt of the famous Hanseatic League to maintain the interests of merchants and the predominance of German influence in the Baltic and the North Sea. They also failed because a federation of towns could not hold its own when national states were formed, and because the Baltic lost much of its importance when trade was diverted to the Atlantic. But their advancements were great in themselves, and their bold assertion of the power of merchants marks a great change from the military and feudal

ideals of the Middle Ages. Another interesting experiment, provoked in some measure by the strength of the Hanse towns, was the attempt to combine the Scandinavian states by the Union of Kalmar. These and other efforts of the age give it the appearance of almost kaleidoscopic variety, but all have their lesson.

The most striking experiments, however, were those in art, in literature and in science. The fifteenth century is pre-eminently the period which is known as the Renaissance, or the new birth. One side of this intellectual activity is the revival of the study of ancient learning—the hunt for manuscripts, the study of the classical languages, the exposition of the great writers of antiquity and the copying of their style. Perhaps the best representatives of this accumulative and imitative side of the Renaissance are Pope Nicolas V., the founder of the Vatican Library, and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards also Pope as Pius II.

But the Renaissance was not only imitative : it was also creative. It emancipated men's minds from the old restraints imposed upon them. Side by side with the revival of classical learning went on the growth of national languages and literatures : of Italian in Dante, Petrarch and Boc-

caccio ; of English in Chaucer and Wyclif ; of French in a series of writers between Joinville and Commines. There was also a marvellous display of originality, especially in Italy, in painting and sculpture. It would take too long to describe the change in words, and it is far better to see it for oneself. A visit to the Italian rooms of the National Gallery and a study of well-selected photographs of Italian pictures will enable any one to trace the gradual abandonment of the stiff and lifeless forms of early art, the close study of and delight in nature, and the exercise of unfettered imagination which mark the progress of painting in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The object of this introduction is to show that the period is well worthy of study. The more it is followed out, the more fascinating it becomes. And it must never be forgotten that it is the period which begins the Renaissance and leads up to the great achievements which follow ; the Reformation in the Church ; the discovery of a new world ; the spread of education and the diffusion of literature ; the general change throughout Europe from mediæval to modern life.

R. LODGE

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1280. Martin IV., Pope.
1282. Sicilian Vespers.
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1291. League of Forest Cantons in Switzerland.
James III., King of Aragon.
1292. Adolf of Nassau, Emperor.
1294. Celestine V., Pope.
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1295. Ferdinand IV., King of Castile.
1296. Bull *Clericis Laicos*.
1298. Battle of Goellheim and death of Emperor Adolf.
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 1300. Jubilee in Rome.
 1302. Matins of Bruges.
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1346. Battle of Crécy.
Siege of Calais.
1347. Death of Emperor Lewis.
Charles IV. of Bohemia, Emperor.
Rienzi Tribune of Roman Republic.
Abdication of Rienzi.
Invasion of Naples by Lewis of Hungary.
1348. Black Death.
Battle of Epila.
1350. Visit of Rienzi to Emperor Charles IV.
War between Venice and Genoa.
John the Good, King of France.
Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile.
1354. Return of Rienzi to Rome and his death.
Coronation of Emperor Charles IV. at Rome.
Battle of Sapienza.
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Étienne Marcel, Provost of Merchants in Paris.
Rule of Bernabo and Galeazzo Visconti in Milan.
1356. The Golden Bull.
Battle of Poitiers.
1358. The Jacquerie.
Murder of Étienne Marcel.
1360. Peace of Bretigni (England and France).
1361. Sack of Wisby by Waldemar III.
1362. War between Denmark and the Hanse Towns.
1364. Charles V., King of France.
Battle of Aurai and end of War in Brittany.
1367. Battle of Navaretta or Najara.
1369. Pedro killed by Henry of Trastamare.
Henry II., King of Castile.
John of Gaunt claimed crown.
1370. Treaty of Stralsund (Denmark and Hanseatic League).
1375. Death of Waldemar Atterdag.
Olaf, King of Denmark.
1377. Richard II., King of England.

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1378. Death of Charles IV.
Return of Pope to Rome and end of Babylonish Captivity.
Death of St. Catherine of Siena.
War of Chloggia between Venice and Genoa.
Papal Schism—Double election—Urban VI. (Rome).
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Wenzel of Luxemburg, Emperor.
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1379. John I., King of Castile.
1380. Death of Du Guesclin.
Charles VI., King of France.
1381. Peace of Turin (Venice and Genoa).
1382. Charles III., King of Naples—Succession disputed.
Battle of Rosbecque.
1385. Charles III. of Naples, King of Hungary.
1386. Battle of Sempach.
Murder of Charles III. of Naples.
Jagello of Lithuania, King of Poland.
Ladislas, King of Naples.
1387. Margaret, Queen of Norway and Denmark.
John I., King of Aragon.
Sigismund, King of Hungary.
Town War in Bohemia.
1388. Battle of Nâfels.
Battle of Döffingen.
1389. Henry IV., King of England.
Boniface IX., Pope (Rome).
Peace of Eger.
Sultan Bajazet Ilderim.
Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Sweden.
1390. Henry III., King of Castile.
1393. Convention of Sempach.
Recognition of Swiss Confederation.
1394. Benedict XII., Pope (Avignon).
1395. Milan became a Duchy.
Martin I., King of Aragon.
1396. Battle of Nicopolis.
1397. Union of Kalmar.
1400. Imperial Schism.
Deposition of Wenzel and election of Rupert of the Palatinate.
1402. Death of Gian Galeazzo.
Battle of Angora.

1404. Innocent VII., Pope (Rome).
1406. Gregory XII., Pope (Rome).
John II., King of Castile.
1407. Murder of Duke of Orleans.
Quarrels of Burgundians and Armagnacs.
1409. Council of Pisa.
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1410. Battle of Tannenberg.
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John XXIII., Pope (Rome).
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Moravia elected.
Disputed succession in Aragon.
1411. Death of Jobst—Sigismund recognised.
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1413. Henry V., King of England.
1414. Death of Ladislas of Naples.
Joanna II., Queen of Naples.
Opening of Council of Constance.
1415. Deposition of John XXIII.
Execution of Huss and of Jerome of Prague.
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Battle of Agincourt.
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1418. Martin V., Pope, elected at Council of Constance.
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Murder of John the Fearless of Burgundy.
1420. Four Articles of Prague.
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1424. Ziska's Bloody Year and his death.
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1436. Sigismund crowned King of Bohemia.
1437. Death of Sigismund.
1438. Council of Ferrara.
Albert II. of Austria, Emperor.
1439. Council of Florence.
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1440. Frederick III., Emperor.
1442. Alfonso of Aragon became King of Naples.
1444. Battle of Varna.
1447. Alliance between Germany and Pope Eugenius.
Nicholas V., Pope.
1449. End of Council of Basle.
1450. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.
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THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGE

1273-1453

CHAPTER I

GERMANY AND THE EMPIRE, 1273-1378

BEFORE 1273 the decline of Imperial supremacy had already begun. The great Emperors of the Hohenstaufen family, Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VI. and Frederick II. had done something in the past to revive the already weakening power of the Empire and to maintain the theory of universal rule; but the fall of their dynasty was followed by disastrous disputes between rival Emperors, an epoch known as the "Great Interregnum," which did much to destroy the authority of the monarch both in Germany and in Europe; and the period now opening was marked by still further decline in the ideal of Imperial supremacy, and in domestic power.

In theory the Empire was still the Roman Empire; the Emperor was direct successor of the Cæsars, "semper Augustus," with temporal rule over the whole world. From the days of Frederick Barbarossa the title "Holy" had added a character of sanctity to the institution, had upheld the claim of the Emperor to divine right to rule over Christian society, and had placed the "Holy Roman Empire" side by side with the "Holy Catholic Church".

Pope and Emperor together were to exercise spiritual and temporal rule over the world, and to form the one bond of unity in a Europe composed of masses of feudal States.

This mediæval ideal of universal authority had always been shadowy and unreal, but not without effect. Although England, France and Spain, the most independent countries of Europe, had never really acknowledged the territorial supremacy of the Emperor, and their kings had refused to do homage for their lands, they had never failed to recognise Imperial precedence; and even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, despite the discredit caused by the Great Interregnum, the Emperor was still looked up to as an international power, and Imperialist doctrines were still held by writers and students of the science of government. Thus in theory the Emperor claimed the right to be recognised as the superior of all European kings and rulers, but in reality, though his opinion might have had weight in the case of any question of international interest, only certain small States admitted his authority within their own borders, and the term Empire came to have a definite territorial significance. At the close of the thirteenth century, France lay outside the Imperial limits on the West, although her boundaries were more restricted than in modern days, and Provence, Burgundy and Lorraine were all strictly parts of the Empire; on the East, Poland and Hungary were still independent, and on the South part only of Italy was considered as actually Imperial land. Outside these boundaries, the Emperor might perhaps command respect for his dignity, but could certainly not enforce obedience to his authority.

There was also another aspect of the Imperial position. Ever since the tenth century the German Monarchy had been attached to the Roman Empire; or in other words the same man had always held the two dignities of German King and Roman Emperor; and this with disastrous results. The interests of the Empire and of the Kingdom of Germany were hardly ever the same, and yet each was certain to suffer from anything which hurt the other. For example, when the Emperor fought expensive wars in Italy they in no way benefited the German Kingdom, but Germany suffered very much from Imperial quarrels with the Papacy, which brought her also into discord with Rome. Again the fact that the German nobles were Imperial vassals, Princes, that is who held their estates straight from the Emperor, gave them an exalted sense of their own dignity and made them less ready to submit to the rules which he laid down in his character of King. Above all, because the Empire was elective the German Monarchy became elective also, and this system of choosing the ruler weakened the power of the Crown so much that it was almost destroyed.

Each Emperor was supposed to go through four coronations. This, as a matter of fact, he rarely did, but the three most important crowns were generally assumed. The German crown of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) only conferred strictly speaking the title of King of the Romans, the preliminary step for every Emperor. The crown of Burgundy was of slight account and during our period Charles IV. was the only Emperor who went to Arles to obtain it. The third crown of Italy or Lombardy was received at Milan or Monza, and, chief of all, the real Imperial crown itself could only be con-

Connection
between
the Empire
and the
German
Kingship

The four
Crowns

ferred at Rome and was held to bring with it that right of universal rule so splendid in theory, so feeble, as we have seen, in practice. Quite strictly the Emperor elect was only King of the Romans until this important ceremony had been completed, but he could exercise full powers from the time of his coronation at Aachen, and it has generally been found convenient to give him his full title from the first.

The Great
Interreg-
num, 1254-
1273

With the death of the last representative of the great family of Hohenstaufen, which for more than a century had occupied the Imperial throne, there was great hesitation on the part of the Electors to fill up the vacant office. The right of choice had now become practically centred in the hands of seven great Princes; the Archbishops of Mayence (Mainz), Trêves (Trier) and Cologne (Köln), to represent the German Church, and four lay Electors. These latter ought to have represented the four great nations of which Germany was composed, Franks, Swabians, Saxons and Bavarians; but the Duchies of Franconia and Swabia no longer existed, and the right was exercised by the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the Margrave of Brandenburg in company with the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria. In 1256 the votes of this "Electoral College" had been divided between Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, and Alfonso the Wise of Castile. The former was crowned at Aachen and paid an occasional visit to Germany, but never really took up his office; the Castilian King did no more than issue an occasional proclamation. The result was, that with no restraining hand to check their encroachments and private feuds, the nobles became more unmanageable than ever, and feudalism ran rampant.

When Richard of Cornwall died in 1272, the country was in such a state of anarchy and turmoil that all parties felt the need of a real ruler ; and Pope Gregory X., who was anxious above all things to raise a new Crusade, for which a German monarch would be the best leader, refused to recognise the claims of the un-energetic Alfonso, and urged a fresh election. Therefore, in 1273, the question of a new Emperor and a new King of Germany was seriously considered, and the choice of the Electors fell on Rudolf, Count of Habsburg, a Prince who they hoped was neither strong enough nor rich enough to rouse much fear or jealousy by his elevation.

The new Emperor was a man of considerable force and independence, or, as Carlyle puts it: "Justness of insight, toughness of character and general strength of bridle-hand". Rudolf was not one of the chief Princes of Germany, but an important Count nevertheless, and from his Hawk's Castle in Switzerland (Habichtsburg or Habsburg) had spread his power widely throughout the old Duchy of Swabia. In person he was far above the average height, thin and upright, with small hands and feet, and a face whose eagle eye and hooked nose betokened strength and energy, while his thin determined lips were also capable of showing a keen sense of humour. Moderate in meat and drink and zealous in warlike enterprises, he was the darling of his soldiers and commanded general respect and admiration. His piety is shown by the story of how he lent his horse to a poor Priest who was carrying the Host to a sick man and was afraid to cross a rapid torrent, and then refused to take back an animal which had carried so sacred a burden. Something of his promptness and resource is

Rudolf I.,
1273-1292

seen in the account of his coronation at Aachen. When the new sovereign was prepared to receive the homage of his princely vassals, there was no sceptre forthcoming, and without it he could not bestow the fiefs: delay might have been dangerous, for the nobles were none too friendly; but Rudolf averted any postponement of the ceremony by seizing the Crucifix from the altar, and declaring that the sacred sign of salvation for the world could well be his sceptre.

Condition
of Ger-
many

It was over a very complicated dominion that Rudolf was called to rule. Germany was split up amongst many great Princes both spiritual and temporal. Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots held what were called Sceptre-fiefs, since they were granted to them originally by presentation of a sceptre. Lay lords, such as Dukes, Margraves, Palgraves and Graves had banner-fiefs. All claimed to have no superior but the Emperor; all asserted the right to exercise practically independent power in their own estates, to judge their own causes, levy their own taxes, and make their own wars as they wished. The breaking up of the old Duchies of Franconia and Swabia had largely increased the number of tenants-in-chief, landowners that is, holding straight from the Emperor himself; and quite insignificant nobles, small towns and even villages often claimed the head of the Empire as their immediate overlord. This multiplication of estates was aided by the very usual practice of dividing the property of a dead man amongst all his sons, instead of giving the whole to the eldest.

Chief
families of
Germany

Certain families were particularly important at this time. The Ascanian family ruled in the Mark of Brandenburg and in the Duchy of Saxony. The House of Wittelsbach was also split into two branches; the elder

possessed Upper Bavaria and the Palatinate; the younger ruled in Lower Bavaria. The Welfs held the Duchy of Brunswick; the Wettins, later possessors of Saxony, were now the lords of Meissen and Thuringia. Besides the Habsburgs themselves, there were two other families which were to become very prominent later: the House of Luxemburg in the territory of the same name, and the Hohenzollerns, the head of which—Frederick Burggrave of Nuremberg, was a cousin of Rudolf, and had been largely influential in securing his election.


The three Archbishops with electoral powers were the most important spiritual Princes, though there were many others, for most great Churchmen were territorial lords. By far the most powerful and dangerous temporal ruler of the time was Ottokar of Bohemia, who in addition to this Slav Kingdom, had taken advantage of the Interregnum to lay hands on Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, which gave him a very firm foothold in South-East Germany.


Besides Princes and Bishops, the Imperial Cities were now rising to importance. Some of the larger towns of Germany, those of the South which had prospered because of their proximity to the great trade routes; and those of the North which carried on commerical enterprises by means of the Baltic and the North Sea, were independent of all but the Emperor, were recognised as estates of the realm capable of representation in the Imperial Diet, and were called Imperial Cities. These Diets were in theory feudal Councils of the whole Empire summoned from all parts of the realm for common business and composed of all the great Princes and representatives of the Imperial towns; but they met at present

very irregularly, and had little control over the different States, amongst which they were intended to bring some sort of unity.

THE EMPIRE in 1273



Habsburg Lands 

Possessions of King Ottokar 

Rudolf's
German
policy

Rudolf showed his practical wisdom and clear sightedness by realising that it was impossible to maintain the old ambitions of the Hohenstaufen, that he would

only waste his strength in vain endeavour should he strive to regain their Italian possessions, and that his true policy was to strengthen his position in Germany, to reduce the excessive power of his Imperial vassals, and to build up a strong territorial position for his own family. To effect this it was necessary to win allies, to secure the friendship of the Pope, to crush out rivals to his power. That he intended to emphasise the national character of his policy is shown by his persistent use of German in State documents and in the prosecution of business. When a messenger from the King of Bohemia began to explain his embassy in Latin, he was interrupted by the Emperor with the words: "Lord Bishop, when you have only concern with Priests use your Latin, but amongst us speak German". Rudolf's first act was to gain friends by the marriages of his numerous family. On the day of his coronation one daughter was wedded to Lewis of the Palatine and another to Albert of Saxony. Next he turned his attention to the Pope. Rudolf never went to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, but he had a magnificent meeting with Gregory X. at Lausanne, where he formally confirmed cessions of Italian territory already made to the Pope, gave up any claims to the Angevin Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and together with many of his Barons took the Cross, in token that he would, on the first opportunity, fulfil the Pope's most fervent wish, by undertaking a Crusade to the Holy Land. The old policy of the Hohenstaufen was finally abandoned, when the Habsburg Monarch made a treaty of friendship with Charles of Anjou, their bitterest enemy, and promised to marry his daughter Clementia to Charles' grandson. Italian schemes certainly never tempted the prudent Emperor; "Italy is like the lion's

Marriage
alliances

Meeting
with
Gregory X.
at Lau-
sanne,
Oct. 1275

cave," he was wont to say, "one sees traces of the steps of those who go thither, but never of those who return."

Relations
with Ot-
tokar of
Bohemia

After these measures Rudolf was ready to turn his attention nearer home. He felt his position in Germany would never be secure, so long as he was threatened by the enmity of Ottokar of Bohemia. Ottokar had never recognised the election of 1277; his own vote had been rejected, although as King of Bohemia he claimed the rights of an Elector, by virtue of his office of Imperial cupbearer; he had also repeatedly refused to appear at the Diet to justify his possession of the German Dukedoms of Austria, Carinthia and Carniola, and had of course never done homage. Despite the rather doubtful support of some of the Princes, the Emperor found a good many German nobles ready to fight against the Slav King, and his army was sufficiently strong to cause the capitulation of Vienna and force Ottokar to come to terms. The latter consented to do homage for Bohemia and Moravia, to renounce his claims to Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and a double marriage was arranged between a son and daughter of each monarch.

Homage of
Ottokar

There is a story that this homage was to take place privately in a tent, and that during the ceremony the tent collapsed, revealing the proud Ottokar, magnificently dressed, on his knees before the "Pauper Count" of Habsburg in his plain leather jerkin. Such an incident, however, is not only totally improbable, but quite unnecessary as an explanation of the speedy failure of the present agreement. Neither side adhered fully to the terms, the marriage plans were never accomplished, and the discontent of many Imperial nobles, who found Rudolf less compliant than they had hoped, gave

Ottokar an opportunity; the death of Pope Gregory robbed the Emperor of another ally; and in 1278 the Bohemian King renewed war with every hope of success. The two armies met on a great plain, north of Vienna, known as the Marchfeld, and an engagement of great violence took place. Both Kings fought in the thick of the battle. Rudolf at one moment was attacked by two Knights at once, had his horse killed under him, rolled off into a stream and was only rescued just in time from this awkward situation.

Ottokar fought gallantly long after success was hopeless, but was killed treacherously in the end by two Austrian soldiers, who attacked him after his surrender, in revenge for his execution of one of their relations for brigandage; and his adversary who had commanded that his life should be spared arrived too late to save him. The Bohemian defeat was complete. The Kingdom was handed over to the guardianship of Otto Margrave of Brandenburg during the minority of the dead Ottokar's young son, Wenzel II. of Bohemia; Wenzel was married to Rudolf's daughter Guta, and his sister Agnes to a son of the Emperor; Austria and the other disputed provinces were bestowed upon Rudolf's two eldest sons, Albert and Rudolf, with the exception of Carinthia which was given to Meinhard of Tyrol, whose daughter was married to Albert. This settlement was of the greatest importance; from this date Austria has remained the hereditary possession of the House of Habsburg and its chief source of strength. The foundation was laid on which the later fortunes of that great family were to be erected.

Rudolf had done much to strengthen his family and something to consolidate the central power, but not so

Battle of
the March-
feld, 26th
Aug. 1278

Death of
Ottokar

House of
Habsburg
established
in Austria

much as he wished. In vain he endeavoured to win over the Princes by marriage alliances and the people by suppression of private war. The nobles remained obstinate, the towns objected to his Imperial taxation, and the organisation of justice and government was still defective. Above all, he was unable to effect the greatest wish of his life, the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. The Electors feared the growing strength of the Habsburgs and refused to choose his son Albert as successor. When the Emperor ended his toilsome career in 1292, Adolf of Nassau, a poor and insignificant Count, was crowned at Aachen.

Adolf of
Nassau,
1292-1298

Battle of
Goellheim,
1298

Death of
Adolf

Albert I.,
1298-1308

Adolf's rule was short. His unexpected activity and determined attempt to strengthen his position, speedily raised up enemies against him and gave a party to the disappointed Albert of Austria. Germany was divided into two camps, and the war which broke out was ended by the Battle of Goellheim. The death of Adolf, struck down some think by Albert himself, gave the victory to the latter. The Electors could no longer refuse him their votes and he was proclaimed Emperor as Albert I.

The new Sovereign was not prepossessing in appearance. Boniface VIII., when consulted as to the election, had objected to his uncouth and rustic mien. He was blind of one eye, rude and harsh of face, strong but ungrainly in figure, and his indomitable energy was tempered by no gentleness and few scruples. His character has doubtless suffered by the legends concerning his rule in Swabia, where he has been handed down to tradition as the great persecutor of the mountaineers in the district later to become Switzerland (see chapter v.). But though there may be no grounds for the accusations of heartless cruelty and oppression, he was a stern fierce

man, not easy to check when the interests of his family were at stake.

Albert's policy was a continuation of that of his father. He left Italy entirely out of account, made peace with Philip of France, and turned his whole attention to Germany. Here his plan was to support the towns against the nobles, and keep a firm hand over the most powerful of the Princes.

His chief danger lay on the side of Bohemia, whose sovereign, Wenzel II., had been elected King of Poland in 1300, and in the following year was also offered the Crown of Hungary. Albert was furious, but was saved from violent opposition by the unexpected death of King Wenzel and his only son, the last male descendants of Ottokar. Thus ended the Bohemian family of the Premyslides. The Crown of Bohemia was elective, and by a mixture of threats and bribery, Albert secured the choice of his own son Rudolf, and hoped thereby to have secured for the Habsburgs another territory of the greatest value. King Rudolf, however, failed to abate the hostility felt by the Bohemians for the Habsburg line, and on his sudden death in 1307 the Electors, despite their promises, refused his brother Frederick the Fair and chose instead Henry of Carinthia, a brother-in-law of King Wenzel. The indignant Albert made preparations for an expedition against the Bohemians, but this was suddenly hindered by his own assassination. The murder was the work of one of his own nephews, cheated as he believed out of his rightful possessions by the close-fisted Albert, and encouraged to the deed by many discontented nobles who hated their ambitious ruler.

Albert's sudden death again made a break in the line of Habsburg Emperors. A disputed election followed.

The French King, whose influence had been much increased by the late Emperor's friendship, put forward his own brother Charles of Valois as a rival to Albert's heir Frederick of Austria. In the end, however, the Electors were faithful to the almost universal custom of choosing a German, and voted for Henry of Luxemburg, brother of the Archbishop of Treves, who naturally gave him his support.

Henry
VII., 1308-
1313

Henry VII. was about forty years of age, a man well skilled in arms, of middle height, with fair hair and a fresh-coloured face; he was also well-educated and could speak French, German and Latin. With the new monarch quite a new turn was given to Imperial policy. Henry looked back to the glories of the Hohenstaufen. He determined to revive their claims of universal dominion and above all their headship of the Ghibelline party in Italy. Thus his reign belongs rather to the history of Italy than to that of Germany, and can be kept principally for the next chapter (see chapter ii.). One great acquisition, however, he did make in Germany, not for himself but for his son.

Italian
policy

Bohemia was not too happy under their King Henry of Carinthia. He was idle and inefficient and did nothing to quell the disorders of the country, which was in open rebellion against him. Certain of the Bohemians turned in their need to the new Emperor and proposed to bestow the Kingdom on his young son John, on condition that he should marry Elizabeth a daughter of Wenzel II. and the last survivor of the Premyslides family. This arrangement was accomplished and John of Luxemburg became King of Bohemia. This done, Henry set off without waste of time, to secure for himself the iron crown of Lombardy and the golden crown of Rome.

John of
Luxemburg
chosen
King of
Bohemia,
1310

Henry's Italian expedition left neglected Germany a prey to rival factions, and sad confusion prevailed when his death at Siena in 1313 rendered a new choice inevitable.

The election which followed the death of Henry VII. was one of peculiar difficulty. The rights of the seven Electors were more or less established, but no provision had been made for the splitting of families and territories into two parts. Two branches of the Wittelsbach stock ruled in Bavaria, there were two Margraves of Brandenburg, and Henry of Carinthia still laid claim to the Bohemian throne occupied in reality by John of Luxemburg. There were rival candidates also representing the three leading houses of the time. John of Bohemia, the late Emperor's son, was eventually rejected as too young; but that still left in the field Albert's son, Frederick the Handsome of Austria; and Lewis Duke of Upper Bavaria, a warrior of great repute. Delay of more than a year was caused by these complications, and when the election was at last made, the votes were divided between Lewis and Frederick, five being given to the former and two to the latter.

Death of
Henry
VII., 1313

Difficulties
of election

Lewis of
Bavaria
and
Frederick
of Austria
both
chosen

Neither candidate intended to give way, and both raced to Aachen to secure coronation at the traditional spot. Here again the honours were divided. Frederick won the race; but the town would not admit him, and he had to be content with a ceremony at Bonn, performed, however, by the Archbishop of Cologne to whom especially belonged the right of consecration. Lewis, on the other hand, was admitted and crowned in Aachen by the Archbishop of Mayence. Civil war followed and was waged for eight years with varying fortunes. The Austrians, Frederick and his brother Leopold, were also

Battle of
Mühldorf,
28th Sept.
1322

Victory of
Lewis

hampered by struggles in their Swabian lands, where the mountaineers were fighting for independence against Habsburg rule. At last the decisive blow was struck at Mühldorf. Lewis the Bavarian had the support of the young John of Bohemia, who is thought by some to deserve the chief credit of the victory. The towns also were principally on his side and foot soldiers played a prominent part in the fight, a sign of the gradual change which was coming in the art of war. Frederick the Handsome commanded in person on the opposite side, and fought with distinguished valour, though overpowered in the end and taken captive. The decisive turn was given to the struggle by the arrival of a fresh troop, which the Austrians welcomed as an expected re-inforcement under the young Duke Leopold, but which proved to be an addition to the enemy's forces. Lewis remained master of the field, and Frederick was sent as a prisoner to the Castle of Traussitz, not far from Nuremburg. Here he is said to have amused himself by carving sticks, and up to the present day supposed specimens of his work were still being sold to tourists in the neighbourhood. An old warrior called Schweppermann made himself a name by brave service on the victorious side, and the Emperor's words, when food was served frugally after the battle, have passed into a proverb. "Jedern Mann ein Ei, dem frommen Schweppermann zwei (An egg for every man, but two for the honest Schweppermann)."

Acquisition of
Brandenburg by
Wittelsbach House

Shortly after this victory, another stroke of good fortune helped to extend the Wittelsbach power. In 1322 Brandenburg fell vacant by the death of the last representative of the Ascanian family, and was transferred by the Emperor to his own son Lewis. This acquisition, it is true, cost the friendship of John of Bohemia,

who had hopes of his own in that direction, but danger from his estrangement was not yet obvious.

If Lewis hoped for peace and tranquillity, now that his claims were secured in Germany, he was very much mistaken. His next enemy was even more serious than the Austrian Duke, being none other than the Pope himself. The Papacy at this time was closely allied with France, some thought little more than her tool. In 1305 the Archbishop of Bordeaux had been chosen Pope, chiefly by the influence of Philip IV. ; and from his time the Papal Court had been established at Avignon ; a place which, though not actually French territory, was perilously near the lands of France. Philip must undoubtedly have proposed this change of residence, as a means of securing his own control over the head of the Church. In 1323 John XXII., the Pope at the time, declared that to him belonged the right of sanctioning an election, that Lewis therefore had taken his title of King illegally and that all his decrees so far were null and void. Going further still, he pronounced sentence of excommunication on the unsubmitive Bavarian, and expecting to find ready support from Bohemian and Austrian rivals of the Emperor, proposed a new candidate in the shape of Charles IV. of France. But he did not reckon on the growing national feeling in Germany. A wave of indignation swept through the country and Lewis turned the tables on his adversary by declaring the Pope himself deposed, on the charge of interference in Imperial Italy, and for holding heretical doctrines. This quarrel was of rather a different character from any previous dispute, it was complicated by the Pope's relations to France, and the consequent international questions which arose ; and it

Papacy at
Avignon

Quarrel
between
Lewis and
John
XXII.

was distinguished by the national feeling displayed in Germany, where Lewis was supported warmly by the Church, the towns, and the Franciscan Order.

Lewis in
Italy

Encouraged by the attitude of his country, Lewis entered on an Italian expedition, which opened very favourably. Despite the absence and opposition of the Pope, the Emperor was crowned at Rome. Two excommunicated Bishops anointed him and the crown was placed on his head by lay officials of the city; a ceremony which struck even those who took part in it as strange and doubtful. As a practical demonstration of his full Imperial power, Lewis set up a Pope of his own with the name of Nicholas V., and together they paraded the streets of the capital in triumph. The triumph was very short-lived. Lewis's partisans were of no real stability, they dropped away from him; towns which had received him gladly closed their gates upon him on his return journey; the terrified anti-Pope fled to John XXII., humbly craved for pardon and was imprisoned. The whole Imperial position in Italy was rotten to the core. Lewis never freed himself from Papal excommunication, though he made repeated efforts and hoped much from the more compliant successors of John XXII.; but they had France at their backs, and France was well-content to see Pope and Emperor at strife. The struggle had, however, important results in Germany. It led to a declaration of independence, which showed the marked decline in Papal authority. At Rense the Electors proclaimed that "since the Empire depends on God alone, he who is elected by the majority of votes can take the title of King and exercise all sovereign rights, without need of the consent or confirmation of the Pope". The German character of the

Declara-
tion of
Rense,
1338

Empire was little by little superseding the sacred and international position which had been the ideal of the Middle Ages.

The relations of Lewis the Bavarian with Edward III. were indirectly part of the Papal disputes, for the Emperor was glad to support the rival of the Pope's ally Philip VI. The English King in 1338 made a visit to Germany and was entertained with great splendour and magnificence by Lewis. The two Kings were already bound to each other by marriage ties, for the Emperor had taken as his second wife Margaret of Holland and Hainault, a sister of our own Queen Philippa. The chief result of all this parade was the rather empty honour bestowed on Edward of the office of Imperial Vicar or representative on the left bank of the Rhine, and this was almost all that England obtained from her high-sounding alliance with the Emperor.

Lewis had more on his hands than he could well manage without assisting English claims in France. During almost the whole of his reign he was at enmity with his original ally John of Bohemia; he had troubles in Lower Bavaria, Austrian relations were not cordial, his unstable and yet ambitious character was not likely to secure him firm friends and allies. His last efforts at family acquisitions brought him into new troubles. Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol had a daughter and heiress with the very unattractive name of Margaret Maultasch or "Poke-mouth". Whatever her looks may have been, her possessions were of such undoubted value that she had no lack of suitors, and after an unhappy marriage with the second son of John of Bohemia, which was ended by divorce, she was secured by Lewis for his son the Margrave of Brandenburg. A dispensa-

Relations
between
Lewis and
Edward
III.

Succession
in Tyrol

tion was required for the new marriage, and this Lewis proclaimed on his own Imperial authority, an action which stirred up anew the Papal ire, whilst there was considerable outcry in Germany itself, where the Emperor was daily becoming more and more unpopular. So strong was this feeling, that Pope Clement VI. had little difficulty in inducing five of the Electors to choose a new King of the Romans, in the person of Charles of Bohemia, son of King John, who lost his life in the same year at the battle of Crécy. Lewis was engaged in raising men and money to meet this new danger, when he was struck down by sudden death in the midst of a bear-hunt near Munich, and left the field clear for the Luxemburg candidate.

Election of
Charles
IV., 1346

Death of
Lewis,
1347

Character
and policy
of Lewis

Lewis the Bavarian had passed a long and troubled reign. He had been untiringly active, and his courage and good-humour had won him many friends in early life; but he had little real force of character or stability, and his policy was almost wholly concerned with family aggrandisement, so that one after another his supporters lost patience and their belief in him turned to contempt and suspicion. He had failed to establish his power in Italy, or to secure his rule in Germany; but he left the Wittelsbach family in a very strong territorial position. Brandenburg, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Tyrol, Hainault and Holland were all in the hands of members of that house.

Charles
IV., 1347-
1375

The character and career of Charles IV. of Luxemburg has given rise to considerable disagreement. German historians as a rule have spoken of him slightly. Amongst English writers Bryce says severely that he "legalised anarchy and called it a constitution"; and Carlyle is palpably unjust in calling him "an un-

esteemed creature, who strove to make his time peaceable in the world by giving from the Holy Roman Empire with both hands to every bull-beggar or ready-payer who applied". On the other hand Bohemian writers can scarcely praise him enough, and they thank him for all that is best in their country's history, for, writes one, "he broke down the oppressive power of the overmighty feudal lord, restored quiet and security within and without, supported justice and good-government, increased the income of the state and encouraged industry, so that in both mountain and valley skill and knowledge spread amongst the people, religion and morality prevailed throughout the land". Perhaps Maximilian I. was partly right in calling him "The Father of Bohemia but the step-father of the Empire". His best work was done without doubt in his own country, but his Imperial rule was not so despicable after all, and it was not altogether his fault that the power of the German King became less and less able to compete with the authority and privileges of the Electoral Princes.

Charles's personal appearance was not attractive. He was small, his back was slightly bent, and his head hung forwards; his face was pale with very prominent cheek-bones, and his hair and beard were thick and black. He always dressed very simply and his tunic was kilted to the knee, never worn long and flowing. He was neither a great warrior nor an impressive figure, but he was a clear-headed prudent man, a hard-worker and a far-sighted statesman; he preferred diplomacy to force and the substance of power to the show and pomp of majesty. His policy was chiefly concerned with introducing order and stability into the government of the Empire, in advancing the welfare of the country, especially of Bohemia,

Personal
appearance
and char-
acter of
Charles IV.

Policy

and in aggrandising the House of Luxemburg, which he hoped to leave in permanent possession of the Imperial dignity, based on a strong territorial position of its own.

Rivals for
the Empire

Charles had many difficulties with which to contend. His election had not been unanimous and was not undisputed. There were other applicants for the office. Edward III. was at one time considered; Albert of Austria put forward claims; Gunther of Schwarzburg, supported by the Bavarian family, was actually elected. The Emperor, however, knew how to win over his enemies, or to take advantage of any chances in his favour. He hampered the House of Wittelsbach by encouraging a sham claimant to their possessions in Brandenburg, and the Elector Palatine, head of the family, was won over by the marriage of his daughter to Charles himself; whilst his own daughter was wedded to a son of the Austrian Duke to conciliate his rivals in that direction. The Black Death, also, had diverted the country generally from political disputes; the Imperial Cities, sighing for order and quiet, were easily conciliated by grants of privileges, and finally the convenient death of Gunther in 1349 left Charles undisputed master

Charles IV.
crowned at
Rome, 1354

of the situation. His next step was a journey to Rome for the Imperial crown. There was no resemblance between Charles's attitude towards Italy and that of his father Henry VII. He went for the coronation alone and merely stayed in Rome the one day necessary for this ceremony; thus deliberately renouncing any claims to Imperial rule in the Peninsula, and arousing considerable contempt in the Italian towns of the north, which would readily have welcomed a new head of the Ghibelline party.

His return gave him the opportunity for that part of

his work which is best known, the formation of a rule for future Imperial elections, which was drawn up and published in the famous document known as the *Golden Bull*. Charles, it must be remembered, was not attempting any great change. The practice of election and all its consequent evils were thoroughly established by this time, but there were constant disputes about the actual claim to Electoral votes. Did they belong to the great fiefs themselves, or to the great families which held those fiefs, or to the Imperial offices which members of those families generally filled? What was to happen in case of the subdivision of fiefs, the splitting up of families, the abeyance of offices? All these disputed points were made clear by the Golden Bull. Elections were in future to be held at Frankfort, and a majority of votes alone was to be necessary. Electoral powers were to be exercised by the three Archbishops, of Cologne, Mayence and Treves; and by four lay Princes—the King of Bohemia, Imperial cup-bearer; the Count-Palatine, Grand Seneschal; the Duke of Saxony, Grand Marshal; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Grand Chamberlain. Not one word was said in this important document either of Papal Sanction or Papal confirmation, and thus tacit recognition was made of the German character of the Empire and its independence from the control of the Head of the Church. In a sense the *Golden Bull* did “legalise anarchy” as Bryce puts it. It legalised Electoral control and interference; but at least it put an end to some of the worst difficulties which had beset previous elections.

Charles had plenty of scope for his diplomatic talents. He acquired what territory he could for his family, but when friendship was more important than extension of boundaries, he knew how to give way with a good

Great territorial acquisitions

grace. This was shown more especially in the case of Tyrol, which fell vacant with the death of the only son of Margaret Maultasch, and which he confirmed in the hands of the Austrian Habsburgs. For his own family he gained by purchase and diplomacy the Margravate of Brandenburg, which brought with it a second electoral vote—the principal aim of his ambitions. Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia were already his. Luxemburg and Limburg were in the hands of a brother, with the promise of reversion to Bohemia. Marriage alliances gave hopes of future succession in Holland, Hungary and Poland. Germany was almost surrounded by hereditary estates of the Luxemburg family.

Election of Wenzel, 1376

Charles won a final and very important triumph in the election and coronation, during his lifetime, of his son Wenzel ; so that he could die with the assurance of having done what Habsburg and Wittelsbach had so far failed to effect, in laying the apparent foundation of an hereditary claim to the Imperial throne. His last advice to his son and successor was very characteristic : "Love God and thy friends, be peaceful ; if thou canst gain anything with gentleness, avoid war about it. Show consideration and honour for others. Have the Pope, Priests and Germans as friends ; thus wilt thou live and die in peace."





Death of Charles IV.

Results of reign

Charles had done much even though he had not been uniformly successful. He had failed to command respect in Italy. He had allowed the foundation of a very strong estate between himself and France, for Burgundy in the hands of the successors of Philip the Bold was to be a danger to future Emperors as well as to future Kings. He had been forced to acknowledge the Swabian league of Towns, although so independent a union was

THE EMPIRE in 1376



Possessions of Habsburg House  Possessions of Wittelsbach House 
 " " Luxembourg "  Boundary of the Empire 

L. LIMBURG
English Miles



really contrary to the *Golden Bull*. He had helped to bring about the return of the Avignon Popes to Rome, and lived just long enough to see how this resulted in the great schism of the Papacy. Above all he weakened the territorial position, which he had built up with so much care, by following the general custom of division amongst his sons. Nevertheless he left behind him a Luxemburg Emperor and a formidable array of Luxemburg estates. In Bohemia he had founded the University of Prague, reformed the coinage, improved means of communication, encouraged trade and made himself beloved. His name is still remembered in that of many a town, many a bridge, many a public building. Karlstadt, Karlsbad, Karlstein and many other places remind the traveller of one of the most important of the Bohemian Kings.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS¹

Bryce : *Holy Roman Empire*.

Milman : *History of Latin Christianity*.

Alice Greenwood : *Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*.

Baring-Gould : *Germany* ("Story of the Nations").

¹The additional books given at the end of each chapter are intended for the use of students. For the more advanced bibliography, see page **xxi**.

CHAPTER II

ITALY, 1273-1313

THE history of Italy during this period is one of great difficulty, since it is impossible to study it as a whole. The country was split up into separate states, independent republics and subject towns. Any sense of national unity was totally lacking; patriotism, though strong, was wholly local or even municipal.

General
character
of Italy

Several causes had tended to bring about this condition of complete disunion. Italian geography was the original and dominant reason. The long narrow shape of the Peninsula rendered communication difficult between the extremities. The country was divided from North to South by the chain of the Apennines, whilst the lateral spurs of these mountains split up the two long divisions into more or less detached portions, and the plain of Lombardy in the North was very much isolated from the rest. This natural disunion had been strengthened by the nominal subjection of Italy to the Emperors, whose dominion, however shadowy, had been sufficient to prevent the rise of any strong national power; whilst the influence of the Popes, who were temporal lords in their own estates, as well as the heads of Christendom, produced much the same effect. Add to this the fact that for years there had been a continuous struggle going on between Pope and Emperor, in which all

Italians became more or less involved, either as Guelfs supporting the Papacy, or as Ghibellines on the Imperial side, and it will be seen that party feuds were one more drop in the cup of discord and division. These party enmities and party names continued long after they had lost most of their original significance. Not only were Guelf States at war with Ghibelline Provinces, but each State was itself split up into rival factions, whose chief bond of union was common hostility to one another.

Develop-
ment of the
City State

Advance in Italy did not take the line of growth towards nationality, as was the case in countries such as England and France; but in the North, where progress was most rapid, the town tended more and more to become the unit of political life. Cities became strong centres of influence whether they were republics or under the control of some dominant family; and the large cities gradually obtained sway over the smaller towns and surrounded themselves with subject communes. By the fifteenth century the chief of these municipalities had developed into regular City States: but at the close of the thirteenth century this process was only in the making.

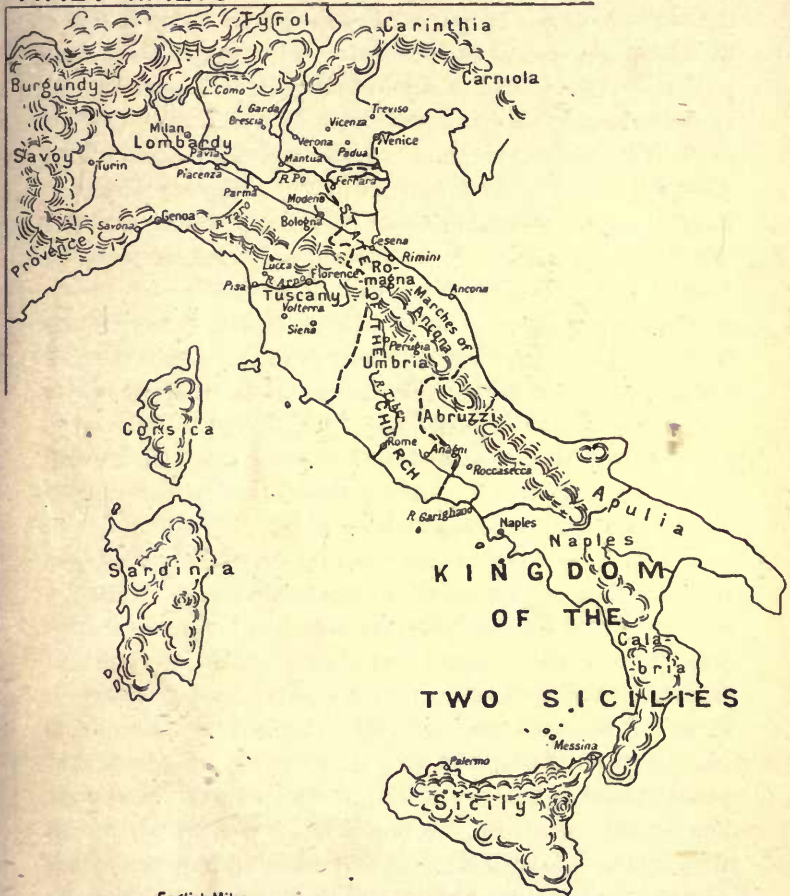
Savoy and
Piedmont

In 1273, Savoy which was in our own day to become the centre of Italian unity, was scarcely part of Italy at all. Lying to the West of the Alps and originally belonging to the Kingdom of Arles, it had split off as an almost independent Province, a fief of the Empire alone. Its rulers had indeed subsequently enriched themselves by the acquisition of Piedmont: but for the present it stood entirely aloof from the complications and difficulties of the Peninsula.

Milan

Of the Lombard cities, Milan had for a long time been by far the most prominent, It had been a republic

ITALY in 1273



English Miles
0 50 100
BY Sandars & Co. Oxford, 1905.

from at least the early twelfth century, and had begun almost as soon to assert its supremacy over many of the surrounding and smaller towns. Now, at the close of the thirteenth century, the republican independence of Milan was being rapidly lost. Martino della Torre, a Guelf leader, had headed the burgesses against the nobles and made himself lord of the city (1209), only in his turn to succumb to the superior power of Otto Visconti (1277). But the period of complete Visconti supremacy as Dukes of Milan had not yet come, and the city was weakened by a protracted struggle between these two families for some time longer.

Genoa

The other chief powers in the North were Genoa and Venice. The first was important as a commercial centre, and was to become involved in trade disputes with other towns, especially Pisa and Venice; but otherwise she was fairly isolated from the history of the Peninsula, occupied with her own concerns and with quarrels between her own rival families.

Venice

Venice, the other great trading State, directed her attention almost entirely towards the East. Here lay her chief power and her commercial and maritime supremacy, which was undisputed until the rise of Genoa introduced a formidable rival and a constant source of war and quarrel. Venetian history differs from that of most Italian towns, partly owing to her peculiar constitution. A *Doge* of Venice had existed ever since the seventh century; he was a Duke elected for life, at first by the whole body of the people and in early days invested with almost supreme despotic power, though this was gradually usurped by his ambitious colleagues. By 1273 the election was in the hands of forty-one councillors chosen by a complicated system of drawing

lots from amongst the whole body of the Great Council. This Great Council had superseded the Assembly of the whole people when the growth of population had rendered such a meeting totally impossible. Though at first elective and quite representative, it had gradually changed into an exclusive hereditary aristocracy. From 1319 all form of election ceased, and it was understood that every son of a member entered the Council at the age of twenty-five. The Doge was assisted by a Senate or *Pregadi*, annually renewed by the Great Council; but he was now really under the complete control of six Ducal councillors, a sort of Ministerial Cabinet, without whom he could do nothing. From 1310 a further Committee was chosen by the Great Council, which though at first only intended for a time of emergency, became a permanent body known as the Council of Ten. This Council formed a sort of court of justice to deal with exceptional cases, and was a strong weapon in the hands of the ruling aristocracy. Later it added to its judicial functions and interfered in most affairs of State. Although the constitution of Venice was thus very oligarchical and aristocratic, in the hands, that is, of a small number of the upper classes, it was not in any sense feudal. It was one of the peculiarities of the city that no distinction existed between merchants and nobles; all the chief patricians were great traders and guildsmen, not military and territorial lords. The power of Venice had gradually increased, by the spread of commercial settlements and the subjection of surrounding lands, until the name came to include much more than the islands on the Rialto which form the city itself. It was not, however, till the fifteenth century that Venetian territory reached its full development, and that Venice became a great

mainland power, participating in Italian complications and even in European politics.

Tuscan
Towns

Tuscany, divided by the Apennines from the Lombard plain, was split up into a number of city states. Pisa, Siena, Lucca all have interesting histories, and rose to prominence at different times; but the fame of Florence has dwarfed the fame of other Tuscan towns, and gave her for a time supremacy over the whole district. The

Florence

internal history of Florence had for long been marked by a heated struggle between nobles and people for power in the government. The people had, however, one great source of strength and obtained some training in the art of governing through their craft-guilds, societies of those engaged in different crafts or industries, which were well organised and very prosperous. In 1282 a great victory was won for the popular side, by the recognition of the *Priors* or leaders of the crafts as the chief magistrates of Florence; and by the rule that the nobles must enter a guild in order to qualify for office. In 1293 a further step was taken by insisting that all officials should actually practise at the trade of their guild, while the nobles were subjected to especially severe rules in matters of justice. The triumph of the people over the nobles was now complete; but it tended to be an oligarchical triumph all the same, for power was largely monopolised by the wealthy burgesses. Some amount of democratic or popular control was however maintained, by means of the *Parlamento*, a mass-meeting of all the citizens, which had authority to alter the laws by an appointed Committee or *Balia*. The great defect of this constitution was its instability, since the governing body was changed every two months. As some remedy for this, in 1321, a consultative council

was added of twelve *Buonomini* (good men), who were to hold office for six months instead of two; and in 1323 a plan of choosing officials by lot was introduced, to satisfy the passion for equality which prevailed amongst the Florentines.

The government now consisted of:—

1. The *Signory* of nine members, known as *Priors of the Arts* (Guilds), with the *Gonfalonier of Justice* at their head. Six chosen from the *Major Arts*, the more important guilds of bankers, lawyers, merchants and so forth, and two from the *Minor Arts*, of less important trades. These were changed every two months.

2. Sixteen *Gonfaloniers of the Companies*. These were captains of the old military divisions of Florence, and were responsible for police and war.

3. Twelve *Buonomini*, chosen every six months, to give advice to the Signory. These two latter bodies were called the *Colleges*.

4. The *Council of the People*, consisting of 300 members all belonging to the Guilds, headed by the *Captain of the People*.

5. The *Commune* or Council of the *Podestá*, a body of 250 members, some of whom could be nobles.

Every two years a *Scrutiny* was held, an election of all considered worthy of office. The names of those who gained a sufficient number of votes were put into bags, and then drawn out by lot when officials were needed.

The chief glory of Florence was her pre-eminence in art and literature. If Italy was the teacher of Europe, Florence was the teacher of Italy. Endless internal struggles, family feuds and fierce warfare seem to have had little or no power to check the work of writer, painter or builder: indeed the prevailing turbulence appears to

have acted as a fresh incentive to energy, or perhaps it was the outward sign of the fiery zeal which was spreading through the people and leading to such brilliant results in the development of a literary and artistic renaissance.

States of
the Church

To the south-east of Tuscany lay the States of the Church, consolidated as a principality for the Holy See by Innocent III. and now comprising besides Rome and the Campagna, the March of Ancona and loose claims over Romagna. The Emperor Rudolf gave security to the Popes for their temporal possessions, by renouncing all claims to Imperial Sovereignty over them ; but such a territorial position, though probably a necessity at the time, brought many difficulties in its train. It was this, above all else, which tended to weaken the spiritual prestige of the Popes by involving them in the secular interests of a temporal dominion.

Kingdom
of Naples
and Sicily

In the south of the Peninsula the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, united under Norman sway in the twelfth century, was the most extensive stretch of land under one ruler which yet existed in Italy. The Hohenstaufen Emperors had gained the crown by marriage and this had been one of many causes of quarrel between themselves and the Pope of that day, who called to his assistance Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France. Charles by a victory over King Manfred of Sicily, and by the defeat and death of Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufen, had obtained possession of the Kingdom in 1268, and by 1273 was the most powerful Prince in Italy, bidding fair to gain ascendancy over the whole Peninsula, thanks to his own good fortune and the support of the Papacy. He was not only King of the Two Sicilies, as Naples and Sicily together are often called,

but also Imperial Vicar and Senator of Rome, whilst several towns of the North acknowledged him as lord.

In the period covered by this chapter, a few main lines of policy and progress give some sort of connection to the whole. The ambitions and eventual failure of Charles of Anjou; the continuation of Papal pretensions whilst the actual power of the Popes is gradually being lost; the attitude of the Emperors towards their old dominions, and the feeling of Italy itself in regard to the Imperial claims affect to some extent all parts of the country: while in the north the rivalry between the city states and the gradual advance of Milan, Florence and Venice are going on continuously.

In 1273 an excellent Pope sat on the throne of St. Peter. Gregory X. was above all else an advocate of peace: his highest wish was harmony throughout Christendom, which might lead to a united effort of Europe for the recovery of the Holy Land. To prepare the way for a successful crusade was the leading motive of his life. Something Gregory was able to accomplish as the peacemaker of Europe. He negotiated between the warring cities of Venice, Genoa and Bologna; he pacified for a time the struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines, declaring the doctrine strange in those days of intolerance: "they are Ghibellines it is true but they are citizens, men, Christians".

At the Council of Lyons he succeeded, if only for a time, in uniting the Greek and Latin Churches, and inducing the Greek Emperor of Constantinople to acknowledge papal supremacy. At this same council he recognised the new Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg, who renounced his Italian pretensions and promised to head the forthcoming crusade. At the same time rules were

General
character
of Italian
History

The Popes
Gregory
X., 1271-
1276

Council of
Lyons,
1274

drawn up for future Papal Elections, which were to be solely in the hands of the Cardinals in private conclave. Thus it was hoped to secure a speedy choice and to avoid the scandals which so often accompanied the proceedings. Peace and concord seemed secure at last, when Gregory's sudden death broke up the European confederation, which he had just effected with so much labour, and left Christendom to fall back into a state of feud worse even than before. The crusade was abandoned, and the Popes who followed were little more than Italian Princes, themselves concerned far more with temporal concerns and family quarrels, than with the welfare of the Church at large. Three Popes followed one another in rapid succession. The third of these, John XXI., a scholar and a mathematician, had no love for monks or friars and was regarded with great suspicion by an age which looked on learning as a dangerous gift. When he was killed by the falling of a roof in his own palace, it was held to be a direct judgment, and visions were recounted in which the Evil One himself had been seen hewing down the supports. Next came a series of Popes representing the leading families which were struggling for power in Rome itself. Nicholas III. belonged to the great house of Orsini. His successor, Martin IV., was elected by the influence of Charles of Anjou, and merely ruled as his creature. Honorius IV. was a member of the Roman family of Savelli, and was exalted at the expense of the Orsini. This Pope, who was such a martyr to gout that he could not rise or sit or open and shut his hands unaided, invented some mechanical contrivance, which turned him and moved him and enabled him to celebrate Mass before the people. The next Pope, Nicholas IV., repre-

Death of
Gregory
X., 1276

Innocent
V., 1276
Hadrian
V., 1276
John
XXI., 1276

Nicholas
III., 1277-
1280
Martin IV.,
1280-85

Honorius
IV., 1285-
87

sented the third great family in Rome, the Colonna, who now had their turn of public honours and dignities; and party feuds rose higher than ever in the city. Nicholas
IV., 1288-
92

So disastrous were these disputes that on the death of Nicholas two years passed before a successor was fixed upon, and then a wholly new departure was made, in the choice of a holy hermit of obscure birth, who had spent his life in solitude and self-torment after the fashion of the saints of those days; a strange preparation for the public position to which he was now exalted. Celestine
V., 1294 Already worn out, both in body and mind, by the life which he had led, the Hermit protested in vain that he was unfit for the office. But the Cardinals felt that they had been divinely guided in their choice, and he was inaugurated as Celestine V., and grand Papal robes placed above his own coarse dress of sackcloth. It did not require more than a few weeks to show the Cardinals what a mistake they had made. The new Pope was totally ignorant and lacking in sense or dignity. He fell into the unscrupulous hands of Charles of Anjou, whom he believed to be a friend, and was easily duped by all who surrounded him. He gave away any dignity, created any office for which he was asked; indeed he could easily be persuaded to bestow the same post over and over again. One of the Cardinals, the ambitious Benedetto Gaetani, had peculiar influence over Celestine and is supposed to have been largely responsible for inducing him to lay down his unwelcome dignity. Rumour, indeed, says that he resorted to the unworthy trick of terrifying him in the night through a hole in the wall, and thus making him believe that a messenger from God was urging him to leave the world. Certain it is that the Pope after five months

could bear no more, announced his abdication to the Conclave, and fled back with haste to his old cave in the mountains; whilst the cunning Benedetto was chosen in his place under the name of Boniface VIII.

Boniface
VIII.,
1294-1303

With Boniface the Papacy made one last effort at universal supremacy. The new Pope owed his election largely to the influence of Charles of Naples. He is said to have gone to the monarch with these words: "King, thy Pope Celestine had the will and the means to serve thee in thy Sicilian war, but he had not the knowledge. Now if thou wilt work with thy cardinals that I may be elected Pope, I shall know, and I shall will, and I shall be able." Here then, before proceeding further, it will be as well to see what these affairs were in Sicily which required the Papal interference.

Charles of
Anjou,
King of the
two Sicilies

Charles King of Naples and Sicily was as we have already seen, the most powerful of all temporal Princes in the Italian Peninsula; but the close of his life was involved in misfortunes and humiliations by no means undeserved. French rule was hated with a fierce and bitter hatred in this Southern Kingdom, and especially in Sicily, where Charles moreover had a determined opponent in John of Procida, sometime physician to King Manfred of the Swabian line. Whether stirred by personal or purely patriotic motives, John was privately working for the downfall of the Angevin dynasty, and intriguing for this purpose with Pedro King of Aragon, who himself had a claim to the throne from his marriage with Manfred's daughter Constance of Sicily. The train was laid, therefore, although the fire was kindled by a chance spark which suddenly precipitated the explosion. On Easter Tuesday the people of Palermo, having just celebrated the evening service, were preparing to spend

Sicilian
Vespers,
31st March,
1282

the rest of the day in amusements of all sorts, when a body of French soldiery arrived, nominally to keep the peace. This in itself excited some discontent, but it was a wanton insult offered by a Frenchman to a young Sicilian girl who was passing on the arm of her betrothed, which roused the popular fury. The cry of death to the French was raised everywhere. All the long-smouldering anger of the people burst forth with unrestrained violence; the French were massacred on all sides; none, neither priests, nor women, nor little children were spared. Two thousand French are said to have perished in the *Sicilian Vespers* and these were flung for burial into an empty pit. From Palermo the excitement spread to the whole island; all Sicily was in arms and in a month no Frenchmen were left in their lost territory. The struggle begun by the people was continued by the King of Aragon. Charles vowed recovery and vengeance; "if he could live a thousand years, he would go on razing the cities, burning the lands, torturing the rebellious slaves. He would leave Sicily a blasted, barren uninhabited rock, as a warning to the present age, an example to the future." Fortunately he was never able to fulfil his threat. Pedro claimed the kingdom, and his fleet, under the celebrated Admiral Roger of Loria, defeated the French ships and captured Charles Prince of Salerno, son of the King of Naples himself.

Interference of Pedro of Aragon

Battle of Messina, 1284

In 1285 a number of deaths changed the chief actors in the struggle without ending the war. In one year King Charles himself died at Foggia. Philip of France, who had taken up arms on behalf of his brother Charles of Valois to whom the Pope had offered the crown of Aragon, fell ill in Spain and ended his days at Perpignan. Pedro, wounded in the same war, perished a few weeks

Important deaths, 1285

Alfonso
King of
Aragon

James of
Aragon
King of
Sicily

later. Martin IV., the Pope who had been so completely the creature of Charles of Anjou, likewise quitted the scene. Pedro's son Alfonso succeeded him without any difficulty in the Spanish kingdom, whilst his younger brother James was proclaimed King of Sicily. An attempt was made to end the dispute by the arbitration of Edward I. of England, and in 1288 a treaty arranged that Charles II. of Anjou should be released and assume the crown of Naples, but that Sicily should be confirmed to James of Aragon. Negotiations, however, were vain; Charles when released claimed both the Sicilies and war continued as before, and was still continuing when Boniface VIII. became Pope. Even the accession of James to the throne of Aragon and his consent to relinquish the Sicilian Kingdom did not decide the matter, for the Sicilian people resolutely refused to submit to the House of Anjou.

Frederick
of Aragon
King of
Sicily

They placed themselves under another brother of Pedro of Aragon known as Frederick, who in 1302 ended the long quarrel by a marriage with the sister of Charles of Naples. Despite promises of reversion, the restoration, that is, of Sicily on his death, the two Kingdoms remained separate under different rulers until 1442, when both came into the hands of the King of Aragon, Alfonso V.

Charles of
Valois in
Italy

From this it will be seen that Boniface, despite his promises, was not of great assistance to Charles of Naples; and it was in connection with this struggle that he summoned to Italy another foreign prince, whose interference was not limited to Sicily, and who roused universal indignation throughout the country, in which the Pope was included. This was Charles of Valois, the second son of Philip III. of France, who had already

figured as the papal nominee for the throne of Aragon. He remained, after concluding the ignominious treaty with Sicily, to turn his arms against Florence and to trample on her liberties.

Boniface made many enemies; he did all he could in Rome to degrade the proud family of Colonna—dangerous foes as he was to find to his cost. He took little trouble to restrain his violent temper and quick tongue. Whilst performing the Ash-Wednesday ceremony of scattering ashes on the heads of penitents to remind them of their end, he flung them into the eyes of a personal rival, exclaiming: "Ghibelin, remember that you are but dust, and that with the other Ghibelins your fellows you will return to dust". It was not only in Italy that the Pope brought himself into trouble; he claimed a European supremacy, which led him to interfere in all that was going forward. When Albert of Austria became Emperor in the place of Adolf of Nassau, Boniface refused to recognise him, and put the crown on his own head as a sign of his control over the Imperial election. "It is I who am Cæsar, I who am Emperor, I who will defend the rights of the Empire," he is reported to have cried. Both England and France were to be brought under his control. The clergy of all countries were only to be taxed by him, said Boniface, and by his Bull *Clericis Laicos* publicly asserted the same in France and England, where Philip IV. and Edward I. respectively were trying to make the spiritual estate share in national burdens. But in England and France the Pope met his match. The English clergy, after a long dispute, submitted to the King, and when Boniface summoned Edward to answer for his conduct in Scotland before the Papal Court, laymen and churchmen

Character
of Boni-
face VIII.

alike supported him in his refusal. With Philip IV. the quarrel was still more heated and still more important. The discontented Colonna joined hands with the French King, and a combined attack at Anagni upon the Pope, who was imprisoned in his own palace, gave a shock to the old man from which he never recovered. His subsequent restoration to Rome was followed almost immediately by his death. (See chapter iii., for details of this.) Villani, the Italian historian says of Boniface: "He was very wise both in learning and in natural wit, and a man very cautious and experienced and of great knowledge and memory; very haughty he was, and proud, and cruel towards his enemies and adversaries, and was of great heart and much feared by all people". Whatever might be the Pope's character, universal horror was excited by the treatment which he received, and it was prophesied that great troubles would come upon Philip and his lineage in consequence. Villani says again: "The judgment of God is not to be marvelled at: for albeit Pope Boniface was more worldly than was fitting to his dignity, and had done many things displeasing to God, God caused him to be punished after the fashion that we have said, and afterwards he punished the offender against him, not so much for the injury against the person of Pope Boniface, as for the sin committed against the Divine Majesty, whose countenance he represented on earth". For the time being, however, Philip seems to have had everything his own way; Benedict XI. the next Pope was reconciled with him, and Clement V., the Archbishop of Bordeaux who succeeded, was completely won over.

Death of
Boniface,
1303

Benedict
XI., 1303-
1305

Clement
V., 1305-
1314

Decline of
the Papacy

"With Boniface VIII.," says Bishop Creighton, "fell the Mediæval Papacy." Under an outward appearance

of strength decline had been steadily progressing. As Italian lords the Popes were losing some of their old prestige, and their position in Rome was constantly undermined by family jealousies. Either the Pope was supported by the Orsini, the Colonna, or the Savelli, or he was weakened by their hostility. That the Papacy was not strong enough to manage even the affairs of Italy had been shown by the unwise policy of introducing foreign aid. The summons of Charles of Anjou was the first mistake, and he soon became a rival rather than a tool. The character of many of the Popes was not calculated to exalt the respect felt for the Holy See, and when Celestine V. virtually denied his own infallibility, it was impossible that others should preserve their belief totally unshaken. Finally, the worldiness and violence of Boniface degraded the Holy Office still further, and his vexatious interference in other countries roused European hostility and national resistance. With Clement V. began that residence of the Popes at Avignon known as the "Babylonish Captivity," which diminished irrevocably their influence over Church and State alike. Rightly or wrongly they were considered for the time as mere vassals of France and treated accordingly. Later struggles and later difficulties were to hasten still further their downward career.

"Babylonish captivity,"
1305-1370

Meanwhile to turn to town history, the chief interest of the period centres round Florence, where the poet Dante was now living and working, and taking that part in political events which was to end in his banishment from home, and the casting in of his lot with that of the Ghibelline party. Tuscany throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century was still engaged in active rivalry between the two great parties of Guelf and Ghibel-

Guelfs and Ghibellines

line, success leaning to the side of the former, owing partly to the strong position won for them by Charles of Anjou who acted as Imperial Vicar. Florence for the most part was a stronghold of the Guelfs: and here at least the leading characteristic of this party came to be the support of popular government, whilst the Ghibelline represented the aristocracy. Struggle within and without was incessant. Without, the city was occupied by war with Pisa and Arezzo: over the latter she won the victory of Campalduno, where Dante fought. Within, the popular party was busy building up the democratic constitution which has already been described. By the close of the century Florence had worked her way to a very important position. All Tuscany was for the time at her feet; some towns as friends, others as subjects: at home she was tranquil, rich and ruled by a popular government; literature and art were making rapid progress.

Family
dissensions

This state of tranquillity was but short lived: family feuds broke out with renewed fury in the fourteenth century, especially between the two great houses of the Cerchi and the Donati. The former were a family of merchants, very rich but not noble; the latter were poor and aristocratic, headed by Corso Donati who is described as: "gentle of blood, beautiful in person, polished in manners, of pleasing conversation, a subtle intellect and a mind ever intent on evil". To these internal troubles worse were added by the connection of Florence with Pistoia. The latter was a small town about twenty miles distant, which was in so terrible a state of turbulence and disorder owing to the quarrels between two branches of the same family, which had taken the names of the Blacks and the Whites, that appeal was

The Blacks
and Whites

made to Florence, who accepted the government of the city for three years. This meant the introduction of the struggle between Blacks and Whites within their own walls; the Blacks became identified with the Donati, the Whites with the Cerchi. In vain the Florentine *Priors*, amongst whom at this time was the poet Dante, banished the leaders of both factions impartially: this only led to conspiracy without, and the Blacks intrigued with Charles of Valois, who willingly accepted the chance of power in Florence, and coming nominally as a peace-maker sent by the Pope, made himself master of the town and readmitted Corso Donati. Now followed a period of misery and violence far worse than before. Charles of Valois took advantage of this opportunity for extortion and oppression. The Whites were banished from Florence in great numbers: Dante was proscribed, probably for having resisted a grant of public money to the rapacious Frenchman; he left never to return. Charles stayed long enough to make a fortune and win universal hatred; he then slunk back to France, leaving Florence in a turmoil of domestic war and external intrigue, which it would take too long to attempt to disentangle. A short calm followed the death of Corso Donati, who suffered the penalty of too much success, was proscribed by the government, and murdered by his enemies; and in the same year the city succeeded in winning a repeal of the Interdict, under which they had been lying for years, by sending help to a Papal army and so once more becoming friends of the Holy See; but nothing was sufficient to quiet domestic discord. A chronicler of the time laments the evils of such a state and predicts the results that must follow. "Thus our city continues tormented; thus obstinate

Charles of
Valois in
Florence,
1301

in evil deeds remain our citizens; and what is done to-day is blamed to-morrow. O wicked citizens! Ye that have corrupted and vitiated mankind by your evil customs and unhallowed gains! Ye are those who have introduced every evil habit into the world, and now the world will reward you! The Emperor with all his power will come upon you and plunder you by sea and land."

Dante's *De Monarchia*

Many still felt that the only hope for Italy was a strong ruler, and the theory of the Mediæval Empire was not yet dead. Dante represents this view in his *De Monarchia* and all through the *Divina Commedia* also illustrations can be found of his passion for the ideal of Rome as the centre of a universal monarchy. Never for a moment would Dante deny the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; but neither would he admit Papal claims to superiority over a Roman Emperor. For one divine right over eternal life, for the other equally divine right over temporal concerns. "For peace one must rule. Mankind is most like God when at unity, for God is one; therefore under a monarchy;" and again, "Let Cæsar show towards Peter the reverence wherewith a first-born son honours his father, that, being illumined by the light of his paternal favour, he may the more excellently shine forth upon the whole world, to the rule of which he has been appointed by Him alone who is of all things, both spiritual and temporal, the King and Governor."

The Emperor
Henry VII.

With Henry of Luxemburg this Imperial idea seemed to have one more hope of success. Rudolf of Habsburg and his immediate successors had strengthened their position as German Monarchs, they had been fully occupied without asserting wider claims; Italy they had abandoned.

Invasion of
Italy, 1310

Henry VII. declared his determination to assert Imperial

rights in Italy, put down factions and receive the Crown of Rome. He came at a time of great need, and at first his success was surprising. The Lombard cities opened their gates to him, with strict impartiality he restored their exiles, whether Guelf or Ghibelline; deputies from nearly every State hastened to swear allegiance. - At Milan he received the iron crown of Lombardy; "laurel leaves in their steel, polished and shining as a sword, and with many large pearls and other stones," and the people wept tears of joy. At Genoa he was received with honour and appointed Imperial Vicar over the Republic. The real insecurity of his position was, however, soon obvious. The impressionable people welcomed his coming and rebelled against him as soon as his back was turned. The Emperor was poor and obliged to levy taxes, and this more than all else raised opposition. Florence was his most determined enemy, and Florentine intrigues were largely responsible for the insurrections against him, and a Guelfic League was formed in Tuscany with Robert King of Naples at its head. The Ghibelline city of Pisa received him indeed with great favour and supplied him with men and money for his advance to Rome. Here his coronation fell very flat, for Prince John of Naples held St. Peter's, and the ceremony performed at St. John Lateran was robbed of much of its effect. The next year was one of war for the newly crowned Emperor. He made vain attempts against Florence, devastated the country round, and made a league with Sicily and Genoa against the hostile King of Naples. Whether Henry could even for a time have made good his authority remains for ever doubtful, for worn out by exertions and an illness which he had disregarded in order not to discourage his soldiers, he died so suddenly before Siena,

Coronation
of Henry
VII. at
Rome, 1312

Death of
Henry
VII., 1313

that all believed him to have been poisoned. He had taken the Sacrament immediately before, and the rumour spread that the Priest had caused his death by administering poisoned wine.

Such a tale was all too readily believed in those days. Whatever the truth may be, with Henry perished the dream of upholding the universal authority of the Emperor; his was the last real attempt to assert such claims and Italy was left without a sovereign. Henry VII. was an able Prince, full of enthusiasm and energy inspired by the highest principles. Villani says of him that he was never depressed in adversity nor unduly elated by success, and that it was astonishing how much he achieved in so short a time and with such scant resources. The difficulties of his task must, however, have proved insurmountable in the long run. The dissensions and divisions of Italy were too deeply rooted to be healed by even the strongest authority, and Henry as a foreigner could hardly have expected universal support. The days of Imperial rule were really over. Dante was preaching a theory which had long lost any practical significance. Henry died in a noble but vain attempt to revive an obsolete ideal.

Real end of
Imperial
authority
in Italy

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Milman : *History of Latin Christianity.*

Sismondi : *Italian Republics* (Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia").

CHAPTER III

FRENCH HISTORY, 1273-1328

WHEN St. Louis lay dying at Tunis in 1270, he <sup>Philip III.,
1270-1285</sup> begged his son Philip to make his subjects love him; "for I would rather a Scotsman came from Scotland and governed the people well and loyally, than that you should govern them ill". Philip III., the Bold as he has been called, was a disappointing son of so great a father: he may not have governed ill, but he has left little impress on history. He was handsome, gentle and pious, but perhaps he had been almost too scrupulously brought up. Every day he had been accustomed as a child to attend long services, to receive constant instruction, to obey and imitate his father in everything. Hence he grew up with very few ideas of his own, ready to submit to any strong will, and apt to fall under the influence of favourites, or of his determined uncle, Charles of Anjou. Nevertheless the Crown achieved something during his reign.

The part played by Monarchy in France has been a very important one. In old times the country suffered much from its feudal barons, and under the early Kings the royal power was little if at all superior to that of the great vassals, such as the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, the Counts of Champagne and of Toulouse. By 1270 much had already been done to remedy this. Philip Augustus and St. Louis had added considerable territory to the Crown and had checked the power of

New lands
added to
the Crown

the nobles by strengthening royal justice, and by sending officials of their own all over France. Every gain to the Crown was a blow to the barons, and a step towards the formation of a strong central power, very necessary in those days of feudal divisions. More lands were peacefully acquired by the Crown in Philip III.'s reign. He succeeded to large territories on the death of his uncle, Alfonso of Poitiers, which gave him Poitou, Toulouse, Auvergne and part of Provence; and his son, afterwards Philip IV., added fresh gains by his marriage with the little heiress of Champagne and Navarre. The only dangerous vassals of the Crown at this time were the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Flanders, and Edward I. of England who was Duke of Guienne.

English
possessions
in France

Edward took great interest in his French possessions, and by the Treaty of Amiens secured Saintonge and Agenais, which had been held rather precariously, and through his wife, Eleanor of Castile, acquired in addition the territory of Ponthieu and Montreuil in the North of France.


War with
Aragon

Philip III. died, as his father had done, on an unsatisfactory expedition, dignified by the name of a crusade. His uncle, Charles of Anjou, just before his death, induced him to undertake a war against Pedro III. of Aragon, a personal rival of his own in the Kingdom of Sicily. The Pope, who had also suffered at Pedro's hands, offered the Crown of Aragon to a French Prince, and Philip, accepting it for his youngest son Charles of Valois, raised a large force, and proclaimed the undertaking as a Holy War. Spain has often proved fatal to its invaders. The French army was wasted by sickness and the King himself fell fatally ill. He was carried on a litter amidst pouring rain to Perpignan, where he

FRANCE in XIII Century



R.V. Sandford, Oxford, 1907.

English Fiefs after Treaty of Amiens 1279 

Death of
Philip III.

died in 1285, having lost his life in a useless enterprise, chiefly undertaken to please his overbearing uncle.

Philip IV.,
1285-1314

Philip IV. who succeeded, the Fair or the Handsome he was called, is known as a person almost as little as his father, although his reign was very much more important. One of his courtiers has indeed left a portrait of him, but so obviously overdrawn that it does not help us much. William de Nogaret writes: "He was pure-minded, modest in face and speech; never in a passion, he hated no one, he envied no one, he loved the whole world. Full of grace and charity, pious, merciful, always following truth and justice, he never said an evil word of any one. Fervent in faith, religious in his life, building Churches, active in good works, beautiful in feature and charming in expression, agreeable to all, even to his enemies." Others speak of him less enthusiastically. The Bishop of Pamiers, who was not likely to be friendly, is reported to have said that the King was like a great horned-owl, "the finest of birds but worth nothing at all," "the handsomest man in the world but he can only look at people without speaking," "the King is not a beast, but an image". Perhaps the reason that we know so little of Philip himself is that he was so cold and so silent: great events happened in his reign, and apparently he took part in all; but what he actually said or did we do not know. He may have been a strong man who went quietly on his way whatever people thought; or he may have been a tool in the hands of his favourites and ministers, taking no active share in the great Church questions, constitutional problems and political changes of the time. In any case we know he was handsome, and we rather gather that he was obstinate.

End of
War with
Aragon

The first thing the new King had to do was to get as

best he could out of the war with Aragon. This dragged on a little while, but in the end Charles of Valois gave up his claims, and the useless struggle was dropped.

The importance of the reign rests chiefly upon three great questions. Philip's policy towards England and Flanders, interesting to us because it tended to create those strained relations which were to lead eventually to the Hundred Years' War; a memorable quarrel between King and Pope, which brought much humiliation upon the Papacy; and a great advance in the French constitution, which makes this reign an important landmark in the formation of the strong monarchical government of France.

Never so long as the English Kings clung to their French territories, was there any difficulty in finding causes of quarrel between England and France. Philip adopted a well-known trick in waiting till Edward I. was thoroughly occupied at home, and then summoning him to appear before a court of peers in Paris, on some question of disputes between Norman and Gascon sailors. The English King had his hands full in Wales and Scotland, and though he sent his brother to represent him, his own absence gave the French King the excuse and the opportunity of marching his own troops into Guienne and occupying the English possessions.

Little actual fighting resulted, but the affair is interesting because here France began her constant policy of allying with England's enemy the Scotch; while Edward, as his successors did later, joined hands with Flanders, this time with Count Guy of Dampierre, a vassal, and not a very submissive one, of the French King. Peace was finally arranged between the two countries; Edward with reluctance filled the place of his much-loved Queen Eleanor by a marriage with Philip's sister Margaret;

Relations
with Eng-
land.

Peace be-
tween Eng-
land and
France,
1298

and his son was betrothed at the same time to the little Princess Isabella. Neither party was to help its old allies, and the English quarrel gave place to a more exciting conflict between France and Flanders.

War with
Flanders

Left to its fate, Flanders was soon in the possession of the French; Count Guy and his son were imprisoned in Paris, and a Governor was sent to rule the country in the King's name. Philip made a triumphant entry into the conquered land, accompanied by his wife, and the Flemings decked in their best made so fine a show before their new lord, that Queen Joan grumbled that she found 600 queens where she expected to be the only one. Flanders was rich through her own industry and enterprise, and her townsmen were not to be ill-treated with impunity. Bruges, most important of her towns, was ordered by the Governor to lose its privileges and to have its fortifications pulled down, with the result that early one morning, while most men were still in bed, the artisans rose and fell upon the sleeping French, who perished in a massacre so wholesale that the "Matins of Bruges" have often been compared to the "Sicilian Vespers". Indignant France hastened to avenge the outrage; the nobles and proudest of French chivalry flocked into Flanders to punish the insolent burghers. At Courtrai the cavalry of France thought to mow down without trouble the Flemish foot-soldiers. In ill-considered haste, taunting with cowardice those who cautioned prudence, they rushed on the enemy, to fall pell-mell into an unexpected ditch which stretched in front of the rival army: struggling in confusion, they fell an easy prey to their despised foe, and a proof was given of the triumph of discipline over rashness, of an organised army over feudal levies: an object lesson

Matins of
Bruges,
1302

Battle of
Courtrai,
11th July,
1302

which the French would have done well to take more to heart. Four hundred golden spurs hung up in the Cathedral of Courtrai commemorated the first victory won by townsmen over mounted knights. The immediate result was the release of Count Guy, on condition that he should arrange a satisfactory peace; but he returned to prison and death, rather than allow his people to consent to Philip's humiliating terms. The following year, Battle of Mons-en-Puelle, 18th Aug. 1304 a second battle at Mons-en-Puelle ended, though not without a severe struggle, in a victory for the French, and finally a peace was made by which France gained Lille, Douai, and Béthune. Guy's son Robert was, however, released and recognised as Count. The struggle Peace with Flanders, 1305 had resulted in an arrangement bound to lead to further disputes, but it had at least shown what free cities and determined townsmen could do against royal despotism and a feudal army.

In his disputes with the Pope, Philip was extraordinarily successful. France had always been hitherto a firm Quarrel with Boniface VIII. supporter of the Papacy, a fact which renders all the more remarkable the history of this quarrel, which was to result in a blow to the Papal power from which it never completely recovered.

In 1294 the Papal throne was filled by Boniface VIII., a proud and violent man, who had obtained the office after the abdication of his predecessor the sainted Celestine V. The high ideal of Papal importance, instilled by Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had not yet been forgotten, and this in the hands of such a man as Boniface meant a claim to interfere in all matters, temporal as well as spiritual, and was likely to involve him in difficulties with any King who asserted independence, even in his own dominions. With Philip, as

with Edward of England, trouble arose on the question of clerical taxation. This had always been a rather delicate matter, and the French King had taken advantage of the permission granted by a previous Pope to collect money for the Aragon Crusade, to continue after its conclusion a demand for tithes, which he now employed for his wars with England and Flanders. The issue by Boniface of the Bull *Clericis Laicos*, declaring that no clerk was bound to pay taxes levied by a layman unless sanctioned by the Pope, was a measure to which the King of France was no more ready to submit than the King of England, and Philip replied by stopping contributions to Rome. Boniface was obliged to give way for the time, thanks to being in great difficulties on his own account. Rome at this period was dominated by two very important families, the Orsini and the Colonna, and with the latter the Pope had contrived to get on very bad terms, chiefly because he did not give them the places and the favours which they considered as their due, and which Boniface showered on his own relatives. Two of the Cardinals who were Colonna, began openly to question the Pope's title, and he replied by their deposition and the exile of the leading members of their family; this threw them into active opposition, and all enemies of Boniface found a ready helper in Philip of France.

Bull
*Clericis
Laicos*,
1296

Jubilee in
Rome, 1300

Despite dangers, the Pope was determined to uphold all his pomp and parade of power. In 1300 a grand jubilee was held at Rome, and pilgrims of all ranks flocked to the city, where Boniface was to be seen enthroned in state, with two swords carried before him as signs that he possessed both spiritual and temporal power. He laid down law to Kings and peoples, and dis-

played his haughty pride to the full : it is even said that he kicked one of the ambassadors of the King of Germany in the face, as he was stooping down to kiss the mule, on which the Head of the Church was riding. Such a temper was not likely to pave the way to peace and conciliation, and Philip's trial of the Bishop of Pamiers who had fallen under grave suspicion of disloyalty, was another cause of quarrel between the two, the Pope claiming to defend his churchman from a layman's vengeance.

The next Bull issued by Boniface was like match to tinder. The already angry King was told that he need not believe himself to be above Papal control, for only "a fool or an infidel" could think thus ; and then followed a list of royal misdeeds, seizure of Church property, debasement of the coinage and the like, with a threat that he was to be summoned before a Council of the Church to answer for his conduct. Either on purpose or by accident this Bull was burnt, and it was a very short and not very exact abstract of the same which Philip made public to the people of France, to whom doubtless he did not care to offer the whole recital of the not altogether untrue accusations. Great indignation was excited in France by the publication of this sham Bull, and a States-General being summoned—representatives, that is, of nobles, clergy and people—a joint message of remonstrance was sent to the Pope. The clergy were afraid to say much, and merely begged for unity and friendship, but nobles and burghers were hotly on the side of the King, and vowed that they would support his independence to the death. The Pope received the French ambassador at Anagni, and made fierce reply, heaping abuse on the King's Minister, Pierre Flotte:

States-
General,
1302

French
embassy
to the Pope

“‘What God has joined together let not man put asunder,’ these words, my brothers, relate to the Roman Church and the Kingdom of France. Man! what man? I mean this Achitophel who counselled Absalom against his father David, this diabolic man, blind of an eye, totally blind in brain, this man of vinegar and honey, this Pierre Flotte, this heretic! . . . he shall be punished both spiritually and temporally, but pray God the care of his punishment may be reserved to me!” The prayer of the violent old man was not literally answered, for Pierre Flotte lost his life at the Battle of Courtrai; but this great humiliation, coming just at the critical moment, gave a momentary triumph to the Pope, and he published a complete declaration of Papal power, with the threat of excommunication against all who resisted: “we announce and affirm that submission to the Roman Pontiff is a necessity of salvation to every human creature”. So ended his proclamation.

Philip was quiet for the moment, but he was soon to follow the lead of another fresh councillor, far more opposed to the Roman see than was Pierre Flotte. A new favourite, William of Nogaret, suggested the bold scheme of summoning Boniface himself before a General Council as a usurper of the holy office, a blasphemer, a heretic and an evil doer of the worst type. Nogaret's accusations were wilfully exaggerated and worked up for the occasion, but it was only too true that Boniface was totally unfitted by his ungovernable ambition and violence for the high position in which he was placed, and all France was ready to support his deposition. Possibly Nogaret did not dare to await the summons of a General Council, for which the consent of other countries had also to be obtained; in any case he joined hands secretly

Pope at-
tacked in
Anagni,
1303

with the Colonna, who had troops of men at their command, and he and Sciarra Colonna together led a force into Anagni itself, invaded the palace where the Pope was residing, and flew the Fleur-de-Lys of France from its roof. Now Boniface showed himself at his best. Deserted by all, the brave old man—he was eighty-six years of age—waited for his foes, arrayed in his robes of state, bearing the keys of St. Peter and the Holy Cross. “Betrayed as was Jesus, I shall die, but I shall die Pope,” he is reported to have said: and to Sciarra who struck him with his iron gauntlet, “Here is my head, here is my neck”. Nogaret did not wish him killed, and called upon him to thank the kindness of the King of France, who protected him from afar, through the person of himself, his representative. “Thou art one of a family of heretics,” replied the Pope calmly, alluding to his descent from the Albigenses, “I expect martyrdom at thy hands.” For three days Boniface remained a prisoner in his palace, refusing to eat for fear of poison. At the end of that time, the mob rose on his behalf, drove the French from the city, and escorted the Pope, amidst prayers and thanksgivings to his capital. But the strain and stress of his capture and his delivery had been too much for so old a man, and his mind gave way. Madly resisting all food and all religious offices, Boniface died unshriven and unconfessed, so fulfilling, according to contemporary writers, the words of his predecessor: “Thou hast claimed the throne like a fox; thou shalt reign like a lion, thou shalt die like a dog”.

The death of Boniface meant much more than the disappearance from the scene of a wicked but ill-used old man; it meant the degradation of the Papacy before the growing power of the French Crown. His suc-

Benedict
XI., 1303-
1304

cessor Benedict XI. was a man of feeble character, who tried to sooth Philip and to defend the memory of the dead Pope at one and the same time; an impossible attempt which was hindered by his death in the following year, not without grave suspicions of poison. Eleven months of intrigues and indecision followed, ended by a great triumph for France in the election to the Papal Throne of Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who took the name of Clement V. Whether or not it is true that Philip interviewed the future Pope before his election and dictated definite terms upon which he would agree to support him, there is no doubt as to the submissive-ness of this new head of the Church. The excommunication laid upon all who had assisted in the outrages against Boniface was removed, and the King's share in the whole matter was publicly declared to be free from all blame, and to have merely shown "a praiseworthy zeal". Even such humiliations as these were not sufficient: Clement V. was not allowed to take up his quarters in Rome. When the inheritance of Alfonso of Poitiers fell into the hands of the French King, a portion of it—the Venaissin—was adjudged to be attached to the Papal See. In Avignon, adjacent to this district, the Popes now took up their residence, a town situated actually in the County of Provence, until it was given to the Papacy in 1348, but to all intents and purposes in the Kingdom of France. With the Papal Court at Avignon it was no wonder that Europe came to despise the Pope as a minion of the French King, and this "Babylonish Captivity," as it was called, which lasted until 1376, left on the Papacy a stain which centuries could never efface.

Clement
V., 1305-
1313

"Babylonish
Captivity"

Suppres-
sion of the
Templars

Following close on the Papal quarrel, and helped on no doubt by the complete control which the King felt

he could exercise over the Church, came a very dark episode in the reign : a record of suffering and of cruelty which stands out even in an age when human life was not valued very highly, and when the infliction of bodily pain was scarcely considered a sin.

During the Crusades there had sprung up various military orders of warriors pledged to live apart, never to marry, and to spend their lives in the Holy War. Of these the Order of the Temple was the most famous.

The long white robe of the Knights, with its red cross, had figured on every battle-field of the East, and every country of Christendom had branches of the same institution. Paris was the centre of the Order. In the busiest part of the old city, north of the river, the Rue du Temple runs through what was once the quarter owning the jurisdiction of this body, and where the Temple itself stood. But every institution is liable to abuses, and pride and wealth had long been reckoned the darling sins of the Templars. There is no doubt that the Order had become enormously wealthy, their treasure was rumoured to have reached unheard of proportions, and the magnificence of the Temple rivalled that of the royal palace. The Crusades were now over, and whilst the Knights of St. John had established themselves in the Island of Rhodes, and the Teutonic Knights had found occupation for their arms in Prussia, the Templars still stood idle, a tempting prey to the greed of the French King. Partly he wanted their money, partly he envied their power, partly he feared lest the Pope should find in them a champion, possibly a little genuine belief in their depravity lay at the root of his conduct. In any case, for one reason or another Philip determined on their downfall, and when two discontented members of

the Order whispered accusations against their fellows in the royal ear, they received a ready hearing. In 1307 the Grand Master, Jacques de Molai, and all the Knights in France were arrested on the charge of denying our Lord, of worshipping an idol, and of being stained with crime and depravity unspeakable. The Pope was forced to summon a commission to examine into the case, and there followed a mockery of a trial. The wretched victims were questioned under torture, and with a few noble exceptions were driven to admit the truth of every sort of accusation, however impossible: almost without exception they retracted their admissions as soon as they were released from the agony of torture. Whatever foundation there may have been for some of the charges against them, no weight whatever can be attached to such confessions. One Templar asserted that all he had said under torture was false, but that he knew he should avow the same, if dragged as one of his fellows had been, to the stake. "I should never be able to resist the terror of the fire, I should confess that I had killed God if they wished it." All was a foregone conclusion, most of the Knights were burnt, some few, who consented to abide by their confessions, were set free to live as best they could. The Grand Master and the Preceptor of the Order were the last to perish, after seven years of imprisonment. Tortured at the first into avowals they now stood firm. "We are not guilty of those things of which we are accused, but we are guilty of having basely betrayed the Order to save our lives. The Order is pure and holy, the accusations are absurd, the confessions false." So they declared, and were burnt to death, steadfast to this declaration. Thus perished this great Order. Most of its wealth fell into the hands of the

King and his courtiers, only a part of it came into the possession of the Knights of St. John to whom it had been formally made over. In other countries suppression took place at the same time, and many Templars were captured, but it was in France alone that such horrible cruelty was exercised during the trials.

The story runs that Jacques de Molai, from the stake, summoned King and Pope to meet him before the Tribunal of God within the year. A month later Clement died after dreaming of the destruction of his Papal palace in flames; in seven months Philip, without visible disease, sank into the grave, silently as he had lived.

Death of
Clement
V., 1313,
and of
Philip IV.,
1314

We must turn to the home government of Philip IV. to understand the real importance of his reign, and its position in the history of France. He does not stand alone; his work was a continuation of that of Philip Augustus and Louis IX., but it was perhaps at this time that feudalism as a basis of government received its severest check, and that the King was able to assert most successfully his claim to be direct lord of all his subjects, not only of his tenants-in-chief, and to pose as the source and guardian of the law. In order to do this the administrative machinery was strengthened and extended. France had already been divided into *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, districts administered by royal officials, bailiffs in the North and seneschals in the South. Philip made no great change in this institution, but further extended the functions of these officers, mostly members or agents of the royal Council, and gained from them a knowledge of local affairs throughout the Kingdom. As representatives of royalty they had power over justice, finance and provincial administration of all sorts, and

Home
Government

Local

were able to act, therefore, as a very real check on the country nobility.

Central

To help him in central government the King had his *Cour du Roi*, and in this various important changes took place. Originally it was merely a court, such as any great lord might have to manage the affairs of his own demesne. Under Philip Augustus, in cases where nobles might be brought before it to be tried, since they had to be tried by their equals, great vassals were added and it was transformed into a court of peers. Under Louis IX. trained lawyers were introduced, and it became a more efficient part of the government, helping the King in every part of the administration, as also in justice and finance. It was the aim of Philip IV. to make this court still more efficient and still more of a check on the nobles. Every feudal baron had of course his own demesne court, and one of the great differences between French and English feudalism had been, that in France all the great nobles had rights of "high justice," could hear appeals from the courts of their sub-tenants, and could make final decisions, appeal to the King only being made in cases where the Suzerain refused to do justice, not when complaint was made against the justice which he had done. Philip IV. however, insisted on appeals being brought from the local courts of the nobles to his own court, and there were now certain cases known as *cas royaux*, which had to come in the first instance before the royal hearing: treason, infringements of safe-conduct, or of privileges granted by the King, tampering with the coinage and such like. Besides this great increase of business, the legal element in the *Cour du Roi* was very much increased, and business was more and more taken from the hands of nobles and put

into those of professional lawyers. All this work could scarcely be performed by one court. Accordingly in 1302 three divisions were established, each with its own distinct functions and separate officials. The *Conseil du Roi*, rather like our Privy Council, was chiefly to help the King in the actual administration of the country, but it still retained the right of hearing judicial appeals in the very last resort. The *Chambre des Comptes* had control of all financial business, while the judicial work was handed over to the *Parliament of Paris*, the great French law court, which did much the same work as our courts of *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*. Later the privilege was added of registering all royal edicts; a duty at first merely formal, but which was one day to lead to claims of discussing this legislation and of objecting to it and even of vetoing it. At present, however, the *Parliament* was purely a judicial court. Philip IV. fixed this Parliament at Paris, divided it into three sections and made it meet regularly twice a year; very shortly after it was changed into a permanent body, and its members were appointed for life.

Besides strengthening the central and local machinery of administration, Philip has also made himself famous by summoning what has been called the first *States-General*; that meeting in 1302 of which we have already spoken as sending a message to Boniface VIII. National assemblies of some sort had been held in past times under the Carolingians, very probably all three orders had been summoned before under these early Monarchs, but no meeting has been fully described by the chroniclers before this one of 1302, which was more remarkable, both on account of its numbers and the importance of its business, than any which had preceded it. All tenants-

in-chief of the Crown, lay and ecclesiastical, were summoned, representatives of lower clergy also, and burgesses from all the principal towns. Possibly the example of the English Parliament of 1295 had some influence upon the composition of this Assembly. It was there, however, simply for the royal convenience and to give the King support: there was no general discussion, the meeting only lasted a day, the members were told by Pierre Flotte what was expected of them, and then each estate drew up separately, according to order, their messages of defiance to the Pope. There were other States-General later in the reign, when Philip wanted support in the affair of the Templars and for war with Flanders, but the same character was always visible: the King summoned his people, not to consult them nor to learn their wishes, but to strengthen himself by a general support, to influence the Assembly by his presence, and to bind the whole nation to his cause.

It will be seen from this account, how very closely the work of Philip IV. resembled that which Edward I. was doing almost at the same time in England. Both carried on the reforms of their predecessors instead of following new lines of their own; both diminished the power of the nobles, by undermining feudal independence and by strengthening the central administration; both turned to the people for help in their undertaking. Yet through all this resemblance there was one great underlying difference, which was to lead to widely divergent results. In France everything came from the Crown, and everything was done for the Crown: it was the Crown alone which was to gather to itself all the power and also all the responsibility. In England free local

government had been a real thing from the earliest times, and Edward made use of these free local institutions to help on his work: his Parliament was a collection of local representatives, and his policy was national not only selfish. Philip managed the localities by royal officials, he ruled the country by royal courts and subjected the nobles to royal justice; even when apparently he turned to the nation, it was merely as royal supporters, to be summoned when he needed help and simply for the purpose of giving it. Thus work so similar in appearance was to lead in England to the growth of popular government, in France to the development of the despotism of the Crown.

A word must be said before leaving Philip IV. on one very bad side of his government, namely his financial administration. Always in want of money, he resorted to very mistaken ways of raising it. He levied heavy taxes on sales of goods, thus hampering trade and commerce; he met present distress by adding to future difficulties through his system of farming out the taxes; that is, in order to gain a sum of money at the moment he sold to all sorts of people the right of levying imposts, a plan which resulted in much oppression and misery for the tax-payer. Above all, so constant was his debasement of the currency, that he earned for himself the name of the "false coiner". Unfortunately for France the methods thus adopted were continued only too faithfully by succeeding monarchs.

The immediate successors of Philip the Fair need only be shortly mentioned. His son Louis X. died without a male heir, and his daughter Joan was passed over in favour of his brother Philip V. It was the fear at this time of being ruled by a woman which led to the inven-

Financial
administra-
tion

Louis X.,
1314-1316

Philip V.,
1316-1322

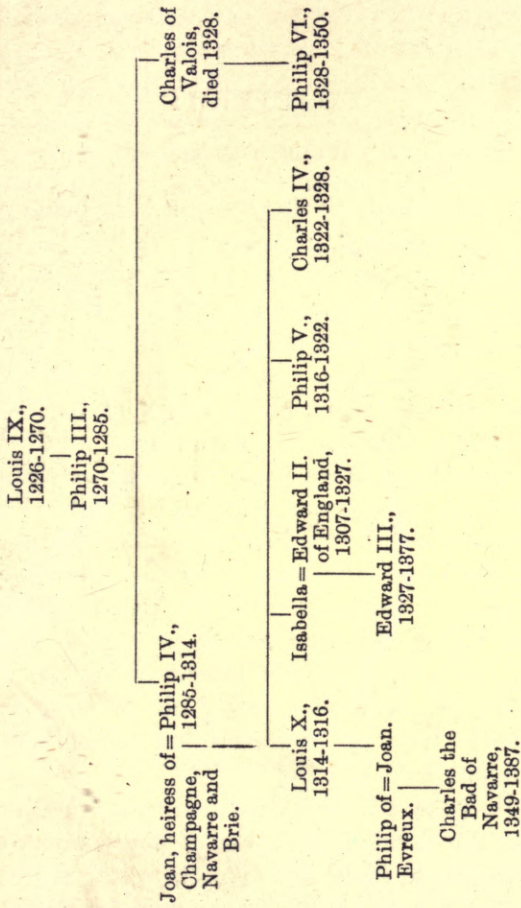
tion of a rule to prevent female succession to the throne of France. The French lawyers hunted up an old law of the Salian Franks, forbidding the inheritance of women in the Salic land; this was applied to the Crown, to suit the convenience of the moment, and dignified by the name of the *Salic law*, became regarded as an ancient rule of succession to the French Monarchy. When Philip V. died he again left only daughters, and since the third brother Charles IV. succeeded without difficulty, the idea of the exclusion of women was still further strengthened. When Charles IV. died and the direct Capet line came to an end, a far more complicated question arose, since there was a possible heir whose claims had come to him through a woman, namely Edward III. of England. The French, however, did not desire the rule of any foreign King, and the nearest heir on the male side, Philip of Valois, a cousin of the last three monarchs, was crowned as Philip VI.

Charles
IV., 1322-
1328

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Kitchin : *History of France*, vol. i.

Gustave Masson : *Mediæval France* ("Story of the Nations").



CHAPTER IV

ITALY, 1313-1378

Italy in the
fourteenth
century

THE fourteenth century seemed to bring with it some prospect of peace for Italy. In 1305 the Papal Court was transferred to Avignon in the County of Provence; in 1313 with the death of Henry VII. the last effort to assert real Imperial authority in Italy had been brought to a close. Surely some cessation of strife might be expected from the removal of the two chief rivals, the two claimants for universal rule; Italians might surely hope to work out their own salvation freed from direct interference of Pope and Emperor. If such a hope ever existed it was doomed to disappointment; the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline continued as hotly as ever; the Popes still continued to direct Italian politics, with even less knowledge than before perhaps of Italian interests; the Emperors still interfered in Italy, not so much now for their own power, not at least with the same idea of Imperial greatness, but merely as the tool of an Italian faction.

Divisions

The chief feature of Italian history in this century is as before the divided condition of the country and the consequent dissensions and disputes which resulted from it. To this is now added the absence of the Popes, their close connection with France and French interests, and the turbulent state of their own dominions, especially of Rome where families and parties warred more fiercely than ever.

In the City States of Tuscany and Lombardy, this century, still full of feuds and party strife, was particularly marked by the rise of "tyrants," or supreme ^{Tyrants} rulers, in one town after another. The tendency was for the head of the faction for the time being to gain sway by his warlike successes or skill in government, unless his subjects, tired of despotism, were able to shake themselves free from his control. Gradually the feuds of State with State were leading to the absorption of the smaller cities by their more powerful neighbours, until Venice, Milan and Florence in particular stand out amongst the rest, and form the centres of large and compact territories. As a great man or a great State comes more prominently forward, the question is always present as to whether there is a chance of uniting the whole of Italy into one dominion; but though the hope of doing this might inspire great ambitions and encourage many efforts at aggrandisement, the time was not yet come for success.

One new development appears at this period, which was to lead to disastrous results. Partly owing to the rise ^{Rise of} of despots, the old military system was gradually changed. ^{Condottieri} In former days every male inhabitant of suitable age had fought for his State when required; local bands rallied round the *carroccio* or city standard, and a martial spirit was spread throughout the whole people. A ruling tyrant, however, was not anxious to arm his subjects, and turned with relief to mercenary troops, foreigners hired to form a body-guard, who could be used to quell revolts and to maintain authority. These troops were easily collected at first, from the many soldiers left in the country after the various descents made into Italy by French or German armies. On the death of Henry

VII. some of his disbanded troops were ready to stay in the country and adopt war as their trade, and Italian citizens gradually came to prefer the payment of taxes for the support of foreign armies, to the loss of time and disturbance to work which resulted from going out to fight in person. These hired bands under *Condottieri*, leaders, that is, who made war their trade, at first almost exclusively composed of foreigners, towards the close of the century were often made up of native troops. Some young Italians did not appreciate a purely peaceful life and were eager to win renown in arms; others, the members especially of smaller and subject communes, being deprived of that share in political life which was the privilege and occupation of most members of the larger States, turned to a military career. Republics were thus forced to adopt the system of hiring soldiers. The old civic forces of infantry were quite inadequate to face the heavy cavalry, of which these new troops were generally composed, and soon all States had standing armies of mercenaries with which to fight their battles. The real danger of these mercenaries appeared when their leaders began to cast off dependence, and to form armies of their own, which lived upon the unfortunate country in time of peace, and let out their services in time of war to the highest bidder. These Great Companies were swelled after 1360 by many soldiers from France, deprived of occupation by the Treaty of Bretigny. An Englishman, John Hawkwood, whose tomb and monument can be seen in the Cathedral of Florence at the present day, won great celebrity as *condottiere* of the "White Company". Aided by these forces, the Italian States continued their old wars unceasingly; all idea of fighting for a cause, such as that of Pope or Emperor, entirely

disappeared, and each State fought openly and selfishly for its own hand, for territorial aggrandisement and for the subjection of its weaker neighbours.

In 1313, when the death of Henry VII. saved Florence from threatened destruction, the parties of Guelf and Ghibelline were almost evenly divided; both were equally selfish, and ready to adopt any expedient to increase their own ascendancy.

Robert of Naples backed up by the Papacy was leader of the Guelfs, and Florence with its dependent communes was a firm supporter of this party. The Ghibellines were strongest in the North, where the Lombard towns figured as Imperial cities; while in Tuscany, Pisa was a zealous advocate of the same policy. Many of these towns were under the power of despots, who felt that in Ghibellinism they had more hope of independence, or who derived their authority from Imperial grants. In Milan, Matteo Visconti had been made Imperial Vicar by Henry VII.; in Verona and Vicenza, Cangrande della Scala had acquired the same position. Both were very powerful lords and great supporters of the Ghibelline party.

The Republic of Pisa fell under the authority of a military leader of great strength, Ugucione della Faggiuola, who subjected Lucca also and threatened the supremacy of Florence in Tuscany to such an extent that she appealed for help to Robert of Naples. An army was formed under his brother, Philip of Tarento, to rescue Montecatini which the Pisans were besieging. Before this place a battle of great violence took place between the rival cities. The Florentines were stubborn and resisted long and resolutely; but Faggiuola was a captain of extraordinary ability and was roused

Parties of
Guelf and
Ghibelline
in four-
teenth cen-
tury

Tyrants

a Florence
and Pisa

Battle of
Monteca-
tini

to almost superhuman energy by the loss of his son in the fight. Dashing into the thickest of the fray, shouting "no prisoners, no prisoners," he inspired an attack so fierce that at last the enemy wavered, and the Pisans were left victorious on the field. The effect of this battle on the Florentines, was not so much to discourage them, as to raise a spirit of opposition to Naples, which they felt had not aided them sufficiently. They were saved from immediate danger, however, by the fall of Faggiuola, whose power had roused enemies both in Pisa and Lucca, especially one of his own generals, Castruccio Castracani. A revolt was very carefully planned to take place while the dreaded leader was midway between Pisa and Lucca. The conspirators at Pisa managed to collect all the townsmen together without exciting suspicion by means of a trick. They let loose a bull, which they pursued through the streets, until a crowd was collected in one of the squares of the town, whereupon they brandished the weapons hitherto concealed, proclaimed death to the tyrant, and heading the easily excited citizens drove Faggiuola's adherents out of the place. Lucca rose the same day; the deserted tyrant took refuge at Verona and abandoned his dream of founding a supremacy in Tuscany. In 1317 a general peace was signed between the warring States.

Ambitions
of Robert
of Naples

Robert of Naples, who had negotiated this settlement, had doubtless hopes in his turn of Tuscan supremacy, or even of the headship of Italy. He had been made Imperial Vicar by the Pope and the ruling Pontiff, John XXII., was practically his creature. Divisions in the Empire made interference from that quarter unlikely, and he was leader of the Guelf cities of Tuscany. In 1325 Florence offered him lordship over herself, an offer

which he accepted for his eldest son, Charles of Calabria, who, as was usual then, held the southern part of the Kingdom as a Duchy. This step, however, was due to danger from a new quarter, a danger which was to involve the King of Naples also, and render the execution of his designs still more difficult.

The fall of Faggiuola in Pisa was followed by the rise of Castruccio in Lucca, the most formidable of all Italian despots and the most celebrated captain of the time. Villani says of him: "This Castruccio was in person tall, dexterous and handsome; finely made, not bulky, and of a fair complexion, rather inclined to paleness: his hair was light and straight and he bore a very gracious aspect. He was a valorous and magnanimous tyrant, wise and sagacious, of an anxious and laborious mind and possessing great military talents. . . . He was very cruel in executing and torturing men, ungrateful for good offices rendered to him in his necessities, partial to new people and vain of the high station to which he had mounted." In spite of the contradictions in the character of this tyrant of Lucca, there is no doubt of his ability nor of the adoration he inspired amongst his soldiers. Successful in every enterprise he made himself master over a great part of Tuscany, and was feared by every Prince and town throughout Italy.

It was dread of Castruccio's growing power which caused Florence to put herself under Neapolitan rule; and the appeal of the Florentines to Robert of Naples led the Ghibellines in their turn to look for help from the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria.

Lewis had been occupied until the battle of Mühldorf in struggling against the rival claimant, Frederick of Austria. The capture of Frederick at this battle secured

Castruccio
Castracani

Lewis the
Bavarian

his authority, which was rendered all the more complete by the agreement made later between the two rivals. They soon became so friendly that they are said to have eaten at the same table, shared the same bed and even talked of partitioning the Empire between them. The establishment of Lewis in Germany was a great blow to the Pope, who claimed to exercise all Imperial rights during an interregnum, and to have the power of sanctioning or rejecting an elected Emperor. The result was bitter antagonism between John XXII. and the Bavarian, who took the opportunity offered by the invitation of the Italian Ghibellines to come into Italy and receive the crowns of Lombardy and Rome.

Lewis in
Italy, 1327

Lewis' first act was to overthrow Galeazzo Visconti at Milan, despite the fact that he was his host and an important Ghibelline leader; he imprisoned him with his two sons and re-established a so-called republican government under an Imperial Governor. Castruccio Castracani was amongst the first to join the invader, he became his captain and right-hand man, and was formally declared Duke of Lucca, Pistoia and Volterra. At Rome the Emperor was crowned in the absence of the Pope by the people of Rome, in a ceremony unique and impressive. He himself, magnificently clothed in white satin, bestrode a white horse; before him rode a judge with the book of Imperial laws, and a prefect with the Imperial sword. His horse was led by the greatest nobles of Rome, their robes shining with gold. The Emperor was anointed by two excommunicated Bishops and crowned by the old Sciarra Colonna, who had been prominent in the attack on Boniface VIII. at Anagni. Castruccio was knighted on the same day and made Senator of Rome in the name of the Emperor. The

Crowned at
Rome, 1328

coronation was followed by a public deposition of Pope John XXII. as a heretic and a traitor, and the appointment of an Anti-pope under the name of Nicholas V.

The triumph of Lewis was, however, short-lived. Castruccio had to hurry North to defend his Duchy from the Florentines, and though again successful in arms, his sudden death from fever ended the terror of Florence and robbed the Emperor of his chief support. Death of Castruccio, 1328 In the same year Florence had another stroke of fortune in the death of Charles of Calabria, whose assistance was no longer necessary, and whose rule was becoming irksome. The Emperor was quite unable to make any headway alone, he was short of money and anxious to return to look after his German interests. As for his Anti-pope, he very quickly made humble submission to John XXII. and gladly renounced his precarious position. The Ghibelline party seemed threatened with destruction, but Robert of Naples was too downcast after the death of his son to head the Guelfs with any energy and left the North to struggle alone, until a foreign Power once more intervened.

This time a leader more enterprising and more romantic than Lewis of Bavaria was to make an attempt at solving the problem of Italian politics. Invasion of Italy by John of Bohemia In 1330, Brescia, besieged by Della Scala, the tyrant of Verona, sent to beg for help from John of Bohemia, who responded readily to the appeal, and threw himself with ardour into the Italian struggle.

The young King, who became so suddenly an important factor in the affairs of Italy, was son of the Emperor Henry VII., and one of the most romantic figures of the century. Handsome and chivalrous, devoted to tournaments and all knightly exercises, he was no less famous

in actual warfare and able to hold his own in court or camp. Elegant and polished in dress and manners, he was curiously out of place in half-civilised Bohemia, over which his father had given him the rule. Indeed, unless kept there by revolts amongst his turbulent nobles, he spent little time in his own dominions, but wandered about like a true knight-errant, seeking for wrongs to redress or weak causes to champion. He had aided Lewis the Bavarian at the Battle of Mühldorf, which secured him his Empire. He had made firm friendship with the King of France, a country which particularly attracted him. He had headed a Crusade against the heathen in Lithuania. He was delighted now to find new occupation for his arms, and to endeavour to continue a work in Italy which his father had died in attempting. It was a regular saying at the time, that no one could hope to carry anything through, "without the help of God and the King of Bohemia".

Successes
of John of
Bohemia

At first it seemed as though Italy had really found her saviour. Mastino della Scala retired from Brescia, where John was received with the utmost joy and enthusiasm. Banners and green branches were waved before him, music and dance accompanied his entrance. He acted with great dignity and firmness, reconciled warring parties and recalled all who had been exiled from the city. Other towns hastened to welcome a conqueror who appeared to be without any aim of personal aggrandisement, and was neither a Guelf nor a Ghibeline. Milan, Cremona, Pavia recognised him as lord; Parma, Reggio, Modena and others followed; everywhere he reconciled the rival parties and recalled all exiles irrespective of their politics. In Tuscany, however, Florence was not won over by the new-comer, but

continued to resist his advance. Meanwhile John, threatened by leagues against him in Germany and by the hostility of the Pope at Avignon, was forced to hasten back, and left his Italian conquests in the charge of his young son Charles. Friendship was soon renewed with the Emperor Lewis, in whose interests the King of Bohemia claimed to have worked, but meanwhile the Lombard towns were beginning to feel that they had more control than they had bargained for, whilst the Visconti in Milan and the Scaligers in Verona, the Gonzaga in Mantua and the Esté in Ferrara, jealous of the success of a foreign adventurer, formed a league to undermine his power.

The young Charles proved his skill and courage in the victory of San Felice, but it brought no lasting benefit to the cause, and his father returning to find both parties in league against him, gave up a useless struggle, sold his possessions, and left Italy in a state no better than that in which he had found her. So ended an episode the chief result of which was the impression which it left on the mind of John's son, the future Emperor Charles IV., who had learnt, by his experience in Italy, the evils of a divided government and of uncontrolled and independent parties. John withdrew to spend the remainder of his restless life in continuous fighting, sometimes in his own interest, sometimes in that of others. It was in a second crusade in Lithuania that he lost his eyesight, partly owing to the climate, partly owing to the ignorant treatment of his doctors. The King could not bear his misfortune to be noticed, and would not let it in any way hinder his incessant travels and career of adventure, which he continued, until at last he lost his life at Créçy, fight-

League
against
John of
Bohemia

John of
Bohemia
leaves Italy

ing for his friend Philip VI. of France. Carlyle sums him up as: "a restless, ostentatious, far-grasping, strong-handed man, who kept the world in a stir wherever he was".

In Italy, after the collapse of King John's attempt, warfare continued incessantly: sometimes one power would rise for a time to the top, only to fall in turn before another State or another leader. At first Mastino della Scala of Verona made himself supreme in the North, but was crushed by a league in which Florence and Milan played the leading part. Florence, disappointed at the little result this brought to her, called to her aid a warrior of great reputation, Walter of Brienne Duke of Athens, who was made dictator for the time, though he failed to hold his position long. Next came the extraordinary advance of Milan under the House of Visconti. Azzo Visconti had been an active opponent of John of Bohemia and greatly extended his own power by joining leagues against him. His successors one after the other added to the lands of the Duchy of Milan and increased their own importance by grand alliances abroad and unexampled atrocities at home, until it seemed with Gian Galeazzo that the height of wickedness and of power had been reached, and that a kingdom of Northern Italy might be founded under a tyrant, the recital of whose deeds still makes the blood run cold. But of this later.

The Duke
of Athens
in Flor-
ence, 1343

The Vis-
conti in
Milan

Rome

If all Italy felt that they had more chance of striking for their own advantage during the absence of the Pope, nowhere was this so obvious as in Rome itself. In the Holy City confusion and discord was worse than ever. The Orsini and the Colonna carried on their feuds and their quarrels unchecked; open warfare was often waged

in the streets; the citizens were oppressed by both parties alike and could obtain neither justice nor redress from the proud and selfish nobles. Message after message was sent to Avignon, begging the return of the Pope. John XXII. spoke of coming, but the attractions of Avignon and the influence of the French King were too great, and the whole of Romagna broke into open rebellion.

The succeeding Pope, Benedict XII., was proclaimed Senator and Captain of the Roman Republic, but though proud of the distinction he contented himself with a vain attempt to heal strife from afar. In the midst of all this misery and civil war, a curious ceremony took place in Rome, which may have helped to stir up old memories of greatness in the minds of the people, and which impressed one at least of the audience with a hope of reviving ancient glories. A fellow citizen of Dante, the poet Petrarch, whose writings were just bringing him into prominence, was crowned on the Capitol with the laurel wreath, after a lengthy examination conducted by Robert of Naples. The procession to the Senate Hall, the red-robed youths reciting Petrarch's poems to the glory of the Roman people, the Senator in green, the poet with his royal robe and laurel crown must have offered an extraordinarily impressive sight to the citizens used to the turmoil and bloodshed of private feuds.

Petrarch
crowned as
Poet in
Rome, 1341

Cola di Rienzi, a spectator of this ceremony, whose youthful mind was stored with knowledge of the past splendours of Rome and with horror at her present state of degradation, came into public notice shortly after this event. Of humble parentage, a notary by profession, he early attracted attention by his handsome person and marvellous eloquence, and was one of an embassy sent

Rise of
Rienzi

Embassy to
the Pope,
1343

to Avignon to implore the return of Clement VI. Rienzi was an inveterate opponent of the aristocrats, by whom his own brother had been ruthlessly murdered, and full of sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. His speeches before the Pope excited much notice and admiration. All through his life he had evidently the true orator's gift of swaying men by a word, an almost miraculous power of influence and attraction. The Pope honoured him with an official post in Rome, and on his return from Avignon, Rienzi set himself heart and soul to prepare the way for a democratic revolution. Little by little he won over the people. He excited their minds by speeches and allegorical pictures which showed Rome in shame and distress from which popular effort alone could raise her. To avert suspicion until his schemes were ripe, he played the buffoon before the Orsini and the Colonna, so that they never dreamed of his real character and power. When the time came he struck boldly and with promptitude. On Whitsunday, 1347, having spent the previous night in prayer and preparation, he headed a procession to the Capitol, where he had summoned a meeting of the people to consider the passing of new laws and measures of government; there he swayed the crowd by his eloquence, and proclaimed an edict of reform and retribution. With one accord the assembly hailed him as their ruler, and gave him full power over the laws and government of the Roman Republic. This revolution was accomplished without the shedding of one drop of blood: struck as by a spell, the old Senators fled and many nobles hastened from the city where their power had been undermined. Rienzi took the title of Tribune and proclaimed himself "Redeemer of the Holy Roman Republic".

Rienzi
Tribune
of the
Roman
Republic,
1347

For seven months the new ruler governed with extraordinary wisdom and success. Peace was restored, exiles recalled, justice dealt out impartially to rich and poor alike. Rome was turned from despair to the height of pride and happiness. The citizens rejoiced in the processions and display by which the Tribune impressed the public fancy. The surrounding territory acknowledged the overlordship of the Roman people and even foreign courts received letters and embassies announcing the establishment of a new power in Italy.

Rienzi's mind was full of magnificent ideas, which ^{Rienzi's} though ambitious were not wholly impracticable under ^{plans} existing circumstances. His plan was to summon to the Capitol a parliament for the whole of Italy, to proclaim the sovereignty of the Roman people, to confer Roman freedom on all Italian citizens, and to found a natural Roman Empire under an elected Emperor. It was more than merely a fascinating idea. The absence of the Pope, the weakness of the Emperor, and the divisions of Italy offered some real possibilities of success, but for two great obstacles: the character of Rienzi himself, and the instability of the Roman people. The Tribune, though a man of wonderful genius, energy and enthusiasm, was wanting in that steadiness and absolute sanity which are necessary for lasting work. Perhaps there was already a touch of madness in his genius; perhaps his mind was unhinged by his unprecedented success; perhaps he was rather too much of an orator, too little of a statesman. It is hard to believe that he was not sincere in his love for Rome and in his enthusiasm for the cause. But it would have been superhuman to have made no mistakes, and his only

real strength lay in the support of the populace, a very precarious foundation for permanent power.

For some time Rienzi's position seemed secure. The magnificent ceremonies in which he indulged and which have been looked upon as foolish acts of vanity, were probably calculated to keep himself before the public notice and to influence a people still rather like children and needing to be impressed by public spectacles. The first festival was for his knighthood. Clad in white silk embroidered with gold, the handsome Tribune passed through the town accompanied by the Papal Vicar, preceded by a sword-bearer, and with the standard in the rear. In the evening he bathed in the ancient porphyry basin in which tradition said that the Emperor Constantine had washed away both his paganism and his leprosy. After a night spent alone in the Baptistery he was solemnly knighted next day by the syndic of the people, who bound round him the girdle of his order and fastened on the spurs of gold. His coronation as Tribune, which followed, was equally magnificent. He received seven crowns to typify the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and after the ceremony he issued an edict conferring on all Italians the rights of Roman citizenship, forbidding the entry of armed forces without the consent of Pope and people, and abolishing the names of Guelf and Ghibelline.

This happened in August, and in December he was a fugitive. Perhaps Rienzi's most dangerous mistake was his treatment of the nobles. He laid hands on the leaders of the great families at a banquet, and then, with mistimed leniency set them free, after a humiliation which such men could never forgive. A force was raised against him by the Colonna, who attacked Rome,

Rienzi
knighted,
1st Aug.
1347

Crowned,
15th Aug.
1347

and although their defeat was complete, the victor lost many adherents by his triumph and by his undue exultation over the conquered. He fell at last through the desertion of the fickle people, who were annoyed by his taxation and frightened by the Papal denunciation of their leader, once the friend of the Pope. Rienzi seems to have suddenly lost heart. Without support he could do nothing and he could not bear to raise his arms against the people. On 15th December he abdicated with a suddenness which surprised friends and foes alike. Papal authority and aristocratic rule were restored on the instant, and with them the state of anarchy and disunion from which the Tribune had temporarily saved the city.

Abdication
of Rienzi,
15th Dec.
1347

Rienzi was not destined to remain for ever in obscurity. He is said to have spent the time of his absence amongst the Fraticelli, hermits dwelling in the mountains of the Abruzzi, who passed their lives in penitence and asceticism. Here tradition relates that he received a divine message through one of the brethren, urging him to take up public life once more and fetch the Emperor to Rome, since by this means alone could his Imperial dreams be realised. Undeterred by personal danger, Rienzi travelled to Prague, the residence of Charles IV., who had succeeded Lewis the Bavarian. Here he unfolded his schemes with something of his old eloquence, but with a strain of mysticism and wildness which point to his mind being unhinged by his recent life of solitude. Charles IV. was the last man to be stirred by visions of universal Empire and Italian regeneration. After keeping the ex-Tribune some time a prisoner in Bohemia, he sent him to Avignon to defend his Catholic orthodoxy and loyalty before Pope and

Rienzi in
exile

Rienzi
visits
Charles
IV., 1350

Imprisoned
by Pope Cardinals. He was again imprisoned by Clement VI.; but Innocent VI., who succeeded, thought to make use of his illustrious captive to quell the disturbances which were threatening the total destruction of the capital of the world.

State of
Rome after
fall of
Rienzi

Ever since Rienzi's fall, Rome had been going from bad to worse. Innocent VI. had entrusted the rule to two Senators, an Orsini and a Colonna, but their unpopularity was increased by a famine which the populace believed to be the result of governmental regulations concerning the sale of corn. One Senator, Berthold Orsini, faced the mob and was literally buried under the heap of stones which were flung at him: successors were appointed, but order was difficult to restore. In 1353, Innocent commissioned Cardinal Albornoz, a Spanish prelate, both warrior and statesman, to do what he could, and with him sent the ex-Tribune, that his knowledge of Rome and the Romans might be turned to account.

Return of
Rienzi to
Rome and
his death,
1354

The return of Rienzi was a veritable triumph. The people remembered his past greatness and welcomed him as a deliverer. As Papal Senator he ruled with much of his old power and for a short time with extraordinary success. But Cola's position between Pope and people was totally insecure; he had little real authority and no money. It was his attempts to get money rather than the severity of his rule which brought about his final downfall. In the popular revolt which overthrew him, the cry was "Death to the traitor who has imposed the taxes," and this was the real cause of his ruin. The mob surrounded his palace, and shouted him down when he stood forth on the balcony to address them. Had he been allowed to speak, he might still

have won them over, says the Chronicler, with unbounded confidence in the eloquence of the Tribune. But he could not speak, he could only unfurl the Roman banner and point silently to the golden letters "Senatus populusque Romanus". Stones were flung at him, and wounded in the head he left the balcony, only to find the palace in flames behind him. Determined to make one more bid for life, Rienzi hastily disguised himself as a peasant escaping with plunder. Recognised as he was passing the last gate, he was seized and led back to the steps of the palace, whence he had so often pronounced condemnation upon his enemies. In silence he faced the mob, his arms crossed on his breast. None ventured to touch the man who had done so much for Rome, and silence gradually fell on the turbulent throng. It was only when he opened his lips to address the speechless crowd that a citizen, fearing his eloquence, thrust his sword through the Tribune's body. The spell was broken. Others stabbed and mangled the helpless corpse and dragged it from the Capitol. For two days it hung from a house in the Colonna quarter, an appalling spectacle. Then, by the command of the Colonna, the body was burnt by the Jews of the city and the ashes scattered abroad, that no relic might be left of the last of the Tribunes. Rienzi had done much and dreamed more; but the promise and glory of his early days were tarnished at the last by a violence and want of balance which seem to betoken a mind unhinged by visionary imaginings, and by sudden reversals of fortune sufficient to affect the strongest brain.

The feeling was more and more gaining ground, that the one thing necessary was the return of the Popes. Their lengthened absence had alienated the ^{Desire for Papal re-}turn

majority of Italians and weakened Papal authority to an unprecedented extent. The Duke of Milan cared so little for a Bull of excommunication, that he forced the unlucky legate who brought it to eat the parchment and the leaden seal. Fervent Catholics longed for the revival of reverent feelings towards a true head of the Church. Supporters of order hoped that Papal influence might be exerted in that direction. The Popes themselves felt that residence at Rome was the only hope of maintaining their secular authority.

St.
Catherine
of Siena

One of the most active advocates of Papal return was St. Catherine of Siena. This remarkable personality was one of the few instances of a saint who led an active public life, and of a woman of the people who took part in politics, and swayed nobles and rulers by her influence. Born of humble parents in Siena, Catherine as a child began to see visions and dream dreams. When still very young, she resisted the attempts of her father and mother to arrange a marriage for her and made them believe in her divine call. Without leaving her home, she gave herself up to a life of the greatest strictness and self-discipline. She spent more than half the night in prayer, and the rest on a bed of hard planks. Her days were given up to work amongst the poor and to religious exercises. During the second epidemic of plague, she laboured incessantly for the relief of the sufferers, with an utter disregard for her own safety which doubtless helped her to escape the malady. Despite her humble life and apparent lack of education, she came to know many of the chief people of the time and took the greatest interest in public events. The misfortunes of Italy filled her with grief and determination to do all in her power to alleviate them. At one

time she had great hopes of a European crusade, and wrote to the captains of condottieri urging their participation and blaming the evil of their lives. She even ventured to reprove Bernabo Visconti for the wickedness of his ways and his opposition to the Church. When Florence revolted against the Pope and was punished by excommunication, St. Catherine hastened to the city and opened negotiations with the leaders of the Republic, and it was on a mission of pacification on their behalf that she first journeyed to Avignon. It is wonderful to read of the influence exerted by this fragile being, still little more than a girl, who came from such humble surroundings to speak authoritatively to Popes and Rulers.

Gregory XI was much impressed by her speech, and held many interviews with her; but he was a weak irresolute man, very reluctant to leave the luxury and peace of Avignon for the turmoils and discomforts of life in Rome. In the end, however, St. Catherine and his conscience, aided no doubt by the fear of losing his Italian possessions for ever, prevailed to induce Gregory to undertake the journey. He re-entered his capital amidst much outward rejoicing, which, however, meant very little real support. Probably Gregory would never have stuck to the post of danger, but his sudden death ended his indecision.

The Conclave, summoned to meet for the election of a successor, was invaded by the mob, which broke through all barriers and noisily demanded a Roman as Pope. Urban VI., who eventually was chosen, was indeed an Italian, but little fitted by his proud and passionate character to rule in a time of such great difficulty. St. Catherine's last days were spent in a brave endeavour

St. Catherine
at Avignon

Return of
Pope to
Rome, 1378

Election of
Urban VI.,
1378

to quiet the revolts against Urban in Rome, and to pacify the disordered city. These efforts were too much for the little strength her life of exertion and ascetism had left her. A fall in church, probably caused by a fainting-fit, gave her some internal injury from which she never recovered, and she died at Rome amidst universal sorrow. She had only reached the age of thirty-one. Her death saved her from seeing the still greater degradation which was to be brought upon the Papacy by the long Schism. She could yet hope for the success of Urban over his rival Clement VII., who had been elected shortly after the Roman Pontiff by a section of the Cardinals, and who was holding out in Naples, supported by the Queen.

Death of
St.
Catherine,
1378

Anti-pope,
Clement
VII., 1378

Disputed
succession
in Naples,
1343

Joanna I.,
1343-1382

The fourteenth century was, without doubt, a period of great storm and stress throughout Italy. In the South, Naples, whose King Robert during the earlier part of the century had played so leading a part in general affairs, had been plunged at his death into a dynastic struggle. This kept her fully occupied at home, and led to important results in the future. The first house of Anjou had split into two branches; the elder branch in Hungary, the younger in Naples. When Robert of Naples died, his grand-daughter Joanna, who succeeded him, had married a Prince of the Hungarian House named Andrew, a younger brother of Lewis the Great, King of Hungary. This Andrew did not appreciate the position of King Consort, but desired to rule in his own right as representative of the elder line. Such claims were not likely to lead to harmony between the married pair, who were only sixteen years of age, and who were each flattered and urged on by rival parties. Queen Joanna, beautiful and uncontrolled,

was in love with her cousin Lewis of Taranto, and cared nothing for the husband to whom she had been married for purely political reasons. A conspiracy was formed against Andrew. Whether his wife was privy to it or not is still uncertain, although the case against her looks suspiciously black. He was awaked one night on pretence of important news, and fallen upon by his enemies, who strangled him with a silken cord, since there was a tradition current that he was protected by a charm from poison or from steel. The actual murderers were executed with horrible tortures by officials of the Pope, but public rumour pointed at the Queen as the true author of the deed. Her marriage with Lewis of Taranto, an open instigator of the crime, gave colour to this accusation.

The King of Hungary, furious at his brother's death, prepared to invade Naples with great force. Joanna lost heart and fled with her second husband to Provence, leaving most of her nobles to submit to the invader, who occupied the Kingdom without a blow. This new rule, however, did not long prevail in Naples. Lewis of Hungary could hardly govern the affairs of two States so widely separated, and was glad in the end to resign the Italian Province to the Queen, after a Papal court had pronounced her innocent of the death of Andrew. This ended Neapolitan difficulties for the moment, but Joanna though she had four husbands had no children, and as time went on the succession question became acute. The Queen's probable heir was Charles of Durazzo, a husband of her niece and himself a distant relation; but when rival Popes were elected in 1378 great discord arose between them, for whilst Joanna favoured the French candidate, Clement VII., Charles was an

Invasion of
Naples by
Lewis of
Hungary,
1347

Restora-
tion of
Joanna,
1351

ardent supporter of Urban VI. Joanna hated opposition and was eager for French support, for which reasons she turned to the House of Anjou in France, and declared Louis, its representative, as her heir. War broke out, in the course of which Joanna was captured, and as punishment for her crime, real or supposed, suffocated under a feather-bed by orders of the old King of Hungary. Her death left Charles of Durazzo victorious for the time being, and he was crowned King as Charles III.; the claims of Anjou, however, were not forgotten, and are important as forming a pretext for the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France at the close of the fifteenth century.¹

Death of
Joanna,
1382

Venice

Venice during the fourteenth century was gradually emerging from her position of isolation and independence, and becoming more involved in Italian politics as she enlarged her territories on the mainland. At the beginning of this period, as has already been noticed, Venice was scarcely part of Italy, had no mainland territory and had turned all her strength and all her interest to maritime and commercial matters; with the result that she surpassed all rivals in naval skill and enterprise, that her eminence as a trading power was universally recognised, and that her wealth was unequalled and of world-wide renown. Petrarch writes of her ships: "They carry wine to England; honey to the Scythians; saffron, oil, linen to Assyria, Armenia, Persia and Arabia; wood to Egypt and Greece. They return laden with various merchandise, which is distributed over all Europe." Not only did the city enrich herself with trading beyond the seas; she sent goods also to Italian and German cities; and her own indus-

¹ See *Genealogical Table*,

tries, especially glass-making, copper and iron working, and bell-founding were prosperously carried on. Her government, though oligarchical and despotic, was strong and orderly. It was rich with the profits of trading dues, salt monopoly and profits of banking, and ready to look after the welfare of the city in a paternal spirit not wholly unsuccessful.

Thus Venice at the opening of the fourteenth century was rich, powerful and prosperous; but already there were signs of rocks ahead. Trade in the East was bringing her into conflict with the rising power of Genoa. Her new idea, of extending towards the West, and acquiring Italian lands, could not fail to arouse the antagonism of the great families by which Northern Italy was increasingly dominated. The first enemy of importance, whom Venice had to face, was the great lord of Verona, Mastino della Scala. The extension of his dominion in the North and his policy of imposing custom duties on her goods, alarmed the city, which was dependent on the mainland for her food-supply, and dreaded to be cut off from some of her most useful stores. In the war which followed Venice won over the Carrara, lords of Padua, to her side, began her career of expansion by the acquirement of Treviso and its district, and assisted in overthrowing the supremacy of the Scala family in Verona.

Another enemy who a little later disturbed Venetian tranquillity was Lewis of Hungary, jealous of the territory which the city had acquired in Dalmatia. Venice was not able to get so successfully out of this war, in which for the time she lost land and prestige.

Other difficulties which hampered Venice during this century came from plague and internal troubles. In

Rivalry
with Genoa

Hostility of
mainland
powers

War with
Verona,
1329

War be-
tween
Venice and
Hungary,
1355

Black
Death,
1348

1348 she suffered so terribly from the Black Death that more than half the population are said to have perished. The town passed through a ghastly period : death-boats passed along the canals, the dead bodies were flung from the windows of the neighbouring houses, and were buried together without distinction in a common grave. In no place in Italy was the mortality greater.

Conspiracy
of Marin
Falier,
1354-55

Troubles also arose from antagonism to the government, and vain attempts to shake the despotism of the Council of Ten. The most famous of these attempts was headed by the Doge himself, Marin Falier, who wished to destroy the aristocracy of the city and make himself uncontrolled ruler.

The plot was discovered through the tenderheartedness of one of the conspirators, anxious to save a friend from the coming destruction. Vengeance was prompt and impartial. Ten of the leaders of the conspiracy were hanged, and the Doge himself, whose complicity was discovered, was deprived of his ducal cap and executed. His head was struck off at the top of the marble staircase, where he and his predecessors, on entering into office, had taken their oaths of fidelity to the Republic. This act of justic placed beyond question the authority of the famous Council of Ten.

War be-
tween
Venice and
Genoa

In addition to these difficulties Venice had to face Genoa, her most dangerous enemy. Genoa certainly was no despicable rival. She had a strong maritime position on the mainland, which was strengthened by her occupation of Corsica, and she was guarded by mountains on the north from inroads of enemies from Italy ; whilst her profitable trade in the Black Sea was sufficient to rouse great jealousy in the heart of the other competitor for commerce in the East. On the other hand,

she had endless troubles from internal factions and family disputes; the Visconti in Milan were incessantly threatening her independence, and her government was less united and strong than that of Venice.

Nevertheless, Genoa reaped most advantage from the first war with her rival, which arose from quarrels in the Black Sea. She won a great naval victory off the island of Sapienza; and Venice, disheartened by the conspiracy of Marin Falier at home, concluded peace and gave up her demands. This great defeat of the Venetian fleet is said to have been presaged by all sorts of portents. Crows had fought in the rigging of the vessels before the combat, and plucked each other to death. Enormous and unknown fish had swum round the ships and swallowed seamen whole, till the crews were filled with terror. Such tales show the extent of the calamity from the horror which it excited at the time.

The next struggle between Venice and Genoa has gained the name of the War of Chioggia from the important events which happened round that town, a place commanding one end of the water-way leading from the lagoons of Venice to the open sea. The Genoese fleet captured this strong position and Venice trembled for her own safety. The honour of her rescue rests with two great Venetian seamen, Victor Pisani and Carlo Zeno, and with the Doge himself, Andrea Contarini.

At the time when Chioggia fell Pisani was in prison, suffering punishment for a recent defeat, which had been in no way his fault. The people, panic-stricken, rioted in the streets. "If you wish us to fight," they cried, "give us back our Admiral Victor Pisani; long live Victor Pisani!" The government listened to their demands

First
Genoese
War, 1350-
1355

Battle of
Sapienza,
1354

War of
Chioggia,
1378-82

and Pisani was put in command. Every Venetian vessel available was manned, and the Genoese fleet was driven back down the narrow water-way to Chioggia, where escape had been prevented by blocking the outlet to the open sea. Further measures, however, were difficult, for the greater number of the ships of Venice were away in the East under Carlo Zeno, and to retake Chioggia without them was an impossible task. Urgent messages were despatched, and the Doge was obliged to say that unless help came by the New Year he would raise the siege. On the very day fixed for the surrender, Carlo Zeno and the hoped-for armament returned, laden with provisions, and the blockade was continued. At length the combined effort of Pisani and Zeno was successful, and the whole Genoese fleet was forced to surrender for lack of supplies. The following year peace was concluded at Turin. Venice had saved her own existence, but had not been exactly successful: she had to give up Dalmatia, the Island of Tenidos and almost all the possessions she had laboriously acquired on the mainland. Despite these losses, however, the really important question had been settled to the advantage of Venice. The naval power of Genoa had received a blow from which it never recovered, and her rival was free from danger in that quarter. Internal troubles undermined the little remaining strength of the Genoese and at the close of the century France undertook to govern the once proud Republic. Venice, on the other hand, recovered from her exertions in a surprisingly short time, and her trade became more flourishing than ever. In the following period, however, her ambition was increasingly turned towards territorial expansion, to winning back and adding to her possessions on the main-

Peace of
Turin, 1381

Results of
the
struggle

land. Her later history is chiefly concerned with the new difficulties, which such a policy could not fail to bring upon her.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Milman : *History of Latin Christianity*, vols. vii. and viii.

Sismondi : *Italian Republics*.

Bulwer-Lytton : *Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes*.

CHAPTER V

RISE OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC

THE rise of the Swiss Republic, even though the old tales of Tell and the apple, of the wicked Gesler, and of the oath on the Rütli have gone for ever out of the region of history and are chiefly interesting to the students of myth and folk-lore, is still a story full of picturesque incident and striking heroism. It is a story of the banding together of sturdy mountaineers, in the days when simple country folk were held of little account, who, strong in their longing for freedom and in the love of their mountain home, were able to oppose successfully kings, nobles and trained armies, and to form an independent government which has held its own down to the present day.

Swabia

In the thirteenth century there was no such country as Switzerland. The land we now know under that name was then simply part of the old Duchy of Swabia ; like the rest of Germany it belonged to the Empire, and was divided amongst various feudal lords, holding their lands as Imperial fiefs. Monasteries were very important in Swabia and much of the country belonged to them, those of Einsiedeln and St. Gall being especially renowned. Many of these religious houses had what were known as grants of immunity, which conferred the privilege of holding directly from the Empire, not from

any intermediate lord, and an Imperial bailiff was sent to supervise the administration of justice, which was, therefore, never under the control of any Count of the neighbourhood. Many great nobles also had territory in the mountain-land, which centres round the Lake of Lucerne and the upper valleys of the Rhine and the Rhone; such as the Counts of Savoy, of Geneva, of Kiburg, of Rapperswell, above all of Habsburg. On a ^{The Habs-} hill called the Wülpelsberg, not far from the town of ^{burgs} Brugg, a massive tower still stands to perpetuate the memory of the great family who dwelt in their *Habichtsburg* or Hawk's Castle, in the days before the Empire itself came under their rule.

In all this there is nothing to distinguish this Alpine ^{Southern} region from any other part of the Empire, or from any ^{Swabia} other feudal country, but it very soon began to develop characteristics of its own. A land of mountains is never quite so feudalised nor quite so dependent as a land of plains; serfdom never seems to take so deep a root; nature renders impossible the same amount of control and seignorial management. This part of Swabia was early distinguished by the growth of communes both in towns and villages. The members of these associations were bound together by the possession of certain rights and privileges and obtained to a great extent the management of their own affairs. Town communities and rural communities sprang up all over the country and sometimes the scattered inhabitants of a mountain valley would form themselves into a union of this description. Some Swabian towns were free ^{Towns} Imperial cities from the first, directly under the Emperor, and with the right of sending representatives to the Diet; others were built on the lands of churches or

lords, but were privileged, although dependent, and often shook off their subjection later. In any case they were homes of comparative freedom, and a year and a day in a chartered town gave liberty to the serf who could escape thither. In Southern Swabia the leading towns were Zurich, a free Imperial city; Lucerne, at first under the Abbey of Murbach but later independent; and Bern which obtained Imperial "immunity" on the extinction of the family of Zarringen by which it was originally founded.

Country

As the towns were protected and rendered bold by their walls, so the valleys were given security and independence by their mountains. The inhabitants of these mountain valleys, grouped into communes, were drawn closely together by common interests, by pastoral and agricultural work and by possession of rights over the *allmend* or *mark*, as the waste land between the little settlements was called, and for use of which as pasture the whole commune, as a rule, would be associated. Valley communes began to be formed in Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Glarus and other districts, and little by little the inhabitants succeeded in winning recognition of their independence and obtaining charters of privileges.

Struggles
against the
nobles

The nobles were not likely to let their authority go without a struggle. There were various attempts to make the whole Duchy of Swabia into a united Principality; one great family after another tried to amass more and more territory into its own hands, but none tried harder nor with more success than the Habsburgs, whose increasing power threatened the overthrow of the free Communes. The Communes looked to the Emperor for help against the aristocracy; Uri was taken under Imperial protection in 1231, Schwitz won its

charter of immunity in 1240, and in the common fear of oppression towns and districts began the practice of banding together to obtain strength. Various leagues were formed from time to time. Bern united with Lucerne, Schwitz with Unterwalden and Uri, and then the three of them with Lucerne and Zurich. These were at first only temporary leagues, but in this linking of town and country for mutual protection, we see the true beginning of the later Confederation.

From 1254 to 1273 was the Imperial Interregnum, when, as Carlyle says, there was "No Kaiser, nay as many as three at once"; a period of terrible confusion and party strife assuredly, but nevertheless an opportunity for steady advance towards freedom, whilst the great men of the land had little time to attend to humble matters. In the end, as we have seen elsewhere, Rudolf, the head of the Habsburgs, became King of Germany and Duke of Austria as well as Emperor, a very important personage indeed. There was great fear that the whole of Southern Swabia would now come under his sway: he bought Friburg, Neuchâtel, Glarus and other places, established rights over Lucerne, and surrounded the Forest Cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Unterwalden, with a cordon of his private estates. His death in 1291 was the signal for the first "Perpetual League," in which these three, Uri, Schwitz and Unterwalden laid the foundation of the Swiss Confederation. The document commemorating this compact, the original of which is now in the Archives of Schwitz, was not exactly a declaration of independence, but a union to obtain quiet and peace, security of justice, mutual defence, and the settlement of quarrels by arbitration. It ends with the hopeful sentence: "The above-written

Rudolf of
Habsburg

First Per-
petual
League,
1291

statutes, decreed for the common weal and health, shall endure for ever, God willing". It has, indeed, never been annulled, but only gradually outgrown and superseded.

Albert of
Austria

Rudolf's son Albert, "one-eyed, loose-lipped, unbeautiful," eventually Emperor, continued his father's policy of amassing Swabian territories, but was murdered by his nephew at Brugg in 1308. The Confederates then had only to oppose Austrian Habsburgs not Emperors, the Imperial throne being occupied for a space by the House of Luxemburg, which was at enmity with the rival House of Habsburg. The cause of the actual

War with
Austrian
Habsburgs

outbreak of hostility with this formidable family was some attack made by the men of Schwitz on the Monastery of Einsiedeln, the reason of which is obscure. In consequence, Frederick Duke of Austria sent his brother Leopold to punish the mountaineers. Leopold came with an army of nobles who despised the foe and expected but little difficulty in their task. The scene of

Battle of
Morgarten,
1315

the Battle of Morgarten, where the enemies met, was not amidst very wild high mountains, but in a hill country of gentle slopes leading into Schwitz. Over the ridge of Morgarten a saddle pass formed the approach, and here the peasant army was stationed to check the Austrian advance. Leading up to it from the Lake of Aegeri was a narrow path, hemmed in by hills on either side. Leopold's army, clad in the heavy armour of those days, came carelessly along, so sure of victory that their attendants had been ordered to bring ropes to lead away the captured cattle. One man alone is recorded to have realised the danger. "You have all taken counsel how best to get into the country," said the Duke's fool, "but have given no explanation of how you are going to get

out again." Many had no need of a way out. Before the Austrians reached the pass, a detachment of peasants hurled down upon them from an advanced spur of the ridge a regular avalanche of rocks and trees, which threw them into the wildest confusion ; and at the next moment the rest of the mountaineers rushed down from the pass and turned the would-be attack into a rout. Utterly out of hand the defeated troops fled back, to be hewn down as they ran, or to be drowned in the lake into which many were driven, absolutely helpless in their heavy armour. Peasants on foot had proved themselves a match, in their own country at least, for an army of mounted knights. The battle resulted in a renewal of the League, and three years later the Habsburgs gave up their claim to interfere with the administration of the three Forest States.

Such success was almost unprecedented at that time, and it is no wonder that stories and traditions have gathered round this birth of Swiss liberty. There were certain to be recollections of Habsburg oppression, of cruel bailiffs and of peasant heroism: the slow striving for liberty has been converted, in the stories, into a sudden rising and one heroic effort ; and these stories have centred round the deed of William Tell, a deed which can be found repeated in the folklore of many northern countries, Iceland, Norway, Denmark and even England, where the ballad of William of Cloudesley recounts an almost similar event. It was more than a century and a half after Morgarten that the Tell legend first appeared in a collection of documents known as the White Book: and a later Chronicler copied it with the addition of such exact details, dates and names, that it was long looked upon as an accepted fact. The

The story
of William
Tell

story runs, that Gesler, the bailiff of Albert of Austria and a monster of wickedness, set his hat on a pole at Uri, that all passers-by might do reverence to it. Tell, who refused, was brought before him and ordered as a punishment to shoot an apple from the head of his own child: this he did successfully, but Gesler insisted on knowing why he had placed a second arrow in his quiver and promised him his life if he would answer: Tell replied that if he had shot his child he would have slain with the second arrow the bailiff himself. Despite his promise, Gesler bound Tell, and took him over the Lake of Lucerne, to leave him in a place where, as he said, he should never see sun nor moon again; but the rock is still shown at the *Tellsplatte*, whence the prisoner leapt out and made his escape: later he revenged himself by shooting Gesler in the *Hohle Gasse* at Küssnacht, and became the founder of the Federation.

There are other legends connected with the resistance of the Swiss, which have rather more foundation in fact. The secret conspiracy of Stauffacher, Fürst, Zu Frauen and Melchthal, their meetings at the Rütli, the storming of the Castle of Sarnen and many others, although probably much embroidered and placed by the Chroniclers at too late a date, are not wholly impossible and concern people who really existed. It is the story of Tell, however, which has most fired the popular imagination, and he has been so long bound up with the growth of Swiss independence, that he is likely to retain his place as national hero, despite the cold light of historical criticism.

After the Battle of Morgarten, the Confederation gained new members one by one. Lucerne was the first to join in 1330, the allies agreeing to make no new

Lucerne
joins the
League,
1330

arrangements, without the consent of the whole body. Various attempts were made to break this connection, and within Lucerne itself a conspiracy arose to crush out the patriotic party. There is a story of a boy who unwittingly became acquainted with the plot and was only given his life on condition that he told no man what he had heard, who revealed it without breaking his promise. In the Butchers' Guildhouse he found various patriots assembled, and going in he sat by the stove and began to talk to it: "Oh, stove, stove! may I speak?" The men laughed at him and thought him mad, but he went on with his tale. "Oh! stove, stove! I must make my complaint to thee, since I may speak to no man: to-night there are men gathered under the great vault at the corner, who are going to commit murder." The alarm was thus given, the conspirators were seized and the patriotic party was successfully established.

Zurich was the next to join the League, but she was not at first a very certain ally, and was inclined to play too much for her own hand. She was one of the Imperial cities, free therefore from control of count or bailiff, and with the management of her own government, which was, however, distinctly oligarchical. The *Old Burghers*, as they were called, the upper classes excluding artisans and labourers, alone had political rights in the early fourteenth century, and a Council, entirely recruited from their ranks, awarded all places and obtained all powers. Considerable discontent was caused by the despotism of this ruling body, and the more democratic party found a leader in Rudolf Brun, himself an aristocrat, but a man of great ambition, who was ready to win himself a name at the head of a popular movement.

Zurich and
Rudolf
Brun

Brun was recognised as Burgomaster, guilds were instituted into which all classes were admitted, and rich and poor were alike given political votes. The constitution was, however, far from being democratic, for the Burgomaster was almost a Dictator; but the revolution raised opponents to the town among the partisans of Austria to whom the *Old Burgher* party turned for help, and in self-defence Zurich joined the League of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden and Lucerne in 1351. There were fatal defects in this new alliance; for, thanks no doubt to Brun, the different parties reserved to themselves the right of making independent alliances, and also the four original members pledged themselves to support the existing government of Zurich if need should arise. The danger of such stipulations was seen in 1354, when Zurich was besieged by the Emperor Charles IV., and Brun saved the situation by hoisting the Imperial flag and declaring that the town had always been loyal to the Empire. Eventually he went so far as to make a treaty of alliance with Austria herself. It was not till after Brun's death in 1360, that Zurich was really loyal to the Confederation and could be reckoned as heart and soul with the party of independence.

Zurich
joins the
League,
1351

Glarus and
Zug join,
1352

Bern
joins,
1353

In 1352 Glarus and Zug formed the sixth and seventh members of the League, and in 1353 the adhesion of Bern completed the famous Confederation of the Eight old Cantons.

Bern had been recognised as an Imperial city by Rudolf in 1274, elected her own officers, had her own mint and market, and had been granted various privileges, such as exemption from any military service which would involve inability to return home the following night; but though privileged, her government was, on

the whole, aristocratic and military. Bern had already joined the Forest States in 1323 and won a victory with them, but the definite alliance was not made till 1353, after which time she formed a strong and much-needed bulwark on the West.

Now it was that the true war of Liberation began. The mountaineers were born soldiers and success developed in them a still more war-like spirit. In 1375, ^{Victories of the Swiss} their victories over a mixed body of French and English mercenaries, led by the Lord of Coucy, helped to increase their self-confidence and ardour for battle. The invaders were called Englishmen by the peasants, or *Gugler* from the cowls (*Kugelhüte*) which many of them wore: a hillock at Butterholz, where they were repulsed, is still called the Englishmen's Hill. The chief work of the Confederates, however, was still against the House of Habsburg, and it was during this struggle that they advanced so much in unity and national policy.

In 1386 Leopold of Habsburg collected a large army of nobles and mercenaries from Germany, Italy and France, with which he felt confident of crushing once and for all the insolent peasants. His plan was to march upon Lucerne, as the centre of the Confederation; and in the hot summer month of July his main force rode round the shore of the little Lake of Sempach, situated in undulating country about ten miles to the north of Lucerne.

Here followed the battle which completed the work ^{Battle of Sempach, 1386} begun at Morgarten and gave real security to Swiss independence. A band of Confederates concealed in a forest awaited the enemy, and Leopold fell into the ambush, with the result that he faced his foes on an uneven plateau, quite unsuited for cavalry fighting. The

Austrians dismounted and prepared to fight on foot, armed with the long spears they were accustomed to wield on horseback. The Swiss, formed in their wedge-shaped column, and armed with halberds and short weapons, were wholly unable at first to make any impression on the enemy, as they could not reach them to strike a single blow. The nobles seemed sure of victory when the tide of battle was turned as by a miracle.

Arnold von Winkelried, so the story runs, rushed upon the serried ranks of spears, seized all he could reach, and turning them into his own body, formed a gap through which his fellows could enter: once at close quarters they were able to do deadly execution with their shorter weapons. In a hand-to-hand encounter the knights were nowhere; they could scarcely move their long lances, they were almost cooked with the hot sun streaming on their heavy armour, and were totally unable to cope with the quick movements of the active and light-armed mountaineers. In vain Leopold, enraged at the ill-success of his army, plunged with reckless courage into the thickest of the fight. His fall was the signal for a general retreat. In desperate confusion knights and squires turned to fly, but overweighted as they were and unable to reach their horses, few escaped. The Confederates fell on their knees to thank God for a victory as complete as has ever been won by any army, the news of which spread like wild-fire over Europe; and all men marvelled at the defeat of such a force of chivalry.

The struggle was not yet over. There was a truce for the time, followed by another victory for the peasants at Näfels, where the men of Glarus, imitating the tactics of Morgarten, flung down stones on the advancing horsemen and then routed them with a charge down

Battle of
Näfels,
1388

the steep hill-side. Every year a pilgrimage is made to Näfels and to the Eleven Stones, which are said to mark the place where eleven times the Austrians rallied in a vain attempt to stem the victorious onslaught. Peace followed in 1389, by which the Duke of Austria gave up all his feudal claims over Lucerne, Glarus and Zug. Treaty of 1389

In 1393 the Confederates bound themselves once more together by what was known as the Convention of Sempach, and the Habsburg Dukes, despairing at last of the destruction of the League, signed a peace which was renewed in 1412 and which was the practical recognition of the Swiss Republic. Treaty of 1393

The Confederation thus formed was of a very peculiar character and by no means very definitely organised; indeed it seems extraordinary that it should have held together at all, considering the great differences which existed between the various States, and considering also that even their territory did not form one continuous whole. Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden and Glarus, the four forest cantons, were rural communities of the purest and most typical kind; the government was in the hands of the sovereign people, who met in open air assemblies to arrange all matters of importance, and on smaller affairs delegated their powers to an elective Council. In the cities, on the contrary, the chief authority was exercised by the magistrates; Zurich was becoming more and more democratic, the burgomasters, of whom there were two, being elected every half-year; but Bern was distinctly aristocratic with a Council of Twelve chosen exclusively from the upper classes. Lucerne and Zug were something between the two. Not only were the elements of the Confederation thus diverse, but there was no real central organisation to keep them together. Character of the Confederation

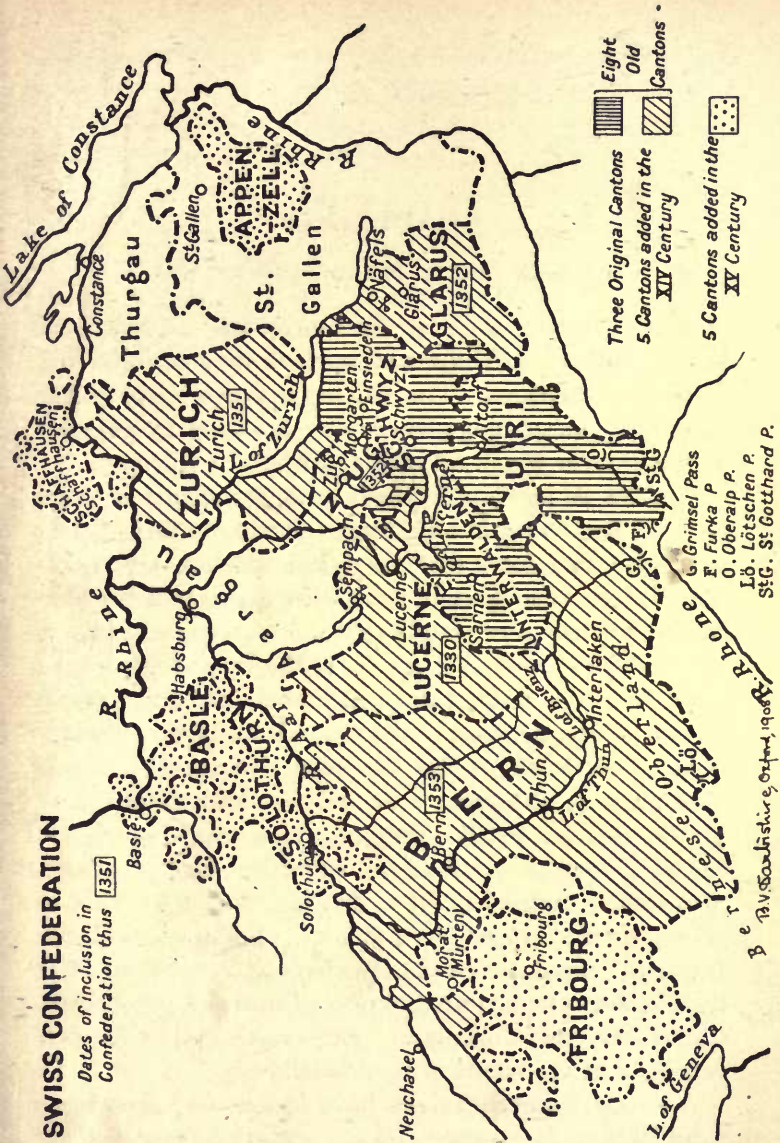
No regular Diet existed for the whole, although representatives from some of the States may have met occasionally for common business; the Leagues which united them were very varied and did not always comprise all the eight members of the Confederacy. The chief bond of union was common hostility to the Austrian Habsburgs, and common connection with the Forest States, the heart and soul of the Federation. The documents known as the Priests' Charter and the Convention of Sempach were regulations binding upon the whole body; the former chiefly to secure the national character of the clergy, the latter a military constitution containing rules as to discipline and management of future wars. That such a Confederation should have proved enduring, that it should have acquired such great military power in the succeeding period, reflects the greatest credit upon its members and upon their growing sense of nationality and patriotism.

ADDITIONAL BOOK

Hug and Stead: *Switzerland* ("Story of the Nations").

SWISS CONFEDERATION

Dates of inclusion in Confederation thus 1351



CHAPTER VI

SCHISMS IN THE PAPACY AND EMPIRE

BEFORE the close of the fourteenth century both Papacy and Empire were reaching a period of the utmost humiliation. The old order was already giving way, and the coming change was heralded by anarchy and confusion which affected the whole of Europe.

Papal
Schism,
1378-1417

In 1378, as has been already seen, the death of Pope Gregory was followed by a double election to the Papacy, which led to a forty years' struggle between rival candidates for the coveted post; a struggle in which political motives had more weight than spiritual considerations, in which the personal character of the Popes fell perhaps lower than ever before, and which could not fail to shake the whole organisation of the Church to its very foundation. The death of the Emperor Charles IV., which took place in the same year, did not lead immediately to the Schism in the Empire. His son Wenzel was accepted for the time as his successor, but he was a man totally unfitted to fill so distinguished a post, above all at such a period of difficulty. So great was the Imperial degradation under his feeble rule, that in 1400 the Electors endeavoured to depose him and put Rupert Count Palatine in his place. Empire, as well as Papacy, was thus in the hands of rival candidates.

Emperor
Wenzel,
1378-1400

Imperial
Schism,
1400-1410

Causes of
the Papal
Schism

A strong Emperor might have had some hope of settling Church dissensions. As it was, the Papal Schism

could not be healed from that quarter, and other political events helped to prolong the difficulty. The Schism was, indeed, in many respects a political question. The reluctance of France to lose the influence she had so long exerted over the Papacy at Avignon, and the desire of the Italians to have once more a Pope of their own nationality established at Rome soon gave the dispute between rival Popes almost the appearance of a struggle between France and Italy. Certainly the attitude taken up by the different Powers of Europe towards the question was decided in every case by political motives. Another important factor in the business was the disputed succession in Naples where the House of Durazzo and the House of Anjou were competing for the throne.

Joanna of Naples, it will be remembered, lost her life while resisting the claims of her niece's husband, Charles of Durazzo, and she bequeathed her crown and her quarrel to Louis of Anjou. From the first the rival Popes took up the rival parties, Urban VI. that of Charles, Clement VII. that of Louis. The deaths of these two candidates only changed the persons of the rivals, it did not end the struggle. Ladislas succeeded Charles as King of Naples and exercised a very important influence, not always of a friendly character, over the Popes at Rome. The claims of Louis II. of Anjou were still upheld by the Anti-popes at Avignon. These points are important to remember in working out the history of the Papal Schism. There were, besides, other and more complicated questions involved, and the ambition of the rival candidates was not the only obstacle to the healing of this terrible quarrel in the Church.

Perhaps had Urban VI. been of a more conciliatory

Irregu-
larity in
election

disposition, the difficulty might have been averted. When, however, the Cardinals found what an extremely unsatisfactory choice they had made, it was easy to urge that the election was invalid because done under compulsion. At the time of the Conclave when Urban was chosen, a howling mob without had not ceased to cry aloud for an Italian Pope!—a Roman Pope! and they had even broken into the palace itself, so that the Cardinals with difficulty escaped with their lives. Had the claim of compulsion been made at once, it might have been recognised as valid. The mistake arose from the fact that Urban was accepted without difficulty until his own actions rendered him obnoxious. Not till then did the Cardinals make their new choice of Clement VII.

Neither of the rival Popes had the qualities which would seem desirable for the high position to which they had been raised. They were very different to each other in character, but alike in their firm determination to maintain their rights.

Urban VI.,
1378-1389

Urban VI. was a man of extreme pride, violence and obstinacy. He preached poverty to his rich ecclesiastics and commanded that one dish alone should be allowed at their table. Worse than that, he did not attempt to curb his temper and one Cardinal was called a fool, another was told to hold his tongue, he had talked long enough. His policy was chiefly to uphold his cause against all opponents and to exalt his own family. He seems to have had no other aims nor any clear conception of how to support the Papal dignity.

Anti-Pope,
Clement
VII., 1378-
1394

Clement VII. was only thirty-six years of age, tall and commanding in appearance, far more agreeable and conciliatory in manners than his low-born rival, but a warrior rather than a churchman. As Papal legate in North

Italy he had headed bands of mercenary soldiers, and was stained by the responsibility for a pitiless massacre at Cesena. When war broke out between the two claimants, Clement, driven from Naples by a mob rising, took refuge in Avignon, where a Court was once more established. The palace there became the recognised home of the Anti-pope and a scene of great luxury and magnificence. It was this which gave France such a particular interest in the question and so strong a desire to oppose the Popes at Rome.

Europe fell into two camps. Urban was supported by Italy, with the exception of Naples; by Germany and Bohemia in return for his recognition of King Wenzel as Emperor; by England because he was hostile to France; and by Hungary whose King had claims on Naples and hoped for help. France was backed up by Scotland, always ready to take the opposite side to England; and at first they and Naples stood alone as supporters of Clement VII. Later Castile, Aragon and Navarre were won over for political reasons.

The Schism was a matter which concerned the whole of Europe, and therefore the whole of Europe had to be satisfied before any permanent conclusion could be arrived at. When one Pope died, instead of leaving his rival in possession, the different powers concerned felt that they must uphold the justice of their cause by at once filling his place. The Popes also appointed fresh Cardinals, and those Cardinals could not exist if the man to whom they owed their creation had no right to his office. If their position was genuine, the other Cardinals had no existence, and whatever election they made was of no value. This was felt equally by the Cardinals at Avignon and the Cardinals at Rome. In

Europe and
the Schism

Causes of
the long
continu-
ance of the
Schism

the same way a Pope once elected was never ready to admit the worthlessness of his own election. If he were to resign, leaving the field vacant for his rival, and this rival were not really the divinely appointed Pope, a deadly sin had been committed against the holy office. Thus political and ecclesiastical reasons combined to render the settlement of the question one of almost hopeless difficulty. The death of a Pope at Rome or at Avignon was at once followed by a new election, and the longer the Schism lasted the more complicated did its solution become.

Urban VI.
quarrels
with
Naples

Meanwhile the character and ambition of the Popes added to the troubles of Europe. Urban VI. soon lost the friendship of Charles of Naples, because he wanted to form a Southern Principality for his own very worthless nephew Butillo. When King Charles was murdered in Hungary in 1386, Urban declared that his Kingdom had lapsed to the Holy See, and refused to recognise either Charles's son Ladislas, or Louis of Anjou, the rival candidate crowned by Clement VII. Such struggles, added to quarrels with his own Cardinals, occupied most of the time of the Italian Pope, who at last ended his stormy days at Rome fighting against the magistracy of the city which he deemed too strong.

Boniface
IX. in
Rome,
1389-1404

Ladislas
recognised
as King of
Naples,
1390

The Italian Cardinals now chose Boniface IX., a man of only thirty-three, not a scholar nor a student, but of good private character and considerable ability. He hastened to pacify one enemy by recognising Ladislas as King of Naples, and he conciliated the nobles in his own estates. His ruling passion was avarice. He had, without doubt, great need for money, but his ways of obtaining it were neither dignified nor honourable and rendered him very unpopular. He sold everything;

places, privileges, permission to break all sorts of rules. He seized goods of dying Bishops, he discussed financial matters even during the celebration of Mass. In his last illness some one inquired of his health. "If I had more money I should be well enough," was the reply.

These events were not calculated to raise the credit of the Church throughout Europe. In England the government was endeavouring to check Papal power by the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire; whilst Wycliffe and his followers were led to question the whole theory of Papal Primacy and to preach that Christ alone should be head of the Church. Even in France the Schism was awaking much disgust, and the University of Paris was busy considering plans for ending so disgraceful a controversy. It was suggested that either both Popes should abdicate, or that the question should be submitted to judges appointed equally by both sides, or to a General Council of the Church. It is said to have been partly anger at these proposals which led to the fit of apoplexy in which Clement VII. perished. Bishop Creighton writes of him: "He was not great enough to submit for the good of Christendom, nor was he small enough to fight solely for himself. Overcome by the dilemma, he died."

The Cardinals at Avignon hastily put in his place a learned Spaniard, Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. They did go so far as to urge that whoever was elected should promise to abdicate at once if called on to do so. "I would abdicate as easily as I take off my hat," said Peter, and he was chosen. Once Pope, however, Benedict was not so amenable. Negotiations for his abdication were begun at once. Commissions were sent to him from the University of Paris,

Papacy
much dis-
credited

Death of
Clement
VII., 1394

Benedict
XIII. at
Avignon,
1394-1423

Attempts
to end
Schism

embassies from Royal Courts. A meeting was held between the Emperor Wenzel and Charles VI. of France, "a drunkard and a madman," to consult as to plans. At last France formally withdrew her allegiance from Benedict. All was in vain. The Pope said he would confer with Boniface, but nothing more. "Tell the King of France that I will pay no heed to his ordinances, but will keep my name and papacy till death," he exclaimed on one occasion. Force was attempted when entreaties had failed, and Benedict was besieged in his palace, where, despite his capitulation, he was kept practically a prisoner for five years. Meanwhile, the Roman Pope Boniface was no readier to resign than was his rival. Wenzel had promised to secure his abdication, but he had no power to fulfil his promise, and was soon involved in difficulties of his own with a rival Emperor.

Escape of
Benedict,
1403

The position of affairs was changed shortly after, by the revival of Benedict's power. Disguised as a groom he escaped from Avignon, and with the help of the Duke of Orleans regained the obedience of France to his authority. He was able to assert his rights more firmly than ever, and to disquiet his opponent during the last year of his life.

Innocent
VII. at
Rome,
1404-1406

The death of Boniface was followed by the election of Innocent VII., who spent the two years of his office in difficulties with Roman nobles and Ladislas of Naples.

Gregory
XII. at
Rome,
1406-1415

His successor, Gregory XII., was again appointed on condition of striving for unity, and he promised to resign whenever his rival should do so.

The new Italian Pope seemed in every way fitted to bring peace to the Church, since no one could expect him to have any great ambition or love of office. Already eighty years of age, he was so thin and feeble,

that the chief fear was lest he should die before the Schism was ended. He spoke of unity with the greatest eagerness and protested that nothing should stand in his way; he would go on foot to meet his rival if horse could not carry him to the Conference. After some discussion, Savona near Genoa was agreed upon as a meeting place. Here both Popes were to come and resign their powers that a new Head of the Church might then be chosen. No sooner was this arrangement made than difficulties seemed to arise, and Gregory's eagerness began to evaporate. There was no doubt that since Genoa was in the hands of the French King, Savona was a place which would favour Benedict, and Gregory's friends terrified him with suspicions of false play. Ladislas of Naples, also, who had great influence over the old man, and had many reasons of his own for preferring the Schism, besides dread lest a new Pope chosen at Savona should favour the claims of Anjou, intrigued to prevent the Conference and to hinder Gregory's departure from Rome. The two Popes came as near to one another as Spezia and Lucca, but there they halted; neither one nor the other would advance farther. In the words of the Chronicler: "one, like a land animal, refused to approach the shore; the other, like a water beast, refused to leave the sea". Meanwhile the discovery that Benedict was secretly plotting to seize Rome during his rival's absence gave Gregory an excuse for repudiating his promise of resignation. The meeting at Savona was finally given up and in vain did the Cardinals summon both Popes to appear before a Congress at Pisa.

Proposed
Conference
at Savona

This General Council at Pisa was very important, as the first of a series of attempts to settle the affairs of

Council of
Pisa, 1409

Christendom by means of a representative body, which claimed to be actually superior to the Papacy itself. Solemn sentence was passed on the two competitors, who were declared guilty of breaking their oaths and being obstinate approvers of the long Schism. Both were pronounced to be deposed, and an obscure Friar, whose eloquence and learning had raised him to the Archbishopric of Milan, was chosen to be sole Pontiff as Alexander V. Naturally the chief result of this measure was to create three rival Popes instead of two. Alexander only survived his election a year, never even resided in Rome, which had to be won for him from the hands of Ladislas, and died vainly beseeching his Cardinals "to seek peace and ensue it".

Election of
a third
Pope,
Alexander
V.

There was very little doubt as to who would be chosen to succeed Alexander. One very energetic Cardinal, Baldassare Cossa, Legate of Bologna, had been real ruler of Pope and Conclave since the meeting at Pisa. He was supported by Louis of Anjou, and had won back Rome from Ladislas and bought over the Orsini family. No one dared to oppose him even if they wished it. Despite his disgraceful private character and the fact that the few good qualities which he possessed were wholly military and secular, John XXIII. was enthroned as infallible Head of the Church. After his conquest of Rome, the new Pope summoned a Council there, to which few went and of which strange tales are told. An owl is said to have haunted John on two occasions. First it flew at him whilst he was celebrating Mass, and the next day it appeared again in the church, with its great round eyes fixed on the Pope, and was driven out with difficulty. The superstitious felt that the bird was an omen of misfortune or a sign of divine disapproval;

John
XXIII. at
Rome,
1410-1415

even John himself was dismayed. John had, indeed, a very insecure position and many dangers. The first problem he had to face was the attitude he should adopt towards German affairs, and the Imperial Schism. To understand this it is necessary to go back a little to see what had been happening in the Empire all this time, and why succession disputes arose there also.

Germany had been passing through a period of great ^{Germany} internal disorder. Wenzel was a bad King as well as a bad Emperor, and despite the strong position in which Charles IV. had left the house of Luxemburg, many difficulties were involved in the management of their extensive and scattered territories. Wenzel succeeded ^{Character of Wenzel} his father when only eighteen years of age and possessed of very little strength of character. He was a sort of spoilt child; pleasant in appearance, affable and attractive in manner, but with no idea of either hard work or self-control. In the end, his love of eating and drinking, which he made no attempt to check, undermined health, looks and character, and changed a promising youth into a feeble and despised drunkard. He liked to surround himself with favourites and courtiers, both as companions and as assistants in the government, and these he chose as a rule from the burgher class, or from that of the petty nobility. This much angered the real aristocracy and old noble families and helped to render him increasingly unpopular.

A fact of interest for English readers in Wenzel's reign is the marriage of his sister Anne with King Richard II., which formed a very close connection between Eng- ^{Relation of Bohemia with Eng-land} land and Bohemia; this was strengthened by the growing influence of the University of Prague and its great attraction to scholars. Results of world-wide importance

arose from this connection, for the teaching of Wycliffe, which gave birth to the Lollard sect in England, had great influence in Bohemia where his writings were first published, and where John Huss in particular was attracted by his doctrines and became to a certain extent his disciple.

Possessions
of the
House of
Luxem-
burg

Wenzel succeeded to great territorial possessions, the acquirement of which had been one of the chief aims of Charles IV. He had Bohemia, Silesia and Lusatia in his own hands, Moravia was subject to him, though immediately under the rule of his two cousins, Jobst and Prokop; his younger brother Sigismund possessed Brandenburg, and marriage alliances had created possible claims to various other dominions. The first territorial question to arise was that of Poland and Hungary. Lewis the Great, King of both these countries, had only two daughters, Mary and Hedwig, and when he died Mary, who succeeded, was betrothed to Sigismund, younger brother of Wenzel. The succession was disputed by Charles of Naples, but in the end Sigismund did marry the lady and established his rights, although for the time being the Queen-mother Elizabeth kept complete control over the government. This, however, only secured Hungary; for the Poles had chosen as their elected monarch the second daughter of Lewis, Hedwig, who married Jagello of Lithuania, and founded a new dynasty in this separate Kingdom. Jagello was baptised before his marriage, taking the name of Ladislas V.; this robbed the Teutonic knights of much of their legitimate occupation, since nominally they were fighting in the North against the heathen Lithuanians, and now their foes were under a Christian King.

Polish and
Hungarian
Succession

Sigismund,
King of
Hungary,
1387

Union of
Poland and
Lithuania
under
Ladislas
V., 1386

Town War,
1387-1389,

Wenzel personally was more affected by a war be-

tween towns and nobles which he was totally unable to control, and which brought in consequence great discredit on his authority ; a discredit which tended to weaken his office as well as himself. For some time towns and townsmen had been growing in importance. They had acquired privileges and trading rights which had increased their wealth and independence, whilst the burghers were individually free and collectively strong through their guilds. Sometimes larger associations were formed with surrounding villages, which were admitted to a sort of modified citizenship. The chief enemy of the towns was the class of knights and smaller tenants, who liked to amuse themselves with pillage and private war. Such a form of entertainment was naturally extremely bad for trade, and not looked on with approval by the burgesses, who united to put down the practice. Princes and great nobles on their side were ready to support the rights of their order, and the materials for a really serious quarrel were thus at hand.

According to the *Golden Bull* of Charles IV. cities might not form leagues except for public interests. No one, however, paid much heed to paper prohibitions, and an important league was formed of the Swabian cities, to check aggressions on the part of the territorial magnates. Such a union was encouraged by the successes which Swiss peasants were winning over the Habsburgs, and in 1387 a town war actually broke out in Swabia, directed particularly against the Count of Württemberg, a very determined foe of the burghers.

In a war of sieges the townsmen knew how to get the better of their opponents, but they were not fitted for pitched battles in the open ; at Döffingen they were severely though not disgracefully defeated and their cour-

Swabian
League

Battle of
Döffingen,
1388

Peace of
Eger, 1389

age was much diminished. Wenzel had a chance of interfering in this quarrel with effect; he might have put a price on his interference and dictated satisfactory terms. This he neglected to do, and the Peace of Eger which ended the war put further arbitration in the hands of Commissioners from Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria and the Rhine, who thus did the work which the Emperor shirked.

Troubles in
Bohemia

The league of towns was followed by a league of nobles, this time against Wenzel himself and his unpopular favourites; and amongst his most determined opponents was his cousin Jobst of Moravia. This Jobst has been called by a contemporary writer the most learned prince of his time, but probably the competition for such a title was not very high; in any case the Moravian Margrave loved money even better than books, and never bought his literature, but only borrowed it. One thing Jobst did buy, however, and that was part of Brandenburg from Wenzel's brother, the poverty-stricken Sigismund, but he chiefly used this possession to gain more money by reletting portions of it, and he allowed every sort of disorder and highway robbery to continue unchecked. Now at the head of the Bohemian nobles, he made himself extremely inconvenient to Wenzel, who was taken prisoner in his own country and only freed by the exertions and the money of his brother John of Görlitz, his only whole-hearted supporter.

Stories
about
Wenzel

Possibly most of the stories which have been circulated about Wenzel in order to explain his unpopularity, are quite untrue, but they show that no shred of respect hung round his memory. According to these legends, he used to run about the streets of Prague, beating poor men and destroying statues and works of art; whilst one

of his favourite amusements was to watch the executioner at work and to superintend in person the infliction of cruel punishments, such as putting a cook who had prepared a bad dish on the spit. "What shall I write good of this Wenzel?" asks one Chronicler, "nothing. He was less the King of the Bohemians and Romans than their executioner; detested by clergy and people, by burghers and peasants, he was only beloved by the Jews." The deposition of Wenzel, however, was not a personal matter, but the result of the great disorder of Christendom, and his utter incapacity to take any strong line. He did nothing to heal the Schism and was fast letting the Empire fall to pieces. The electors wrote in 1397: "The Empire is no longer ruled by a strong hand, so that war prevails all over the country, and no one knows from whom to demand his rights". On the West the Dukes of Burgundy were becoming more and more independent, and were gradually increasing the territory under their sway; in Italy Imperial influence was totally abandoned. Wenzel himself had recognised Galeas Visconti as Duke of Milan, and this able tyrant was fast building up a large and independent Duchy in the North; whilst the submission of Genoa to the French King meant a great extension of French influence in the Peninsula. It was France again which seemed to be taking the lead in the efforts to end the Papal Schism.

In 1400 the Electors endeavoured to put a stop to the humiliation of Germany and the Empire by the deposition of Wenzel and the election of Rupert, Count Palatine. The new Emperor, if so he can be called, was a man of considerable force of character, full of activity and ambition, but totally unable to carry out his aims. "A strong heart, strong head, but short of means," as Carlyle

Wenzel
deposed
and Rupert
elected,
1400

says. For ten years he struggled to maintain his authority, and he made vain attempts to re-assert Imperial authority in Italy and to curb the overgrown power of the Milanese Visconti. His death in 1410 left the Empire, if possible, more feeble and more divided than ever, whilst he had ruined himself in the effort, and had to sell his own goods to pay his personal debts. In 1410, the Electors, unable to agree, chose as rivals to the position which Wenzel had never formally relinquished, his brother Sigismund and his cousin Jobst. Thus the Empire, like the Papacy, was the prey of three rival claimants. This, however, proved to be the end of Jobst, who died three months later, having added considerably to the general confusion with little permanent result. "He was thought a great man," wrote one Chronicler, "but there was nothing great about him but the beard."

Triple
Schism in
Empire,
1410

Sigismund,
1410-1438

Sigismund was now really Emperor. He easily came to an agreement with Wenzel, who was fond of his brother and also fond of repose. According to this arrangement, Sigismund was only to take the title of King of the Romans as long as Wenzel was alive, but this practically amounted to a complete abdication by the latter of all authority. The elder brother remained in Prague as King of Bohemia until his death in 1419. He never obtained the Imperial Crown of Rome and he left all power in the hands of his active-minded junior Sigismund was no nonentity, whatever else he may have been. He was a mass of conceit and restless energy, and he interfered in everything, though seldom with success. He ran ceaselessly from end to end of his dominions and also to foreign lands, and wherever he went he carried with him a great idea of his own importance. On one famous occasion he made a Latin speech in which a mis-

take in gender occurred. One of his Cardinals ventured to correct him. "I am King of the Romans and above grammar," was the haughty reply; an answer which has won for him the title of "Sigismund super grammatice" in the pages of Carlyle.

The first undertaking of importance to which the new King turned his attention, was the healing of the Schism. John XXIII. had been very anxious to turn the dissensions in the Empire to his own advantage, and to win help, if possible, against Ladislas who remained obstinately hostile. With this end in view he sided with Sigismund at the time of the disputed election, and Germany recognised him as her spiritual head. But Sigismund, once victorious, determined to make something out of this alliance, and the Pope was forced to seal the compact by promising to submit his claims to the judgment of another General Council. This he did, trusting to his own astuteness to save his power. All depended on the place selected for the meeting, but, in a spirit of bravado, John left his legates to arrange this with Sigismund. The monarch induced them to consent to Constance as being healthy, central, roomy and convenient. Doubtless he did not add that it was an Imperial city completely under his control, where neither John nor his rivals could hope to gain any influence. The Pope must have bitterly repented his promise, when in 1414 the death of Ladislas freed him from his greatest danger and enabled him to win back Rome to his allegiance. But it was too late to turn back, and in October he set out for the place of meeting. Through Meran he went and over the snowy pass of the Arlberg whence he looked down on Constance; "a trap for foxes" he called it, with a prophetic fear

The Pope
and Sigis-
mund

Proposed
Council at
Constance

Death of
Ladislas of
Naples,
1414

of what was before him. The long Schism was to be ended at last.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire.*

Alice Greenwood: *Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages.*

Milman: *History of Latin Christianity.*

CHAPTER VII

FRENCH HISTORY, 1328-1380

I N 1328, as we have already seen, Philip VI. came to the throne, and prospects seemed bright. The new King was chivalrous and magnificent; he established a noble Court at Vincennes, held the tournaments and fêtes so dear to that age, and collected round him rulers and knights from many foreign lands. He was extremely pious, gave costly gifts to religious objects, went in person on pilgrimages, and in his home life was a good husband and an affectionate father. It remained to be seen whether he would be a good King.

Philip VI.,
1328-1350

Before turning to more interesting matters, there is one territorial change to notice, which was made on Philip's accession. Navarre, which had come by marriage to Philip the Fair, was once more separated from France and bestowed on Louis X.'s daughter Joan, whose son Charles the Bad of Navarre was to play an important part in coming events.

Navarre

Some fear was felt as to the attitude Edward III. might take up in regard to his own claim to the French throne; but none too securely established himself at this date, he consented, though with some reluctance and delay, to do homage to Philip as his suzerain for the French possessions. Possibly if there had been no other reason for war than Edward's nearness to the

Relations
with
England

Causes of
War

Alliance
between
France and
Scotland

Flanders,
and the
wool trade

throne, matters might have gone no farther; but added to the natural antagonism between French and English, inevitable so long as England clung to her lands beyond the sea, and to the personal jealousy between two rival sovereigns, there were other causes at work slowly but surely leading in the direction of war. As before, Scotland and Flanders are important in this connection. Edward III., very early in his reign, became involved in a fresh Scotch war in support of the claims of Edward Balliol against David Bruce. The Scots in favour of Bruce and independence applied for help to France, and Philip, glad of the opportunity, sent troops to their assistance. This was bad enough, the fact that the French King was turning more than longing eyes upon the Guienne territory was worse, but fear for English trade was worst of all. England in those days was particularly celebrated for her breed of sheep, of which the wool was good and long and much sought after for making into cloth. Hence the great importance of our connection with Flanders, the country above all others where weaving was most actively carried on. The Flemings wove our wool and we bought their cloth, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. Philip was extremely jealous of the trade of England, and ready to hamper it in every way; he was also much interested in Flemish affairs. The internal condition of Flanders in this reign was rather different from what it had been during that of Philip IV. of France. The Count, Louis de Nevers, was not on good terms with his subjects, and he turned for help against them to his suzerain the King of France. One of Philip's first acts had been to defeat the Flemings in a bloody battle at Cassel, and to reinstate the Count who was all the more bound to carry

out the behests of his feudal lord. Thus when Philip wished to embarrass England he had a weapon ready to his hand, and in 1336 he obliged his vassal Louis to order the imprisonment of all English merchants in Flanders. Edward retorted by forbidding the export of wool and the import of cloth, a blow which must have been crushing to the prosperity of Flanders. The result of the measure was the rising of the towns and the traders against their ruler, and their independent alliance with England. In the town of Ghent a leader was found in the person of a rich weaver, Jacob van Artevelde, a man of great personal influence, eloquent and determined. On his advice a policy of neutrality was adopted and a commercial treaty was arranged by which English wool was once more obtained for Flemish looms. After war between England and France had actually been declared, it is said to have been Artevelde who urged Edward to proclaim himself King of the latter country. The Flemings were bound by solemn oaths to alliance with the French King, but their oaths did not give his name, and they were ready enough to obey King Edward rather than King Philip. In order, therefore, to gain their active support the Fleurs-de-lys were quartered with the English Leopards, and "the first year of our reign in France" was added to the date of all English State documents published in 1337.

There was cause enough without doubt for the outbreak of war, and the pretext stood ready to hand in Edward's claim. One of those who urged him most strongly to the undertaking was a banished Frenchman, Robert of Artois, who had taken refuge in England after condemnation by the Court of Peers. The County of Artois was claimed by Robert, who disputed the title of

Jacob van
Artevelde

Influence
of Robert
of Artois

his Aunt Matilda, the actual possessor. A trial began in 1328, but Matilda and her daughter died shortly after under such very suspicious circumstances that Robert was accused of having poisoned them: add to this that he was found to have forged documents to support his claim, and to have used magic arts against the King and his family, and it is not surprising that he was condemned to banishment, nor that when in banishment he was ready to stir up any enemies against the King who had passed sentence upon him. A quaint ballad tells how, at a great banquet, Robert offered to King Edward a dish on which lay a heron,—the most cowardly of birds, he said, for the most cowardly of monarchs. When Edward showed indignation at the taunt, he was asked how he could let a usurper enjoy his rights; and heated with enthusiasm, he and all his companions vowed to depart forthwith to assert the English claims, many young nobles covering one eye and vowing not to open it again until they had done some deed of prowess on French soil. This story is doubtless a fiction, but nevertheless a good illustration of the light way in which war was undertaken in those days, when it was almost more necessary to find an excuse for peace than an excuse for fighting, and when a campaign in an enemy's country was very like a tournament on a larger and more dangerous scale.

English
alliances

Edward, however, did not go to war unprepared. He began to form alliances and to seek for useful support. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, recognised his claims and made him Imperial Vicar; an empty title enough. Although Lewis gave no actual help, his support was nevertheless important, since it enabled several vassals of the Empire to take up Edward's cause. Such were

the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Margrave of Juliers, and the Count of Hainault, father of his wife, besides the Flemings of whom we have already spoken. ^{French alliances} Philip on his side had the Count of Flanders, King John of Bohemia father of the future Emperor, and several of the Princes from the Pyrenees.

The actual declaration of war was in 1337 and some ^{Declaration of War, 1337} fighting took place on the north-east frontier of France, but Philip avoided a pitched battle, and the first striking event in the struggle took place on the sea off the port of Sluys. In 1340 Edward set sail to join his ally the Count of Hainault, but the French had suspected his movements and as he approached Sluys he saw "so many vessels that their masts were like a wood, at which he greatly marvelled". These were a fleet chiefly composed of Norman ships which had already done damage on the English coast and captured one of our boats the *Christopher*. "Then began a battle fierce ^{Battle of Sluys, 1340} and hard on both sides, archers and crossbowmen shooting against one another, and men at arms fighting hand to hand boldly and bitterly: and that they might better reach one another they had great iron crooks attached to chains, which they threw into the enemy's ships and fastened them together, so that they might better board them and fight more hotly." The day ended in a victory for the English and the recovery of the *Christopher*, after which a truce put an end to the fighting for the time being. By the victory England gained a control over sea and shipping which was most useful in the coming struggle.

In the following year, events occurred in France which ^{Disputed succession in Brittany, 1341} tended greatly to benefit the English and encouraged Edward to recommence the conflict. The Duchy of Brittany

was still a very independent feudal State, almost wholly removed from royal influence. Duke John III., who had been fighting as an ally of Philip, died in 1341 leaving no children, and a succession question arose curiously like that in France itself. John's next brother had died leaving a daughter, Joan of Penthièvre, the nearest to the succession by right of birth, and she had married Charles of Blois, a nephew of the French King. A younger brother of the late Duke, however, John of Montfort, had seized the Duchy and was supported by the greater number of the Bretons themselves. A struggle began between these rival claimants, backed up by France and England. In direct opposition to their own claims, Edward supported Montfort, Philip took up the cause of Charles of Blois. Then began a long and confusing struggle of more than twenty years' duration, which constantly hampered the French King and was full of romantic incidents.

Charles of
Blois

The chief combatants themselves were striking characters. Charles of Blois, a true mediæval saint, was made up of opposing qualities. He treated his foes with cold-blooded cruelty, but he heard Mass four or five times a day, wore pebbles in his shoes and knotted ropes round his body, and once indeed when he had captured a town and his soldiers were needlessly slaying the inhabitants, he first returned thanks in the Cathedral and then stopped the massacre.

John of
Montfort
and Joan of
Flanders

John of Montfort himself played no very leading part; he was taken prisoner in the first year of the war, and died in the fourth. His wife, Joan of Flanders, "who had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," continued the struggle. When her husband was taken she brought her little son before her supporters at Rennes

and claimed their aid. "Do not lament," she said, "for the lord you have lost; behold my little child, who will be his avenger if God so will. I have wherewithal to fight, and you shall choose a captain who will be your comforter." From town to town she went, raising the spirits of the garrisons, and finally held out in Hennebon, which was besieged by Charles of Blois. Here she herself led a surprise party which burnt the enemy's tents, and it was her determination which prevented surrender until an English reinforcement came to her help. Like Sister Anne she watched from a window for the promised succour until the moment of submission had almost come, but at last she was able to cry, "Here comes the help for which I have been longing"; and when Walter Manny and the English arrived, "she kissed him and his companions one after the other two or three times, and those who saw her might well say that 'twas a valiant dame".

It would take too long to follow Froissart through the detailed account of skirmishes and sieges which went to make up the Breton war, but it can be easily seen how a disturbance like that was a godsend to the English King, who wanted nothing more than a good entry into France through the land of Brittany.

In 1344 actual war was renewed between England and France with the sending of the Count of Derby into Guienne; but before Edward himself took active part in the struggle, he suffered a great loss in the death of his ally Jacob van Artevelde. Various causes led to his murder. Probably the leader had made himself too powerful, while struggles were arising between different trades, the fullers and the weavers being especially jealous of one another. The final impulse may have been given

Murder of
Van Arte-
velde, 1345

by news of Artevelde's conference with Edward, when it was proposed to bestow Flanders on the young Prince of Wales. In any case a riot rose in Ghent, Jacob was besieged in his house, and despite his eloquent appeal to the people, was killed without mercy. Edward, then at Sluys, sailed away "so moved and angered at the death of his friend that it would be marvel to tell," and the Count was reinstated in power.

In 1346 Edward collected a force for the help of the Count of Derby in Guienne, but partly on account of contrary winds, partly by the advice of Godefroi d'Har-court, another discontented Frenchman who had joined the English, he changed his undertaking into an invasion of the North and landed at La Hogue. The famous Crécy campaign is too well known to need a long account. Burning and pillaging, especially at Caen, and passing close to Paris at Poissy, where the Seine was crossed, the English army retreated towards the river Somme, followed closely by Philip who had started after them from his capital. Every bridge had been destroyed to hinder their passage, but by the aid of a peasant a ford at Blanchetaque was found and crossed, despite a force of the enemy stationed on the opposite bank to check the advance. Philip arriving soon after was unable to pass at the same place as it was only possible to do so whilst the tide was low. He thus lost some time by having to go round by Abbeville, so that the English army was strongly posted at Crécy before it was overtaken by the French. In the battle which followed the evils of the old military system were glaringly displayed. To meet the compact and disciplined force of the English, well supplied with archers and foot-soldiers, France had a turbulent feudal levy, each leader thinking himself above

Crécy
campaign,
1346

Battle of
Crécy, 26th
Aug. 1346

authority and supreme over his own soldiers; whilst the Genoese cross-bowmen, mercenaries despised by the French nobles, were in no way a match for the English with their long bow. Every detail of the day seemed to be to the disadvantage of the French. A storm of rain rendered the cross-bows of the Genoese, unprotected apparently from the weather, almost useless; when the sun came out with renewed brightness after the storm, it shone full in the faces of the Frenchmen; the two Marshals quarrelled before ever the battle began, and the first charge was a moment of wild confusion. The luckless mercenaries, sent to open the fray, were shot down by English archers in front and trampled on in the rear by the French cavalry which was pushed forward from behind. Nevertheless the French fought bravely if not wisely, and Edward's chaplain, writing after the fight, says modestly: "The battle was hard and lasted long, for the enemy bore themselves most nobly; but praise be to God they were discomfited and the King our adversary was put to flight". It was almost evening when the fighting began, and midnight before it was over, so that Edward camped on the field all night. Philip, forced from the battle, fled in the darkness to the Castle of Broye, which opened its gates on recognising his cry: "Open, open, Chatelain, 'tis the unfortunate King of France". Many of the highest rank perished on the field; amongst others the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Lorraine and the blind King of Bohemia, who was led by four Knights, that he might strike one blow in his friend's cause, and who was found dead still attached to his leaders. Edward, as is well known, had left the burden and the honour of the day to his young son the Black Prince, that the boy

might "win his spurs": he kissed him after the battle with words of praise: "Fair son, God give you good perseverance. You are my son indeed, for loyally have you acquitted yourself this day; well do you deserve to hold this land."

Siege of
Calais,
Sept. 1346
to Aug.
1347

From Creçy the English marched upon Calais, and for eleven months the city bore the horrors of a siege. Edward built for himself a regular town outside the walls, Villeneuve-la-Hardi he called it, where he was joined by his wife, and where the English settled themselves comfortably down with houses and shops, determined to starve out the place rather than storm it by assault. This they very effectually did, blocking it by sea and land, and though Philip came within sight of the walls he did nothing to help the brave defenders. The loss of Calais meant much to France, and as a safeguard for the Channel and the passage of their ships, its possession was a great source of strength to the English. Once more a truce ended for a time the wearisome struggle.

John the
Good,
1350-64

Shortly after these events Philip VI. died, but he was succeeded by a son of very similar character. John the Good, like John of Bohemia, owed his title rather to the fact that he was "open-handed and courteous and loved feasts and tourneys," than to being in any sense a good King. Though like his father he was no general, he was brave, chivalrous and a great admirer of all knightly deeds. His order of the Étoile, intended as an imitation of King Arthur's Round Table, and with most elaborate rules as to dress and ceremonies, expressed well the character of its founder.

Charles the
Bad of
Navarre

When the struggle was once more renewed, success again favoured the English. At this juncture Charles of Navarre becomes prominent. A grandson of Louis X.

of France, he possessed, besides his own Kingdom of Navarre, scattered estates throughout France, especially between Paris and Normandy, which rendered his friendship of great value. John realised this when he gave him his little eight-year-old daughter in marriage; but there was no making sure of the slippery King, who earned the title of "the bad" even in those days of respect for rulers. He played fast and loose with both sides, encouraging the English to renew the contest, deserting them when they did as he advised, forcing King John to endless humiliations to win him over and then proving the most uncertain of allies. At the date of the Black Prince's famous campaign of Poitiers he was for the time being a supporter of France, having been forgiven by the King for his murder of the French constable, which had threatened to create a permanent breach between them.

The chief seat of war was now the South-west. The nobles of Gascony were on the whole favourable to the cause of the English. Their country was very distinct from the rest of France, and they had been long accustomed to the rule of their distant suzerain in England, whom they found less interfering than one nearer at hand. At the present moment too they were suffering from high-handed procedure on the part of Jean d'Armagnac, a great baron of the South in the service of King John. They therefore wished the Prince of Wales to come to their help, and received him with many expressions of loyalty. After a devastating campaign in the South, in which many towns and much booty fell into his hands, the Black Prince turned northwards, with the intention of joining forces with the Duke of Lancaster, but he was met by John at the head of a very large army,

The Campaign
in Aquitaine,
1355-1356.

Battle of
Poitiers,
19th Sept.
1356

confident of cutting to pieces the small English force. Prince Edward chose his ground well not far from the town of Poitiers and there awaited attack. He was stationed on a plateau sloping down to a marshy valley, guarded from the French by a hedge along which the archers were planted, and which had one gap in it, led up to by a road. With the exception of a small force for skirmishing, the soldiers were on foot, in order to make the most of the rough ground and their defensive position, but with horses at hand to use if a charge was wanted. On Saturday, 17th September, the Prince took up his station; Sunday was spent in fruitless negotiations, conducted by the Cardinal of Perigord, an emissary of the Pope who had long been endeavouring to end the useless bloodshed. In vain, however, the Churchman rode from one army to the other suggesting terms. The Prince refused to treat: he had no power, he said, to make peace without the consent of the King his father, and the Cardinal, although he renewed the attempt next morning, could no longer command attention. Edward was busy encouraging his soldiers: "If we are small in numbers compared to the enemy let us not fear for that, for victory does not lie with the multitude but where God shall give it. If we win the day the more glory to us; if we die there are those who will avenge us." On Monday, 19th September, the battle of Poitiers was fought. It was a surprisingly easy victory; the French mistakes were very similar to those of Crécy, arising chiefly from rashness and lack of discipline, but there was also a want of firmness among the nobles, which caused them to lose the reputation for bravery which had been considered their one redeeming feature. The two French Marshals and their cavalry rode first to the

attack, but were thrown into dire confusion as they advanced up the road to the gap, by the arrows showered upon them by the archers along the hedge, and they threw into disorder and panic the troop which was advancing behind them. "Advance, Sire," advised the Prince's friend Sir John Chandos, "the day is yours; charge on the division of your adversary the King of France, for there is the heart of the business." "Forward, John," was the reply, "you will never see me retreat." The three eldest sons of the French King and their division fled before the onslaught. In the thick of the battle, John himself with his youngest son Philip, who never left his side, held out till all was lost, surrendering in the end to a Knight of Artois. "Had a quarter of his men resembled him, the day would have been for them," says Froissart, not considering that something more than courage goes to the winning of a battle.

The treatment of the captured Monarch illustrates well the best side of the chivalry of the time. John was brought to the tent where the Prince was resting after his exertions: the latter welcomed him with all honour. "He bowed low and received him as King well and wisely as he well knew how to do, and commanded wine and spices to be brought, which he himself gave to the King in sign of great love." That evening Edward gave a banquet to the chief of his prisoners, at which he served the King with his own hands and begged him not to let his defeat spoil his appetite; "for you have great reason to rejoice although the affair has not ended to your wishes, for to-day you have won for yourself a name of renown, and have surpassed all the brave warriors of your party". As usual the victory did not

lead to any great results; a truce followed and next year John was conducted to honourable captivity in England, where he hunted and feasted and enjoyed life with the best. His one return to France was after the Treaty of Bretigni, when he went back to arrange the details of the peace, and to collect his own ransom, failing in which he returned to his easy imprisonment and died in the Tower of London.

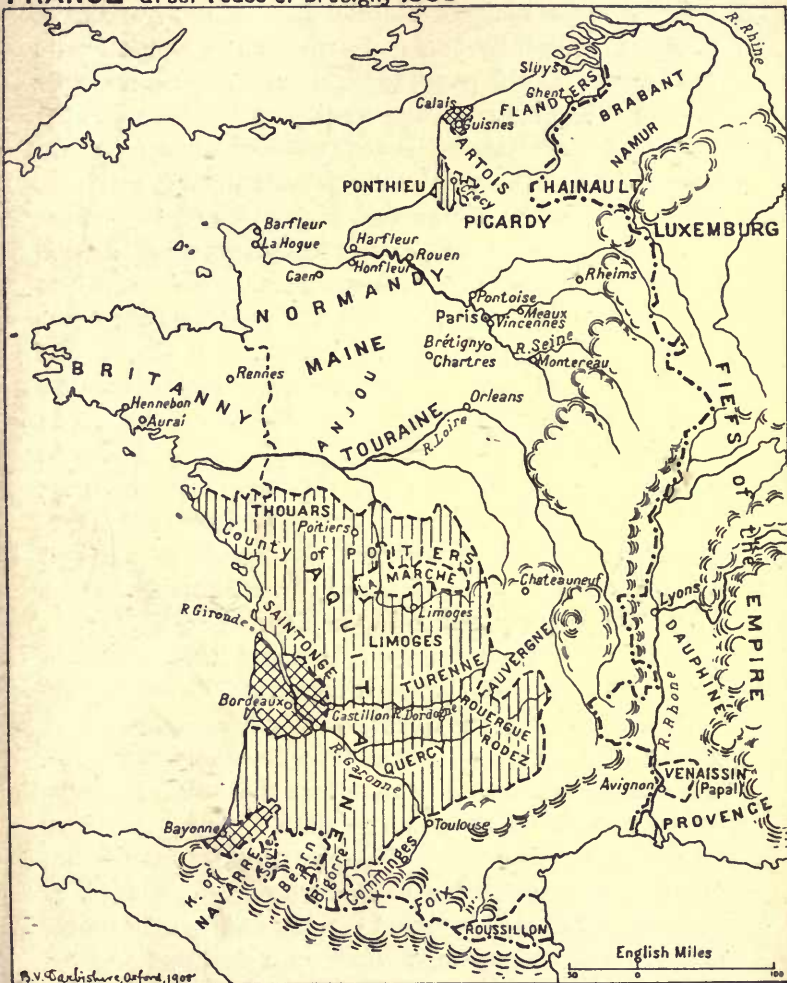
Peace of
Bretigni,
1360

This Peace which ended the first stage of the war was negotiated in 1360, when Edward had made a fresh invasion, this time in the North of France. His campaign was not very successful; the French knew better than to risk another pitched battle, and the English failed to enter into Reims or Paris. Finally, on the receipt of very bad news from Scotland telling of fresh incursions and an alliance with the Dauphin, the English King made up his mind to treat. The conference as to terms was held at the little hamlet of Bretigni near Chartres, and the Treaty was confirmed and formally signed at Calais.

The terms, although Edward gave up his claim to the throne, were of great material benefit to the English, and show that the Crown was a pretext rather than the motive of the war. In return for this renunciation Edward was to hold in full sovereignty, without homage or allegiance of any sort, Guienne, Poitou and the surrounding States of the South-west, and in the North, Ponthieu, Guisnes and Calais with its environs. France was no longer to help the Scotch nor England the Flemings. The other clauses related to the conditions of King John's release which, as we have already seen, were never carried out.

Shortly after this the Black Prince established his court in Bordeaux, the centre of his independent government as Prince of Aquitaine.

FRANCE after Peace of Brétigny 1360



Internal
condition
of France

A pause in the war furnishes an opportunity for considering the actual condition of the country during the struggle. Knightly deeds of arms sound romantic and picturesque in the pages of Froissart, but there was a reverse side to the picture and a very black one. As the war dragged on the King fell deeper and deeper into financial difficulties, and the mistakes already made by Philip the Fair were repeated with additions. Dues on sales continued, a *gabelle* on salt, in which the King had a monopoly and which all were forced to buy in large quantities, was introduced, and the coinage was depreciated to an unheard of extent. Meanwhile the burden fell almost wholly on the poorer classes, endless exemptions being sold or given to the rich and noble. At the close of Philip VI.'s reign pestilence came with all its horrors to augment the misery of the country. The Black Death wrought fearful havoc here as throughout all Europe, some estimate the deaths at one-half the population; in Paris when the Plague was at its worst 800 people perished in one day.

Financial
evils

Black
Death

Brig-
ands

Even royal oppression and deadly sickness were not the worst evils of the unhappy country. The armies on both sides were largely recruited from mercenary soldiers of different countries whose only livelihood was war, and when a truce for a time put an end to the struggle, these *brigands* as they were called were let loose on society, with no means of supporting themselves but pillage and extortion. The poor people fled before them as from a prairie fire, women and children sought refuge in caves and underground hiding-places, afraid to trust themselves in the light of day. Always a scourge, they were organised into regular bands or *grand companies* after the battle of Poitiers and began a career of system-

atic plundering. Establishing themselves in some feudal stronghold they not only ate up all the surrounding country, but amused their idle moments by persecuting, torturing and robbing the wretched peasants, whom they despised as rustic clods; anything they thought could be done with impunity to *Jacques Bonhomme*. These soldiers of fortune were often high-born warriors, and the French nobles themselves cared nothing for the humble tiller of the soil, except in so far as he was their own property and a part of the live-stock on their estates. Such a condition of things could not be endured for ever, and there was a murmuring and stirring throughout the country, which might have warned the selfish feudal baronage that the people had rights which would one day be asserted. The towns were the first to begin the struggle against privilege and oppression. It was a time when trade was beginning to be more considered, when Guild Associations were formed to carry it on, and the example of the Flemings and Van Artevelde may also have had some influence on the burgesses of France. It was Paris alone, however, which was able to take any leading part, the French capital being always considerably in advance of the rest of the country. The real leader of Paris was the Provost of the Merchants, who from a simple director of the trade upon the Seine, had become the chief official of the town and head of all the burgesses. In 1355 this office was filled by Étienne Marcel, a man respected by all, and chosen on several occasions as leader of the *Tiers État*, as the representatives of the towns were called in the States-General. Both Philip VI. and John had recourse to the States-General, in the hope of getting more money by their help. The spirit of

Paris and
Etienne
Marcel

growing independence is shown in the words addressed to the King by the towns as early as 1347: "Most powerful Sire, you must know by what means you have conducted your wars, in which you have lost all and gained nothing". Despite their efforts, however, they were unable to introduce improvements in the system of taxation, the nobles were too strong and equality was unattainable.

Ordinance
of 3rd
March,
1357

When the capture of King John had put the government in the hands of his eldest son Charles, a boy of eighteen, an opportunity seemed to present itself, and in 1357 a sort of Charter of Liberties was drawn up, chiefly through the agency of Marcel, which was the first real attempt to check the royal power, and to give the people a voice in government. According to this document, a commission of thirty-six, twelve chosen by each Estate, was to superintend every branch of the administration; the States-General were to meet several times in the year and to be consulted on all matters of importance; a good coinage was to be established, and never altered again without consent of the States; the nobles were to be restricted in their privileges and no private wars were to be allowed. The French historian Michelet says of this *Great Ordinance*, that it was more than a reform, it was a change of government; and that though it was a change for the better, such a step was dangerous in the face of a foreign foe. The Prince or *Dauphin*,¹ as he was called, signed the document, but it was obvious that he did so under compulsion, and

¹Dauphiné was an old Imperial fief sold to France in 1349, from which time it was always bestowed on the eldest son of a reigning King, who thus acquired the title of *Dauphin*.

King John sent from England to annul all that the States-General had achieved.

Up till now nothing but praise can be given to Étienne Marcel; he had taken the lead against real abuses, he had raised the spirit of the Parisians and fortified the town in case of foreign attack, he had drawn up a scheme of reform, democratic but not violent. He now becomes involved in a policy less possible to defend. Once started on a career of reform it is very easy to be driven into revolution. His first mistake was to join hands with the King of Navarre, his second was to make use of the *Jacquerie*. We have already alluded to the miseries suffered by the peasantry at the hands of the nobles and the brigands; no wonder that they rose in revolt at last, and no wonder that in that revolt, they imitated only too closely the evil deeds of their own oppressors. The final impulse was given by an order to repair the feudal strongholds, a work which fell to the lot of the serfs, who saw in these castles the worst engine of their oppression and who rose in fury. The peasant was still half-civilised and brutalised by ill-treatment, and his revenge for past oppressions was appalling. Like a herd of wild beasts the *Jacques* poured over the North of France, burning, ravaging, killing; no man, woman or child was safe from their blind thirst for blood. It is possible that Étienne helped to stir up this rising, although it is certain that he disapproved strongly of its excesses: so did the leader of the peasants himself, William Calle, who tried in vain to organise a moderate revolt to obtain remedies, not vengeance. Whether responsible or no for the outbreak, Étienne encouraged an attack made by the *Jacques* on Meaux, where the Dauphin's wife and many other noble ladies had taken

The Jac-
querie,
1358

refuge in strong fortifications known as the *Market*. The terror of the besieged was great, any fate they felt would be better than to fall into the hands of the enraged peasantry; but they were saved by the opportune arrival of a Gascon force returning from Prussia, who fell upon the villeins "little, black and badly armed," and saved the situation. Marcel gained little through these allies, who were put down with a severity which equalled their own excesses. Thousands suffered death, little trouble was taken to distinguish between innocent and guilty; the cry of the nobles was "Death to the villeins," and Étienne writes that cruelties were committed "worse than ever were done by Vandals or Saracens". The peasants had spoilt a good cause by ignorant violence, and the result was more oppression and worse treatment even than before.

Murder of
the Marshals

Meanwhile, within Paris itself things were going badly. Marcel had made himself head of a regular party, distinguished by the wearing of red and blue caps. One day, followed by a host of supporters, he penetrated into the Louvre to overawe the Dauphin, whom he found in the company of the two Marshals of France, Clermont and Conflans. Étienne addressed the Dauphin and blamed him for not restoring order in the Kingdom. "I would do it willingly," replied the youth boldly enough, "had I the wherewithal." Bitter words ensued, and the followers of the Provost, roused to fury, slew the two Marshals so close to the Prince's side that his robe was splashed with the blood of the murdered men. Marcel made him wear the red and blue cap to save his life, and actually dared to demand his approval; "what has been done," he declared, "was to avoid still greater peril and was by the will of the people". The

Dauphin could do nothing at the moment, but Marcel had not strengthened his own cause, and he imprudently allowed Charles to leave Paris, and so form a rallying point for all enemies of the burghers.

The defeat of the *Jacquerie* led to the downfall of the Provost. The nobles, after crushing them, remained in arms and rallied round the Regent, who was thus provided with an army for the siege of his own capital. Étienne, meanwhile, went a step farther in the wrong direction by calling the Great Companies to his help. He had enemies within the city now as well as without, and the King of Navarre was a very doubtful ally; he had brought a mercenary army for defence of Paris, but was secretly negotiating with the Dauphin, and finally withdrew with his troops to St. Denis. In these straits the Provost as a last hope planned to open the gates of Paris to Charles the Bad and to proclaim him King of France. He was found at midnight with the keys of the city by Maillart, one of his own magistrates, and in past days a trusty friend. "Étienne, Étienne, what are you doing at this hour?" he asked. "I am here to guard the city of which I have the government." "By God," was the reply, "you are here for no good at this hour"; and pointing to the keys which betrayed his purpose, Maillart slew him as a traitor with his own hands, whilst his followers overpowered those of the Provost. So perished a man whom it is very hard to judge. His early career was full of promise, but he seems to have become narrower and more selfish in his aims as time went on, until he, who had striven to give a real constitutional government to France, died in a treacherous endeavour to maintain his own ascendancy. But it is easier to condemn than to act under cir-

Siege of
Paris

Murder of
Marcel,
31st July,
1358

cumstances of so much difficulty. Étienne Marcel failed in what he had attempted, but there was no one else who even attempted it.

Charles V.,
1364-80

In 1364 the death of King John put his son, the Regent, on the throne as Charles V., a very different man from his father or grandfather. Pale and thin, delicate from a childish illness, which had also left his right hand swollen and weak so that he could not hold a lance, he was not the popular ideal of a King in those warlike days, yet he won for himself a position which neither of his predecessors had held. His surname of "the Wise" partly came from his love of books and learning, partly from his cautious and cunning character; and it is true that he ruled his country with a wisdom that had excellent results. He did nothing to strengthen the popular element in the government, the States-General only met once during his reign, but if his rule was despotic, it was capable and orderly and it gave to his subjects a feeling of security which meant more to them than democratic control. Only on its financial side can bad mistakes be found in his policy; and even here he won popularity by checking the debasement of the coinage which had done so much harm. In the struggle with the English he introduced the plan of avoiding battles, and so leaving the enemy to all the dangers of a hostile country with no great successes to compensate and to raise their spirits.

Bertrand
du Guesclin

In the war the King was ably assisted by one of the greatest soldiers of the age, who introduced into the French army some of the discipline and subordination which had been so lacking in the earlier campaigns. Bertrand du Guesclin came of a good Breton stock, though his was a younger branch of the family and in

rather humble circumstances. As a child he was so ugly, so rough and so intractable that, though the eldest son, he was disliked by his parents. His mother used to make him sit at a table by himself that she might not be annoyed by his odd face and awkward manners, and the younger brothers were served before him. On one occasion, when Bertrand was only six years old, he was so furious at this treatment that he upset the whole table and behaved like a mad thing; but a nun who was in the house soothed the boy and prophesied great things for his future, after which he was treated with a little more consideration. Many tales are told of his youth. As a boy he would drill the village children and conduct hand-to-hand battles; when he was seventeen he took part secretly in a tournament dressed in borrowed armour, and unhorsed all the knights who rode against him, except his own father with whom he refused to fight. In the end his visor was raised and he was recognised, to the intense surprise and pride of the father, who had shown him scant consideration hitherto, but who now equipped him with arms suited to his position and let him take part in knightly exercises. Bertrand's earliest military experience was in the Breton war, where by his great personal strength and courage and by the skill with which he conducted skirmishes and sieges he earned a reputation which won him knighthood, and brought him before the notice of the highest in the land, whilst he gained the love of the people by his constant resistance to the evil deeds of the brigands.

With the reign of Charles V. peace was temporarily established, and the long Breton struggle was brought to an end. At the Battle of Aurai, Sir John Chandos,

Battle of
Aurai and
end of
Breton
War, 1364

probably the ablest of all the English captains, was victorious over Du Guesclin who was taken prisoner; Charles of Blois himself was slain on the field, and the aspect of affairs thus altered. As a result, John de Montfort, son of the lion-hearted Joan, was recognised as Duke, and for a time the country was at rest.

War in
Castile

Cessation of war, however, only meant added misery to France as long as the ravages of the free companies continued, and it was partly to provide some occupation for these professional soldiers that the French King took part in a Spanish dispute. On the throne of Castile sat Pedro the Cruel, a man so hated by all that his half-brother Henry of Trastamare found ready support when he disputed his title. Pedro, amongst other ill-deeds, was reputed to have murdered his wife, a sister-in-law of Charles V., and this gave Henry an excuse for claiming his help. Bertrand, at the head of a large body of mercenaries, was sent to fight for him, whilst Pedro won over the Black Prince, who made the great mistake of his life in consenting to assist the man whom he looked upon as rightful monarch. Prince Edward and Chandos, at the head of a large force of Gascons and English, were successful at the Battle of Najara or Navaretta, captured Du Guesclin and restored Pedro. Nevertheless it was an ill day for them. As they lingered in Spain to await the promised payment for their services, which never came, the whole army was wasted with disease, and their leader brought back with him across the Pyrenees a shattered constitution and an empty purse. The former was past cure; the latter he tried to refill by a heavy hearth tax on his Principality of Aquitaine. Money he must have if he were to fulfil the promises made to his soldiers, promises which Pedro

Battle of
Navaretta,
1367

had entirely repudiated; but the expedient was fatal. The Gascons were poor and proud, the nobles were not accustomed to be taxed, and the result was an appeal to Charles V. for help in this emergency.

Pretexts were always at hand for a renewal of the war; both sides could point to unfulfilled terms in the Treaty of Bretigny, and a phase of the struggle began in which every advantage turned to the side of France. Bertrand was ransomed and made Constable, the highest military rank in the country; Chandos was killed in a skirmish, the Black Prince, soured by ill-health, lost his last chance of popularity in the South by the ghastly massacre of the inhabitants at the siege of Limoges, and went home to die. Henry of Trastamare, who with his own hands had killed Don Pedro in a quarrel, was now King of Castile, and aided the French with a fleet which blocked the coast of Aquitaine. In every respect the English were inferior to their enemy, and the end of Edward's reign saw his possessions reduced to a little territory round Bordeaux and Bayonne, and the town of Calais. Charles V. completed his successes by the final humiliation of Charles of Navarre, who, having spent his life in playing fast and loose with both sides, ended by having no friends at all, and, crushed between France and Castile, died ruined and impoverished, despoiled of all his rich territories in France.

The French King was nearing his own end; he was not to die, however, without one failure. In 1379 he tried to unite Brittany to his own demesne, with the result that he roused against himself a united and successful opposition, which re-instated John of Montfort more strongly than ever. The death of his great Constable also was a loss not easily made good. Bertrand died

Renewal of
English
War, 1368

English
disasters

Death of
Du Gues-
clin

while besieging the brigands at Châteauneuf, and the keys were given into his hands as he lay on his death-bed. "No place did he besiege which did not surrender to him, living or dead!" writes an admiring Chronicler. In a very few weeks he was followed to the grave by Charles V., young still in years, but worn out by disease. The country was left in a very different condition from that in which he found it: but, much though he had done, the seeds of future trouble were still left, in those three small pieces of English territory.

Death of
Charles V.,
1380

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

- Kitchin: *History of France*, vol. i.
Conan Doyle: *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company*.
Charlotte M. Yonge: *Lances of Lynwood*.

CHAPTER VIII

EMPIRE AND PAPACY, 1414-1453

THE little town of Constance saw many a strange and impressive sight towards the close of the year 1414. Ever since June, preparations had been in progress for the reception of the greatest Council the Middle Ages had ever known. Towards the close of the year, princes and prelates, nobles and merchants, with a mass of lesser people of all nations and all professions flocked into the place; the hill-roads shone with many-coloured processions, and the lake was gay with boats conveying great men and their followers. Not only those taking part in affairs came to the Council; Constance became the scene of an ecclesiastical conference, a political congress and a great world fair. Amusements of all sorts were held in the streets; festivities, tournaments and banquets lightened the graver business of the meeting, and an idle multitude found in it an occasion for diversion and money-making.

The Council was a great epoch in the history of the Church. Meetings had often been held before this to treat of ecclesiastical matters; Popes had summoned prelates to advise and consult; at Pisa cardinals had met to discuss the claims of rival pontiffs: but Constance was something more than these. A General Council was now asserting power to settle the claims of three rival Popes without adhering to the side of any;

it was declaring itself superior to the Papacy, and was taking into its own hands the reform of the Church. Three great questions were before this vast assemblage.

Business of
the Council

First and foremost there was the settlement of the Papal Schism, for unity must be restored to divided Christendom; secondly the whole Church, the Papacy itself, the lives of the clergy, the discipline of the monasteries, all were in need of the most stringent reform; and finally the new doctrines which were disturbing the minds of men, of which the chief teacher was John Huss, disciple of the English Wycliffe, must be rooted out, and all heretical ideas suppressed once and for ever. Such a programme, accompanied as it was by many points of minor importance, would provide work for several years to come.

Arrivals at
Constance

Amongst the great processions which were welcomed to Constance, three above all others excited universal interest. Towards the close of October came Pope John XXIII., making his way through the snow, surrounded by his cardinals, and protected by Frederick of Habsburg, the greatest prince and land-owner in that region. On Christmas Day the Emperor Sigismund arrived, travelling before day-break that he might be in time for the solemn Mass, at which he himself read the Gospel, beginning with the appropriate words: "There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus". The sermon delivered on this occasion by Peter d'Ailly must have been uncomfortable hearing for the proud Pope John, who was still hoping to maintain his position. The text taken was: "There shall be signs in the Sun and in the Moon and in the Stars". The Sun said the preacher, represented the Pope, the Moon the Emperor and the Stars the Cardinals; but unjust ambitions, evil

deeds and negligent rule would make but a phantom of the sun; and again, "The Holy Trinity of the Divine Persons is not more adorable than a Trinity of Popes is abominable," and he also stated in clear words that the Council's power was superior to that of the Pope.

Between these two arrivals a much more humble procession found its way into the town, which nevertheless met with almost as hearty a reception, for crowds flocked to meet the thin, bearded man in his simple black robes, who was escorted by three Bohemian nobles responsible for his safety. John Huss, under a promise of safety from the Emperor, had come to Constance to maintain his views before the Assembly of Christendom, and to clear himself from the charge of heresy. His safe conduct was of little avail, for shortly after his arrival he was taken from his house, despite the vehement protestations of one of the attendant nobles, and after a questioning before Pope and Cardinals, flung into a loathsome prison, which nearly caused his death; and it was only to save him for further humiliation that the conditions of his captivity were lightened for the time.

Meanwhile the position of Pope John was far from reassuring. Although still nominally the head of the Council, a murmur, ever growing more and more insistent, was making itself heard in favour of his abdication. Cardinal d'Ailly went so far as to declare that the Council had full power to force him to resign. Then followed an appalling statement, probably all too true, of the many misdeeds of the Pope, whose life had been notoriously wicked. Fearful lest this private accusation should be published to the world, John consented to abdicate, and in clear terms and with a calm demeanour he him-

Treatment
of Huss

Measures
against
John
XXIII.

self read before the Emperor and assembled Cardinals a promise to resign his power on the day that Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. should do the same. There was general rejoicing; Sigismund, impulsive and theatrical, threw himself uncrowned at the feet of the Pope and kissed them gratefully: a proposal for the election of a successor followed at once. Doubtless John hoped to obtain his own re-election, but his character was too well-known for that. The English representative at the Council, Robert Hallam Bishop of Salisbury, exclaimed that "the Pope deserved to be burnt at the stake". Hopeless of swaying the Council, John determined to leave Constance and see what could be done elsewhere. A request to leave on account of his health having been refused, he contrived his own escape. The opportunity came when a great tournament was being held, to which all the inhabitants of the town flocked, leaving the streets deserted. The Pope in the humble disguise of a groom, rode out of the town unnoticed, and taking boat on the Rhine reached Schaffhausen, the castle of his friend Frederick of Austria, who had been privy to his flight. Terror and disorder were left behind him; some thought the Council was thereby dissolved, many feared the curse which he might lay upon the city, but others were ready to take advantage of the occasion. The Emperor denounced the Austrian Duke as a traitor, and Gerson, Chancellor of the Assembly, proclaimed the Council to be the supreme and independent authority of Christendom. A short while after, the formal deposition of John XXIII. was pronounced by the Council; and the once powerful Pope, after vain attempts to evade his pursuers, was captured and imprisoned; first at Gotleben just outside Constance, and finally in the castle

Flight of
Pope

Deposition
of John
XXIII.,
1415

of Heidelberg. When fully humiliated and no longer dangerous he was released and made a Cardinal, but his death followed immediately after.

Meanwhile John Huss had been awaiting his trial, also a prisoner at Gottleben. For some time past Bohemia had been the centre of new ideas. The whole authority of the Church had been shaken by the dissensions in the Papacy and the impossibility of respecting the Head of the spiritual world; whilst all through the Church had spread the disastrous effects of weakness at the centre. Abuses of all sorts were common; the clergy were rich and neglected their duty, they held so many posts that they could not possibly fill them all satisfactorily; people and parishes were neglected and suffering. In England during the previous century, John Wycliffe had boldly denounced the sins of the Church, had struck at the whole system of Ecclesiastical government, declared that the authority of the Pope was not only excessive but unnecessary, and attacked some of the doctrines of the Church, especially transubstantiation and prayers to saints. The writings of Wycliffe introduced into Bohemia had great influence and were eagerly studied at the University of Prague where Huss had done much to make them known. In some matters Huss did not go so far as the English teacher, particularly in the question of transubstantiation, but he also urged reformation of abuses and superstitions and especially denounced the sale of indulgences commanded by the Pope. He also wrote that Christ Himself was the Head of the Church and the Scriptures the basis of belief. There was plenty of material here for a condemnation, and from the first, despite Sigismund's worthless safe-conduct, his fate was already de-

The
Hussite
movement

Trial of
Huss

cided. Nevertheless his trial dragged on for many a long day, and Huss promised to withdraw his own opinions should the Cardinals be able to disprove them; but in total absence of proof he held his own without a waver, and refused firmly though modestly to condemn Wycliffe's teaching, or to disown his own writings. Even here Huss was not without supporters. His friend and disciple Jerome of Prague followed him to Constance, only to be flung into prison. On one occasion John of Chlum, a Bohemian noble, boldly proclaimed: "In my Castle I would have defended him for a year against all the forces of Emperor or King; how much more lords mightier than I, with Castles far more impregnable!" Sigismund basely deserted him. Perhaps it was a hard choice between giving up the man he had promised to protect, and seeing the Council, which he had done so much to collect and from which he hoped such great things, fall to pieces, its work half done. In any case his conduct was despicable even in his own eyes, and when Huss said: "Freely I came hither under the safe-conduct of the Emperor," Sigismund is said to have blushed deeply. His attitude was now, however, decided enough. Declaring that he had only promised to protect him so that he might answer his enemies' charges, and that he could not defend a heretic, he went on to say: "Far from defending you in your errors and in your contumacy, I will be the first to light the fire with my own hands". On another occasion the Emperor urged that not only Huss but all his followers should be condemned, and the whole sect exterminated root and branch.

On the 6th July, 1415, sentence was finally pronounced in the Cathedral of Constance. Sigismund

sat on the throne with Princes and Cardinals round him, and the proceedings opened with Mass, during which Huss as a heretic stood in the porch. Then followed the reading and condemnation of certain articles, said to contain the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss. In vain he endeavoured to protest that some of the accusations were totally false. After that came the degradation— one by one his priestly robes were taken from him and his tonsure obliterated, whilst on his head was placed a tall cap of paper, covered with painted devils. Judgment was then pronounced: "The Church has no more to do with you. We deliver your body to the secular arm, your soul to the devils in hell." The secular judge pronounced the final sentence of death by burning as a heretic, and Huss went calm and unmoved, singing and praying, to his doom. "We know not," said those who stood near, "what this man may have done, we only know that his prayers to God are excellent." His ashes were flung into the lake and his clothes destroyed, that no relics might be treasured up by his sorrowing disciples, but the uselessness of such measures to efface his influence was soon to be shown.

Execution
of Huss,
6th July,
1415

The martyrdom of Huss was followed by that of Jerome of Prague, who as we have seen had followed his master to Constance and to captivity. He was treated with so much cruelty in his prison, that in sheer bodily weakness he gave way at his first examination and denied the doctrines of Wycliffe and of Huss. Soon, however, he regained his strength, and with admirable courage deliberately destroyed all hope of escape. He proclaimed his faith with an eloquence and shrewdness and a clear-headedness perfectly marvellous after a year passed in severe confinement. There was to be no doubt

Trial and
execution
of Jerome
of Prague,
1416

now as to his attitude. "This sinful retraction I now fully retract, and am resolved to maintain the tenets of Wycliffe and of John Huss to death, believing them to be the true and pure doctrine of the Gospel, even as their lives were blameless and holy". Like Huss he went calmly to the stake, and when the executioner turned to light the heaped-up pile at his back, he called to him: "Kindle it before my eyes; had I feared your fire, I should never have come to this place". He sang hymns with a steady voice until the flames leapt up around him.

Much still remained for the Council to do: the Papal question was not yet solved. John was deposed; Gregory XII. had submitted and died; Benedict still remained obstinate. He refused to come in person to defend his claims before the Council, unless he should be received as Pope; he declared that any acts of reform decreed at Constance would be null and void; and, disregarding his formal deposition, he established himself at Peniscola in Spain and kept up a shadowy Court and an imaginary authority until his death some years later. Meanwhile the Church and the Council badly needed a head, although Sigismund would gladly have carried all through on his sole authority; but the Cardinals insisted, and after some disputes a new Pope, Martin V., was chosen from the important Roman family of the Colonna. Thus ended the Schism and a temporary reaction in favour of Church authority and Papal power began, for the Council had chosen a man who would never submit to control and who meant to make his position one of real weight and importance. As Milman says: "In creating a Pope of high character it had given itself a master. It might dictate to a John XXIII., it must submit to a Martin V."

Martin V.,
1418-1425

The Council of Constance had achieved little of its great designs. There were many reasons for this failure. One great difficulty in the way of reform had been the danger of making any changes whilst the Church was still without a head. The great strength of the Papacy lay in its continuity: there had been an unbroken line of Popes claiming to be successors of St. Peter, according to tradition the first Bishop of Rome. The moderate party hesitated to take any steps which might weaken this claim and so endanger the longed-for unity of the Church. Another obstacle to Conciliar action was the difficulty of finding any policy to suit the different nations whose interests were involved. Political questions were inevitably bound up with religious, and the representatives of the various States could not agree on a common scheme of reform. The efforts of the Council had, for the time, brought peace to the Church, but only by the re-establishment of Papal despotism.

The new Pope was not a really great personality. He did not seize the unrivalled opportunity for placing himself at the head of a Church reformed, united, and spiritualised. Nevertheless, he was a wise, level-headed statesman, who knew how to recover much of the Papal authority lost in previous years, and to obtain control over the national Churches which had been struggling towards independence. His period of rule was largely occupied with re-establishing himself in Italy which was a scene of the wildest confusion. The Duke of Milan was warring in Lombardy: in Naples under Joanna II. the question of succession was giving rise to endless struggle, *condottieri* generals were fighting for one side or the other and also for themselves—Braccio and Sforza being the most important. The Pope had

Disorder in
Italy

a conference with Braccio at Florence, and it was there that he was rendered furious by the popular feeling which expressed itself in a common street song.

Braccio the Great
Conquers every State ;
Poor Pope Martin
Is not worth a farthing.

Policy of
Martin

The despised Pope, however, soon made himself respected. He re-established himself in Rome, and restored order in the turbulent city ; he recovered the States of the Church, and made his power felt in outlying countries, even in England where he appointed Cardinal Beaufort his legate, and exercised more authority than any Pope had done since Innocent III. At home his chief efforts were directed towards reforming the body of Cardinals and reducing their power, and in this he had some success ; but there were disorders in Christendom, especially the Hussite war in Bohemia, which remained a dangerous problem, and Martin summoned a Council to meet at Basle to consider this and other questions. His death, however, prevented his participation in this great assembly, and his successor Eugenius IV. was left to cope with the difficulties of the situation.

Summons
of Council
of Basle,
20th Feb.
1431

Eugenius
IV., 1431-
47

Journeys
of Sigis-
mund

The Emperor Sigismund had not been quietly residing at Constance during the whole long period of the Council. His restless spirit desired fresh fields in which to expend his energy, and when Benedict XIII. proved so obstinate, and was supported by the States of Spain and Portugal, Sigismund set out to try the effects of Imperial authority on these opponents of unity. Always short of money the Emperor sold Brandenburg to Frederick, the first of the famous Hohenzollern Margraves, confirmed Swiss

conquests in return for supplies and set out for Spain, where after long negotiations he did succeed in procuring the submission of Aragon, Castile and Navarre, followed shortly after by that of Portugal, which completed the union of the West. His return journey took him through France, where he hoped to pose as mediator in the great quarrel with England, which had just come to a head in the Battle of Agincourt.

Whilst in Paris, he was led to a display of authority which infuriated the French, and forms a good illustration of his views as to Imperial supremacy. Invited as an honoured guest to watch proceedings in the Parliament of Paris, the great French law court, a case came up in which one party was unable to be heard because unequal in rank to his adversary. Sigismund at once knighted the petitioner, as though sovereign and supreme overlord of the country. France was indignant, but England to which the Emperor next proceeded, took steps to prevent such an exercise of sovereign rights; showing that any claims of Imperial overlordship were totally out of date by this time, if indeed the English would ever have admitted them. Before Sigismund might put foot on English soil, Humphrey of Gloucester, younger brother of the King, rode into the sea sword in hand, and demanded a promise that he would perform no act of sovereignty whilst in the kingdom. The promise given, the guest was received with the greatest pomp and ceremony, magnificently lodged in the Palace of Westminster and only departed after a six months' visit and amidst signs of the greatest affection from Henry V. But although it is said that the two monarchs could scarcely tear themselves from each others arms, when farewell was said the English King had not ceased his prepara-

tions for the French war, and the Emperor had not succeeded in effecting the peace of Christendom.

Character
of Sigis-
mund

At home once more, Sigismund found himself surrounded by difficulties; the very extent of his territories meant numerous enemies and want of money was a constant drawback. The story goes that on one occasion he left his dirty linen in pledge being totally unable to pay the bill for his night's lodging. His were not qualities such as fitted him for a position of such danger, in which tact as well as strength was necessary. Sigismund was in many ways a very attractive personality. Tall and handsome, with fair hair and blue eyes, he was extremely well educated and could discourse easily in Tchech, Latin, German, French and Italian; although he never forgot his Imperial dignity, he knew how to be familiar and courteous, was a very good talker and prompt at repartee. Unfortunately he had external qualities rather than solid virtues. He was lacking in real strength and perseverance and above all in stability: his word could not be trusted, and little respect could be accorded to a man who could forget his promises and break his alliances. He would have made a very good show King, but he lived at a time when burning questions needed solution, and when ceremonies and ambitious projects could not take the place of steady purpose and real hard work.

Hussite
War, 1419-
31

The greatest danger left by the Council to Sigismund and Germany was the Hussite war. The martyrdom of Huss and Jerome had inflamed not discouraged the reforming party in Bohemia, and in 1419 open warfare broke out in Prague. One of the demands of the Bohemian reformers was the administration of the Communion in both kinds, from which they obtained

the name of *Utraquists*. The beginnings of revolt were caused when a procession, headed by a priest bearing the Chalice, had stones flung at it from a window of the townhall, whither the Utraquists had repaired to demand the release of some of their numbers. The cup was knocked from the priest's hands, and the mob, roused to sudden fury, poured into the house, slew the burgo-master and flung all the magistrates from the window on to the weapons of those below. The news of this disturbance was too much for King Wenzel weakened as he was by a life of self-indulgence. He was struck with apoplexy and died on the spot "with a great shout and roar as of a lion".

Death of
Wenzel,
1419

Sigismund was now King of Bohemia; but busy in protecting Hungary against the Turks, he took no decided steps at once to quell the Bohemian disturbance, and hoped to smooth matters over by negotiation. Perhaps had the rebels been merely disciples of the moderate teaching of Huss, this would have been possible; but a far more violent party had gradually been forming, known as Taborites. These had been organised in large open-air meetings and were anxious to break loose from all authority both of Church and Empire. Two Bohemian nobles headed this party, both of great zeal and ability. Nicholas of Husinec, a man of practical wisdom and foresight, and the one-eyed Ziska, a general and tactician of extraordinary merit. The war became a mixture of religious and political struggle; for besides taking up arms to defend their faith, the Bohemians were also fighting for their nationality against Sigismund, whom they would not recognise as their King.

Hussite
leaders

Nicholas of
Husinec
and Ziska

The long struggle which now began in real earnest falls roughly into three divisions. At first the war was

Character
of the War

Defensive defensive. The Hussites were infuriated and united by the measures taken against them, by the Crusades as they were called which were arranged by the Pope and Sigismund, and by the fact that a German army was sent to put them down, thereby inflaming their national ardour and lending vigour and purpose to their resistance. Later, from 1427 onwards, the war became offensive on their side; to hold their own it was necessary to weaken their adversaries by carrying war into the enemy's country, and the terror of their arms extended into Saxony, Silesia, Austria and even further. Finally the divisions which from the first threatened to disunite the Bohemian party became more and more numerous and accentuated, and the struggle degenerated into a civil strife between moderates and extremists which eventually enabled the Emperor to re-establish his authority and bring the war practically to a close.

The Four
Articles of
Prague

The programme of the Hussites, formulated in 1420, and recognised as a sort of creed for the whole party, was known as the Four Articles of Prague. These demanded complete liberty of preaching, communions in both kinds for laymen as well as priests, the exclusion of the clergy from temporal power and undue wealth, and the immediate repression of open sins, for commission of which the clergy should be liable to secular penalties. This was the confession of faith put forward by the moderate party, Utraquists or Praguers as they came to be called. The Taborites went much further and had more social and political aims; some amongst them advocated a regular communistic system, in which there should be no private property, but goods of all sorts should be held in common. With the proclamation of war against them, differences were for the time

forgotten in the common danger ; and in the strength of this united effort, Sigismund and the German army were driven out of Bohemia by a series of glorious victories. Three Crusades were defeated in 1420, 1421 and 1422 ; and so great was the terror inspired by the invincible Hussites that, as one Chronicler says : "The Germans had such a loathing for heretics that they could not bring themselves to strike them, or even to look them in the face".

These victories were due in great measure to the training and leadership of Ziska. He knew how to convert raw peasants into disciplined soldiers ready to hold their own against feudal forces ; he paid great attention to artillery and was one of the first generals to turn it to real account ; but above all he made use of the old war chariots and waggons according to a method all his own and totally baffling to the enemy. These waggons, attached by chains, formed a defence on the march, or a fortification for the camp, or even a weapon of offence when driven at full speed amongst the ranks of the enemy, or filled with stones and rolled down upon them from above. The waggons used to be arranged according to letters of the alphabet, and if the enemy got entangled amongst them they could never find the way out, whilst the Hussites, knowing the key, could twist through them with ease. In manœuvring and management of troops Ziska's ability was astonishing, especially when it is remembered that in 1421 a wound in his only sound eye rendered him totally blind ; he never for a moment relaxed his energetic and victorious career, but was carried into the battle on one of his celebrated waggons. In one way, indeed, this misfortune of their leader, by helping to put more re-

Hussite
victories,
1420-22

Ziska's
military
policy

sponsibility on the officers who carried out his commands, trained them all the more fully in the art of war. Ziska, unfortunately, was more of a general than a statesman, and his violent zeal embittered party strife and helped to prevent that complete union of the Hussites which might have led to an earlier settlement of the struggle.

Korybut of
Poland

Having driven Sigismund from the country, Bohemia was at first organised under a temporary government, and began to look about for a new King. The crown was offered to Ladislas of Poland, and though he refused it, he sent his nephew Korybut to assist the rebels, and he was received in Prague as ruler of the land. His position was, however, a difficult one, for Ziska and the Taborites were not really favourable, and the idea of thus establishing a Slav monarchy failed. His withdrawal was followed by terrible internal discord; the Praguers were anxious to make some sort of a compromise, and recalled Korybut, who had schemes of putting himself at the head of the moderate party and effecting a union with the Church. The Taborites were furious at the idea of making any concession, and the year 1424 is known as "Ziska's bloody year," for he turned his forces against the moderate party and wrought terrible havoc in the land. His death from plague in the same year did nothing to quiet these dissensions, but only added to divisions by splitting up the Taborite party. His special followers, "orphans" they were called to typify their grief at his loss, chiefly a social and political body, did not agree with the extreme Taborites, a religious section who denied transubstantiation and all Church control.

Civil War
between
Ziska and
the moder-
ate party,
1424

Prokop the
Great

These divisions were not yet, however, sufficient to

hinder Hussite success. A new leader appeared, Prokop the Great, a priest who never himself wielded a weapon, but who was well able to lead his troops to victory and to enforce discipline and obedience. He was of middle height, strongly built, with a very sun-burnt face, large eyes and fiery aspect; to his skill as a general he added much theological knowledge and an eloquent tongue, which he used to good purpose later at the Council of Basle. For the present, however, war was his trade and he began his career with great success in Saxony, which opened the period of offensive warfare. He also routed the new Crusading army led against the Bohemians by Cardinal Beaufort, who in vain tried to rally his panic-stricken troops, tearing the Imperial standard to pieces in his indignation at their cowardice. A further victory at Tauss in 1431 completely overpowered the fifth Crusade and ended the last effort to put down the intrepid Hussites by force of arms. The only hope now was to settle the dispute by a Council.

War carried into Saxony

Defeat of Cardinal Beaufort, 1427

It will be remembered that Martin V., just before his death, had arranged for the meeting of a great Church Council at Basle, and Cardinal Cesarini had been appointed to preside. The Council had a difficult opening, for the new Pope Eugenius IV. tried to dissolve it.

Council of Basle, 1431-1449

It was only after much controversy and great firmness on the part of the leaders of the Assembly that his opposition was withdrawn, and to this he was forced because of the dangers which surrounded him in Italy, which made him fear to arouse further enmity. The Council was deliberating whilst the Pope was escaping from a Roman revolt. This he did by the aid of a pirate, who took him down the Tiber in a crazy old boat. Eugenius lay at the bottom of this covered by a shield,

Rome revolts against Eugenius IV., 1431

while the populace ran along the bank hurling stones and shooting arrows. By daring and good luck the pirate succeeded in bringing his valuable cargo safely to a larger vessel, and the Pope at last found shelter and respect in the city of Florence.

Bohemian
deputation
to Basle,
1432

The first act of the Council of Basle was to invite the Bohemians to send a deputation to endeavour to arrange terms. In January, 1432, seven nobles and eight priests headed by Prokop the Great, and preceded by a banner with the motto "Truth conquers all," entered the city, whilst the populace flocked to gaze upon the little troop and their escort of horsemen with their strange dress and fierce faces. The conference was conducted with great moderation and considerable ability on both sides, and when argument threatened to become bitter, Cesari-ni knew how to pacify the disputants with extraordinary tact and wisdom. After long and difficult consultation a basis of compromise was agreed upon, and at Prague compacts were drawn up and accepted by the moderate party in Bohemia. Liberty of preaching was permitted so long as it did not exceed what ecclesiastical superiors approved; communion in both kinds was allowed to those who demanded it; crimes were to be punished "according to the law of God and the institutes of the Fathers"; but the Clergy were not to be excluded from the possession of property. Unfortunately this agreement did not meet with the approval of the more extreme party in Bohemia, and Prokop at the head of Taborites and Orphans took up arms against the moderates. At Lipan a terrible battle was fought between fellow-countrymen, which raged a whole day and a whole night. Prokop and his men refused to surrender and were cut down in tremendous numbers; the result was a victory

Compacts
with Bo-
hemia,
1433

Civil War
in Bohemia

Battle of
Lipan, 1434

for the party of conciliation, and a step towards the final settlement. There were not only religious but also political difficulties to be overcome, and it was not until 1436 that Sigismund was able to enter Prague and formally assume the Bohemian crown. The keys and seal of the town were given into his hands and he on his side delivered to the magistrates a document confirming all the old privileges and rights of the city.

Sigismund
crowned in
Bohemia,
1436

Sigismund had now obtained all his crowns. Before attending the Basle Council he had wished to add to his dignity by receiving formal coronation in Italy, and had set out in 1431 for Milan to acquire the iron crown of Lombardy. This he did; but the Duke of Milan, at that time Filippo Maria Visconti, either from fear or jealousy, would not be present at the ceremony, excusing himself on the absurd plea that if he saw Sigismund his joy would kill him. The Emperor was not on good terms with the Pope, since he was strongly in favour of the Council, which Eugenius was endeavouring to dissolve. In the end, however, they waived their differences, and Sigismund came to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. His commanding figure, smiling face and flowing beard were much admired by the Italians, and the ceremony was successfully accomplished. On the head of the Emperor was first placed a Bishop's mitre, then the golden crown, and whilst he held the Imperial sword, Eugenius bore the crucifix. They left the Church together, Sigismund leading the Papal mule for a few paces, before mounting his own more martial steed.

Coronation
in Rome

The Bohemian crown, the last which Sigismund acquired, was not altogether a peaceful possession, for though open war was ended, troubles and dissensions were to continue for many a long day, and plots were formed

against the new monarch which were encouraged by his own wife. Sigismund, however, was not long to enjoy triumphs or to struggle with dangers. His death is curiously characteristic ; a display of very real courage employed for dramatic effect. Feeling his end draw near, he first attended Mass robed and crowned in all his Imperial splendour, and when that was over grave clothes were placed above his grand vestments, and thus arrayed he awaited death seated on his throne, where on the evening of the same day he passed away. For three days his corpse was left seated according to his command : " that men might see that the lord of all the world was dead and gone ". Although it is impossible to avoid smiling at the almost childish vanity of Sigismund, and his striving after effect, it is nevertheless true that his aims were high, his schemes of peace, reformation and unity, noble and desirable ; only he was too impatient and too changeable to carry through any concerted plan. His worst fault, however, was lack of truthfulness ; his word could not be relied upon, and no good intentions could atone for such extreme untrustworthiness.

Death of
Sigismund,
9th Dec.
1437

Empire of
the East
and the
Greek
Church

All this time the Council of Basle was continuing its sessions, and more and more inclining towards attacks upon the Papal authority, despite the efforts of Cesarini to modify its violence. It was no wonder that Eugenius was ready to take the first opportunity to assert his independence. An occasion presented itself in connection with the negotiations now opened with the Greeks. John VI., head of the Eastern Empire established at Constantinople, was in a very dangerous position owing to the inroads of the Turks, who were getting nearer and nearer to his capital city, and his one hope lay in assistance from Western Europe. It had long been the

cherished wish of the Papacy to establish a union between the Eastern and Western Churches, which had only come together very temporarily in the time of Gregory X., and John in his great need for help, contemplated a sacrifice of Greek independence in return for active support. Eugenius, keenly anxious to win honour as negotiator of so great a matter, urged that the Council should transfer itself to Italy as more convenient for the Greek envoys, and when the Basle Assembly refused this proposal, he summoned a Council of his own at Ferrara to conduct the important business. The Eastern Emperor himself, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, as head of the Greek Church, came in person to the conference with twenty-two Bishops. They landed in Venice where the Doge received them with the greatest magnificence, his vessel adorned with scarlet and gold and golden lions on the prow. At Ferrara Eugenius met them, and considerable difficulty was caused over the exact ceremonial details which were to be observed. The Patriarch, for example, was furious at the idea of kissing the Pope's foot, and after a whole day had been wasted in discussing this vital question, he was let off with a salutation on the Papal cheek; even this had to be done privately, that none might be surprised. Another great difficulty was the arrangement of seats at the Council. It had been suggested that the Greeks and Latins should occupy opposite sides, and the Pope should be enthroned as a link between the two. This again offended the susceptible embassy, and in the end the Greek Emperor was given a throne facing that of the Pope, with the Patriarch behind him. This did not satisfy the Patriarch, for he was not allowed to adorn his seat with curtains as he wished, in order that it might

Council of
Ferrara,
1438

Council
transferred
to Florence

Union of
Greek and
Latin
Churches,
1439

resemble the Papal throne. At last all was set in order and the conference began. There were really no great points of doctrine in dispute between the two Churches but long hours of discussion were spent over small details and verbal differences. The real difficulty was that the Eastern Church was unwilling to submit to the Papal Supremacy, and it was only with the most extreme reluctance that this at last was done, as the only chance of help in the immediate emergency. The Council had been transferred to Florence and there in 1439 the Greeks accepted terms of union, and the Emperor consented to admit: "We recognise the Pope as sovereign pontiff, Vicegerent and vicar of Christ, shepherd and teacher of all Christians, ruler of the Church of God, saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East". The pacification was little more than nominal. The Greeks at home were furious at the terms, no great European force was raised to oppose the Turks, and no permanent results seemed to follow the union. For Eugenius, however, the Council of Florence had been extremely advantageous. He won much prestige as the creator of unity in Christendom, and this had been done in an Italian Council completely under his authority.

Council of
Basle elects
Felix V. as
Anti-Pope,
1439

The Council of Basle had no corresponding successes to show for their work, and were stirred to fresh measures of independence. In 1439 they went so far as to depose Eugenius, and to start another Schism by electing a Pope of their own. It was necessary to choose some one with money, and they turned to Amadeus Duke of Savoy, a widower with several children and great political influence: his wife had been a daughter of Philip the Bold of Burgundy, and his daughters had been married to the Duke of Milan and the Duke of Anjou. Of late years,

however, he had withdrawn into religious seclusion, and, though still a layman, founded a sort of order, adopting a grey monkish cloak and a gold cross; although a writer of the time thinks that there was quite as much luxury as religion in his comfortable hermitage.

Amadeus accepted the offers of the Council, and took the name of Felix V., but begged that he might be allowed to keep his beard. This he was eventually induced to sacrifice, as it gave him so strange an appearance amongst all the clean-shaven Priests and Cardinals.

To meet this new difficulty, Eugenius felt that he must win the active support of Germany and the Emperor. Sigismund's death had ended the male line of the great house of Luxemburg. In accordance with his wishes, the Electors chose as his successor Albert of Austria, the representative of the famous house of Habsburg, so long excluded from the Imperial dignity. Albert was a ruler of great promise, but unfortunately he barely survived his election two years.

His death cleared the way for a very inferior successor. Frederick III., cousin of the dead monarch, belonged to the younger branch of the Habsburg family, and was a young man of an easy-going temper, which did not lead him to take a very decided policy one way or the other. Perhaps his inactivity was not altogether due to indolence. He was by no means lacking in brains, and sometimes found that to do nothing was the best way of avoiding difficulties. The Pope had a very able envoy to arrange terms of friendship with Germany. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was to play a most important part in later history, had already distinguished himself at Basle and elsewhere. He came of a family noble though poor, and had been

Germany allied to the Roman Pope, 1447

Pope Nicholas V., 1447-55

End of the Council of Basle, 1449

Coronation of Frederick III. in Rome, 1452

well educated at Siena. He obtained work as secretary for various Churchmen, whom he accompanied to the Council of Basle, and his ability and extraordinary powers of persuasion led to his being employed on important embassies. He had also literary distinctions, was crowned with the laurel-wreath as Imperial poet, and is the author of a vivid account of the great events in which he took part. Owing largely to his tact and exertions, Germany was restored to obedience just before the death of Eugenius IV., and this alliance was confirmed and strengthened by the succeeding Pope Nicholas V., who was able to arrange terms almost wholly to the advantage of the Papacy. Nicholas was a very able man, who did much to restore Papal prestige, although his outward appearance was anything but impressive. He was small and insignificant, with weak legs, a harsh voice and a very pale face, disfigured by protruding lips; only his large black eyes expressed something of his commanding intellect. His Concordat with the Emperor gave the final blow to the feeble existence of the Council of Basle. Felix V., who had gained little by his empty and expensive title was readily transformed once more into Amadeus of Savoy; and the Council was quietly dissolved, having first secured its dignity by electing Nicholas as their own Pope.

In 1450 a magnificent Jubilee at Rome was the outward and visible sign of the renewed power of the Roman Pontiff. A further triumph for Nicholas was the arrival of Frederick III. in Rome for coronation at his hands.

"Formerly," writes Aeneas Sylvius, "the Imperial authority surpassed all, to-day that of the Pope is by far the greater." The ceremony was one of great

magnificence, but for Frederick it was quite an unprofitable triumph. He spent a very pleasant time in Italy, wandered happily about Rome to enjoy the sights, and bought various articles of luxury in the shops of Venice; but he had no solid result to show.

Here then we must leave Pope and Emperor. The Empire had been steadily declining. Not only were ideas of universal rule abandoned and Italy practically independent, but the disunion of Germany was a great source of weakness. Outlying possessions had been gradually lost. France had been extending her Eastern frontier; Burgundy, in the hands of an important French family, was becoming very independent; and now the Turks were threatening great danger in the East. Frederick III. was not a man to conquer difficulties; but he is important in German history nevertheless, because of his consolidation of Habsburg territories. From this time onward, with one short exception, the Imperial office remained in the hands of this family, until the Empire fell before Napoleon I. Even now the Habsburg house rules over the present Empire of Austria.

Nicholas V., on the other hand, seemed to have restored the papacy to something of its old dignity. The attempts to rule the Church by Councils, independent of and superior to the Pope, had failed. Basle was the last General Council ever held of the undivided Western Church. The Popes were strong and attempted for a time to pose as the leaders of learning and the heads of the coming Renaissance. But this victory was less complete than it appeared at the time. The Conciliar movement had failed, not so much because of Papal power, as because of the development of national

Condition
of the Em-
pire

Failure of
the Con-
ciliar move-
ment

Churches. It was this which had rendered it impossible to arrive at any satisfactory solution at Constance as well as at Basle. It was impossible to make arrangements for the whole of Christendom, when the Church in England, in France and in Germany each had its own ideas as to what was best, and each wished to maintain its own rights and independence. Thus the apparent reaction in favour of orthodoxy and Papal authority was soon to give way before national opposition and the growing desire for reform and liberty of thought. In 1453 the Protestant Revolution was very close at hand.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire.*

Alice Greenwood: *Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages.*

Milman: *History of Latin Christianity.*

CHAPTER IX

ITALY, 1382-1453

THE history of Italy, at the close of the fourteenth General character of Italian History in this period and during the fifteenth centuries, presents the same complications and difficulties as before. It is still the history of divided States, struggling for their own advancement; and yet the feuds and friendships of State with State renders it impossible to study one without the others, or to regard them as completely separate unities. A few general lines may perhaps be laid down to explain in some degree the course of events, and to act as guiding threads through the maze of Italian politics.

The Popes had now returned to the States of the Church, but with their authority considerably reduced by absence, and in constant difficulty with their Roman subjects at home, whilst Anti-Popes and the claims of the Great Councils were occupying them abroad. Thus the Pope was ready to side with any faction in Italy, which would repudiate his rival or help him to assert his temporal power, to which he more particularly devoted his energies.

Milan until 1447 was in the powerful hands of the Milan Visconti, who had established so formidable a Duchy in Lombardy that they might aspire with some hope of success to rule over all Northern Italy. Here we read

of extraordinary cunning and cruelty in member after member of this hated family, of intrigues with other cities, of absorption of smaller towns; the leading motive throughout being desire for territorial aggrandisement, and fear of any other State growing in power, above all Venice, the only dangerous rival to their dominion in the North.

Venice

Venice was now becoming more and more of an Italian power, owing to the growth of her territory on the mainland, which brought her into rivalry with Milan, and also Florence, each State being bitterly jealous of the other.

Genoa

Genoa, the old rival of Venice, could never really equal her in commerce after the war of Chioggia, though her jealousy still glowed hotly. She was in subjection for the most part, either to France or to Milan, who competed with her for supremacy, and against whom she struggled with occasional success. In 1411 she had freed herself from French rule only to acknowledge the supremacy of Milan; from the latter she obtained liberty for a short period in 1435.

Florence

Of all these States Florence had, perhaps, the most important history, but it was a history of gradual subjection and loss of liberty. At the close of the fourteenth century, the struggle between the lower and upper classes ended in the complete victory of an oligarchy under the Albizzi, which led in its turn to the more valid though more despotic authority of the Medici family, won for it in our period by the celebrated Cosimo. The external relations of Florence were chiefly determined by the desire for expansion, and by jealousy of Venice and Milan. Under Cosimo de' Medici a sort of "balance of power" policy was adopted, which enabled

Florence to more than hold her own in the struggle for wealth and importance.

Another feature peculiarly characteristic of Italian Condottieri history was the influence and power of the great *condottieri*. Such Generals as Braccio, Sforza, Piccinino, were fully as important as Dukes of Milan or Kings of Naples. All sides fought with paid armies, and success depended on ability to pay these troops, and on the good understanding which could be established with their leaders. These chiefs had become more than mere commanders of great companies; in many cases they were rewarded with castles and lands, became great feudal lords, and competed for power with the old territorial Princes. The way in which the *condottieri* fought first for one party then for another adds a further complication to the study of this perplexing but fascinating period.

Events in Naples have been alluded to from time to time in connection with other matters; but for the sake History of Naples of clearness it may be useful to repeat them shortly in one consecutive narrative.

Charles III., it will be remembered, had succeeded in Charles III., 1382-86 establishing himself on the throne of Naples and had put to death Queen Joanna I., whose adopted heir Louis of Anjou had failed to enforce his claims. Charles, not content with one Kingdom, turned his ambitions to Hungary, where the elder branch of his house had held sway. The death of Lewis the Great left the land to his daughter Maria, who was betrothed to Sigismund, younger brother of the Emperor Wenzel. The Queen-Charles and the Kingdom of Hungary dowager Elizabeth was Regent. (See Genealogical table, p. 274.) A party of Hungarian barons, discontented with this arrangement, offered the throne

to Charles. He hastened to Hungary and was actually crowned, apparently with the consent of Elizabeth and her daughter, who attended the ceremony, but showed signs of extreme grief and wept bitterly. Despite the kind treatment which they received from the new King, they never really abandoned their claims, and Elizabeth contrived the murder of the unsuspecting monarch. The assassination of Charles left the throne of Naples once more a prey to the struggles of rival claimants.

Murder of
Charles
III., 1386

Ladislav,
1386-1414

Ladislav, son of the late King, was eventually successful in holding his own against a second Louis of Anjou; but the claims of the latter were not renounced, and remained a weapon ready to the hand of any one who wished to oppose the young Neapolitan. Ladislav was a man certain to have enemies. Brave, energetic, and spirited, he had the most soaring ambition, which carried his wishes beyond Italy to the very Imperial crown itself; his banners flaunted the proud device: "Aut Caesar, aut Nihil". As a step in his desired career of aggrandisement, he seized the States of the Church, nominally as the friend of the Pope. The City of Florence determined to oppose him, and once more turned to the Angevin candidate, who was proclaimed King by the Council of Pisa, and came in person to maintain his rights. Despite a complete victory at Rocca Secca, Louis of Anjou, owing to delay in following up his success, gained nothing from the battle. Ladislav himself said: "The first day after my defeat, my Kingdom and my person were both in the power of the enemy; the second day my person was safe, but they could still if they wished have become masters of my Kingdom; the third day all fruit of the victory was lost". There was no more trouble from this quarter and not many years later Louis died at

Battle of
Rocca
Secca, 1411

Rome. Ladislas himself had but three more years to live; years chiefly occupied in quarrels with John XXIII., who was driven from Rome. His death in 1414 was followed by the expulsion of all Neapolitans from the Papal Capital.

Competition now took a new form: there were rivals not for the throne but for the hand of the Queen. Joanna II., sister of Ladislas, though far from being an attractive character, had no lack of suitors. The Count of La Marche was eventually accepted, in the hope of conciliating France; but the marriage was a failure from every point of view, and after long quarrels, ending in her husband's flight, Joanna reigned alone. The third Louis of Anjou now came forward with his claims, and was privately egged on by Pope Martin V. He soon found, however, that more than the Queen were against him. Joanna had no children and, indignant at Louis being forced upon her as her successor, determined to bring a new actor on the scene, in the person of Alfonso V., King of Aragon and Sicily. She adopted him as her heir, and he was only too eager to acquiesce in a plan which would once more unite the two Sicilies. Thus a long rivalry began between Angevin and Aragonese.

Joanna soon repented of her choice, as Alfonso was in every way too masterful. She revoked her adoption, and making Louis of Anjou Duke of Calabria, proclaimed him as her heir. He was a quiet and easy-going prince, who went to Calabria as he was ordered, and died there just before his adopted mother. Joanna had still time for another adoption, and chose last of all René of Provence, a younger brother of Louis, well known to us as father of Margaret of Anjou, wife of our own Henry VI. A year later the Queen herself departed this life

Joanna II.,
1414-1435

Attempts
of Louis
III. of
Anjou,
1420

Joanna
adopts
Alfonso of
Aragon

and after-
wards
Louis of
Anjou

Adoption
of René le
Bon, 1434

Death of
Joanna II.,
1435

and left her two adopted sons to dispute the succession. Alfonso was captured in the struggle, and carried off as prisoner to Milan; but here his attractive personality won over the Duke Filippo Visconti, who set him free and gave him help to continue the war; poor help as we now know, since he was at the moment secretly assisting the other side, for it suited him well to have his neighbours flying at each other's throats, and providing occupation for the dangerous *condottieri*. The long struggle ended at last in the establishment on the throne of Alfonso, a man of considerable ability as well as of a generosity so universal as to win him the title of "Magnanimous," and for a short time Naples and Sicily were united under the same ruler. René could never be King, but Eugenius IV. gave him a grand coronation, which possibly did something to atone for his disappointment. The two Sicilies were still being happily and quietly governed by Alfonso in 1453.

Alfonso be-
comes King
of Naples,
1435-58

History of
Milan

One result of the expedition made to Italy by the Emperor Henry VII. is not likely to be forgotten. In 1312 he appointed Matteo Visconti Imperial Vicar in the city of Milan, and so established the ascendancy of that dynasty whose name was to become the most feared and the most hated in Northern Italy. Under the descendants of Matteo, Milanese rule began to grow apace. In 1339 Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Lodi, Piacenza, Vercelli and Novara owned her sway; Parma, Tortona, Alessandria and Asti were added a few years later, and Giovanni Visconti, the warlike Archbishop of Milan, overstepped the borders of Lombardy, by forcing the cession of Bologna in 1350, and the submission of Genoa in 1353. Milan had become the greatest power in Lombardy, had alarmed Florence and the other Tuscan

Growth of
Milan
under the
Visconti

cities, and had excited the hostility of the Pope by attacks on the States of the Church.

In 1354 the death of the Archbishop left these extensive dominions to be divided between three of his nephews, Matteo, Bernabo and Galeazzo Visconti. Matteo, however, was soon got out of the way by his

N. ITALY IN XIV CENTURY showing possessions of Gian Galeazzo Visconti



brothers, who were utterly unscrupulous; and his death was greeted with pleasure by the Milanese, who had already learned enough of his vicious character. They had gained little: in Bernabo and Galeazzo all the worst features of the Visconti were displayed. The history of this family is almost unbelievable; it is hard to realise that such monsters can ever have existed or have

Rule of
Bernabo
and Gale-
azzo, 1355-
78

been allowed to live. One after another showed the same extraordinary combination of crafty ability, unflinching determination, a cold-blooded cruelty which defies description, coupled with the most despicable personal cowardice. It was not till a little later in Gian Galeazzo that we find these characteristics in their most exaggerated form, but Bernabo and Galeazzo were unmistakable Visconti. It was they who issued the appalling decree which sentenced criminals to forty days' torture before their execution; it was Bernabo who flung a peasant to his hounds for having killed a hare, and who forced a Papal messenger to eat in his presence the parchment, cord and leaden seal of the bull of excommunication which he had brought; it was Bernabo again who fell into such abject terror when the plague was in his capital, that he hid in a house in the forest, saw no one, and surrounded it with a barricade to pass which entailed instant death.

Gian Galeazzo, 1378-1385

Removal of Bernabo, 1335

This tyrannous coward soon reaped the reward of his crimes. In 1378 his brother died, leaving his share of Milanese territory to a son, Gian Galeazzo, the ablest and the wickedest of this able and wicked stock. The new ruler did not strike at once; on the contrary, he feigned a humility and a piety which completely misled his uncle, and then invited him to meet him on his way to a place of pilgrimage. Bernabo came all unsuspecting, only to be seized, flung into prison despite his entreaties and promptly poisoned. Gian Galeazzo, now the head of an undivided dominion, threw off the mask, boldly grasped at power, and entered on a career which brought terror to all other Italian rulers, established the supremacy of Milan, and reduced his own subjects to a dull despair, which robbed them of all

power to resist the oppression, cruelty and terror under which they groaned.

The ambition of the new tyrant was to found a Kingdom of Northern Italy, and he all but achieved his aim. Many territories had been recently lost, and these he set to work to win back with additions. The conquest of Verona and the destruction of the family of Della Scala opened the way both to Padua and Venice. Fearing for themselves, and mindful of their old quarrel with the house of Carrara in Padua, the Venetians helped Milan for the time, and Padua was forced to surrender. Supreme in Lombardy, Gian Galeazzo now threatened Tuscany, took possession of Pisa, Sienna and Perugia, and in 1395 forced Wenzel King of the Romans to confer Milan and his other possessions upon him as an hereditary Duchy. Never was the rise of any family so rapid and apparently so secure as that of the Visconti: wealth and power cover a multitude of sins, and foreign Courts were not ashamed to form marriage alliances with this race of blood-stained tyrants. A daughter of Bernabo had been married to Leopold of Habsburg, the Leopold who fell later on the field of Sempach; a sister of Gian Galeazzo to the English prince, Lionel Duke of Clarence, and the Duke himself to Isabella of France, a country which he again tried to conciliate later by wedding his own daughter Valentine to Louis of Orleans, the Duke who was afterwards murdered. The wedding-feast which was given in honour of the Duke of Clarence has been recorded, and remains as an illustration of the enormous wealth of the Visconti, and of the lavish profusion of those days. Eighteen courses appeared at this magnificent banquet. Each course was heralded by costly presents to the

Policy of
Gian Gale-
azzo

Milan
made a
Duchy,
1395

Visconti
marriage
alliances

wedded pair, sporting dogs of all kinds with costly collars, war-horses royally caparisoned, armour adorned with silver and gold, and many ornaments and precious stones. Even the food was gilded, and the table groaned beneath the weight of gilded stags, hares, pies, and game of every imaginable variety, to say nothing of wine, fruit and sweetmeats. No European monarch could possibly have spent more, even had he wished, and one doubts if any one could have eaten so much!

Francesco
Carrara the
younger

Gian Galeazzo suffered one reverse to his arms, the history of which is full of interest. After Milan had annexed Padua in 1388, Francesco Carrara the younger, who had been imprisoned at Asti, escaped with his wife, and determined to leave no stone unturned for the recovery of his possessions. They crossed the Mont Cenis in snow and first sought help in vain at Avignon; then by ship they returned to Italy, but his young wife, Taddea, ill at the time, suffered such agonies from sea-sickness that they endeavoured again to advance by land. Through hostile territories they walked in hourly fear of capture, with scarcely any food, sleeping where they dared in the woods, in barns, or in ruined churches, Taddea supported by her husband and scarcely able to put one foot before the other. They had many disappointments. At Pisa they hoped for shelter, but the Visconti's hand was there also, and they could not stay, though Francesco did get a horse for his wife and refreshments for the journey. Florence received them, but dared not give open help, and the brave young Carrara set out once more to his kinsman the Duke of Bavaria, a journey filled with sufferings and adventures. At last, with a handful of men and the promise of more to follow, he returned to Italy and advanced on Padua,

where the Milanese had a strong garrison. His numbers were too few to attack the town, but Francesco knew that the river was passable and the water low. With a few companions he crept up the river bed, scaled the wall and entered the town, whilst the attention of the defenders was distracted by shouts of peasants all round, who were devoted to Francesco, and whom he had instructed to do this in order to make the garrison believe that they were attacked by a large force. The stratagem was successful, and the town was captured by the heroic little band; more troops from Bavaria following enabled Francesco to establish himself firmly in Padua, and to force Gian Galeazzo to agree to terms. Recovery of Padua from Milan, 1392

Despite the loss of Padua, the Duke of Milan had made extraordinary progress, and when the fifteenth century began, Florence was engaged in a struggle with this formidable rival, which threatened her very existence, since she was more and more isolated and cut off from all trade communications. Despair and exhaustion were weakening Florentine resistance, when she was saved from destruction by the sudden death of her enemy from plague. A comet which appeared at the time, was regarded by the vainglorious Duke as the signal of his end. "I thank God," he said, "that He has given in the heavens a sign of my summons, that it may be known to all men." The death of Gian Galeazzo threw the Duchy into anarchy and ended his schemes for the Kingdom of Northern Italy: none of his successors was equal to such a task. War between Florence and Milan

The vast dominions, collected with so much labour, were now divided between two young sons of the dead Duke, while his widow Catherine was Regent, but she Death of Gian Galeazzo, 1402
Gian Maria and Filippo Maria, 1402-12

speedily alienated everyone by the aimless cruelties which she thought would do instead of strong rule, and the *condottieri*, more numerous and powerful than ever before, took advantage of the general disorder and began to seize towns and lands for their own use. Filippo Maria, the younger son, eventually established his supremacy, the elder, Gian Maria, whose unreasoning atrocities proclaimed him practically a madman, having been murdered by the Milanese nobles. Filippo married a woman twenty years his senior, the widow of Facino Cane, a general who had annexed certain important towns, which were thus regained; he discovered the merits of Carmagnola, a simple soldier, and made him his commander in chief; he regained Milan which had been taken when his brother was murdered, and restored the shattered Duchy.

Murder of
Gian
Maria,
1412

Filippo
Maria,
1412-47

Filippo Maria Visconti, though not without ability, was a feeble copy of his father. He was far weaker, always suspicious and afraid of decided measures. Gian Galeazzo had been a coward, he shunned arms, and shrieked at a thunder-storm, but no personal fear seemed to affect his purposes or awaken his conscience; Filippo was more of a coward all round. He dared not see his soldiers, he shrank from the very mention of death, he was always expecting treachery, and would receive no visitors. Part of his withdrawal from sight may have been due to his extreme ugliness, which made him dislike publicity. Yet with all his timidity he was still a Visconti in cruelty. He did not hesitate to get rid of his blameless wife, as soon as every advantage had been gained from the match, and his people were still tortured and oppressed.

The chief event of the fifteenth century in North

Italy was the fierce struggle which raged between Milan and Venice.

Venice all this while had not been idle. After the War of Chioggia had practically established her superiority over Genoa, she had been turning her attention more and more to extension on the mainland. The first foe with whom she was thus brought into conflict was the Lord of Padua, and on this account she had actually joined with Gian Galeazzo in his attack on the Carraresi, and was given Treviso as her share of the spoils. The death of Gian Galeazzo brought Venice and the restored State of Padua once more into rivalry, since each coveted the same portions of the dead man's territory. In this quarrel ended the life of the gallant Francesco Carrara, whose early career we have traced. Carried a captive to Venice, he was murdered in prison, defending himself to the last. The fall of this family left the Venetian Republic master of Padua, Vicenza, Verona and the surrounding districts, and a most important power in Northern Italy.

New dangers followed the new acquisitions made by Venice. The purchase of Dalmatia involved her in war with Hungary; the Paduan territories excited the jealousy of Milan. For some time a war party and a peace party had been disputing in Venice, where in 1423 the matter was brought to a head by an appeal from Florence for help against the Duke of Milan, and a threat, that failing help she would throw herself on to his side and make him King of Italy. At last after much hesitation, the new Doge, Francesco Foscari, induced the Republic to declare war; an alliance was formed with Florence, and Carmagnola, the famous *condottiere*, alienated by his former master, Filippo of

Advance of
Venice on
the main-
land

War with
Hungary

Venice
joins Flor-
ence
against
Milan,
1425

Milan, was placed at the head of the Venetian forces. The war between Venice and Milan was one between great *condottieri*. Opposed to Carmagnola were Piccinino and Malatesta, and most frequently Sforza, but he had his own game to play and changed sides when it seemed best for the success of his policy.

The Sforza Francesco Sforza was one of the most striking figures of his day. His father, the first to take up the trade of war and found the dynasty, was a peasant of Cotilogna, a man of enormous size and strength. In 1380 he was invited by some passing soldiers, struck by his appearance, to join their ranks. He flung his pickaxe into an oak-tree; if it fell he would go on working, if it stayed he would join the troop. No pick returned, he took to the soldiers trade, and was given the nickname of Sforza or the Violent. He became a warrior of great renown, and we have already heard of him fighting in Naples, in the Papal States and elsewhere, besides acquiring territorial possessions of his own. His chief source of strength lay in his army, and the devotion which his followers always felt for him. The manner of his death helps to explain his influence over them. He lost his life fording a swift river, into which he had returned to encourage his men, after having already crossed in safety himself. Seeing a young page overpowered by the current he stooped to save him, fell from his horse, and utterly unable to swim in his heavy armour, was swept down by the flood before any could reach him. His son Francesco took command in his place, and became his equal in valour and warlike fame. Now this younger Sforza was aiming at a Principality of his own; and the son of a simple peasant was the recognised suitor for the

hand of Bianca, an illegitimate daughter of Filippo of Milan himself.

At the opening of the war all went well for Venice, and Brescia and Bergamo were added to her territories; but little by little the conduct of Carmagnola gave rise to the suspicion that he was not doing his best, that he was either secretly favouring the enemy, or that at least he was prolonging the war by his inactivity as useful

Greatest extent of Venetian dominion



for his own interests. The Government at last could stand it no longer: the general was invited to Venice, nominally for a consultation, and after being splendidly entertained was suddenly arrested, and sentenced to death by a special court. Other generals were soon found to take his place, and with varying success the war dragged on, until the death of Filippo Maria in 1447 made a sudden change in the whole situation, for with him ended the male line of the Visconti.

Execution of Carmagnola, 1432

Death of Filippo Maria Visconti, 1447

Disputed
succession
in Milan

The question now arose, how should Milan be governed? The Milanese themselves proclaimed a Republic, but there were plenty of claimants for the Duchy. Sforza was married to Filippo's daughter, and had long been planning to secure his inheritance; Venice would gladly have seized the opportunity of advancing at her rival's expense; Charles of Orleans asserted his rights as son of Valentine Visconti and grandson of Gian Galeazzo. Eventually Sforza, having gained the support of Cosimo de' Medici who preferred to see him rather than Venice master of Milan, solved the difficulty by besieging the town, and the Milanese, divided between fear of him and hatred of Venice, which might have helped them, surrendered to the formidable soldier, and recognised him as their Duke. The Venetians had lost a great opportunity and they could do nothing against the new ruler by force of arms. In 1454 the long struggle was ended by the Peace of Lodi, which deprived Venice of her latest conquests and gave her the frontier of 1428.

Francesco
Sforza,
Duke of
Milan,
1450

Peace of
Lodi, 1454

Domestic
history of
Venice

A few words must be said concerning the domestic history of the Venetian Republic during this period. Its chief feature was the decline of any real authority in the hands of the Doge and the growing supremacy of the Council of Ten. For some time past the Ducal office had been becoming more and more an empty honour, and the theory that he was the delegate of the people little but a picturesque pretence. Originally the people had been really consulted in the election, and though this had turned into a formal sanction, it was not till 1414 that the old words were omitted "This is your Doge, an it please you," and the new ruler was presented to his subjects with the bald announcement,

ITALY after the Peace of Lodi 1454



Francesco
Foscari,
Doge of
Venice

Deposition
of Foscari
by the
Council of
Ten, 1457

“Your Doge”. The history of Francesco Foscari, the first Doge to be proclaimed in this manner, illustrates clearly the real character of the office and its complete lack of authority. His son Jacopo, suspected of taking bribes and bestowing offices, was tortured and banished by the Ten. Recalled once, he was again tried, again tortured and again banished, his father refusing to interfere in his favour when the State decreed his punishment. Foscari, worn out and broken by grief, began to take less active share in public life, whereupon the all-powerful Ten demanded his resignation. In vain the Doge pointed out that such an order could only proceed from the Great Council, the Ten remained immovable, and Foscari left the palace submissive to the will of the real rulers of the city. So ends our period for Milan and Venice. In the former, Visconti tyranny has merely given place to the despotism of the Sforzas. The latter has apparently come victorious out of the war, with increase of territory and plenty of riches and splendour for the moment, but there are rocks ahead. Dangers are threatening from Turks on the East, from Italian rivals in the West, and from loss of her far famed commerce and wealth, which dwindled after the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope opened a new trade route for the vessels of Europe.

History of
Florence

We have seen in an earlier chapter that the government of Florence at the close of the thirteenth century was very democratic, largely, that is, in the hands of the people. As time went on the upper classes became more and more dissatisfied at the limitations on their power, and the wealthy burghers determined to assert their authority. In 1378 a rising of the *Ciompi*, as the lowest classes of all were called, gave opportunity for

a reaction in the opposite direction, and little by little the government fell into the hands of an oligarchy; a small number of leading citizens gained possession of all the chief offices, and by skilful management of the *Scrutinies* were able to keep themselves in power, until Florence was far from possessing a democratic Government. The rule of this oligarchy was at first most successful. Florence held her own against Milan, increased her commerce, and extended her territories; the conquest of Pisa in especial gave her access to the sea, and raised hopes of naval enterprises. Then followed a period of discontent and failure. The people excluded from power began to murmur, and especially the lower middle classes, who were growing in wealth and felt bitterly their exclusion from office. The weight of taxation also, necessary for carrying on the government, was a constant source of complaint; but above all the oligarchy itself began to split up into hostile family groups, jealous of each other's power, and intriguing for their own supremacy. Of these the most important were the Albizzi and the Medici. Rinaldo degli Albizzi headed the narrow oligarchy, which controlled the government. The Medici, rich bankers and money changers, came to be allied with the lower classes, whose favour they won partly by generous expenditure of their vast wealth. Giovanni de' Medici was looked up to as popular champion against the party in power, and he advocated fairer and better distributed taxation, but no active steps against the oligarchy were taken during his lifetime. On his deathbed he gave much good advice to his son Cosimo, his successor in wealth, and more than his successor in power. "Be compassionate to the poor and assist them with

Victory of
the olig-
archy

Rivalry be-
tween Al-
bizzi and
Medici

your alms ; to the rich be gracious and obliging, especially if in honest adversity. . . . Let your counsel be friendly not dictatorial, and be not rendered proud and arrogant by public honour or popular applause."

War with
Lucca, 1433

In 1433 an unsuccessful war for the conquest of Lucca rendered still more unpopular the party in power, and Rinaldo degli Albizzi, feeling his authority insecure and dreading Medicean influence, secured the arrest and banishment of Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo, and the exclusion of the whole family from public office. The tide soon turned, however, Rinaldo was unpopular, and in the following year he in his turn was banished,

Cosimo de'
Medici re-
called to
Florence,
1434

and Cosimo recalled with the greatest honour and signs of rejoicing. This was a great event in Florentine history, for it marks the foundation of Medicean ascendancy. Cosimo slowly but surely made himself the chief authority in the city, although he never posed as official ruler, nor did he alarm the citizens by outward pomp and ceremony. He avoided offending the lower people, and endeavoured as far as possible to level class distinctions and to favour no single faction in the State. His great ability enabled him to establish a despotism, which was all the stronger for being disguised, and from this time the foreign and domestic policy of Florence was really in his hands.

Home
policy of
Cosimo

The rule of Cosimo at home was very different from that of other Italian tyrants, such as the Visconti in Milan, for example. He aimed at complete power for himself and his dynasty ; but he achieved this by influence rather than open rule, by intrigue rather than by violence and by money not by the dagger. His immense

wealth was a great weapon in his hands ; and if he wished to punish an enemy he did so by ruining him with taxes, instead of by arrest, torture, or death. His despotism, on the whole, was based upon popular support. All this does not imply that Cosimo was unselfish and scrupulous. Nothing was allowed to stand in his way ; as he said himself, "States are not to be preserved by Paternosters" ; but he was averse from violence and would never have desired unnecessary cruelties. Commines writing after his death says, "his authority was soft and amiable and such as is necessary for a free town".

In foreign affairs Cosimo aimed at maintaining a balance of power, at not, that is, allowing any Italian State to advance to such an extent as to threaten the welfare of his own. Thus he was bound at first to adopt a policy of hostility towards Milan and the ambitions of the Visconti, and this led to an alliance with Venice, although there was little love lost between Florentines and Venetians. Again when Filippo Maria took up the cause of Alfonso in Naples, Florence threw her weight on to the side of René. In 1447 when the Duke of Milan died, Cosimo favoured the claims of Sforza, and wished to break off the Venetian alliance as no longer necessary : but this he was unable to do openly, owing to the feeling of the people, until Sforza's success in 1450, when Florence joined with Milan against Venice and Naples. Although this policy, thus shortly stated, may seem complicated and ineffective, the result in reality was to make Florence a very great power in Italy, the ally of France, and a mediator in all questions of difficulty in the Peninsula.

a Foreign
policy of
Cosimo

At the close of our epoch Cosimo de' Medici had still many years of life and power before him, and his history belongs largely to a later period.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Sismondi: *Italian Republics*.

Alethea Wiel: *Venice* ("Story of the Nations"), and *Florence*, ("Mediæval Towns Series").

CHAPTER X

HISTORY OF FRANCE, 1380-1453

THE period which followed the reign of Charles the Charles VI., 1380-1422 Wise was one of great disaster for France. The new King Charles VI. was only eleven years old on his father's death, and though a boy of considerable spirit and promise, his early introduction to the troubles, excitements and dissipations of royalty were too much for a brain naturally feeble.

His reign began with a struggle for power amongst The Princes of the Fleur de Lys his uncles. Charles V. had three brothers. The Duke of Anjou the eldest was greedy and ambitious, he stole the crown jewels and declared himself Regent. The Duke of Berri was bought off by being given the rule in Languedoc, where his cruelties and oppressions encouraged constant disquiet which kept him occupied. Philip the Bold, the boy who alone had stood by his father at Poitiers, had been rewarded with the Duchy of Burgundy, which had fallen to the Crown in 1361, and was one of the richest princes in Europe. He had married Margaret of Flanders, widow of the last Duke of Burgundy of the old house, and only child of Count Louis le Mâle, who died in 1382, leaving all his great territories in the hands of his son-in-law; an all-important fact, for it was largely on account of Flanders that Burgundy became later more attached to England than to France.

A fourth claimant for power was found in the Duke of Bourbon, brother of the late King's wife, and the selfish disputes between these "Princes of the Fleur de Lys" were not conducive to the welfare of the country.

The close of the fourteenth century was a period of popular risings in many countries; it was not only in England that Wat Tyler's Rebellion showed the strength of the people growing in opposition to feudalism. In France there were disturbances in Paris at the opening of the new reign, chiefly against the heavy taxation of the Princes; the rioters were called *Maillotins* or Hammerers, from the weapon they most frequently carried. The Government, for the time, had to yield to popular wishes. The Duke of Anjou was anxious for peace, as his whole attention was turned to Naples, on which he had claims, and in 1382 his departure to fight for his rights against Charles of Durazzo left the chief authority in the hands of Philip of Burgundy.

Urged by his Uncle Philip, the young King went off with a large army to assist the Count of Flanders, once more in trouble with his subjects. The Flemings, especially those of Ghent as before, had risen against their unpopular ruler, and were headed by Philip van Artevelde, the son of their old leader, a man equally bold and determined. The rebels captured Bruges where the Count had a romantic escape, being concealed in the bed of a poor woman whilst her house was searched by his enemies, and other successes also emboldened the burgesses in their resistance. Van Artevelde, however, was not a trained warrior and he was unable to maintain his forces against the French army at Rosbecque. The story runs that before the battle he had a vision of fire in the sky, and heard sounds of war above the Flemish

The Maillotins

French interference in Flanders

Battle of Rosbecque, 29th Nov. 1382.

camp which foretold the disaster that was to come. The horrors of the next day are unrivalled in the annals of war, and it was a ghastly introduction for the boy King to the trade of arms. The one idea of the Flemings was to obtain sheer solid strength and thus force a way through the line of their foes; with this object they linked themselves so closely together that no enemy could possibly enter their ranks, but on the other hand they themselves could scarcely strike a blow. Attacked on both sides at once, they were pressed more and more closely together till half their number died, not through the weapons of the French, but from simple suffocation. "There was a mountain of slain Flemings both long and high, and never had one seen so great a battle and so many dead with so little spilling of blood; this was because so many were stifled in the press and so shed no blood." Philip van Artevelde himself was among the slain, and Charles, satisfied with this victory, returned to his own country, where his entry into Paris was marked by a severe repression of all who had taken part in the recent rebellion. The leaders of the Maillotins were executed, the office of Provost of the Merchants abolished, and municipal liberties destroyed.

Punishment of the Maillotins

The first great event in the government came when the King declared that he was of age, and like Richard II. in England flung himself free from the control of his uncles, and began to govern with the help of old Councillors of his father; *Marmousets* the jealous nobles called them, angry at the favour shown to men of lower birth than themselves. The whole condition of affairs was changed, however, by the King's attack of madness. A combination of causes helped to bring this about. One of Charles's most trusted advisers was his Constable;

Charles declares himself of age, 1388

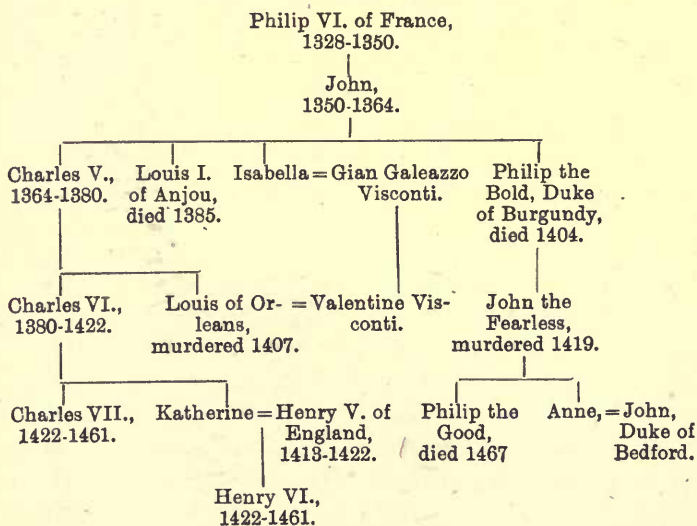
Rule of the Marmousets

Madness of Charles VI.

Olivier de Clisson: A personal enemy of Clisson, Pierre de Craon, backed up by the Duke of Brittany, determined on his removal. One night when returning with a few attendants through the narrow street of St. Catherine, the Constable was fallen upon by Pierre himself and a band of hired ruffians, who dealt him blows which felled him from his horse and as they thought killed him. He was saved by striking in his fall the half-open door of a baker's shop, where work had begun early. As he fell across the threshold, the assassins dared not enter the house, but fled in hot haste leaving him stretched unconscious. The King, to whom news of the crime was brought, flew half dressed to the assistance of his friend, found him alive and learnt the name of the would-be murderer. Medical aid was speedily procured and the Constable recovered; but Charles having failed to capture De Craon determined on the punishment of the Duke of Brittany, whom he rightly guessed to have been at the bottom of the affair. Ill and feverish himself, he disregarded the prayers of his doctors, and during the hottest summer months rode to the attack of his unruly vassal. One blazing July day, having first been startled in a wood by a madman who had seized his bridle, crying "Turn, turn, you are betrayed," he was driven out of his senses by the sudden clang of a lance which a sleepy page let fall on the helmet carried by another of his attendants. Thinking that a whole army was upon him, the King, completely crazed, drew his sword and fell upon his own followers, striking down right and left. Finally he hotly pursued his own brother the Duke of Orleans, and was only captured with great difficulty, and at last quieted, although unable to recognise any one. The attack was

violent, but it passed at last, only to be renewed by the wild career of gaiety with which his friends sought to dispel his melancholy humours. An awful accident gave the final blow to his poor wits. Dressed as wild men with clothes of skins soaked in pitch, he and five others were dancing at a marriage feast, when the Duke of Orleans with a torch, set fire to one of the inflammable dresses. The King was saved by a lady with whom he was talking and who covered him with her robe, but the other five perished in the flames which caught them all and could not be extinguished. Charles never recovered from this shock; though only completely mad at periods of the year he was never really himself. Hence a struggle ensued for power in the Kingdom, which threw the whole working of the government out of gear, and eventually left the country an easy prey to the renewed invasion of the English.

VALOIS AND BURGUNDY



Rivalry between Burgundy and Orleans

The Duke of Orleans

The two parties

John the Fearless of Burgundy

The chief rivals for the control of the government were the Duke of Burgundy, whose great territorial power has been already noticed, and Charles's brother, the Duke of Orleans. The latter was far the inferior in actual wealth and position; his lands though extensive were scattered, and his purchase of Luxemburg only involved him in expense and infuriated his rival; but he had considerable influence and an attractive personality which won him friends, despite the levity and unscrupulousness of his character. Handsome, of a ready wit, a lover of books and art, a benefactor of the Church, always gay and affable, Orleans reminds one in many ways of our own Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. As was the case in the rivalry between Gloucester and Beaufort, this quarrel meant far more than mere personal antagonism, and the two principal opponents represented the two great parties into which the Kingdom was divided. The Orleans party was that of the old feudal nobility, supporters of privilege and arbitrary power; while the Burgundians, more for the sake of opposition than from real popular leanings, were champions of municipal liberty and financial reform, thereby winning the allegiance of the Parisians. In every question that arose the two Dukes took opposite sides. Efforts were being made at the time to end the Papal schism, and while Burgundy was urging the retirement of Pope Benedict, Orleans was his staunchest supporter. In England Orleans posed as the avenger of Richard II., while Burgundy was making terms with the Lancastrian usurper. In the Empire Wenzel was backed up by Louis, his rival Rupert of the Palatinate by Philip.

This state of affairs was but little affected by the death in 1404 of Philip the Bold. His son John the Fearless

took up the same attitude, possibly with even greater animosity. The new Duke was the exact opposite of his cousin Orleans. Short and plain, built for strength rather than grace, he was silent, cautious, unattractive, and extremely ambitious. A sham reconciliation between John and Louis, when apparently "they kissed one another with tears of joy," was followed almost immediately by the final tragedy. In the Rue des Francs Bourgeois in Paris an inscription still marks the narrow passage, below overhanging eaves, where Louis of Orleans was murdered. He had been with Queen Isabella of Bavaria in Hôtel Barbette, when a pretended message from the King was brought to him. Fearing no danger he rode idly along the street, swinging his glove and singing as he went, his escort dawdling behind. Suddenly he was attacked, and, utterly defenceless, could make no resistance. This time there was to be no mistake, the body was almost cut to pieces, and a horrified woman who saw the tragedy from a neighbouring window, noticed that when all was over, a man with a cap pulled over his eyes came and said to the others: "Put out your lights, he is quite dead, let us be off". The mutilated remains were buried in a chapel, which Orleans himself had built, amidst universal horror and mourning. The coffin was borne by his uncle of Berri and his cousins, the titular King of Sicily, the Duke of Bourbon and the Duke of Burgundy. All wept, but none more bitterly than Duke John. The crime was not long a mystery; Burgundy acknowledged that it had been done by his command. "It was I, the Devil tempted me," he whispered to the old Duke of Bourbon, probably in a moment of repentance and humiliation; but though he fled after his avowal, the

Murder of
the Duke
of Orleans,
1407

deed was not regarded with universal indignation. Orleans had long ceased to be popular with the people, especially in Paris, and there was even a Master of the University who wrote in defence of the act, as the just removal of a tyrant.

Burgun-
dians and
Armagnacs

John of Burgundy, soon restored to pride and self-confidence, was able for some years to maintain his ascendancy, and through the Dauphin Louis, who was his son-in-law, became the practical ruler of the Kingdom. Vengeance, however, was only delayed, not averted. The three sons of the murdered man, too young to take the lead themselves, were joined by most of the old noble families, and especially by Bernard of Armagnac, who now became the head of the party.

Relations
with Eng-
land

France was divided into two camps, each of which took up arms, and a civil war broke out, known in history as the struggle between Armagnacs and Burgundians. The complications of this strife of parties would take too long to unravel; the results of it were seen in the great misery of Paris and the country generally, and in the extreme dearth of food and terrible poverty and distress. Above all the civil war in France was a direct cause of the new English invasion. Hitherto there had been little danger from England. Richard II., when freed from his own difficulties, had made peace with France and married the Princess Isabel. Henry IV. had had no time to spare from securing his own position; but now Henry V., young, popular and warlike, was ready to reassert the old claim at a moment's notice. John of Burgundy, for a time humbled by his rivals, began to treat with the enemy of France and offered to help him in an attack upon the dominions of the Armagnacs. Henry spent some time negotiating, but he meant war from

the first, and it did not require the Dauphin's foolish present of tennis-balls to stir up his zeal for the enterprise.

In August, 1415, he landed in Normandy with a small but well-disciplined army. Harfleur, a sort of second Calais, was taken after a determined resistance, and Henry sent a personal challenge to the Dauphin, the combat to be for the Crown itself, although, whatever the issue, Charles VI. was to retain it as long as he lived. But the question was not to be settled in this summary fashion; the challenge was disregarded and the English army set out in the direction of Calais, following a route very similar to that taken by Edward III. The strictest order was kept amongst the troops, severe penalties being imposed on all plundering and on all deeds of violence. The port was not to be reached without opposition. A large force of the French, three or four times ~~equal to~~ that of Henry, faced him near the Castle of Agincourt. and a battle was inevitable. The situation was one of the greatest danger, but the King was cool as ever. "By the God of Heaven by whose grace I stand and in whom I put my trust, I would not have another man if I could. Wottest thou not that the Lord with these few can overthrow the pride of the French." So he answered one of his followers who ventured to wish for more archers. The soldiers were in sore need of encouragement, they were weakened by sickness and poor food, and a night of pouring rain before the battle did not contribute to raise their spirits. The ground was not particularly in favour of the English, but their small numbers were skillfully disposed in a long line, all on foot even the King himself, and the archers were protected from a cavalry attack by a row of six-foot stakes planted in front of them. The French, on the other hand, were

English
invasion,
1415

Battle of
Agincourt,
25th Oct.
1415

in three solid divisions, one behind the other, for the space did not permit all their numbers to commence the fight at once. They had archers, but these were uselessly placed behind the men at arms, who had refused to allow them what was considered the place of honour in the front. Another mistake, arising from the same jealous pride, was that all the princes and nobles were in the first division, and their followers almost leaderless in the rearguard, so that no order or firmness was to be expected there. Add to this that the French had no real commander-in-chief, and it will be evident that the success of the English was not astonishing, although their courage in attacking so enormous an army is deserving of every honour. The loss of life on the French side was terrible: fighting in such close ranks the soldiers were scarcely able to defend themselves, and when the two front divisions were pressed back, the rear fled almost without striking a blow. Henry could, however, do no more that campaign, but taking ship at Calais returned to give thanks in England for his great victory.

Meanwhile the internal discord of France continued as before and utterly paralysed resistance to the foreigners: as a Parisian writing during the war says, "the nobles were far too busy to attend to the English!" The death of the King's two eldest sons made Charles Dauphin, and he was completely under the control of the Armagnac party, whilst John the Fearless had won Queen Isabel to his side. These divisions encouraged Henry, backed up also by the Emperor Sigismund, to renew the attack, and war was recommenced in 1417 with the siege of Rouen. The garrison was starved out. They were reduced, says a chronicler, "to eating dogs, cats, rats, mice and such things, so that it was

Rouen,
forced to
capitulate,
19th Jan.
1419

piteous to behold". When the attack began the poor were driven from the town to save the scanty provisions. Henry would not let them pass his lines, but provided food for them, and they lived in the dry moat whilst the siege went on. Babies were drawn up in baskets to be baptised and then let down again, and on Christmas Day a dinner was provided for them by the English King in honour of the festival. Nevertheless, despite his kindness of heart, Henry did not make war as though it were a tournament or knightly exercise; he made stiff terms with the conquered, and would listen to no plans for peace which did not give him all that Edward III. had gained at Bretigni, with Normandy in addition. Negotiations seemed to be falling through when an event occurred which practically threw France into the hands of the English.

After many efforts, peace at last seemed possible between Burgundians and Armagnacs, and the Duke of Burgundy, though not without some hesitation, consented to a meeting with the Dauphin. Tanneguy du Chatel, now the practical leader of the Armagnac party, himself silenced his fears: "My honoured lord, have no doubts; Monsieur is well pleased with you, and wishes in future to govern as you wish; and besides, you have good friends near him who love you". "We trust in your word," replied the Duke, "but see well that what you say is true, for you will do ill to betray us." "I would rather die than betray you or any one," swore the false Tanneguy; and together they rode to the meeting-place. On a bridge at Montereau barricades had been erected, and the two principals entered accompanied by a few followers. John the Fearless knelt to the Dauphin, and in this position, unable to draw his sword,

Murder of
John of
Burgundy,
10th Sept.
1419

he was struck down by a gang of men who rushed up from behind the Prince, but Tanneguy himself is said to have dealt the first blow. The murder was disastrous for the country. More than a century later, a monk showing Francis I. the great dent made by a blow in the skull of John the Fearless, said: "Sire, that is the hole through which the English entered France". John's son Philip, now Duke of Burgundy, who thought of nothing but how to avenge his father, was ready to make any terms with the English, and by his assistance the Treaty of Troyes was drawn up, the terms of which would debar the family of his father's murderer for ever from the succession. Charles VI. was to be left in possession of the Kingdom for his life, but Henry was to be Regent, was to marry the Princess Catherine and to succeed when the King died. "This seemed strange to some in France," a chronicler quaintly remarks, "but nothing else could be done for the present." With characteristic energy the English King allowed himself one day only for his marriage festivities, and when urged to hold a great tournament on the morrow replied: "Next morning we must be ready to besiege the Castle of Sens, where we shall find the enemies of our lord the King, and there can each of us joust and tourney and display his prowess and hardihood".

Treaty of
Troyes,
1420

Death of
Henry V.,
31st Aug.
1422

Henry's enemies could now be looked on as rebels, and the two years of his Regency were still years of fighting for the suppression of rebellion. In 1422, worn out by his exertions, he died at Vincennes when only thirty-five, and was mourned by French as well as English, for his rule though severe was just and orderly. Pierre de Fenin writes of the grief felt at his death, "for he was a prince of much understanding, who had

great regard for justice, so that the poor loved him above all others. Moreover he was determined to protect the lower classes against the insupportable violence and extortions of the nobles, which won him the favour and prayers of the Clergy as well as of the poor people."

Two months later the poor mad King of France at last ended his long and miserable reign. He was much lamented by his subjects, who had always kept a warm place in their hearts for the unfortunate monarch and firmly believed that he would have done great things had he only been given a mind more robust. The nobles paid no reverence to his corpse, which was accompanied to the tomb by Henry's brother the Duke of Bedford and his English followers: but the Parisians wept as the funeral procession passed through their streets. "Each cried as though at the death of their best beloved." "Ah dear Prince, never shall we see you again, never shall we have one so good." As the King's body was placed in its resting place at St. Denis, the Herald proclaimed: "God give good life to King Henry, by the grace of God, King of France and England our sovereign lord". But the people murmured when they saw the sword of the French Kings borne before Bedford as Regent for the infant English monarch.

Death of
Charles
VI., Oct.
1422

There were now two Kings in France. The English held Paris for Henry VI., a child of ten months old, who was also recognised in Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, Guienne, Gascony and the Burgundian territories. Charles VII. at Bourges had the support of Touraine, Dauphiné, Berri and Poitou. Brittany was doubtful, but eventually leant towards the French side, when Arthur of Richemont, brother of the Duke, became Constable.

Two Kings
in France

Regency of
the Duke of
Bedford

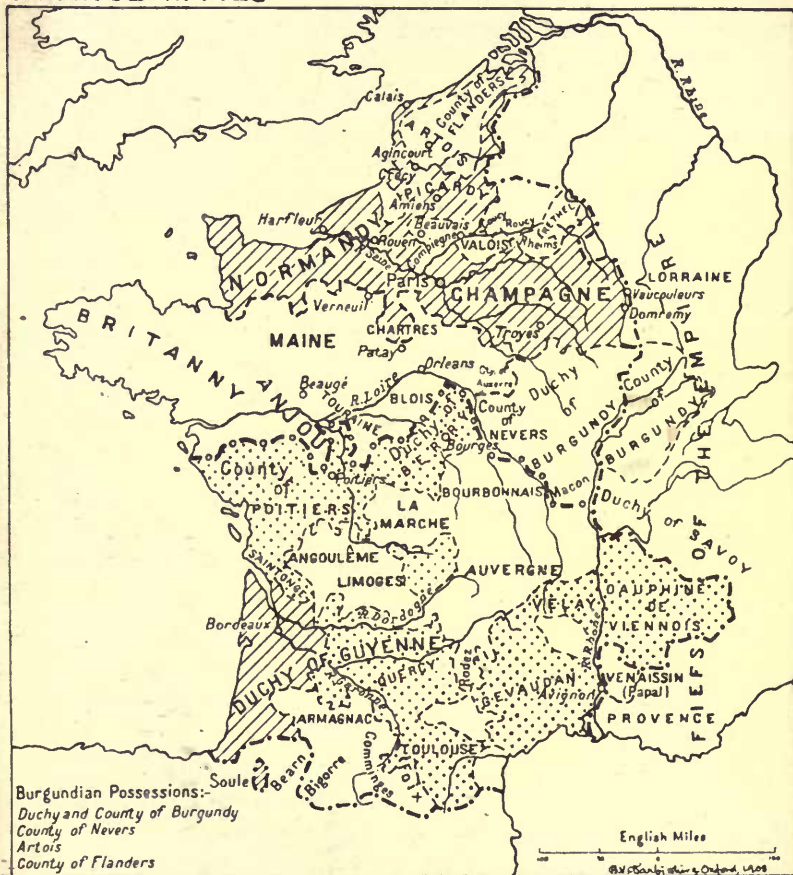
Bedford's task was no easy one. The English power rested on little but the support of Burgundy and the discords in France; even in the districts nominally under their control resistance was constant. The Regent worked his hardest to maintain his brother's conquest. He married Anne, sister of Philip of Burgundy; he strove for peace, reform and good government, ruling through French officials and according to old customs. At Verneuil, against odds almost as great as at Agincourt, he won a complete victory over a combined army of Scotch and French: but there were forces at work against which even so able a man as Bedford could not contend. Philip of Burgundy was at best a very doubtful ally; and with incredible selfishness Humphrey of Gloucester, the younger brother of Henry V., exasperated him by a marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault, a cousin of the Duke, after getting the anti-Pope to divorce her from the Duke of Brabant, to whom Philip himself had married her: more than this, he laid claim to her territories, on which her kinsman had designs on his own account. Bedford smoothed things down for the time; Jacqueline acknowledged Philip as her heir in Holland, Hainault and Zealand, and his attention became absorbed in strengthening his dominions in the direction of the Netherlands; but relations with his old allies were not made more cordial by this event.

Battle of
Verneuil,
17th Aug.
1424

Humphrey
of Glou-
cester
offends
Burgundy

English rule, however, was doomed, whether Burgundian support was retained or no. The very fact of the long war with England and the sense of a common danger were beginning to develop in France a spirit of nationality, which sooner or later was bound to sweep the foreigner out of her land. The train was laid, but a match was needed to kindle the fire; and the credit

FRANCE in 1429



of this must be given to the heroic Maid of Orleans, who despite her apparent failure and cruel death infused fresh life and vigour into the party of resistance, and aroused a spirit of enthusiasm throughout the country, of incalculable value.

Weak position of the French

The fortunes of France seemed at the lowest ebb when Joan of Arc appeared on the scene. Charles, under the influence of evil counsellors, was sunk in apathy and despair; the English were besieging Orleans which had lost hope of succour, and the fall of which would have delivered Touraine, Berri and Poitou, strongholds of the French party, into the hands of the English: never was help more urgently needed, and it came in the person of a young girl, inexperienced and uneducated, but inspired by love of her country and belief in her mission.

Joan of Arc

Joan of Arc was born of peasant parents in Domremy, a village on the borders of Lorraine; she had been taught to sew by her mother and had been occupied either working at home or guarding her father's sheep all her life: she had little learning but a vivid religious faith. When only twelve years of age she had heard "voices," which she believed to be those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, bidding her leave her home and go forth to the help of the King of France to whom she should restore the Kingdom; and this order was repeated again and again. Despite the entreaties of her parents whom she dearly loved, Joan felt that she must obey the divine message; she went forth to Vaucouleurs and begged the Captain of the town to send her to Charles: "My lord captain, know that God has told me many times to go to the gentle Dauphin, who should be and is the true King of France, and that he must give me men at arms, with whose aid I shall raise the siege of

Orleans and lead him to be crowned at Rheims." After much persuasion the Captain gave her a small escort, and dressed as a man she set out for Chinon on the river Indre where Charles was then dwelling. Here, having gained admission, she went straight to the King, although he was in no way distinguished from the many nobles who surrounded him, and proffered her request. It was long before she could win favour. Eventually she was taken to Poitiers and questioned by learned doctors, to whom she answered modestly but with a shrewd sense of humour, and more than held her own. At last Charles let her go with a small force to join the French already confronting the besiegers, and she won the hearts of all by her confidence and piety. The English before Orleans had erected towers or bastilles, from which they assaulted the town, and these the rescuers had to storm. Joan first dictated a letter to the English commander demanding surrender: "If you will not do right, the Maid will act so that the French shall perform the finest deed that has ever been done in Christendom". There were days of hard fighting before the besiegers were driven off. Joan led the attacks and all marvelled that she seemed to understand the art of war like a veteran commander. At the final assault, though wounded, she bore her banner to the ramparts, and when it touched them she cried: "All is yours, enter in!"—they entered and the town was relieved. The English retreated discouraged and alarmed, Orleans welcomed her deliverer as a Saint, and all France resounded with praise and joy. Joan could not rest with her mission half fulfilled: Charles, still hesitating, was almost forced by her to Rheims, the way having been cleared by another victory at Patay. Before this battle Joan asked the Duke of

Siege of
Orleans

Siege
raised,
8th May,
1429

Battle of
Patay,
18th June,
1429

Alençon, who came to know if they should fight: "Have you your spurs?" "What!" said he, "are we to retire or to fly?" "No, indeed," she replied, "they will fly and you will need your spurs to pursue them": and it happened as she foretold.

Charles
VII.,
crowned at
Rheims,
17th July,
1429

In the Cathedral at Rheims where all previous Kings had been crowned, Charles was anointed with the holy oil, Joan standing by, standard in hand. When all was over she humbly embraced the King's knees, shedding tears of joy. "Gentle King, now the will of God has been done, for He wished that you should come to Rheims to be crowned, to show that you are the true King to whom the Kingdom ought to belong."

Capture of
Joan, 1430

Trial

Even now Joan's advice was not always followed, and sorely against her wishes the siege of Paris was abandoned, although such was the panic amongst the enemy, that a bold move had every hope of success. Weary of delay the Maid, on her own account, led a small force to Compiègne, which was being attacked by the English ally, the Duke of Burgundy. Here her courage carried her too far, and she fell into the hands of John of Luxemburg; he sold her to the English, who were overjoyed at the chance of destroying the "witch". Charles VII. stirred not a finger to save her; never can his memory be cleared from the shame of such a desertion. She was taken to Rouen, where a long trial began, conducted by the Bishop of Beauvais, a partisan of England and Burgundy; and every ingenuity was exercised to convict her of heresy and witchcraft. Through long days of questioning Joan stood firm; she would neither deny the divine nature of her message, nor let fall a word which might involve her King in blame. Her answers not only show her saintliness and courage, but dis-

play a fund of common sense and shrewdness, which were peculiarly characteristic of her. Not till the very last did she waver. Then worn out by a sermon of denunciations, terrified by the thought of the faggot and the stake, urged by a friend to save her life, she set her mark to a document which was a denial of her saints and of the sacredness of her mission. In return her life was spared and she was condemned to imprisonment for life. Her weakness was but momentary; once more encouraged by the heavenly voices, she repudiated her denial and went to her death as a relapsed heretic. In the Market Place of Rouen, on a platform high above the crowd, Joan of Arc was burnt to death. "My voices were of God, they have not deceived me," she cried as the flames rose round her. Scarcely an eye was dry amongst the spectators, even her judges wept. "We are lost, we have killed a saint," cried King Henry's secretary, in tardy horror at the deed.

Death of
Joan of
Arc, 28th
May, 1431

It was true that the English cause was lost: they themselves were losing energy and self-confidence while the French were gaining it; but the dreary struggle dragged on yet for many years. Bedford brought the young King to France, and his coronation at Paris was intended as a counter-blast to the ceremony at Rheims; but the affair was a dismal failure. No impression was made on the French, none but English took part in the service, which was performed according to English rites; above all it was accompanied by none of those gracious acts which usually graced the coronation of a new monarch, little money was distributed amongst the people and no prisoners were released. Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy, the one weak prop of English power, was becoming more and more alienated: pos-

Coronation
of Henry
VI. at
Paris, 1431

Loss of the
Burgun-
dian alli-
ance

sibly the career of the Maid of Orleans had had some effect even on Duke Philip, assuredly he felt that it was better to be on the winning side, whilst little by little the ties which bound him to England were loosening. His sister the Duchess of Bedford had died and for once her wise husband had committed an imprudence in forming a new marriage with the young Jacquetta of Luxemburg, a vassal of Burgundy. Even the Emperor Sigismund had been won over to Charles VII. and had denounced the ambitions of Duke Philip; whilst his subjects, Parisians, Burgundians and Flemings, were all longing for peace. Just at the last one more stumbling-block was removed by the death of John of Bedford, an incalculable loss for the English, and with the Treaty of Arras the long hostility between France and Burgundy was ended for the time, the Duke being bought off by very substantial bribes. He was granted the counties of Maçon and Auxerre, the towns on the Somme which gave him a strong footing in Picardy, and he was to be free for life from all feudal subjection to Charles VII.

Treaty of
Arras, 1435

Even the King was awaking to some sort of energy, thanks, it is said, to his love for the beautiful Agnes Sorel, who stimulated his dormant ambition and cried shame on his slackness. Paris was retaken by the Constable Richemont, who had lately gone over to the side of the French, and Charles on his solemn entry into the capital, was received with heartfelt enthusiasm.

Peace party
in England

England was at this time weakened by those quarrels and divisions which were fast leading to the Wars of the Roses; and accordingly the Duke of Suffolk in 1444 negotiated a truce, which was ratified by the marriage of Henry to the famous Margaret of Anjou, a

union which was fraught with disturbing consequences to his Kingdom. The truce brought anything but peace to France, which, as after Bretigni, was wasted by bands of professional soldiers, *Écorcheurs* as they were now called, because they skinned their victims to the very shirt; but at least it gave Charles time to reconstruct his army, to restore financial order, and to get a control over the government. Thus when hostilities were renewed he was better able to face them. Bit by bit lands were recovered from the English. Normandy was retaken and by 1453 all Guienne but Bordeaux had succumbed. A last effort was made to save the port, which itself was loyal to the English rule, and Talbot, a veteran warrior eighty years of age, but still full of energy, was sent to its relief. At Castillon, however, he lost his own life and his troops were defeated. Bordeaux fell, and of all she had possessed since the twelfth century, of all the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V., nothing remained to England but the town of Calais. The Hundred Years' War was over at last.

Loss of
English
possessions
in France

Battle of
Castillon
and end of
War, 1453

The long struggle had left traces in France which could not at once be effaced. The country was wasted, depopulated, apparently ruined: but no race has more recuperative power than the French, and the energy and industry of the people rendered recovery extraordinarily rapid: above all France had become a nation, and a nation which was to take a position of the greatest prominence in the centuries to follow. Politically everything tended to establish the absolutism of the Crown; the French asked for nothing but peace and order, and gave up the liberties they had won earlier without a murmur. The nobles endeavoured feebly to resist, but the *Praguerie*, as their attempt was called, came to

Results of
the war on
France

nothing; they had been tried and found wanting; and love of country came more and more to be bound up with loyalty to the King.

Jacques
Cœur

Much of this revival of the French Monarchy was due to the counsellors of Charles VII., Charles the well-served, as he has been truly called; and these counsellors were chiefly members of the bourgeois class. Of these the best known is Jacques Cœur, a rich merchant of Bourges, where his house is still shown adorned with the device "à vaillans (two painted hearts) rien impossible". He became the King's treasurer and did much to improve the finances and to reform the currency. Amongst other changes the *taille*, formerly levied by all lords in their own estates, was made into a royal tax only to be paid to the King. For this and for his great wealth he incurred much hatred amongst the upper classes, and a case was got up against him, on the pretence that he had poisoned Agnes Sorel. Although this absurd accusation fell through, others were invented, the King did not defend him, and he was banished after being deprived of all his possessions. Another burgess, Jean Bureau, did so much work for the French artillery that, for more than a century, it was considered superior to that of any other country.

Jean
Bureau

The reign of Charles VII. left France an independent country, with a standing army¹ and an orderly government; but he passed his last years in suspicion and

¹ By the Ordinance of 1439 no one was to be allowed to raise a company of soldiers without royal licence, and all captains were to be nominated by the King. Very severe regulations were laid down against pillage; both cavalry and infantry were placed definitely under the Crown. This Ordinance could not be carried out, at once, but came into force 1445-48.

misery, disliked by the nobles, deserted by the Dauphin, the future Louis XI., and endangered by the ambitions of the Duke of Burgundy : it is even said that he starved himself to death for fear of poison. It is hard to feel any pity for a man who had shown such shameful apathy, such base ingratitude, and whose successes were wholly due to the exertion and devotion of others.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Kitchin : *History of France*, vol. i.

Charlotte M. Yonge : *The Caged Lion*.

CHAPTER XI

THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC

Importance
of the Bal-
tic

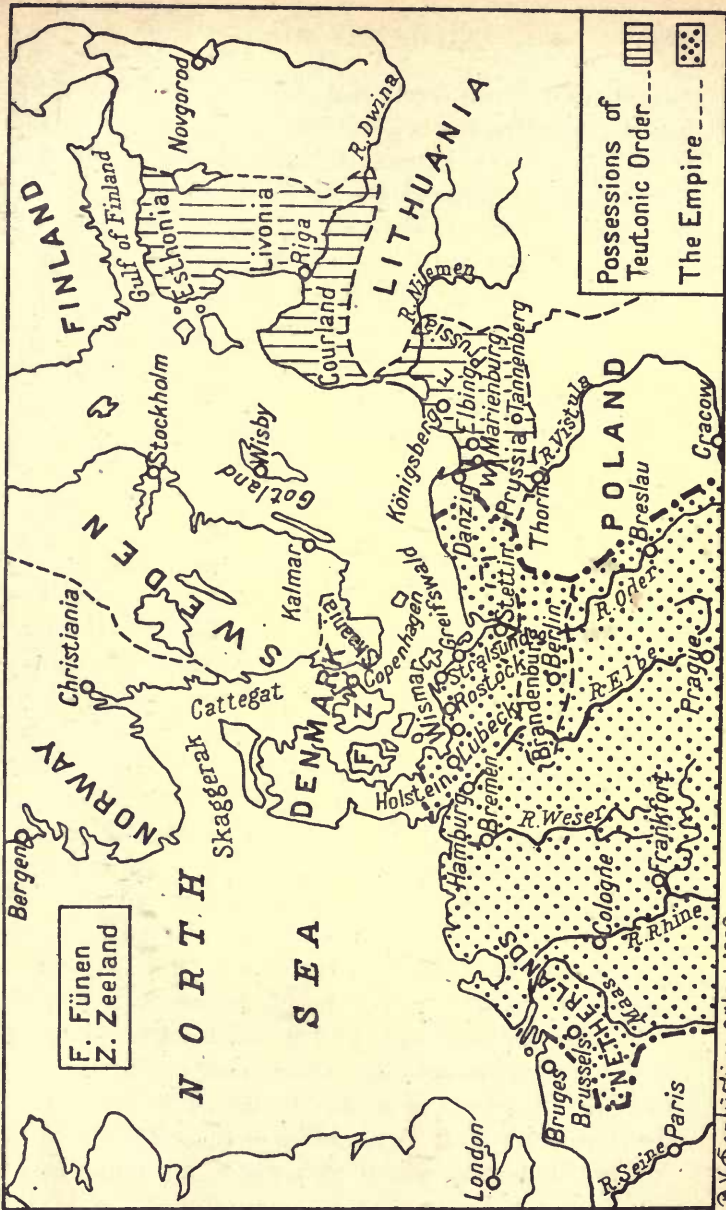
THE Baltic Sea was to the North of Europe what the Mediterranean was to the South. All the chief trade of the North was conducted along its shores; ships plied constantly from the Baltic to the North Sea and thus to Western Europe; the fishing industry, especially in the days when the strict rules of the Church rendered fish an indispensable commodity, was a great source of wealth, and it was here that herrings could be caught in the greatest numbers; the coast of Skaania, as the southern portion of the Swedish Peninsula was called, was the favourite haunt of the herring in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Important towns sprang up on the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea, and the question who should exercise control over these valuable waters and to whom should fall the lion's share of the profits of trade and fishing, became a burning one.

This political question, arising chiefly out of commercial rivalries on the West, was complicated on the southern and eastern shores by religious considerations.

Inhabi-
tants of the
Baltic
coasts

The Baltic Sea and its neighbouring waters were surrounded by three different races. The Scandinavians inhabited Denmark, Sweden and Norway; the Germans Mecklenberg and part of Pomerania, the closely con-

BALTIC & NORTH SEA XIV CENTURY



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nected coast of the North Sea and Brandenburg, which was not far from the ocean ; while the South and East, part of Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, Livonia and Esthonia was the home of the Slavs, the same race which inhabited Poland and Bohemia. Long before our period begins, the Poles and Bohemians had been converted to Christianity and so had the Wends, as the Western Slavs in Pomerania were called, a country which had been practically Germanised. From the Valley of the Vistula eastwards, the Slavonic people of the coast were heathen and uncivilised. Efforts had been made from time to time to win over the Prussians and their neighbours to the Christian faith, but the work of conversion was dangerous as well as difficult, and early in the thirteenth century a Polish Duke invited a body of German Knights to aid in the task. The conquest of Prussia and the settlement of the south-eastern provinces of the Baltic were therefore begun by Germans instead of Christianised Slavs.

The Teu-
tonic Order

The Teutonic Knights thus introduced into the North were a military order, founded originally at the time of Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade to the Holy Land. After the great Emperor's death a few fragments of the German army struggled on to take part in the siege of Acre, where some pious merchants of Bremen and Lübeck formed a body of soldier-nurses to look after the sick of their own race ; and the " German Knights of St. Mary," as they were called, grew into an important order with rules very similar to those of the Templars, from whom, however, they were distinguished by the black cross which they bore on their long white mantles, while their national character was secured by the admission of none but Germans to full membership of the order.

When Palestine ceased to present opportunities for

military energy, the Teutonic Knights had made their head-quarters at Venice, and from thence they gladly came to fight against the heathens of Northern Europe. They built their fortresses of Thorn, Kulm and Marienwerder along the valley of the Vistula, and joined hands with a small military order, called the Knights of the Sword, which had already been established at Riga to force Christianity on the heathen Livonians more to the North. Conversion in the eyes of the Teutonic Knights meant conquest, the sword was their chief method of dealing with the heathen. Little by little Prussia fell under their rule, and Poland saw to her disgust a strong German military State established along the shores of the Baltic, where she would have preferred to extend her own Christianity under Slavonic rule. In the early fourteenth century, when the fate of the Templars showed what might be in store for any Military Order which could give no sufficient reason for its continued existence, the whole Teutonic body concentrated itself in Prussia, and the Grand Master made Marienburg his permanent head-quarters. From thence they conquered land to the West of the Vistula with the important towns of Elbing and Danzig; and the Emperor, glad of the extension of German influence in these important regions, confirmed their rights and took them under his special protection.

Conquest
of Prussia

The fourteenth century marks the highest point in the fortunes of the Teutonic Knights. They had great territorial power, and though Poland was a jealous rival, they were able to hold their own in wars against her; they still had the reputation of being unconquerable and the honour of fighting for Christianity against the heathen Lithuanians who were blocking their progress on the

The
Knights at
the height
of their
power
in the
fourteenth
century

Growing
dangers

East. In this famous military order of the North, together with cold calculation of political motives, there still lingered something of the old chivalry which had inspired the early Knights; plans of valuable territorial conquest were still combined with crusading ardour and religious zeal. All youths who wished for distinction in arms were anxious to obtain some of their training amongst these white-robed warriors of the North; here we find Henry of Derby fighting, before he seized the English throne as Henry IV.; here the gallant John of Bohemia lost his eyesight in the midst of Lithuanian marshes. Towards the close of this century, however, there were signs of coming danger. The chief towns in the dominions of the Knights, such as Danzig, Elbing, Thorn and Königsberg, were members of the Hanseatic League of which we have still to speak: united that is with other German cities in a way which tended to make them very independent of their immediate rulers. Then the union of Kalmar, which placed Sweden, Norway and Denmark all under the same ruler, was a menace to the influence of the Order in the Baltic: but worse than all was the accession of Jagello of Lithuania to the throne of Poland and his acceptance of the Christian faith. It will be remembered that the death of Lewis the Great of Hungary and Poland had left his dominions to be divided between two daughters, and that Hedwig, the youngest, was invited to rule in Poland on condition that she gave her hand to the Lithuanian Duke; and this Jagello was baptised and crowned under the name of Ladislas in 1386. The union of Poland and Lithuania meant a very strong and hostile power which threatened the dominions of the Teutonic Knights, and the baptism of Jagello, followed as it was by the forced conversion of

Jagello of
Lithuania
becomes
King
Ladislas of
Poland,
1386

all his heathen subjects, removed the formal pretext for the continued advance of the Northern Crusaders. In 1410 a severe defeat at Tannenberg showed at last that a Slavonic army could defeat a German one, and destroyed the belief in the impossibility of conquering the Teutonic Knights; fifty-one German banners, hung in the Church of Crakow, remained to keep alive the pride of the victors. For the time, the heroism of Henry of Plauen, the Grand Master, who held out at Marienburg despite apparently overwhelming odds, saved the Order from total destruction; but its power was badly shaken and German Territory on the Southern Baltic was falling back once more into the hands of the Slavs. Shortly after our period ends, Poland obtained the lands which the Knights had conquered to the West of the Vistula, and they were only allowed to retain their territory in Eastern Prussia as a Polish fief.

Battle of
Tannen-
berg, 1410

Peace of
Thorn
1466

While the Germans were thus competing with Slavs on the Eastern Baltic, on the West it was a question whether they or the Scandinavians should control trade in that quarter, and especially in those narrow sea passages leading round Denmark to the North Sea.

German traders and fishermen were early tempted to the shores of the Baltic as well as to the North Sea, and German towns began to spring up on other lands than their own. Thus Wisby on the Island of Gothland, the centre of the northern trade and a great seat of the fishing industry, although under Swedish rule, was to all intents and purposes a German town; Lübeck, Stralsund and Rostock were called Wendish towns, but were peopled and developed by German merchants; and there were commercial settlements of Germans in Norway, in England and in Flanders, at Bergen, London and Bruges.

Growth of
German
towns and
Settle-
ments

German
merchants
abroad

In early days no trade could be carried on safely except by associations, and men were accustomed to group themselves together for all sorts of purposes. Thus within the towns themselves merchants would combine in *Hansas* or Merchant Guilds which obtained control of all the trade of that town, and often became the chief managers of its municipal government; while on foreign soil these traders would form themselves into societies for mutual protection and mutual benefit, bands of fellow-countrymen in a strange land. Merchants in those days went themselves to look after the sale of their goods, and were often obliged to spend long periods in other countries, where they might be at a considerable disadvantage compared with the native inhabitants. It was this which rendered the foreign *hansas* so very necessary. They used to combine together to acquire what were called "factories," places where they could live and also store their goods. Over these societies officials would be placed, responsible for order and justice, and general meetings would be held for common business and for making trade regulations. In England the first *hansa* was formed in London by merchants from Cologne, and gradually other towns were allowed to enter and enjoy the same privileges. At first Hamburg and Lübeck established *hansas* of their own at Lynn on the East Coast, but at the close of the thirteenth century these three factories combined together and formed one very important German Guild in London, the *Hansa Alamanniæ*, combined of these traders both from the Baltic and the North Seas. Similar establishments flourished in Bruges, Bremen, Novgorod and other places.

Hanseatic
League

A close connection was always kept up between these

foreign settlements and the home towns, for merchants did not stay permanently abroad, but were constantly going and coming: and eventually the *hansas* in foreign lands, and the large towns with their guilds or *hansas* at home formed themselves into a league for trading purposes which has become famous in history as the Hanseatic League, and which developed into a great political as well as a trading power.

This League did not appear suddenly at a single moment; it was formed bit by bit as one town after another was induced to ally with the rest, until at last all the chief cities of North Germany and the trading settlements of Germans on Baltic shores and in more distant lands were members of this vast association and acquired the name of Hanse Towns.~

The origin of this union probably came from the alliance of Lübeck and Hamburg, the leading town on the Baltic and the leading town on the North Sea. A glance at the map will show how important was the position occupied by these two. The best way for goods to pass from one sea to the other, was either round the Danish Peninsula by water through the narrow passage of the Sound, or if the Danes hindered this passage, by land from Lübeck to Hamburg. Thus it was very necessary for these places to be in touch with one another, and they joined for mutual protection of the roads between the two. Lübeck had already made herself a great power in the Baltic, where other towns had agreed to adopt her code of trading laws, and meetings for common purposes were held from time to time within her walls. With the formation of the one *hansa* in London a further impulse was given to the union of German traders on both seas and the league grew rapidly

Chief mem-
bers of the
League

in size and importance, the fourteenth century being the period when it was most numerous, most powerful and most definitely organised. Cologne, Lübeck and Wisby each formed the centre of a group of towns, of which some of the chief were Bremen on the Weser; Hamburg on the Elbe; Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald on the Western shore of the Baltic; Elbing, Danzig, Thorn and Königsberg in the neighbourhood of the Vistula and Riga on the Dwina, together with the important foreign depôts already mentioned in London, Bergen, Bruges and Novgorod.

In its struggle for commercial supremacy the chief danger which the Hanseatic League had to face was the rivalry of Denmark; and this became particularly acute after Waldemar Atterdag ascended the throne in 1340.

Scandi-
navian
Kingdoms

Through all the early portion of our period, the three Scandinavian Kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark were under separate monarchs. The Crown in each was elective, though the choice was generally made from amongst the nearest heirs of the reigning family, and there was a good deal of power in the hands of the people in all three States. Denmark, on the whole, had been the most advanced of the three, and above all she had great geographical importance, commanding as she did the water-way from the Baltic to the North Sea, especially when Skaania, the southern portion of the Swedish Peninsula, was in her hands. Before the reign of Waldemar, however, Denmark had been going through a period of decline; the nobles had rebelled and deprived the Crown of almost all its power, and Magnus of Sweden had regained the Province of Skaania, and with his son Hakon on the throne of Norway threatened to become the leading power in the North. All this had been very

profitable to the Hanse Towns, who had bought valuable fishing rights from the Danish King, and who were combining for the defence of trade routes on their own account. With the accession of Waldemar, however, things were changed. He was a man of great vigour, great unscrupulousness and iron determination. The name "Atterdag" was given to him because he was so fond of saying: "I Morgen er dat Atterdag" ("the day will return to-morrow"), meaning that if he could not accomplish his purpose one day it should be done the next; and his people complained that during his reign no one had time to eat, sleep or rest.

Waldemar
III. of Den-
mark,
1340-75

At first the towns did not realise the danger which threatened them from Waldemar's energetic reconquest of Danish dominions, not even when he won back Skaania from Sweden; but in 1361 they had a rude awakening. "King Waldemar of Denmark collected a great army, and said unto them that he would lead them whither there was gold and silver enough, and where the pigs eat out of silver troughs. And he led them to Gothland, and made many knights in that land, and struck down many people, because the peasants were unarmed and unused to warfare." It was the rich town of Wisby which had excited his envy; he is said to have gone in disguise to the place and won the love of a goldsmith's daughter, who revealed to him all the defences of the city and all the treasure stores. Whether he gained his knowledge by such means or no, he certainly sacked and plundered the town and sailed away laden with booty. Little good did he get, however, from his spoils, since they were all sunk in mid-ocean, in a storm which nearly cost him his own life. This high-handed action raised up an unexpected

Sacking of
Wisby.
1361

War between Denmark and the Hanseatic League

enemy; for not only did Sweden and Norway take up arms, but the Hanse Towns combined in their first alliance for warlike purposes and raised a fleet to fall upon the treacherous Dane. Wittenborg, the Burgo-master of Lübeck, commanded the ships of the League, and when after some brilliant successes he sustained a serious defeat, his town flung him into a prison from which he was only brought for public execution; his head was cut off in the market-place of Lübeck, for failure was sternly punished in those days. The first Danish war was ended by a peace which granted freedom of commerce through the Sound and fishing rights to the Hanseatic League; but Waldemar did not keep his promises and the towns once more combined in defence of their privileges. In 1367 a large meeting was held in the Town Hall or *Hansa Room* of Cologne, and seventy-seven towns proclaimed "because of the wrongs and injuries done by the King of Denmark to the common German merchant, the cities will be his enemies and help one another faithfully". Waldemar despised his enemies and answered by a letter in rhyme little calculated to sooth their feelings; one verse runs:—

If seventy-seven ganders
Come cackling, come cackling at me;
If seventy-seven Hansers
Come crowing, come crowing at me;
Do you think I care two stivers?
Not I! I care not two stivers.

Treaty of Stralsund, 1370

The war which followed resulted in the complete triumph of the League, and the Treaty of Stralsund, which ended it, marks the high-water mark of Hanseatic power, and established the towns as a real political force in the North. Not only were trading rights granted,

but all the strongholds of Skaania were put into the hands of the League, which could thus command the passage of the Sound and control the fisheries. Finally no King was in future to ascend the Danish throne except with the consent of the towns whose privileges he was to confirm.

Meanwhile Waldemar had been more successful in his relations with Sweden. Her King Magnus was a very feeble character, and Waldemar married his daughter Margaret to Hakon of Norway, the son of Magnus, thus opening a way to great future possibilities.

In 1375 on the death of Waldemar, the Danes with the consent of the Hanseatic League chose Olaf, a little boy of five years old, son of his daughter Margaret, as their King, and in 1380 the death of Hakon put him on the throne of Norway also, whilst his mother was real ruler of both Kingdoms. Margaret was a woman of great character and ability, and so successful was her rule as Regent that when her young son died in 1387, Denmark and Norway both chose her as their Sovereign. Sweden was not long in following their example. Magnus had made himself so unpopular that in 1363 the Swedish nobles had revolted and offered the Crown to his nephew Albert of Mecklenberg, who had imprisoned his rival and put himself in his place. The new ruler was not, in the end, more satisfactory than the old, and a party of his discontented subjects now turned for help to Margaret of Denmark and Norway. Nothing was better suited to the wishes of the ambitious Queen. She sent an army which completely defeated the German troops of King Albert, and imprisoning her rival, Margaret undertook the rule of the Swedish Kingdom, and was as successful there as in her other dominions.

Olaf, King
of Denmark,
1375-87

Margaret,
Queen of
Denmark
and Nor-
way, 1387
1412,

and of
Sweden,
1389-1412

Union of
Kalmar,
1397

In 1397 an agreement known as the Union of Kalmar was drawn up by the Councils of the three Scandinavian Kingdoms, by which it was decreed that they should always be united under the same ruler, although each State should keep its old laws and constitutions unchanged. Margaret had adopted Eric of Pomerania her nephew as heir in her three dominions, and it was also laid down that successors should always be elected from amongst his descendants.

This Scandinavian Union might have been a considerable danger to the Hanseatic League, but as a matter of fact it was not very durable. Margaret ruled ably and firmly, but Eric was but a feeble successor. Denmark and Norway remained united until the nineteenth century, but the Swedes began very soon to rebel against the connection, and chose rulers of their own even before our period is over, although the permanent severance was not effected until later.

Gradual
decline of
Hanseatic
League

The Hanse Towns, however, had other dangers to face, and were past the height of their power by the fifteenth century: their decline was due rather to dissensions within than to enemies without. Rivalry began between the towns on the North Sea and the towns on the Baltic, and despite the strong position gained by the latter in their struggle with Denmark, they were no longer able to maintain their supremacy. This was not entirely their own fault, but partly that of the herring. For some mysterious reason the shoals of these fish, which had so long frequented the Baltic and particularly the coast of Skaania, removed themselves almost entirely to the shores of Holland, and thus helped to found the importance of the towns of the Low Countries. Amsterdam it has been said "was built

upon herrings". What was begun by the herring was completed by geographical discoveries; and when new trade routes were opened through the larger oceans, the Baltic ceased to occupy the position of importance which had been hers in the Middle Ages.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Hill : *Margaret of Denmark.*

Zimmern : *Hansa Towns.*

Sienkowitz : *The Knights of the Cross ; an Historical Romance.*

CHAPTER XII

THE SPANISH PENINSULA

General
character
of Spanish
History

THE period 1273-1453 is not one of particular interest in the history of the Spanish Peninsula. It follows an important time of progress in the early thirteenth century, when the Moors were driven back farther and farther, until the small Kingdom of Granada alone remained to them, whilst the Christian States were growing in power with this extension of territory. It is not until after 1453 that the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella formed a united Kingdom of Spain by the junction of Castile and Aragon, and that the Moors were finally driven from their last stronghold in the Peninsula.

Divisions
of Spanish
Peninsula

The history of Spain, therefore, during this period is merely an account of the separate States of which the country was composed, and of their relations with one another and with foreign Powers; it is impossible to treat it as a whole. The Spanish Peninsula in the latter half of the thirteenth century was divided into Portugal, the Christian Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, and the Moorish Province of Granada, which was little by little being reduced in size by the encroachments of the Christians. Castile was a very large and important Kingdom, including Galicia, the Asturias, Murcia, and a great part of Andalusia and Leon,

which had been united in 1230 by agreement for the public good. Aragon and Catalonia had been joined by marriage alliance in the twelfth century; an event of great importance for the former, as she gained in Barcelona by far the best sea-port in Spain, inhabited by the most industrious and most enterprising population of the Peninsula. Navarre was a small mountain Kingdom,

SPAIN & PORTUGAL XIV CENTURY



including part of what is now French territory on the North of the Pyrenees; and its history connects it, on the whole, rather more closely with France than with Spain.

The previous history of Spain had been one long continuous crusade against the power of the Moslem, Social condition

with the result that her nobles were all warriors pure and simple; they had never become manorial lords such as were found in other feudal countries, rulers of agricultural estates in which they were supreme over their vassals and heads of justice throughout their land. Constant war at home had also prevented them from seeking occupation in the East, and thus deprived the country of that wider outlook and the impulse towards commerce, art and learning which had been spread through Europe by the great Crusading movement. Thus Spain had advanced on her own lines. She was never really feudal as was most of the Continent, her aristocracy was military but not territorial, free towns with independent populations sprang up sooner than in any other country, and the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile early enjoyed the benefits of a representative government, which developed from the old popular Councils of the Visigoths.

Constitu-
tion of
Castile

The government of Castile was a limited monarchy, the sovereign being hereditary from the eleventh century, although always receiving formal recognition from the *Cortes* or national parliament. This *Cortes* differed much in composition at different times, but it contained, as a rule, nobles, clergy and representatives from the towns, and it exercised control over taxation, the necessity for its consent being fully recognised. Over legislation also it had influence; sanction was required for any royal enactment and the King had to swear to obey what it decreed. It seems to have been consulted on any matter of importance and it was the honourable, if somewhat formal duty of the *Cortes*, to acknowledge the succession of the heir-apparent. Besides this Assembly, there was a smaller Council to aid the King in executive business:

this was a body, for the most part composed of hereditary nobles, though sometimes additional members were received chosen by the *Cortes* from amongst its own members. Justice was in the hands of the town judges or *Alcaldes*, but the Kings in the thirteenth century added officials of their own called *Corregidores*, and there was appeal from either of these bodies, first to the Governors of the Provinces, then to a Tribunal of *Royal Alcaldes*. In many ways this constitution much resembled that of England; only that there was no trial by jury, and no county representation such as was supplied by our Knights of the Shire.

Aragon had even a more liberal constitution than that of Castile, although at the same time it was more aristocratic. Here the *Cortes* consisted of four estates; Prelates, Barons, or *Ricosombres* as they were called (men of the State, not rich men), Knights or *Infanzones*, and the deputies of the towns. An important office in this State was that of *Justiza*, a minister responsible for the observance of the laws and the supervision of justice, which was very well administered. This good management of justice was especially secured by two rights peculiar to the government of Aragon. By a process known as *jurisfirma*, causes could be called up from any court in the realm to the supreme court of the *Justiza*. Another process known as *manifestation* was something like our own writ of Habeas Corpus; by it a man could be saved from any illegal violence, could be taken from the hands of royal officers, and his trial could be hastened. In 1283 a document known as the *General Privilege*, which has been called the Magna Carta of Aragon, contained a whole series of important provisions for the safeguard of order, justice and good government. Arbi-

Constitu-
tion of Ara-
gon

trary taxation, secret tribunals and private sentences were forbidden, the use of torture was prohibited, and the control of the *Cortes* over the whole administration was affirmed and strengthened. One great feature of Aragon was the very close union between nobles and people and the enthusiasm for liberty which both displayed; the aristocracy formed a real check on the arbitrary power of the King, and according to a Spanish writer: "fought at all times not for power, but for popular liberty".

History of
Castile

Alfonso X.,
1252-84

In 1273 Castile was in the hands of Alfonso X., or the Wise, a rival of Richard of Cornwall for the Imperial dignity, though he never possessed more than the empty title: it was his sister Eleanor who is so well known as the devoted and dearly beloved wife of our King Edward I. Alfonso was a really learned man, if not a successful King. Castile at this period was making great progress in civilisation and learning; St. Ferdinand, the previous King, had done much for his country and brought her much-needed peace: while from his time, "Moors in Castile became as scarce as foxes in Middlesex". Amongst the men of the day, none was more advanced or better educated than the King himself. He was a very many-sided genius, and his studies comprised both science and letters. A mathematician and an astronomer, he was also a poet, a musician and a linguist, perhaps above all a legislator. In astronomy he corrected some of the errors in the old calculations and helped to explain the movements of the stars; ballads he wrote of some merit and chronicles also; but the chief work of his life was the *Siete Partidas* (seven divisions), a very comprehensive code of law compiled from the Roman and Visigothic rules,

from the old local customs or *fueros*, and from the decrees of various great Councils. This celebrated work was not adopted immediately as the law of the land, but was gradually introduced in the next century and has remained ever since one of the most interesting examples of a great national Legal Code.

So much for the wisdom of Alfonso; of his reign there is little to record; his subjects and his own son ^{Sancho} rebelled against him, and his death which placed Sancho ^{IV., 1284-} ₉₅ on the throne in 1284, left Castile a prey to civil war, disorder and lack of government. Only one event of interest took place in this reign in the conquest of Tarifa from the Moors. This was the work of a famous commander known as Guzman the Good. After the city ^{Guzman} had been taken by the Christians, it was again besieged ^{the Good} by the Moors, assisted by Prince John, a man of even ^{saves} worse character than his brother Sancho. During the ^{Tarifa} operations, the young son of Guzman fell into the hands of the besiegers, and John, leading him before the walls of the town, threatened to kill him on the spot if his father did not surrender. The noble Guzman refused, and with proud defiance flung down his own knife at the foot of the cruel Prince, who slew the boy, but failed to capture the town, and he and the Moors were forced to retire.

Ferdinand IV., successor of Sancho, was no better ^{Ferdinand} than his father. Some success marked the early years ^{IV., 1295-} ₁₃₁₂ of his reign while he was still a minor; and at this time was formed a Confederacy of burgesses known as the *Hermidad* or brotherhood, which was an attempt to control the monarch, curb the nobles and introduce some order into the administration. This Ferdinand has been surnamed "the Summoned," on account of a tradition

that his brother, whom he had unjustly condemned to death, summoned him to appear before the tribunal of God, and that within thirty days he died suddenly and without apparent cause.

Alfonso
XI., 1312-
50

Battle of
Salado,
1340

Pedro the
Cruel,
1350-69

Henry of
Trastamare
heads ris-
ing against
Pedro

Death of
Pedro,
1369

Alfonso XI. whose reign did not do much to improve the morals or remedy the disorders of the kingdom, is at least distinguished for a great victory over the Moors at the Battle of Salado, and his death from plague came at a moment when he was winning more military successes. His son, Pedro the Cruel, is the only one of this series of Kings who has left a really well-known name behind him, and his fame is one not to be envied, since it is based almost wholly on his perfectly superhuman wickedness and cruelty. Perhaps some crimes have been laid unjustly to his charge, but this does not absolve him from enough to blacken any reputation. He was married to three wives at the same time; Blanche of Bourbon he deserted directly after the ceremony and eventually murdered; Jews were constantly massacred in cold blood before his eyes; his half-brother Don Fadrique was murdered probably by his own hand, whilst staying at his own palace and under his own royal safe-conduct. It is useless to continue the enumeration of his odious deeds, which would fill many pages. The history of the revolt against him led by his half-brother Henry of Trastamare, aided by French support and the Companies under Guesclin, has been told in the chapter on French History. The Black Prince, unfortunately for his reputation, was induced by Pedro to support him, replaced him on the throne by the battle of Navaretta or Najara, and went home to die. Pedro, meanwhile, was soon involved in fresh war and finally lost his life in a hand-to-hand struggle with Henry himself, to whose

tent he had come on a mission of treachery. He had hoped to find Du Guesclin alone and to succeed in winning him over by bribery, but found instead "his brother and his executioner".

The death of the cruel tyrant was welcomed with rejoicing by the whole country, and Henry of Trastamare was willingly recognised as King. His title was disputed, however, by John of Gaunt, the son of our Edward III., who had married Constance of Castile, a daughter of Pedro; but his attempts were unsuccessful, although war continued after Henry's death against his successor John I. The English were assisted by the Portuguese, whose King Ferdinand had fought for his own claims against Henry of Trastamare, and whose son John of Portugal was now married to a daughter of John of Gaunt.

Henry II.,
1369-79

Claims of
John of
Gaunt

John I.,
1379-90

John of Gaunt and his wife took the title of King and Queen of Castile, but in the end their claims were handed over to their daughter Katherine, and her marriage to the Spanish Prince Henry ended the quarrel.

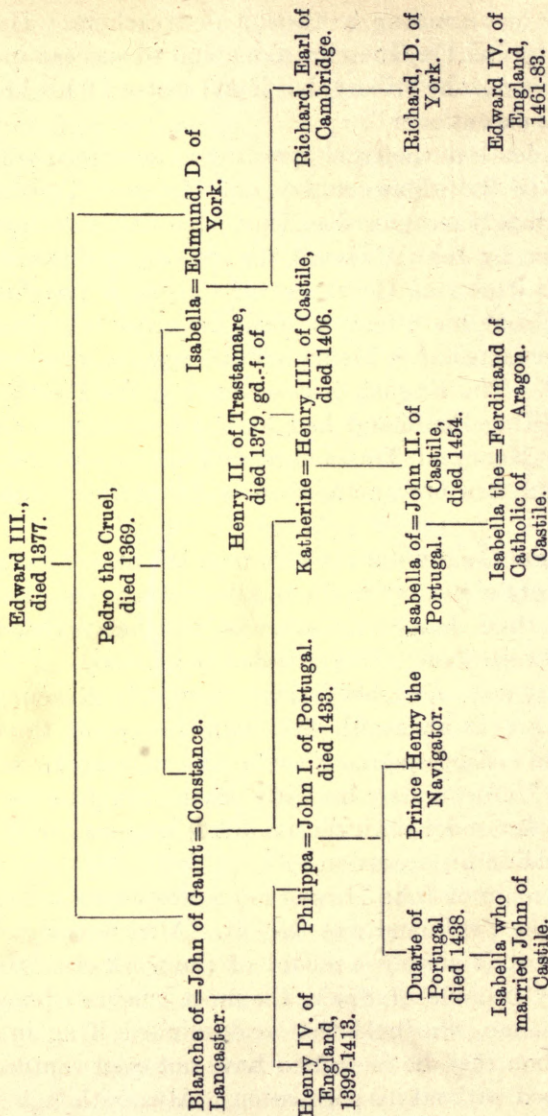
Henry succeeded his father when only eleven years old. Despite his youth the reign was one of the most peaceful and prosperous Castile had enjoyed for a long time. Unfortunately his early death brought a renewal of troubles under his little son John, who was only two years old on his accession.

Henry III.,
1390-1406

The reign of John II. was most prosperous so long as his Uncle Ferdinand was Regent. After he came of age in 1419 it is simply a record of the work of Alvaro de Luna, Constable of Spain, the most celebrated warrior of the time, who held the weak-minded King in such subjection that he is said to have not even ventured to go to bed without his permission. Alvaro, though short

John II.,
1406-54

Alvaro de
Luna



and bald, excelled all Spaniards in dancing, horsemanship and minstrelsy. He had more solid qualities also as a soldier and leader of men. His power became unbounded and his magnificence unequalled: he was not only Constable and Grand Master of the military order of Santiago, but lord of at least seventy towns and castles and by far the richest man in Spain. The favourite, however, was more famous for military glory and lordly splendour than for statesmanlike qualities, and when in 1453 his execution was forced upon the King by revolt amongst the nobles, encouraged by his own wife and son, he left the Kingdom in a weak and disorderly condition. John himself died the year after, and is only worthy of remembrance as the father of that Isabella of Castile whose marriage with Ferdinand of Aragon established in 1479 a united Kingdom of Spain, a Kingdom which was raised, under their joint rule, to a position of real importance in Europe.

Aragon, when our period begins, was still under the rule of her famous King James the Conqueror, who had freed his country from the Moors. A man of great personal strength, courage and energy, he added to his prowess on the field some knowledge of letters, and wrote his own chronicles in the Catalan dialect, one of the chief authorities for the reign that we possess. His domestic government was chiefly occupied in putting down resistance with a heavy hand, and his private life was marred by violence and licentiousness. Yet he was a strong, capable ruler, and a man who commands admiration by his vigour and force of character. Just before his death, he resigned the Crown to his son Pedro, and joined the Cistercian Order, to end his days as a monk in prayer and penitence for his sins.

History of
Aragon

James I.,
1213-76

Pedro the
Great,
1276-85

His son Pedro III. inherited a good deal of his father's ability, and won for himself the title of the Great. Since the Moors were conquered in his territory, the energy of the new King turned towards foreign parts. When the young Conradin, son of the Emperor Frederick II., fighting for the Sicilian Crown, had been seized and executed by Charles of Anjou, the glove which he flung down as a gage of defiance and vengeance was brought to the Court of Aragon; for Pedro had married a daughter of King Manfred, Constance the rightful Queen of Sicily. The suspicions of Charles and his ally the Pope were aroused by the warlike preparations the King of Aragon was making, nominally in view of an approaching crusade; when questioned on the matter the King kept his own counsel. "If I thought my right hand knew my secret," he said, "I would cut it off lest it should betray it to my left." But when the Sicilian Vespers excited the people of the island to rise in a body against their French rulers, a Spanish fleet was conveniently near at hand to take their part. After the victories of Roger de Lorea, a famous Aragonese admiral, which have already been noticed (chapter ii.), Pedro was proclaimed King of Sicily. In a truly mediæval spirit, Charles of Anjou summoned his rival to Bordeaux to settle their disputes in knightly combat: the challenge was accepted, and a rather curious episode followed. Pedro did appear at Bordeaux on the day named, but secretly and before the time, for he suspected a trap, very probably with truth. In any case, he rode round the lists to save his honour and then, disguised as a merchant, escaped back to his native country, leaving his disappointed rival to proclaim him a coward and a traitor, and to turn to other schemes for his de-

Claims of
Pedro on
the King-
dom of
Sicily

Proclaimed
King, 1282

Proposed
trial by
battle at
Bordeaux

struction. Pedro had many a trouble through his acceptance of the Sicilian Crown; excommunicated by the Pope and attacked by Philip III. of France, he died, immediately after his adversary, from wounds and a fever contracted in the war.

After the death of Pedro a series of Kings followed whose reigns have left but little permanent trace on the history of Aragon. One of them, James II., conquered Sardinia from the Genoese, whilst his brother Frederick successfully established his claims to the Kingdom of Sicily. For the most part each sovereign spent a troublous career fighting with his own turbulent nobles, who were ambitious of extending their influence over the whole conduct of government.

At the close of the fourteenth century there was a period of disputed succession, the troubles of which were encouraged by Pope Boniface IX., who was at enmity with the Spanish Kingdoms on account of their support of his rival Benedict XIII., himself a Spaniard. King ^{Martin I.,} 1395-1410 Martin, who was recognised by most of the people, is important as uniting the Kingdom of Sicily to that of ^{Sicily} Aragon. He had much trouble with this new possession, and also from revolts in Sardinia, stirred up against ^{united to} him by Papal intrigue. On his death; fresh succession ^{Aragon,} 1409 disputes broke out, six rival candidates entering into competition for the vacant throne.

At so critical a time the strength of the Constitution was strikingly displayed. Government was continued ^{Disputed} by the *Justiza* and the Parliament, as the *Cortes* was ^{succession} called. The situation, however, was becoming dangerous and civil war threatened, until a Council was assembled containing representatives from the three great ^{in Aragon,} Provinces of which the Kingdom was composed, Valen- ¹⁴¹⁰

cia, Catalonia and Aragon, for the purpose of considering the different claims. After an orderly and careful deliberation, the Council held a solemn meeting begun by service in the church, and announced their decision to the assembled crowd.

Ferdinand
I., 1412-16

The elected monarch was Ferdinand of Castile, a nephew of the late King Martin, and a man who had already given proof of the greatest wisdom and moderation as Regent of Castile during the minority of the feeble John II. (see p. 247). During his short reign he worked for his country with a zeal and unselfishness which did much to solve some of the worst difficulties of the time, and won for himself the title of the Honest or the Just. Troubles in Sicily and Sardinia were quieted, and marriages were made which connected Aragon with Castile and Navarre. When Ferdinand's early

Alfonso V.,
1416-58

death placed his son Alfonso V. on the throne, there was little trouble to fear in his Spanish dominions. Alfonso, therefore, turned his attention to Italy, where he inherited Sicily and Sardinia, and had hopes of succession in Naples also. His connection with this country arose from the action of Queen Joanna, who had no heirs of her own and offered to adopt him as her son and to confer on him the right of succeeding her on the throne. This offer, gladly accepted, was later recalled by the changeable Queen, who adopted instead Louis III. of Anjou, with the result that a bitter struggle ensued between the two. When Joanna died in 1435, Alfonso claimed the vacant throne, which was now disputed by René of Provence, known to us as the father of Margaret of Anjou, a younger brother of Louis who had died just before his adopted mother. Eventually the King of Aragon was successful, and ruled for the

Claims on
Naples

rest of his life as Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and the two Sicilies. His name is better known in the history of Italy than in that of Spain (see p. 185).

Alfonso becomes King of Naples, 1442

The history of Navarre during this period is scarcely worth following in detail; but it may be well to remember that Philip the Fair united the little Kingdom to France by his marriage with Queen Joan in 1274; that in 1328, when Philip VI. succeeded in France, Navarre was once more ruled as a separate Kingdom under another Joan, mother of the well-known Charles the Bad; and that connection with Aragon was established by the marriage of Queen Blanche of Navarre to John, brother of Alfonso V. and ultimately his successor. The troubles which resulted, however, and the war between John and his son Charles extend beyond the limits of our period; and it was not until much later still that the little Kingdom lost its separate existence, the southern part being seized by Ferdinand of Castile, while the northern was in the sixteenth century united to France by the succession of Henry IV. of Navarre.

History of Navarre

United to France, 1274-1328

Aragon and Navarre

The turbulent history of these Christian Kingdoms during the present period may be wanting in interest and unity, but it introduces us to some of the actors in the European drama. It is specially connected with the history of Sicily, where the dynasty of Aragon made good its claim; with France, owing to quarrels with the House of Anjou, and with the French help given to Henry of Trastamare; and with England, whose loss of Gascony in the fourteenth century largely resulted from the disastrous alliance between Pedro and the Black Prince, and with whom war was caused by the claims of John of Gaunt to the Castilian succession. Every century also was bringing a step nearer the ultimate

union of Spain and her period of greatness, when she was to take up a position of the utmost importance both in Europe and in the New World.

Portugal

National
develop-
ment

Maritime
importance

The neighbouring Kingdom of Portugal had been struggling into a nation, partly by reason of its long wars with the Moors, partly by its resistance to Castile which was never strong enough to absorb it. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese led the way in the new development of maritime enterprise and discovery. This was largely due to Prince Henry the Navigator, son of John I. of Portugal, and grandson of our own John of Gaunt. He was determined to find a new route to India round the continent of Africa, and fitted out repeated expeditions, which explored the African coast and made many important discoveries, amongst others of the Islands of Madeira, the Canaries and the Azores. The Cape of Good Hope was not rounded during the lifetime of the enterprising Prince, but it was a Portuguese seaman who first succeeded in the attempt towards the close of the century, and opened out the new route to India. The great epoch of discovery, with all its far-reaching results, lies beyond our present period; but before 1453 Portugal was already pointing out a new road to fame and wealth.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Watts: *Spain* ("Story of the Nations").

Charlotte M. Yonge: *Christians and Moors in Spain*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREEK EMPIRE AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS

IN the year 1261 Baldwin, the last of those Latin Emperors who had established themselves in Constantinople at the time of the Fourth Crusade, was expelled, and the Greek Empire was revived in the hands of the family of Palaeologus: a family which was to occupy the throne of the East until Constantinople fell before the Turks.

The Empire, though restored, never regained its old strength; it was shorn of territory and surrounded by enemies, while the interlude of Latin rule had thrown the whole administrative machinery hopelessly out of gear. The hostility between the Greek or Orthodox Church, as it was also called, and that of Rome was rendered more bitter than ever. The differences in actual belief were not great. The Latin Church had added certain words to the Nicene Creed which the Greek had never adopted, and over which fierce controversy raged; the doctrine of purgatory also was rather differently regarded, and there were certain ceremonial disputes, but the really inseparable barrier was the reluctance of Eastern Emperor and Patriarch to recognise the supremacy of the Pope; and now since the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins there was an additional feeling that union was equivalent to bondage and shame-

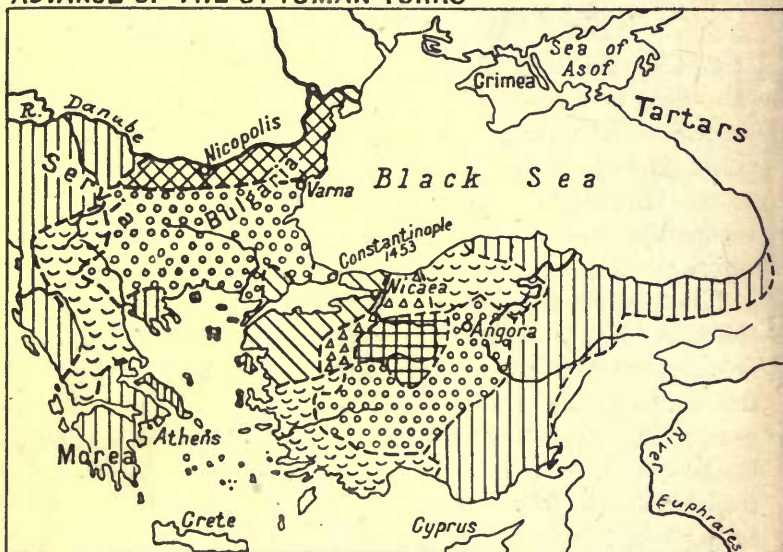
Restoration of Greek Empire, 1261

Weakness of the Eastern Empire

Disunion between Churches of East and West

ful subjection. At various times during our period attempts were made to heal the breach, but without any permanent result; the Emperor might promise one thing, but the Greeks would refuse absolutely to carry out the agreement. The most notable instances of this have already been mentioned in previous chapters, the arrange-

ADVANCE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS



By V. G. Babington, Oxford, 1908.

Principality of Othman 1221

Othman 1281-1326

Bajazet 1389-1402

Acquisitions under

Orchan 1326-1360

Amurath II 1421-1450



ment with Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons, and the definite terms of union drawn up and signed at Florence between Eugenius and the Greek Emperor, John VI. Even this remained a dead letter, owing to the hostility of the whole people, and this constant antagonism pre-

vented Western Europe from making any organised effort to aid their fellow-Christians in the East against the inroads of the unbelievers. Other difficulties hastened the decline of the Eastern Empire. Her once wide-spread dominions were getting more and more over-run by hostile neighbours, (see map), and war on the borders was almost incessant; for some time also the descendants of the Latin Emperor tried to reassert their claims, and danger threatened from powerful European Princes, such as Charles I. of Anjou, and Charles of Valois, who were connected by marriage with the exiled house. To meet these pressing dangers the Emperors called in a force to their aid, which was to end by proving a more fertile source of troubles than the distant foes. After the Sicilian war was over, a number of mercenary soldiers, Spaniards of all sorts, under a soldier of fortune called Roger de Flor, were only too glad to seek occupation in the pay of the Greeks, and were known as the Catalan Grand Company. Such were the outrages and cruelties practised by these wild troops on the Emperor's subjects, that friendships soon turned to enmity, and open war broke out between Greeks and Spaniards, which only ended when in 1315 the Grand Company withdrew to fresh fields of bloodshed. It was during this Catalan War that the worst foe of the Greeks for the first time gained an entry into Europe. Amidst all the dangers which threatened the Eastern Empire, far the most formidable was the advance of the Turks. A steady flood of invasion was pouring over from Central Asia, and it was chiefly to aid in checking these on-coming hordes that Roger de Flor was invited to the East. When, however, Spanish arms were turned against their allies the Company did not hesitate to look for aid to the Moslem.

Numerous enemies .

Catalan Grand Company

Catalan War, 1306-15

Entry of Turks into Europe, 1306-7

A band of Turks crossed the Dardanelles in 1306 to attack the Empire, and never from this date was Europe entirely free from the presence of the Turk.

The Turks It was in the early thirteenth century that these inroads from Central Asia began in real earnest, and from that time onward the Turks had been driving out or destroying the Christian population of Asia Minor. The Turk has been called "a nomad and a destroyer," and settlement meant slaughter or extermination of all previous inhabitants. The barbarians came in overwhelming numbers: they required plenty of room, for they were a pastoral not an agricultural people; above all they were Mohammedans, and those who would live with them must adopt their faith and become followers of the prophet. The Christians who could not resist, therefore, fled to save their faith as well as their lives, or were forced to become tributary subjects.

**Sultan
Othman,
1299-1307**

It was a branch of these tribes, known as Ottoman Turks, which was threatening Europe and the East. In his youth, Othman, first Ottoman Sultan, dreamt a dream. He had been suing in vain for the hand of the beautiful Malkhatoum, and in his dream he saw rise from the body of this lady, first, the crescent moon, and then a magnificent tree, which grew to an immense size and spread its branches over seas and mountains, the Caucasus, Atlas and many others; whilst from its roots flowed stately rivers, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, on which vessels of all sorts sailed out to foreign lands. Then, of a sudden, he saw the leaves of this tree, changed to the form of shining sword blades, turning towards the towns below them, and above all towards the great city of Constantinople which, lying between two seas, shone like a diamond between two

emeralds, and formed the central ornament of a gigantic ring encircling the earth. On the morrow he told his dream and won the hand of his ladylove, and from this union sprang the dynasty which was to rule over the great Ottoman Empire, and was to press forward, little by little, to the brilliant diamond of the vision.

Othman has been called the founder of the dynasty : Sultan Orchan, 1326-57
 his son Orchan the founder of the Turkish nation. The latter captured Nicæa and other important places, so that his state was firmly established in the heart of Asia Minor. His rule is chiefly memorable, however, for the The Janis-saries introduction of the terrible "child tribute," and for the origin of the famous force of Janissaries, which helped to render the Turkish army so invincible. Christians who wished to purchase security and the exercise of their own worship, might do so by paying tribute, which Orchan changed into a contribution of children. A Christian village was forced to supply every year a certain number of young children, who were brought up as Mohammedans, trained with great care and employed when they grew up either in the army or in the civil administration. In the army the services of these Janissaries (new troops) were of the utmost value. From the very first the boys were educated for this and for nothing else. They were subjected to the most severe discipline ; taught to do with little food and sleep, exercised in riding and the use of arms, and above all trained to the most absolute and unquestioning obedience : only in actual war was any of the strictness of their life relaxed, and thus fighting was looked upon as their holiday time and the ideal of existence. Brought up in this way, with never a thought outside their regiment, and with certain privileges not shared by the rest of the

army, these Janissaries were inspired by an *esprit de corps* which made them a perfectly unrivalled force in the hands of the Sultan. Thus was the "victory of the Crescent secured by the children of the Cross".

Causes of
weakness
of the
Greeks
against the
Turks

The Greek Emperors had little with which to resist this formidable adversary; and they looked in vain for real help from the West. Meanwhile Constantinople itself was a prey to constant internal troubles. The government was weak, a mixture of despotism and oligarchy. The ruler was in theory absolute, but his power was hampered by the factious opposition of the nobles, who having no real position in the administration were hostile and irresponsible. His subjects were composed of all sorts of nationalities between whom little real unity existed, and this was particularly obvious in the army. The Emperor ruled over four principal races in the Balkan Peninsula, Albanians, Slavs, Greeks, and Wallachs, to which were added Catalans left behind by the Grand Company, and a large number of Venetians and Genoese, who were engaged in trade rivalries in the Levant and the Black Sea. Venice held certain States in the Morea, besides Corfu, Crete and other islands which she had gained in the fourth Crusade, whilst Genoa established herself in Asof and the Crimea, and held Pera or Galata, a suburb of Constantinople north of the Golden Horn. The history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is one long continuous record of Greek decline and Turkish progress.

Crusade of
Sigismund

In 1396 the Christians of the West made an attempt to come to the aid of the East. A crusading force was collected under Sigismund, then King of Hungary, later elected Emperor. He was accompanied by John of Burgundy, then only Count of Nevers, who gained in this

expedition his surname of the Fearless. The Turks at this time were under a leader of great celebrity, Bajazet Sultan Bajazet, Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, so called from the speed of his movements; and the Christians made the fatal mistake of underestimating their enemy. On the Danube at Nicopolis the two armies met, and the defeat of the Crusaders was complete and decisive. The French Knights, brave to rashness but totally undisciplined, rejected the more prudent counsel of the Hungarians, and breaking through the front ranks which faced them, charged blindly after the flying foe, only to find that the flight was feigned, and to be brought to a stand by the archers when in too great disorder to resist. At the same moment the chosen troop of Janissaries burst forth from the ambush which concealed them, and routed the remainder of the army with tremendous slaughter. Sigismund escaped by boat and only reached Constantinople and safety with great difficulty; John of Burgundy was captured and held to ransom; 300 prisoners, who refused to renounce their faith, were massacred in cold blood. Bajazet seemed invincible. He swore to press on westward until he could feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter in the heart of Rome itself. Constantinople was besieged and Christendom trembled, until a sudden diversion was created by a new horde of barbarians and the attackers became the attacked.

Sultan
Bajazet,
1389-1403

Battle of
Nicopolis,
1396

First Turk-
ish Siege of
Constanti-
nople

Whilst Bajazet had been winning victories over the Christians, Timour, or Tamerlane the Tartar, heading a vast host of tribes from Eastern Asia, had been ravaging Persia and Turkestan, had conquered Aleppo from the Sultan of Egypt and was now threatening the territories of Bajazet himself. In 1402 he sent a curt message to the Ottoman Sultan, commanding an instant

Timour the
Tartar

surrender of all that he had conquered from the Greeks. Bajazet sent back a reply couched in the most insulting language possible, and then hastened in person to meet his haughty rival, leaving Constantinople rejoicing in temporary safety. At Angora a battle was fought which lasted through a whole long burning July day; but at last Bajazet was captured and his army defeated. Timour dragged his illustrious prisoner with him from place to place, until in the following year death freed him from disgrace, and after two more years of victory and bloodshed his Tartar conqueror followed him to the grave.

Battle of
Angora,
28th July,
1402

Europe was saved for the time, and it was nearly half a century before danger from the Turks again became really acute. It was their renewed attacks which led John VI. to undertake his unpopular journey to Italy in search of union and support. His hope of a combined effort of Europe on his behalf was, as we have already seen, disappointed; but Christianity produced two other champions whose efforts shed some glory on the declining cause of the Eastern Empire.

John
Hunyadi

John Hunyadi, Governor of Transylvania, called the White Knight of Wallachia, headed Hungarian resistance against the Turks and won over them a series of victories on the Danube. After the Council of Florence, a Christian army recruited from various nations put itself under the leadership of Hunyadi, who was also accompanied by Ladislas, the King of Poland and Hungary, and by Cesarini the Cardinal who had done such good work at the Council of Basle. This force marched through Bulgaria and captured Varna, where they were attacked by the Turks and prepared to give battle. Here again the Christians failed from overhaste and contempt

Battle of
Varna,
11th Nov.,
1444

of the enemy. Hunyadi, who knew well the Turks and their tactics, had strictly enjoined Ladislas to maintain his position, and not to be induced to advance on an attack. His advice was in vain, for during his absence the King, brave but too impulsive, was urged by some of his followers to break this command, lest the fame of the battle should belong to the "White Knight" alone. Hunyadi, returning from a successful attack on his own side, hastened to the rescue of Ladislas, who was in the thick of the fight and struggling with the famous Janissaries themselves. The mistake was irremediable. The King himself paid for it with his life, the Christians were forced to retire, and Cardinal Cesarini was also slain either in the battle or the retreat.

Another opponent of the Turks was an Albanian Prince, George Castriot, known to history as *Scanderbeg*, a contraction of Iskender Bey or the Lord Alexander, a title given to him by the Turks. When a boy he had been delivered as a hostage to the Sultan, who brought him up as a Moslem and treated him with the greatest favour and distinction. Apparently the youth retained in secret the Christian faith, and planned to escape on the earliest opportunity. His method of doing so was marked by unscrupulousness as well as boldness. Whilst actually occupying a post of authority in the Turkish army, he seized the occasion of confusion after a defeat, to force the Commander at the point of the scimitar to sign a document, handing over to him the command of a Turkish fortress on the frontier of Albania. Armed with this he deceived the Turkish Governor, took possession, and admitted a force of Albanians in the night, who murdered the garrison. Then throwing off the mask, he put himself openly at the head of revolt in

his native country. The rest of his life was spent in rescuing Albania and harassing the Turks, but his strength was not sufficient to divert the Sultan from his one great object, the establishment of Mussulman rule in Christian Constantinople.

Last Siege
of Constantinople,
1453

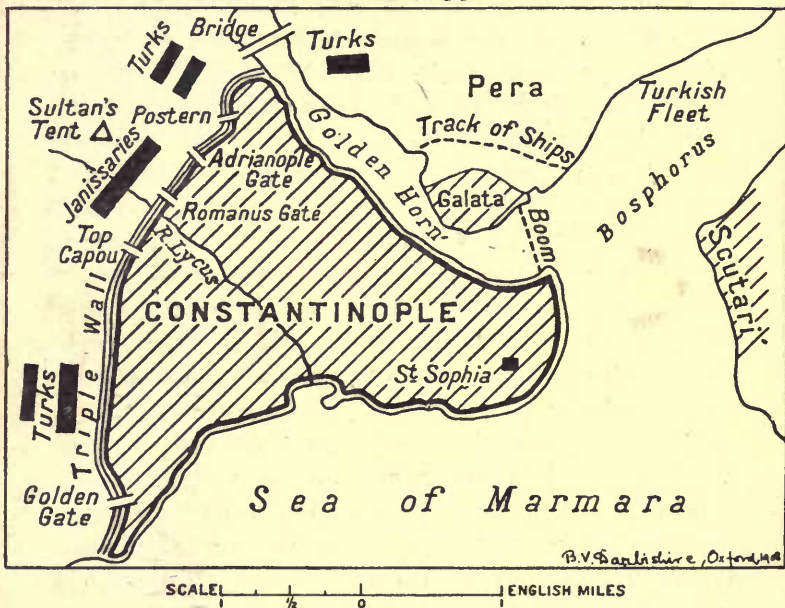
The final siege of the Greek capital was begun by the Sultan Mahomet II. in the spring of 1453; Constantine, son of John VI., was the last Christian Emperor of the East. His possessions by this time had been reduced to Constantinople itself with a strip of land about 100 miles in length behind it, and about half the peninsula of the Morea. The people over whom he ruled were demoralised by a long period of losses and disaster, and for his defence he was largely dependent on ships and men from Genoa and Venice, which were placed under the command of the famous Genoese soldier John Justiniani. Both sides were busy all through the winter of 1452 in making their preparations.

Topo-
graphy of
Constanti-
nople

The city of Constantinople formed a rough triangle, its base to landward, and its two sides bounded by the Golden Horn on the North, and the Sea of Marmora on the South. On the other side of the Golden Horn lay the Genoese settlement of Pera or Galata. Walls completely surrounded the town, while across the mouth of the Golden Horn a boom guarded the harbour against the entrance of hostile ships. On the landward side, the chief seat of danger, the walls were triple. The inner wall, forty feet in height, had higher towers at regular distances; below that at an interval of about fifty feet lay the second wall, similar but smaller, and in front of all a sort of breastwork guarded in its turn by a wide ditch. Several gates led from without into the city, besides which there were smaller military gates,

leading into the different enclosures between the walls to allow soldiers to pass into them. The defenders were too few in number to guard all these three outworks, so it was decided to meet the enemy at the second wall, as the inner wall which should have been the most

SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE 1453



defensible was not in perfect repair. In the post of greatest danger near this wall were stationed the choicest troops under Justiniani himself and the Emperor Constantine; while the admiral with his fleet stayed near the boom across the harbour.

The Emperor's forces have been estimated at about

The two
armies

8,000; Mahomet had at least 150,000 with which to invest the city, and he had collected all the Turkish vessels from the surrounding seas, sailing ships and long boats rowed by forty or fifty oarsmen, which he hoped to find even more useful than his land forces. All along the landward wall the mass of the Turkish troops were stationed. Before them they constructed a trench and palisade, that they might be protected whilst firing on the besieged; a further force was situated behind Galata, on the North of the Golden Horn. The chief feature of Mahomet's army was undoubtedly the cannon, which were to prove the insufficiency of mediæval walls to meet new-fashioned methods of attack. These huge guns, however, were still of a very unwieldy nature: they were not on wheels, but had to be embedded in the ground and fired always in the same direction; they threw huge stone balls which did enormous damage, but as a rule could not be fired more than seven times a day. One monster cannon took sixty oxen to drag it, and 200 men to march beside to keep it in place; whilst labourers had to go on before to prepare the roads for its passing and to strengthen the bridges! From a military point of view, the siege of Constantinople marks an interesting transition between the old and the new methods; for weapons of every kind were employed, both ancient and modern; not only gunpowder and cannon, but long bows, wooden shields, lances and catapults.

First as-
saults

The first attempts made by the Turks to assault the city and force the boom were failures. On the sea, indeed, their opponents won a signal success which helped to raise their spirits. Four Genoese vessels bringing provisions to the city were set upon by the mass of the

Naval vic-
tory for
the Chris-
tians

Turkish fleet just outside the Golden Horn, where both armies could watch the combat, the Sultan from the other side of the walls of Galata. The Christian ships had guarded against all dangers, and from their superior height were able to fling stones and missiles on the lower-built Turkish vessels. In vain the Sultan rode into the sea, until his long robe swept the water, calling forth impotent curses and useless advice to his admiral. Suddenly after a dead calm a favourable wind arose which carried the victorious Italian vessels safely under the protecting walls of the town. In the night they were towed over the boom, whilst the Christians made as much noise as possible with trumpets to pretend they were in huge force, so that the Turkish fleet might expect an attack and remain on the defensive. Mahomet answered by a true *tour de force*. If he could not cross the boom, he would reach the Golden Horn in some other way. Behind the walls of Galata he constructed a tramway of rollers and greased logs stretching right across the little Peninsula from the Bosphorus to the harbour, a distance of about a mile; and over this in a single night eighty ships were hauled by ropes and pulleys and oxen. Strange indeed must have been the spectacle. All the vessels were fitted out as though on sea; sails were unfurled, the rowers kept time with their oars, and shouting and music accompanied this long voyage on dry land and cheered up the spirits of the men. The Christians were horrified by the unexpected appearance of Turkish ships in their harbour and were forced to place stronger garrisons than before to guard the seaward wall. Nevertheless the defence was stout, and renewed assaults on walls and boom were again a failure; even attempts to undermine the city

Mahomet's
vessels
cross the
dry land

The
wooden
bastion

were rendered difficult by the rocky nature of the ground. Again Mahomet planned an unpleasant surprise for the Christians. In a single night a huge wooden tower was constructed, so tall as to overlook the outer walls and to render it possible to fling scaling ladders across on to it; whilst under its protection the besiegers could work at filling up the ditch in preparation for a general attack. The Emperor's forces worked hard on their side. All night they toiled at repairing the damages made by this machine on their defences, and succeeded at last in blowing up the turret itself by barrels of gunpowder placed in the ditch. Another astonishing piece of work, which the Sultan carried through in an incredibly short space of time, was the construction of a bridge across the upper portion of the Golden Horn to join the two divisions of his forces. This was made with over a thousand wine barrels, fastened together by ropes and covered with beams and planks, so that five soldiers could walk abreast on it; pontoons also could be attached to it, bearing cannon which could be used thus with a greater effect against the harbour wall.

Turkish
bridge over
the Golden
Horn

Disunion
within the
City

For seven weeks the struggle had been continuing, and within the city party and race dissensions were adding enormously to the difficulties of the defence. The Greeks themselves were divided between those who looked for help to the West and those who hated any idea of the union; Italians were disliked by the Greeks who considered them as rivals in trade, and the Italians themselves were split up into Venetians and Genoese, bitter enemies of long standing. One man, however, commanded universal admiration and was obeyed by all parties alike. Justiniani more than justified the trust

that had been placed in him, and worked ably and incessantly against the constant assaults of the foe. When the walls were battered down he constructed a stockade of sticks and stones and earth, or anything that could be got together, covered with skins to protect it from fire. But courage and resource were alike unavailing against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and Europe did not raise a finger to help the final struggle of the Eastern Empire. Towards the end of May the Sultan determined to attack the city on all sides at once, and thus to reap the full advantage of his superior numbers. Through the camp went the news of his promise to the soldiers: three days unhindered plunder to every man in the army, an inducement to valour fully appreciated by his troops. Within the city all felt the crisis was approaching, and the Emperor urged his followers to one more heroic effort. "Do not lose heart," he said, "but comfort yourselves with bright hopes, because, though few in number, you are skilled in warfare, strong, brave and noble, and proved in valour." On the 28th of May the last Christian service was held in the great Church of St. Sophia, which was crowded with all who could be spared from the defences. The Emperor and his followers partook of the Sacrament, and the solemn ceremony over, all went to their posts. On May the 29th, shortly after midnight, the general assault began. The defences were still strong and the defenders were determined. Again and again the besiegers hurled themselves against the stockade, again and again they were beaten off. It seemed as though the city might still be saved, when two disastrous accidents decided the fate of the day. One small gate leading to the outer enclosure had been forgotten, it was found un-

Final at-
tack

guarded by the enemy, and a body of Turks appeared unexpectedly amongst the defending garrison, and pressing into the city itself, hoisted the Turkish flag on some of the turrets. Worse than this, however, was the withdrawal of Justiniani. Wounded mortally as it proved later, he left his post and made his way to his own ship near the harbour, on which he died three days later. His disappearance was the signal for total demoralisation and despair. In vain Constantine endeavoured to rally the men and continue the defence of the stockade; the Janissaries forced their way through, and the Emperor, plunging into the thick of the fight, died in one last gallant attempt in keep back the inrush of the foe. By sunrise all resistance was ended, and the city was given over to the terrible three days of plunder which Mahomet had promised. After these, the Sultan himself made solemn entry into the city; and in St. Sophia, now a Mohammedan mosque, the faith of the prophet was proclaimed.

Death of
Emperor
Constantine

Entry of
Mahomet
II.

Results of
the Fall of
Constantinople

The fall of Constantinople marks the close of our period and an epoch in the world's history. The Eastern Empire disappeared and Turkey was established as a European State. Europe was aghast at an event she had done so little to prevent; but indirectly she was to reap good results from the immediate evil. It is not true that the fall of Constantinople introduced the study of Greek in the West: scholars, especially in Italy, were already reading and teaching the language and literature of Greece: but after 1453 the number of fugitives increased greatly, and amongst these fugitives came scholars who quickly rose to distinction in the West: the study of Greek became both more systematic and more widespread, and helped the development of

freedom of thought and the breach with old superstitions and old teaching. On the Turks themselves the result of this conquest was to make them less nomadic and more agricultural. Once established in Europe they extended their conquests westward, and became a power whose influence was to be important throughout the whole later history of the Continent.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

Oman: *The Byzantine Empire* ("Story of the Nations"), and *Constantinople* ("Mediæval Towns Series").

HOUSE OF HABSBURG

Rudolf I.,
1273-1291.

Albert I.,
1298-1308.

Rudolf, King Frederick (the Handsome), Albert II. of
of Bohemia, disputed election of Austria,
Lewis of Bavaria, died 1358.
died 1307. died 1380.

Albert III. of
Austria.

Leopold of Austria, = Virida Visconti,
killed at Sempach,
1386.

Emperor Sigis-
mund

Albert IV. of
Austria.

Ernest of Styria,
died 1424.

Frederick,
died 1439.

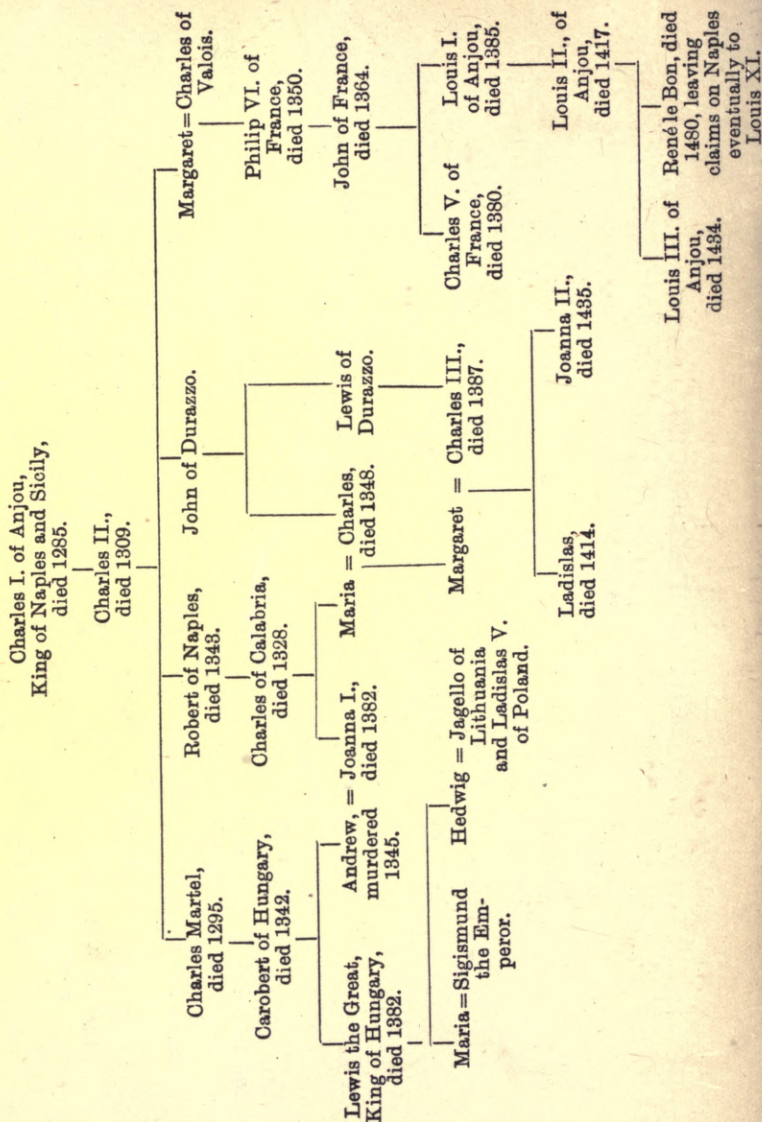
Elizabeth = Albert V. of Austria,
Emperor as Albert II.,
1438-1439.

Frederick III.,
Emperor, 1440-1493.

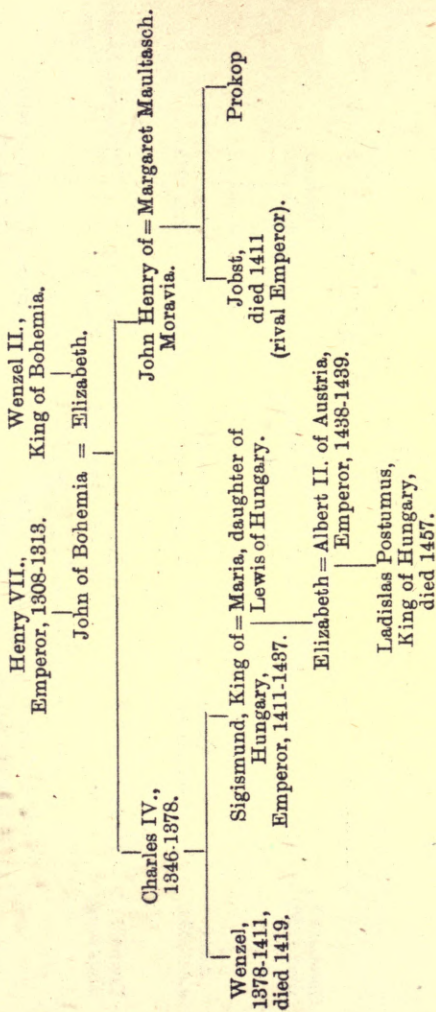
Ladislav Postumus,
died 1457.

Maximilian I.

HOUSES OF ANJOU IN NAPLES AND HUNGARY

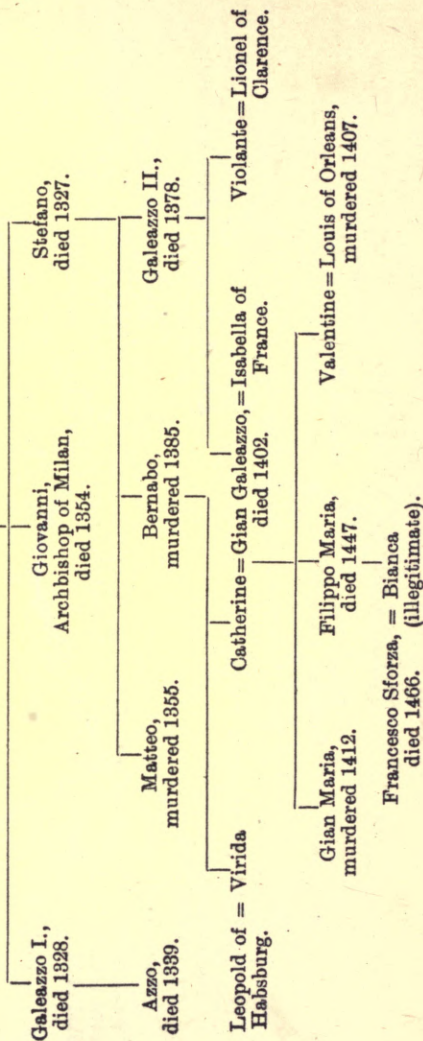


HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG

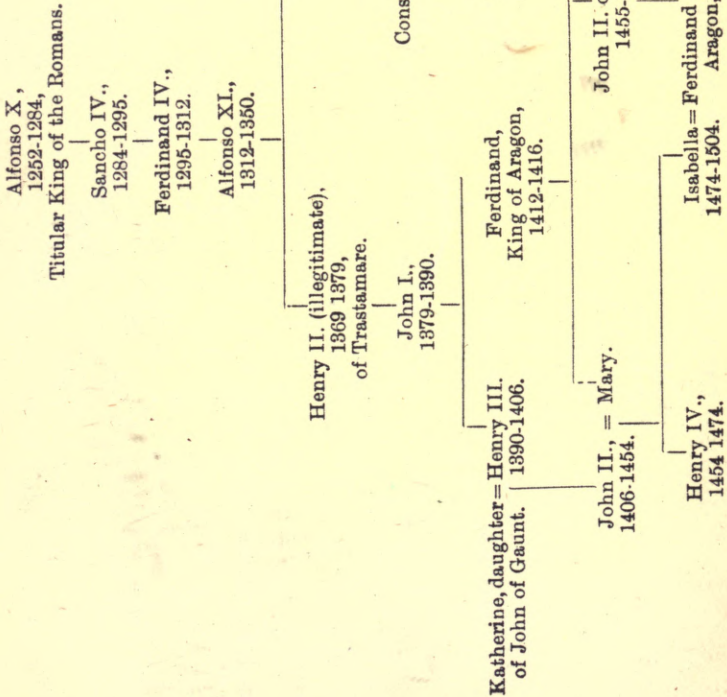


THE VISCONTI

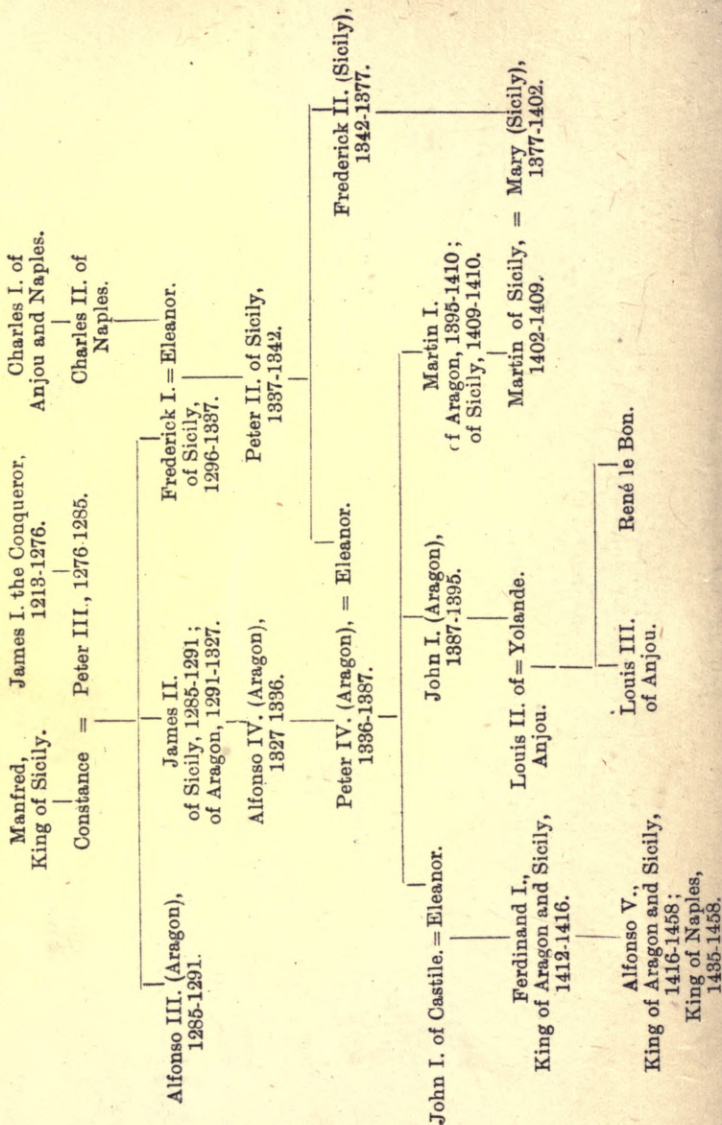
Matteo I.,
Lord of Milan,
died 1322.



HOUSE OF CASTILE



HOUSE OF ARAGON AND CONNECTION WITH SICILY



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PREFACE

OUR own times are separated from the Middle Ages mainly by two differences. The boundaries, both of the geographical world and of the world of thought, have been enlarged. The globe has been explored; men no longer set limits to the knowledge they may gain. These are the great results of two movements which may be said to divide Medieval from Modern times—namely, the Renaissance, which made a re-discovery to man of the powers of the human mind; and the Age of Discovery, which meant for the medieval world the enlargement of the universe. To both these a stimulus was given by the fall of the Greek Empire in 1453. Constantinople was at last captured by the Turks, who for over a century had been pressing towards its gates.

During the early fifteenth century, Greek scholars had occasionally settled in Italy to teach their language. There was already among Italians an enthusiastic interest in Greek literature and art, when the fall of the Eastern Empire drove many

more of its subjects to seek a livelihood in Florence and other wealthy towns. Students crowded to Greek lectures; monastic libraries were ransacked for classical manuscripts; the increased demand for copies soon created a supply by means of the new German invention of printing, which was promptly taken up in Italy. The treasures of the New Learning could therefore be shared by all Europe; but it was the keen Italian mind that fell most under the spell of the deep critical thought of the Greeks, their joy in life, their worship of beauty. It was natural, too, that classical studies should first be revived in Italy, because the great traditions of ancient Rome and its Greek civilisation had never quite lost their hold on Italians. So universal among Italian scholars was the use of Latin or Greek that there was almost a danger of the disappearance of their own language. But though it produced no great Italian literature, the Renaissance found wonderful expression in the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; and the great schools of Central Italy, Florence, and Venice gave to the world mighty artists—Raffael, Michelangelo, da Vinci, and Titian. It would be interesting to trace from these beginnings how the influence of the Renaissance went on to show itself in other countries in

the form most natural to each—in Germany and the Netherlands in Painting, in England in Literature, in Spain in Painting and Literature.

The fall of Constantinople also hastened the Age of Discovery. The navigators of the time were the Portuguese; and it seems that a desire to wrest from the Moors some of the gains of African trade first started their voyages down the West Coast. In Eastern Europe the fact that the Turks now overran the trade routes made Asiatic commerce risky and expensive. Since Constantinople, the chief Oriental mart for Europe, was lost to the Christian, some other way must be found to the East. Necessity proved the mother of discovery. In looking for a track to the Far East, Columbus “stumbled upon” a new continent; 1492 while Vasco da Gama’s famous voyage to India by 1497 the Cape of Good Hope finished the work of Diaz and the Portuguese mariners, and opened up the oldest continent to European trade and conquest. In 1519 Magellan’s expedition earned the proud distinction of first circumnavigating the globe. Europe “turned her face to the West,” and the Mediterranean ceased to be her commercial centre. New countries on the shores of the Atlantic took their places in the forefront of commercial enterprise. The great age of the Italian and South

German towns was past. This was realised by the Venetian Diarist, who notes on the arrival of the news of da Gama's achievement, "The whole city was distressed and astounded, and the wisest heads take it to be the worst piece of information that we could ever have had."

The great states of our own time were in this period of change being built up in Christendom, which it had been the dream of the Middle Ages to keep intact as one Church and one Empire. Of these young nations the chief were France, England, and Spain, each ruled by a strong king. In Germany and Italy, on the other hand, the weakness of the chief power in the first, and its total absence in the second, left the people of each so free to go their own way that they lacked sense enough of common life to wish to be nations at all. But the variety for which these circumstances made room gives their history special interest.

In warfare the use of gunpowder and the invention of artillery gradually destroyed feudalism and put into the hands of governments a weapon against which rebellion was at first powerless. But the rise of the people was beginning as wealth and education increased, though it did not keep pace at first with that of the kings. To

society at large men were beginning to have an importance in themselves—in the Middle Ages their importance was generally swallowed up in the class or institution or order to which they belonged.



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Pius II. Pope.
1459. Congress of Mantua.
1461. Death of Charles VII. of France. Accession of Louis XI.
(July).
Accession of Edward IV. of England.
1463. Scanderbeg, Sovereign of Albania.
War between Venice and the Turks.
1464. Death of Cosmo di Medici. Piero I. succeeds.
Paul II. Pope.
1465. War of the Public Weal in France.
1466. Death of Francesco Sforza of Milan.
Treaty of Thorn between the Teutonic Order and Poland.
1467. Death of Philip, the Good Duke of Burgundy. Accession of
Charles the Bold.
1468. Treaty of Péronne between Louis XI. and Charles the
Bold.
1469. Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.
Accession of Lorenzo di Medici in Florence.
1470. Restoration of Henry VI. of England.
1471. Sixtus IV. Pope.
Death of George Podébrad.
1473. Charles the Bold seizes Guelders.
1474. Charles the Bold besieges Neuss.
Isabella Queen of Castile.
1475. Treaty of Pecquigny between Louis XI. and Edward IV.
Charles the Bold annexes Lorraine.

1476. Defeat of Charles the Bold at Granson and at Morat.
Assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (Dec.).
1477. Death of Charles the Bold at Nancy (Jan.).
Marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy
(Aug.).
1478. The Pazzi Conspiracy (April).
Establishment of the Inquisition in Castile.
1479. Treaty of Constantinople between Venice and the Turks
(Jan.).
Ludovico Sforza Regent of Milan.
Ferdinand II. King of Aragon.
1480. 'Otranto seized by the Turks.
1481. Death of Mahomet II.
Angevin Dominions (except Lorraine) pass to French Crown.
1482. Treaty of Arras between Louis XI. and Maximilian.
War between Venice and Ferrara.
1483. Death of Edward IV. (April).
Death of Louis XI. Accession of Charles VIII. Regency of
Anne of Beaujeu (Aug.).
1484. Treaty of Bagnolo between Venice and Ferrara.
Innocent VIII. Pope.
1485. Accession of Henry VII. of England.
The Neapolitan Barons' War.
1486. Bartolommeo Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope.
1489. Diet of Frankfort gives Imperial Towns representation.
1490. Death of Matthias Corvinus.
1492. Discovery of America by Columbus.
The Conquest of Granada by Spain.
Death of Lorenzo di Medici. Accession of Piero II.
Alexander VI. Pope.
Treaty of Étaples between Charles VIII. and Henry VII.
1493. Death of Frederick III. Maximilian I. elected Emperor.
Treaty of Senlis between Charles VIII. and Maximilian.
Treaty of Barcelona between Charles VIII. and Ferdinand.
1494. Charles VIII. enters Italy (Sept.).
Ludovico Sforza Duke of Milan.
Expulsion of the Medici from Florence (Nov.).
1495. French Conquest of Naples.
Death of Prince Djem (Feb.).
Battle of Fornovo (July).
Reform Scheme of the Diet of Worms.
1496. Expulsion of the French from Naples.
1497. Voyages of John Cabot and Vasco da Gama.
1498. Death of Charles VIII. Accession of Louis XII. (April).
Death of Savonarola (May).

1499. War between Maximilian and the Swiss ended by the Peace of Basel (Sept.).
First French Conquest of Milan (by Louis XII.) (Sept.).
1500. Treaty of Granada between Ferdinand and Louis XII. (Nov.).
1501. Conquest of Romagna by Cæsar Borgia.
1503. Julius II. Pope. Fall of Cæsar Borgia.
1504. Second Expulsion of the French from Naples (by Spain).
Death of Isabella. Joan and Philip succeed in Castile (Nov.).
1506. Death of Philip. Ferdinand governs Castile.
1507. Death of Cæsar Borgia.
1508. League of Cambray against Venice (Dec.).
1509. Venice defeated at Battle of Agnadello (May).
Accession of Henry VIII. of England.
1511. Holy League against the French (Oct.).
1512. Battle of Ravenna. French driven from Italy (April).
Accession of Sultan Selim I.
First Restoration of the Medici in Florence (Sept.).
Restoration of the Sforza in Milan (Dec.).
Leo X. Pope.
Ferdinand conquers Spanish Navarre (July).
Battles of Flodden and Guinegate.
1515. Death of Louis XII. Accession of Francis I. (Jan.).
Battle of Marignano. Second French Conquest of Milan (Sept.).
1516. Death of Ferdinand. Accession of Charles I. Ximenes Regent (Jan.)
Treaty of Noyon between Charles and Francis (Aug.).
French Concordat with Leo X.
Conquest of Syria and Egypt by Selim I.
1517. Luther attacks Indulgences (Nov.).
1518. General European Peace.
1519. Death of Maximilian I. (June). Election of Charles V. (Jan.).
Magellan's Expedition round the World.
1520. Luther burns the Papal Bull.
Solyman the Magnificent, Sultan.
1521. The Diet of Worms (Jan.).
Defeat of the Communes at Villalar (April).
Outbreak of War between Charles V. and Francis (Nov.).
Death of Leo X. (Dec.).
- 1522-9. Charles V. in Spain.
1523. The Knights' War in Germany,
Adrian VI. Pope.

1523. Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden.
1524. The Peasants' War in Germany (June).
1525. Battle of Pavia. Capture of Francis I. (Feb.).
Rise of the Duchy of Prussia.
1526. Treaty of Madrid between Charles and Francis (Jan.).
Diet of Spires (Aug.).
Lewis, King of Hungary, killed at Mohacz (Aug.).
Ferdinand of Austria King of Hungary and Bohemia.
1527. Sack of Rome by the Imperialists (May).
Second Expulsion of the Medici from Florence (May).
Diet of Vesteras.
1528. France and England declare War on Charles V. (Jan.).
1529. "The Protestants" at the Second Diet of Spires (Feb.).
Treaty of Cambray between Charles and Francis (Aug.).
1530. Charles crowned Emperor at Bologna (Feb.).
Confession of Augsburg (June).
Second Restoration of the Medici on the Fall of Florence (Aug.).
1531. Mary of Hungary Regent of the Netherlands.
The League of Schmalkalde formed (Dec.).
1532. Treaty of Nuremberg between Charles V. and the Protestants (July).
1533. Paul III. Pope.
1535. Calvin's "Institutes" published.
1536. Third War between Charles and Francis (March).
Calvin in Geneva.
1538. Truce of Nice (June).
1540. Order of the Jesuits sanctioned by Paul III.
1541. Diet of Ratisbon attempts Religious Compromise.
Swedish Independence recognised by Denmark.
1542. Fourth War between Charles and Francis.
1544. Treaty of Crespy between Charles and Francis (Sept.).
1545. Meeting of the Council of Trent (Dec.).
1546. Death of Luther (Feb.).
Alliance between Charles V. and Maurice of Saxony (Oct.).
Outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War.
1547. Death of Francis I. Accession of Henry II. (March).
Protestants defeated at Battle of Mühlberg (April).
Council of Trent removes to Bologna.
1548. Charles V. issues Interim of Augsburg (May).
1549. Julius III. Pope.
1551. Second Session of Council of Trent.
1552. Treaty of Friedewalde between Henry II. and the Protestants (Jan.).
France gains Metz, Toul and Verdun (March).

1552. Maurice of Saxony attacks Charles V. (May).
Treaty of Passau between Charles and the Protestants
(Aug.).
1553. Death of Maurice of Saxony at Battle of Sieverhausen
(July).
1555. Pius IV. Pope (March).
Religious Peace of Augsburg (Sept.).
Abdication of Charles V. from the Netherlands and Italy.
1556. Abdication of Charles V. from Spain and the Empire (Jan.).
Truce of Vaucelles between Charles and Henry II. (Feb.).
War between the Pope and the French against Philip II. in
Italy (Sept.).
1557. England declares War with France.
Battle of St Quentin (Aug.).
1558. Capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise (Jan.).
Defeat of the French at Gravelines (July).
Death of Charles V. (Sept.).
Accession of Elizabeth of England (Nov.).
1559. Margaret of Parma Regent of the Netherlands.
Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis between France and Spain
(April).
Death of Henry II. Accession of Francis II. (July).
Pius IV. Pope (Aug.).
1560. Death of Gustavus Vasa.
Death of Francis II. Accession of Charles IX. Regency of
Catharine di Medici (Dec.).
1562. Third Session of the Council of Trent.
Massacre of Vassy. Outbreak of Religious Wars in France
(March).
1563. Close of the Council of Trent.
Murder of the Duke of Guise. Pacification of Amboise
(Feb.).
1564. Recall of Granvella (March).
Death of Calvin (May).
Death of Ferdinand I. Election of Maximilian II.
1566. Death of Solyman the Magnificent. Selim II. Sultan.
Pius V. Pope.
1567. Arrival of Alva in the Netherlands. Flight of Prince of
Orange (April).
Second Religious War in France.
1568. Treaty of Longjumeau ends Second Religious War (March).
Execution of Egmont and Horn (June).
Death of Don Carlos (July).
Third Religious War in France (Sept.).
1569. Battles of Jarnac and Moncontour. *Microsoft*

1570. Treaty of St Germain ends Third Religious War (Aug.).
1571. Ridolfi Plot against Elizabeth fails.
Battle of Lepanto (Oct.).
1572. Revolt of the Netherlands begins with the seizure of Brill (April).
Massacre of St Bartholomew. Outbreak of Fourth French Religious War (Aug.).
Gregory XIII. Pope.
1573. Anjou elected King of Poland (May).
Fourth Religious War ended by the Edict of July (Aug.).
Recall of Alva. Requesens Governor of the Netherlands (Nov.).
The Turks take Cyprus.
1574. Fifth Religious War in France (Feb.).
Death of Charles IX. Accession of Henry III. (March).
Siege of Leyden (Nov.).
1576. Fifth Religious War in France ended by Peace of Monsieur (May).
Pacification of Ghent (Nov.).
Don Juan Governor of the Netherlands (Nov.).
Death of Maximilian II. Election of Rudolf II.
1577. Perpetual Edict signed by Don Juan (Feb.).
Treaty of Bergerac ends the Sixth Religious War in France (Sept.).
1578. Anjou in the Netherlands (July).
Death of Don Juan. Alexander Farnese Governor (Oct.).
1579. The Union of Utrecht and the Treaty of Arras.
1580. Spain annexes Portugal.
Anjou chosen Ruler of the Netherlands (Sept.).
Peace of Fleix ends Seventh Religious War in France (Nov.).
1584. Murder of William of Orange (July).
The Catholic League in France.
1585. Treaty of Joinville between the League and Philip II. (Jan.).
Outbreak of the War of the Three Henriés (Eighth Religious War).
1585. Sixtus V. Pope.
Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands (Dec.).
1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
Recall of Leicester (Dec.).
1588. Defeat of the Armada (Aug.).
Murder of the Duke of Guise (Dec.).
1589. Death of Catherine di Medici (Jan.).
Murder of Henry III. Accession of Henry IV. (July).

1589. Ninth Religious War in France.
 1590. Battle of Ivry (March).
 Philip II. suppresses Aragonese Liberties
 1592. Sigismund III. of Poland succeeds John III. of Sweden.
 Death of Parma (Dec.).
 1593. Henry IV. becomes a Roman Catholic.
 1594. Archduke Ernest Governor of Netherlands.
 1595. War between France and Spain (Jan.).
 1596. Archduke Albert Governor of Netherlands (Jan.).
 1597. Alliance between England, France and Holland.
 1598. Edict of Nantes ends French Religious Wars (April).
 Treaty of Vervins between France and Spain (May).
 Death of Philip II. Accession of Philip III. (Sept.).
 1600. Formation of Dutch East India Company.
 1604. Ostend taken by Spinola.
 Deposition of Sigismund III. Accession of Charles IX. of
 Sweden.
 1605. Paul V. Pope.
 1607. Religious Riot at Donauwörth.
 1608. Formation of German Protestant Union.
 1609. Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and Holland.
 Julich-Cleves Succession Question opens.
 Formation of German Catholic League.
 Expulsion of Moriscoes from Spain.
 1610. Murder of Henry IV. Accession of Louis XIII. Regency of
 Mary de Medici.
 1611. Gustavus Adolphus succeeds Charles IX. of Sweden.
 1612. Death of Rudolf II. Election of Matthias.
 1618. Bohemian Revolution. Outbreak of Thirty Years' War (May).
 Synod of Dort.
 1619. Death of Matthias (March). Election of Ferdinand II.
 (August).
 The Elector Palatine accepts the Bohemian Crown.
 Execution of Oldenbarneveldt.
 1620. Battle of the White Hill. The Elector driven from Bohemia
 (Nov.).
 1621. Renewal of War between Spain and Holland.
 Death of Philip III. Accession of Philip IV. Ascendancy of
 Olivarez (March).
 1623. Maximilian of Bavaria gains Palatinate with Electorate
 (Jan.).
 Urban VIII. Pope (Aug.).
 1624. Richelieu Chief Minister of France (April).
 1625. Accession of Charles I. Marriage with Henrietta Maria
 (March).

1625. Death of Maurice of Orange. Accession of Frederick Henry (April).
1626. Danish Period of Thirty Years' War begins.
Wallenstein joins the Emperor.
Tilly defeats the Danes at the Battle of Lutter (Aug.).
1627. Siege of Rochelle by Richelieu.
Mantuan Succession Dispute (Dec.).
1628. Wallenstein besieges Stralsund (May).
1629. Edict of Restitution issued by Ferdinand II. (March).
Christian IV. of Denmark retires from the War (June).
Treaty of Alais between the Huguenots and Louis XIII. (June).
1630. Landing of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania (June).
Dismissal of Wallenstein (Sept.).
1631. Treaty of Barwâlde between France and Sweden (Jan.).
Treaty of Cherasco settles Mantuan Succession (April).
Gustavus Adolphus defeats Tilly at Breitenfeld (Sept.).
1632. Return of Wallenstein (April).
Southern German March of Gustavus Adolphus.
Battle of Lützen. Death of Gustavus Adolphus. Accession of Queen Christina. Regency of Oxenstierna (Nov.).
1633. League of Heilbronn between Sweden and German Protestants (April).
1634. Murder of Wallenstein (Feb.).
Battle of Nordlingen recovers South Germany for the Catholics (Sept.).
1635. War between France and Spain (May).
Treaty of Prague between the Emperor and Saxony.
1636. Victory of the Swedes over Saxony at Wittstock.
1637. Death of Ferdinand II. Election of Ferdinand III. (Feb.).
1638. Bernard of Weimar conquers Alsace (Aug.).
1639. France seizes Alsace on the Death of Bernard (July).
Tromp destroys Spanish Fleet in the Downs (Oct.).
1640. Rebellion in Catalonia and Portugal against Spain (Nov.).
1642. Death of Richelieu. Mazarin Chief Minister of France (Dec.).
1643. Fall of Olivarez (Jan.).
Death of Louis XIII. Accession of Louis XIV. Regency of Anne of Austria (May).
War of Candia between Venice and the Turks.
1646. Turenne and Wrangel invade Bavaria (July).
1647. Death of Frederick Henry. Accession of William II. of Orange (March).
1648. Treaty of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War (Oct.).
- 1648-54. Civil Wars of the Fronde in France.

1650. Death of William II. of Orange (Nov.).
1654. Abdication of Christina of Sweden. Accession of Charles X.
Gustavus.
1657. Death of Ferdinand III. Accession of Leopold I. (April).
1658. Death of Oliver Cromwell (Sept.).
1659. Treaty of the Pyrenees between France and Spain (Nov.).

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EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

THE EMPIRE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

OWING to the weakness of the Crown, Germany was still the most feudal of all countries, and lagged far behind the rest in national growth. The Holy Roman Empire, to give it the full and proper title, was at this time ruled by the Habsburg Emperor Frederick III. It consisted of a collection of states, including the seven electorates—namely, the three Rhenish archbishoprics of Mainz (Mayence), Trier (Treves), and Köln (Cologne), and the four states of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate. Other important members of the Empire were the group of the Austrian dominions, including Austria proper, Tyrol, East Swabia, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, then divided between three branches of the Habsburg family; and the duchies of Bavaria and Würtemberg.

These territories, which were already almost independent states, had all sprung from the larger feudal fiefs. Their growth to complete independence is one of the chief features of German history of this period, for in face of their opposition it seemed impossible to provide the Empire with a strong government, and the Habsburgs in their family dominions themselves became the worst offenders against national unity. Each prince had the

Need of Reform

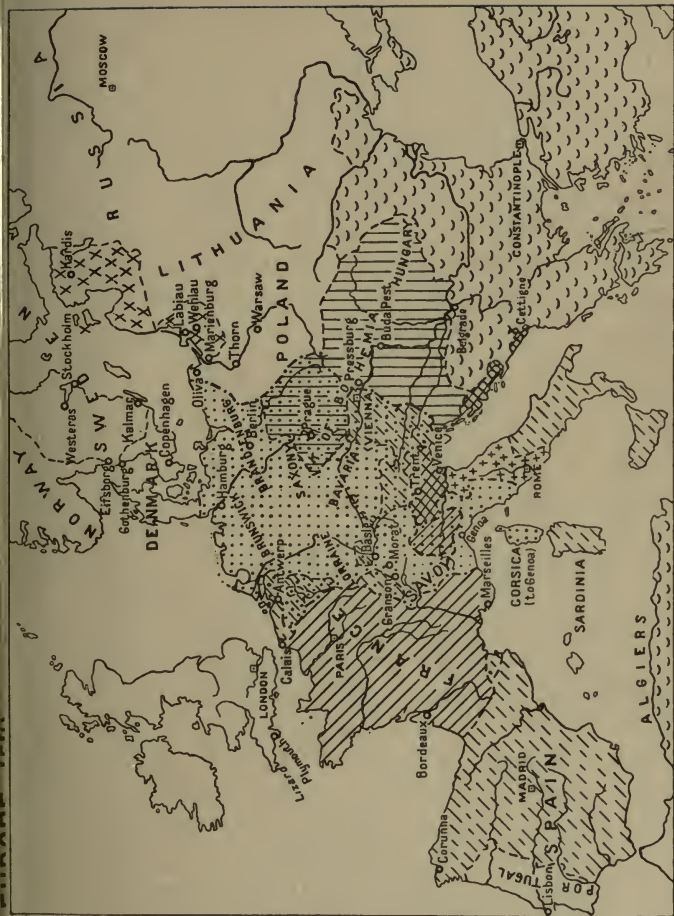
same problem to solve in his state that so sorely needed to be solved for the Empire—namely, how to provide a system of justice and of taxation, and an efficient fighting force—but he was jealous of any Imperial organisation that might interfere with his private arrangements; and Frederick and his successor, Maximilian, as Austrian princes, were the most jealous of all.











As the forest tree, for lack of proper nourishment for its roots, begins to wither and fall away at the tips of its branches, so it was with the outlying states of the Empire. Burgundy ruled Franche Comté, had annexed Guelders, and was ambitious of becoming an independent kingdom. France was turning her gaze towards the Rhine. The Swiss cantons were practically, though not yet legally, a republic. Italy was already lost; and the attitude of the eastern states of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, a cause of grave anxiety—to say nothing of the Turk, who threatened the whole of the south-eastern frontier.

To these dangers the Habsburgs were not indifferent. They made it their business to build up a great family dominion by means of marriages and a keen attention to foreign policy. Through family possessions or connexions they became guardians of the frontier on the west and south-east; they planned to recover the hold upon Italy, and at all events to prevent the French from securing a footing there; and they retained their own hold upon the Empire as long as it lasted.

The election of Frederick III. was due to his insignificance, and his reign was long and confused, resembling in some respects that of Henry III. of England. Yet it has been said of him that “he won all his objects in the end” (Ranke); he also did much to shape the destinies both of his family and of the Empire, almost as much by what

Reign of
Frederick
III.,
1440-1494



H. V. G. Schürer's *Europa*, 1894
 Dominion of Charles V  
 Papal Territory  
 Ottoman Empire  
 Venice  
 German Military Order  

he avoided doing as by what he did. The most important questions of the day were three: the relations with outlying and foreign states, the state of the Church, and domestic reform.

Hungary
and
Bohemia

1440

In the first place, Frederick was deeply interested in the fate of two important kingdoms on his eastern borders—Bohemia and Hungary. His cousin and ward, Ladislaus Postumus, King of Bohemia, was a boy. Hungary had just passed into the hands of Ladislaus III., King of Poland, and every inch of land that increased the power of the rival Slav race increased the anxiety of the German.

1444

But when Ladislaus III. fell, fighting the Turks at Varna, Ladislaus Postumus was chosen King of Hungary, thus uniting these two kingdoms under a ruler of the elder Habsburg line, whose heir Frederick III., a member of a younger branch, hoped to become. The opportunity seemed to have come when Ladislaus Postumus died suddenly at the age of eighteen, leaving vacant the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia and the Duchy of Austria.

1457

Frederick eventually secured Austria, but the two kingdoms took each its own line, and respectively chose Matthias Corvinus, son of the Hungarian hero John Hunyadi, and George Podiebrad, the leader of the Hussite party in Bohemia, and regent during Ladislaus' minority. Under the rule of these two able kings, Hungary and Bohemia became models to the rest of Europe of strong and tolerant government. Unfortunately neither of them left a successor. Ladislaus of Poland eventually

1490

reigned in their stead, but Frederick had the satisfaction of witnessing the conclusion of the Treaty of Pressburg, by which the Habsburgs were to become the heirs of Ladislaus when the male line of his house should fail.

1491

By 1526 this had come to pass on the death at Mohacz

of his son Lewis, whose sister Anne was the wife of Frederick's great-grandson. Thus Ferdinand of Austria, by the double claim of marriage and treaty rights, became King of Hungary and Bohemia, which the emperors his descendants continued to hold as their family possessions.

During the critical years of this question, Frederick's ^{Burgundy} chief attention was drawn to affairs in the west. Charles the Bold, ruler of the Netherlands and the two Burgundies, was the most headstrong and ambitious prince of his time. In his double position as French and German prince, holding his fiefs both of King Louis and of the Emperor, he was quite a match for either of his overlords. The aim of his career is best described in his own words, "Instead of one King of France, I should like to see six!" By 1472 he had, however, come to the conclusion that his purpose would be better served by uniting his dominions into a kingdom of the Rhine, with the Emperor's sanction. A powerful new state on his western frontier was the last thing Frederick III. desired to see; attracted for a moment by Charles' proposal of a marriage between his heiress, Mary of Burgundy, and the Emperor's son Maximilian, he consented to an interview at Trier. But when Charles ¹⁴⁷³ arrived with crown and sceptre for his expected coronation, Frederick III., whose habit was never to face a difficulty when it could be shirked, crept away down the Moselle one night, and the disgusted duke returned no greater a man than he came. A second chance never appeared, for Charles soon involved himself in the wars with the Swiss, in which he fell. Tyrol and Alsace, the original Habsburg inheritance in Swabia, which had been pledged for a sum of money to Charles the Bold, were recovered by their owner, Frederick III.'s cousin, who, being without an heir, presently handed them over to

1492

Frederick's son Maximilian; and Mary of Burgundy was glad to find a husband and protector in Maximilian amid the ruin of her father's fortunes.

Frederick had every reason to congratulate himself. By the deaths of his cousin and Ladislaus Postumus, the entire Austrian dominions were once more united under his son, while Charles the Bold's daughter brought to his descendants that great Burgundian inheritance on which his heart was set.

The
Teutonic
Order

The struggle between German and Slav for supremacy in Eastern Europe was even more marked in the fate of the Teutonic Order than in the history of Hungary and Bohemia. This society of German knights, whose original aim since 1231 had been to convert and conquer the heathen Prussian Slavs, had become a ruling power for the promotion of German colonisation, and inevitably clashed with the interests of Slavonic Poland. At first the knights carried all before them, but in the fifteenth century the tide of success turned in favour of the Slav race. Defeat in battle, the outcome of a decline in loyalty, vigour, and self-restraint within the Order itself, at last overthrew it. By the Treaty of Thorn the whole of West Prussia was surrendered to Poland, while East Prussia was left to the Order as a Polish fief. In vain did the knights appeal to Frederick III. for help throughout this struggle, and finally, in disgust at the selfish indifference of the Habsburgs, the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, converted East Prussia into a duchy for himself and his descendants, and the Teutonic Order came to an inglorious end.

1466

1525

The
Church

In Frederick's dealings with the Church in Germany his conduct was the reverse of patriotic. Germany had kept outside the dispute between the Pope Eugenius IV.

and the last great Reforming Council at Basel. Until Eugenius could secure the support of the Empire, there seemed little chance of his recovering his authority. To this end he wished to withdraw the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz, which under Frederick's predecessor had secured a good deal of freedom to the German Church in the matters of elections and taxation. Frederick was anxious to be on good terms with the Pope at a time when he was surrounded by difficulties with the electors, the Swiss, and the Hungarians. For reasons of diplomacy, therefore, he consented to be bought over through his clever agent Æneas Sylvius; and by the Concordat of Vienna he ¹⁴⁴⁸ sacrificed the Pragmatic Sanction for the sake of an understanding with Rome. Papal interference in Germany was already thoroughly unpopular, and had it not been for the unlucky perpetual divisions among the German princes, a scheme to depose the Emperor and reform the Church might have been carried out. As it was, however, the Pope succeeded in raising for a so-called Turkish crusade large sums of money, which went into his own treasury, a proceeding which the victims denounced as "a papal plot to tame Germany."

Finally, Æneas Sylvius, now Pope Pius II., effectually checked all attempts at reform by condemning, in the Bull *Execrabilis*, all appeals to a General Council as ¹⁴⁶⁰ wicked and heretical. For the next fifty years German resistance to papal claims was of the feeblest.

Frederick's reign in Germany has been described as ^{State of} "the climax of imperial neglect." ^{the Empire} The general contempt for the Emperor's authority was shown by constant private wars, among which that between Albert Achilles of Hohenzollern and the town of Nuremberg may be quoted as an example. The fact was, that as long as

Frederick had his own way as prince in his Austrian states, he cared little what indignities the Empire might suffer. Indeed, in this matter he out-princed the princes. For thirty years he hid himself in his own territories and was deaf to what passed outside. When desperate efforts were made to rouse Frederick to head a crusade for the rescue of Constantinople in 1453, it was reported that "the Emperor was planting his gardens and snaring little birds."

Since Frederick would not fulfil his responsibilities, reformers arose to relieve him of them. The Diet or Parliament of the Empire consisted of the seven electors, the princes, and the Imperial towns—though the towns only made good their right to be consulted in 1489. There remained two important unrepresented classes—the Imperial knights, who, like the towns, were tenants-in-chief, and the peasants; but it was not until the reign of Frederick's great-grandson Charles that their grievances became a public danger. All the earlier attempts at reform in his reign Frederick persistently ignored. A proposal in 1461 to depose him in favour of George Podiebrad came to nothing. The scheme which had most chance of success in his later years was that of Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, who planned to provide an efficient central government somewhat after the manner of the Baronial party in Henry III.'s reign—not under the Crown, but under a committee of nobles. Its chief features were a permanent Court of Justice; the Land-peace, to supersede Faustrecht or the right of waging private war; a system of taxation called the Common Penny; and the raising of an Imperial army. The Emperor proved the worst enemy of the plan, which, as long as he lived, had not much life in it.

Frederick did not lay up for himself a peaceful old age. He was driven from his capital by the Hungarians in 1485, and wandered from one monastery to another seeking refuge. Yet even then he scored the second great triumph of his reign in persuading the electors oft accept in his lifetime his son as king of the Romans. To Maximilian, indeed, he confided the chief authority during his last years.

From his own point of view, Frederick's reign was, on the whole, a success. He had come to a working understanding with the Pope; he had defeated reform; he had outlived all his worst enemies, and had built up a great family dominion. His belief in Austria's future was shown by his practice of marking his property with the five vowels, A E I O U, which stand in either German or Latin for "Austria shall rule the world." Frederick was to some extent far-sighted: he moved slowly to his ends, uninfluenced by dislike or popularity. He was undignified, miserly, and, in the opinion of contemporaries, cowardly, but that may have been because he was neither soldier nor sportsman. He had a sense of humour and unfailing cheerfulness. He was not a statesman—to the German patriot of his time he must have been past praying for; yet there is something masterly about the inactivity of his reign.

Character
of Frede-
rick III.

Kaiser Max, as his subjects called him, was a great contrast to his father; and, from his frank and friendly intercourse with all classes, was one of the most popular of kings. He was brave, adventurous, and dignified; a mighty hunter, and a master of all the arts of chivalry. He was very gifted, very cultivated, and so quick and resourceful that some of his failures may have been due to his inability to recognise any limits at all to his

Maxi-
milian I.,
1493-1519

capacity. There was a queer strain in his character which led him to carry about his own coffin with him in later life; to write that curious book, "The White King," describing his own career; and to talk, apparently seriously, of being elected pope. He was vain, restless, and fickle—as Bacon said of him, "He ended things by imagination, as an ill archer, who draws not his arrows up to the head." If it suited his purpose he could lie and cheat. Despite his popularity, he was not well served, for he never trusted his ministers with full powers. But with all his faults and eccentricities, he remains one of the most brilliant and attractive figures of his age.

The
Question
of Reform

The great question of reform of the Empire faced Maximilian in Germany; it had been shelved in his father's reign, but his own plan forbade that it should be any longer ignored. There seemed three possible methods of reform. The strongest measure would have been reform through a monarchy resembling those which were being built up at the moment in England, France, and Spain. The second method, though also aiming at converting the disconnected German states into a living, united nation, proposed to bind them by the looser tie of a federal union. And the third method made no appeal to national feelings at all, but contented itself with a reorganisation of each state internally. Few men were better fitted than Maximilian to play the part demanded by the first method, but unfortunately his object was not reform at all, but war, and the two aims were naturally opposed. The state of Europe interested him far more than the state of Germany, both because he built up schemes of European diplomacy, and because the extension of the Habsburg inheritance, rather than the strengthening of the Empire, was as dear to his heart as it had

been to Frederick III.'s. The European situation just after his accession was full of possibilities for Maximilian; his position in the Netherlands had at last improved; Charles VIII. had just started on his fateful Italian journey, after rejecting Maximilian's daughter Margaret and taking another bride in the person of Anne of Brittany, who had been married by proxy to Maximilian himself; the Pope was on the point of flight from Rome; and the Austrian dominions were threatened by the Turks. Maximilian soon joined the Italian league against France; and this made some concession to the Reforming party inevitable, or he could get no money for his outfit.

The proceedings at the Diet of Worms (1498) may be said to sum up all the difficulties of this question. Maximilian came demanding money to relieve Milan from the French, and to keep a standing army for ten years. The only available troops were raised by detachments by the electors, princes, and cities, and had no common organisation at all. In return, the Reforming party put forth its scheme, drawn up by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, who was more deeply impressed than any other man with the crying needs of the Empire. They hoped to relieve Maximilian practically of all authority except command in war. They set up the Imperial Chamber, a stationary and permanent court of sixteen members (half of whom were to be lawyers), chosen by the Diet, and responsible to it alone. Its duties were to try breaches of the peace (for the abolition of Faustrecht or private war was proclaimed throughout the Empire), to act as a Court of Appeal, and to administer the national revenue, which was to be raised in future by the system known as the Common Penny. This combined the features of both property and income taxes, being levied at the rate of one florin in every

Reform
Scheme at
Worms

thousand; while in the case of the poor, it was equivalent to a poll tax—one florin being collected from a group of twenty-four. The tax was to be collected by the princes and the towns; and here the difficulty began. The knights announced that as they did not attend diets, they were not bound by them, while the bishops objected to taking orders from a lay council such as the Chamber. Maximilian set a bad example by declining to collect the tax in Austria. He was jealous of the proposed Court, and was besides annoyed that the administration of justice by the Chamber would deprive him of his principal source of income, namely, the fees of his Austrian Court of Justice. As soon as possible he left for Italy. He made no effort to return for the annual meetings of the Diet, and in his absence any scheme of reform was doomed to failure.

War with
the Swiss,
1499

Troubles abroad, however, thickened around him, not the least of these being a war with the Swiss. The reforms of the Diet applied to Switzerland, as it was still in theory part of the Empire; but the Swiss objected to the Imperial Chamber, and saw no reason for collecting the Common Penny since they were able to maintain peace in their cantons without interference from the Diet, in which indeed they were not represented. By the death of Sigismund of Tyrol in 1496 his lands had passed to Maximilian, and certain local leagues, alarmed at this addition to his power, associated themselves with the ten cantons of the Confederation, thereby drawing the latter into their own quarrels with Tyrol.

In the war that broke out, only the Swabian League gave help; and after suffering defeats which were a great blow to his military prestige, Maximilian came to terms in the Treaty of Basel, which freed the Swiss from the tax and all Imperial jurisdiction, though they continued

The
Treaty of
Basel

to be part of the Empire in name until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Under circumstances that were not improved by the French conquest of Milan in 1500, Maximilian himself proposed, at the Diet of Augsburg, a standing committee of the Diet, known as the Council of Regency, to act as the executive in his prolonged absences from Germany. The power lay with the electors and princes; it was, as the Venetian ambassador described it, "an abdication of the Emperor." But Maximilian had only abdicated to gain help against France; and when the Council concluded on its own account a treaty with that country, thereby setting it free to recover Naples, he was furious at being outwitted, and himself sold the Duchy of Milan to Louis XII. He withheld the pay of the members of the Imperial Chamber, which broke up. When the electors assembled a meeting to discuss his deposition, Maximilian, at the lowest ebb of his fortune, set his face towards Austria: he would, in future, he said, act as an Austrian prince. The result for Austria was the establishment of a real central government such as Germany lacked. But he also applied himself to form a party among the younger princes, who soon yielded to his fascination; to win the nobles by concessions of toll; and the bishops by nominating his supporters to their Sees, with the Pope's help. Whilst the plan of deposition ended in talk, Maximilian's prospects began to clear. The death of Berthold of Mainz removed almost the only man he regarded as an enemy. The marriages of his two children with the son and eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella promised much for the House of Habsburg, and relieved his immediate needs. After the birth, in 1500, of his grandson Charles, Maximilian thought

Improved
Position of
Maxi-
milian

seriously of taking the Imperial crown, though he contented himself with the title of Emperor Electus, without receiving the crown from the Pope's hands. Thereafter he was styled Emperor, and his successors, with the sole exception of Charles, took the same course.

Causes of
Failure of
Reform
Movement

Meanwhile the prospects of the Reform movement waned as the Emperor's position improved. All chance of national reform had disappeared; all that remained possible was reorganisation within each state; and in this direction Maximilian did something to set an example in Austria. To those who really cared for their country the failure of national reform must have been a heart-breaking affair; but the responsibility for it does not lie with the Emperor alone. German jealousy of Austria's predominance had something to do with it, as had also the indifference displayed by the electors to the Emperor's foreign policy. There is no doubt, too, that most of the schemes aroused the opposition of the smaller princes, because they proposed to give overwhelming influence to the greater.

Maximilian never even attempted to give life to any plan for welding the German states into a modern monarchy; and as that form of government contained, perhaps, the best chance of success in that age, it only remained for each state to do for itself what no one seemed able to do for the Empire, and make its prince the real centre of government.

At the same time, it must not be supposed that the Reform movement left no traces behind it. At one of the later diets the whole of the Empire except Bohemia was divided into ten circles, in each of which a captain was locally appointed to carry out, with the aid of a force of cavalry, the decisions of the Imperial Chamber—a plan

that came into working-order under Charles V. The Imperial Chamber itself, as subsequently revived, was one of the most valuable results of the movement. After the

GERMANY

March of Gustavus Adolphus ----



abandonment of the Common Penny, military forces were raised by the matricular system, which, ignoring the principle of Imperial unity, provided that a quota should be contributed by each estate. Maximilian must be credited with the success of the German Landsknecht, or

foot-soldier, whom he took great pains to make efficient in battle, and for whose equipment he borrowed ideas from the Swiss. He was also a practical pioneer in the invention of light field artillery.

Disorders
of Maxi-
milian's
Reign

Nevertheless, the political and social disorders of the reign became more marked at its end. The Swabian League of nobles, knights, and cities, which had done useful work in South Germany for the past twenty years, split up: a counter-league under the Duke of Würtemberg sprang into being, and fell to blows with the League itself. The knights, "Wolves to Commerce," were once more prominent in the person of the famous Sickingen, waging private war against the city of Worms.

The roads were insecure; justice was not done; the French were carrying all before them in Italy; while Maximilian was harassed by the eternal shortness of money. The religious troubles under Luther had broken out, and the misery of the peasants manifested itself in the rise of the Bundschuh. Everything, in short, was in train for the Reformation, which in Germany was to be much more than a purely religious movement.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

RANKE : Latin and Teutonic Nations.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES VIII.

BY 1453 Calais was all that remained to the English of their dominions in France. The reign of Charles VII. is famous for a thorough reform of his kingdom, yet the King's last years were destined to pass in uneasy suspicion. He banished his eldest son Louis to his province of Dauphiné, which soon became a meeting-place for the disloyal and discontented. The Dauphin married the Duke of Savoy's daughter, and looked round for other supporters of his cause. Chief among these was his father's vassal and former foe, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. When, in 1456, the King sent an army to subdue Dauphiné, Louis took refuge at the duke's court. During his five years' stay he gained a knowledge of men and matters that was to prove of the greatest use in his later dealings with Burgundy. As Charles VII. grimly put it, "My cousin is sheltering the fox that will one day eat his chickens." This somewhat scattered flock, his territories, Philip was, in fact, busy trying to gather together. The northern group, consisting mainly of Flanders, Brabant, and Luxembourg, was separated by the independent Duchy of Lorraine from the two Burgundies in the south. By the Treaty of Arras (1425) certain strong towns on the Somme had been handed over to Philip on the understanding that they might be redeemed by France later, but Charles discovered before long that

Relations
of France
and
Burgundy

this was not to be in his lifetime. Meanwhile the Croi party at the Burgundian court was friendly to France, and their influence upon Duke Philip was strong. There was a curious likeness between the two courts at this time; in each case there was a sovereign controlled by an unpopular favourite, with a hostile heir (Charles of Charolais played the Dauphin's part in Burgundy), while the arch intriguer, the Count of St Pol, hovered between them both, turning to his own account every possible advantage. Louis managed, however, to keep on good terms with both Burgundian parties until the news of his father's death in 1461 raised him to the French throne.

Louis XI.
1461-1483

The new reign began badly. The foundations of a strong kingship had been well and truly laid by Charles VII., but at first his son showed an almost reckless faculty for taking false steps. Fortunately, he was at the same time, as Commynes said, the cleverest of kings at recovering his footing; yet a little tact would have saved him this trouble.

War of the
Public
Weal, 1465

The
Princes
of the
Lilies

His dismissal of his father's ministers and generals, especially Dunois, Du Châtel, and Dammartin, though probably eventually necessary, was so hasty as to drive these important public servants to the side of the discontented nobles. The outcome of this alliance was the War of the Public Weal. The great French nobles—the Princes of the Lilies—were of the blood royal, and their general aim was to make themselves as independent as possible. The most powerful leaders were the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy. Others were Charles of Berri, the King's brother; John of Calabria, brother of Margaret of Anjou; and the Count of St Pol. Their grievances were of a personal or class nature, but these private aims

were hidden under the patriotic title of the League of the Public Weal. For instance, the King had on his accession restricted hunting rights; he had removed Bourbon and Charolais from their respective posts as Governors of Guienne and Normandy; by the help of the Croi party in Burgundy he had persuaded Philip to let him redeem the Somme towns, with the result that the Croi were expelled from Court, where Charles of Charolais became the real ruler. Louis quarrelled with the Duke of Brittany about a question of homage, and the latter tried to bring into play that alliance between England and Burgundy which had been such an important feature in the last part of the Hundred Years' War. The Kingmaker Warwick was in favour of Louis' suggestion of a French marriage alliance for Edward IV., but the English king, without consulting anyone, chose to marry Elizabeth Woodville, St Pol's niece; and thus arose between him and Warwick a coolness which soon became open hostility, and led England to play some part in the affairs of France and Burgundy in this reign.

Meanwhile, Louis, determined to strike first at the rebels, found that most of the trained forces responded to his call, thus giving him an advantage over the feudal levies of the enemy led by Charolais. The only engagement was an indecisive skirmish at Montlhéry. Louis exerted himself greatly to break up the League, whose members, recognisable by a red silk tag, numbered more than 500 lords, ladies, and knights. He won over the city of Paris by remitting taxes and inviting its representatives to his Council; he set himself to divide the nobles by redressing the special grievance of each. Their demands were set forth in the Treaty of St Maur, but Louis' design was merely to satisfy each for the time

Treaty of
St Maur,
1465

being "by giving largely and promising still more" (Commines). Nothing further was heard of the public wrongs; "the public weal became individual weal," and the King lost no time in recovering most of what he had yielded to the princes. He stirred up an insurrection in Liège, a little state in the Netherlands, ruled by its own bishop under the patronage of Burgundy. While Charolais was suppressing the rising, he recovered Normandy, which the treaty had obliged him to entrust to his brother. He decided to see what a personal interview would do for him with Charles the Bold, and, armed with a safe-conduct, visited him at Péronne. This, the second of his false steps, nearly ended in tragedy. With the King arrived news of a renewed outbreak at Liège, openly encouraged by the King's envoys. Charles, beside himself with rage, swore to have his sovereign's life; and it was only through a well-judged distribution of handsome sums of gold among Charles' ministers that their master was pacified. As it was, Louis had to agree to carry out the Treaty of St Maur, give up Champagne to his brother instead of Normandy, and accompany Charles on a punitive expedition against Liège, so lately his ally. The town was taken and sacked. This done, Louis, taking leave of the duke, casually asked, "Supposing my brother is discontented with Champagne, what would you like me to do?" Charles replied absently, "Settle it between you, as long as he is satisfied." The King seized the chance to persuade his brother to accept Guienne, which being, unlike Champagne, remote from both Burgundy and Brittany, was comparatively safe in the hands of the easily-led duke.

Thus Louis contrived not only to escape from the worst scrape of his life, but in his crafty way to turn

it to account. He even delayed to give up the Somme towns till his brother's death in 1471 made it safe flatly to refuse to fulfil his promise.

For several years before that event, however, Louis' relations with Brittany, Burgundy, and England continued to be full of difficulties. Since 1466 he had been allied with Warwick, who had quarrelled with Edward IV., while the Yorkist party in England had definitely ranged itself on the side of Burgundy by the marriage of Edward's sister Margaret with Charles the Bold. Preparations were made for a war between France on the one hand and Burgundy, Brittany and England on the other, but at the critical moment Edward was distracted by a Lancastrian rising in Wales, and Francis of Brittany withdrew from the alliance. Warwick played his hand so as to become indispensable whichever party should succeed. He married his elder daughter Isabella to Clarence, Edward's brother, and with his son-in-law defeated and took prisoner the King. But the intervention of Charles the Bold and Edward's own popularity made it necessary to release him, and Warwick and Clarence fled to France. Louis brought about a reconciliation between his cousin Queen Margaret of Anjou and the Kingmaker, which resulted in the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter. A rapid revolution followed in England. Henry VI. found himself once more upon the throne, while Edward took refuge in Burgundy, to the great annoyance of Charles the Bold. In spite of the fact that the fugitive was his brother-in-law, Charles was fond of dwelling upon his own Lancastrian descent through his Portuguese mother, being alive to the possibility of succeeding in this way to the English throne. His solution of the difficulty was

Relations
with
England

1470

Intrigues
of St Pol

characteristic of the time. While publicly recognising Henry VI. as king, and threatening death to any of his subjects who should join Edward, he secretly gave him help to return to England. The utter overthrow of the Lancastrian cause at Barnet and Tewkesbury was a blow to the hopes of Louis XI., for whom fresh trouble with Burgundy, Brittany and Guienne had already arisen through the agency of St Pol. This noble was at once a vassal of Burgundy, and constable, or commander-in-chief, of the French army; his wife was the Queen's sister, and his niece married to Edward IV. Through these connections, and by carefully balancing his relations with France and Burgundy, he hoped to fill a semi-royal position in Europe, and was fairly safe in his intrigues as long as France and Burgundy did not combine against him. He now persuaded Louis to seize St Quentin and Amiens, hoping that the Duke would hasten to buy the alliance of Charles of Guienne by giving him his daughter Mary in marriage. Thus he hoped to secure the Duke of Guienne's lasting support, which might enable him in future to dispense with that of France and Burgundy. To this scheme, however, Edward IV. was unfriendly. Mary was the heiress of Charles the Bold, and as, in the event of the death of the Dauphin, a delicate baby, the Duke of Guienne would succeed his brother as king, the result of this marriage might be the union of Burgundy and France, which would prove a danger to English interests. He was even now ready to throw over the Burgundian alliance for one with France. But Louis preferred a truce with Burgundy to new entanglements with England, and the opportune death of the Duke of Guienne in 1472 released him from his

difficulties. Guienne itself became crown property once more. Louis threw over the negotiations with Burgundy and promptly invaded Brittany. Charles made a furious attack on the French border country, took and sacked Nesle with great cruelty, laid siege to Beauvais, and tried to gain Edward IV.'s help. Beauvais resisted so gallantly that the Duke, realising that it would be a long affair, and wearying of a struggle which no longer accorded with the policy shaping itself in his mind, made a truce with France, which was destined to be a lasting peace. Thus ended Charles' career as leader of the French princes. His ambition now turned to building up a kingdom of Burgundy, midway between France and Germany, which would stretch from Holland to Italy and cover most of the territory once ruled by Lothaire, grandson of Charles the Great.

Change
in the
policy of
Charles
the Bold,
1472

By rapid stages Charles followed out this new path: as early as 1468 he had lent money to Sigismund of Tyrol in his difficulties with the Swiss, and had received as security of repayment Alsace and Breisgau, which he was now trying to reduce to order under his harsh and unpopular bailiff, Hagenbach. In 1473 he bought Gelderland from its unwilling duke, between whom and his son Charles he had undertaken to arbitrate in a dispute: in the same year the death of Nicholas, son of John of Calabria, the last descendant in the male line of King René of Anjou, gave him an excuse for interfering in Lorraine, though the young René, Nicholas' sister's son, was ready and willing to defend his own claim.

After Frederick III. decamped from Trêves, Charles took up the cudgels on behalf of the Archbishop of Cologne against his subjects, wasting a year in besieging Neuss and arousing the displeasure of the Emperor, who

considered it none of his business. Meanwhile Louis, who had been regarding these events with watchful eye, judged that the moment had come for him to set on foot an alliance between the Duke's increasing foes. He reconciled Sigismund with the Swiss, the Alsatian towns found the money to repay Charles, and Hagenbach was put to death. French gold fostered the war-party among the cantons led by Berne. Even Frederick III. was brought into Louis' net, though he replied with his usual caution to a proposal of the King to share Charles' inheritance, saying that "it was better to wait to divide the bear's skin, till the beast was dead." Lastly, René of Lorraine invaded Luxembourg. On his side Charles made an agreement with the Regent of Savoy, Louis' own sister, and an Italian friend of hers, who brought mercenaries to his aid, and at once Granson and Morat in her territories were overrun. But a more striking event was an alliance between the Duke and Edward IV. After some delay Edward reached Calais, only to find Charles and a small following to receive him—for the bulk of the Duke's army, though exhausted by the siege of Neuss, had been sent off to attack Lorraine. In this quest it was successful, and Charles had the great joy of seeing his northern and southern dominions at last united.

Another ally of the English, St Pol, actually fired on them from St Quentin, whose gates he had offered to open to them. Edward was not pleased with the situation. "Nothing," says the critical Commines, "can be imagined more foolish and uncouth than the figure cut by the English army on its first landing"—but in a short time he admits they became brave and skilful soldiers. Louis now exerted himself to turn aside Edward's

Louis XI.
and the
Swiss

Alliance
between
Burgundy
and
England,
1475

intention. To Garter King-at-arms, charged with declaring England's defiance, he made presents of gold and velvet: so that no time should be lost, he improvised a herald of his own, and arranged a meeting with Edward at Pecquigny. For a sum of money from Louis (referred to as Prince of France) Edward promised to withdraw his troops, and to give in marriage to the Dauphin his daughter Elizabeth. When the news came to his ears Charles roundly abused Edward in English for the benefit of the bystanders: but he was obliged to make terms with France. This truce proved the ruin of the constable, St Pol, who had betrayed both France and Burgundy in turn, and he was executed. On his fall Louis recovered Picardy. Charles now seemed at the summit of his fortunes, but his new gains, without the recovery of Alsace, did not satisfy him. He therefore declared war on the Swiss. At Granson, in the territory of Savoy, the two forces met. The victory of the Swiss was overwhelming; the Duke's guns, camp and war-chest fell into their hands. He retreated into a castle near Pontarlier, cursing the hitherto despised enemy. In a second battle, a few months later, the Duke's army was overthrown at Morat, when many of his troops were driven into the lake to perish. That year young René of Lorraine recovered Nancy, his capital, and the Duke, though it was midwinter, laid siege to the town. The battle which raged about its walls, was to be the last of his unsuccessful sieges. On his great black charger Charles was last seen alive where the fight was hottest. His dead body was recovered, frozen hard into the mud of a brook, and no man knew the manner of his death.

The
Treaty of
Pecquig-
ny, 1475

1476,
Charles
the Bold's
War with
the Swiss

Death of
Charles the
Bold, Jan.
5, 1477

So great was the impression Charles made on his own age, that for a long time his subjects, unable to believe

him dead, prophesied that, like Arthur or Barbarossa, he would return. Yet Charles to us seems a figure of somewhat showy splendour, aspiring to a greater part than he could play. His character was not attractive: he was outwitted by better brains than his own. Though temperate in life, inflexibly just, ever ready to listen to grievances, courageous, sincere, and more straightforward than most of his brother-rulers, his virtues did not eclipse in the popular mind his cold severity, his chariness of praise, the outbursts of violence and cruelty that disfigured his later years. Restless and grasping as he was, he had neither insight nor judgment to cope with subtle and discriminating minds. Even his family affections were sacrificed to ambition, and rather than put up with a son-in-law he left his defenceless child to hold her own as best she might between her callous subjects and Louis her unprincipled godfather. The latter, we are told, celebrated the news of Charles' death by a grand banquet, at which the uneasy guests, conscious of many lapses from loyalty, wondered gloomily what fate was likely to overtake them now that the King's hands were free. Louis, indeed, could not make up his mind whether to marry Mary to some French prince, or to despoil her of her inheritance, and ended by trying to do both at once. This policy was its own ruin. Having gained over to his marriage schemes Mary's confidential Burgundian ministers, he next betrayed them to their bitter enemies, the Estates of Ghent, with whom he also wished to stand well. In vain Mary pleaded in the market-place for their lives; they were put to death. At the same time Louis was already in possession of the Duchy of Burgundy and the Somme towns, which he had seized on the first news of Charles' death, and of other territories which he was

France
gains
Burgundy
and the
Somme
Towns

obliged later to restore. War broke out between France and Burgundy. Louis conquered Arras, and Artois submitted. The death before Tournay of Adolf of Gelderland, a young ruffian whom Mary's subjects sought to force upon her in marriage, caused Louis to revert during a truce to his marriage schemes. But his agents were unpopular, and Mary had never forgiven Louis his treachery towards her. The suit of Maximilian of Austria was revived, and the young duchess was solemnly betrothed to him. So mean, however, about money was Frederick III. that the Emperor's son made his state entry into Ghent at his bride's expense.

1477,
Marriage
of Maxi-
milian of
Austria
and Mary
of Bur-
gundy

Though Maximilian was two years younger than Mary, he showed a gay courage in facing the situation that would have won the heart of a less distressful princess than Mary. When the wedding festivities were over, he made ready to defend his wife's dominions. In the war that followed French troops overran the county of Burgundy. In the north Maximilian laid siege to Terouenne, and in the one pitched battle of the war held his ground. But the early death of Mary from the results of a fall from her horse left her husband without real authority in the Netherlands, since the guardianship of the two children, Philip and Margaret, was claimed by the Estates of Flanders. He was therefore ready to come to terms with France, and Louis, whose health was visibly failing, was not unwilling for peace. By the Treaty of Arras, the Dauphin was to marry Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's little daughter, who was to be educated in France for her future destiny, and to bring Artois and the county of Burgundy as dowry to her husband. The solemn betrothal of the children took place, to the intense anger of Edward IV., who, however, died before he could take

The
Treaty of
Arras, 1482

any steps to avenge the insult to his daughter, already styled Dauphiness.

After several turbulent years in the Netherlands, and having even undergone the indignity of imprisonment at the hands of his subjects in Bruges, Maximilian returned to Germany.

Since no objection had been raised in the Treaty of Arras, Louis retained the Somme towns and the Duchy of Burgundy. At the time of his death other important possessions had come into his hands. By his intervention between the King of Aragon and his subjects, Louis had already gained Roussillon and Cerdagne, thus bringing his frontier to the Pyrenees. The possessions of the House of Anjou—namely, Anjou, Maine, Bar, and Provence, and the Angevin claim upon Naples—had been left to the King by the will of his cousin, the Count of Maine, who had been made King René's heir. The position of the great vassals had altered greatly since the War of the Public Weal. The King's brother and the Duke of Burgundy were no more. The Duke of Alençon had died in prison. The Count of Armagnac was killed, leading a rising on his estates. The Duke of Nemours and St Pol had ended on the block. The Duke of Bourbon was failing in health, and his brother and heir was married to the King's younger daughter, while Louis of Orleans was husband of the elder. Of the throng of Princes of the Lilies the Duke of Brittany alone remained powerful and dangerous.

During the last years of his life Louis tried by feverish activity to disguise the fact of his failing health. He sent frequent embassies, made collections of relics and of strange animals, and relentlessly punished offenders, lest it should be supposed that his grasp of affairs had relaxed,

Gains of
France
under
Louis XI.

1462

The notoriously shabby King developed a liking for gorgeous apparel, but he lived in darkened rooms, and in great seclusion. His natural suspiciousness increased with illness—and he shut himself up at Plessis-lès-Tours, where he was strongly guarded—but soldiers were no protection against poison, which was his chief dread. His attendants, mostly low-born favourites, treated him harshly, but they were the only men in whom he felt any confidence, since they depended entirely on his favour. The dying King, filled with nervous terrors, in his gloomy fortress, is a tragic figure. After a paralytic stroke his life ended at the age of 61.

Death of
Louis XI.,
1483

The whole reign of Louis bears the stamp of his character. In virtues and vices alike he lived according to a public, not a private standard. He had acute intelligence, great wit, wide interests, and boundless perseverance. He would spare no pains to gain a man who could either serve him or harm him. Like Napoleon, he studied carefully the characters of the chief men of those courts with whom he had most to do. He spent great sums on intrigues and negotiations, invariably preferring the crooked way to the straight one. In political cunning and subtlety he had nothing to learn from the most finished Italian of the age; and he hated, above all things, expenditure on wars.

In regard to money matters he was business-like and honourably exact in discharging his obligations. Though suspicious and timid he had an unbridled tongue, the origin of most of his worst scrapes. His religion was mere grovelling superstition. Though not perhaps vindictive, he was certainly cruel. He played an apparently losing game with endless resource and courage, and was seen at his best in adversity.

The
Regency of
Anne de
Beaujeu

As Charles VIII. was still a minor, the government was carried on by a Regent, his sister, Anne de Beaujeu, whose husband was a younger brother of the Duke of Bourbon. She was a woman of power and vigour, and inherited the political ability of her father. She had anything but an easy time, for the death of Louis was a signal for the outbreak of discontent. The States-General at Tours presented a number of grievances reflecting upon the methods of the late government. The nobles, led by the Duke of Orleans, rose in rebellion, and began to intrigue with Richard III. of England. Anne therefore took advantage of the presence in Brittany of Henry of Richmond to support his expedition against Richard. René of Lorraine, too, who showed signs of attempting to recover his lost inheritance, was pacified by the present of the Duchy of Bar. The most important question for the Regency was, however, the marriage of Anne of Brittany, heiress of the Duke, who had been for so long a thorn in the side of France. On the death of Duke Francis, Anne de Beaujeu began to negotiate for the hand of his heiress for the young King, but was indignant at finding that she was already the bride by proxy of Maximilian of Austria. On the ground that the royal consent was necessary for the marriage of a vassal and heiress, the Regent swept aside the marriage. Anne of Brittany, however, still refused her royal suitor, and only submitted after a war in which her hand was the price of defeat. Maximilian was, however, too busy elsewhere to avenge the insult to himself and his daughter, for the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII. not only robbed Maximilian of his bride, but his daughter Margaret of her future husband.

Marriage
of Charles
VIII. and
Anne of
Brittany,
1491

but expressed her strong disapproval of a policy she was no longer able to prevent. This was a scheme proposed by the Sanseverini, Barons of Naples, that Charles should lay claim to that throne as inheritor of the rights of the House of Anjou. The feather-brained young King was easily attracted by such an adventure, and so as to leave behind him a state of peace and goodwill, he concluded with Henry VII. (already forgetful of the Regent's support during his exile) the Treaty of Étapes, restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain, and handed back to Maximilian the County of Burgundy and Artois, which had been the proposed dowry of Margaret of Austria. Charles then made ready for that fateful journey across the Alps, which may be called the first chapter in Modern History.

Italian Expedition
of Charles
VIII.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

LODGE : Close of the Middle Ages.

WILLERT : Louis XI.

FREEMAN : Essay on Charles the Bold (Essays : First Series)

SIR WALTER SCOTT : Anne of Geierstein ; Quentin Durward.
Selections from Philippe de Comines.

CHAPTER III

SPAIN UNDER FERDINAND AND ISABELLA AND CHARLES I.

THE history of the Peninsula was, before 1479, the history of at least five kingdoms, namely, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre and Granada. All, with the exception of French Navarre, the western half of the little kingdom that bestrid the Pyrenees, came in one period under the rule of one man.

Union of
Castile and
Aragon,
1479

In 1479 Ferdinand, who was already married to Isabella, Queen of Castile, succeeded his father John II. upon the throne of Aragon, and the two countries were united ever after. Though the connexion between them was personal, each kingdom keeping its own institutions and customs, their resources were often combined for common aims, and in this way the union had a great effect on the history of both.

The kingdom of Spain also became heir to their foreign relations. It is true that circumstance caught her into the vast net of the Habsburg interests, and their multiplicity proved the ruin of Spain. Her resources were drained for Dutch wars, French wars, Italian wars, till exhaustion set in. But her own double character, shaped by the different aims and ambitions of Aragon and Castile, would have drawn her, apart from this circumstance, into European complications. Aragon's rivalry with France for the possession of Navarre and of Naples, and her dream of becoming a Mediterranean sea-power, which

explains her painful interest, from the remote west, in the Turkish advance; Castile's passionate orthodoxy, which marked her out as champion of the Church abroad; her covetousness of the maritime power of Portugal, leading to endless schemes for its possession;—these and other aims would have driven Spain to play a leading part in Europe as soon as she had overcome the chief difficulties at home.

There was some resemblance between the condition of Castile and Aragon. Both had lately suffered at the hands of careless or feeble rulers, and in both the succession was disputed. Isabella's firm diplomacy made good her claim to succeed her brother. Ferdinand's elder brother was removed by poison; and eventually he inherited all his father's dominions except Rousillon and Cerdagne, and these, though temporarily pawned to win the goodwill of Louis XI., were recovered from Charles VIII. Naples, which had formed part of the Aragonese dominions for a short time under Alfonso the Magnanimous, was bequeathed on his death in 1458 to his illegitimate son Ferrante, while Sicily and Sardinia passed with Aragon to the legal heir, Ferdinand's father. There were therefore two reigning branches of the House of Aragon—the lawful line in Aragon and its dependencies: the illegitimate line in Naples.

Both in Aragon and Castile the power of the Crown had sunk very low, and the period that follows the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella is one of reform and revival. Theoretically, the powers of the Crown in Castile were great. The Cortes or Parliament consisted of three Houses—Clergy, Nobles and Commons. The first and second estates were free from taxation, and had so little interest in attending that they dropped out altogether after 1538.

Power of
the
Crown in
Castile and
in Aragon

The Commons only represented certain towns, and had no real share in law-making. The time, place of meeting, and agenda of the Cortes alike were fixed by the Crown; and supplies were always granted before grievances were dealt with. Besides, the royal decrees were valid without the Cortes' assent.

But in Aragon, where in addition to the three usual estates there was a House of Knights, the Cortes was much more powerful. By law it must meet every two years, and the maxim that "Redress must precede supply" was observed there as it had been in Lancastrian England. Even when the Cortes was not sitting its powers were entrusted to a standing committee, which carried on the government. As peacemaker between the king and his subjects there was a notable official called the Justiciar, who came to be the guardian also of constitutional liberties.

Advance
in the
power of
the Crown

The first object of the new sovereigns was to recover from the nobles the powers they had usurped from the Crown in both kingdoms. Everywhere in Europe at this time kings were strengthening themselves at the expense of the feudal baronage, so that the policy of the Spanish rulers was part of a general tendency. They sometimes, apparently, forgot to summon the nobles to the Cortes—a privilege the latter rated low; they raised up a class of official nobles from the Commons, many of whom were lawyers, and inclined, as their way is, through familiarity with the maxims of Roman law, to uphold the royal authority. The new ministers of the Crown were chosen, not for their pedigrees, but for personal merit. Of these the most famous was Cardinal Ximenes, who, having been promoted from the position of an obscure monk to be Archbishop of Toledo and Regent of Spain, energetically

seconded his sovereigns' efforts to crush the arrogant grandees.

The Grandmasterships of the three great Spanish military Orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava had always attracted ambitious spirits, on account of the immense patronage and large armed forces at their disposal. But now, as they became vacant, Isabella appointed Ferdinand to each office; and from thenceforth they were annexed to the Crown, which thus enjoyed their revenues, and no longer had to fear their military strength.

During the reign of Henry the Impotent of Castile, the Queen's brother, the nobles had encroached upon the Crown lands, and had even received some sort of title to their possession. These territories were recovered by Isabella and Ferdinand, who also obliged the grandees to pull down their fortified castles, abolish their private mints, abandon their private feuds, forego the style of royalty, and yield themselves up as loyal and orderly subjects of the Crown. The Hermandad or Confederacy of the Towns was revived for checking robbery and other crimes of violence in the open country, and it proved a very effective police system. The great hereditary offices of state were shorn of their chief powers, and became merely honorary titles in carefully-chosen loyal houses. The royal forces at the beginning of the reign had been insignificant, but the troops used to conquer Granada were retained in part as a standing force in 1492, and there was added to them a volunteer army trained by the great Captain, Gonsalvo di Cordova, himself.

Careful economy in the royal household made frequent assembling of the Cortes unnecessary, and the sovereigns made a good deal of use of royal ordinances in place of

its legislation, without perhaps abusing this privilege. Though they fully deserved their titles, their Catholic Majesties did not hesitate to resist all attempts on the part of the clergy to encroach upon their civil authority in the Church; and by threatening the Pope, Sixtus IV., with a General Council, they gained from him a Concordat conferring upon the Crown the right of appointment to the highest offices in the Church. Sometimes, too, they overruled the Pope's choice in smaller livings.

The general work of government was carried on by different departments of the Royal Council, whose chiefs took their orders from the Crown. Among these the most important were the Council of the Indies—a kind of Colonial Office; the Council of Aragon, which, under Ferdinand, ruled that kingdom and its dependencies, Naples and Sicily; and last, but not least, the Council of the Inquisition. This Court was at first revived to detect and punish relapsed Jews. It was a temptation to the Crown to extend its scope, because of the profits arising from its confiscations. But in 1492 the Jews of Castile were given four months in which to seek baptism or leave the country. More than 200,000 left Spain; those who remained, however orthodox, were treated as outcasts from society. It was hardly to be expected that Ferdinand and Isabella, in their strong desire for national union, and their fervid crusading zeal, should refrain from conquering, if they could, all that remained of the Moorish dominion in Spain—the kingdom of Granada. For ten years, in spite of many reverses, they struggled on with a determination that finally overcame the enemy's lack of concentrated resistance. The conquest of Granada was the reward of systematic organisation. On either side the line of march the country was invariably devas-

Expulsion
of the
Jews,
1492

Conquest
of
Granada,
1482-1492

tated, forests were cut down, roads made, and towns built, most famous of which was Santa Fé, that literally sat down opposite to Granada. The inhabitants of captured towns, such as Malaga, were enslaved, and a new Christian population settled in their stead. Isabella herself was the life and soul of the undertaking. She rode on her war-horse, clad in mail, at the head of her troops. She pawned her crown and personal jewels to raise funds. She fitted up hospitals at her own expense. Her energy and enthusiasm never flagged. At last, on receiving pledges of civil and religious liberty, and of the safety of the lives and property of her defenders, Granada surrendered. But on the Spanish side the promise was shamefully broken. Seven years later the intolerant party at Court got the upper hand, and enlisted the Queen's narrow religious sympathies on their side. As in the case of the Jews, the alternative offered was baptism or exile. Many chose exile, and the irreparable loss of this diligent and thrifty population is silently testified to this day by the uncultivated tracts in Southern Spain.

The sovereigns themselves were their own foreign ministers, and in a later chapter some account will be given of the part played by Spain in the great Italian wars after 1494. The alliances formed at this time were also of great importance. By the marriage of their only son Juan with Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, and of their eldest daughter Juana, or Joan, with his son Philip, "the Kings," as they commonly were called, not only formed a strong league against France, but in the case of the second marriage prepared the way for the great inheritance of their grandson Charles V. Henry VII. of England was also anxious to be admitted into this august

circle ; and it was arranged that Arthur, Prince of Wales, whose place was afterwards taken by his brother Henry, should marry the youngest Infanta, Catharine of Aragon.

Discovery
of Amer-
ica, 1492

The prestige of the Crown was further increased by the discovery of the New World on Friday, October 12th, 1492, by the Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus. From the first Isabella had taken the deepest interest in his enterprise, and had shown it in a practical way. The Queen and her husband rose to receive Columbus when he came to Barcelona on his return to recount his wonderful adventure, and to display the Indians, the parrots, gold, cotton, and countless curiosities he had brought with him. The newly-discovered territories were regarded as the property of the Crown rather than of the nation. By certain Papal Bulls the countries east and west of an imaginary line were granted to Portugal and Spain respectively, while supreme control of religion in these Western possessions was conferred upon the Spanish kings by Pope Alexander VI.¹

Death of
Isabella
1504

The death of Isabella may be said to close the period of reform in the joint reign : it was important in lessening Ferdinand's power, and it was followed by a time of disorder which lasted till 1522.

In appearance Isabella was of a dignified presence, with regular features, chestnut hair, and blue eyes. She lived simply and dressed plainly, except at public ceremonies, when she knew how to be sumptuous. She had a strong will, a great sense of duty, tenacity, courage, and honesty. Her judgment, except in religious affairs, in which she leant too much upon her confessor, was sound and independent. If bigoted and unmerciful she was pious ; and unlike some persons of her rather precise type, she was

¹ It was in this way that Portugal gained possession of Brazil.

DISCOVERIES OF 16TH CENTURY



B.V. Daxshire Oxford, 1909.

not small-minded. She had a better brain and a far better heart than her husband, whose illiterate mind, and suspicious, false, and grasping nature combined to form a very unattractive character.

Joan,
Queen of
Castile

As Isabella's beloved only son had died before her, her eldest daughter Joan and her husband, Philip the Fair of Austria, were declared sovereigns of Castile; but, to the disgust of the Castilians, who were always jealous of Aragon, and of Philip, who tried to assert his authority, Ferdinand secured the regency. The real sovereign, Joan, was the victim of some form of hysteria, which plunged her into periods of gloom, when, since she would neither speak nor act, she was quite unfit to govern. It was finally settled that the government should be jointly carried on in the names of Joan, Philip and Ferdinand. On Philip's death in 1506, Ximenes supported Ferdinand as candidate for the Regency—for Joan's melancholy deepened and became permanent—and in this capacity he ruled Castile for his unfortunate daughter until his death.

Conquest
of Spanish
Navarre by
Ferdinand

In the year after Isabella died Ferdinand decided to marry again, and chose as his second wife Germaine de Foix, a niece of Louis XII., whose friendship he desired. The elder line of the same family reigned in Navarre; but when Germaine's brother Gaston fell at Ravenna, Ferdinand urged her claims to the kingdom as his heiress. A party in Navarre supported him, and the brave Queen Catharine de Foix, deserted by her cowardly husband John D'Albret, was forced to fly. Ferdinand seized all Spanish Navarre; but the D'Albret family continued to rule on the French side of the Pyrenees, until their descendant, Henry of Navarre, brought the kingdom to France.

From the outbreak of the Italian war, which will be fully described later, the interest of Ferdinand's last years centres in Italy. After the great French victory of Marignano, he decided not to divide his dominions between his elder grandson Charles and his favourite grandson Ferdinand, the two sons of Joan; but to make Charles his sole heir, so as to fit him for rivalry with so great a power as France had become. Charles I. succeeded his grandfather at the age of sixteen, and by the advice of his ministers decided to walk warily at first in the slippery paths of diplomacy. He therefore concluded the Treaty of Noyon, promising to marry Francis's infant daughter Louise, whose mother Claude had been his last proposed bride.

Death of Ferdinand
Accession of Charles I., 1516

1516

By birth Charles was the heir of four great houses. Through his mother Joan he succeeded to the Spanish dominions—Castile, Aragon,¹ Naples, and Sicily, and the possessions in the New World. From his father, Philip the Fair, he received the great Burgundian inheritance of his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy and the Netherlands; and from his Austrian grandfather, Maximilian, the Duchy of Austria. At the time of his accession he was a slow, awkward boy, tongue-tied in the one language (French) with which he was really familiar; and completely under the tuition of his Flemish minister, Chièvres.

Inheritance of Charles

The Regent of Castile, Isabella's trusted servant Ximenes, urged Charles to lose no time in visiting Spain, where the greatest jealousy was felt of Flemish influence. Charles consented: but the cold ingratitude of his letter dismissing Ximenes from a long and devoted service is believed to have caused the death of the great old Cardinal. The new King made an informal progress through

¹ See following chapter.

his dominions; but as he journeyed through Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, he created in each place a worse impression than in the last; and before his visit was accomplished to turbulent Valencia, he was relieved to be summoned to Germany by the news of Maximilian's death.

In their dealings with Charles the Cortes showed themselves on the defensive—slow to recognise his title to rule, suspicious of his confidential advisers, and indignant at his approaching departure from Spain. Charles's mind was full of the coming Imperial election. He showed great carelessness of the feelings of his Spanish subjects, and want of tact in appointing his Flemings to high office, as in the choice of his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to be Regent of Castile in his absence. Besides, while accepting such money grants as the Cortes would allow him, he turned a deaf ear to their grievances. The unrest which had been stirring in many Castilian towns since Isabella's death now became active, and on the King's embarkation they formed an association or Junta in defence of their privileges, and drew up a grand remonstrance condemning the royal acts. Then they drew Joan from her seclusion and proclaimed her Queen.

The Regent's warning despatches were treated by Charles in Germany with the utmost unconcern. In Castile, Aragon, and Valencia the townspeople flew to arms. The chief centres of trouble were Toledo and Valladolid; there was, unfortunately, no thought of united action, but the causes varied with the district, being social, political, or religious, or all three at once. Their social programme alarmed the nobles, who declared against them. A decisive battle was fought between the two parties at Villalar, after which

Revolt of
the Com-
munes,
1521

1521

the leader of the rebels, a noble from Toledo named Juan de Padilla, was executed with two of his comrades. The Castilian rebellion then subsided; and, not without cruelty, order was gradually restored in Valencia and Aragon. The rising had signally failed, and the royal authority emerged so strong that Charles was able to override the liberties of the Cortes in such important matters as freedom of speech and of elections, and redress preceding supply.

Suppression of the Revolt

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

BEAZLEY : The Dawn of Modern Geography.

SIR C. MARKHAM : Life of Christopher Columbus.

MARTIN HUME : Spain, 1469-1789.

CHAPTER IV

THE ITALIAN STATES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IN the last half of the fifteenth century Italy was not yet a nation—merely a bundle of states living a keen political life, and finding the great game of politics the most exciting of occupations. Each state played for its own hand, and for high stakes, with entire unscrupulousness. Thus absorbed, they none of them saw that they were observed by others from without, who with new methods and greater resources were coming unbidden to the board.

A united resistance to the foreigner was out of the question, for it was only by ceaseless intrigue that any state managed to hold its own among the rest. Yet there was method in this intrigue, dictated by certain inevitable alliances, and equally inevitable quarrels. By following these out briefly, we may unravel the tangled threads of Italian politics a little way.

The Five
Chief
States of
Italy

The five states of which special account must be taken were Milan, Florence, Venice, Naples, and the Papacy—a principality, two Republics, a kingdom, and the states of the Church. During this half century they were usually grouped into one of two leagues—the Triple Alliance, or the Northern League. The former, consisting of Milan, Florence, and Naples, may be called the normal or usual balance of power in Italy; and the main exceptions to this rule, when the Northern League (Milan,

Florence, and Venice against the Papacy and Naples) prevailed, were during the Pazzi conspiracy; and after 1485, when Naples became hostile to Milan, on account of Ludovico Sforza's usurpation. These alliances were the outcome of certain permanent interests: for instance, it was difficult for Naples and Venice to keep on good terms, for they were rival maritime powers, to whom the possession of the Apulian ports seemed equally necessary, and Venice regarded Naples as the chief foe to her advance in Italy and Greece. Again, except during a period of sixteen years when Venice was at war with the Turks, that Republic was Milan's most serious rival for the supremacy in North Italy. On the other hand, Milan had a strong common bond with Naples against the claims of the French Houses of Orleans and Anjou. As both Naples and Florence were likely to interfere with the Popes' ambitious family schemes in Romagna, the Papacy was usually hostile to them both, though the Medici did their best to maintain peaceable relations. But the Popes were drawn towards Venice by sharing with her the burden of resistance to the Turk, and by a common dislike of Naples.

These general rules point to the Triple Alliance being the natural outcome of circumstances, and we must look more closely at those of each state in turn.

The Kingdom of Naples, of which the Popes claimed the right of investiture, was deeply divided within itself. The rude mountaineers differed in race from the civilised coast-dwellers: in the struggle between Aragon and Anjou, the Abruzzi had always supported the former, Calabria the latter. This rivalry had rent in twain the land from the thirteenth century until the final accession of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon in 1442. He proved a

Naples

Rivalry
between
Houses of
Aragon
and Anjou

strong and popular ruler; but the condition of Naples at his death in 1458 was showy rather than sound. There was a Parliament, but it was scarcely representative, and had only been called once to confirm Ferrante's succession. The army was unreliable compared with the bands of retainers commanded by the great barons—for the social state of the kingdom was still thoroughly feudal. And Naples had been too long the happy hunting ground of condottieri to rely upon native military talent. The Court expenditure was lavish, and justice was already sold to raise funds. As Alfonso had no lawful heir he was obliged to leave Aragon and Sicily to his brother: all that he could bequeath Ferrante was Naples, his own conquest. This was the moment for the House of Anjou to reassert its claim to Naples, and John of Calabria, whom we recognise as a member of the League of the Public Weal, appeared as claimant. Like the rest of his House he was inefficient, unlucky, and attractive. Ferrante tried to strengthen himself by alliances with Milan and the Pope, but his own harsh and cruel nature soon provoked a war with his barons, which should have given John his opportunity. At first the latter had some success, but after 1461 the tide turned. The new French king, Louis XI., disliked his Angevin relations, and as a token of his regard for Sforza was ready to present Milan with Genoa, which had been John's military base in Italy. Finally, the fickle barons returned to their allegiance, and in 1464 John withdrew from the contest. His claim, as we have seen, eventually passed through his cousin, the Count of Maine, to the French crown, and the proposal that it should be adopted by Charles VIII. came directly from the discontented Neapolitan barons, who had rebelled again in 1485 in favour of René of Lorraine.

Ferrante broke his promise of pardon to the rebels, and put to death all but those who were beyond his reach. This time, in 1493, they appealed to the French king; and at the crisis in 1494 Ferrante died, leaving Alfonso, his heir and associate in his rule, to face the situation they had created between them. The Neapolitan exiles had been encouraged by Venice to apply to France, and we have now to trace the Republic's reasons for giving this advice.

The fifteenth century was outwardly the most splendid ^{Venice} period in the splendid career of what Commines describes as "the most triumphant city I have ever seen": but the burden of dominion was pressing heavily upon her. The wealth of Venice was gained, not from manufactures, but from her carrying trade—chiefly of timber and woollen goods—in return for spices and other goods of the East; and by this connexion her possessions in the Levant had been built up. The opposite coasts of the Adriatic; the Ionian Islands, Crete, and some of the Ægean Islands; certain ports of the Morea, all belonged to Venice, with treaty rights of trade with Constantinople, and a number of towns in Palestine and Egypt. It would, perhaps, have been the Republic's best policy to become an Eastern, that is, a Greek and Illyrian power: but, unluckily, her treatment of her Levantine subjects in its corruption and injustice bore a strong contrast to her government of the mainland. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century Venice had no mainland possessions, and it was not until a century later that her advance became rapid. Partly because she despised her maritime subjects, partly because the claims of her inland trade and the jealousy of powerful neighbours drove her into increasing her territory, but, most of all, because of the

appearance of an overwhelming foe, the Turk, in the Eastern waters, Venice joined the general scramble for territory in Italy. No state there had more loyal subjects; but in greed and unscrupulousness in gaining them, Venice soon outdistanced even Italian competitors, and it was said of her at the time that she was "the fame, defence, and ornament of Italy without, but her plague and torment within." From another standpoint the change of policy was ruinous; her wealth depended upon her maritime trade; the mainland provinces never paid their way, and were costly to gain; and when her Eastern possessions fell by degrees into Turkish hands, her revenues declined.

As long as Venice retained her colonial empire and her vast commercial interests, it needed a class like her merchant princes to attend to her foreign policy. For this reason the Venetians became the most observant, acute, and practised of European diplomatists. Again, the administration of affairs tended to fall to a few. The Doge had already become a figure-head, and the real rulers of Venice in the fifteenth century were a clique of the newer nobility, who numbered in the sixteenth century about forty. They controlled the famous Council of Ten, which really consisted of seventeen members from the Senate and Great Council, including the Doge. The Ten, or their chiefs, "the Three," managed all the most important business of the State, and in their methods somewhat resembled the Ephors at Sparta. They were therefore despotic, and governed by secrecy and terrorism. At the same time, they made no parade of power; there were few or no revolutions, and the order and prosperity of the State secured the support of its citizens.

The year 1454 is a convenient starting point for a sketch of the history of Venice during the next fifty

years, for it is marked by peace with Milan after a lengthy war, and peace with the Turks. By the Peace of Lodi, Piacenza and Lodi were confirmed to Venice, and she came to terms with the new lord of Milan, Francesco Sforza. The capture of Constantinople the year before

The Peace of Lodi, 1454

OTTOMAN EMPIRE



had been even a more serious shock to Venice than to the rest of Europe; for Venice desired not war with the Turks but trade, and she saw that this new conquest meant war. However, Venice came to an agreement, which staved off for a few years the evil day. In return for tribute, the Turks allowed the Republic to keep her possessions and trade in the Levant. Meanwhile, the Turkish advance under Mahomet II. continued. The

The
Turkish
Conquests

1456

great conqueror overran Servia: Hungary was only snatched from his grasp by the splendid exertions of its hero, John Hunyadi, and the infectious fervour of Friar Capistrano. Hunyadi raised the siege first of the key fortress of Semendria, and afterwards of Belgrade. Breaking through a barrier of boats across the river he entered the city, whose walls were shattered by a fortnight's assault, and drove the Turks, who greatly outnumbered his raw and ragged forces, in headlong flight, leaving 50,000 dead behind them. But a few days later Christendom lost its champion from the plague: Capistrano died of fever, and the main burden of defence fell to the lot of George Castriot, Despot of Albania. His Turkish title Scanderbeg (the Lord Alexander) recalls the fact that, though brought up in the Sultan's Court, he is one of the few who ever returned to his faith and fatherland. For ten years he led his people to heroic defence of their country, of which he was acknowledged ruler by the Sultan. Then he joined the Pope, Hungary and Venice, and after driving the Turks from Kroja, his capital, cleared the country of the enemy. This "Athlete of Christendom" died in 1467, commending his son to the protection of the Venetians, to whom he had been as shield and buckler.

Elsewhere Mahomet's successes continued: the quarrels of the Greek rulers let the Turks into the Morea, which was devastated beyond repair; and in 1464 Bosnia was subdued.

War
between
Venice and
the Turks

In 1473 Venice at last declared war, which was mainly maritime at first. The chief event was the fall of Negroponte, which might have been saved had the Venetian commander, Niccolo Canale, been a Hunyadi. For the rest, however, Venice fought valiantly and almost single-

handed against a foe which, having added a new fleet to its equipment in 1471, had become more formidable than ever.

Mahomet's conquest of Asia Minor had now left him free for Europe, and he renewed his attack on Albania and this time took Kroja and Scutari. By 1479 Venice could do no more, and concluded the Peace of Constantinople, retaining, in return for tribute to the Sultan, Crete, seven ports in Greece, and her trading quarter in Constantinople. Having been an idle spectator of the war, Europe was filled with consternation at the Peace. It set free the Turks, and also (this mainly concerned the Italians) the Venetians, for further aggressions. By the advice (as all Italy believed) of Venice the Turks besieged and took Otranto in Apulia in 1480. It seemed as if Rome might share Constantinople's fate. At this crisis, however, Mahomet's attention was diverted to Rhodes, and he died next year. By 1483 the Turkish conquest of Herzegovina was completed. Montenegro, alone of all the Slavonic states in the Balkans, held out. Its hardy mountaineers, under their ruler Ivan the Black, son of a comrade of Scanderbeg, deserted their capital and mounted to their new eyrie of Cettigne—

Death of
Mahomet
II., 1481

“They rose to where their sovran Eagle sails,
They kept their faith, their freedom, on the height
Chaste, frugal, savage, armed by day and night
Against the Turk.”

The death of Mahomet the Great was a welcome reprieve to Europe. With the exception of a short war in which the Turks raided Venetian territory as far as Vicenza and seized most of her Greek ports, nothing serious happened until the conquest of Egypt in 1517 by Selim I. The

Eastern
Trade
Routes
closed by
the Turks,
1517

last of the trade routes from the East was thereby blocked (that is, along the Persian Gulf to Aden, up the Red Sea, and by a short caravan journey to Alexandria, whence the goods were distributed in Venetian and Genoese galleys and sent across the Brenner to Bruges). Since the discovery of the Cape route to India the Portuguese had rapidly pushed on their commerce with the East: they were able by 1509 to offer spice, pepper and sugar at such cheap rates that a general fall in the prices of eastern produce ruined many of the older established merchants in the Netherlands, on the Rhine and in Genoa and Venice.

The Venetians joined an expedition sent from Cairo to fight the Portuguese, but even had they been successful their eastern trade was doomed, and the conquest of Egypt set the seal upon their doom. And we shall see that the year 1509 was to be fatal to Venice on land as well as on sea. That her ancient spirit was not yet dead she was still to show in her dying resistance to the Turk in Cyprus (1570) and Candia (1669), and her love of pomp and luxuriant colour immortalised itself in the greatest school of Italian colourists, those artists of the sixteenth century, Titian, Tintoretto, Giorgione, Veronese, who have expressed on canvas the pride and glory of Venice.

Aggressive
Venetian
Policy

Meanwhile Italy had been right in dreading the use Venice might make of the leisure bestowed on her by the Treaty of Constantinople. Certainly her policy from 1479 became more aggressive, as the three following instances may show. In 1481 she quarrelled with Ferrara, who was a rival for her salt monopoly, and war broke out, in which Pope Sixtus IV. helped Venice to seize Rovigo. The Triple Alliance then interfered. The Pope, seeing that Venice would gain all the spoil, went

over to the League. The Republic, whose supplies were exhausted, concluded the Peace of Bagnolo, which allowed her to keep Rovigo only of all her conquests. The Pope died immediately afterwards, it was said of vexation at the Peace. Secondly, it was by high-handed conduct that Venice gained possession of Cyprus in 1488. The last king of that island, James of Lusignan, whose extraordinary personal fascination had secured for him his disputed throne, had married a Venetian lady, Caterina Cornaro; and, to make her worthy a crown, the Republic formally adopted her as "The Daughter of St Mark." When, shortly afterwards, James died, Venice became the guardian of her "daughter" and her daughter's child. Next, the Republic undertook the government of the island; and finally, fearing the intentions of Alfonso of Naples, who proposed to marry the Queen, persuaded Caterina (now childless) to abdicate in its favour. Caterina was loth to leave her little kingdom, but it was made clear to her that there was no alternative. A tiny state was found for her in the hill-town and plain of Asolo, and there she reigned with the titles of Queen of Cyprus and Lady of Asolo till the troubles following the League of Cambray caused her to take refuge in Venice, where she died in 1510. Lastly Venice, turning envious eyes on the six Apulian ports (Gallipoli, Otranto, Brindisi Trani, Monopoli and Bari), decided that her best chance of gaining them was to invite foreign interference, and by upsetting the balance of power in Italy to secure her prey as the price of her help. So she encouraged the fugitive Neapolitan nobles, who came in 1493 to ask her advice, to call in Charles VIII. and the Duke of Orleans to make good their claims upon Naples and Milan. It was a fatal mistake, for Galeazzo Sforza's words to Venice were still

true: "You are alone, and all the world is against you, not merely in Italy, but also beyond the Alps."

The
Papacy

Nicholas
V., 1447-
1455

Turning now to the Papacy, we will first sketch the history of the seven Popes belonging to this half century, and then point out some of the chief changes that were taking place in their position and aims. The first of these was Nicholas V., "the Librarian," as he was surnamed, from his intense interest in the new learning, and his collection of ancient manuscripts, which became the foundation of the famous Vatican Library. It was said that he was chosen Pope for his perfect Latinity. His greatest desires were for the furtherance of peace and the promotion of learning and art in Rome. By the irony of fate it was to him that Europe turned when Constantinople fell in 1453, but it was not in Nicholas to inspire a crusade. "The Pope," it was said, "is spending in buildings what ought to save us from the Turks." Among them were the Vatican and the Basilica of St Peter's. From several points of view Nicholas V. may be regarded as the last Pope of the Middle Ages: he was the last to crown an Emperor (Frederick III.) at Rome, the last to contest the throne of St Peter with an anti-Pope. The series of great General Church Councils ended at Basel during his Pontificate: with the fall of Constantinople was closed the long rivalry between the Eastern and Western Churches, and after Nicholas each Pope frankly merged himself in the Indian prince whose first object was territory.

Calixtus
III., 1455-
1458

His successor was the Spaniard, Calixtus III., who, unlike Nicholas, was eager for a Turkish crusade, which he left as a legacy to Pius II. He is better remembered, however, as the first Pope who systematically tried to advance the fortunes of his own family. Calixtus had

three nephews of his own name—Borgia—for whom high preferments were found in the Church, one of them later becoming Pope Alexander VI. It is possible that their interests may have prompted him to refuse the investiture of Naples to Ferrante ; but his death put an end to their projects.

Pius II. was already well known as Æneas Sylvius, ^{Pius II.,} Frederick III.'s famous secretary, and had been the chief ¹⁴⁵⁸⁻¹⁴⁶⁴ means of recovering the obedience of the German Church to Rome. In the course of a gay and varied career he had travelled as far north as England and Scotland. On becoming Pope he was anxious to forget the past, and devote himself to the needs of Christendom. He therefore acknowledged Ferrante of Naples, and summoned the Western princes to a conference on the Eastern question at Mantua. Only the Pope and his attendants arrived at the appointed date. A few envoys straggled in later, and the Venetians drove a hard bargain with the congress, demanding pay for providing means of transport and all the spoil there might be. Before the assembly dispersed Pius published the Bull *Execrabilis*, denouncing as an " execrable abuse " any appeal against a Pope to a future council. At this point the outbreak of the war in Naples between Ferrante and John of Calabria distracted attention from the Crusade. With immense exertions the Pope secured the help of Hungary and Venice. But a paltry handful of Crusaders was all that met him at Ancona, and, exhausted by his efforts, the Pope sank and died there.

The ideals of Pius II. were no doubt beyond his achievements, yet his aims were higher than those of succeeding Popes. His life was abstemious, and he loved the simple pleasures of the country. He was a distinguished man

of letters, but to the last he kept his freshness of outlook and readiness to receive new ideas.

Sixtus IV.
1471-1484

Passing over the somewhat uneventful reign of Paul II. (1464-71) we come to Sixtus IV., "the first Pope," says Machiavelli, "to shew the extent of the papal power." It was employed by Sixtus in the interests of his family with a thorough unscrupulousness that is only surpassed by Alexander VI. Sixtus had five nephews belonging to the Della Rovere and Riario families. He arranged for them marriages into princely houses, or promoted them to high places in the Church. Two became Cardinals, and one, Giuliano della Rovere, was afterwards Pope Julius II. It was in the interests of Girolamo Riario that Sixtus set on foot the Pazzi conspiracy to overthrow Lorenzo di Medici, and joined Naples against him. Fortunately the capture of Otranto by the Turks brought the Pope to reason; yet almost directly after he is to be found with Venice and Naples attacking Ferrara for the benefit of the last Riario nephew. Having gained nothing by the war, Sixtus "died of the Peace" of Bagnolo.

Innocent
VIII.,
1484-1492

Innocent VIII. was a far less vigorous Pope. Almost his only political exploit was an attempt to force from Naples the ancient tribute to the papacy, which had been gradually reduced to the formal annual gift of a white charger. He therefore joined the discontented Neapolitan barons in 1485, who invited young René of Lorraine to adopt the Angevin claims to the throne. But René was vainly occupied in trying to recover Provence from the French crown; and the Italian states were up in arms at the idea of foreign invasion. Ferrante gave in about the former tribute, and the Barons submitted to him, as we have seen, only to be treacherously dealt with. Innocent

VIII. died before any further development of the survivors' policy in inviting Charles VIII. had taken place. This Pope was the first publicly to recognise his children: and by the marriage of his son with Lorenzo di Medici's daughter began a connection between that family and the Holy See which ended by giving two Medici Popes (Leo X. and Clement VII.) to Italy.

The election on Innocent's death was warmly contested by Giuliano della Rovere and Ludovico Sforza's brother Ascanio; but, by giving much and promising still more, a third candidate won his way. This was Rodrigo Borgia, a nephew of Calixtus III., who in spite of his notorious character as Cardinal was elected as Alexander VI. Modern criticism has tried to prove that the Borgias (father and son) were less black than they are painted. Yet a few crimes less or more cannot really alter our opinion when so much remains to be answered for. Tried even by the low moral standard of their age, they are worse than their age; cruel, cunning, and resolute, audacious in crime beyond their contemporaries. And the part played by Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia during the Italian wars will speak for itself. Meanwhile it may be noticed that the new Pope soon threw in his lot with the Aragonese house in Naples by recognising Alfonso as King on Ferrante's death in 1494. This of course pledged him to oppose the coming French invasion by Charles VIII.

At this point it may be well to sum up the position of the Popes since the Conciliar movement to control them had failed with the Council of Basel. If we compare the Papacy to a temporal monarchy, we shall find that the Cardinals are the nobles or aristocracy of the Church, while the democratic element is supplied by the as-

Alexander
VI., 1492-
1503

sembling from time to time of General Councils. The Holy See had come out of the threatened ordeal of reform with all its privileges intact. In the first place, it had evaded control on the part of the Cardinals, in spite of a number of compacts limiting the Pope's power over them. At the close of the half century Alexander VI. was still able to treat the Cardinals as his tools, appointing whom he would, or selling the office at a high price to raise money for Cæsar Borgia's wars.

Position of
the Popes
at the close
of the
Fifteenth
Century

Secondly, the Pope had triumphed over reform in the shape of control by Councils. Political and national jealousies had ruined the Council of Basel, and the failure of the movement was summed up in the Bull *Execrabilis* of Pius II. Threats of appealing to General Councils were, indeed, freely used against Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II., but with little or no effect.

Even the movement in favour of the liberty of National Churches, which had seemed so vigorous in the early part of the century, had been minimised by agreements between their rulers and the Pope. Louis XI. and Francis I. gave up the liberties of the French Church as Frederick III. had given up those of the German. Nevertheless in becoming political the Papacy had lost the moral leadership of Christendom, which had been its unique and special task, and had become an Italian power, as yet not of the first rank. The failure of several popes to arouse Europe against the Turk was a judgment on the Papacy for the many false alarms it had raised in the past in order to replenish its treasury.

No one believed any longer in the purity of the Pope's motives; political intrigues were suspected behind every cause, however worthy in itself. And Europe was further

enlightened as to the real character of the Papacy by the Italian Invasions, and Alexander VI.'s Jubilee in 1500. The popes, becoming wise in their generation, as children of this world, found that Italy would only respect their sway if they were too strong to be attacked. The problem was twofold: how to control the turbulent Roman populace whose Republican spirit slept but was not dead, and awoke at intervals under leaders such as Rienzi and Porcaro; how, secondly, to subdue the lawless Roman nobles of the Campagna—the Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli.

Nicholas V. attacked the first difficulty by gaining military control of Rome, by widening the streets and connecting the fortress of St Angelo with the city. Though Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. took the nobles in hand, the real suppression of the Colonna and Orsini was only accomplished by Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia. Towards a general solution of the problem Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. set themselves to gain territory, which in the hands of their relations should be the principal support of the Pope's power. In this way the Holy See might possibly have become hereditary, but it is clear that their plan differed altogether from that of Julius II., who is rightly regarded as the founder of the Papal States, because he built up a dominion which he passed on, not to his family, but to his successor.

The Duchy of Milan had in 1450 come into the possession of the House of Sforza. With masterly skill Francesco, the husband of Bianca, the last of the Visconti, had played off his two chief enemies against each other, namely, the Republican party in Milan and the Venetians. First, he defended Milan against Venice, then made peace with Venice, finally turned his victorious army upon

The Papal States.

Milan
The Sforza

Milan, and became its master. Milan was the greatest prize ever won by a successful condottiere: however Francesco was not only the greatest of the condottieri, but an able statesman, whose chief object thereafter was peace. Between him and Cosmo di Medici a real friendship existed: he came to terms with Venice in the Peace of Lodi, 1454, by which the Adda was to be the boundary between the two states; and having a common interest with Naples in resisting French claims in Italy, he united his son and daughter in marriage with Alfonso's granddaughter and grandson. As has been already pointed out, Sforza was on the best terms with Louis XI., who yielded to him the French rights to Genoa.

Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who succeeded his father in 1466, drew closer this connexion by marrying Bona of Savoy, sister of the French queen. In him were united the worst vices of the Visconti and Sforza. Weak, cowardly, and a slave to the worst passions, he is one of the comparatively few who have delighted in cruelty for its own sake. After suffering ten years of this unbridled tyranny, three young nobles whose families he had wronged slew him in church. Two of them were killed by the guard, and their leader, Olgiati, maintaining to the last the justice of his cause, died with Spartan endurance under torture. The Milanese, taken by surprise, had not been prompt enough to save themselves, and the tyrant's son Gian Galeazzo, aged eight, succeeded, under the regency of his mother and Simonetta, formerly Francesco's secretary. In 1479 the peace of Italy was upset by the Pazzi conspiracy in Florence; and while Naples and the Pope armed against the Republic, Milan prepared to stand by her ally. To cause a distraction in Milan, Ferrante encouraged the return of the

The Olgiati
Conspir-
acy, 1476

young duke's uncles, who had been exiled for hostility to the Regency. A revolution followed in Milan: Simonetta was executed, and the nominal reign began of Gian Galeazzo, aged twelve, his eldest uncle, Ludovico, being the real ruler.

Ludovico Sforza, called the Moor, from his swarthy complexion, was after his father, Francesco, the ablest of his house. Yet he had no pretensions to soldierly qualities—was, in fact, wanting in courage in emergencies. Like the average Italian tyrant, he was cruel when political necessity demanded; cunning, grasping, and self-confident; nevertheless when once he had vaulted into the saddle, he was disposed to rule well, to maintain a splendid court, and dispense generous patronage to literature and art. But, like Richard III., he was encumbered with a nephew, and to make matters worse, that nephew took to wife Ferrante's granddaughter, Isabella of Naples. The young duke was a feeble creature, but Isabella was a princess of spirit, and complained to her own family of Ludovico's usurpation. She contrasted her own neglected position with that of Ludovico's new wife, Beatrice D'Este, the idol of a brilliant court; and the prospects of her infant son with those of Ludovico's heir. Remonstrances from Naples had no result; except that they warned Ludovico that he must strengthen his position against an open rupture. Florence could no longer be depended upon; for, as we shall see, Piero di Medici was himself inclined towards Naples, and Ludovico was not blind to the greed of Venice. He therefore seconded the invitation given by the Neapolitan barons to Charles VIII., hoping to use the French as a screen between himself and Naples, while he made good his own position in Milan. Afterwards he trusted to his own dexterity to relieve Italy of their

Ludovico
Il Moro

presence. With the consent of France, Ludovico gave his niece Bianca Maria in marriage to Maximilian I. In return for a more than princely dowry the Emperor conferred upon Ludovico the investiture of Milan. Gian Galeazzo died soon after, precisely as might have been foreseen—though his uncle's share in the business has not been absolutely proved. Ludovico was not left long undisturbed in his new dignity. With the French came Louis of Orleans, bent upon making good upon Milan his claim through his grandmother, Valentina Visconti. And though this first attempt was foiled, we shall see that Ludovico was unable to withstand Louis XII. at the head of a league for the partition of Milan in 1499.

Florence

The history of Florence during this half century is covered by the rule of the Medici family ; for Cosmo was firmly settled by 1434, and Piero was expelled exactly sixty years later. The means by which they won and kept their power may first be pointed out. The Medici owed their greatness to trade, and principally to their great European banking connexion. By raising loans for foreign governments and lending large sums to Florentine citizens, they gained political influence at home and abroad. Both Cosmo and Lorenzo maintained their position in Italy largely through their unrivalled knowledge of foreign politics. In their hands politics and commerce worked together to advance the interests of both. "Cosmo," it was said, "made many a fortune besides his own." As employers of labour, collectors of books and gems, and patrons of literary men and artists, the Medici turned to their own pleasure and advantage the Renaissance movement at a time when it was one of the chief forces in Italian life. Their private revenues were at the service of the State, and they spent enormous sums on charity

Cosmo di
Medici,
1434-1464

and public works—a system by which Florence was at first the gainer; but later, when less attention to business diminished their incomes, it led to these being largely supplemented from public money. At first the Medici were careful to live and marry like other people of their wealth and position. “Cosmo’s works were regal,” says Machiavelli, “his conduct civic.” He rejected Brunelleschi’s design for his palace as being too pretentious, and never allowed the luxury of his family to appear as royal state. Lorenzo was the first of his house to seek a bride outside Florence. At the same time they thoroughly understood the value of public fêtes and shows as a way of keeping their popularity with the pleasure-loving Florentines. Dazzled by these brilliant features of the Medici rule, the populace were blinded to the changes quietly and steadily at work in the government. A progressive income-tax was introduced, and taxation was managed in such a way as to enrich friends and ruin enemies. “Cosmo used the taxes instead of the dagger,” notes Guicciardini. The forms of government were preserved, but elections were in Medicean hands. The chief magistrates of Florence were the Signory, consisting of the Gonfalonier of Justice and eight Priors, holding office for two months. Bills approved by them went through three Councils representing the Trade Guilds before becoming law. It was their right to call a Parliament and draw up the agenda for business. A Parliament in Florentine phrase was simply a mass meeting of the rabble, who shouted their assent to certain names proposed by the dominant party as being fit to exercise special powers. Thus elected, this body, called the Balìa, proceeded to appoint ten Accoppiatori (Joiners), whose chief duty was to collect in the purses or bags (from which

Changes
in the
Govern-
ment of
Florence

eight at a time were afterwards drawn by lot) the names of some 400 candidates for office. Even without a Balia the names were subject to a scrutiny, and the means of disqualification were numerous; but when the purses had been carefully weeded there was no danger that any appointment would be made displeasing to the ruling powers. The Medici contrived that the Balia should generally be renewed every five years, and thus they secured the choice of all the magistrates. Occasionally the names were drawn by lot from the purses, but as a rule they were simply chosen by the Accoppiatori. The drawback to the Signory was its very short term of office, and to remedy this defect Lorenzo di Medici established a board of seventy life members—a kind of Privy Council. They were to act as standing Accoppiatori—that is, to nominate to offices. “That day,” said one of them, “was liberty dead and buried.”

From this Council of Seventy were chosen two permanent Committees for Police and War. After the fall of the Medici the latter became known as the Ten of War, which is famous through its secretary, Machiavelli. The old Councils were not abolished, but as a constantly changing body has little chance of influence compared with a permanent assembly, it is easy to see in whose hands the real power lay.

Other arbitrary things they did: but it was not the people but the wealthy citizens who suffered from their high-handed methods. Even with the private life of the nobles—their marriage alliances, and regulation of their incomes—the Medici interfered. Yet much was forgiven them, because by general agreement “they were the most genuine of Florentines,” in token of which Florence bestowed upon Cosmo his title of “Pater Patriæ.”

The last years of Cosmo's life were marked by important changes. Discontent in Florence led to the revival of elections by the people in 1455, but for a short time only. Luca Pitti, one of Cosmo's oldest supporters, was taken into his confidence, and allowed to call a Balia, with the result that absolute rule was restored. It was said that "Cosmo had to let his friends believe themselves as powerful as he was himself," and Luca Pitti actually tried to supplant his leader, and began building himself the splendid palace which is now the great picture gallery of Florence. It was with the Pitti party that Cosmo's successor Piero had finally to deal. Cosmo's relations with other Italian states became the traditional policy of his house: he cultivated a good understanding with the Pope, and his friendship with Milan stamps him as the real founder of the Triple Alliance.

Struggle
between
the Medici
and the
Pitti

Piero the Gouty was a great contrast to his father. A man of average capacity, he was always prevented by ill health from taking an active part in affairs, and his rule was a critical time for the Medici power. He made himself unpopular by recalling his business loans at great inconvenience to the borrowers, and investing the money in land. The support of Galeazzo Maria, who had just succeeded in Milan, was not worth much. At home the Balia was not renewed, and the opposition which Cosmo had left so strong was still more hostile to his son. A struggle between the Pitti and Medici parties followed—the Mountain and the Plain—so called from the position of the rival leaders' houses. The opposition tried three ways of getting rid of Piero. First, they hoped to overthrow him by the lawful method of restoring the lot in elections. But Piero's great wealth enabled him to buy up many of his opponents, among them Pitti himself, and

Piero I.,
1464-1469

the rest were exiled. Next, they unsuccessfully attempted murder; and finally, with the secret support of Venice, they hired the condottiere Bartolommeo Coleone to attack Florence. Piero strengthened the alliance with Milan and Naples; and his general, the Duke of Urbino, was held to have defeated the Mountain at Molinella, when, contrary to the usual experience in Italian warfare, a few lives were lost. It was clear that the prospects of the exiles had not improved, and as Coleone had another engagement to fight the Turks, peace was made. The exiles remained exiles. A new Balìa was granted for ten years, and there was no doubt that the hold of the Medici upon Florence was even stronger than it had been before Cosmo's death. Piero's eldest son Lorenzo, though under age for holding office, was invited to succeed his father. From the first he was inclined to act as the prince rather than the citizen. He had visited at the chief Italian courts, and had taken his bride, Clarice, from the great Roman house of Orsini. He was young and self-confident, and ready to undertake the management of affairs. There is no doubt that the crisis of 1479 was brought about by three blunders of his own.

Lorenzo
di Medici,
1469-1492

First, certain changes were made in the government which may be described as tending to sweep away old offices, and concentrate business in the hands of the Signory, thereby reducing the number of families who enjoyed political influence. Among these were the wealthy family of the Pazzi, of whom nine were qualified to hold office. Secondly, Lorenzo forced on a war with Volterra, whose chief source of wealth was its alum mines. Lorenzo himself had a private interest in alum, and took no pains to patch up the quarrel. Through an accident the town was sacked; and, to the

disgust of the Florentines, a despoiled city was all they gained.

Lastly, while keeping up the Triple Alliance, Lorenzo succeeded in adding the new Pope, Sixtus IV., and the Venetians to the list of his friends. But the jealousy between Venice and Naples made it impossible for the same league to hold them both. Naples was offended; and used her influence to win over Sixtus. This was all the more easy, because the Pope's plans to buy Imola in Romagna for Girolamo Riario alarmed Lorenzo for the safety of Florence. He refused to lend the money, and in revenge Sixtus appointed Salviati to the Archbishopric of Pisa against Lorenzo's wishes. Thus the ambition of Girolamo Riario became the centre of a plot to destroy the Medici. He was on friendly terms with Francesco Pazzi, the papal treasurer in Rome, and they persuaded Jacopo Pazzi, the head of the family in Florence, to join them. There can be no doubt that the Pope was aware of the plot, though the active part in it was his nephew's: and that Ferrante was also implicated. The plot was well organised, and was kept wonderfully secret. It was necessary to get rid of both Lorenzo di Medici and his younger brother Giuliano (who was the more popular of the two), and at the same time. Several promising opportunities were missed through a slight illness of Giuliano's: at last it was settled to kill the brothers at High Mass at the solemn moment of the elevation of the Host. This task was entrusted to two priests, who did not share the objection felt by soldiers to committing sacrilege in church. Jacopo Pazzi was to raise the populace in the streets, and Archbishop Salviati to seize the palace of the Signory. At the given moment Giuliano was struck down; but Lorenzo, though wounded, found safety behind

The Pazzi
Conspir-
acy, 1478

the bronze doors of the sacristy. The mob outside only responded to Jacopo's efforts with shouts of the Medici cry "Palle," and hustled his followers to the palace of the Signory. Here Salviati's nervousness had betrayed his errand, and he was already under arrest. Hearing that Giuliano was dead, the mob hanged Salviati, Francesco Pazzi, and others from the palace windows. The other leaders were captured and suffered death with several hundred of their accomplices. "This," says Guicciardini, "was the luckiest day of Lorenzo's life; he lost his brother and confirmed his power." Together with the changes in the government already mentioned, the failure of the plot left Lorenzo Prince in everything but name.

He was still, however, in danger from the foreign members of the conspiracy. Sixtus IV. at once excommunicated him for the Archbishop's death, and laid Florence under an interdict for refusing to give him up. Ferrante of Naples joined the Pope in declaring war. There was great danger from disloyalty within Florence herself and in her subject states. France, threatening the Pope with a General Council, and Ferrante with an Angevin invasion, seemed the only ally likely to be of practical help; as Venice, now freed from the Turks, was thinking to fish in troubled waters, and Milan, through Ferrante's contrivance, was in the throes of revolution. Florence was outnumbered by her enemies; and the plague broke out in the city; only the quarrels among the rival generals of the league prevented her defeat on all sides. Lorenzo offered to sacrifice himself for the public weal. He would go on a mission of peace to Naples, and meanwhile the real feeling in the city would declare itself. The last suggestion contained the chief risk there was in

War
between
Florence
and the
Pope and
Naples
upsets the
normal
balance

Lorenzo's
Journey to
Naples

carrying out this plan, which seems to have been talked over first with Naples.

Ferrante, indeed, might prove treacherous; but after keeping Lorenzo three months to see whether Florence would rise or not, he decided to come to terms. The Pope was of the same mind, for the Turks had just seized Otranto. The terms were hard for Florence. She had to pay a yearly sum to Alfonso of Calabria, who was left in occupation of Siena (from which, however, pressure from the Turks soon forced his withdrawal). The Florentine forts taken during the war were to be given back at Ferrante's pleasure (six were actually restored in 1481); and the Lords of Romagna, who were under Florentine protection, were left to the Pope's vengeance.

Still, Lorenzo was enthusiastically welcomed on his return from a brave mission, and he met with no opposition to his new Council of Seventy and the committees which we should call the War and Home Offices.

These experiences proved of lasting value to Lorenzo. The tranquil state of Florence left him free to devote himself to foreign affairs: his tact, his judgment, his influence developed with years. He became, as it was said, "the balance of Italy," for his policy was to keep the peace by means of the Triple Alliance. But even in Lorenzo's lifetime it became clear that the alliance itself was doomed, by the growing ill-feeling between Naples and Milan after Ludovico's accession. If any man could have prevented the rupture, that man was Lorenzo; but at the critical time, in 1492, to the consternation of Italy, he died. During his later years Lorenzo neglected mercantile affairs for political and social duties. He gathered round him a wonderful group of artists and men of letters.

Lorenzo's
Statesman-
ship

Death of
Lorenzo,
1492

The Platonic Academy, founded by Cosmo, had its meetings at Lorenzo's palace; it numbered among its members the brilliant writers and scholars, Politiano, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola, the architect Alberti, and Michael Angelo, the greatest of Florentine painters. It says much for Lorenzo's own gifts that of such a circle he was fitted to be the patron and leader.

In his great history of Florence Guicciardini sums up for us the character of Lorenzo. Though not a soldier, he had all the other qualities necessary to a ruler. He was much less able than Cosmo as a man of business, but more eloquent and cultivated. Universal deference had brought out a certain haughtiness in him; but he was a witty talker, and good company; the title of *Il Magnifico*, commonly given to Italian magnates of no definite rank, was very fittingly used of Lorenzo in its literal sense of "the Magnificent." In appearance he was a man of middle height and dark complexion. His features were irregular and his voice unmusical.

It may be asked whether, on the whole, the Medici rule was a gain or a loss to Florence? As to the answer, opinions differ. On the one hand, it may be said that their taxation was a great burden, and that they robbed the State, that they corrupted the public service, lowered its standards of honour, and stole from Florence her liberty and the power of her citizens to act for themselves. On the other, that they gave a peaceful and orderly government to the city, without undue severity; that they brought her prosperity and fame, and made her the most brilliant centre of the most brilliant age in history since the great days of Athens. Those who think that self-government, with all its mistakes, is best will decide against the Medici. Others, remembering the

general fate of despotism that overtook all Italian states at the time, may accept Guicciardini's summing up: "The city had not liberty, but could not have had a more pleasant tyranny."

The Medici rule really ended with Lorenzo, for even had the invasion of Charles VIII. not suddenly terminated it, Piero's misgovernment would have brought about the same result, if less quietly, almost as soon. Piero was not without brains, but he was headstrong and giddy and ignorant of politics. He haughtily sent his secretary to take his orders to the Signory: he offended all his father's friends, and played ball with his minions in the street, to the public inconvenience. His manners were those of an ungracious princeling, not of the First Citizen of the State. His marriage with Alfonsina Orsini renewed the tie with his mother's family and drew him towards Naples, between whom and the Orsini there was a long-standing connection.

Piero II.,
1492-1495

The Florentines, however, disliked the House of Aragon, and Milan had now still stronger reasons for doing so. It is clear, therefore, that the old balance of power was upset: Charles VIII. was nearing Florence on his march south, and Piero felt himself unequal to the occasion. He decided to imitate his father's bold journey to Naples at an equally critical time. As the feeling of Florence was all in favour of a French alliance, Piero resolved, without consulting his government, to be the first to approach the French, and set out to meet them at Sarzana. With a little foresight the French might have been turned back. Their way lay through barren pasture lands where food was scarce, and a line of fortresses might have been manned to shut off the enemy between the mountains and the sea. But no effort had been made even to defend

the passes of the Apennines ; thus when Piero found himself in the King's presence he yielded the four fortresses, Sarzana, Pietrasanta, Pisa and Leghorn without a struggle, much to Charles's astonishment. When he returned to Florence with well-founded misgivings, the city revolted against the idea of such an unauthorised surrender, and shut the gates of the Palace of the Signory in his face. All exertions to raise the populace on the part of Paolo Orsini with a troop of horse, and of Piero's brother, the young Cardinal Giovanni, were useless, and Piero fled by way of Bologna to Venice. On the same day Pisa, after eighty-seven years of Florentine rule, revolted and became independent.

Expulsion
of the
Medici
from Flor-
ence, 1495

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

SISMONDI : Italian Republics (in one volume).

SYMONDS : The Renaissance in Italy.

K. EWART : Cosimo de Medici.

ARMSTRONG : Lorenzo de Medici.

CHAPTER V

THE ITALIAN WARS TO 1518

AT this point it may be as well to collect together Causes of the Invasion of Charles VIII., 1494 the various causes that brought about the invasion of Charles VIII. The King himself was ambitious of making good his claim on Naples; and perhaps, in the second place, of using his conquest as a stepping-stone to a crusade against Constantinople.

Secondly, the Pope, by the scandals of his life, and his hatred of the Cardinal della Rovere, who had fled to the French Court, indirectly gave ground for interference in Italian affairs. It was as a scourge to the Church that Savonarola had predicted that Charles should come to Italy.

Thirdly, Ferrante's broken word and harsh treatment had driven the revolted Neapolitan Baronage to be the first to call in French aid.

Fourthly, the usurpation of Milan by Ludovico had upset the old balance of powers, and led to his appeal to France to distract his chief enemy, Naples.

Lastly, the old tie between Florence and France, strengthened by the prophecies of Savonarola, inclined the Florentines in the same direction; and the hasty action of Piero di Medici placed the city almost at Charles's mercy. The only powers prepared to resist the King were Naples and the Pope; while Venice

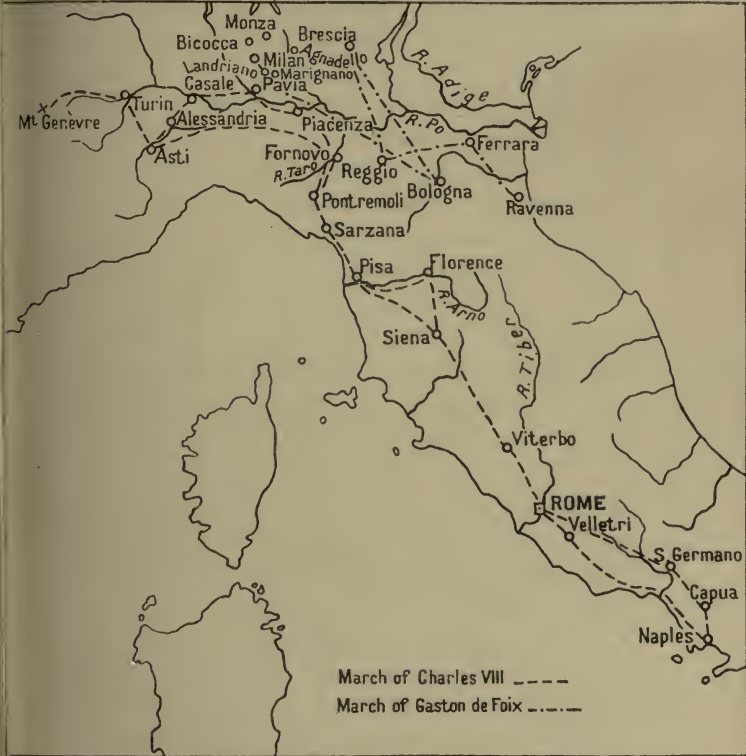
counted on remaining neutral till she saw how things turned out.

The March
of Charles
VIII.

Charles crossed the Alps in September by the Pass of Mont Genève with the bulk of his army, which was thoroughly up to date in its three divisions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The first states on his line of march—Savoy, Montferrat, and Genoa—were only too ready to give him passage. From Genoa also sailed a squadron accompanying the French fleet, and attacked the Neapolitan ships which had occupied Rapallo. There a rude shock was felt by Italians at the amount of blood spilt in this first engagement. By Asti, Pavia, Piacenza, and Sarzana came the King, whose meeting with Piero di Medici occurred at this last Florentine town. A second embassy under Savonarola reached the King at Pisa, and besought him to deal mercifully and honourably with Florence. But, forgetful of the fact that he came as the ally and guest of the city, he proceeded to release Pisa from “her oppressive yoke.” In the same spirit, with lances in rest as conquerors, the French entered Florence. The officers even chalked out the lodgings for their companies at will. The inhabitants gazed at what was for them a great military display. The King, conspicuous by his ugly face and his misshapen figure, arrayed in black velvet and cloth of gold, was surrounded by several Cardinals, including his minister Briçonnet and della Rovere, and by his bodyguard of bowmen. He graciously declined to allow the Signory to hold his bridle, as was their custom for Pope, Emperor, or King. Then followed knights on foot, the fierce-looking Swiss vanguard, Gascon light infantry, the chivalry of France—fine men on fine horses—and the Scottish archers, whose height attracted notice.

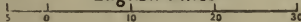
Charles was lodged in the Medici palace, which had been set in order after its sack at the hands of the mob on Piero's flight. He put forward such unreasonable

NORTH & CENTRAL ITALY



V.C. Barbishur, Oxford, 1909

English Miles



demands as the restoration of Piero, and control of the city through his lieutenant.

Bold words followed to clothe the secret fear which each party had of the other. "Then we will sound our

trumpets," cried Charles, impatiently, and Capponi, the most independent Florentine in the city, tearing the insolent treaty in pieces, retorted with his famous "And we will ring our bells." The King lowered his demands, but Florence was obliged to leave in his hands the four fortresses and furnish him with a huge sum of money. The French then left for Rome. The Pope was filled with alarm at their approach; visions of a General Council, and the exposure of his many crimes, rose before his eyes, and he came to terms. He was obliged to abandon the Neapolitan alliance, dismiss Ferrantino, Alfonso's son, with his army, and admit the French. But in negotiation the Pope proved the better man of the two. He agreed to send his son, Cæsar Borgia, as a hostage, and to deliver to Charles Djem, the brother of the Sultan. The affair of Djem, which was extremely discreditable to the Pope, is also important, as bearing evidence to Charles's intention of leading a Crusade. Djem was the gifted younger brother of the Sultan Bajazet, son of the great Mahomet. To his schemes of dividing the Turkish dominions with Bajazet, the latter had objected that the Empire was the bride of one lord. Djem, defeated in battle, took refuge with the Knights of Rhodes, who were paid by Bajazet for keeping him, but they presently sent him under guard to France as being at a safe distance from Turkey. From being a guest, with a safe conduct for his departure from Rhodes, Djem had become a prisoner. Innocent VIII. arranged with the Knights to hand Djem over, thinking he might be used with advantage against the Sultan once the Crusade was under way. It was, however, the policy of Alexander VI. to enlist the Sultan's help against the coming French invasion; and part of

The Affair
of Prince
Djem

Bajazet's correspondence with him was, unfortunately for the Pope, seized and opened by the French. It contained an offer from the Sultan of 300,000 ducats, "wherewith your Highness may buy some dominions for your children," in return for the Pope's compassing Djem's death. Charles VIII. was as anxious as Innocent VIII. had been to secure Djem for his Crusade, and the Prince, as has been seen, was delivered to him by Alexander. But when they reached Naples Djem died—it was thought from some form of slow poisoning. The Pope has always been suspected of the crime, and appearances are certainly against him. Meanwhile, it was disturbing to find that the hostage, Cæsar Borgia, had escaped at the first opportunity.

Charles's steady advance on Naples drove the craven Alfonso into flight: though Ferrantino prepared to stand his ground, his troops showed no pluck, and Trivulzio, a Milanese in his pay, of whom Ludovico had said, "a halter awaits him when caught," made terms with the French. Ferrantino, truly declaring that the sins of the fathers were being visited on the children, followed Alfonso to Sicily. In less than a month all Naples, save a few forts, was in French hands.

Charles
in Naples
Flight of
Alfonso
and Fer-
rantino

1495,
The French
Conquest
of Naples

The success of Charles's expedition has something of the glamour of a fairy tale: it was made possible by the miserable divisions in Italy, and the panic of the Italians on being brought face to face for the first time with the grim realities of war. For instance, the deadly nature of the French artillery, which fired iron and not stone, was a revelation to them.

But the loss of Naples was no less rapid than its conquest. The French made every kind of mistake when it came to political dealings with the people. The

Italian powers began to consult together at last in their own defence. A league was formed at Venice between the Republic, the Pope, Spain, Milan, and the Emperor, for protection against aggressive powers in Italy. Seizing the pretext of an attack by Orleans on Novara, they declared war. Charles, after lingering at Naples, at last turned north, leaving Montpensier as viceroy. Italy, glad to see the last of him, offered no resistance till he reached the river Taro in the Milanese, where the Marquis of Mantua, in command of the army of the League, awaited him. The allies lay on the opposite bank of the river, which was swollen by a thunderstorm. The French rear was attacked by them after the army had crossed; the artillery hardly came into action at all; and more than half the allies never fought. Ludovico, who was still "hedging" between Venice and France, forbade his troops to act vigorously. The French marched away without further hindrance, and the allies left some 4000 dead on the field. The battle of Fornovo may be regarded as a French victory, though a useless one.

The departure of Charles was followed by a general revolt in Naples. Ferrantino returned with troops lent by Spain under the great Captain Gonsalvo di Cordova, and a fleet lent by Venice in return for her possession of the much coveted Apulian ports. Fever carried off Montpensier and other French officials. One stronghold after another fell into Ferrantino's hands, and though he died before the war was over, his uncle Federigo succeeded to a recovered kingdom.

Results of
the French
Invasion

The results of Charles's invasion may here be summed up. Nothing whatever was left to him in Naples. Yet his expedition had one lasting effect: it had introduced Italy to the northern nations, and the wealth, beauty,

and possibilities of this almost unknown land made a deep impression on their minds. For some sixty-five years Italy was to be the prey of the nations beyond the Alps. For the rest: Florence, the only cordial ally of France, came off worst, for she did not regain the promised fortresses, and Pisa recovered her independence. Venice was the gainer by the six Apulian ports. The war left Milan, for the time being, as it found her.

For several years Charles amused himself in France with schemes for restoring French influence in Italy, but in 1498 these were cut short by an accident. The King struck his head against a door-post in his fine new tennis-court at Amboise, and died immediately from the effects. As none of his children had survived their infancy, the Duke of Orleans, his sister Jeanne's husband, succeeded him as Louis XII.

Death of
Charles
VIII., 1498

We must now return to Florence, where events of the first importance had been taking place since the downfall of the Medici. In this crisis of her fate the city turned to the man who had for so long foretold what should come to pass, confidently expecting that now his prophecy had been fulfilled, he would tell them how to act. Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican friar from Ferrara, had come to St Mark's convent in Florence in 1481, and had made himself famous by the remarkable series of sermons he preached in the Cathedral. He foretold that a sword should come upon the earth to reform the Church, and that without delay. He applied his intimate knowledge of the Bible to everyday problems. Though ceremonies and formal repetitions had no charm for him, he never in any sense departed from the fold of the Church. His creed was the simplest and most direct; yet he was the only preacher who could keep the

Savonarola
in Florence

attention of the critical and fickle Florentine public year after year without falling in their estimation. His fiery natural eloquence was suited to subjects generally chosen from the Prophetic Books or from the Revelation ; and his sermons were largely political. He was no respecter of persons. His portrait of the Italian tyrant of the day was so true to life that each guilty ruler recognised in it himself. To Lorenzo on his death-bed, to Charles VIII. and Pope Alexander VI., his attitude was equally bold and unswerving.

In 1492 the Convent of St Mark had become independent of all authority save that of the Pope and the Head of the Dominican Order. As its Prior, Savonarola was therefore given almost a free hand, and he proceeded to reform the convent, and develop its activities. But in the next year, with the sudden onset of the French, Savonarola became the chief political power in Florence. First he used all his influence to keep order in the city. Then he set to work on the new constitution which had to be framed in place of the government of the Medici upon their fall. It was not original ; nor did the Friar always suggest the borrowed ideas, but his hand seems mainly to have shaped them. The Councils representing the Guilds were abolished, and, in imitation of Venice, a permanent Grand Council was formed of all citizens aged 29, who had paid taxes and whose families for three generations had been drawn for the three chief offices. About 3500 citizens fulfilled these conditions—that is, about one-twenty-fifth of the population. Their duties were to pass laws, hear appeals, control the elections to magistracies by lot, and choose a Senate of eighty, holding office for six months; to advise the Signory who, with the Priors and Gonfalonieri, remained part of

the scheme. (In 1502, however, the latter was chosen for life.) The Ten of War also continued to control foreign affairs. All bills were originated in the Signory, but to become law must pass through the Senate and be sanctioned by the Grand Council.

As only one-twenty-fifth of the inhabitants sat in the Grand Council, it will be seen that Florence had not become a democracy. We should call it an upper middle class government, yet in comparison with the personal rule of the Medici it seemed almost democratic. The Parliament, or mass meeting, was abolished. In this and in some general features of the new government Savonarola's influence may be traced more clearly than in its institutions. The law of appeal in political offences from the Signory to the Grand Council was certainly passed with his support, as was also an enquiry into the robbery of public money. Again, he tried to rouse public feeling in favour of the reforms—all must do their part to ensure success. He saw that a people so long corrupted by a tyrant's rule could not be fit for self-government. He therefore aimed at founding his reformed government upon a moral reform of the population. The Friar's personal influence had often worked wonders upon frivolous young men: it found new scope in leading a Puritan movement in Florence. At the "Burning of the Vanities" (great public bonfires) a clearance was made of many articles of luxury or fashion—false hair, cards, charms, masks, scents, undesirable books and pictures. Even the street boys of Florence, who were hitherto terrible hooligans, were enlisted in the cause to collect alms in organised bands. Noisy festivities and processions were suppressed. An extraordinary change came over the outward life of the city,

which must be admitted in many cases, at least, to have been the visible sign of real inward change.

Political
Parties in
Florence

In becoming a politician, however, the Friar became the leader of a party, and speedily party divisions, always rife in Florence, became fierce. His own party, the Piagnoni (weepers), were by degrees opposed by the Bigi (the Greys, so called because, working for the Medici restoration at first without much vigour, they were neither white nor black); and the Arrabiati (enraged), who hated Puritanism, and, though not desiring Piero's return, eventually came round to supporting the younger branch of his house. Of this faction the Compagnacci were an offshoot, consisting of the dandies of the city. They both regarded the Piagnoni as Little Italians, on account of their leaning towards France: they themselves were in league with Milan, and their motto might have been "Italy for the Italians." The foreign policy of the Piagnoni made them unpopular with other Italian states, while outside Florence we must add to the Friar's opponents Pope Alexander VI., whose life he continued freely to denounce. In spite of the Papal prohibition in 1495, in the following Lent the Signory encouraged the Friar to continue his sermons. The Pope then tried the bribe of a cardinal's hat. "Come to my next sermon," replied Savonarola to the envoy, "and you shall hear my reply." It was a yet fiercer attack on the sins of the Church, and the preacher foretold great troubles still to come upon Italy. Savonarola's boundless energy as preacher and ruler reached its height in the Carnival of 1497: from that time there were signs that his power was on the wane. Hitherto the Piagnoni had been politically in the ascendant: the election of the Medicean Bernardo del Nero, as Gon-

falonnier, showed the beginning of a change, which was confirmed by an attempt of Piero upon Florence, and by a tumult raised by the Compagnacci in the cathedral where Savonarola was preaching on Ascension Day.

The
Medici
Plot

The Pope took advantage of the opportunity to excommunicate Savonarola for disobedience and heresy; the Signory pleaded for the withdrawal of the brief, and in the meantime stopped Savonarola from preaching, so that the excitement in Florence subsided. The new Signory was even favourable to the Friar, and the sudden discovery that five leading citizens had been concerned in the late Medici plot stirred Florence to its depths.

The five, including Bernardo del Nero, were condemned to death, and so strong was popular feeling against them that they were refused the right of appeal to the Great Council, and were executed. Though Savonarola him-

Execution
of the
Medicean
Leaders

self seems to have taken no direct part in the matter, it would have been quite safe to allow the appeal, so strongly was the Piagnoni majority supported by the feeling of the city. The refusal no doubt injured him. From this time the Friar never recovered his position. Alexander, fearful of Savonarola's constant appeals to France and their probable result—a General Council—and mindful of the fact that a French invasion could be barred merely by the union of Florence and Ferrara, now resolved upon the Friar's ruin. He threatened the city with an interdict if it continued to defend Savonarola. The latter appealed against the Pope to the kings of Europe, but the letters never reached their destination, and one of them was intercepted and carried to Rome. If any other proof of the Friar's audacity were needed, it was now in the Pope's hands. In Florence itself his old rivals the Franciscans were

The
Ordeal by
Fire

clamouring for some proof of his prophetic gift. Many waverers in the city awaited this test to confirm their belief in him ; that it should take the form of the Ordeal by Fire was suggested by past events in Florentine history. The challenge of the Franciscans was accepted by Fra Domenico, a faithful disciple of the Friar. A huge pile of wood, gunpowder, and oil was laid in the Piazza, and thither thronged all Florence, eager for a spectacle. The monk who could walk unscathed in the narrow path through the lighted pile would, by the divine judgment, have proved his innocence. Amid the suspense of the waiting crowds, the Franciscans began to object, first to Fra Domenico's robes, then to his carrying the Sacrament through the fire. Hours passed in dispute, a furious thunderstorm swept the Piazza, night was falling, and the Signory announced that the Ordeal was postponed. Wet and hungry, and cheated of the expected sensation, the mob had to be thrust back from the friars by the guard ; next day, led by the Compagnacci, it attacked St Mark's. The monks and the Piagnoni defended it valiantly—the leader of the party, Francesco Valori, fell among the slain outside. The Signory interfered to restore order, and Savonarola and his two chief followers, Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro, were arrested. It was decided that the Pope should send a Commission to try them for offences against the Church, and that the city should deal with their offences against herself. Under torture Savonarola is said to have confessed that his prophetic visions were false, but that the evidence is unreliable is certain. He never, however, denied his mission to reform the Church and to give Florence free government. Though nothing worse than ambition could be proved against him, the Arrabiati and the Pope were

bent on his destruction. Two hundred Piagnoni were forcibly excluded from the Grand Council, and a Signory of Arrabiati was returned—but none dared to protest. The Pope granted to the city a tax of three-tenths on Church revenues, “for which,” said one of the Piagnoni, “they have sold our master.” The three friars, found guilty of heresy, schism, and treason to the state, were sentenced to be hanged from the gibbet and their dead bodies consumed by fire. On May 23rd, 1498, the end came. “What have I done to thee, O Florence?” murmured Savonarola as he gazed his last at the silent crowd beneath him.

Death of
Savona-
rola's
May
23, 1498

Neither his party nor his influence died with him. The former became all-powerful once more. His constitution, except during the period of the Medici restoration, lasted till the overthrow of the Florentine Republic.

But it is not chiefly as a politician that Savonarola appeals to succeeding ages. He belongs, in more senses than one, to those who see visions and dream dreams. We cannot explain his prophetic, strangely-fulfilled utterances, except by believing that to the spiritually-minded of all ages has undoubtedly been given some insight into the unseen which is beyond common experience. We are no longer puzzled to decide, as were some of his contemporaries, whether or not he was a good man. His place is among those who are given a power, beyond their fellows, to love righteousness and hate iniquity. It was this force in him that called forth the devotion of his followers; that attracted to him men of the world and level-headed politicians; that has for ever enshrined his memory in the city that he loved.

Savona-
rola's
Work

At the crisis of Savonarola's fate had died Charles VIII., whose interference might possibly have averted it,

Louis XII.,
1498-1512

The new King Louis XII. was generous and tolerant; but the credit for his useful and popular domestic government, which won him the title of "Father of his People," rather belongs to his minister, Cardinal Amboise. Louis gained the clergy by yielding to them the right of free elections, and the nobles by relaxing the tight hold kept upon them by the last kings—granting them, for instance, certain royal rights of the chase. He proved the truth of his saying, that "it would ill become the king to avenge the wrongs of the duke," by showing Suzanne, the only child of Anne of Bourbon, a special favour. Anne, as Regent, had imprisoned Louis for opposing her government; but the King allowed her daughter to succeed to the Bourbon estates, which were due on the failure of an heir to fall to the Crown. Louis also made himself popular with the middle classes by granting a share in patronage to the Parliaments, by keeping an economical Court and strict accounts, and by the frank geniality of his manners. Taxation was light; the *taille*, or perpetual tax on land and income, which fell only on the middle and lower classes and had been steadily increased, was reduced almost to its original rate. The development of trade, thanks to the wise measures of Charles VII. and Louis XI., added to the general contentment of the country. Peace was maintained within the kingdom without effort—the first reign of which this could be said since the accession of the Valois.

Nevertheless the continuance by Louis XII. of Charles VIII.'s disastrous Italian policy cannot be justified. It added to the woes of Italy and wasted the resources of France. It was made possible by persuading Venice to desert the League in return for the possession of Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, by bribing Florence with troops to

assist in recovering Pisa, still in revolt, and by a discreditable bargain with Alexander VI., whom Louis won over from the League—the same Pope, be it remembered, who, to gain Florence for the same League, had contrived Savonarola's fall. Alexander declared Louis divorced from his first wife, Jeanne of France, in order that he might marry Charles VIII.'s widow, Anne of Brittany; he also raised Amboise to the rank of Cardinal of Rouen. The Pope fitted his side of the bargain to the needs of his new policy. He was bent on making his son Cæsar Borgia Duke of Romagna, a district long (in theory) the property of the Holy See, but always held by a number of petty Romagnan princes. The opportunity had come because Florentine protection of the district had ended with the Medici rule, and Venice was occupied with the Turks. Cæsar, who had already been deprived of his rank as Cardinal, is believed to have made away with his elder brother in preparation for his new career. Louis consented to give him the French title of Duke of Valentinois, and the hand of his niece, Charlotte d'Albret, in marriage. Other members of the Pope's family became pawns in the game. His daughter, the placid, fair-haired Lucrezia, had been married to a son of Alfonso of Naples. The Neapolitan alliance was no longer important, while that of Ferrara, which secured Romagna on its northern side, now became so. By Cæsar Borgia's contrivance, Lucrezia's husband was murdered, and at the age of twenty-one she found a fourth husband provided for her in Alfonso d'Este, son of the Duke of Ferrara.

The Borgia
Family

Cæsar proceeded to conquer Romagna—"it was devoured piecemeal by the dragon." The French invasion of Milan had just taken place, and Imola, Forli, and

Career of
Cæsar
Borgia

Pesaro, all Sforza lordships, were his first prey. The Malatesta were driven from Rimini, the Manfredi from Faenza. By 1501 Cæsar was Duke of Romagna—"that land," which Dante had said, "never is, and never shall be, without war." Apart from its cruel and ruthless conquest, the fate of Romagna is not to be regretted. Its sixteen petty lordships were always at strife: it had supplied Italy with a long line of brutal condottieri; Cæsar in overcoming it had succeeded in an attempt which had been vainly made by Ladislaus of Naples, the Visconti, the Sforza, and several Popes.

Cæsar now turned his mind to more ambitious plans. The Pope supplied him with plenty of money, and he was able to secure the services of the best condottieri. France and Spain, as will be seen, had begun to quarrel over their prey, and "Cæsar was the vulture in their train." He advanced into Florentine territory, fixing his attention upon certain surrounding strongholds, and arousing the deepest suspicion in the city. But his expulsion of the good Duke Guidobaldo from Urbino opened the eyes of France, and Louis made Cæsar understand that he must keep his hands off Florence.

Pisa, however, offered to make him her lord, and he was about to attack Bologna, when a serious conspiracy broke out at Sinigaglia among his discontented condottieri, including several of the Orsini.

Aided by help from France, Cæsar used the wisdom of the serpent in beguiling the rebellious captains to their doom, while the Pope completed the downfall of the Orsini family at Rome. Cæsar then resumed his plans for becoming King of Tuscany—or even of Italy—with the help of Spain; for it was becoming apparent to the Borgias that, in the duel with Spain, France was

losing ground. He also hoped, by increasing the number of Spanish cardinals, to control the next papal election, in the event of Alexander's death. But he could not foresee what actually happened. After a banquet, given by the Borgias to some rich cardinals, the Pope and Cæsar fell violently ill; and the Pope died, with every appearance of having been poisoned. It was said that a cup prepared for the guest of the evening had found its way into the wrong hands—and no attempts to prove that the summer heat and the insanitary state of Rome might have produced fever and apoplexy have ever seemed really convincing. So died Alexander VI., of whose pontificate it was said, that "Rome in his day was a cave of robbers and assassins;" a man without religion or honour, stained with the worst vices, and infinitely ambitious—"the wickedest and luckiest of the Popes for centuries past." Lucky the Pope would certainly have admitted himself to be; he was devoted to his family, for whom, in fact, he sacrificed worldly goods and his immortal reputation. Despite his vices, he had many human qualities, and he shared to the full the Italian joy of living.

At the all-important crisis of the papal election Cæsar was paralysed by illness. The Cardinal of Rouen was successfully opposed, but the Borgia party was unable to prevent the choice of Pius III., a nephew of Pius II. When a second opportunity occurred on the Pope's death, a month later, Cæsar, somewhat strangely, allowed himself to be bought over by the enemy of his house, Cardinal della Rovere, who was duly elected as Julius II.

Meanwhile Romagna was recovering its independence — not rapidly, for its duke had humbled the

Sudden
Death of
Alexander
VI., 1503

Election of
Julius II.
(1503-1513)
destroys
Cæsar's
Chances

strong and protected the weak, and his government, though harsh, "had been so just and upright that he was greatly loved there." Julius II. became the real heir to his conquests, but allowed Cæsar to go free. He was, however, sent as a prisoner to Spain, and, having escaped to Navarre, he was run through in a petty fight with a rebel subject of his brother-in-law.

The career of Cæsar has been given in some detail, because it has a twofold importance in history. Of all Italian adventurers, he came nearest to uniting Italy into one kingdom; no other was equally conspicuous for craft, brains, and treachery; no other was so favoured by fortune. So it came about that Cæsar, the most "resplendent rogue" of history, is held up to the admiration of all who would learn how to gain and govern states, as the hero of Machiavelli's wonderful study of "The Prince."

First
French
Conquest
of Milan,
1499

Meanwhile the French invasion of Milan was being accomplished by a brilliant army under Trivulzio, who had formerly been in the pay of Naples. Ludovico relied on the services of the San Severini brothers; but Galeazzo, who was defending Alexandria, lost heart and fled, and a few days later Ludovico himself, with his valuables, escaped from Milan into Tyrol. Two-thirds of his duchy, west of the Adda, was seized by the French, the remaining third, east of the river, by the Venetians. But Trivulzio turned out an unsatisfactory governor; and Ludovico soon felt encouraged to try, with the help of Maximilian and the Southern Swiss cantons, to join Galeazzo San Severino, and regain his duchy. The Swiss of the other cantons, in the pay of France, found themselves face to face with their countrymen at Novara. Knowing that their employer was

short of money, those on Ludovico's side declined to fight. In the retreat the Duke himself was captured, and sent to Loches, in Touraine, where he died a prisoner, in 1508. The French army entered the city of Milan, and the Cardinal of Rouen arrived to take Trivulzio's former place as governor. For the next three years French influence was supreme in Italy.

Second
French
Conquest
of Milan

From the conquest of Milan Louis turned to Naples, in which, however, France was no longer the only interested foreign power. Federigo had been restored by the help of his kinsman Ferdinand of Spain; and by a great error of judgment, Louis decided to take Ferdinand into partnership in his attack on Naples. In the hypocritical pretence of uniting against the Turk (with whom Federigo in his sorest need, in 1494, had been for a short time allied) the kings of France and Spain agreed, in the Treaty of Granada, 1500, to share Naples equally between them—Louis taking the Abruzzi and Lavoro, Ferdinand Calabria and Apulia. This arrangement was presently confirmed by the Pope.

Federigo, a gifted and capable ruler, retired, in the face of overwhelming odds, to France, where he was considerably treated. His young son, Ferrante, lived out a long life of exile in Spain.

Soon, however, the robber-kings fell to quarrelling over the division of their spoil. The central districts of Naples, the Basilicata, Capitanata, and the Principati had not been definitely given to either, and they could not settle their claims peaceably. War broke out between them in 1502—a war made memorable by the deeds of a goodly company of famous knights, among whom the French Bayard and the Spaniard Gonsalvo di Cordova are the most renowned.

War in
Naples
between
France and
Spain,
1502-1504

At first Spain had difficulty in holding her own against the superior quantity and quality of the French troops ; but time and fortune were on her side. The French were not quick to make the most of their advantages to begin with, and two important changes in the situation were favourable to Spain. In the first place, Louis was induced by the Treaty of Lyons (conferring Naples as a dowry upon two infants, Ferdinand's grandson Charles and his own daughter Claude) to withdraw the reinforcements which were in the act of joining his army in Naples. Secondly, the Spaniards gained command of the sea, which cut off French supplies. These two facts encouraged Spain to take the offensive in the war, with the result that the two important victories of Seminara and Cerignola made them masters respectively of Calabria and Apulia. The French retired to Gaeta ; and it was soon found that no fortress could hold out long against the skill of the famous Spanish engineer Pedro Navarra. In three weeks the French resistance would have been at an end, had not Louis sent a new army to Naples. It was, however, detained at Rome by Amboise, to add weight to his chances in the papal election. Again, therefore, the slowness of the French hampered their cause ; and they suffered even more than the Spanish army from lying long in a damp and cold position. They were hemmed in between Gaeta, their last foothold, and the River Garigliano, across which their way south was barred by Gonsalvo di Cordova. At last, just after Christmas, Gonsalvo himself crossed the river above the French position, and fell upon their army unexpectedly. The French discipline had been weak for some time—the Battle of the Garigliano was a mere rout. The French fled towards Gaeta, pursued by the

victorious enemy. Among the fugitives trying to escape by boat was Piero di Medici, who was upset and drowned. On New Year's Day, 1504, the French surrendered what territory was still left to them; and in the next year Louis made a wedding present of his rights over Naples to his niece, Germaine de Foix, on her marriage with Ferdinand.

The
Collapse
of the
French
Power
in Naples,
1504

The sudden reverse of fortune in the war is not difficult to explain. The Spaniards were always at an advantage in possessing Sicily as a base of supplies; and in Gonsalvo they had a matchless leader, equally at home in the arts of the Court and the arts of war. The Great Captain is the most splendid type of the Spanish soldier who thenceforth, for nearly a century and a half, was to teach the laws of war to Europe. But he served a jealous master; his invariable success roused Ferdinand's suspicions, and four years after his conquest of Naples he was dismissed from public life. The kingdom of Naples, his conquest, remained part of the Spanish monarchy until the division of the latter by the Treaty of Utrecht.

On the downfall of Cæsar Borgia, Venice had intended to become his heir in Romagna; and, having succeeded in gaining everything but Imola and Forli, was prepared to offer the Pope tribute. Julius II., however, as we have seen, was not only determined to recover all Romagna for the Holy See, but also to make the states of the Church the strong central power in Italy, holding the balance between France in the north and Spain in the south. As Venice was now the only Italian state able to dispute the Pope's intentions, Julius decided upon the ruin of Venice. This was, unfortunately, only too easy to accomplish, for the Republic had many enemies.

European
League
against
Venice
formed at
Cambray,
1508

Spain and France had become reconciled at the time of the marriage of Ferdinand with Germaine de Foix, and both Powers coveted Venetian territory—Spain wanted the Neapolitan ports to complete her conquest, and France Eastern Milan. The Emperor had claims on Padua, Verona, and Friuli, while the Pope desired Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna. Thus came into being the disgraceful compact known as the League of Cambray, whose members were nothing more than brigands of unusual eminence. Venice made ready to face her foes: hired the cautious Pitigliano and the fiery Alviano, and finding it difficult, as always, to raise troops, only attempted to defend Romagna, bar Maximilian's advance, and hold the Neapolitan ports with small garrisons, trusting to their natural strength. So the war broke out, a war whose consequences were to last for ten years,

Second
Italian
War,
1509-1519

France was first in the field, Louis XII. having had occasion to send troops in 1507 to punish a riot in Genoa. The French army encountered the Venetians on the Republic's frontier, and a battle was fought at Agnadello, or Vaila. It was a struggle between the Venetian rear under Alviano and the French vanguard. Pitigliano, in command of the Venetian van, for some reason never engaged his forces at all. The rain damped the powder, and a large part of the artillery fell into the enemy's hands. But the struggle was hot, ending in the capture of Alviano and the complete rout of his army.

Fall of the
Venetian
Republic

This defeat was the signal for the temporary break-up of the Venetian dominion. Cremona, Crema, and Bergamo were at once seized by the French, and the other greedy powers swooped upon their coveted prey. As Venice could no longer defend her subject cities, it was decided to release them from their allegiance; but a

brief experience of other masters soon made them appreciate the blessing of Venetian rule. Before long Padua was recovered from Maximilian, and an attempt on his part to reduce the city completely failed. He revenged himself by ravaging Friuli for more than a year, setting the inhabitants hopelessly against him. Meanwhile the Pope's views were changing. He had recovered Romagna for the Church, and had humbled Venice. As an Italian patriot he had no desire to see Italy overrun by the foreigner again. He therefore not only came to terms with Venice, but challenged the French, the most successful of the crew of bandits, by attacking the Duke of Ferrara, who had gone over from the League to their side. The capture of Ferrara proved a task beyond the Pope's powers; yet, in spite of old age and illness, his indomitable spirit carried him successfully at the head of his army through a bitter winter campaign against Mirandola. In the spring, however, the French retook Bologna, the earliest of the Pope's conquests, and the tide seemed to have turned in their favour until they took the ill-advised step of summoning a General Council at Pisa to depose the Pope. With this plan Europe, dreading a renewal of the schism, was not in sympathy, and the Pope triumphantly concluded the Holy League with Spain, England, Venice, and the Swiss to drive the French out of Italy. The French governor of Milan, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, closely related to both parties as the brother-in-law of Ferdinand and the nephew of Louis, was in command of the French army. The "wonderful lad," as a contemporary calls him—for he was only twenty-three—flashed through a brief three months' campaign with meteoric speed and splendour. Confronting a double foe—the Spaniards before Bologna

The Holy
League,
1511

and the Venetians within Brescia—he raised the siege of the first, and, after a march of extraordinary rapidity, stormed and sacked the second within the fortnight. Turning south, he drove the enemy from the neighbourhood of Bologna, and made ready to march on Rome and capture the Pope. The Spaniards lay at Ravenna, and Gaston, throwing a bridge of boats across the river in the night, determined to force them to battle before Maximilian and the Swiss could come into the field. Easter Sunday dawned blood-red, a sign, it was foretold, that one of the leaders must fall. Gaston trained the famous artillery of Ferrara on Cardona's position, which was defended by ditches, waggons mounted with scythes, and heavy guns. For three hours the cannonade lasted; then the opposing cavalry and infantry hurled themselves upon each other, and the furious onset of the French horse dislodged the troops of the League from their entrenched position and decided the day. Cardona fled; Pescara, Pedro Navarra, and the future Pope Leo X. were among the fine haul of prisoners taken by the French. It was a battle of picturesque contrasts: knights in armour; infantry fighting behind crossed spears; Gaston in coat of mail, with his lady's colours on his arm, directing the bloodiest battle yet fought in Italy, and wresting a victory by means of the most up-to-date artillery. The day was already won when, catching sight of a retreating band of Spaniards, he dashed with a handful of followers into their midst. He was unhorsed, and fought desperately on foot. "Spare him," shouted Lautrec to the unheeding Spaniards, "he is the brother of your queen." With fourteen wounds in front, Gaston fell. "I had rather have lost the battle," lamented Louis XII. when

the news reached him; and in truth the death of the brilliant young leader meant the loss, not indeed of the battle, but of the campaign. It was soon found that the Spaniards had no cause to summon the great captain from his retirement, for La Palice, who succeeded Gaston by seniority, had not Gaston's hold upon his troops. Besides, Maximilian, in the hope of winning Milan, chose this moment for deserting the League; while the Swiss, who had done Louis yeoman service in the past, now had fallen under the influence of the Bishop of Sion, the sworn foe of France. Only two months after the Battle of Ravenna the French army crossed the Mt. Cenis, leaving everything but a few castles in the enemy's hands. Machiavelli severely sums up the causes of this collapse as follows: "Louis increased the power of the Church, invited the Spaniards into Italy, and ruined Venice, his best friend."

Second
Downfall
of the
French in
Italy, 1512

The members of the League divided the spoil, of which the Pope secured the chief part. They then took in hand Florentine affairs, and demanded the retirement of the Life-Gonfalonier, Soderini, and the restoration of the Medici. The reluctance of the citizens to depose Soderini brought upon them the brutal sack, by the Spaniards, of Prato, a subject town a few miles away. Accordingly the Medici—that is, Piero's son Lorenzo, with his uncles—returned once more to Florence, and swept away all the changes that had taken place in the government since the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Among those who were driven from office was Machiavelli, who occupied himself in writing "The Prince" and other works.

Restora-
tion of the
Medici in
Florence,
1512

By a curious coincidence the Sforza family were restored at the same time to Milan by the Swiss, who

Restoration of the Sforza in Milan, 1512

carved out a fine reward for themselves in what are now the Italian cantons. Maximilian Sforza, Ludovico's son, reigned in his father's place, but as little more than a vassal of the Swiss, who, it was said, "came as deliverers and remained as masters," after repulsing a French attempt to rescue Milan in the furious Battle of Novara, 1513. Other members of the League were active elsewhere. Henry VIII. of England, anxious to make an impression upon Europe, carried out an invasion of Northern France at the moment when Ferdinand was lured from invading the south, by the chance of conquering Navarre. The Scots, the inveterate allies of the French, chose the opportunity to attack England, and suffered the great disaster of Flodden, just after Henry had driven the French from Guinegâte, in the Battle of the Spurs. However, before long, Henry and his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, convinced of the greed and worthlessness of their allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, came to terms independently with the French. Henry's young sister Mary, much against her will, became the third wife of Louis XII. But, through keeping late hours, and sharing in the unwonted gaiety of the Court, the elderly bridegroom overtaxed his strength, and died three months after the wedding, leaving his kingdom to his hot-headed and ambitious cousin and son-in-law. Francis of Augoulême, aged twenty. The new King was bent on losing no time in enforcing his claims (as a descendant of Valentina Visconti) upon Milan; and, at the time of his accession, the champion and originator of the Holy League had already passed away. Julius II. died in 1513, having secured for the Papal States (thereby earning the title of their founder) the Campagna, the March of Ancona, Urbino, Romagna, Modena,

Accession of Francis I., 1515-1547

Parma, and Piacenza. In the leisure of his strenuous old age the Pope gained another title to fame, as the patron of Bramante, Michelangelo, and Raphael; and, with masterly insight, Raphael presents him to us in one of his finest portraits. In his scheme to rid Italy of the foreigner, the Pope had, however, signally failed, as the invasion of Italy by Francis I. was soon to prove beyond a doubt.

The election of the successor of Julius astonished everyone; for the choice fell upon Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, who was not yet forty. To have shared in the changing fortunes of his family seemed to him enough excitement for a lifetime, and he was prepared to settle down, as Leo X., to an uneventful reign in Rome. "Since God has given us the Papacy," he is reported to have said, "let us enjoy it." Circumstances demanded, however, that he should at once declare himself for or against the coming French invasion, and, to save unpleasantness, he joined the French and the League against them in turn. To avoid the Swiss, Francis crossed the Alps in 1515 by the difficult pass of the Col d'Argentière, leading the largest army that France had yet sent to Italy. As Swiss infantry were no longer available, their place was supplied by Germans, and forces raised by Pedro Navarra, who had been driven into the arms of the French by Ferdinand's mean refusal to ransom him after the Battle of Ravenna. Maximilian Sforza's defenders, the Swiss, were unfortunately divided against themselves; one party, led by Berne and Fribourg, being ready to retire, while the men of the Forest cantons were lured to battle by the prospect of booty. Finally, preceded by the Cardinal of Sion, and dragging with them some small

Leo X.,
Pope,
1513-1521

Francis I.
sets out to
reconquer
Milan, 1515

Battle of
Marig-
nano, 1515

pieces of artillery, the whole body of the Swiss marched out of Milan to encounter the French army, encamped near Marignano on ground that was intersected by ditches and small canals. Francis lined with his German Landsknechts the causeway by which the Swiss must approach, and stationed Navarra with the big guns in a strong position close by. The Swiss, hoping to carry the day by furious charges of the kind which have played so large a part in our own Highland warfare, hurled themselves upon their sworn foes the Landsknechts. The situation was saved by the King in person, who led a brilliant cavalry charge to rescue his guns from falling into the hands of the Swiss. They fought on confusedly till the setting of the moon, about eleven o'clock, plunged the field in darkness, when they lay down to rest where they stood. All night long, however, the French trumpets and the Swiss horns sounded, indicating re-formation of the troops, and at dawn the French appeared in a stronger position than before. In three divisions the Swiss advanced upon the French centre and wings; but they failed to dislodge the main body of the enemy. The cry of San Marco! announced the arrival of the Venetian vanguard under Alviano, and, being caught in the flank by the French artillery, the Swiss gave the signal for retreat, carrying with them their wounded, and leaving seven thousand dead upon the field. The defeat was a mortal blow to their military reputation; never again were they to play an independent and decisive part in European warfare. The causes of the sudden downfall of this hitherto invincible infantry are not far to seek. "Their only idea of fighting," said Machiavelli, "is to receive the enemy on their pike points." Their victories were in truth soldiers' battles,

and their want of generalship and prejudice against the use of artillery in the face of modern military methods rendered even their valour of no avail.

The French losses at Marignano were also heavy. Trivulzio, whose eighteenth big engagement this was, pronounced it "a battle of giants, in comparison with which all the others were child's play." Francis had covered himself with glory, and on the scene of victory received the honour of knighthood from Bayard, the knight "without fear, without reproach." Milan opened its gates to the conqueror, and Maximilian Sforza, surrendering all his claims to Francis, retired contentedly into private life in France. Leo X. hastened to come to terms. Francis took the Florentine Republic under his protection, promising to support the Medici. The Pope gave up Parma and Piacenza to Milan, but skilfully dissuaded Francis from carrying out his intention of conquering Naples, a fief, it will be remembered, of the Holy See. The King and Pope, being made friends, proceeded to destroy the liberties which the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges had confirmed to the French Church. Henceforth, by the Concordat of 1516, the King dispensed all the patronage of the Sees and monastic communities, while the Pope confirmed the royal appointments in return for the restoration of First Fruits to the Holy See. In every sense the French Church ceased to be the national guardian of liberties.

These proceedings of Francis in Italy had alarmed Ferdinand, who hoped to make his grandson and heir, Charles, a match for the French by bequeathing to him the entire Spanish monarchy. The young King upon his accession concluded the Treaty of Noyon with France. The French were to keep Milan, the Spaniards Naples.

Third
French
Conquest
of Milan,
1515

Venice, the only ally of France, recovered Verona from the Emperor, who accepted the Treaty a little later. All the possessions of which the Republic had been robbed by the League of Cambray were now restored to her. The Swiss and the English also came to terms with France, the former concluding at Fribourg an everlasting peace, which actually outlived the French monarchy. The English surrendered their recent capture, Tournay, Thus the year 1518 saw general peace in Europe, and even a fantastic scheme of union between the Western powers against the Turk: it was at least to prove a welcome breathing-space, between two long and weary periods of war.

General
European
Peace, 1518

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

VILLARI : Life of Savonarola.

„ Machiavelli.

RANKE : Latin and Teutonic Nations.

A. H. JOHNSON : Europe in the Sixteenth Century.

CHAPTER VI

THE RIVALRY OF CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I.

THE general European peace of 1518 left Francis I. at the height of his fame. Success fired his ambition into disastrous rivalry with Charles, a rivalry which the character and position of each made almost inevitable. Francis was the elder—dashing, irresponsible, frivolous, and vain of his military reputation. Charles was as yet an inexperienced boy, but serious, persevering, and much more resolute than Francis to become the first sovereign in Europe in war and peace. And wherever their dominions lay their interests clashed. To the little kingdom of Navarre Francis was ready to assert the claims of his kinsman D'Albret, who, it will be remembered, had been driven out by Ferdinand the Catholic. In Italy the two kings disputed the right to both Milan and Naples. Charles already represented the Aragonese claims to Naples, and on his election to the Empire revived the Imperial claim to Milan; while Francis was heir to the House of Orleans in Milan and to the House of Anjou in Naples. Charles was actually in possession of Naples, and Francis of Milan; and each coveted the other's landmark.

Causes of
Rivalry
between
Charles V.
and
Francis I.

It has been said that at first "the centre of gravity of Charles's policy was neither German, nor even Spanish, but Burgundian." He aimed, in fact, at recovering the Duchy of Burgundy and the Somme

towns which had been torn from the Duchess Mary, his grandmother, by Louis XI. On the other hand, Francis regarded Flanders and Artois as French fiefs, and Charles in return pretended to consider Provence and Dauphiné imperial fiefs. And, as if here were not enough cause for hostility, there was added the stimulus of the contest for the Imperial crown at Maximilian's death in 1519. The election was keenly contested by the two chief candidates, Charles and Francis, for Henry VIII. soon withdrew. In favour of Francis was his military reputation, pointing him out as the coming champion of Europe against the Turk; the support of the Pope and the Electors on the Rhine; and his position as leader of the independent states of Europe against those united under the Austro-Spanish House. But Charles was a German and a Habsburg, and his family had now worn the Imperial crown for eighty-one years in succession. The Elector Frederick of Saxony declared for him after declining the crown for himself, and the famous knight Franz von Sickingen, at the head of forces of the Swabian League, was prepared to draw the sword for Charles. Money was poured out like water on both sides, but eventually the contest was decided by German feeling in Charles' favour. On his election in June 1519 he took the title, not of the King of the Romans, but of Emperor Elect. The ceremony over, Charles and Francis both set themselves to secure Henry VIII. as an ally. Henry received the Emperor at Canterbury, paraded himself with Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and on his return journey met Charles again at Gravelines, when, no doubt, they came to an understanding. The Pope, who had been wavering between the rival attractions of Charles and Francis as allies,

Contest
for the
Imperial
Crown
Election of
Charles V.,
1519

decided that Charles had most to give, since he might restore Parma and Piacenza to the Holy See, expel the French from Milan, replace Francesco Sforza on the throne, and unite with the Pope in crushing the Reform movement under Luther in Germany. In 1522 war broke out between Charles and Francis. It was fated to last until 1559, and the first of its five periods ends in 1525 with the Battle of Pavia. The two opening campaigns in Navarre and the Netherlands were uneventful, except for the wound received by Ignatius Loyola at the Siege of Pampeluna, which was destined to become the turning-point in his career.

First War
between
Charles
and Fran-
cis, 1522-
1525

The real business of the war began, as usual, in Italy, where the combined papal and Imperial forces drove the French army under Lautrec out of Milan, repulsing an attempt on his part to regain it by a crushing defeat at Bicocca. Francesco Sforza was duly restored in the duchy, and the delight of Leo X. at recovering Parma and Piacenza was so unbounded that he is said to have died from joy. The only purpose of his life had been artistic, and he is chiefly to be remembered for his patronage of men of genius and learning, notably of Raphael. Easy-going towards himself and others, he was so blind to realities that the great religious crisis to which Germany was hastening scarcely even caused him uneasiness.

Death of
Leo X.,
1521
Election
of Adrian
VI.

The Conclave passed over Wolsey for Charles V.'s Flemish tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, who had proved himself unequal to his position as Regent of Spain. Austere, pious, earnest, and totally without artistic sympathies, he was the greatest contrast to his Medici predecessor. But Adrian VI. failed to satisfy one single section of the Roman community, and a placard posted

Clement
VII.,
1523-1534

on his doctor's door at the time of the Pope's death in 1523 expressed the thanks of the Senate and people of Rome for their country's deliverance. Henry VIII. (on behalf of Wolsey) and Charles were keenly interested in the next election, but feeling was strongly against a foreigner; and Giulio di Medici, whose father Giuliano had fallen in the Pazzi Conspiracy, was easily elected, with the title of Clement VII. Much was hoped from the new Pope: his life was respectable and his views moderate. His ecclesiastical career had been generally successful, and he was in sympathy with the artistic tastes of the time. Unfortunately, as Pope, he proved neither independent nor decided: he was swayed alternately by his two confidants, one of whom was attached to the Emperor's interests, the other to those of Francis. Such a policy was certain to end in treachery to one or other party, and, as will be seen, to expose the Pope to extreme humiliation and disaster.

The campaign in Italy, it will be remembered, opened badly for the French, and events in France also turned to the Emperor's advantage. Charles of Montpensier, the greatest subject of Francis, had been estranged from the Court by claims which the King and his mother Louise of Savoy asserted to his great inheritance. Louis XII. had allowed the Bourbon lands to pass to Suzanne of Bourbon when the male line had failed, and on her marriage with Charles of Montpensier her husband took the title of Duke of Bourbon. When, however, Suzanne died childless in 1521, Francis and Louise respectively asserted the royal rights and the claims of next-of-kin to the great Bourbon estates. Whereupon the Duke of Bourbon offered his services to the Emperor, and escaped into Burgundy. Francis was detained at home by this

misfortune; and the army led by Bonnivet into Italy was soon forced to retreat, under the conduct of Bayard, his second in command. At his post of danger, protecting the vanguard, Bayard was mortally wounded, though he succeeded in conveying his troops safely out of Italy.

Excited by their recent success, the Imperialists under Bourbon and Pescara invaded Provence and besieged Marseilles. The town, however, had been put into a good state of defence, and nothing was achieved. The Imperialists retreated into Italy with Francis hard upon their heels. The two armies reached Milan almost together, and the disheartened Imperial troops, feeling unequal to a pitched battle, after abandoning Milan itself, threw a garrison under de Leyva into Pavia. The position of things looked hopeful for Francis; but he made two bad blunders in refraining from a prompt attack on the disorganised enemy and in detaching part of his troops for service in Naples. He then turned aside and blockaded Pavia, and in January 1525 the Imperial army, having recovered itself, arrived to attack the besiegers. A third interested party was the Pope, who, convinced of the probable success of Francis, had thrown over his alliance with Charles for a secret understanding with France. The dawn of February 24th, 1525 (the Emperor's twenty-fifth birthday), broke clear and cold upon the Imperialist army breaching the park walls of Mirabello, once the scene of the light-hearted gaities of the Milanese Court, and now occupied by the French entrenchments. The attempt of the Imperialists to file past the enemy, and to join hands with De Leyva and the garrison in Milan, was frustrated by the deadly fire of the French artillery, and the former were forced into a direct attack. From that moment the battle was so

Overthrow
of Francis
I. at the
Battle of
Pavia, 1525

fierce and so confused that accounts of it are difficult to reconcile. The shock of the French cavalry charge led by Francis was so overwhelming that the King cried out, "To-day I will call myself Duke of Milan!" But Pescara coolly re-formed his troops: the Landsknechts in French pay, who formed the right wing, were mown down by a merciless fire, and the centre met with a like fate from the deadly accuracy of the Spanish arquebusiers. The Swiss, surrounded on all sides, gave way and fled. Francis, supported by the flower of his chivalry, desperate with the resolution of men "who will not retreat nor surrender nor survive disaster," flung himself upon the enemy's cavalry and arquebusiers. Pescara was now in touch with de Leyva from Pavia, and he rallied his generals round him for a final effort. Amid the devastation of the royal bodyguard, the King's horse fell under him, and, angrily declining to surrender to Bourbon, Francis I. yielded his sword to the Viceroy of Naples. Ten thousand French soldiers lay dead upon the field: among them heroes of every fight upon Italian soil during a quarter of a century. "All is lost save life and honour," wrote Francis to his mother; and indeed the enthusiasm for their captive shown by the victorious soldiers is witness to the valour displayed by the King on that fatal day.

With great composure Charles received in Spain the news of this astonishing victory. It seemed as if Europe lay at his feet; yet its results were very far from fulfilling expectations. Henry VIII. urged Charles to join him in invading France, proposing that the Emperor should wed his daughter Mary and succeed to the French throne. Charles offended Henry by declining the offer, and Wolsey had already a grudge against

the Emperor for failing to secure him the Papacy at either of the last two elections. A French alliance was not generally popular in England; but to redress the European balance it had become necessary, though it was not definitely concluded until 1527.

Alliance
between
France and
England,
1527

Meanwhile Charles was irresolute as to the terms he should impose, and Francis was removed to Spain to await his pleasure. Captivity and loss of his accustomed exercise preyed upon Francis' health, until Charles suddenly realised that there was danger of his prisoner slipping through his fingers. News from Italy hastened his decision: fear of the Emperor's supremacy had driven the Pope and the leading states to support the French: the Imperialist army was clamouring for pay. From his best general, Pescara, sick unto death, came a last message urging Charles to make peace with France if he hoped to save Italy. The outcome of these considerations was the Treaty of Madrid, 1526.

1. Francis agreed to surrender Burgundy, his feudal rights over Flanders and Artois, and all Italian claims, and to abandon his late allies, notably D'Albret and the Duke of Gelderland.
2. The Duke of Bourbon was to recover his wife's inheritance.
3. Charles's sister Eleanor, the widowed Queen of Portugal, was to marry Francis.
4. The two little sons of Francis were to remain in Spain as hostages until the treaty should be fulfilled.

Francis swore upon the Gospels and on his knightly word to fulfil it; but in his own, and contemporary, opinion he was, as soon as free, absolved from his promise on the ground of compulsion. He at once declared against the treaty, and joined the League of Cognac with the Pope, Florence, Venice, and Sforza, to drive Charles from Italy. The second period of the Italian

Second
Period of
the War,
1525-1529

war consequently began; the League however showed itself lukewarm in waging it. The Imperialists captured the fortress of Milan and expelled Sforza. The arrival of 6000 Spanish troops and 8000 Germans, mostly Lutherans, under Freundsberg, a declared enemy of the Pope, fulfilled an unusually candid prophesy of the Emperor's before the Battle of Pavia. "I shall go to Italy to obtain my own and to take my revenge on those who may have wronged me—especially on that villain Pope. Who knows but that some day Luther may become a man of value?" It must not be supposed, however, that Charles foresaw what actually occurred. Yet while the Pope showed himself irritatingly irresolute, the German and Spanish troops were pressing with ever greater insistence for their arrears of pay. At Milan the two armies united, and were soon manifestly out of hand. They demanded to be led to Rome; in the heat of argument Freundsberg was seized with apoplexy, and Bourbon resigned himself to circumstances. The mutinous forces marched on Rome, and at the second assault the city was at their mercy. Bourbon was shot in the act of scaling the walls; and his death left his starving and utterly uncontrolled troops face to face with the undefended wealth and treasures of the Eternal City. The horrors of the eight-days' sack that followed exceeded all the outrages Rome had ever suffered from Gaul or Vandal. About 4000 people perished in the capture. "Cardinals," writes a witness, "bishops, friars, priests, old nuns, infants, ladies, pages, servants, the poorest of the poor, were tormented with unheard-of cruelties, often three times over, first by the Italians, then by the Spaniards, afterwards by the lance-knights." The Spanish soldiers showed themselves most brutal and

Sack of
Rome by
the Im-
perialists,
1527

cunning in hiding their plunder; the Germans were the most irreligious and prodigal of their booty; the Italians the most refined in their cruelty. Arrayed in vestments of silk and brocade, the mad soldiery robbed and feasted; stabling their beasts in the churches, tearing nuns from the shelter of their convents, holding the richest cardinals to ransom, and exacting payment by torture. It was nine months before the Prince of Orange, who had nominally succeeded Bourbon, dared to take up his command.

The Pope escaped, not a moment too soon, from the Vatican to the impregnable fortress of St Angelo: and, as all help from the League failed, he was obliged to come to terms with Charles. He was chiefly distressed by tidings from Florence of the expulsion of his family, and the restoration of the Republic.

Second
Expulsion
of the
Medici
from Flor-
ence, 1527

The news of the sack of Rome was received with universal horror in Europe. That the armies of the Catholic king should ruin and plunder the capital of Christendom caused a revulsion of feeling against Charles, which had practical results. Henry VIII. openly declared for France. Lautrec set out with a new French army to reconquer Milan, and was presently master of all the Duchy but the capital, still held by the dauntless de Leyva. Andrea Doria, the great Genoese admiral, who was, as it has been well said, "in himself almost a European power," joined France, and set up in Genoa the party favourable to her cause.

The war between Charles and Francis broke out again in 1528, the two rulers exchanging a challenge to single combat, which was not, however, followed up. The Imperialist position in Italy rapidly became alarming. Practically all that remained to Charles was the two

capitals—Milan, and its starving garrison, held by de Leyva, and Naples, held by Orange and blockaded by Doria's fleet and Lautrec's army. Charles was at his wits' end for succour; he had no money; and his brother Ferdinand, who had so often proved his right hand in difficulties, had been elected to the Hungarian throne on the downfall of the Jagellon family on the fatal field of Mohacz, in 1526. The new king was defending his throne against a formidable rival, John Zapolya; and his kingdom against the advance of Solyman the Magnificent, the conqueror of Mohacz Field.

Yet, as once before, light dawned for the Imperialists when all seemed darkest. Francis offended Doria, by haggling over money matters, and by encouraging, at Genoa's expense, the commercial aspirations of Savona, a neighbouring port. The admiral offered his services to Charles at the price of the freedom and independence of the Genoese Republic, and the offer was accepted. Suddenly the Genoese squadrons off Naples hoisted the Imperial colours, provisions were thrown into the town, and the French army was forced to raise the siege. In the north, Genoa now lay as a barrier on the direct route between France and Italy. The armies of the League made a last effort to take Milan; but were beaten by de Leyva at the small but very decisive Battle of Landriano.

Both parties ardently desired peace: and as Charles and Francis, since the affair of the duel, were not on speaking terms, the negotiations were entrusted to Charles's aunt, Margaret, ruler of the Netherlands, and Louise, the mother of Francis. The result was the Peace of Cambray, also known as "The Ladies' Peace."

It was a repetition of the Treaty of Madrid, with two differences: the immediate cession of Burgundy to Charles was no longer insisted upon; and the little princes were to be redeemed from captivity by a money payment. Francis and Eleanor proceeded to celebrate their marriage.

The Peace
of Cam-
bray, 1529

Eight years of warfare had left Spain unquestioned ruler of Italy. Milan and Naples were under her direct government. The Pope and Florence were, in a sense, subject allies. Charles visited Italy for the first time in 1529, to view his new possessions, and to receive the iron crown of Italy and the Imperial crown of Rome at the Pope's hands. The ceremony, however, took place at Bologna, for the pressure of German events did not allow time for a journey to Rome. This, the last Italian coronation of a Roman Emperor, was a military pageant, conspicuous by the presence of Imperialist soldiers of three nations, and of the hero of the Milanese defence, old, gouty, valiant de Leyva.

Charles received the homage of Sforza for Milan, and yielded to the Pope's demand for the restoration of his family in Florence. As the Florentines declined to have the Medici on any terms, even as private citizens, the city underwent, at the hands of the Prince of Orange, a ten-months' siege. It was fortified by Michelangelo, and heroically defended by Machiavelli's militia, Orange was killed during the siege; but Florence was obliged to surrender, and accept as ruler the worthless Alessandro di Medici, the Pope's cousin, who was married to Margaret, an illegitimate daughter of Charles.

The Siege
of Florence

Second
Medici
Restora-
tion, 1530

It must be admitted that the fortune of war had favoured Charles; but his success was due also to his

own dogged persistence, and to the great ability of those who served him. His generals invariably rose to the occasion, and the soldiers caught something of the spirit of their leaders. Francis had no such commanders as Pescara, de Leyva, Lannoy, Bourbon, and Orange had proved themselves. He had, moreover, an unfortunate knack of offending powerful supporters at a critical moment. And though he was not harassed, as Charles was, by eternal want of pence, his lack of steady purpose must have influenced others, and must have told in the end upon the issue of the war.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION

RENAISSANCE and Reformation are words commonly enough used, but a clear understanding is needed of their meaning in relation to each other. They were alike the outcome of the spirit of intellectual activity that quickened Europe in the fifteenth century. This new spirit first made itself felt in Italy; and across the ages it communicated with, and became mastered by, the kindred spirit of Greek civilisation. So, for the most part, the Italian Renaissance was pagan, classical, and artistic. By the failure of Savonarola's movement we can measure the slight extent of religious revival in Italy.

Meaning of
the Renaissance and
Reformation

Upon the German mind this spirit of enquiry had a different effect. Italian civilisation was older than Christianity, but to the Teutonic world civilisation had come through Christianity. Though the German mind was slower, it was more earnest and religious than the Italian. When, therefore, later than in Italy, the spirit of inquiry took hold upon it, and, as in Italy, stirred it to its depths, it was not pagan but Christian thought, as expressed by the Fathers of the Church, that came uppermost. So we understand the important part played by the theology of St Augustine in the German Reformation. In Italy criticism applied itself to literature and the arts: in Germany to religion. We may take the great

scholar Erasmus, whose translation of the New Testament into Latin appeared in 1516, as typical of the Renaissance movement in Germany. He was linked to it by his learning, and to the Reformation by his sympathies; though he was too broad-minded, and perhaps also too timid, to make a Reformer.

The new intellectual movement in Germany took a religious form for several other reasons. The close connection between the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire had made Germany the greatest sufferer from the exactions and tyranny of the Holy See. With the rise of the state system in the empire the all-embracing papal authority was irreconcilable; and the great variety of the states made it almost certain that somewhere among them the Reform doctrines would take root. In every way Germany was prepared by her past to be the leader of a revolt which should be at once religious², national³, and social^{1a}. The doctrine of Justification by Faith, the financial burden of indulgences, and the shortcomings of the clergy, combined to produce the religious movement; the condition of the peasants caused a social insurrection, and papal interference with justice³ and taxation had to answer for the national movement² led by the princes. The hour produced the man—and the man was Martin Luther.

Effects of
the Re-
formation
upon
Govern-
ments

In mediæval Christendom Church and State were so closely bound up together that acceptance of the Reformation by an individual meant also a revolt against the State while its acceptance by a state meant revolt from the European system. Thus England, Denmark and Sweden following the lead of their kings, put themselves outside the pale of the general community, and in these countries the movement was favourable to the monarchy. In



English Miles
100
50
0

- Hapsburg
- Austrian
- Wettin
- Albertine
- Spanish
- Ernestine
- Hohenzollern
- Brandenburg Line
- Wittelsbach
- Bavarian
- Palatine
- Imperial Lands
- Imperial Cities
- Oldenburg
- Denmark-Schleswig-Holstein
- Boundary of the Empire

Germany, after a weary struggle, it was settled in favour of the princes and nobles as against the monarchy, and the same nearly happened in the strife between the Scots Lords of the Congregation and their sovereign. In France, however, Calvinism allied itself at different times with aristocratic and republican movements against the crown. In Holland it upset one monarchy and set up another, and in certain German states it took the part of monarchy against republicanism. Whether for a nation or an individual, acceptance of the Reformation at first meant isolation; and self-chosen isolation generally means some degree of courage. And among Luther's many gifts, courage was perhaps the greatest.

Martin
Luther,
1483-1546

He was the son of a Thuringian miner, and born at Eisleben in 1483. His parents were simple, pious people, who brought up their children strictly. The boy, Martin, was intended to be a lawyer, but in the midst of his studies at Erfurt religious doubt and despair drove him suddenly into the Augustinian convent. There he at last found conviction and peace in the study of the Bible and the writings of St Augustine, particularly in the doctrine that men are justified in God's sight not by works, but by simple faith.

The Elector of Saxony, anxious to secure the best teachers for his new university of Wittenberg, appointed Luther Professor of Theology. Before taking up his duties he paid a visit to Rome, which revealed to him the true state of affairs in the capital of Christendom. Through his success in lecturing and preaching, Luther had already become a force in Wittenberg, when, in 1517, a monk named Tetzl came round selling indulgences in aid of the building fund of the new St Peter's at Rome. The practice of the Church allowed indulgences

to be obtained as from a kind of spiritual bank, in which were accumulated the good works of all the faithful. The shortcomings of sinners could be made good by drawing, with the Pope's authority, upon this inexhaustible treasury, in return for some act of penitence. By degrees, however, money payments took the place of these penances, and the system became at last a recognised means of raising funds for any ecclesiastical object. In Tetzel's hands this doctrine of indulgences became a mere matter of commercial dealing; and Luther's wrath was aroused by the error that was being sown among his flock.

On All Saints' Day, 1517, he nailed to the door of the University Church ninety-five theses or headings on the subject of indulgences, challenging Tetzel to a discussion. With this famous act began the first stage in the Reformation.

Luther's
Ninety-five
Theses,
1517

Leo X. appointed Dr Eck to meet Luther at Leipzig. The discussion was chiefly important in arousing interest in Luther, and, encouraged by the sympathy of his countrymen, he published a series of pamphlets, in one of which he appealed to the Christian nobility of the German nation to rally together against Rome. Thus Luther advanced rapidly from his original attack on indulgences to a position from which he proceeded to reject the authority of the Pope, and finally even the doctrine of the Roman Church. Leo X., who had been at first inclined to make little of the German movement, was roused at last to publish a Bull of Excommunication against the truculent Reformer. Luther's reply was an act of open defiance. He publicly burned the Bull at Wittenberg. Intense national feeling stirred Germany to the depths: all eyes were turned to the new Emperor,

Luther
burns the
Papal Bull,
1520

who in the midst of this mighty agitation was about to make his first appearance in the country, neither understanding nor sympathising with its vital needs, its hopes and fears. The Pope urged Charles to publish the Ban of the Empire against Luther, and, though inclined to condemn him unheard, the Emperor gave way to the force of public opinion, and summoned the Reformer to Worms.

The Diet
of Worms,

At that famous Diet the fate of Germany, it is not too much to say, hung in the balance. Here were problems religious, constitutional, social and economic, foreign and political, awaiting solution; and first in importance and difficulty was the religious problem.

Luther's journey to Worms had been as that of a hero, conquering and to conquer; but when first confronted with the Emperor and princes, nervousness made him appear ineffective. "This man will never make a heretic of me!" said Charles. In reply to the question whether he would retract the opinions expressed in his writings, he asked for time to consider his answer. On the next evening it was ready. In plain and vigorous terms Luther boldly declared himself unable to recant unless convinced by Scripture or clear argument. Against conscience he could not act. The audience was over. As he left the hall Luther lifted his hand, the signal of a Landsknecht who had delivered a telling stroke.

Next morning Charles read to the princes his decision to stake upon this cause "all his dominions, his friends, his body and blood, his life and soul." Proceedings against Luther must no longer be delayed, and he was ordered to quit Worms at once. He left the city amid the profound sympathy of Germany, and a fortnight later, before his safe-conduct had expired, he mysteriously

disappeared. By the order of the Elector of Saxony he was carried off by an armed band to the Wartburg, where he could follow events in safety, working at his translation of the Bible till the danger was over.

The Emperor's decision reads like his honest and unalterable conviction, and in face of it it is difficult to condemn him for failing to rise to the height of his great opportunity to unite Germany in a national movement. If it be granted that Charles was an orthodox and devout Catholic, it is still impossible to deny that time and again he allowed political considerations to outweigh his religious principles. At the Diet of Worms itself his eagerness to condemn Luther was due to his desire to secure the alliance of the Pope in the coming war with France. The attitude of Charles to the whole course of the German Reformation was determined by political events unconnected with religion, for stronger even than his zeal for Holy Church was his hostility to his rival Francis. Whichever side Charles had adopted, he could not expect the unanimous support of his subjects in religion; but had he identified himself with the national—and larger—party, at least he would have avoided the danger of falling between them both. The Catholics would have upheld an attempt to reform the abuses of Rome and of the clergy; the Protestants would not have been driven by relentless opposition into a more extreme position of reform. A review of Charles's dealings with his later Diets leads to the conclusion that at Worms he sacrificed an opportunity—how great a one he was perhaps ignorant—not to his unalterable belief, but to temporary advantage.

Charles V.
and the
German
Reforma-
tion

In comparison with the religious question the other business of the Diet flagged in interest, but one or two

Reforms of
the Diet

points must be noticed. The Council of Regency, which had broken down under Maximilian, was restored. It was to consist of a president, four delegates of the Emperor's choosing, and seventeen sent by the Electors and Circles of the Empire, and to deal with general business, and the question of alliances in particular, during the Emperor's absence. The Imperial Chamber, under the Council's supervision, was revived as the supreme judicial court, representing all interests but those of the towns. A general tax was voted, but the principle of the common penny, levied on every individual, was abandoned in favour of the matricula roll, on which each state was rated according to its own resources.

Charles gave up to Ferdinand the South Austrian provinces of Austria, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to which were added later the Swabian and Alsatian territories and Würtemberg. This was the origin of the later division of the Habsburg Empire between the Spanish and German branches of the family.

The Edict of Worms, issued by the Diet against Luther, was followed by two social outbreaks in Germany. They were not directly caused by the Reformation, but the Reformation brought all their forces up to fighting point. They were the Knights' War and the Peasants' Revolt.

The Knights' War followed hard upon the crushing blow dealt by the Diet of Worms to the hopes of political and religious reform. Its leaders were Franz von Sickingen, a recent supporter of Charles at his election, the typical German knight of the age, "an enemy of the peaceful life," and his friend Ulrich von Hutten, the trenchant champion of Humanism. The war itself grew out of a little preliminary feud between

von Sickingen and the Archbishop of Treves, round whom the lay and ecclesiastical princes rallied when the struggle became general in the district. Sickingen's castles of Ebernburg and Landstuhl, on the Rhine, crumbled beneath the fire of the enemy's artillery, and their master fell mortally wounded at Landstuhl. Hutten fled to Switzerland, to perish sadly a few months later.

The Princes used to the full this opportunity of trampling out the resistance of their ancient foes the Knights; and with the Knights, self-condemned for its failure to keep the peace, fell the Council of Regency, and the last hope of setting up a representative national government.

The heralds of the approaching social revolution were a band of popular preachers, the Prophets of Zwickau, who took up their abode at Wittenberg. Rumours of their extravagances reached Luther in the Wartburg, and he left his retreat to silence and disperse them. Soon, however, they won even greater notoriety as travelling preachers, wandering far into South Germany, and preparing the minds of the peasants for revolt, as the Wiclifite priests had done in England before the rising of 1381.

The outbreak began in Swabia in the autumn of 1524, on the estate of a certain count, who compelled his serfs on a holiday to gather snail shells on which to wind the Countess's wool. Everywhere the ecclesiastical lords especially were attacked. The peasants drew up the celebrated Twelve Articles, supported by Scriptural references, and bearing mainly upon the abolition of serfdom, the lords' rights of the chase, of fishing, and of enclosure, arbitrary punishments, and increase of dues. It must be

The
Peasants'
Revolt,
1524-1525

remembered that the peasants were entirely unrepresented and without constitutional means of expressing their very real grievances. Though not bent on using violence, they were driven to it by the utter indifference displayed by their lords to their reasonable demands.

The Swabian League at once joined hands with the nobles to crush the insolent serfs. Two bloody battles on the Algau and on the Danube brought the Swabian rebellion to an end. But the movement had already spread north to the Neckar, where the hasty action of the serfs in putting to death their lord, the Count of Helfenstein, drew down upon them a terrible vengeance. In savage cruelty there was nothing to choose between lords and serfs.

In Franconia the rising, under Goetz von Berlichingen, the robber knight, was strongly political in character, and actually aimed at strengthening the monarchy on a democratic basis. In Thuringia, on the other hand, where the leading spirit was Münzer, one of the Prophets of Zwickau, religious fanaticism was the chief feature, and, under the rule of saints, most excessive doctrines were put into practice. After the Battle of Frankenhäusen, in which 5000 of his followers were slain, the Prophet was executed, and the revolt, which had spread over nearly all Germany save the north, was stamped out with the utmost rigour at a cost of about 100,000 peasant lives. The general result was to make harder the already hard lot of the peasants, and to delay their emancipation till the middle of the nineteenth century. Lack of able leaders, of united action and discipline, and, above all, the declared hostility of Luther and his party to the movement, were the chief causes of its failure. The insurgents had laid great stress on the

oppression of the lower classes, thereby encouraging the growth of democratic ideas ; but Luther saw clearly that the whole future of Protestantism was doomed if it once became associated with disorder, and he hounded on the nobles in suppressing the outbreak. From this time forth he learnt to rely on the support of the princes rather than on the national enthusiasm that had surrounded him at Worms.

It has been said that in his attitude to the progress of reform in Germany, Charles allowed himself to be influenced by foreign policy—in fact, the embarrassments arising out of his relations with Francis and with the Pope were the strongest allies of the Protestant cause. To the Pope, as an Italian power, fell the task of holding the balance between France and the Empire, while as a spiritual power his main object was to defeat the plan of a General Council with which Charles proposed from time to time to settle religious difficulties in Germany. In the Italian wars, when Charles seemed on the brink of disaster he was often in reality nearest to victory: the reverse is true of his experience in Germany—indeed, an Italian victory sometimes wrought failure in Germany. Thus, after the Battle of Pavia, when the fate of the Reformation seemed at his mercy, followed the League of Cognac, which drove Charles to consent to the decrees of the First Diet of Spire, the first measure of toleration that the Reformers received. It established a temporary settlement in the spirit of the famous compromise, “Cuius regio, eius religio,” which finally closed the struggle at Augsburg—in other words, it left to each prince the power to decide the religion of his own subjects.

Effect of
Foreign
Affairs
on the
German
Reforma-
tion

First Diet
of Spire,
1526

A few years of success for Charles in Italy resulted

League of
Schmal-
kalde, 1531

in the upsetting of this decision at the Second Diet of Spires, 1529, and the re-enactment of the Edict of Worms. This was followed by the formal "Protest" of the Reform party, the rejection by Charles of the statement of the "Protestant" doctrines as drawn up by Melanchthon in the Confession of Augsburg, and the formation of the armed league of Schmalkalde by the Protestant princes and cities. But the Turks were threatening Vienna, and to use force against the Reform party was out of the question. Indeed, the Protestant princes hailed this chance of showing that Protestantism was no enemy of Patriotism; and even if gratitude for their timely aid had not prevented the Emperor from taking action against them, his absorption in the difficult business of Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans had the same effect. At the Peace of Nuremberg it was decreed that no persecution should be permitted until a General Council had been assembled, and all processes against Protestants in the lately revived Imperial Chamber should be stopped. This arrangement the Emperor regarded as merely temporary; but since the first Diet of Spires, Luther's Bible and hymns had been largely adopted, Protestant doctrines taught in the schools, and monastic revenues used for the endowment of Lutheran churches and of education; and the Protestants expected some recognition of their position. At this point Charles was called away from Germany by Italian and Spanish affairs, and reform went steadily forward, invading South Germany with the restoration of Ulrich of Württemberg to his duchy. The duke had previously been expelled, had become a Protestant, and was reinstated by the League of Schmalkalde, with the sanction of Ferdinand, whose attention was urgently claimed for the defence of

Hungary against the Turks. Not long after, changes in the ruling families of Brandenburg and Albertine Saxony ranged those states upon the side of Protestantism. Indeed, about 1540 the only influential states left to Catholicism were Austria, Bavaria, the Duchy of Brunswick, and the ecclesiastical Electorates of Mayence and Treves.

During these years Charles had been occupied in the third period of the war with France—namely, from 1536-1538. On the death of Francesco Sforza in 1535 the Duchy of Milan, as an imperial fief, was annexed by Charles. Francis, who was steeped in intrigue with the Pope, the League of Schmalkalde, and even with the Turks, brought forward the claims of France. After a series of unsuccessful campaigns in Provence, Picardy, and Languedoc, Charles was ready to conclude with Francis a ten years' truce at Nice, confirming the Peace of Cambray. But the investiture of Charles' son Philip with the Duchy of Milan reopened the Italian question, and, with war imminent, Charles came to the Diet of Ratisbon to meet the Protestants. It was the most promising opportunity for a union that had occurred since 1526. A Reform party led by Cardinals Contarini and Pole had arisen in the Church itself, and agreement on the Lutheran doctrines of Justification, Redemption, and Original Sin was actually made. Most unfortunately, however, nothing further was achieved, and the Church lost her opportunity of securing a broad and tolerant reform. To the strong opposition of the zealous Catholics, and Luther's inability to believe in the sincere acceptance of the doctrine of Justification by Pole's party, was added a general dread of Charles becoming paramount in Germany.

Third
Period of
the War,
1536-1538

Fourth
Period of
the War,
1541-1544

When the whole question needed the utmost tact and delicacy in handling, Francis found little difficulty in stirring up discord among the princes. Thus the opportunity for reconciliation was lost. Charles made up his mind to suppress Protestantism by force, yet for the next three years he had to bide his time, owing to the fourth outbreak of war with France, lasting from 1541-1544. Francis had found allies in Cleves, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey, and had made vain advances to the League of Schmalkalde. Charles, however, secured the support of Henry VIII., from whom he had been long estranged by the King's divorce from his aunt Katharine, and by the recent efforts of Henry's great minister, Cromwell, to unite his master with the princes of the Schmalkaldic League, notably by the marriage with Anne of Cleves. But Katharine and Cromwell were now no more, and Henry was incensed by the invasion of England by James V., the ally of France. The campaigns themselves, which were unimportant, were abruptly ended by the Treaty of Crespy, leaving Henry to make his own terms with France. Peace brought to a close the long personal rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

All conquests since the Truce of Nice (1538) were to be restored. Charles gave up his claims to Burgundy, Francis his to Naples, Flanders, and Artois.

The Emperor promised either his daughter or his niece in marriage to Francis' second son Orleans, with the dowry, respectively, of the Netherlands or Milan. Orleans' death prevented the fulfilment of the last article.

Reign of
Francis I.

The death of Francis, in 1547, prevented anything coming of a secret understanding for the suppression of heresy between the parties to the Treaty. France has never found it hard to forgive a king who "sinned pleasantly,"

and this indulgent view, added to his own brilliant deeds of arms, have secured for him a reputation higher than his deserts. In the long rivalry with Charles it is true that France suffered less than Spain and the Empire—but this was due to no merit of the King; and there can be no doubt that the war was, from first to last, a mistaken policy, which laid the country under a heavy burden of debt. The corruption of the Court and of the administration, the sacrifice of the independence of the French Church, the increase in the absolute power of the Crown, the state interests of a policy that associated Protestant persecutions at home with Protestant alliances abroad—these evils found poor compensation in a certain shallow attractiveness of character, and good service rendered to the cause of art. Even the artistic movement, in which the French Renaissance reached its second stage, and which was made famous by the names of the versatile artist Cousin, the sculptor Goujon, the writer Rabelais, and the borrowed glory of da Vinci and del Sarto, betrays a lack of originality and distinction that indirectly witnesses to the poverty of feeling and the prevailing moral deadness which centred in the Valois court.

We must now return to Germany, where Charles, released from the pressure of foreign affairs by the Peace of Crespy, was ready to deal with the Reform movement. He succeeded in persuading some of the princes that the existence of the League of Schmalkalde threatened the unity of the Empire, at least, as much as that of the Church—in fact, that the question between them was political rather than religious. German opinion was ranging itself into two camps, in which Empire and Church were opposed to Princes and

Charles
and the
League of
Schmal-
kalde

Protestantism. Just as the movement for reform of the Empire under Maximilian had ended, in leaving the chief power with the princes, so it seemed likely that the religious movement, too, would end. It was exactly this result that Charles was bent upon preventing—in the first place, because it would reduce his position in Germany to the level of an ordinary Prince; and, secondly, because, in religion, as in his general habit of mind, he was conservative. In his slow fashion he had come to the conclusion that war could be the only means of settling the religious difficulty; but he had never lost sight of that oft-threatened General Council, to which the Lutherans were also favourable. Alarmed at the reconciliation between Emperor and King at Crespy, Pope Paul III. at last agreed to summon the Council of Trent. The death of Luther, in the following February, removed a strenuous advocate of peace, and was the signal for the Emperor's declaration of war against the Schmalkaldic League. Charles had already been active in attracting to his side Protestant Princes who were also Imperialists, among them two from the House of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) and Maurice of Saxony.

The
Council of
Trent, 1545

Maurice of
Saxony

Maurice had not long succeeded his father, Duke Henry, of the Albertine line of Saxony, who had become a convert to the Protestant views of the Ernestine branch of the family which had befriended Luther. Nominally a Protestant himself, Maurice was by no means on good terms with his cousin, John Frederick, keen Patriot and Protestant, whose electorate he coveted. Personal and political aims with Maurice stood first; and he modelled his career on Machiavelli's advice to princes. As the League seemed to offer him

no special opportunities for a career, he threw in his lot with Charles, on the understanding that the electorate should be handed over to him. The Emperor struck boldly at the League, and overran South Germany, while the princes withdrew their forces to defend Saxony. But at the Battle of Mühlberg Charles captured the Elector, John Frederick, and soon after the other leading spirit of the League, the Landgrave of Hesse, surrendered to Maurice. Both were treated with extreme rigour of imprisonment, and Maurice was duly installed as Elector of Saxony.

Overthrow
of the
League at
Mühlberg,
1547

Charles was, as usual, however, prevented from using his victory to the full. The Pope feared nothing so much as the complete subjection of Germany by its Emperor, and a month before Mühlberg he took the sudden step of removing the Council from Trent to Bologna. Thither the Imperialists declined to follow the papal party, and by remaining at Trent created a schism. The Protestants thereupon declared themselves freed from obedience to the decrees of a divided Council. In this state of affairs Charles had to come to some kind of understanding with the Protestants at Augsburg, until the Council should obey his summons to return to Trent. The Interim of Augsburg for the most part reasserted Catholic doctrine, while yielding on certain points of Protestant practice, such as the marriage of the clergy, and lay Communion in both kinds. Its reception, however, was not cordial. Various causes about this time tended to make Charles unpopular. He was succeeding in strengthening his authority in Germany with the object of building up a strong military power in which the princes should be utilised as his generals. The Imperial Chamber had

become little more than a Cabinet selected by the Emperor. Spanish garrisons were gradually being distributed over Germany; and so little did Charles realise the intensity of German feeling against Spain, that he was urging the election of Philip as the next King of the Romans, not only in the face of the strongest opposition of his German subjects, but also of his brother Ferdinand. "Nothing in the past or present that the dead King of France did against me, nor that the present King would like to do . . . has ever pained me so deeply as my brother's behaviour towards me," wrote Charles to his wise sister Mary, Regent of the Netherlands. She succeeded in reconciling the brothers; but the electors would not hear of Philip's succession.

Maurice of
Saxony
joins the
Protestants

Maurice of Saxony was influenced by the general suspicions of Charles' Spanish policy, and was affronted by the Emperor's treatment of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse. He began to draw away from Charles, and to formulate a new programme with the object of delivering Germany from foreign troops, and recovering for the princes the power of which Imperial oppression seemed fast to be depriving them. To this end he concluded the Treaty of Friedewald with Henry II. of France, who, like his father, Francis I., found no difficulty in being Protestant abroad and Catholic at home. He also came to some understanding with Ferdinand, King of the Romans, whose object was to remove religious questions from politics so as to rally his subjects round him for the defence of Hungary against the Turks. The lull in the Ottoman advance that had set in under Bajazet, Mahomet the Great's successor, had ended at the accession of the vigorous

Selim I., the conqueror of Syria and Egypt. His son, Solyman the Great, was one of the most remarkable rulers of the sixteenth century. After capturing Rhodes, the Turks under him advanced once more into Hungary, took Belgrade, and overthrew the last Jagellon King on Mohacz Field. Ferdinand, on succeeding to his throne, found that the Turks were masters of the greater part of his kingdom; and not until the death of Solyman in Hungary, forty years later, was Eastern Europe relieved of its fears of the last great warrior Sultan.

The war between the Emperor and the Princes was not religious, for the Lutheran party distrusted Maurice far too deeply to accept him as leader, and the great Catholic house of Bavaria stood aloof, which on religious grounds should have deplored Charles' defeat. A certain religious appearance, however, was given to the war by the conduct of Maurice's ruffianly ally, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg, who harried everything, but the lands of the Church by preference.

Meanwhile Charles, depressed and inert from a bad attack of gout, refused to heed the warnings that reached him of Maurice's doings. He had "a big dog in leash" (John Frederick), he said, to set at Maurice. Yet it was Maurice who acted first, and nearly surprised the Emperor at Innsprück. Ill, and white as a ghost, Charles was hurried on a gusty, rainy night in a litter over the Brenner Pass to safety in Carinthia.

Charles comes to terms with Maurice, 1552

By the Treaty of Passau he came to terms with Maurice.

1. The captive Lutheran Princes were to be released.
2. Complete liberty of conscience was to be granted to the Lutherans, who were also to be admitted to the Imperial Chamber.

Even then Charles absolutely refused to give way on the question of full religious toleration until it had been laid before the Diet. He had set his heart on recovering the three frontier Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, already seized by Henry II. as the price of his help to Maurice, and confirmed to him by the Treaty of Vaucelles. The Emperor, however, first came to terms with the ruffian Albert. "God knows," he wrote, "what I feel at seeing myself at such a pass as to treat with the said Marquis as I am doing—but necessity knows no law." Albert, however, earned his sovereign's gratitude by his skill in saving the Imperialist guns in the retreat from Metz, which was successfully defended by Francis, Duke of Guise, the future conqueror of Calais. Albert then returned to his raids, and his flying figure, wild fair hair, and freckled face became once more a vision of terror to Germany, until, in the interests of public order, the army of Maurice of Saxony cut short his excesses in the fierce Battle of Sieverhausen. Albert fled, under the Imperial ban, to France; but a chance bullet put an end to Maurice's chequered and brilliant career, his championship of princely privilege, and his dreams of the Imperial crown, at the early age of thirty-two. His brother Augustus succeeded in the Electorate, and his unfortunate cousin, the good Elector John Frederick, did not survive him many months.

Death of
Maurice in
the Battle
of Siever-
hausen,
1553

Charles had for some time longed to withdraw from the wearisome and perplexing struggle; and with the death of Maurice, the downfall of Albert, the failure of his plans for Philip's succession, and the agreement arrived at between Ferdinand and some of the leading Protestants, he judged that the time had come. More-

over, he could not face the necessity of yielding on the religious question; so he left Ferdinand to deal on his own responsibility with the Diet of Augsburg, and, setting his face towards the Netherlands, turned his back for ever on Germany.

The agreement concluded between Ferdinand and the Diet, which is known as the Peace of Augsburg, contained the following clauses:—

The
Peace of
Augsburg
1555

- (1) It laid down the principle of "Cujus regio eius religio,"—that is to say, it left each prince free to dictate the religion of his subjects.
- (2) All Church property appropriated by Protestants before the Treaty of Passau (1552) was to remain in their hands.
- (3) No form of Protestantism but Lutheranism was to be tolerated.
- (4) Lutheran subjects of ecclesiastical states were not to be obliged to renounce their faith.
- (5) By the Ecclesiastical Reservation any ecclesiastical prince on becoming a Protestant was to give up his See.

By this peace it was acknowledged that the unity of the mediæval Church was broken up for ever, and, indirectly, that mediæval persecution was abandoned, save in the one form of banishment. Protestantism was now legally recognised—though only in the shape of Lutheranism. There was to be no toleration for either Calvinists or Zwinglians. Worse than this, toleration was only considered from the princes' point of view—the only privilege allowed to the Lutheran subjects of a Catholic prince, or to the Catholic subjects of a Lutheran prince, was that of finding a home elsewhere. Liberty of conscience did not, in fact, enter into the question. By this means divisions in Germany were made deeper, until at last the only way of settling them seemed to be by the sword of the Thirty Years' War.

It was unpractical to suppose that while appropriation of Church property was still of daily occurrence a settlement could be satisfactory which recognised no transfers made since 1552.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation opened the way for endless difficulties: it was held, for instance, that when a chapter became Protestant it might elect a Protestant bishop; had it been strictly enforced, on the other hand, it must have effectually checked the growth of Protestantism.

The principle which made the Prince the sole authority upon the religion of his state was fatal to the Imperial power. The Imperial Chamber, the organisation of Circles, the maintenance of the public peace, ceased by this treaty to be under the Emperor's control; and in each state the position of the Prince made it inevitable that the people should transfer their allegiance from the shadowy Emperor to the ruler with the real authority.

Charles, in the Netherlands, fully realised the effects of the peace, which hastened his resignation. His plans for the religious and political unity of Germany had failed utterly; he was personally unpopular there; his cherished scheme of marriage between Philip and Mary Tudor had turned out unhappily; the struggle to meet financial embarrassments never abated; while Henry II. had wrung from him by the Treaty of Vaucelles more than Francis I. had ever done by force of arms. To his subjects in the Netherlands only did he choose to bid a formal farewell, since from them alone could he count upon a sympathetic response. In the Hall of the Golden Fleece, at Brussels, Charles, leaning upon his stick, and supported by the young William of Orange, made his last public appearance. Both Emperor and

audience were moved to tears by the simple pathos of his leave-taking.

In the spring Charles resigned the Empire, the Spanish kingdoms, and Sicily. His son Philip succeeded to Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily; and Ferdinand, already King of the Romans, duly followed him in the Empire. In the autumn of 1556 Charles sailed to Spain, and at once retired to the monastery of St Juste in Estremadura. Here, in his little four-roomed retreat, he performed his religious exercises, received visitors, followed the events of the great world, and amused himself with mechanical toys. In August 1558 he died.

The "Great Emperor Charles V." used to be a common phrase of historians; but it is probable that his greatness was of the kind that position thrusts upon a man. In private life Charles would not have been remarkable. Fate had called him to play his part upon a stage that would have dwarfed any man but the greatest. Slow, irresolute, and at the same time very obstinate, narrow-minded, unsympathetic and limited in his affections, he yet compels respect by his honest intentions, his sense of duty, his modesty, and his shining moments of fortitude. The coldness of his character is partly redeemed by his love of wife and son, his fondness for children, pet animals, and flowers. He was moderate in all his private tastes, with one important exception. His indulgence in enormous, hasty, and unwholesome meals early pointed the way to a martyrdom of gout; but between its attacks Charles remained incorrigible as ever.

Though not highly educated, he was well-read and genuinely devoted to the fine arts, especially to music.

Few men harassed as Charles was, by continual toil and vexation, can have realised more bitterly the experience attributed to King Herod :

“That they who grasp the world,
The kingdom, and the power, and the glory,
Must pay with deepest misery of spirit.”

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

HÄUSSER : Period of the Reformation.

SEEBOHM : The Protestant Revolution. (Epoch Series.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE COUNTER REFORMATION

THE Council of Trent has been referred to several times during Charles V.'s reign: its work must now be considered as a whole. The Council of Trent, 1545-1563

To meet the Emperor's wishes it was held in German territory. Pope Paul III., 1534-1549, who has been called the last of the Renaissance popes, as distinguished from those of the Catholic revival, at last brought his mind to the formal summons of the Council in 1542. So few, however, were the bishops who arrived to attend it, that the assembly was adjourned.

The chief question before the second meeting of the Council in 1545 was whether Reform or the definition of Dogma should have the first place. The Pope was a watchful guardian of Church privilege. He was determined that Doctrine should be considered before Reform, and kept in close touch with the Council's proceedings. By a compromise it was arranged that they should be considered simultaneously by different sections of the Council. The moderate Catholic party, led by Contarini and Pole, were quite prepared to join hands with the Lutherans in some matters of doctrine, and with this end in view the great questions of justification by faith, free will, and the sacraments were debated. At this point, however, some members of a hitherto little known Order, the Society of Jesus, came forward, and by their

able and determined arguments succeeded in upholding the Catholic standpoint. At this stage the Pope became alarmed by Charles' success in Germany, and with the excuse that a slight outbreak of the plague in Trent made the place unsafe, he removed the Council to Bologna in 1547.

Pope
Julius III.,
1549-1555

Charles declined to recognise any further acts of the Council. The Diet of Augsburg gave its support to the minority who remained at Trent, and the Interim of Augsburg provided a temporary settlement of religious affairs in Germany. The Pope found it necessary to give way, though he died before any further stage of policy was reached ; and his successor, Julius III., whose chief aim was to live a quiet life, summoned the Council to reassemble at Trent in 1551. Much discussion of doctrine followed, revealing the deep differences which separated Protestants and Catholics; however the untimely descent of Maurice of Saxony in pursuit of Charles scattered the members with all speed, before a definite decision was made, relieving the Pope of much anxiety. Not long after the latter was succeeded by Marcellus II., who was upright, wise, and enthusiastic for reform ; but he, unfortunately, only lived three weeks longer. His successor was Pope Paul IV., the austere and rigid Caraffa who had founded the Order of the Theatines, a society of parish priests bound by monastic vows, and upholding the doctrine and government of the Mediæval Church. The new Pope was therefore wholly opposed to the more enlightened party of Catholic reformers led by Contarini, and as an interval of ten years occurred in the work of the Council after it was dispersed by Maurice, Paul IV. applied himself to the reform of Rome itself. He thoroughly overhauled the government

Pope
Paul IV.,
1555-1559

of the papal states ; and, armed with the powers of the Inquisition on one hand, and with the new Index of Prohibited Books on the other, his orthodox zeal triumphed over the champions of a more tolerant and liberal Catholicism. Yet in attempting to recover from Europe a general acknowledgment of the papal claims, he defeated his own ends. Thus he drove Elizabeth of England to ally herself with the Protestant party in Scotland, and practically assured the triumph of reform in Great Britain by insisting that the Queen should submit her claims upon the throne to his judgment. In the same way his hostility to Ferdinand I. obliged that Emperor to rely on the support of the Moderate party, with the result that many South German bishoprics passed into Protestant hands. Then in 1559 he died, and the new Pope, Pius IV., pledged himself, in response to a general wish that reform should not be left entirely to the Holy See, to summon once more the Council of Trent.

At this, the third and last session of the Council, no Protestants were present, and the reforms undertaken were simply those of the Church from within. There were many Catholics who desired a thorough reform in doctrine and practice, but their aims were defeated by the powerful and energetic Jesuit opposition. Thus the use of the mother-tongue in services, the marriage of the clergy, communion in both kinds—practices which would have united them to the Protestants—were all rejected. The doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, and Invocation of Saints, though defined in accordance with mediæval belief, were for the first time completely defined. It is true that on some important questions, such as that of justification by faith, Protestant theories were not

entirely excluded; but such concession was deceptive, since the Pope's authority was declared to be supreme in all doctrinal matters in the future. The resolve of the French to settle the question of the superiority of Councils to the Pope, and the Spanish prejudice in favour of making bishops independent of the Holy See, were defeated by successful papal diplomacy at the two courts concerned.

The
Catholic
Reforma-
tion

There was, however, a real reformation in morals. The popes undertook to set their house thoroughly in order. They gave up the pursuit of family interests, and Pius V. decreed that Church property should never be alienated from the Holy See. The education of the clergy was carefully provided for. The Breviary and the Canon Law were revised, and the florid Church music of the period met with its own much-needed reform at the hands of the great and austere genius, Palestrina.

The
Inquisition

A radical change in the character of the popes enabled them to recover much of their lost influence in Europe, with the aid of the new Order of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, "the brain and the arm of the Papacy." The Papal Inquisition as set up in 1542 was adapted from the system of the Inquisition as formerly worked by the Dominicans in the suppression of heretics—notably of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. Having accomplished its work only too well, it would naturally have disappeared, had not Ferdinand and Isabella gained leave to introduce it into Spain as a weapon against both Jews and Moors. From this time the Spanish Inquisition (so called because it was after 1497 independent of papal interference) continued to flourish—not without dire results, as will be seen before long, in the Netherlands. The Papal Inquisition, however, which

dated from the Council of Trent, confined its attentions to Italy.

The second great prop of the Holy See was the Society of Jesus.

The founder of this famous Order was Ignatius Loyola, the son of a noble Spanish house of Basque origin. As an enthusiastic young soldier he had been lamed for life at the Siege of Pampeluna, and had had to renounce his chosen profession of arms. During his slow recovery he resolved to enlist his services in the cause of Christ and the Virgin, and began his career by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which inspired him with the idea of a life-long warfare against the infidel. Realising, however, his lack of knowledge, he devoted himself to study in Paris, where he won over to his views three fellow-students, Lefèvre, Xavier, and Laynez. This little band took vows of poverty and celibacy, and placed themselves at the Pope's disposal for work among the Mahometans in the Holy Land. Paul III., however, took the view that heretics at home rather than infidels abroad needed their labours, and accordingly they formed themselves in 1540 into the Society of Jesus, for the special service of Christ and of the Pope—under Loyola as the first General of the Order.

Ignatius
Loyola and
the Order
of the
Jesuits

Every member of the Order was bound to surrender all personal judgment, and to become as wax in the hands of his superiors. It was the business of those superiors to acquaint themselves intimately by an elaborate spy system with the characters, actions, and thoughts of those whom they directed, that all gifts might be turned to account for the Order in the choice of careers. A priest must hold himself in readiness to go to the ends of the earth at the bidding of his superiors,

“ not delaying even to complete the letter of the alphabet he might be writing.”

The Order had six divisions, of which the Professed of Four Vows were the only fully privileged members, in whose hands lay the election of the General. They were without a fixed place of abode, and took a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope. The Order was forbidden to accept ecclesiastical preferment ; no monastic habit was worn, nor did the rules of the society permit the powers of mind and body to be worn out by excessive asceticism or long-continued religious exercises. Into the work of education and of missions the Jesuits threw themselves with the utmost zeal and heroism. They made themselves indispensable as Confessors. Their learning seated them in the Professors' Chairs at the Universities ; they mixed in politics and in society. All their work was performed gratuitously, for the Order was enriched not only by the property surrendered to it at admission, but by many gifts bestowed upon it. In sixteen years it numbered over two thousand members. The Order has been well named the brain of the Holy See. It may be imagined how great was the influence of a highly-trained body of men acting with the obedience of perfectly regulated machines whose motive power was some of the best intellect and will force of the time. But in the individual it must be admitted that the absolute surrender of private judgment and the acceptance of the doctrine that the end justifies the means tended to undermine independence of character and moral judgment.

In summing up the work of the Catholic reaction, the following results will be noticed :—The Church, purified of abuses, inspired by new enthusiasm, and

carrying the war into the enemy's country, encountered Protestantism at a time when its first zeal was spent and disunion had begun to appear. The revived Papacy made Rome once more the centre of South-western Europe, as it had been under the Roman Emperors, and once more brought under its sway the recently revolted regions on the Danube and the Rhine. At the same time in the political world two great agencies of the Catholic revival were the Spanish Monarchy under Philip II. and France under the influence of the Guises.

In the reign of Philip II. the aims and methods of revived Catholicism are fully illustrated. The King regarded himself as the divinely appointed leader of the chosen people, whose dominion of the world was to be the guarantee of its recovery to the Church. Not one of the many disasters that marked his ill-starred reign ever shook Philip's faith in his twofold mission, as champion of the Church and of Spanish supremacy. Yet, like a blight, his reign rests upon the History of Spain. He crushed all power of initiative in the Court, and in the nation at large. The King's family heritage was one of gloom and bigotry. The slow, secret, and cautious policy, which was his by circumstances and education, hid him like a mask, even from those nearest to him. He grew old before his time in trying to keep pace with the thousand petty details which are the proper business of subordinates. No clerk ever toiled more industriously at his papers. Hours were passed in making marginal notes on affairs that might have been settled in conversation-lasting, perhaps, as many minutes. But Philip shunned interviews: he never realised that statesmanship is the most human of

Philip II.'s
Reign as
typical
of the
Catholic
Reforma-
tion,
1556-1598

occupations, based on a knowledge of men in a world of men. He clung to his purposes, blind to things as they really were: conscientious, as far as his cruel bigotry allowed, he strove to grapple unaided with problems too big for him to solve: cold, except to the very few for whom he felt any affection; frugal and secluded in his habits: constantly disillusioned throughout his reign, yet never turning aside from the goal he had marked out for himself, there is something of the relentlessness of fate about this mysterious inhuman figure, in whose service men broke their hearts and sacrificed their lives. Yet, at the end of a long reign, as he lay slowly dying in great bodily anguish, no visions of the persecuted and oppressed arose to disturb his mind, which, indeed, was sustained and comforted by the thought of services he had rendered to God.

By a freak of fortune Philip's reign opened with a collision with the Pope. Paul IV., the Neapolitan Caraffa, had family leanings to the Angevin cause in Italy, and disliked the Spaniard. As Julius II. had called in the House of Aragon to drive out the French, he determined to call in the French to drive out the House of Aragon. Henry II. agreed to send an army under the Duke of Guise; and the Duke of Alva, of all men, found himself in the position of leader of His Catholic Majesty's army against the Pope. By bribing Ottavio Farnese with Piacenza, and Cosmo d' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with Siena, Philip gained their support in Naples (where the war was marked by the gallant resistance of Civitella to Guise) and, in the Papal States, Alva carried all before him and, but for religious scruples, might indeed have taken Rome. The Pope was obliged to come to terms

Fifth War
between
Spain and
France (in
Alliance
with the
Pope),
1556-1559

but they were of his own choosing; and in Philip's name, Alva asked, and received, absolution "for the crime of resisting an unprovoked attack."

End of the
Italian
War, 1557

Meanwhile war had broken out on the north-eastern border of France, and Philip II. had prevailed upon his English wife, Mary Tudor, in spite of an express understanding to the contrary, to engage English troops on his behalf. The Spanish and English forces were under the command of the dispossessed Duke of Savoy, who claimed his duchy from France. The blunders of the Marshal Montmorency gave them a complete victory at St Quentin, and the town itself, though bravely defended by Coligny, fell into their hands. They would have been better employed in taking Paris; but this enterprise, though it had every chance of success, did not commend itself to the cautious Philip. Early in 1558, Guise more than avenged the defeat, by falling unexpectedly on Calais (of whose weak defences the English government had repeatedly been warned), and thus the last English stronghold on French soil was lost, to the great grief of Queen Mary. A brilliant victory, won by Count Egmont over the French at Gravelines, had no practical result, though it may have enabled Philip to make peace.

Proceedings were somewhat delayed by the death of Queen Mary, and Elizabeth's reluctance to accept the terms.

1. She agreed at last to the surrender of Calais for a term of eight years.
2. The Duchy of Savoy was restored to its duke.
3. France retained the three Bishopricks taken by Henry II., but gave up all other conquests, except five Piedmontese fortresses, and Philip, in return, surrendered his captures in Picardy.

Treaty of
Cateau-
Cambrésis,
1559

By this arrangement Philip, however, recovered far more than he lost.

4. Henry and Philip agreed to summon a General Council, and to root-out heresy in their dominions.
5. Philip was to take, as his third wife, Henry II.'s daughter Elizabeth, the girl princess who had been bespoken for Don Carlos, his son ; while the Duke of Savoy was to marry her aunt, Margaret of Valois.

At a tournament held in honour of the two weddings, Henry II., distinguished rather as an athlete and pleasure-seeker than for more kingly qualities, was, in a final bout, pierced in the eye by a lance, and the wound proved fatal. His son, Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded him.

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis marks the end of a period, for three reasons. It closed the series of wars which, for nearly forty years, had exhausted France and Spain. It ends the struggle between France and the united Habsburg power, for henceforth Spain and Austria are divided. For the rest of the century the wars of Europe are mainly religious rather than political.

The Sup-
pression
of the
Reforma-
tion in
Spain

Even before the Treaty was signed Philip had begun to deal with the religious question in his Spanish dominions, where he took up his residence in 1559. Charles V., in a long reign, must have spent years merely in travelling between Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, but Philip never quitted Spain again before his death in 1598. Protestantism had not gained any hold upon the country during Charles' reign, but since Philip's accession its growth had been rapid, and the Pope urged the King to call the Inquisition to his aid. It was worked mainly by the Dominican Order, which was devoted to royal interests. The head of the

Council of the Inquisition was the Grand Inquisitor, nominated by the King, and Philip found the Council a valuable ally in politics. All lands confiscated by its decrees fell to the Crown, and no man, however privileged, was exempt from its jurisdiction. It was therefore useful in hunting down political offenders and in exacting money. The terror inspired by the Inquisition was due to the suddenness of its arrests, to the secrecy of its trials, and to a spy system which worked its way into the most intimate secrets of family life, filling the air with suspicion and a sense of insecurity. The prisoner was often ignorant of both the charge and the evidence against him, and confession was exacted by torture. If loss of goods and imprisonment did not bring him to repentance, he was handed over to the secular arm, to be burned at one of the autos-da-fè which took place, as bull-fights do now, at every great national festivity. The methods of the Holy Office in Spain were completely successful in destroying Protestantism. Philip could congratulate himself that not a heretic remained in his kingdom; yet in crushing Protestantism he also crushed all power of independent thought, leaving Spain far in the rear of European intellectual progress.

In the same way the commercial prosperity of the country was choked by the persecution of the industrious Moriscoes, the real source of the industrial wealth of Spain. These people were, at least outwardly, converted Moors, who were skilful farmers and craftsmen. The attitude of the Spaniards towards them at its best was not that of an armed neutrality, and a change of affairs in the Mediterranean soon aroused an active hostility. In the first place, the onslaughts of the Barbary pirates, their kinsmen, provoked two expeditions against the

Expulsion
of the
Moriscoes
from the
South,
1570

former, which met with only moderate success, and in the second another great Mahometan power, the Turks, in 1565, laid siege to Malta, which was relieved, somewhat grudgingly, and only just in time, by the Viceroy of Naples. The outcome of these struggles with the infidel was a series of edicts against all the most cherished national customs of the Moriscoes, so outrageous as to provoke remonstrance even from the Spanish nobles. The Moriscoes then broke into rebellion, set up a king of their own, and took a cruel revenge upon all Christians in their power. Even at this point a policy of conciliation would probably have succeeded, but Philip preferred to enter upon a war of extermination. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slain, and prisoners were massacred in cold blood, and when the back of the rebellion was broken, all the surviving Moriscoes were forced to leave Andalusia, and find new homes in less favoured parts of Spain, until their final expulsion from the country in 1609.

The thankless task of crushing the last signs of the rebellion had fallen to Philip's young and brilliant half-brother, Don Juan of Austria. The prince, who had every quality that Philip lacked, including that of military prowess, had unusual power of attracting loyalty and enthusiasm. He begged Philip, when the rebellion had just subsided, to accept a pressing invitation from the Pope to rescue Cyprus, then surrounded by an Ottoman fleet. The timid policy of Selim II. had preferred an attack upon Cyprus to the alternative of an attack on Spain, and by so doing united against himself the forces of Venice, of Philip II., and the Pope. Great preparations were accordingly made, but not in time to save the island, whose unfortunate commander

was flayed alive by the Turks. Don Juan succeeded in infecting his crusaders with his own fervid enthusiasm, and with the confidence of youth led the attack, in opposition to the advice of older heads, against the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Lepanto, the scene ages before of the great sea fight of Naupactus. The Turkish ships were unseaworthy and manned by slaves. Although considerably outnumbered, the Christian fleet was irresistible in its onset. Not only were the Turks for the first time defeated at sea, but their naval power in the Mediterranean never recovered from the blow, and this disaster hastened the general decline in their power which had already set in. The Ottoman Empire rested upon military foundations entirely, and as long as strict discipline prevailed it was irresistible in war. But after the death of Solymán the Magnificent, in 1566, the chief supports of its power began to give way. The Sultans gave themselves up to luxury and pleasure, the Janissaries, from being the obedient tools of the Sultan, became as arrogant as the Prætorian Guard at Rome. Lastly, corruption found its deadly way into every department of official life. In Persia, in the Balkans, and in Hungary they were losing ground, and the defeat at Lepanto, besides being significant of the state of things, had a great moral effect. Don Juan's head was filled with dreams of retaking Constantinople, and driving the infidel from the Mediterranean. Though prompt action might have achieved much, the deadly procrastination which characterised Spanish policy of the time proved fatal. Don Juan sailed for Africa and reduced Tunis, which he hoped to make the capital of an African kingdom of his own, but this plan at once aroused Philip's jealousy. Supplies from Spain ceased, and in a few

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571

Decline
of the
Ottoman
Power

months the Turks recovered Tunis, and also took Goletta, one of Charles V.'s African conquests. It was in the Netherlands, however, where the methods of the Inquisition had a very different reception from that which they met with in Spain, that Philip's antagonism to religious reform was most remorseless. At the same time the attempt to override local privileges, and to make Spanish authority supreme, contributed almost equally to the Revolt of the Provinces, which will be more fully described in the next chapter.

Philip's religious zeal was goaded to continual effort by the belief that the displeasure of Heaven manifested itself in his family life. He lost three wives in succession, and the death of the third, the exquisite and beloved Elizabeth of Valois, was a grief only second to the anguish of mind Philip endured on account of the tragic state of his only son.

Carlos was the son of Philip and his first wife, Mary of Portugal. He had never known a mother's care, and his education by his aunt had done little for the defects of a very difficult character. The boy was cruel, irreverent, and passionate, and a fall on his head at the age of seventeen seems to have permanently injured his brain. There can be little doubt that he was epileptic, and his conduct after the accident became more violent and extraordinary. He insulted the Court ladies, made murderous attacks on Alva and Don Juan, plotted against his father's life, and tried to escape from Spain. By Philip's orders he was put under restraint, and his guardians were men of rank, carefully instructed as to his treatment. Politics and literature, except religious books, were forbidden, as was all communication with the outside world. His warders might entertain him

with conversation, but they were never to lose sight of him day or night. Under this close confinement Carlos, who had always been weakly, lost all interest in life, rapidly sank, and died at the age of twenty-three. His death remains a mystery: many rumours were current

Death
of Don
Carlos, 1568

PAIN & PORTUGAL XVI CENTURY



that Philip had contrived it by poison, but natural causes seem quite a satisfactory explanation. The reason of his captivity was undoubtedly his madness, of which there seems ample proof.

Though Philip might wage war on Turks and Moriscoes, and attempt to stamp out by the Inquisition the Reformed faith in Spain and the Netherlands, he came to under-

stand in his slow way that the real obstacle to the success of his religious policy lay in England and Scotland. His great scheme for their conversion forms the climax of his reign, but the story of the Invincible Armada belongs to the next chapter.

The
Conquest
of Portu-
gal, 1581

So far, we have considered Philip's reign from the point of view of the Catholic revival; the attempt to establish his own supremacy must now be noticed. In 1575 occurred an unlooked-for opportunity of adding Portugal to his dominions, thereby bringing the whole peninsula under Spanish rule. Philip's young nephew, King Sebastian, whose religious aims were not unlike his uncle's, had been killed in a mad expedition against the Moors of Morocco. The heir to the throne was his great-uncle, Cardinal Henry, who died, however, in 1580. Philip, as the son of the Cardinal's sister, the Empress Isabel, now brought forward his claim, to which the only serious rival was that of Antonio, Prior of Crato, the half-Jewish son of Henry's brother Lewis. Sebastian, Henry, and Antonio were all descended in the male line from Emanuel the Great, while Philip's claim was through his mother; but this disadvantage counted for little, since he was by far the strongest candidate in the field. It was of the utmost importance, in his bankrupt condition, to secure the wealth of the great Portuguese colonies in Brazil, Africa, and the East Indies; and an army under Alva, and a fleet commanded by Santa Cruz, were despatched to Portugal.

The Prior was personally popular, which Philip, as a Spaniard, was not; but the peasants, who formed Antonio's chief following, were soon scattered by trained forces. The Prior fled to England, where Queen Elizabeth made much of him as long as it suited her

purposes. Twice though he attempted with ships lent by Catherine di Medici to seize the Azores, he was baffled each time by Santa Cruz, and he never returned to his own country.

Philip was crowned at Lisbon in 1581, promising to uphold Portugues liberties; but he made the great mistake of offending the nobles by trying to reduce their privileges and by extending the crown lands. Spanish rule never commanded any affection in Portugal, with the result that in 1640, at the first opportunity, its independence was restored.

Philip, however, successfully introduced into his Italian provinces the arbitrary system of government which was to provoke the great revolt of the Netherlands. In Spain itself he set to work further to curtail national liberties, after the example of his father. Castile had always been more subject to the royal authority than Aragon, and not much independence had been left the latter since the nobles had withdrawn in 1538. Their chief function, indeed, was to present petitions to the King. The terrible drain of its resources, steadily continuing for half a century, had reduced it to the direst poverty. But in Aragon self-government was still a reality, for the principle was yet alive that redress of grievances must precede supply; and the power of the justiciar still safeguarded justice from royal interference. The Inquisition, too, was somewhat kept in check by public opinion. Charles and Philip had long desired to curtail the independence of Aragon, but not until the close of Philip's reign did an opportunity arise. The King's chief secretary, Antonio Perez, an uncommonly clever rogue, had been deputed by his master to bring about the death of Escovedo, Don Juan's

Growth of
Absolute
Power
in Spain
under
Philip II.

The
Affair of
Antonio
Perez

secretary, who abetted the prince's ambitious plans: It was Perez who had poisoned Philip's mind against Escovedo and the prince; but he failed to entrap his victim. Long after the special reasons for the murder had disappeared Perez used the King's authority to have Escovedo killed in the street to avenge a private grudge. Perez was thrown into prison, but he escaped to Aragon and claimed the protection of the justiciar, who by the law of the land could detain him in his own prison and secure for him a legal trial. When Philip demanded his surrender, all Aragon was up in arms to defend its judicial privileges, and after the King's failure to bring him under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, he was hurried over the Pyrenees into France in 1591. Henry IV. and Elizabeth were equally ready to give him a welcome to their dominions and to learn all that he was ready to divulge of the state secrets of Spain. Philip's arm was not long enough to reach the fugitive, but upon Aragon his vengeance fell heavily. An army was sent on the pretext of restoring order; the justiciar was beheaded, and the Inquisition dealt severely with all who were in any way connected with the resistance to the King. At the same time the members of the Cortes, from being freely elected, were reduced to the position of nominees of the Crown, which also usurped the appointment of all officers of justice.

Effects of
Philip's
rule on the
Economic
Condition
of Spain

The evil effects of this absolutist system appeared even in Philip's lifetime. If the government of a country be carried on by a few, unless the few be also the wisest the country will not prosper. The King and his officials were, for instance, entirely ignorant of the laws of public economy; and the financial question was the most serious of all national questions in Spain. The

income from the New World was greatly exaggerated; by far the largest proportion of the revenue came from the Low Countries. "In the Netherlands are those 'mines, treasures, and Indies' which have rendered the Emperor's wars possible," was said in the life-time of Charles. And when the Revolt of the Netherlands began, the burden of taxation was thrown upon already exhausted Castile. Every imaginable means of raising money was tried—a tax on wool sales, the sale of offices, the seizure of money from merchants, increase of customs duties, and the year after the Armada failed an excise called the Millones was levied on the necessaries of life, wine, oil and meat. Later still, a house-to-house collection was made, which was nothing less than a public almsgiving for the benefit of the Crown. Even under Charles V. recourse had been had to loans, and every year the interest upon them swallowed up the taxes before they reached the treasury. "Every year," it was said, "ruined that which succeeded it." By wise management commerce should have been brought to the rescue of this terrible state of things; but it was rapidly passing into the hands of foreigners. Castile is not naturally a fertile country, and the Spaniard has an ingrained dislike to manual labour. The vast system of taxation, corruptly administered, and involving great expense merely for its collection, devoured all the capital of the country. Spain became absolutely dependent on foreign countries for its supply of arms, articles of luxury, and handicrafts.

To make matters worse, home industry was hampered by a network of restrictions on imported and exported goods; internal trade in raw materials was regulated with the object of making goods cheap. When expenses

continually increase and income as steadily declines bankruptcy is not far off; and this is what befell Spain as the price paid for Philip's system of government. By the ignorance, incapacity, and bigotry of its rulers, the life-blood of a great state was drained. In the reign of his successor the only visible sign of national life was the great literary age of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon. And in his caricature of Spanish devotion to "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties," the author of "Don Quixote" expresses the feeling of a country that had lost all faith in its old ideals.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

A. W. WARD: The Counter Reformation. (Epochs of Ch. History.)
MARTIN HUME: Philip II.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

FROM Charles the Bold to Charles V. the rulers of the Netherlands had chiefly aimed at uniting together the seventeen duchies, counties, or lordships that composed their dominions. Between the north and south were strongly marked differences; the north, on the whole, was Teutonic in race and democratic in feeling; the south Celtic, and, in the country districts, aristocratic; while the towns everywhere were famous for their independent and wealthy burghers. Each state was complete in itself, and strong local jealousies marked their attitude to one another.

Causes of
Division in
the Nether-
lands

Though Charles V. had undoubtedly persecuted the people of the Netherlands, shorn them of many of their liberties, and burdened them with taxes, his geniality kept him popular with them to the end. But though they were outwardly peaceable when they passed to Philip II., two questions were becoming critical—religion and taxation. Unfortunately Philip had nothing in common with his subjects of the Low Countries—not even speech—and his first measures were a series of blunders.

Religious
and
Financial
Problems

To begin with, there was the choice of a regent. For this important post two men on the spot seemed naturally fitted. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the Stattholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, had

been a favourite of Charles V., and though only twenty-six, had already seen important political service. The other, Lamoral, Count of Egmont, the Stattholder of Brabant and Artois, and victor of the battles of St Quentin and Gravelines, was an attractive and popular soldier, lacking perhaps the more solid qualities that William was soon to display. Philip, however, preferred docility in a regent to independence of character, and he chose his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, the wife of Ottavio Farnese. Discontent at the appointment of a foreigner was increased when the Council of State of native nobles was ousted by a Cabinet of three, under another foreigner, the Burgundian Granvella, Bishop of Arras. Though quite the ablest of Margaret's advisers, Granvella was ambitious and grasping, and far too subservient to Madrid to command any confidence in the Netherlands.

Margaret
of Parma,
Regent,
1559

Upon Charles V. rests the blame of bringing the Inquisition into the Netherlands, but Philip greatly widened its scope. The three existing bishoprics were undoubtedly unequal to the work of the Church in so populous a country, yet Catholics and Protestants alike stormed with indignation at the creation of fourteen new bishoprics under the three new archbishoprics of Cambrai, Utrecht, and Mechlin, each with special inquisitorial powers.

Aware of the opposition he had aroused, Philip decided to keep in the Netherlands some troops that had been collected for the French war, but the hostility to their presence became so strong that Granvella and Margaret begged Philip to withdraw them. Next, the nobles, supported by the Regent, who had often found the Cardinal's advice preferred to her own, insisted on the

recall of Granvella. Philip received him with pretended displeasure, but the fallen minister remained high in the King's confidence at Madrid till his death in 1582.

Recall of
Granvella,
1564

After Granvella's departure the persecuting edicts were more ferociously enforced than ever, and the Regent was almost distracted between her duty to her subjects and her duty to their sovereign. A number of the younger nobles, headed by William's brother, Lewis of Nassau, formed an association called the Compromise, for the abolition of the hateful Inquisition. "Why, Madam," said one of the Cabinet, to quiet the Regent's alarm at this new movement, "is it possible your Highness can fear these beggars?" And the name (*gueux*) was forthwith adopted by the members of the association, who took for their badge the wallet carried by their professional brethren of the streets.

The feeling against the Inquisition showed itself among the lower classes in riots at Antwerp, St Omer, and many other towns, where the images and decorations of the churches were ruthlessly destroyed. For once Philip was roused to open fury; but Margaret, imprisoned in her palace by the mob, was compelled to promise that the Inquisition should go. The people were pacified, and a number of leading Catholics, disgusted at the desecration of their churches, rallied round the government. Even Orange, who had hitherto been a Catholic, and was at the time passing into Calvinism, used his influence to maintain loyalty. It really seemed as if an understanding at last might be arrived at, when the nobles were commanded to take a fresh and more explicit oath of allegiance. Many of them chose rather to resign their offices, and William, warning Egmont against the perils of submission, moved with all his household into Nassau.

Immediately after, Alva arrived with an army to take the Regent's place, and reduce the Netherlands by force. "I have tamed men of iron in my time," said the Duke. "I shall know how to deal with these men of butter."

Arrival of
Alva

The arrival of Alva was the final cause of the revolt. Margaret of Parma, "hurt to the very bottom of her soul" by this slight upon her authority, soon resigned. The new Regent lost no time in arresting Counts Egmont and Hoorn, only regretting that "as they had not caught William, they had caught nothing."

A reign of terror followed under the terrible "Blood Council," created by Alva's sole authority, and directed entirely by Spaniards, one of whom, the Vice-President Vargas, forestalled Judge Jeffreys in brutal behaviour to his victims. It was Alva's boast that he put to death over 18,000 persons, and it was estimated that three times as many fled the country, many of them to England.

Execution
of Counts
Egmont
and Hoorn,
1568

Great efforts, even by the most exalted personages were made on behalf of the imprisoned Counts. Lewis of Nassau led an armed force into the country, and defeated the Spaniards at Heiligerlee. This decided their fate, as Alva's presence was needed in the field, and he would not leave his prisoners alive behind him. Their trial, which had been illegal in every respect, hastily ended in sentence of death for high treason. In the great square of Brussels, where now stand their statues they met their unexpected doom with unshaken courage in the midst of a vast and sorrowing crowd.

Resolute for vengeance as the Netherlanders were their cause appeared to Orange, pondering over it in exile, to be almost hopeless. He sold his plate and jewels and collected money to raise forces, knowing how

ill they must compare with Philip's trained troops. The proof of this appeared at the first encounter with Alva's army, when, after Lewis of Nassau's men had been utterly annihilated at Jemmingen, William, attempting to retrieve the disaster, was forced to retire without an engagement. The two brothers then joined Coligny in his Huguenot campaign in France.

Meanwhile Alva was pressed for money, and he introduced from Spain the taxes known as the Twentieth and Tenth pennies. These were imposts of five and ten per cent. on every sale of land or goods. The increase in cost of every article that had been thus taxed from its first stage as raw material to the last one as a finished product was ruinous in a commercial country like the Netherlands. "The bakers refused to bake, the brewers to brew, and the tapsters to tap." Shops were shut, and trade stagnated or removed to happier climes. In the prevailing gloom suddenly an unexpected ray fell upon the scene.

About 1569 William of Orange granted letters of marque to a group of pirates of mixed origin—part Dutch, part English—who terrorised the North Sea, making bloody reprisals on Spanish towns and shipping. Their loot—splendid church vestments and gold chalices—they openly sold in Dover, and that Elizabeth tolerated these proceedings was a sign of the growing recklessness of her treatment of Spain. Since her refusal of Philip's offer of marriage the relations between them had been civil, but as France became involved in her religious wars, and Spain hampered by the Netherland troubles, the danger diminished that these two Catholic Powers might unite in favour of Mary Stuart. Elizabeth, therefore, careless how she might provoke Philip, harboured

the Sea Beggars in Dover Roads. She was not, however, ready for open rupture; and since this had not been brought about even by Philip's clearly-proved share in the Ridolfi plot against her life, she yielded to pressure from Spain, and refused De la Marck further shelter. This wild rover, who had sworn never to cut his hair until he had avenged his kinsman Egmont, accordingly made for the Zeeland coast. On the spur of the moment he seized Brill as a refuge, taking formal possession in the name of Orange as Stattholder—"whose flag for the first time hoisted over the little port was the symbol of the new Sea Power on that day born into the world" (Edmundson). For from the capture of Brill dates the rise of the Dutch Republic.

The Sea
Beggars
capture
Brill, 1572

Like a flame, open revolt spread through the Northern provinces, and funds began to come in for the cause. William, already acknowledged Stattholder by Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, and Utrecht, began to hope that with help from Elizabeth and Charles IX.—then under Coligny's influence—he might make way in the South also. These hopes were soon dashed by the tidings of the Massacre of St Bartholomew. Alva drove Lewis of Nassau from Mons, which was intended to be the base of the patriot resistance in the south; and William himself only escaped capture through the watchfulness of his favourite spaniel.

Alva
secures the
Southern
Provinces

Satisfied of the security of the South, Alva entered upon a campaign for the conquest of the North, in which there is nothing to choose between the two sides in savage cruelty and unyielding valour.

The war in the Northern states principally took the form of sieges: the conquest of Zeeland went on under Mondragon, a tried and valiant soldier, whose most

famous exploit showed true Spanish tenacity. A shallow channel ten miles broad divided the island of South Beveland from the coast. To save Goes, its chief town, from the besieging Patriot army, 3000 of Mondragon's men crossed this channel at night. Even at low tide the water was breast-high, and the ten miles had to be covered in six hours, or the full tide would sweep away the invader. Yet grim determination carried all but nine safely to the rescue of Goes.

The patriots in their turn made a memorable resistance at Haarlem. The town is without natural defences, but the citizens were spurred to great exertions by the cruel slaughter that had followed the surrender of Zutphen and Naarden. They kept up communication by means of carrier-pigeons and swift skaters. When the Spaniards had recovered from surprise at the strange sight, Alva ordered seven thousand pairs of skates and had his soldiers taught how to use them. Within the town, women and children worked at the breaches, fought in the ranks, and helped in pouring boiling water, oil, and pitch on the besiegers' heads.

Siege of
Haarlem

The Spaniards now and then threw into the town the heads of leaders of defeated relief expeditions: the Dutch retaliated with interest whenever they could. Alva's son, after failing in two great assaults to capture Haarlem, was only kept to the task by his father's threat to disown him if he gave it up. But when rats and mice, nettles and hides had all been devoured at the end of seven months, the town itself surrendered. Its garrison was slaughtered, and many leading citizens either hanged or drowned in Haarlem lake. Yet the fate of Haarlem may be said to have saved Holland, by steeling other towns to even greater resistance.

Retire-
ment of
Alva, 1573

Alva was at last weary of his work, and begged for his recall. He left behind his memorial in more senses than one. His services in having "extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, and established peace" were already recorded upon his colossal bronze statue at Antwerp.

Requesens,
1573-1576

His rather colourless successor, the Grand Commander Requesens, was anxious to bring the war to an end, but nothing could move Orange from his three indispensable conditions—religious toleration, restoration of national liberties, and withdrawal of all foreigners from public service. So the war went on. Mondragon was forced to surrender the last Spanish stronghold in Zealand to the Sea Beggars. However, Lewis of Nassau, marching to relieve Leyden, which was strongly invested early in 1574, was killed with his younger brother Henry at the Battle of Mookerheide. The position of Leyden seemed so hopeless that Orange persuaded the states to cut the dykes and let loose the sea, the Rhine, and the Meuse upon the carefully cultivated land. "It is better to drown it than to lose it," he urged. Yet the winds held contrary, till it seemed as if even this sacrifice had come too late. Early in October, however, a furious westerly gale heaped the waters upon the land, and the Sea Beggars, their ships laden with provisions, flew before the wind—past chimney stacks and fruit trees, to the Spanish entrenchments. The sight of the oncoming flood drove the Spaniards into flight, but succour was already too late for some 8000 of the famished citizens. The following day the wind changed, sweeping the waters back to the sea, so that the rebuilding of the dykes began almost immediately. In memory of the great defence William founded the University of Leyden.

Siege of
Leyden,
1573-1574

As Philip remained inflexible on the subject of toleration, a Conference held by the two parties at Breda had no result. The Estates of Holland and Zeeland then decided to offer the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Queen Elizabeth, but the moment had not arrived for the Queen to declare herself against Spain.

The sudden death of Requesens was followed by a wave of mutiny, which passed through the army from north to south and overwhelmed Antwerp. The rebel forces from outside combined with the garrison to sack the town. With shouts of "St Jago—Spain—blood, fire, pillage!" the savage soldiery slew and robbed and tortured. They stole or destroyed about twelve millions worth of property, including jewels, lace, rich stuffs, and the private savings of the poor. The flames of a thousand burning houses raged about the Cathedral, sparing the grand building itself, but the wealth and splendour of Antwerp were laid in ruins.

Death of
Requesens,
March
1576

"The
Spanish
Fury,"
1576

The strong indignation aroused by this deed united both north and south in the famous Pacification of Ghent:—

- (1) All were to unite in expelling the Spanish troops.
- (2) All persecution was to cease, and a States General representing the seventeen provinces was to consider the religious question.
- (3) Orange was to continue as Governor in Philip's name.
- (4) All prisoners were to be set free and all confiscated property restored.

Just at this time arrived the new Governor, Don Juan of Austria, who had ridden through France disguised as a Moorish slave. By the Perpetual Edict—since his instructions were to yield—he confirmed the Pacification of Ghent, on condition that his authority

Don Juan,
Governor,
1576-1578




should be acknowledged and the northern citadels handed over to him. William, however, cautioned the states against fulfilling these demands, and kept himself more than ever on the alert.

Don Juan came with high hopes. His youth and confidence, his personal attractions and his great military reputation made him popular everywhere. He looked forward, after settling affairs in the Netherlands, to winning a crown as husband of either Elizabeth or Mary Queen of Scots. But he soon discovered that the only recognised authority in the Netherlands was that of the wise and wary William of Orange, and that, as we have already seen, Philip's minister, Antonio Perez, was setting to work to poison his master's suspicious mind against him.

At the same time William, whose highest point of success was reached with his entry into Brussels a few months after Don Juan's, was also being disillusioned. His leadership was never again unanimously accepted. This apparent lapse of loyalty in the southern states is explained when we remember that differences of race, religion and language divided north and south; that the great Jesuit centres of Douay and St Omer acted as powerful magnets on their surroundings; that Requesens and Don Juan, and still more successfully Parma, turned to account the religious rivalry between the north and south; that the latter, though more easily roused, was less steadfast than the north; and that a strong section of the Walloon nobility regarded Orange as a usurper of their position and rights. To sum up, William had become too closely identified with the party of the Northern Calvinists to be accepted as ruler by the united seventeen states.

Causes of
Division
between
Northern
and
Southern
Provinces

BURGUNDY and the NETHERLANDS

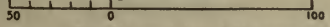
France 
 The Empire 
 Burgundian Lands and claims 

S.B. South Beveland
 M.H. Mooker Heyde



V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1909.

English Miles



The first sign of the change was the setting up of the Archduke Matthias of Austria by the southern nobles as a rival to Don Juan. Mainly by the help of his nephew, Alexander Farnese, Don Juan defeated this party decisively at Gemblours, and the Archduke retired. A substitute was found in Francis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France, who, though mean in person and base in mind, was the object of Elizabeth's flirtations. She allowed it to be understood that she favoured his pretensions in the Netherlands while she intrigued secretly against this dangerous opening to French influence.

Meanwhile Don Juan, forced to inaction through want of definite instructions and much-needed supplies, became utterly dispirited, and sank into a fever which rapidly overcame his strength; after fighting imaginary battles in delirium, he then died quietly on October 1, 1578, worn out and disappointed, at thirty-three.

Alexander
of Parma,
1578-1592

His successor, Alexander of Parma, was for William a far more formidable opponent. The son of Charles V.'s daughter Margaret of Parma and her second husband Ottavio Farnese, he had been brought up with Don Juan and Don Carlos at Madrid. His passion for fighting found an outlet at first in incognito duels, but at twenty-three he was already a master in fortification, and he distinguished himself for daring at Lepanto. His military genius was almost equalled by his diplomatic gifts, to which must be added the advantage of personal fascination. A rare engraving of the time shows him alert and dignified, with aquiline features and pointed beard, wearing a deep lace ruff, gold-inlaid armour, and the collar of the Golden Fleece, as became a prince of fashion. Athletic and temperate habits kept a perfect

balance between his bodily and mental gifts; and so, armed at all points, Alexander Farnese brought his energy, persuasiveness, and concentration of purpose to bear upon the problem of the Netherlands.

Meanwhile the Calvinists were growing more aggressive and lawless, and the great nobles and others were rallying to Catholicism. In 1579 the Treaty of Arras in support of that faith was concluded between Artois, Hainault, and certain Flemish towns. The northern provinces responded in the Union of Utrecht, and these two important measures already forecast the ultimate division of the Netherlands. By this union Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, Utrecht, Friesland—and later Groningen and Overijssel—formed a confederation to defend their civil and religious liberty.

The
Union of
Utrecht,
1579

Farnese continued to win supporters by bribes of gold or promotion, and even approached Orange with splendid offers. These tactics failing, in 1580, by Granvella's advice, Philip published a ban against William, offering 25,000 gold crowns and the rank of noble to any man who should hand over the traitor alive or dead. William replied in a vigorous Apology, defending himself from the charge of rebellion and denouncing Philip for his tyranny as no true king. Despairing of success without foreign aid, William circulated the Apology in the Courts of Europe, came to a final understanding with Anjou, and with his own hands fastened upon Francis' shoulders the ducal mantle of Brabant. Holland and Zeeland, however, regarded Anjou with disfavour, and chose Orange as their hereditary Count. Thus the Netherlands at this time formed three groups—the west under Spain, the centre under France, and the north under William of Orange.

But the choice of Anjou as sovereign of the Netherlands did not lead, as Orange had hoped, to a European alliance against Spain. Queen Elizabeth gave up her pretences of engagement, and Henry III.'s offers of help ended in talk. Parma continued to gain ground, and Anjou grew restive under the authority of Orange and of the Estates. Hoping to assert his independence by capturing the Prince, he organised an attack on Antwerp. After the first shock of surprise the burghers flew to arms, and in less than an hour the streets were piled with dead French soldiers. His own followers expressed their disgust at such an act of treachery; but Anjou, unabashed, publicly attributed the affair to mischance, while he confided to Henry III. that "the manifest intention of the states to make a Matthias of him had been the cause of the catastrophe." Still Orange remained convinced of the necessity of maintaining the French alliance; and, though much criticised for doing so, he married about this time, as his fourth wife, Coligny's daughter Louise. He continued to negotiate with Anjou in France until the Duke's death; and for a time became so unpopular that he moved into the midst of his loyal Hollanders at Delft. One attempt upon his life by Jauréguy had already failed, when, in July, came the Burgundian fanatic, Balthasar Gerard, with the pretext of bringing the news of Anjou's death. He bought a pair of pistols with some money Orange had given him; and, under an arch in the passage outside the Prince's dining-room, he awaited his return from the family dinner. As William, leading the way, mounted the stairs, Gerard fired three bullets, and the Prince fell into the arms of one of his officers, crying, "God have mercy upon my soul and upon this poor

"The
French
Fury,"
1583

Murder of
the Prince
of Orange,
July 10,
1584

people." A few minutes later he died. Gerard rushed out of doors, but he was caught; and glorying in his crime, was put to death with barbarous tortures.

At the time of his murder William was fifty-one years old, and, in spite of his arduous life, in full vigour of mind and body. In an early portrait, at the age of twenty-eight, his expression is that of a man not yet certain of himself. His latest picture shows him white-haired, and a little weary, but serenely calm, as having weathered some of the worst storms of human experience. When the assassin struck him down, his work was done, for the future of the United Netherlands was assured.

William's character was a union of wariness and simplicity. Though sparing in all his private tastes, he was good company at table and a frank and genial talker. His title of the Silent is said to have been earned by his discreet reserve when Henry II. confided his plans of persecution to him. He was quick to grasp, and cautious to act, and, in emergencies, conspicuously brave. Though far more open than most rulers of his time, he did not disdain to meet craft with craft. Like Philip and Elizabeth, he was served by spies, but he never stooped to employ assassination. For ten years he daily received copies of Philip's most secret correspondence; and at one time he carried on all his political business under the name of a firm of merchants—G. & L. Certain. He had a close knowledge of men and the useful faculties of hearing everything and forgetting nothing. His energy and steadfastness were inexhaustible. In toleration and breadth of religious views he belongs to the modern world.

William's eldest son Philip had been, in 1568,

forcibly carried off to Spain, and brought up to hate his father's cause. The second son, called after his famous grandfather, Maurice of Saxony, was elected to rule Holland and Zeeland. For several years after his father's death, Maurice, from the age of seventeen, was absorbed in the scientific study of war—for the son of William the Silent, strangely enough, was to prove no politician, but one of the first soldiers of his age. Had Orange accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands, as he was so often pressed to do, some central authority would have remained at his death. But, by the Federal constitution of the United Provinces, each retained its own government under its own Stattholder, and dealt with its own financial and foreign policy. The business of the Federal government was to organise, in the States General, the defence of all the provinces under their appointed officials, the Captain and Admiral-General. Under these circumstances the five states, feeling the need of a visible bond of union in the face of Parma's rapid progress south of the Meuse, applied in turn to France and England. Henry III. and Elizabeth both declined the honour for themselves; but English troops, under the command of the Queen's favourite, Leicester, were despatched to the Netherlands.

English Expedition to the Netherlands under Leicester, 1585-1587

Without consulting his mistress he accepted the office of Governor-General, and in high displeasure she refused for months to recognise the appointment. Leicester's own strong Calvinistic leanings, his unwise appointments, exclusive support of the popular party, and quarrels with his subordinates, increased his difficulties. His military undertakings were nearly always unsuccessful, and are chiefly remembered in connection with the loss at Zutphen of his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney.

Finally in 1587 he returned to England. Elizabeth still hoped to avert a rupture with Philip by intriguing with Parma, who was merely playing with her to gain time for his master. Instead of disowning her responsibility for Drake's "singeing of the Spanish king's beard," and doling out niggardly support to the Netherlands, the wisest course would have been, as nearly always, the boldest. Had Elizabeth thrown herself unreservedly into the cause of Holland, it is possible that the Armada could not have sailed in 1588. Indeed, it might never have done so, for time gained was everything. But Elizabeth's indecision gave the opportunity, and the execution of the Queen of Scots the pretext, for the sailing of that "invincible fleet." So Elizabeth found herself instead face to face with the task of saving England, while Philip not only failed to conquer it, but, by checking Parma's victorious advance, threw away his best chance of recovering the Netherlands.

The Armada, as planned by Philip, was a military rather than a naval expedition. The soldiers were superior in authority and numbers to the sailors. The King's orders were to make for the Netherlands, and guard the Channel while Parma's army of 17,000 men was transported in the flat-bottomed barges which had been for some time collecting in the only available ports—Newport and Dunkirk. Parma vainly urged that a base of operations, as at Flushing, or in the Isle of Wight, should be first secured. "Four ships of war," he wrote, "could sink every one of my boats." But Philip, with the hopefulness of the ignorant, clung to the idea that Parma, even without the Armada's help, might contrive to slip unnoticed across the Channel with his troops.

Events
leading
to the
Armada

The Armada's history, from Drake's destructive swoop upon Cadiz in 1587 to the mutterings of the gale that blew on August 14, 1588, is one long catalogue of disaster. The death of its commander-elect, Santa Cruz; the unfortunate appointment of Medina Sidonia; the dishonesty of food contractors; the blockade of Parma's transports by Justin of Nassau's little fleet; even the weather conditions—by each and all these untoward events the Armada was thoroughly dispirited when, after a running fight up Channel with Howard's squadron from Plymouth, it found itself on July 27 at Calais, and almost in touch with Parma. By specially constructed canals Alexander had brought all his vessels to the starting-point, and could embark his men in a day. But until he should have cleared away the Dutch fleet from the entrance to his two ports, Medina Sidonia resigned himself to at least a fortnight's delay in Calais Roads. To the English, however, whose provisions were running short, delay meant disaster, and by launching old burning hulks into the harbour, they drove the Armada, panic-stricken, out to sea. Next day a great battle raged off Gravelines. Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins leading the attack, poured their broadsides into the towering Spanish ships, evading all attempts to grapple. The English vessels, of lighter build, out-manceuvred their opponents by superior seamanship, and the heavy Spanish shot passed harmlessly above their decks. The English artillery was more numerous and more modern, their gunnery better than the Spaniards', and the battle was decided in favour of those who could pound hardest. It is not surprising that the English ammunition gave out before the day was over. Yet not a single ship, and scarcely sixty men, were lost, while sixteen of

Battle off
Gravelines,
Aug. 8,
1588

the finest Spanish men-of-war and between four and five thousand of their men perished.

About five o'clock Medina Sidonia signalled the retreat. "Then," said Howard, "we put on a brag countenance and gave chase, as though we wanted nothing." All next day the pursuit lasted, and a sudden change in the wind drove the Armada northwards before it, as it freshened into a mighty gale. Near the Firth of Forth Howard turned back, and left the storm to work its will. Without pilots, without charts, ignorant of the northern seas, with battered ships and ruined hopes, the Armada was scattered and wrecked upon the coasts of Norway, Scotland, and Ireland. About one-third straggled painfully back to Spain; most of the tried and valiant Spanish captains had already perished, or died broken-hearted on their return, but Medina Sidonia survived to find himself once more among his orange trees.

Philip, in his usual patient way, accepted the blow, not despairing of fitting out a second Armada. But the English now took the offensive. Of the many buccaneering expeditions that left our coasts, the most conspicuous were a miserable fiasco that occurred in aid of Don Antonio of Portugal, and the successful descent of Essex and Howard upon Cadiz.

English
Expeditions
against
Spain,
1589,
1596

Meanwhile, in Holland, new men were coming to the front—John van Oldenbarneveldt, Maurice, and Lewis William of Nassau.

Oldenbarneveldt, the Advocate of Holland, formerly a close friend of William the Silent, was a lawyer and statesman of remarkable grasp and ambition. Maurice, at this time described as an unmannerly schoolboy, was engaged, with the help of his cousin, Lewis William, in adapting the military science of Greece and Rome to

John van
Olden-
barneveldt

modern warfare. Between them they held the Stattholderships of the seven provinces, and with Oldenbarneveldt they worked in complete accord. Lewis William was a man of broad and earnest religious views, unselfishly devoted to his country, and a student of classical wars. The army, which consisted largely of English, Scots, German, and French mercenaries, had to be turned into a weapon not merely of defence but of attack. The musket displaced the pike as the chief arms of the infantry, the troopers, equipped with carbines instead of lances, became mounted infantry rather than cavalry, a regular engineer corps was introduced, and all prejudice against the use of the spade was soon overcome in Maurice's army by the important place it was given in the work of fortification. A regular system of pay was set up, the strictest discipline was enforced, and pillage, the curse of the time, was rigorously suppressed. At the head of this reformed and efficient force stood Maurice, lacking perhaps French dash and Italian swiftmess, but cool, scientific, and resolute. With his great rival Parma he scarcely came into contact, for under the strain of incredible exertions the latter's health had given way. Twice, in 1590 and 1592, he had been required to march into France to relieve Paris and Rouen for the Catholic League. But these masterly achievements, among the finest in his career, were the work of a dying man. His loyalty had long been overcast at Madrid by cruel slanders, which he vainly urged Philip to treat "not only as a King but as a gentleman." His successor was, in fact, already chosen, but from the knowledge of this final insult death saved him. Though he could no longer mount his horse unaided, at the end of a long day's work in the saddle when superintending

preparations for yet another French campaign he fainted, and so passed away. In all the war there is no more heroic figure than the forsaken but unconquerable Parma, battling to the last with disease and death.

Death of
Parma,
Dec. 1592

His successor, the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian II., was designed by Philip to marry his daughter Isabella, and rule France. He was gentle, fat, and fond of comfort, and his habit of bursting into tears under difficulties must have been puzzling to an official generation that had known Parma. In little more than a year he died, and was succeeded by his brother, the ex-Cardinal Archduke Albert, a dignified and hard-working soldier and politician of some ability. He at once made overtures of peace, but the states had other views, and formed with France and England a triple alliance against Spain—the first foreign recognition of their independence. During these years Maurice of Nassau had sprung into the first rank as a general, and the results of his campaigns from 1591-1596 may be here summarised. During Parma's absence in France he mastered the course of the Waal, and overran the northern provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe. The next year the capture of Gertruydenberg secured control of the Meuse, and with the surrender of Groningen fell the last Spanish stronghold in that province. Temporarily checked in the north by the nonagenarian hero Mondragon, he scored a great success in South Brabant in his next campaign. In a week he cleared North Brabant and Zeeland from the marauders he had driven from Turnhout in South Brabant, and followed up the work of this little winter campaign by capturing a number of places on the Cleves frontier, which strengthened his position on the Rhine.

The
Archdukes
Ernest and
Albert in
the Neth-
erlands

The Peace
of Ver-
vins, May
1598

At this point, to the great disappointment of the Dutch, Henry IV. of France concluded with Spain the Peace of Vervins, in which the states declined to be included without acknowledgment of their independence. The Spanish provinces at the same time were formed into a separate sovereign state, to be ruled by the Archduke Albert and his proposed bride the Infanta, on the understanding that they should revert to Spain should the Archduke die childless. In the autumn died Philip II.

The war continued between the Spanish and United Provinces till 1609, its monotonous course being relieved by two great exploits at Nieuwport and Ostend. To secure a base of attack on Dunkirk, and strike at Flanders, the heart of the enemy's power, Maurice invested Nieuwport. Caught unexpectedly by the Archduke's army between the harbour behind and the sea on the left, Maurice had to give battle in the sand dunes. After several hours' fierce struggle his soldiers broke into flight, but were rallied by their general's extraordinary quickness and resolution. The tables were instantly turned, the Archduke's army stampeded, and Albert himself, who had fought bravely, only narrowly escaped with his life. This first great victory of the states in the open field was marked by the loss of some 5000 of the enemy and the capture of large numbers of prisoners, guns, and standards.

The Siege
of Ostend,
1601-1604

The second great military event of the "old age" of the war was the long siege of Ostend. The capture of this fort, the only one held by the states in Flanders, was of great importance to the Spaniards, as being the single "thorn in the Belgic Lion's foot." Sir Francis Vere was the first of a line of stout defenders of the town. Maurice and Lewis William watched over it

outside, intercepting supplies for the besieging army; and as it was open to the sea, it had ample provisions. On the land side the approaches were mined and countermined, and the forts captured one by one, till it seemed as if Ostend would be nibbled to pieces. At last the Marquis Spinola, head of a great Genoese banking family, offered the Archdukes to advance large sums on condition that he might command the besieging forces. Spinola was no soldier, but a refined and dignified aristocrat of thirty-three, whom Velasquez has made familiar in his famous picture of the surrender of Breda. Yet he at once proved himself as tough as a tried campaigner, and as reckless of his own life as he was of the lives of his troops. It was soon clear that Ostend was in his grasp, from which Maurice tried to wrench it by a counter-attack on a more important place—Sluys. Having secured Sluys, on Spinola's failure to relieve it, Maurice was unwillingly preparing, at the States General's orders, to attack Spinola's army before Ostend, when a further waste of human life was spared by the garrison's surrender. They marched out with all the honours of war, leaving the Archdukes to take possession of the grim and desolate heap of ruins that had once been Ostend. Seventy thousand men, the life-blood of the army in Belgium, had been sacrificed to take it, and meanwhile in Sluys the states had gained a more useful seaport, commanding the western entrance to the Scheldt.

For five years longer the war lingered, its final exploit taking place at sea. A Dutch fleet, under the daring navigator Heemskirk, attacked the Spanish fleet in Gibraltar Bay, and utterly destroyed it at a trifling cost of life. With the good offices of France and

The Twelve
Years'
Truce,
April 1609

England, negotiations, after a time of great suspense, ended in a twelve-years' truce, on the following terms:—

- (1) The United Provinces were acknowledged by Spain to be sovereign and independent.
- (2) Freedom of trade was granted to the Provinces.

No mention was made of liberty of worship for the Catholics, but this was practically secured by the toleration shown in the states to all forms of belief.

Different
Results
of the
Struggle
in North
and South

So the great forty years' struggle ended: with the astonishing result, that a race of traders and fishermen, striking for liberty, had, in achieving it, not only reduced the greatest Empire of the age to the position of a second-rate power, but had "found" itself. It had made proof of its rugged virtues, and, in the strength of its new-born national feeling, it displayed its energy in every field of human enterprise. No more extraordinary contrast can be imagined than that produced by the war between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The south had become a desert—fields lay waste; population had migrated; trade had drifted northwards: Antwerp was totally eclipsed by Amsterdam. But, in the north, trade thrived on the war. The Dutch became the corn and timber-carriers of Europe; the cloth trade was transplanted from Flanders to Holland. France and England, each absorbed in its own affairs, made no opposition to the world-wide expansion of Dutch commerce. From the Kara Straits to Patagonia, from Japan to Brazil, their ships were on every sea. The first of all chartered Companies for Indian trade was formed in Holland. The Arctic adventures of Barendz and Heemskirk have never been surpassed in interest. We may trace the Dutch settlements in New Amsterdam

(New York), New Holland (Australia), northern New Guinea, Cape Hoorn, Tasmania, the Fiji Islands, Ceylon and Cape Colony.

Progress in literature, science, and art kept pace with that of discovery. During the war, refugees of various races and opinions from the south brought new ideas and fresh vigour to the Dutch stock. About a generation later were born a brilliant throng of men and women, destined to win for Frederick Henry's reign the title of the Golden Age—the age of Grotius, Descartes and Spinoza, of the great Dutch poets, and of the great Dutch painters, headed by Hals and Rembrandt.

After the conclusion of the Truce, which had been strenuously opposed by Maurice of Nassau, the political power in the states eclipsed that of the army, and brought into greater prominence Oldenbarneveldt, whose diplomacy secured for Holland a great place in European politics. He joined hands with France over the important affairs of the Juliers-Cleves succession, soothed the commercial jealousy of England, and kept on friendly terms with the northern powers. Unfortunately, at home, it was plain that friction was arising. The political, military, and naval authority of the states was centred in the half-hereditary House of Orange—by which is meant that election was practically restricted to this one family. But Oldenbarneveldt was Advocate of Holland, where the Republican party were uppermost. Yet it was religion and not politics that finally separated the two friends. The great rivalry between the two branches of Dutch Calvinism, the Remonstrants and the Counter Remonstrants (Liberals and strict Calvinists) came to a head in a famous controversy between their leaders, Arminius and Gomarus. The states declared in favour

Religious
Parties in
Holland

of the Arminians, the party to which belonged both the House of Orange and Oldenbarneveldt; but the Counter Remonstrants proved defiant, and it became necessary to appeal to force. Though Maurice confessed he did not know "whether Predestination was blue or green," he yielded to the persuasions of the Advocate's enemies, and offered his military services to the Counter Remonstrants. Oldenbarneveldt urged the State of Holland to raise irregular forces of its own, and claimed that Maurice must take his orders from that authority, and not from the States-General. But Maurice and his soldiers were irresistible: a large majority took up the Counter Remonstrant cry for a National Synod, and the Remonstrant leaders, among them Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, were arrested. While the Synod of Dort, representing most of Protestant Europe, was engaged in condemning the Remonstrants, and drawing up its own Confession of Faith, an illegal Court, packed with his personal enemies, was conducting Oldenbarneveldt's trial in the harshest manner. He was condemned to death, and Maurice declined to interfere with the sentence. The old Advocate was beheaded on May 13, 1619. "Do not believe that I am a traitor to the country," were his last words to the assembled crowd. "I have always acted as a good patriot, and, as such, I shall die." The verdict of history has confirmed his defence: if Orange was the Founder, Oldenbarneveldt was the master-builder of the United Netherlands. His death was due to the malignity of his enemies, and casts a dark shadow upon the reputation of Maurice of Orange. * *on the predestinarians.*

The Synod
of Dort

Execution
of Olden-
barneveldt,
1619

The fall of Oldenbarneveldt postponed for thirty years the struggle between the House of Orange and the

Republican party. Maurice was sovereign in all but name till his death; he was unmarried, and did not care about the title. Yet nothing, he admitted, went well with him after the Advocate's execution. On the expiration of the truce with Spain, he took the field against Spinola, and achieved one success in the relief of Bergen-op-Zoom. But his failure to rescue Breda cut him to the heart and hastened his end. On his death-bed he settled the succession upon his brother Frederick Henry, the son of William and Louise de Coligny, whom he had also trained to be the heir of his fame in war.

During the reign of Frederick Henry the power and prosperity of the House of Orange reached its greatest height. Reference has already been made to the famous period of discovery, literature, and art, which won for his age the name of "Golden." The Prince, who had inherited the diplomatic gifts of his father, with the military genius of his brother, was exactly the ruler to foster the growth of monarchy in Holland—and this development is the chief interest of his reign in European history. While Frederick himself took the field, gaining in a series of campaigns an important line of border fortresses—Hertogenbosch, Maestricht, and Breda—his clever wife, Amalia of Sohms, conducted political and diplomatic business, and transformed Maurice's quiet household into a court. In the diplomacy of the Thirty Years' War Holland played an important part, and two great naval triumphs over Spain in 1631 and 1639 signalled her growing sea-power. At Frederick Henry's death the House of Orange had attained sovereign rank. The Act of Survival had already declared the hereditary succession of his son, William II., whose marriage with

Frederick
Henry,
Prince of
Orange,
1625-1648

Death of
Frederick
Henry,
1647

Mary, daughter of Charles I., linked his family with a great reigning house.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

MOTLEY : Dutch Republic.

” The United Netherlands.

FREDERIC HARRISON : William the Silent.

R. PUTNAM : William the Silent.

CREIGHTON : Age of Elizabeth. (Epoch Series.)

CHAPTER X

THE FRENCH REFORMATION

THE French Reformation must not be regarded as a side-issue of the German Reformation, for it had a character all its own. The Church in France had always been somewhat independent of Rome, and the Reform movement there never threatened, as it did about the time of the Diet of Worms in Germany, to become national. The Huguenots were always a minority—perhaps about one-thirtieth of the population; while in Germany, by 1580, the Protestants have been estimated at twenty-seven thirtieths of the whole. The many political divisions of the Empire favoured differences of opinion; but for bare national existence France needed a centralised government and uniformity of religion. Thus in Germany the Reformation could succeed partly; in France it must succeed altogether or fail. Independence of thought may be said to have been the watchword of Germany; but a stricter and more binding moral law was the aim of the French Reformers. It has been remarked that “the German Reformer fought against the Pope, the French Reformer against the Devil” (*Edwards*). The personal interest of the French Reformation—especially of its heroines—is stronger than in Germany. Each movement, however, gave birth to a great Protestant Reformer—the one to Luther, the other to Calvin. Lastly, Protestantism was

Contrast
between
the Re-
formation
in Ger-
many and
in France

strong in North Germany and South France. South Germany was finally recovered by the Roman Church but had the Reformation come fifty years sooner it might possibly have succeeded in the South of France.

Five
Periods of
the French
Reforma-
tion—

- (1) 1520-36
- (2) 1536-59
- (3) 1559-72
- (4) 1572-89
- (5) 1589-95

The French Reformation struggle is so long and complicated that a general plan of its course may be sketched here. The first stage is that of growth; the second, of organisation as a religious party; the third, of organisation as a political party; the fourth, of the triumph of the political party over the religious party. At this point with the massacre of St Bartholomew, the real Reformation movement ends; the wars of religion now become a struggle for the throne between the Guise and Bourbon factions; or, in other aspects, a contest between tyranny and Republicanism, or between national independence and Spanish rule. The accession of Henry of Navarre followed by his admission to the Roman Church, cannot be regarded as a Huguenot victory, and is succeeded by the Catholic reaction.

The Reformation entered France hand-in-hand with the Renaissance, and the welcome given by the Royal House to the latter saved the former from a severe reception at first.

The Evan-
gelical
Reformers

About 1520 the new movement gained a footing in Paris with the Evangelical Reformers—Lefèvre, Farel, Marot, Briçonnet, and Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I. Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament into French enabled him to set up the Bible as the sole standard of faith. Under Bishop Briçonnet Meaux became the centre of a band of preachers inspired by Lefèvre, of whom the chief were Farel, the young and imaginative apostle of Switzerland, and Marot, the

avourite poet of Francis I., whose beautiful version of the Psalms did much to make Protestantism popular.

Lastly, there was Margaret of Valois, the patroness of learning and darling of the Court, who presented the reformed religion to the world in its most attractive aspect. When she left Paris to become the Huguenot Queen of Navarre, Meaux already eclipsed Paris as the headquarters of Protestantism, and challenged the opposition of the Sorbonne or Theological Faculty of that university. During the King's captivity in 1525, the Parliament of Paris set on foot persecution; but at Francis' return the clouds temporarily lifted—unfriendly relations with the Pope, his sister's great influence, and the attraction the Reformers' learning had for the King, early led him to adopt their cause. This, however, was not to be. The wild outbreaks against the Mass forfeited his sympathy; the Catholics convinced him that the success of the Reformation would hopelessly divide the country; Pope Clement VII. succeeded in involving France in a new Italian war, and at the same time in making his cousin, Catharine di Medici, Dauphiness. For these reasons Francis I. finally decided against the Reformation.

Though the new ideas rapidly spread in the provinces, there was, up to this point, no union between those who held them. But in 1536, the year of Lefèvre's death, appeared "The Institutes of the Christian Religion," upholding the Reformers' religious views as being quite compatible with the character of good citizens. This remarkable book, dedicated to the King, and written by a young man of twenty-six, had the effect of welding the French Reformation into one whole, and of giving it the distinctive name, Calvinist.

John
Calvin,
1509-1564

Its author, John Calvin, born in Picardy in 1509, of well-to-do and respected parents, had studied law at Bourges and Paris. In the capital he fell under the influence of the Reformers, and on account of his views he was forced to leave the city. Before long he settled in Basel, a town teeming with the new ideas, and there he published the Institutes. This book, the critical outlook upon religion of a deeply spiritual mind, became the code of law for the new Church. Calvin, at Farel's entreaty, was soon actively engaged in work in Geneva. That free Imperial city was French in language, which may account for the fact that it, and not German-speaking Basel, was destined to become "the new Rome of the Protestant Church." Much friction and mental activity was generated on this meeting-ground of four races, under the curiously-divided authority of the Bishop, the Duke of Savoy, and the citizens. During Calvin's first stay of two years, he tried to carry out a thoroughgoing reform in the life of the city; but his severity defeated his object, and he and Farel were driven away. Three years later he was recalled with a free hand to rule the Church. First he drew up a scheme for the education of ministers, so that before long Geneva was "the mine whence came the ore of heresy" which was distributed throughout France, Holland, England, and Scotland. In Geneva was set up the Consistory of six ministers and twelve annually-elected elders. They were responsible for the city's morals, and with the aid of the civil government had power to punish lapses from a very exacting standard. Attendance at church was compulsory; disrespect to parents, card-playing, the wearing of gay clothes, frivolity, and irreverence were punishable offences; and the penalty of heresy was death. Th

Genevan model of Church organisation was copied wherever Calvinism took root, whether in Europe or America. In France the congregations were organised during the second period of the Reformation. Each congregation formed a distinct church, ruling the life of the community through its Consistory of ministers, deacons, and elders. The pastor and one elder represented each church in the district meeting; above this stood the Provincial Synod; and, at the head of all, the National Synod, which in 1559 drew up at Paris the Calvinist Confession of Faith. The only recognised sacraments were Baptism and the Lord's Supper, of which latter Calvin, differing from both Catholics and Lutherans, taught the doctrine of a Real Presence, revealed only spiritually to the faithful. The Bible was to be the sole standard of belief; but no salvation was possible without the fold of the Church. Though the constitution of the Church was democratic by means of the election of all officers but Calvin himself, obedience to authority was strictly enjoined. It was not until after Calvin's death that the well-known views of free grace and predestination came to the front.

Calvin lived to see his Church firmly settled in many countries, and he remained both Pope and Emperor of Geneva until his death in 1564. Gloomy as was his teaching and severe and unæsthetic as were its practices, it lived in the Huguenots, the Dutch, the Puritans, the Covenanters, and the Pilgrim Fathers as a purifying and reviving force in the history of nations.

By 1535 Francis had definitely decided against the Reformation; and as soon as there was a lull in the Italian war, persecution began. For nearly ten years

Persecu-
tion of the
Waldenses,
1545

the Waldenses, the peaceful and law-abiding follower of Peter Waldo, whose only crime was association with the Lutherans, were treated with merciless severity. Finally they were abandoned to the cruel President of the Parlement of Aix, whose troops destroyed their village and slew a population of 3000 in the space of two months. Next year a descent was made upon the Reformers of Meaux, fourteen of whom were tried, tortured, and burnt by the Parlement of Paris. Yet it was evident at the time of Francis' death that Protestantism had gained ground everywhere except the north-west.

Henry II.,
1547-1559

Henry II., however, did not share his father's interest in the Reformers' learning, and he was strongly influenced by their enemies, the Constable, the Marshal, and the all-powerful favourite, Diane de Poitiers. The Guises recovered their influence at Court, which had lately waned. Persecution became more active—a special Chamber of the Parlement of Paris set apart for the trial of heretics soon justified its name of La Chambre Ardente. The Church as well as the Civil Courts were empowered to deal with heretics, and from neither jurisdiction was there any appeal. Yet it was at this time that the movement reached its highest level in purity of belief and of motive, in the completion of its organisation and in the saintliness which every age of persecution seems to manifest. Even the orthodox Parlement of Paris had become infected with the new ideas before the end of Henry II.'s reign.

Francis II.,
1559-1560

The accession of Francis II., Henry's eldest son, coincides with the beginning of the third period of the Reformation—the political organisation of the Protestants. Here ends the purely religious interest:

motives become mixed, and the movement declines in moral force. But it appeals to a wider circle. Converts are first found about this time among the noble or military classes which had been set free by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Three great families controlled the state of parties, and each were represented by three distinguished brothers.

The young King Francis II. was, at the age of sixteen, entirely in the hands of the Guises, the uncles of his wife, Mary Queen of Scots. Though regarded as semi-foreigners, the Guises had in their veins the blood of all the royal houses of France, and were the grandsons of that René of Lorraine who had recovered his duchy from the clutches of Charles the Bold. They were fanatically Catholic, popular with the lower classes, and therefore strong in northern industrial France; and ambitious of supreme power. Through their sister, Mary of Lorraine, James V.'s widow, and Regent of Scotland for her daughter Mary Stuart, they worked the Catholic interest of that country to the utmost, hoping to make good their niece's claim to the English throne in despite of Queen Elizabeth. The Scots Protestants, headed by the Lords of the Congregation, therefore made successful overtures of alliance to both Elizabeth and the French Protestants. The long-standing enmity between France and Spain, although just officially closed by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, nevertheless kept Philip II. in constant dread of the Guise policy, and obliged him to be civil to Elizabeth. It was not until the danger of a union between France, Scotland, and England had passed away with Francis II., and in a secondary sense with the improved position in England of the Tudor Queen, that the Catholic sympathies shared by the Guises and Philip were able to draw them together,

The Great
French
Nobles
the Guises

with the disastrous results to France known as the Wars of the Catholic League.

The Guises of whom we have spoken were the three brothers—the Cardinal of Lorraine, a subtle, suave, and commanding personality; Francis, Duke of Guise, the hero of Metz and Calais, less able but more straightforward than his brother; and the Cardinal of Guise, altogether less prominent than the other two. They were supported, on the whole, by the great nobles, the clergy, the official classes, and the peasants; and geographically their influence was strongest in Paris, North-east France, Toulouse, and Brittany.

Of the same religion as the Guises, but separated from them by personal dislike, was the House of Montmorency, whose head was the stern and upright old Constable, Coligny's uncle. They formed at first, with the Queen-Mother and the Chancellor L'Hopital, what may be called the Middle Catholic Party; but when war broke out they supported the Crown against the Huguenots.

Foremost in rank on the Protestant side stood the House of Bourbon, an offshoot, like the Guises, of the royal family, but next to the throne after the reigning Valois, and ready to dispute place and power with the Guises. The head of the family was Antony, through his wife Joan (Margaret of Valois' daughter), King of Navarre by courtesy, a soldier and a Calvinist, but with far too much of the weathercock in him to make a party leader. Louis, Prince of Condé, the second brother, small in person, gay and gallant, had been converted to Calvinism by his wife Eleanor, Coligny's niece, and showed some of the strong qualities of a leader. The third brother belongs to the Catholic party, for Charles,

Cardinal of Bourbon, leapt into fame for a short space only as the Leaguers' King, Charles X. of France.

The third of the great governing families was the House of Chatillon, which gave to the French Reformation the one man it produced of supreme fitness for leadership—Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. He had served his country well, having delivered Paris from a Spanish army in 1557 by his dogged defence of St Quentin; yet, like William III. of England, he was more successful in retrieving disaster than in winning battles. In his military ordinances he had showed himself stark and stern in reducing to order an insubordinate soldiery. But his gifts were those of a statesman rather than of a general. He had yielded slowly to the Reformed opinions, and at last was persuaded by his wife to declare himself a Calvinist. He hoped to heal internal disorders by making war upon Spain, and by a definite attempt at colonisation. His settlements in Brazil and in Florida, if successful, would have placed France in the forefront of colonising nations.

Coligny was of middle height, ruddy, and well-built, with a pleasant voice and calm eyes. He was highly educated, and an enthusiastic art collector, yet a man of solitary tastes, and too honest to be a perfect diplomatist or courtier. He was just and honourable, with a moral force that won him undisputed authority over his party. Something of the Old Testament leader, something of the fearless, unworldly character and primitive faith that have set apart General Gordon in our own age, were united in Coligny with a sound and balanced judgment.

The three Chatillon brothers were said to be "kindled as by one soul." The Cardinal, Odet, sympathised with the Reformation, and the youngest, D'Andelot, a very

Gaspard
Coligny X

brave and popular soldier, was, though a Calvinist, a friend of the King, and regarded by the Guises as one of their most formidable opponents.

Elements
of the
Huguenot
Party

The chief supporters of the Huguenot party were to be found among the lesser nobility and the gentry and the trading and artisan classes. Their influence was strongest in a district lying between Orleans and Avignon, bounded by the rivers Loire and Rhone. Politics as well as religion entered into their programme of reform. They demanded the reassembling of the States-General, which had not met for seventy-five years, reduction of taxation, the abolition of the sale of offices, and the exclusion of foreigners from important posts. The Parliament of Paris, though on the whole favourable to their views, was jealous of any plan to revive the States-General.

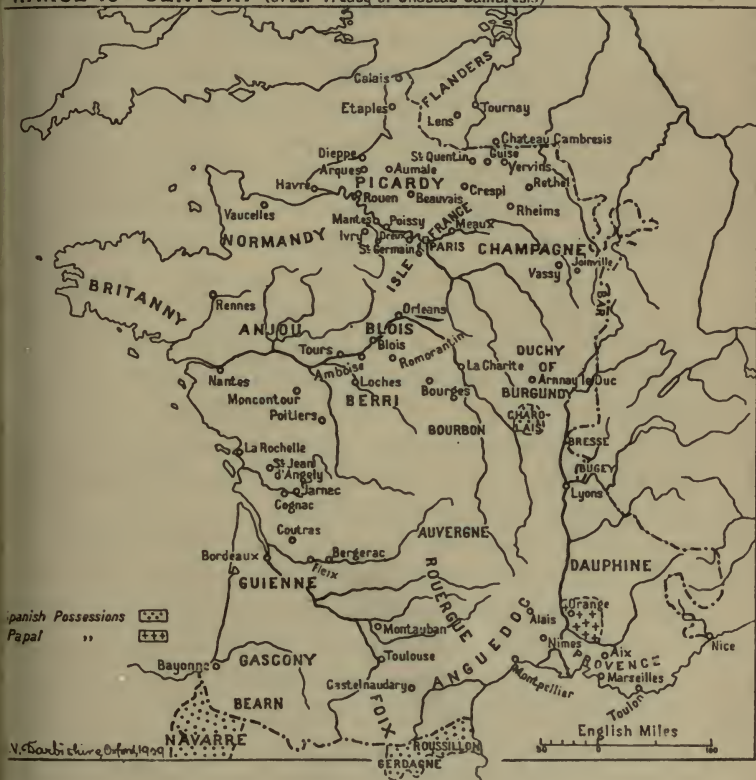
Catharine
di Medici

Between these two parties stood the Queen-Mother, Catharine di Medici, watching as an ambitious woman and an Italian for the long-postponed chance of exerting her influence. She had possessed her soul in patience under the slights of her husband and his court till the accession of her son. At the age of forty she was at her best, without pretensions to charm, but full of vitality, indefatigable, and witty. Her nature was steel-smooth and cold; she lived apparently without either attracting or feeling affection. By nature and education she was crafty, but not deliberately cruel. Though her conduct was not hampered by ordinary notions of right and wrong, her own life was respectable, and she had great self-control and common-sense.

The Guises immediately took possession of France on the King's death. A reign of terror followed, directed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the military support of

the Duke of Guise. Two attempts were made by the Huguenots to overthrow this tyranny. By the first, the Tumult of Amboise, Navarre and Condé failed to get

FRANCE 16th CENTURY (after Treaty of Chateau Cambresis)



possession of the King; by the second—a constitutional movement led by Coligny and supported by Catharine—they secured a promise that the States-General should meet to discuss religious and political grievances. Meanwhile the Guises made the most of the time by managing

the elections and arresting both Navarre and Condé. Only the sudden death of the feeble King saved the latter from execution.

Charles
IX., 1560-
1574

As the second Valois boy, now Charles IX., was only ten, Catharine secured the regency, after satisfying Antony of Navarre, the nearest Prince of the Blood, with the Lieutenant-Generalship of France. Her intentions were to rule with the help of the middle party—the Constable and L'Hopital—and thus set up “an eternal balance” between Catholics and Huguenots. By way of beginning the reduction of the Guises' power, she compelled them to despatch their niece Mary Stuart to her own kingdom, and to set free the Bourbon princes.

The long-delayed States-General met at Pontoise. The Huguenots, who were in a majority, brought forward their political reforms, and also demanded that a National Church of the Reformed opinions should be established. At the Conference of Poissy some of the chief partisans of both sides were present to discuss the two religions, among them L'Hopital, who was of all men the most capable of working Catharine's policy of balance (if it could be worked at all), on account of the respect in which he was held, and his power of appreciating the good in each religion. As Chancellor he had influenced the Parlement of Paris against persecution, and he hoped to turn men's minds from religious strife in the direction of reform. Though the Conference of Poissy, which was his idea, did not arrive at any reconciliation, by the Edict of January both religions were made legal in France, the Huguenots being allowed to gather for worship outside walled towns. But the balance thus fixed soon failed, for the extreme wing of each party defied compromise, and the position was altered by

the Constable joining the Guises, with whom he had always been in religious sympathy, and by the desertion of Navarre, whose vanity and weakness had been played on by the Guises and by the Pope.

The Guises, led by the Triumvirate—the Duke, the Marshal, and the Constable—were aware of their power, and bent upon the decision of the sword. An unexpected opportunity came when Guise, with a body of retainers, was riding through Vassy. His men, pushing their way into a barn where a Huguenot service was, quite legally, being held, caused a disturbance, which ended in their firing upon and killing some sixty of the congregation. As the duke supported this outrage, the Massacre of Vassy became the signal for civil war. The Guises forthwith obliged the King and his mother to return to Paris, which the Duke, contrary to Catharine's orders, had occupied with his forces. The Huguenots' failure to secure either the King or the capital shows that they were taken by surprise, and it told heavily against them. Since the Massacre of Vassy startled the country, the Huguenot nobles had been mustering in Paris, and their number astonished the Catholics. The signal for action was Condé's declaration that he came to deliver the King from the Triumvirate. Both sides appealed to the German princes for help, which was forthcoming in each case. Queen Elizabeth also sent troops to the Huguenots, on the understanding that she should be compensated for the expense by the immediate possession of Havre and the future possession of Calais.

The
Massacre
of Vassy,
1562

Speaking generally, each of these short civil wars followed the same course—a siege, a battle, a peace. Rouen and Orleans were the first Huguenot strongholds to be attacked; and it was hoped that by besieging the

First Civil
War,
1562-1563

first the English would be prevented from getting a foothold in Normandy. Condé's hasty march to join his friends in the north drew the enemy away from Orleans, and caused the Battle of Dreux. Rouen, however, was finally stormed and sacked by Guise's soldiers; Navarre indeed lost his life, but that was a gain to the Huguenots, since Condé assumed the headship of his house during the boyhood of young Henry of Navarre. At the Battle of Dreux, Marshal St André was killed and the Constable captured. Soon after, the third member of the Triumvirate, the Duke of Guise, while superintending the siege operations at Orleans, was shot in the back by the Huguenot fanatic Poltrot. The surviving chiefs met at Orleans, and under Condé's lead issued the Pacification of Amboise. Huguenot worship was to be allowed in the nobles' houses, and in all towns which had held Calvinist services before 1563.

Murder of
the Duke
of Guise

The result of the first war was to embitter party feeling, and, by removing the Triumvirate, to place power once more in Catharine's hands. From this moment too, realising that Coligny was her chief rival, she changed her policy. She threw herself on the Catholic side, and to weaken Condé's influence, caused the King, though only thirteen, to be declared of age. In a royal progress through the kingdom, it appears that some plan for the forcible destruction of the Protestants in France and the Netherlands was arranged, even as early as this, with the Legate and the Duke of Alva. Alarmed by rumours, the Huguenots tried by "The Enterprise of Meaux" to seize Charles, and failing, marched on Paris, hoping to end the war at a blow. But the Battle of St Denis, in which the old Constable fell, was a drawn engagement. The Peace (really only

Second
Civil War,
1567-1568

the truce) of Longjumeau left matters as at Amboise. Soon after, the dismissal of L'Hopital from Court marks the failure of his policy of toleration.

The Third Civil War was provoked by the Catholics' attempt to seize Condé and Coligny. Through the forest tracts of Central France they escaped to Rochelle, held by La Rochefoucauld, which became thenceforth the chief Huguenot stronghold. Thither, too, came the southern nobles and Joan of Navarre with her son Henry. The royal army, under the nominal command of the King's next brother, Henry of Anjou, but actually led by Marshal Tavannes, entered the south, and in the spring following encountered Coligny at Jarnac. In a desperate effort to retrieve the day, Condé was shot after surrendering his sword, and the 300 nobles fighting round him fell almost to a man. The Calvinist cause seemed crushed; but the loss of Condé, brilliant and popular as he was, made way for far stronger leaders—Coligny and Joan of Navarre.

The Admiral soon put a second army into the field, with German and Flemish reinforcements, and they besieged Poitiers. After a seven weeks' able defence by Henry of Guise, the son and successor of the murdered duke, the siege was raised by Anjou, at severe cost to the Huguenots. The clamorous German mercenaries drove Coligny into a still more disastrous battle at Moncontour, resulting in a loss of 10,000 killed or taken, and of guns, standards, and baggage. But the stubborn resistance offered to Anjou by the Huguenot towns, the premature recall of the Spanish and papal forces, and the King's jealousy of his brother, gave Coligny time to raise yet another army, and without further important fighting the war was concluded by the

Third
Civil War,
1568-1570

Battle of
Jarnac,
1569

Peace of St Germain. The terms were almost as favourable to the Huguenots as if they had been victorious :—

- (1) Previous edicts to their advantage were confirmed.
- (2) Two places in each province were added to the number of those where services might be held. Four cities of refuge—Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité—were placed in their hands.
- (3) Calvinists were admitted to all public employments.
- (4) They were allowed to appear before Calvinist judges.

The Peace of St Germain is a landmark in the war, not only because more fully than any previous treaty it recognised the Huguenot position, but because it coincides with a change in the Queen-Mother's foreign policy. Coligny's idea of a national war against Spain was eagerly taken up by Catharine and Charles; there was much talk of marriage alliances between the King's sister Margaret and Henry of Navarre, between Charles himself and the Emperor Maximilian II.'s daughter Elizabeth, between Elizabeth of England and Henry of Anjou. Though the last proposal ended in talk, Elizabeth agreed to the sending of a French expedition to help Orange, while Charles renewed negotiations with the German Protestant princes with a view to their support in the Netherlands. The Battle of Lepanto had deepened Charles' jealousy of Philip, and the capture of Brill by the Sea Beggars convinced him that the moment had come to strike at Spain.

Opposition
of Catharine
to
Coligny

At this point Catharine discovered that the King was drifting from her own influence under Coligny's, and she swiftly decided upon the Admiral's removal. She succeeded in setting at rest his distrust, so that he surrendered three of the cities of refuge, and encouraged

Joan of Navarre to visit Paris about her son's marriage with the Princess Margaret. Joan's death, soon after her arrival, was set down, as usual at the period, to poison, but of this there is no real evidence.

The Huguenot world crowded to Paris to witness their leader's wedding on August 18. On the 22nd, as Coligny was walking from the palace to his lodging, a bullet, fired from a house belonging to the Guise faction, broke his arm. The King, greatly upset, threatened an inquiry; the alarm and indignation of the Huguenots were unbounded; while, in Catharine's eyes, Coligny, scotched but not killed, became more dangerous than before. She hastily took counsel with her Italian supporters and Anjou, and browbeat the miserable King into consenting to their plan. Charles, as he yielded, exclaimed that not a Huguenot must be spared to reproach him with Coligny's death. This fell in with Catharine's view that in a general massacre Coligny would only seem to share the common fate; once the signal for killing the leaders was given, the mob of Paris would answer for the rest.

At midnight on August 23 the ringing of church bells ushered in St Bartholomew's Day. At this signal parties of armed men turned into the streets, recognising their fellow Catholics by a white badge. Guise had personally undertaken to dispose of Coligny. The admiral, weak from his recent wound, was aroused by a tumult on the stairs; but he received his murderers with perfect calmness, as he propped himself kneeling against his bed. They thrust him through with a pike, and flung the still living body from the window into the courtyard below, where Guise was waiting to receive it.

Besides Coligny, his son-in-law Teligny and La Roche-

The
Massacre
of St
Bartholo-
mew, 1572

Murder of
Coligny

foucauld, were slain. Henry of Navarre and young Condé were spared on condition they became Catholics. During the day and on the next, 2000 of their followers perished in Paris; and the movement spread through other towns, including Meaux, Orleans, and Rouen finally reaching Bordeaux, and destroying in its course from twenty to thirty thousand souls.

The massacre did not, however, produce any change in the political situation. Rome and Madrid expressed their joy, and the English Court went into mourning but Henry III.'s share in the crime did not prevent his election to the throne of partly-Protestant Poland. Elizabeth promptly resumed her negotiations with Alençon, and Orange still clung to his policy of liberating the Netherlands with French aid.

The
Fourth
Civil War,
1572-1573

Immediately after the massacre, broke out the Fourth Civil War, consisting mainly of sieges of the chief Huguenot strongholds, among which that of La Rochelle stands out for its stubborn and successful defence. The election of Anjou, who commanded the besiegers, ended the war. By the Treaty of La Rochelle liberty of conscience was secured to all Huguenots, with liberty of worship in Rochelle, Montaubon, Nîmes, and Sancerre.

Changes in
the Char-
acter of the
French
Reforma-
tion

After St Bartholomew the character of the French Reformation changed in several ways. First, a third party, the Politiques, came to the front, who, though Catholics themselves and led by the Montmorency family, notably strengthened the Huguenots. Their war-cry was Liberty of Conscience; but weariness of strife and personal ambition, rather than religious enthusiasm, were the mainsprings of their conduct. Secondly, the growth of political theory and experiment

became a feature of Calvinism. The loss of many of the military nobility in the war brought forward the middle-class and the preachers. Democratic ideas spread in the form of pamphlets, or took shape in the two small republics of Languedoc and Upper Guienne. In fact, the south, the stronghold of the Politiques, under its elected governor Damville de Montmorency, became almost independent.

The Politiques, having loudly but unsuccessfully called for toleration, arranged a general rising in the south and Normandy, which became the Fifth Civil War. At this time the King, who, though thoroughly unbalanced, was the best-intentioned of his family, died of consumption, haunted at the last by visions of St Bartholomew. Henry III. stole away at dead of night from Poland, where he had become thoroughly unpopular, to claim his new crown. Several of the old leaders had passed away since he left France, and a Catholic revival was setting in. But the Fifth War was ended by the Peace of Monsieur, with the best terms the Huguenots had yet secured.

Fifth Civil
War,
1574-1576

Henry
III., 1573-
1589

1. It sanctioned Huguenot worship throughout France, except near Paris.
2. Cases concerning Protestants were to be tried by "Chambres-mi-parties" (Catholic and Calvinist judges in equal numbers) in every Parlement.
3. Eight cities of refuge were handed over.

This peace was fiercely criticised by the Catholics in general, and the Guises in particular. It therefore hastened the Catholic revival, and caused many old provincial associations to merge themselves in a new league which originated in Picardy, which rested on armed force, and aimed at the defence of Church and King. At a

meeting of the States-General at Blois it adopted much the same reform programme as the Huguenots had brought forward at Pontoise (p. 198). It controlled its members so absolutely that they almost ceased to be French citizens. The Guises, from being the main supporters of the Crown, now became the leaders of a democratic movement to dispose of the Crown at the will of the people. Active rivalry between Guise and Bourbon for the throne of the Valois had, in fact, begun. And the League, in the borrowed plumes of Huguenot republicanism, entered upon its twenty years' destructive career, fostering civil war, and swallowing up some of the most cherished institutions of France.

Sixth Civil
War, 1577

Henry III. was at first puzzled how to deal with the League, but he could not wink at the Guises' daring claim to his throne. He turned to the States-General at Blois for help, but in the course of drawing up a constitutional reform, the Catholics' demand for the exclusive recognition of their religion brought on the Sixth Civil War.

Alençon, who had been playing with the Calvinists, and Damville, both joined the Royalists; and but for Elizabeth's timely aid Navarre would not have been in a position to cut short hostilities, mainly in the west, by the Treaty of Bergerac. It justified the saying, "The worse the fortunes of the Huguenots in war, the better their luck in treaties." Except that the right to worship was confined to places actually in their possession, and the "Chambres-mi-parties" to the South, their position was unchanged.

No one, however, believed that peace would last, and a quarrel between the King and Henry of Navarre about Cahors, claimed by the latter as Margaret's dowry, led

to the "Lovers' War." A great slaughter of Catholics took place at the disputed town, but the strife was local, and hardly deserves the title of the Seventh Civil War. It was closed by the Peace of Fleix, confirming the Treaty of Bergerac.

The Seventh, or the "Lovers' War," 1580

Five years followed without an important outbreak, and men had time to observe with disgust the demoralisation of the Court and of the country. Henry III., who had shown more bodily and mental vigour than the rest of his degenerate family, declined into a luxurious fop. This curled and scented king, fantastically dressed, and surrounded by favourites as brainless as his pet lap-dogs, gave himself up to a life of pleasure, occasionally relieved by superstitious acts of penance. Constant brawls and duels took place between his "mignons" and the followers of Guise. Murders and other crimes became incessant and almost unremarked. Jealousy between the King and Monsieur (Anjou) was partly at the bottom of the fiasco of the latter's appearance in the Netherlands, compared with which his death in 1584 was an event of real importance. For it left Henry of Navarre heir to the French throne almost at the moment when Orange's murder marked him out as the natural champion of Protestantism, and it led to the offer to Henry III. of the sovereignty of the United Provinces, which, as we have seen, he declined.

Meantime the League became aggressive under Guise, whose ability, courage, and fascination made him a formidable leader. By the Treaty of Joinville the League united with Philip II. to root out heresy in France and the Netherlands, and upon the death of Henry III. to crown the Cardinal Bourbon. The Leaguers

The League joins Philip II. in the Treaty of Joinville 1585

published a reform manifesto and made themselves masters of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and a ring of fortresses barring invasion from Germany, Switzerland and the Protestant South. Paris was dominated by "the Sixteen"—members from the sixteen quarters—who speedily usurped its government. Much as the King hated the necessity, he was obliged to yield to the Guises, and by the Treaty of Nemours he withdrew all previous promises of toleration. Calvinists refusing to change their religion were to leave the country in six months. North-eastern France passed entirely under the control of the Guises, who drew a revenue from the State for their expenses. Immediately after the Treaty Pope Sixtus V. excommunicated Navarre and Condé, and declared them incapable of succeeding to the throne. The Eighth Civil War followed, popularly known as "the War of the Three Henries," since the King and the Duke of Guise were opposed to the King of Navarre. The Huguenot outlook was not encouraging, for the King's lieutenants, Mayenne, Joyeuse, and Epernon, were despatched into the South; the Protestants had little influence elsewhere except in Normandy; and across the northern frontier Parma's triumphant advance might shortly place his unrivalled services at the League's disposal. In the opening campaign Navarre's brisk movements gained him considerable reputation, and at Courtras, where Joyeuse was killed, he won the first Huguenot victory in the open field.

"War of
the Three
Henries,"
or Eighth
Civil War,
1585-1589

Guise having assembled the forces of the League at Nancy, disregarded Henry III.'s express orders, and entered Paris amid great rejoicing. His object, after consultation with the Spanish envoy, was to compel the King to take drastic measures against heresy.

Henry, vainly attempting to assert his authority, became a prisoner in the Louvre, while Guise rode unarmed through the city quieting the populace. Finding the situation intolerable, the King stole out of Paris with a few attendants, to bid without success for the support of the Estates at Blois. There again the hand of the League was mighty, and to Henry there seemed but one way of escape from such thralldom. He summoned the Duke and his brother the Cardinal to a Council at Blois. Guise, who had been warned of danger, scorned precautions. As he stepped into the royal ante-chamber he was treacherously stabbed by the bodyguard; the Cardinal was arrested and murdered next day; but the remaining brother, Mayenne, escaped to Burgundy. To the Queen-Mother, lying on her death-bed, Henry III. announced that at last he was King of France, for he had killed the King of Paris. But the League, bitterly enraged by the murder of its idol, took stronger measures to assert itself. Mayenne, now Lieutenant-General of the realm, governed Paris with a Council formed from the League and its branches, which spread all over the kingdom. The Spanish Ambassador became its confidential adviser. The Sorbonne, urging that the Crown was really elective, proposed the deposition of Henry. At last, at his wits' end, the King threw himself upon the protection of Henry of Navarre. At Plessis les Tours, preparatory to a common attack upon Mayenne, they agreed upon toleration for the Huguenots. Then they marched on Paris to strike at the very heart of the League, when a friar named Jacques Clement avenged the murdered duke by stabbing Henry III. as he was reading a petition. So, to the joy of his people, perished the last of the Valois.

Henry
III. joins
Henry of
Navarre

Murder
of Henry
III., July
1589

Henry IV.,
1589-1610

Henry of Navarre was now, as Henry III. had acknowledged in his dying moments, the lawful King of France. To declare himself a Catholic, as his friends advised, would forfeit the support of the Huguenots, so he merely agreed to receive "instruction," and turned to military preparations. The League acknowledged the Cardinal of Bourbon as Charles X., and with the support of the lesser clergy, the official class, the Pope, and the King of Spain, seemed powerful indeed as compared with Henry, whose foreign allies—England, the German Princes, and the United Provinces—were cautious and poor. But, as a party leader, Henry was a host in himself. His wit, his irrepressible spirits, his frank sympathy with every class of his subjects, his real military ability and splendid daring, combined to make him the most popular king France ever knew. Faults of private character he had in plenty, but it was much in his favour that a brave nation should feel that in him they had, once more, a king who was every inch a man.

Ninth
Civil War,
1589-1595

Henry's object in his opening campaign was to cut off Paris from the northern region which supplied her food. To keep in touch with England he occupied Dieppe, and frustrated Mayenne's attempt to dislodge him in the Battle of Arques. Reinforced by Lord Willoughby's band of English, the King advanced on Paris, between which and the enemy he placed himself by the capture of Dreux. To save the capital, Mayenne gave battle at Ivry. There the Leaguers were completely routed, at a cost to the victor of only about five hundred lives. Henry's order to spare all Frenchmen caused his troops to slake their vengeance on Mayenne's foreign allies, and both Count Egmont and the Duke of Brunswick fell in the

Battle of
Ivry, Mar.
14, 1590

slaughter. Unfortunately Henry missed his chance of taking Paris by assault, and settled down to a three months' blockade. When 30,000 of the inhabitants had died from hunger, and the rest were reduced to eating rats, mice, grass, and even the flesh of children, Parma was ordered to march at all costs to the rescue. Combining forces with Mayenne, he stormed Lagny on the Marne, threw provisions into the city by way of the river, and forced Henry to raise the siege. During a short absence of Mayenne, Paris fell into the hands of the Sixteen, who indulged their Spanish sympathies by putting to death some members of the Parlement who opposed their views, by seizing the Treasury and drawing up proscription lists of the Politiques. Mayenne, with a soldierly dislike of disorder, returned promptly and hanged the ringleaders, whose downfall put an end to the League as a revolutionary government.

Siege of
Paris

After Parma's return to the Netherlands, Henry invested Rouen, the last of the Leaguers' northern strongholds. In spite of its splendid defence, Parma had once more to be called to the rescue. Henry raised the siege hoping to enclose Parma, who had planted himself between Caudebec and Rouen, and cut off his retreat. Escape seemed impossible, for neither bridges nor transports for the river were available; but once more Parma proved himself a master of resource. Fortifying both banks of the Seine, to cover his retreat, with the utmost secrecy, he collected everything in the neighbourhood that could float, and transported his army by night. Henry came up to find the enemy beyond the range of his guns. It was one of Parma's most famous exploits, but it was also his last.

Siege of
Rouen,
1592

The question of the succession brought together the

States-General in 1593. The League, as an avowed partisan of Spain, supported Philip II.'s proposal that his daughter Isabella should be declared inheritress of the French throne through her mother Elizabeth of Valois. But neither the Estates nor the Parlement would hear of any violation of the time-honoured fiction of the Salic Law, so it was suggested that the Infanta should marry the young Duke of Guise, who should be crowned King. This conclusion Mayenne, who had hoped to reign himself, was resolved to prevent, and Henry was ready to offer the only real solution of the problem. After "receiving instruction," he formally entered the Roman Church, and, as Rouen was still held by the League, was crowned at Chartres.

Henry IV.
becomes a
Roman
Catholic,
1594

In the much-discussed "conversion" of Henry IV. there cannot have been any sacrifice of conviction, Religious opinions sat lightly upon the man who declared himself to be "of the religion of all who are brave and good." He has not unjustly been called "the Prince of the Politiques," whom Tavannes defined as "those who preferred the repose of the kingdom, or of their own homes, to the salvation of their souls." This repose Henry alone could secure for France. No Protestant could ever hope to become the national king of a people of whom at least nine-tenths were Catholic. It was equally clear that the Huguenot leader was the man to win toleration for the Huguenot minority.

Henry's declaration had immediate effect. The great majority of Catholics joined him; under the benign influence of gifts, amounting to a year's revenue, the League began to melt away. The real price of Paris, declared by Henry to be "worth a Mass," was a big bribe paid to its governor. Henry at last entered his

capital, and as the Spanish garrison marched out, he sent greetings to Philip, adding, with meaning, "But do not trouble to return."

As Mayenne and his cousin Mercœur still held out in the hope of turning their governorships of Burgundy and Brittany into independent provinces with Spanish help, Henry declared war on Spain. The Pope's absolution cleared the ground under his feet, and he strengthened himself further by an offensive and defensive alliance with England and Holland. Picardy became the chief scene of operations, and the most important events were the capture of Cambrai and Amiens and the surprise of Calais by the Spaniards. By great exertions Henry recovered Amiens, and the retreat of the Archduke Albert opened the way for peace. Philip II. was mortally ill, and desired to settle the affairs of his successor and of his dear daughter Isabella, especially in view of the great progress made by Maurice of Nassau. Thus came about the Peace of Vervins :—

Henry IV.
declares
War on
Spain,
1595-1596

The
Peace of
Vervins,
1598

- (1) Henry recovered the Picard towns conquered by Spain.
- (2) Savoy agreed to submit Saluzzo to papal arbitration.

Neither England nor Holland, it will be noticed, chose to be included in the treaty.

At home Mayenne had already been bought over, and remained loyal; but there was still Mercœur, who had succeeded in capturing the affections of Brittany.

As the result of Henry's personal influence, he submitted and surrendered Nantes, where was issued the famous Edict which closed the Wars of Religion. Of its seven chief clauses, the first three deal with the religious, the last four with the political aspect of the question :—

The
Edict of
Nantes,
1598

- (1) Private worship and liberty of conscience were allowed to the Calvinists throughout France.
- (2) Two hundred towns, two cities in every district of a certain size, and over 3000 castles might hold public Protestant worship.
- (3) A grant was made towards the support of Protestant schools and colleges, and the publication of Calvinist books was legalised.
- (4) Huguenots received full civil rights, with admission to all public offices.
- (5) Special chambers, whose judges must include one Huguenot, were set up in the local parlements to try cases concerning Protestants.
- (6) The possession of 200 towns was guaranteed to the Huguenots for eight years, their garrisons being maintained by the Crown.
- (7) With royal permission the Huguenots might hold synods and provincial political councils.

Catholicism was thus acknowledged to be the religion of the country, but the Protestants, though in the position of dissenters, were without civil drawbacks, and were protected by securities. Their failure to establish their Church as the national faith was due mainly to their small numbers and to the craving of France for unity. The Catholics had powerful allies in the Crown, the city of Paris, and the law-courts, and the support of the national revenue and of superior foreign aid. Calvinist excesses cooled the zeal of moderate disciples: massacre and expulsion had reduced their numbers; owing to the difficulty of getting noble and bourgeois to work together, they lacked party organisation and unity. The loss of Coligny, the one leader who commanded the respect of all, was irreparable. And, brave as were the gentry, they did not prove very reliable soldiers.

The Edict has been criticised for granting too much political, too little religious, liberty. That is to say, it

Causes
of the
Huguenot
Failure

did not admit any general principle of toleration—only the right to worship in certain towns and castles. On the other hand, such political privileges as the right to hold federal assemblies and to send deputies to present petitions at Court marked out the Protestant community as a state within a state, and went beyond even modern ideas of local independence when based merely on religious differences. As time went on, the Huguenots displayed a desire to develop their political organisation still further, until they attracted the notice of Richelieu, with fatal results.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

- ARMSTRONG : The French Wars of Religion.
JOHNSON : Europe in the Sixteenth Century.
CREIGHTON : Age of Elizabeth.
J. R. CORBETT : Drake and the Tudor Navy.
WILLERT : Henry IV.

CHAPTER XI

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE

The
Frontier
Question

BEFORE undertaking the restoration of his kingdom, Henry IV. had to deal with the insecurity of his frontiers. Between France and the Spanish possessions in Italy lay Savoy, whose interests were thus both French and Italian. Her duke aimed at becoming Count of Provence, and playing a leading part in French affairs; his reluctance to surrender Saluzzo, according to the papal award, led to war, in which the invaders carried all before them. The duke agreed to give up to France Bresse and Bugey in exchange for Saluzzo; and from this time his house turned its attention increasingly south of the Alps.

His desire to strengthen his position still further on the Italian side caused Henry to ally himself with Tuscany. The Pope pronounced a divorce between the faithless Henry and his equally faithless queen, Margaret of Valois, thus enabling him to marry the Grand Duke's niece, Mary di Medici. In 1601 was born a son and heir, afterwards Louis XIII.

Internal
Reforms

With the help of his friend and minister, Maximilian de Rosny, Duke of Sully, Henry thoroughly overhauled domestic affairs. Though entirely different in character, they worked admirably together. Henry's breadth of view tended to correct Sully's excessive economy, and rather narrow and scrupulous attention to details.

Henry was inventive, Sully was resourceful, and both were unwearied in well-doing for France. The financial question was one of supreme importance. The revenue was yearly swallowed up by the high interest due on a funded debt of over £300,000,000. Owing to a ruinous system of collection, three-quarters of the taxes never reached the Treasury at all. The main sources of income were the Taille, the Gabelle, and Customs duties. In the Pays d'Etat, which were the five provinces most recently added to the monarchy, and consisting of about one-third of France, the Taille was levied on land by the local estates. As the estates of the Church and the nobility were exempt, the amount raised, while falling heavily on the lower classes, only realised a tenth, instead of a third, of the total taxation. The remaining two-thirds of France formed the Pays d'Election, those provinces which had for a considerable time belonged to the Crown, and where the Taille was levied on income. There the taxes were farmed out from the intendant, or financial agent, downwards; and there was no check on the amounts the officials would wring from the unhappy peasants.

The most unpopular tax was the Gabelle. Each French family was legally bound to buy an excessive quantity of inferior salt, which was a government monopoly. Lastly, there were the Customs duties, levied at the frontier of each province, discouraging trade between them.

Not much help was to be gained from current economic principles, and Sully was not the man to supply new ones. His management of money affairs fell as far short of genius, as good account-keeping falls short of high finance. But he made innumerable small

reforms in every department, and sternly repressed abuses. He insisted on the local registers being kept with extreme exactness, so that the *Chambre des Comptes* might check abuses in the collection of the *Taille*. He struck a blow at the host of greedy tax-gatherers by a decree forbidding any impost without the King's order registered in the *Parlement*. Noblemen and governors of districts might no longer raise money by credit. Usurped domain was recovered, and well administered. The result of these and many small reforms were seen in Sully's report of 1609. One hundred millions of debt had been paid off; nearly twenty-five millions had been gained from domain. The revenue had risen from about nine millions in 1596 to twenty millions; a reserve of thirty millions was laid by in the Bastille.

Sully made no attempt to abolish the hateful *Gabelle*, and he introduced another very questionable tax, the *Paulette*. This tax, one-sixtieth of all official incomes, rendered the offices in question hereditary, and doubled their sale value. This system made a caste of the French official class, and one very burdensome to the country. The stronghold of hereditary office was in future the *Parlement of Paris*.

Recognising that France is by nature an agricultural country, Sully made a great point of tillage. He persuaded landowners to live upon and cultivate their sadly devastated estates; he protected the peasants from bandits; he remitted the *Taille* between 1594-1596, and insisted on the free exportation of corn.

From some prejudice against crafts as unfitting men for soldiers, Sully set his face against manufactures. But the King was bent on their encouragement. He

ordered thousands of mulberry trees to be planted, and fostered the silk factories at Lyon, Nimes, and Tours, the potteries at Nevers, and the glass works at Paris. He planned a great canal-system connecting the Seine, the Loire, the Saone, and the Meuse. He concluded commercial treaties with England and Holland, and renewed one already existing with Turkey. The beginnings of colonial policy were to be seen in the formation of the French East India Company and the foundation of Quebec by Champlain.

Order was restored after the lawlessness of the civil wars by frequent executions for robbery and murder. An attempt was made to put down duelling by making offenders liable to the penalties of high treason. The rebellious or discontented nobles, with whom their class interests stood first, were humiliated one by one, and the aristocracy generally was reduced to the position of mere courtiers. Henry also did much for public works, built royal fortifications, and founded a school of engineering for his officers. Many of these measures aroused strong opposition, but the work of moulding a state cannot be done with a lenient hand.

Henry's frontier policy shows that the rivalry between France and Austria was active, and Sully's "Great Design," a sort of political allegory, points in the same direction. An opening for the King's diplomacy appeared in the Juliers-Cleves question, which in ordinary circumstances would hardly have attracted European attention. But these Catholic duchies, lying south of the United Provinces, seemed about to pass, on the death of the Duke John William, to his Lutheran great-nephews, John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William of Neuberg. As a Protestant

Restoration of Order

The Juliers-Cleves Succession Question, 1609

League of
Henry IV.
against the
Emperor,
1610

ruler was certain, by the principle "Cujus regio eius religio," to convert his territories to his own religion, the award of the duchies by the Imperial Courts was watched with the keenest interest by both Catholics and Protestants. The Emperor's claim as their Suzerain to occupy the duchies with an army, pending the decision, alarmed both French and Dutch, and Henry IV. at once set on foot a league for the protection of the Lutheran claimants.

Murder of
Henry IV.,
May 14,
1610

Three armies, mustered from English, Dutch, German, and Savoyard troops, made ready to invade the Pyrenees, Milan, and the disputed duchies, when the House of Habsburg was rescued from its most critical position by an unforeseen tragedy. As Henry IV. was driving through Paris one afternoon, his coach was blocked in a narrow thoroughfare. While the grooms cleared the way, one Ravallac, who had followed the royal coach from the Louvre, mounted the footsteps and stabbed the King twice. Before his attendants realised what had happened, Henry IV. was dead.

Ravallac, a fanatic who probably harboured the idea that Henry was about to make war on Catholicism, made no attempt to escape, and was astonished at the universal grief caused by the death of this soldier, statesman, and benefactor of his people.

Louis
XIII.,
1610-1643

Regency of
Mary di
Medici,
1610-1614

Without his practical genius to guide it, the war against Austria was abandoned; and the minority of Louis XIII., under the regency of his mother, Mary di Medici, threw back for fifteen years the development of Henry IV.'s work. The Queen-Mother was a foolish, mischief-making, and overbearing woman, who was entirely under the influence of an Italian lady-in-waiting, Leonora Galigai, and her

husband Concini. The latter rose to the highest position as Marquis d'Ancre and Marshal of France, though he had never fired a shot in battle and was bitterly hated by the old nobility. Sully, the one man who might have been strong enough to guide the State, failed in courage, and retired to Poitou. The only result of the great campaign against Austria was the capture of Juliers, after which the princes of Brandenburg and Neuberg remained in possession respectively of Cleves and Juliers, and the French withdrew from the war.

The Queen-Regent's own sympathies lay with Spain, and no time was lost in arranging a double marriage alliance between Louis XIII. and the Infanta Anne, and the Princess Elizabeth of France with Philip III.'s heir. Sully's reserve treasure was squandered in buying the support of discontented nobles, who nevertheless demanded that their grievances against the feeble and expensive government should be laid before the States-General. That Assembly was accordingly summoned, for the last time, as it turned out, before the French Revolution. Unluckily they had no common purpose, but each estate, clergy, nobles, and commons was occupied with its own special interest. On one subject only were they agreed—the shameful financial mismanagement of the regency; and they succeeded in reducing pensions and in temporarily suspending the Paulette. The King, who came of age at fourteen, was encouraged by his favourite De Luynes to resent the ascendancy of D'Ancre. Though himself a protégé of D'Ancre, De Luynes had gained unexpected influence over the boy-King by sharing his sporting tastes. A rising of the nobles confirmed their purpose to destroy

D'Ancre, who, as he entered the Louvre, was shot by the guard on refusing to surrender his sword. His wife was burnt as a witch. The Queen-Mother left the Court for Blois, where Richelieu was carefully watching events and was finally the means of reconciling the King with his mother.

Luynes, with the title of Constable, succeeded in place of D'Ancre, but his ministry was found to be no improvement upon his predecessor's.

Rising
of the
Hugue-
nots, 1620

A serious rising of the Huguenots soon occurred. The recent addition of Béarn to the monarchy by force of arms, and the enforced restoration of Church property there, alarmed the Calvinists, who plotted to set up a Southern Republic. Louis XIII., who had a hereditary love of fighting, led the attack upon the Huguenot strongholds—Montpellier, Rochelle, St Jean D'Angély, and finally Montauban, which resisted with heroic success under La Force. The death of Luynes from camp fever prepared the way for peace, which was signed on the surrender of Montpellier.

The Edict of Nantes was confirmed, but the guaranteed towns were reduced to two—Rochelle and Montauban—and the privilege of holding political assemblies was entirely withdrawn.

Richelieu,
Chief
Minister,
1624

Meanwhile Mary de Medici had returned to Court, and her confidential adviser, now Cardinal Richelieu, became chief minister of France.

Armand Duplessis de Richelieu came of a noble Poitevin family, and was now nearly forty. He had early left the military profession that he might hold the family bishopric of Luçon, whose responsibilities he undertook at twenty-four. Luçon was a quiet, even a dull, home for a keen spirit, but Richelieu took an

active interest in his diocese, besides intently watching political events, and corresponding with his friends, among whom François du Tremblay, "Le Pere Joseph" of history, was the most famous. By 1614 Richelieu was sufficiently notable to be chosen Orator of the Clergy in the States-General, and his speech appears to have made the desired impression at Court. He became Almoner to the young Queen Anne, and soon won the confidence of the Queen-Mother.

In appearance Richelieu was tall and spare, with a pale complexion, an aquiline nose, and piercing dark eyes under slightly-raised eyebrows. He was restless and highly strung, but his courage, strength of will, and resource were extraordinary. He was ruthless and vindictive, and domineered over his family circle as he did over the State.

On entering the ministry, Richelieu's objects, as he explained later, were three—namely, to destroy the political power of the Huguenots, to humiliate the great nobles, and to win prestige abroad for the King. The first shadow cast by coming events abroad was a dispute for the control of the Valtelline, a valley connecting Tyrol with Lombardy. During a quarrel between the Catholic population of the district and their masters, the Swiss Grison League, the Spaniards in North Italy had supported the former, and a dreadful massacre of the Protestants had followed. The Spaniards at once sent a garrison to Chur on the pretext of keeping order, but it was clear that their real object was the preservation of their communications with the Empire. Richelieu was keenly alive to the importance of the question. For two centuries France had been the recognised protector of the Grisons, and this gave him the opportunity of

opposing the Pope's arbitration, as being too favourable to Spain, and of pouring troops into the valley, which by 1625 were in full possession. By the Treaty of Monzon the Valtelline was restored to the Grisons.

Rising of
the Huguenots at
Rochelle,
1625

Before Richelieu had disposed of the Valtelline a Huguenot rising occurred at Rochelle. The time was well chosen. The Cardinal's position at Court was as yet insecure, and the attitude of England was becoming openly hostile. The expulsion from England of Henrietta's mischief-making ladies, Buckingham's pique at the cool reception of his proposal to visit the French Court, his desire to win popularity at home by a successful naval expedition—these causes contributed to bring about what was really Buckingham's war. The English expedition landed on the Isle of Rhé, facing the harbour of Rochelle; but Buckingham lost the chance of seizing its two badly defended forts, and settled down to a blockade.

To Richelieu the reduction of Rochelle, "that gate always open to the foreigner" was of vital importance. His early military training and his wonderful organising powers had full scope in directing the siege. He took pride in the excellent provision he made for his army—prompt pay, warm clothing, abundance of food, and dry quarters to ward off malaria. Father Joseph and his Capuchins upheld the strict moral discipline of the camp, catechised the soldiers in their leisure, and pronounced absolution in the dangers of action.

On the land side Rochelle was invested by triple lines, and to cut off access to a friendly fleet Richelieu caused a great stone barrier to be built from each end of the harbour. As these two moles approached each other, the space between was filled with sunken hulks,

and finally guarded by floating batteries. Rochelle, under its heroic mayor, Guiton, held out valiantly amid the agonies of starvation, but the help of England, on which all depended, never reached it. Buckingham, who had been obliged to raise the blockade of Rhé after Richelieu's re-victualling of the garrison, was murdered at Portsmouth before his second expedition could start; and when the English squadron did arrive it made no serious attempt to force the barrier. After eleven months' resistance Rochelle surrendered. Richelieu showed moderation in his triumph. The fortifications were destroyed and the municipal privileges of the town abolished, but the lives and property of the citizens were spared, and they were promised freedom of worship. A simultaneous Huguenot rising in the south, under Rohan, was ended by the Peace of Alais, by which all independent political privileges and the last of the guaranteed towns were withdrawn. Henceforth the Huguenots' only security for the promised liberty of conscience lay in the King's word.

Thus ended, in the only way possible for her welfare, the religious wars in France. In the interests of national unity, Richelieu had separated the political and religious demands of the Huguenots, destroying the first and securing the second. For, among the political aims, that of independence, aided by foreign enemies of France, had for the last fifteen years been steadily coming to the front. The Huguenots, it was said, preferred a Spaniard to a French Catholic; while "if they proclaimed a fast, it was in order to mask some plot on foot against the government."

End of the
Religious
Wars

Before this, Richelieu's first great object, had been completely achieved, foreign affairs again claimed his

The
Mantuan
Succession,
1627

attention. On the death of the childless Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, the duchy was claimed by his next-of-kin, the Duke of Nevers, a French subject, and by numerous candidates supported by Spain. The Emperor undertook to arbitrate; but Imperial activity was not welcome in Italy, and Milan and Savoy on their own account occupied Montferrat, and with Spanish troops under Spinola besieged Casale, into which a French garrison had been thrown. Ferdinand II., indignant at this slight upon his authority, at the first opportunity in the Thirty Years' War sent troops into Mantua. Richelieu set out in person for the scene of action, in command of three French marshals and a formidable expedition, which was, however, diverted into Savoy on account of the duke's double-faced policy. But the capture of the fortress of Pinerolo was their only success, and France was glad of the opening afforded by Spinola's death to make a truce.

Though French military intervention had not been very effective, there remained the indirect methods of diplomacy. It was possible to hamper the House of Habsburg at home; and this Richelieu did in two ways. By negotiating a peace between Sweden and Poland he opened the way into the Thirty Years' War for Gustavus Adolphus; and at the Diet of Ratisbon, Father Joseph played an important part in securing Wallenstein's dismissal, and in frustrating the election of the Archduke Ferdinand as King of the Romans. By the Treaty of Ratisbon the Emperor promised to invest the new French Duke of Mantua, after which event all foreign powers were to clear out of territories recently occupied by them. Richelieu was bent on keeping Pinerolo, and actually disavowed the treaty to which Father

Joseph had been a party. The probable explanation of this move will be seen in domestic affairs. The new Duke of Mantua was finally installed by the Treaty of Cherasco; but France forced him to sell a large part of Montferrat to Savoy in order to compensate the latter for the loss of Pinerolo. For France in the end secured her key to the passage of the Alps.

It is probable that the Peace, had it come earlier, would have made Richelieu no longer indispensable, hence his rejection of the first terms. There was always a danger that the constant pressure exerted against him by the two queens, his enemies, might take sudden effect. Louis, though moody and uncertain, was very far from being a negligible quantity in politics; while he depended on Richelieu's advice even in small private matters, he almost unconsciously resented his ascendancy. He was almost incapable of attachment to anyone, and the only road to his favour was success; yet even success might be too dearly bought at the price of domestic peace. Before the Italian question was at an end, a plot for Richelieu's arrest was on foot, under the patronage of both queens and the King's worthless brother Gaston of Orleans, and supported by the Chancellor and his brother Marshal Marillac. Mary de Medici brought matters to a point by a violent attack on Richelieu in the King's presence, challenging her son to choose between his mother and his minister. Louis, who was greatly annoyed, hesitated some hours, and the Court considered Richelieu a doomed man. Then the King left for Versailles, and sent for Richelieu to join him. The sudden reaction that followed has made November 11, 1630, famous as "The Day of Dupes." The Queen-Mother's influence was shattered, and in the spring she

Character
of Louis
XIII.

escaped to Spanish protection in Brussels. Gaston fled to Lorraine, the chancellor was driven into exile, and the marshal executed after an arbitrary trial.

The
Humilia-
tion of the
Nobles

In following his second great aim, the humiliation of the nobles, Richelieu made only one exception to his rule of always bringing the most powerful offender to justice. The exception was the King's brother Gaston, whose contemptible character prevented his becoming a dangerous force in France; but he was constantly the cause of bringing others into trouble. Thus his support following the Day of Dupes, by the Duke of Lorraine, was the means of bringing that country under French occupation; while his confederate Montmorency, though the last of an illustrious family, perished on the scaffold. Yet Gaston's name is again found among the conspirators—Cinq Mars, De Thou and Bouillon—who tried, for the last time, to overthrow Richelieu. The Cardinal, as he lay apparently dying, revived to bring Cinq Mars, the King's favourite equerry, and his less guilty friend De Thou, to execution. Exhausted by this final victory, Richelieu passed away (Dec. 4), declaring that he had had no other aims than the welfare of God and of the State. The list of great nobles who suffered death at Richelieu's hands for political reasons included five dukes, four counts, a French marshal, and the King's chief equerry; but the humiliation of their class was achieved by edicts against duelling, the building of castles and of fortresses,—though it is possible that change of fashion was at work in the same direction. As the real organiser of the professional army of France, he took the opportunity to suppress the offices of Constable and Admiral, and raised many infantry regiments without the customary agency of the nobles. For the navy,

Death of
Richelieu,
Dec. 4,
1642

which scarcely existed in 1624, he did even more, leaving at his death a fleet of fifty-six warships.

Most important, however, of all his measures to reduce the nobles, was the superseding of all but four of the nineteen great territorial magnates by royal officials. This permanent class of Intendants, created by Richelieu, was responsible in each district to the Crown alone for the local administration of finance, justice, and police.

The suppression of feudalism was inevitably the first step towards the unity of France under a powerful crown; and as the French nobles had accustomed themselves to enjoy privileges without corresponding duties, it is impossible to regret the fate which overtook this least useful and most troublesome class of society.

The third of Richelieu's great objects will be dealt with in connection with the Thirty Years' War. Richelieu's
Work
~~His great claim to his country's gratitude is that he gave her unity.~~ Except through the power of the Crown this end was probably unattainable; and Richelieu therefore made the King the source and centre of national life. His idea of royalty was absolute monarchy. It is useless to discuss, in view of his opinion and circumstances, whether he should, or could, have given France a constitutional government. The question is, rather, whether the despotism he bequeathed to his country was benevolent at all.

It is not easy to defend Richelieu from the charge of sweeping away traditional rights merely to unfetter the action of the Crown: the effect was certainly to encourage contempt for law and custom. For instance, the Parlement of Paris, in its proper Court, was thoroughly able to deal with political prisoners; yet the Cardinal invariably appointed a special commission to

try offenders. Again, the provincial estates belonging to the Pays d'État may not have been either fully representative or very useful. Still they stood for local opinion, which was stifled in certain provinces by the introduction of Élus or royal officials. The whole system of local government by the Intendants was unknown to the law, though they took precedence of all the district officials.

If any man could have wrestled successfully with the abuses of privilege, that man was Richelieu, most powerful of French ministers. Yet though his hand was heavy upon the nobles, he left them in full possession of the seigniorial rights that burdened the peasants' lot. Under his rule taxation had increased fourfold; yet the nobles, the clergy, and the official class continued to be exempt. All the old bad taxes and abuses since Sully's time remained. He neglected the agricultural interest which has always been the chief source of the country's wealth; and at his death the revenue for the next three years was already spent. There is no doubt he could have been better served, had he chosen, than by the financial agents he employed; and his habit of directing important campaigns himself may partly account for the absence of first-class military talent under his rule.

As a spiritual force in the religious life of his time he counted for little. He regarded the Church as a useful moral influence, and as the best training-school for the highest branches of public service. He did something to reform the religious orders, and seems to have thought of making himself independent Patriarch of France, since all his attempts failed to win papal favour.

His successor, Cardinal Mazarin, far less commanding in personality and less original in statesmanship, only continued part of his work—the campaign against Austria.

Giulio Mazzarini, born in Italy in 1602 and educated at Rome and in Spain, had, like Richelieu, forsaken a soldier's career for diplomacy. For two years he acted as Papal Nuncio in Paris, and became a naturalised Frenchman. He succeeded Father Joseph in Richelieu's confidence, became Cardinal in 1641, and was commended by his dying master to the King. As Louis XIII.'s own health was fast failing, and the Dauphin only four years old, Mazarin foresaw the coming importance of the Queen, and by his personal attractions and deferential manners won her favour. Anne was lonely and unappreciated: after her husband's death, she responded by giving Mazarin her entire confidence and affection, and it is probable that they were secretly married. It was through his influence that the Queen was recognised by the Parlement as Regent with full sovereign powers, instead of sharing them with the rest of the Council, as Louis XIII. had intended, during his son's minority.

Cardinal
Mazarin,
Chief
Minister,
1642-1661

Death of
Louis
XIII., 1643

Reign of
Louis
XIV.,
1643-1715

Regency of
Anne of
Austria,
1643

Though Mazarin was heir to Richelieu's ideas, nothing could have been more different than their methods. No changes took place among the officials; but the return of many exiles ushered in a milder rule. Mazarin was, unlike Richelieu, neither vindictive nor jealous of other able men. The discovery of two soldiers of the first rank at the outset of his ministry was hardly accidental.

Mazarin always avoided frontal attacks; he was patient, adroit, and full of dissimulation. To win a point he could fawn and cringe, and his manner was one of confiding innocence. These qualities, his foreign origin, and his great avarice jointly account for the exceeding hatred he inspired in France. Even in her neglected days Anne of Austria had not been without her own circle, and

The
Fronde
Wars,
1648-1653

these Queen's friends, styled "Les Importants," aimed at ousting the Cardinal, with the result that their leader, Beaufort, was imprisoned and their party broken up. A much stronger expression of feeling against Mazarin appeared in the movement known as the Fronde, called after the sling which was the typical weapon of the Paris gamin. Except in gaining a brief breathing-space for Spain at a critical period of the war, the Fronde forms no part of European history, and will only be sketched here in outline. Its causes may be summed up as hatred of Mazarin; reaction against Richelieu's lawless absolutism; ambition on the part of the nobles to recover lost ground. The first Fronde was also a constitutional movement, partly inspired by the example of the English Civil War; the second an undisguised struggle between the King and nobles.

The first movement centred round a programme of reform drawn up by the Parlement of Paris, and containing two demands of vital interest for the future—the control of taxation by the Parlement, and of arbitrary imprisonment by means of a Habeas Corpus Act. The Court party foolishly seized the leaders of the agitation; whereupon ensued a tremendous uproar, street barricades, and the usual signs of a Paris mob's displeasure. The Court gave way, and the demands were registered. It is not greatly to the point to criticise the unfitness of the Parlement to carry out constitutional reform; it was surely a step forwards to control, by whatever existing institutions, the government's arbitrary power to tax and imprison. Unfortunately, however, the Parlement proved too weak and the nobles too selfish to carry reform.

The nobles who led the second movement, though

the famous Condé was of their number, were mere holiday warriors or great ladies who lent their spasmodic interest and fascinating wiles to politics. The arrest of Condé and his nearest kinsmen exposed Mazarin to the full force of the storm. He fled to Cologne, whence he continued to direct French affairs. He was declared an exile, and his library and art treasures were sold by order of the Parlement. Eight months of civil war followed. Finally the prestige of the Crown proved too strong for its enemies; the valuable services of Turenne, Condé's unpopularity in Paris, the disorganisation of trade, and the general distress of the plundered kingdom were all factors in the defeat of the Fronde. Mazarin was recalled to undisputed supremacy. Condé took service under the Spanish Government, and other leaders were exiled or excluded from power. The nobles were permanently reduced, and the Parlement forbidden to meddle in State affairs.

The remaining seven years of Mazarin's ministry were occupied by the conclusion of the war with Spain, which will be noticed in the next chapter, and in the accumulation of a fortune of thirty millions. His interests were less varied than Richelieu's, but he was a generous friend to men of letters. He did nothing for the financial disorders of France; but in the management of his own prosperous affairs he trained Colbert, a great financier whom he bequeathed to the King's service, with the advice that Louis should be his own chief minister.

Death of
Mazarin,
1661

ADDITIONAL BOOKS

WAKEMAN : The Ascendancy of France.

LODGE : Richelieu.

HASSALL : Mazarin.

CHAPTER XII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Causes of
the Thirty
Years'
War

IN tracing the causes of the Thirty Years' War, three important changes in the condition of Germany since the Peace of Augsburg must be noticed. First there is the growth of princely power, due chiefly to the seizure in Protestant States of Church lands, and to the increase of the rulers' authority since Charles V., especially during the reigns of Maximilian II. and Rudolf II. Secondly, the Reformation, which by 1555 had invaded the greater part of both North and South Germany, reached its high-water mark, and was already on the ebb. The weaknesses of Protestantism began to appear—its want of organisation; the ignorance and pitiable poverty of the pastors; the quarrels about definition of the faith. Though unrecognised by the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism was spreading, and an impassable gulf divided its followers from the Lutherans. The enmity between the Electors Palatine (twice Calvinist and twice Lutheran in sixty years) and the Lutheran Electors of Saxony was one of the chief drawbacks to the cause of Protestantism. The appropriation by Protestant princes of Church lands in their dominions provoked unceasing protests from Catholics; while the Ecclesiastical Reservation was continually evaded when a chapter that had become Protestant elected a bishop

of its own views. In this way eight important North German bishoprics passed into their hands.

Thirdly, the progress of the Catholic or Counter-Reformation brought the opposing forces up to fighting point. Before 1600 the Protestant advance had been stayed. England, Holland, and Scandinavia were its undisputed conquests: but in once ultra-Protestant Poland Catholicism was restored in 1587; in the Spanish Netherlands by 1579; and recognised as the State religion of France in 1598. In Spain and Italy it had no rival. In Germany itself, Bavaria had become by 1579 an active centre of Jesuit influence; and in 1596 Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola passed under a fanatical ruler, Ferdinand, cousin of Rudolf II., who obliged his subjects to bow to Catholicism. Rudolf followed suit in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia; and, by forsaking the tolerant position of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., he laid the match to the train.

Rudolf, a bigoted, art-loving, and unbalanced recluse, <sup>Rudolf II.,
1576-1612</sup> was probably by 1594 quite insane; yet he continued to reign seventeen years longer. At last a Habsburg family council appointed his next brother Matthias to rule Hungary and Austria, in the hope of saving the eastern frontier from the Turks, and of soothing religious discord by a tardy promise of toleration. The anxious fears of the Protestants had been aroused the year before by the enforced restoration of Catholicism at Donauwörth, on the pretext afforded by a riot during a religious procession. The Protestant princes and cities of the South at once united in the Protestant Union, under the leadership of the Calvinist, Christian of Anhalt, a hopeful and impetuous spirit, fatally prone to despise the enemy's strength. The Catholic League, a rival association, led

The Party
Leaders

by Maximilian of Bavaria, was immediately started by the three ecclesiastical Electors. The Juliers-Cleves question all but kindled war, which was, however, delayed by the death of Henry IV., the dread of a crisis, and the pacific influence of the Lutheran Princes. Of these the chief was John George of Saxony, doubly opposed to Christian of Anhalt on account of his own Lutheran and Imperialist sympathies, and lacking the necessary decision and strength of a leader. In Maximilian of Bavaria the Catholics were more fortunate, for the Duke, who had been educated at the Jesuit College at Ingolstadt, was both resolute and moderate, and an able and practical ruler of his State.

Matthias,
1612-1619

The Bohemian Protestants, encouraged by the successes of their Hungarian brethren, wrung from Rudolf II. a Royal Charter (*Majestätsbrief*) granting complete toleration on royal domain and freedom of conscience elsewhere. Amid the strife following this enactment, Rudolf was succeeded by Matthias, during whose reign came the proverbial lull before the storm. Being worn out and childless, Matthias desired to secure the succession of his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, who had an heir, and might be trusted to keep together the Habsburg dominions. In the family possessions this was easy: and by adroit management the elective crowns of Bohemia and Hungary were also promised to Ferdinand. Suddenly, however, the Protestant nobles of Bohemia, headed by Count Thurn, awoke to the reality of their danger, and, having vainly appealed to Matthias, sent an armed deputation to Prague. They entered the castle, and charging the two unpopular and fanatical Regents, Martinetz and Slavata, with responsibility for the Emperor's attitude, they flung the hapless men, with

their secretary for company, into the fosse some seventy feet below. Though not one of them was seriously injured, this violent deed proved the beginning of the Bohemian Revolution. But neither at home nor abroad were any declared allies: the Bohemian nobles were half-hearted and as reluctant as the towns to bear the cost of an army, and Ferdinand would have made short work of the Bohemian resistance had it not been for the energy of Christian of Anhalt and the support of his young friend, Frederick V., Elector Palatine. It was assumed that James I. of England, the Elector's father-in-law, would lend his aid, though he was known to be a man of peace and warmly disposed towards Spain. Troops under Count Mansfeld, first of the many adventurers who shouldered their way through the war, reduced Ferdinand's forces to their last fortress in Bohemia; and the storm had just burst when, on the death of Matthias, Ferdinand succeeded to the helm of State. He was a man of upright life, narrow sympathies, and resolute character, who, without the grasp of a statesman, was yet able to take a firmer hold of affairs than either of the last two kings.

Immediately Ferdinand was surrounded in Vienna by Protestant troops under Thurn, to whom the Austrian nobles threatened to open the gates unless they were allowed to unite with the Bohemians. The firmer the King, the more insolent grew the deputation, till the sound of cavalry galloping up announced that the siege of Vienna was raised, and that Ferdinand was free to pursue his election at Frankfort. Thanks to the disunion among the Protestant leaders, he was unanimously chosen Emperor. Exactly two days earlier the Bohemians, having already deposed Ferdinand, invited the

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 Outbreak
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 Years'
 War—
 (1) The
 Bohemian
 Period,
 1619-1623

Ferdinand
 II., 1619-
 1637

Elector of the Palatinate to be their King. Frederick a rigid Calvinist, was inexperienced and easily led, especially by his hero, Christian of Anhalt. The transfer of Bohemia to a Protestant would definitely incline the balance of German religious parties to that side, and all Europe intently awaited the event. Christian's influence prevailed, and Frederick was crowned at Prague. Unfortunately he had reckoned without his host, for none of his possible allies—England, Holland, or the German Protestant Union—were at all prepared to act. The last, indeed, only undertook the defence of the Palatinate, while the Calvinist zealot, Bethlen Gabor, of whom hopes had been formed, secured Transylvania as his principality by temporarily coming to terms with Ferdinand. On the other hand, the Emperor's allies—Spain, Poland, Tuscany, and the Catholic League—were ready for deeds. Spinola and his Spaniards descended upon the Palatinate. Tilly, a Walloon, who had served under Parma, occupied the duchies of Austria with the army of the League, and drove the enemy before him under the walls of Prague, where, just outside the town, on the White Hill, Christian of Anhalt's forces awaited events. Tilly attacked promptly, and in an hour the Battle of the White Hill was won. Frederick, who was lurching inside the city with some English envoys, only reached the field in time to be swept away by his own fugitive troops. "Only a winter King," as the Jesuits had foreseen, he escaped with his family to the Netherlands.

Failure
of the
Bohemian
Revolution

In Bohemia the Protestant movement was pitilessly crushed. Ferdinand tore up the Majestätsbrief, executed the leading nobles, planted foreign soldiery on the confiscated lands, and set the Jesuits to convert by persecu-

tion. Many Protestants left the country, with disastrous results to its progress. The Protestant Union was dissolved in 1621, and its disbanded forces enlisted under Mansfeld, who, having been driven from the Upper Palatinate by Spinola, betook himself to the Rhineland, and roused Christian of Brunswick, one of the new Protestant bishops, and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, to adopt the cause of the fair Queen of Bohemia. But both were defeated by Tilly before Mansfeld could come to the rescue. The Upper Palatinate, with its capital, Heidelberg, fell into Tilly's hands, and was made over to the administration of Maximilian of Bavaria, with the title of Elector Palatine for life. Frederick, now a landless exile, was obliged to dismiss his army, whose leaders, Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, lived by pillage in Alsace and Lorraine. Thus closed the first, or Bohemian period, of the Thirty Years' War.

Unfortunately Ferdinand did not use this opportunity to come to terms with the Elector Palatine, and the control of the fortunes of the war soon passed into other hands. Protestant North Germany was becoming thoroughly alarmed for the safety of its Church lands, which seemed to run an equal risk of being confiscated by the Emperor and being pillaged by Mansfeld, who had quartered himself in East Friesland.

Since the marriage treaty between England and Spain had failed with the Prince of Wales's Madrid visit, Parliament was urging James to form an armed alliance for the recovery of the Palatinate. The result was the betrothal of Charles to Henrietta Maria of France and the declaration of war between England and Spain. It was at this moment that Richelieu had become First Minister of France, and by disputing the Spanish occu-

pation of the Valtelline and pressing Mansfeld into the service of the Dutch, he opened his campaign against the Habsburgs, and added politics to religion as a cause of the Thirty Years' War. While the siege of Rochelle occupied his attention, England had come to an understanding with Christian IV. of Denmark, who was keenly interested in the independence of the Lower Saxon bishoprics, and in return for English subsidies, entered upon the Second period of the War. In the face of this Triple Alliance of English, Danish, and North German forces, the Emperor's position was very critical, when suddenly from Bohemia itself sprang his champion—Wallenstein.

Second or
Danish
Period of
the War,
1625-1629

Born in 1583, of an old Bohemian family, Albert of Wallenstein had already, as a daring and lucky agent of the Catholic Reformation, carved out from Bohemian confiscations the almost regal estates of the Duke of Friedland. He now proposed to raise an Imperial force, to be supported by compulsory contributions. It soon numbered 50,000 men. This regularly paid and disciplined army, where Catholic and Protestant were alike welcome, and promotion was decided by merit alone, was a strange contrast to the rabble that had hitherto done duty as such, without uniform, without pay, and cruel beyond belief in its licence to plunder. In strategical and tactical ability, Wallenstein ranks next to Gustavus Adolphus in the war, while his courage, justice, and consideration for his men gathered recruits from every quarter. But it was a dangerous precedent for the Emperor to depend upon troops enrolled by an independent leader and paid by a system unknown to the law.

Serious hostilities began at the Bridge of Dessau by

Wallenstein's utter defeat of Mansfeld, who had hoped first to join hands with Bethlen Gabor. Instead he was obliged to disband his forces, and while struggling through Bosnia to Venice, he died. Christian of Brunswick had already passed away; but Christian IV., preparing to join his allies in Bohemia, was outnumbered by combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, who defeated him with overwhelming loss of officers, men, and guns at Lutter. North Germany was left at the mercy of the Catholic League; Brandenburg was prevailed upon to declare for Ferdinand; and Wallenstein and Tilly invaded Schleswig-Holstein, driving Christian before them to the islands of Denmark. There Wallenstein realised the crowning importance of control of the sea, and though he could not persuade the Hanse towns to lend him their ships, he overran the twin-duchies of Mecklenburg and demanded that certain Baltic ports should admit Imperial garrisons. Among these, Stralsund stoutly refused. As Wallenstein, though "General of the Oceanic and Baltic Sea," was without a fleet, Stralsund was accessible to help from Sweden and Denmark, and its burghers preferred to accept foreign aid rather than to submit to persecution and military despotism. At the end of five months Wallenstein, to his intense mortification, was obliged to turn his back on Stralsund. Peace was at last in sight. Christian's weariness of the war, Wallenstein's suspicions of Sweden, the German Princes' suspicions of Wallenstein, prepared the way for the Peace of Lübeck, by which the King of Denmark recovered Jutland, Schleswig, and his Holstein possessions, on undertaking to renounce all claims to the German bishoprics held by his family.

The Peace
of Lübeck,
1629

The Catholic League was determined, however jealous

it might feel of Wallenstein's victories, to turn them to account in the service of religion. They prevailed on Ferdinand to issue the Edict of Restitution, restoring to the Church all property that had been secularised since 1552. Two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and more than a hundred monasteries were about to be torn from the Protestants, but their opposition, in the face of the huge armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, was unavailing. The Edict was, however, entirely contrary to the principle of religious equality on which Wallenstein's army was based, and to his patriotic ideal of regenerating Germany by maintaining an armed neutrality between the creeds. He looked to establish a strong Emperor upon the ruins of the princely power that he despised—to lead a crusade against the Turks—to ask, in return, it might even be a crown for himself. But Ferdinand was undecided, and the princes, rather than lose their independence, were ready, like the Stralsund burghers, to call in foreign aid. This divergence of aims between the League and the Emperor's general gave Richelieu his opportunity of dealing a blow at the Habsburgs, and Gustavus Adolphus an opening for his entry into German politics, of which both took advantage. At the Diet of Ratisbon, Father Joseph, one of the best-informed, most penetrating and supple diplomatists of his time, succeeded in turning the scales against Ferdinand's general. Strange to say, Wallenstein, the master of legions, accepted his dismissal, and retired into private life on his Bohemian estates, while Tilly succeeded to his command. The next problem for the princes was to discover the intentions of the King of Sweden, and here the history of the House of Vasa may be briefly sketched.

Between 1397 and 1523 the three kingdoms of

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united under one crown by the Union of Kalmar. No real national feeling existed, however, and the work of the House of Vasa was to win for Sweden her independence of the predominant partner, Denmark. In avenging the fate of many of his fellow-nobles in "the Stockholm Blood Bath," Gustavus Erichsson accomplished this task, and was crowned King of Sweden. His family took the name Vasa from the sheaf in their coat-of-arms.

Summary
of Swedish
History

The House
of Vasa
ascends the
Swedish
Throne,
1523

It was the aim of Gustavus to build up a strong monarchy, under which the power of the Church and of the nobles should be levelled, the disorders of the country suppressed, and its internal wealth and foreign influence developed. As in England, the King made use of the Reformation to strengthen the Crown. By the famous Recess of the Diet of Vesteras, the adoption of Lutheranism not only gave the King the support of the clergy whom he appointed, but confiscated the Church lands for his benefit. In 1544, at a later diet of the same name, the throne was made hereditary, whereby a serious blow was dealt at the independence of the nobles. The foreign policy of Sweden as a European power, though indicated by Gustavus Vasa, remained for his successors, Eric and John, to develop. It inevitably roused the rivalry of other Northern nations with like interests — namely, Denmark and Russia; and under John's son Sigismund III., the restorer of Roman Catholicism in Poland, a determined effort was made on his election to the throne for the recovery of Sweden to the Church. The Swedes, however, resented foreign interference with their religion, and in 1593 the Synod of Upsala formally accepted the Confession of Augsburg. Sigismund soon retired

to Poland, and was scarcely more than King of Sweden in name until his deposition in 1599. The real ruler, afterwards Charles IX., was the ablest of Gustavus Vasa's sons, who was a strong champion of Protestantism and the founder of Sweden's forward policy in the Baltic—a policy that brought him into collision with both Poland and Denmark. He made good his hold on Livonia and Esthonia ; but his death at the outbreak of the Danish war left its burden on the broad young shoulders of his son.

Gustavus
Adolphus,
1611-1632

Though Gustavus Adolphus was only seventeen, his public life had begun at nine, and he was already well trained in war and politics. He could speak seven languages, had a Protestant's love and knowledge of his Bible, and cared for poetry and music. In appearance he was a typical Northman, tall, fair, and blue-eyed, and he inherited the characteristics of his race—their ambition, versatility, fiery temper, and joy in battle. But with these qualities Gustavus united a noble and generous nature and a sound judgment, which guided his pursuit of the ideals that lay near his heart. It is the union in Gustavus of the imaginative and the practical that makes him the most attractive figure of his age.

For the first eighteen years of his reign Gustavus was at war in turn with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. From the second he gained the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, closing her access to the sea ; from the third he conquered Livonia and a long line of Prussian coast, with the right of levying customs at the ports, which enabled him to pay his way at the outset of the Thirty Years' War. Almost more valuable was the thorough military training his troops received in these campaigns. On his landing in Germany, fully half his army of 70,000 Scots,

Poles, Germans, and Swedes, consisted of his own subjects—a great achievement for a population numbering under two million.

The Third or Swedish period of the war opens with Gustavus' landing in Pomerania. He joined the struggle at his own time and for his own reasons. He fought because he believed the Swedish nationality and the Protestant religion to be at stake : because Protestantism was bound up with the past and future of his house and of his kingdom, and because he believed that the Habsburg designs on the Sound and the Baltic would stifle Swedish national life in its cradle. The undertaking was doubly uncertain from the condition of his allies—Denmark latently jealous, England preoccupied at home, the Dutch lukewarm, the German Princes, except Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, aloof—the two important Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg remaining stolidly neutral. With France he was only able to come to terms when Richelieu realised that Sweden was not to be exploited in the interests of his own or any other country. The Cardinal's first reason for entering the war was to secure the frontiers of France : before long, everything opposed to German unity appeared to be a direct gain to French interests ; and finally his policy stopped at nothing short of annexation. His calculations were disturbed by the presence of Gustavus, as of a new planet that swam into his ken. The reserve, the sturdy independence, and the Lutheran sympathies of the King interfered with the true course of the Cardinal's policy—to hold the balance between the Catholic League and the Protestant Union, and to avoid a declaration of war until its profits could be secured. Yet it was impossible at the same time to be a supporter of the loyalist, Maximilian

Third or
Swedish
Period of
the War,
1630-1635

Develop-
ment of the
Policy of
Richelieu

of Bavaria, and an open enemy of the Emperor, or to direct the Catholic policy of Europe, while undermining the Habsburg power through Protestant allies. As long as the genius of Gustavus threw the balance of success on the Protestant side, Richelieu must perforce protect the Catholics; the death of Gustavus obliged him to devote himself to the task of saving the Protestant alliance. Thus the religious character of the war was slowly merged among national interests, for whose sake Germany gradually rallied round her Emperor against the foes of his house.

By the Treaty of Bärwalde, France and Sweden agreed to defend the freedom of the Baltic and of the open sea, to restore the liberties of the German States, to observe neutrality towards the League, and to respect the liberty of Catholic worship in conquered districts.

Tilly, commanding the armies of both Empire and League, failed to divide Gustavus in Pomerania from Horn in Mecklenburg, and was driven by them back upon the Elbe. The Swedes stormed Frankfort, and secured the line of the Oder. Urgent appeals for help reached them from Magdeburg, a Protestant stronghold near the Brandenburg boundary of Saxony, which was besieged by the Imperialists under Pappenheim. Gustavus judged that the town could hold out two months longer, and he hoped to avoid risking the hostility of the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony through crossing their territory to rescue Magdeburg, by first securing their active alliance. But the Electors were slow and obstinate, and though the deliverance of Magdeburg was a supreme necessity, Gustavus, who was not wont to stand upon the letter of the law, hesitated, and Magdeburg fell. Twenty thousand men, women, and children

were slaughtered; and the whole town, except the cathedral and a few houses on the outskirts, was burnt to the ground.

Tilly then invaded Saxony, and the Electors were driven by the force of circumstances to declare for Sweden. The armies of Gustavus and John George of Saxony came up with Tilly on the Breitenfeld in the famous battle-plain of Leipzig. Tilly's long line of solid squares confronted a double line of the Swedes in a loose formation of smaller squares, which have been compared to "little moveable fortresses," and which were interspersed with cavalry. Though the Saxons fled headlong with their Elector, the superior artillery of the Swedes and their greater mobility won the day. Tilly's Walloon veterans made a last stand round their old leader, and bore him wounded from the field. The Imperialists as a fighting force had been wiped out: their guns, standards, and camp spoils fell into the enemy's hands. Tilly retreated to the Weser to gather up his fragments. The whole of North Germany was won for the Protestant cause. The Catholic territories now lay open to attack, and disregarding Richelieu's advice to make for Austria, Gustavus took the road known as "the Priests' Lane" through Franconia to the ecclesiastical States. He rightly judged that even the capture of Vienna, not then a national capital, would assure his position less than a march of deliverance among the South German Protestants. Great plans were shaping in his mind to destroy what was left of the Imperial forces, to weld the Protestants into a general alliance—a "Corpus Evangelicorum"—under himself as a member of the Empire, possibly even as Emperor.

Battle of
the Breit-
enfeld,
Sept. 1631

Through the Thuringian Forest Gustavus marched victoriously by Wurzburg down the Main, annexing Franconia and threatening to treat the neutrality of the three Rhine Electors as equivalent to hostility. They appealed to France, and Richelieu's jealousy of Sweden's influence on the Rhine prompted the demand that all Gustavus' conquests except in Treves and Cologne should be restored. Even to these exceptions, however, Bavaria refused to agree, so Maximilian renounced the French alliance and openly joined the Emperor. With the loss of its leader the League ceased to exist.

While Bernard of Weimar conquered the Palatinate, removing every obstacle to the Elector Frederick's restoration except the latter's invincible objection to his Lutheran subjects, Gustavus had captured Frankfort and Maintz, and was preparing to advance into Bavaria, where Tilly had reinforced himself and had united with Maximilian. Meeting with an enthusiastic welcome at Nuremberg on his way, the King crossed the Danube and confronted Tilly, who had strongly entrenched himself on the Lech. As the bridges had been destroyed, Gustavus threw pontoons across the stream in the night, and for six hours engaged Tilly's troops in a furious cannonade. The old general was mortally wounded in the thigh, and under cover of night Maximilian carried him and his forces off to Ingolstadt, where he died. At Ingolstadt the King met his first repulse, but he quickly overran Bavaria, and made ready at last to carry the war into the Emperor's own territories. No escape for Ferdinand seemed possible, when Germany suddenly rang with the news of Wallenstein's return to his old master. But his terms were his own—absolute control of his army, toleration as the basis of peace,

Battle of
the Lech,
1632

expulsion of the foreigner, and a principality, possibly an Electorate, as his reward.

The magic of Wallenstein's name soon gathered round him soldiers of fortune of every nation, rank, and religious belief, who were only to be restrained by the severest discipline. Of the Saxon army which was occupying Bohemia he made short work; and plundering Saxony as he went, he marched south to join the Bavarian forces. Well aware of the uncertain nature of John George's alliance, Gustavus was on the point of hastening to his rescue, when the news of Wallenstein's approach turned him southwards to defend his staunch ally, Nuremberg. Round the city he gradually concentrated his reinforcements under Oxenstierna, Bernard, Baner, and Hesse, till they finally numbered about four-fifths of Wallenstein's huge army. On the hills north of the town, opposite the main Swedish position, Wallenstein fortified his camp, resolving to risk no engagement without manifest superiority, but to isolate and starve out Gustavus. Famine and pestilence and summer heat wrought more deadly havoc in the overcrowded town, though the total deaths of both camps exceeded those in any great battle of the war. With starvation staring them in the face the discipline of the soldiers began to break down. After a desperate night attack on Wallenstein's position, the King withdrew. Wallenstein directed his march on Saxony, intending to terrorise the Elector into alliance, but, in his own words, "the Swedes came as if they had flown" and concentrated at Erfurt. Convinced that the bitter cold of those first November days would drive Gustavus into winter quarters, Wallenstein fortified his position at Lützen, and detached Pappenheim for service at Cologne, when the amazing

Return of
Wallen-
stein, April
1632

news arrived of the enemy's advance. Hastily recalling Pappenheim, Wallenstein hurried his regiments into position. At nightfall the two armies, divided by the Leipzig road, were drawn up on the plain of Lützen, and at daybreak a thick mist hung over the field. The formation of Breitenfeld seems to have been repeated—the Swedes in two lines opposed to one of the Imperialists: the King, without armour, on his white charger, commanding the cavalry on the right wing, Bernard on the left, the infantry and big guns massed in the centre. Under cover of an artillery duel the Swedes advanced to the high road, and from that moment charge followed charge all along the line. The Swedes seized the guns in an attack on the Imperialist centre, but were instantly repulsed, and, with terrible loss of life among their officers, the guns were recaptured. Gustavus, galloping to the rescue at the head of his picked cavalry, rode into a patch of mist, and lost touch with the main body. A party of cuirassiers discovered him, wounded, and tended by one faithful page. "I was the King of Sweden," Gustavus answered to their challenge. They thrust him through with their swords, and the page beside him, plundered the dead bodies, and rode off. The white charger carried the fatal news in his frantic rush riderless along the lines. Bernard took command, and, wild for vengeance, the Swedes flung themselves upon the enemy. They recovered the King's body, retook the Imperialist guns, and though temporarily forced back by the arrival of Pappenheim's troopers, gripped their footing at the high road, and in a last charge drove the Imperialist army from the field.

But though victory was with the Swedes, it was dearly bought in a heavy death-roll, and, above all, in

Battle of
Lützen,
Nov. 16,
1632

Death of
Gustavus
Adolphus

the supreme loss of the King, general and statesman, whose place no other man could fill. His chancellor and friend, Oxenstierna, took up his political work, and guided the minority of Gustavus' six-year old daughter, Queen Christina. Bernard and Horn alternated in command of the army. But France, and the majority of German Protestants, felt genuinely relieved at the King's death—because France had never been able to control him, and the Germans found him a stronger master than their Emperor. Yet Richelieu's eagerness to enlarge French frontiers was checked by the immediate danger of the collapse of the Swedish power, so he supplied money and encouragement, and allied himself with the new League of Heilbronn, the nearest realisation of Gustavus' "Corpus Evangelicorum." It was a defensive and offensive union of circles—Franconian, Swabian, and Rhenish, with Sweden. The Elector of Saxony held aloof; he was, in fact, negotiating with Wallenstein, who had withdrawn to Bohemia after Lützen, and with whose name rumour was busy. The advance of Bernard and Horn in the Danube Valley was attributed by the Bavarians to his indifference; his many enemies joined in the general chorus of suspicion, and gained the Imperial ear. Even now his aims are hardly understood; but his chief desire seems to have been the restoration of peace, mainly through turning Richelieu's ambitions in the direction of the Low Countries. Yet Ferdinand was bent on co-operation with Bavaria and Spain; and, if Wallenstein's peace meant large concessions to Protestantism, he must expect to break with the Court. His reliance on his army received its first shock in the desertion of some of his leading generals. Next, he was declared guilty

of treason, dismissed from all command, and his soldiers were released from their allegiance. Finally, before he could rally other supporters around him at Eger, his most faithful officers were lured by the governor of the fortress to a banquet, and there assassinated. Devereux, an Irish captain, sought out Wallenstein's quarters, and, with a following of soldiers, murdered him as he was turning in for the night.

Murder of
Wallen-
stein,
Feb. 1634

Though not the noblest figure of the war, Wallenstein is, in some ways, the most interesting. With all his faults, he desired to serve Germany: and would have served her better had not his position rested on military force alone; for peace, unity, and riddance of the foreigner were aims worthy of a statesman and a patriot.

During an active campaign in South Germany, his successor, Gallas, with the young King of Hungary as nominal chief, retook Ratisbon—one of Bernard's brilliant captures the year before—and Donauwörth, and besieged Nordlingen. To save the town, Bernard, though greatly outnumbered, risked a two days' battle, which resulted in an overwhelming defeat. South Germany was overrun by the Catholic armies, and perpetually lost to Protestantism. In the general overthrow disappeared the Duchy of Franconia, which had been the reward of Bernard's services. Even more than after Lützen were the gold and good offices of France required to salvage the wreck of Protestantism. This state of affairs roused in John George greater resentment towards France than he had felt towards Sweden. By the Treaty of Prague he came at last to terms with the Emperor.

The Treaty
of Prague,
1635

- (1) The year 1627 was substituted for 1552 as the test year. All lands then held by the Protestants were to be retained, and these included most of the northern bishoprics.

- (2) Lusatia was made over to Saxony.
- (3) Lutheranism was to be tolerated in Silesia and in certain Imperial towns, but nowhere was Calvinism recognised.

So many German princes availed themselves of an invitation to share the benefits of the Treaty, that the war might most advantageously have been ended at this point. But Oxenstierna rejected the peace, because it gave Sweden no German territory whatever; while France and Spain were still far from concluding their rivalry, which had become the mainspring of the war.

The last, or French Period, of the Thirty Years' War, therefore, began in 1635. The Battle of Nordlingen gave Richelieu the opening for which his plans were carefully laid. In return for his help, he demanded from the Swedes the fortresses of Alsace: French garrisons were already protecting those of the Elector of Treves, and French armies already occupied Lorraine. As long as the Dutch were masters of the sea the control of these provinces would enable France to close in upon her enemy in the Netherlands. With the fortresses in his hands, Richelieu declared war upon Spain.

Fourth
or French
Period of
the War,
1635-1648

A four-fold plan of operations included the expulsion of the Spaniards from Milan, the defence of Lorraine, a campaign under Bernard on the right bank of the Rhine, and the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands in alliance with the Dutch. But, since the peace of 1559, France had not moved with the times in war: old-fashioned weapons, ignorant officers, and undisciplined soldiers brought upon her reverses all the more bitter because unexpected. Everywhere failure met the French arms; but when the Spaniards actually planned to march on Paris, the national spirit rose, and men and money poured in.

Ferdinand
III., 1637-
1657

For the sake of a quiet life, the new Emperor Ferdinand III., who succeeded his father in 1637, would have tolerated the Protestants. He was a man of formal piety, colourless character, and devoted to account-keeping; but he was too much influenced by his Spanish Queen's relations to take an independent line. Germany was now no more than a battle-ground for the settlement of Swedish and French interests. In the North, Baner and Torstenson struggled against Saxony to secure Pomerania for Sweden, winning one overwhelming victory at Wittstock, and making an occasional diversion into Austria or Bohemia. The French armies under Bernard contested the Rhine frontier and districts with the Empire and Spain. In one or other of these regions the closing interest of the war is centred.

Death of
Bernard of
Weimar,
July 1639

After three disastrous years the French began to profit by experience. Bernard overran the Upper Rhineland and the Breisgau, taking Breisach against superior numbers with masterly rapidity. Richelieu's famous consolation to his dying friend—"Courage, Father Joseph! Breisach is ours!" was prophetic; for Bernard, who looked forward to ruling the conquered lands in place of his lost duchy, died at the early age of thirty-five, before he could strike another blow. No one remained to dispute with Richelieu the dismemberment of the Empire, and the grasp of France closed upon Alsace.

Spain
under
Philip III.
and
Philip IV.

Meanwhile the exhaustion of Spain, the heritage of Philip II.'s reign, was becoming apparent. His feeble successor, Philip III., had contributed further to its downfall by senseless ostentation and extravagance, and by driving out the Moriscoes, the most industrious of

his subjects. His peaceful foreign policy prevented any open exposure of Spain's weakness, for the truce with the Dutch was only a long-delayed conclusion to that struggle. But under Philip IV. the break-up of the great Spanish Empire set in. The real ruler, the able and enterprising favourite Olivarez, drew closer the ties between Spain and Austria; but in so doing he provoked the ill-will of Richelieu, who proved more than his match. In the Valtelline and in Mantua, France took the upper hand. By imitating in Spain Richelieu's policy of crushing all opposition to the Crown, Olivarez drove the wild but loyal Catalans into revolt. And France, abetting the rebellion, finally forced her way into Roussillon in 1639, while the Portuguese were encouraged to recover their own independence. The reign of Philip II. had seen the union of the whole peninsula under the Spanish Crown: under his grandson the House of Braganza was set once more upon the throne of Portugal.

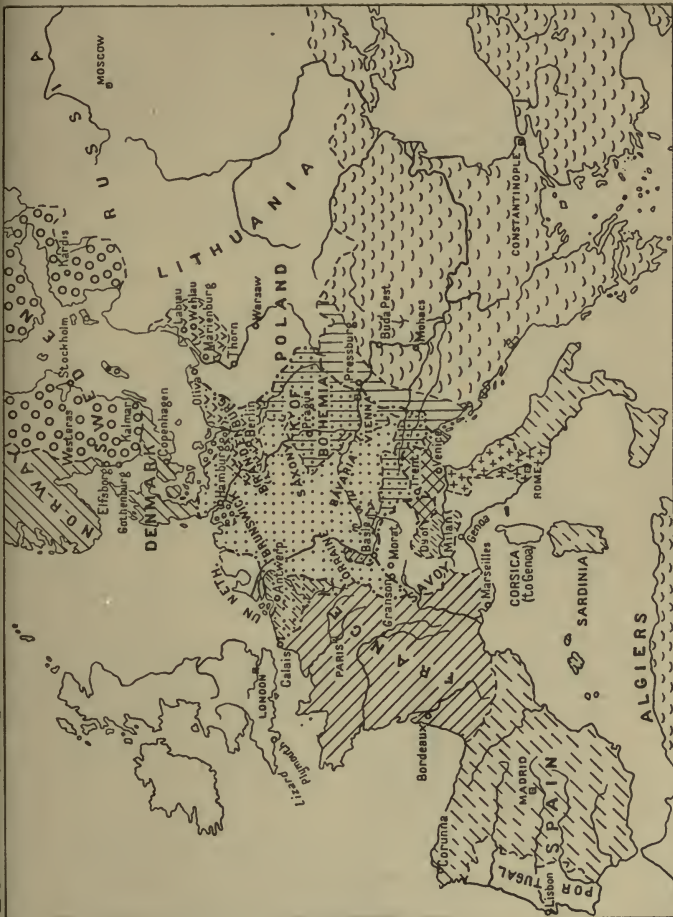
Through Richelieu's fostering care the French navy became formidable enough to give Spain trouble. A great Spanish fleet, bound in 1639 for the Netherlands, avoided a French squadron only to fall into the clutches of the Dutch. Claiming the protection of English neutrality, the Spaniards took refuge in the Downs; but Van Tromp, flouting Charles I.'s weak government, fell upon the Spanish ships and drove what he did not destroy to take shelter in Dunkirk.








Under Mazarin, the appearance of real military capacity began to compensate for his financial incapacity and the difficulties which beset Anne of Austria's Regency. From Rocroy dates the supremacy of France in war, which remained unbroken till the Battle of Blenheim. The Spanish army in the Netherlands, thinking to turn to

Battle of
Rocroy,
1643

account the weakness of the Regency, laid siege to Rocroy, on the French frontier. The Spanish position was formidable, but, fortified by the advice of an officer who had seen Gustavus fling himself upon Tilly's ponderous squares at Breitenfeld, D'Enghien (better known as Prince of Condé) resolved to fight. Applying the lesson taught by Gustavus' use of cavalry, Condé bade his infantry follow in the track of his artillery fire and launch themselves upon the disorganised Spanish formation. The Spanish veterans, unable to manœuvre, fell in an iron ring round the chair of their gouty old leader, the Count of Fuentes, defenceless but unyielding—a fitting end to the undisputed supremacy of the Spanish infantry.

Meanwhile Turenne, a greater though less dashing soldier than Condé, was endeavouring at great cost of life to secure the French conquests of the Rhineland. The world was languishing for peace; but it was clear that until the Emperor was deprived of the last of his allies he would not submit to its terms. Turenne, with the Swedes under Wrangel, Torstenson's successor, therefore decided to strike at Bavaria. Having crossed the Danube, they presented themselves at the gates of Munich, and proceeded to lay waste the rich Bavarian plain, which for thirteen years had escaped the horrors of war. Bitter necessity wrung from Maximilian a truce; but in a few months he was again at the Emperor's side. Vengeance was exacted to the uttermost by Turenne and Wrangel, and Bavaria was wasted by fire and sword. In the last battle of the war, at Zusmarshausen, Ferdinand plainly had his back to the wall. At Osnabrück he therefore concluded peace with the Protestant powers headed by Sweden, and at Munster



-  Sweden
-  Ottoman Empire
-  Papal Territory of Venice
-  Austria
-  Spain
-  Prussia
-  Empire

with the Catholic powers—not including Spain—led by France. The two treaties are better known by the title of the Peace of Westphalia. The religious difficulties were settled as follows:—

Peace of
Westphalia,
1648

- (1) Calvinists were to share all the privileges of their Lutheran fellow-Protestants.
- (2) All Church lands were to be secured in the possession of those, whether Catholics or Protestants, who held them on January 1, 1624.
- (3) As in the Chambres-mi-parties of Huguenot France, an equal number of judges of both religions were to sit in the Imperial Chamber.

The political clauses ran thus:—

- (1) Maximilian of Bavaria and his descendants were confirmed in the Electorate, to which was added the Upper Palatinate. The Lower Palatinate was restored to Frederick V.'s son, with the title of Elector.
- (2) Sweden was recognised as a member of the Empire, and controlled the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser through her new possessions of Western Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden.
- (3) Eastern Pomerania fell to Brandenburg, together with most of Magdeburg and the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden.
- (4) The rest of Magdeburg, with Lusatia, passed to Saxony.
- (5) France received Alsace, excepting the free city of Strasburg, and was confirmed in her possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.
- (6) The independence of Switzerland and of Holland was formally recognised.

Thus the great religious problem was solved in a practical form—not by preaching the ideal advantages of toleration, but by leaving in the hands of Catholic and Protestant rulers states that as early as 1624 had made their final decision for Catholicism and Protestantism respectively: and that there was so little

subsequent persecution proved the success of the arrangement. In other ways, however, Germany had suffered much. The already shadowy Imperial power became more of a phantom than ever. The Empire was merely a collection of states, each under a ruler with full sovereign rights. Among these rulers the Emperor, as Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, happened to be numbered, and in these dominions his interest entirely merged itself. He turned his face to the south-east, leaving the north-west to be developed by his sturdy rival Brandenburg.

The Peace found Germany a desert, and it was clear that its recovery would take at least a century. About two-thirds of the total population had disappeared; the misery of those that survived was piteous in the extreme. Five-sixths of the villages in the Empire had been destroyed. We read of one in the Palatinate that in two years had been plundered twenty-eight times. In Saxony flocks of wolves roamed about, for in the north quite one-third of the land had gone out of cultivation, and trade had drifted into the hands of the French or Dutch. Education had almost disappeared; and the moral decline of the people was seen in the coarsening of manners and the growth of superstition, as witnessed by the frequent burning of witches.

Beyond Germany the Peace showed considerable alteration in the relative importance of various European powers. The decline of the Pope's political influence was marked by the quiet indifference which met his refusal to recognise the treaties. Spain, though saved from a tragic fall by the comic interlude called the Fronde, could no longer hide from the world her decay. France had immeasurably strengthened her frontiers,

and the lust of conquest began fatally to link her fortunes with the idea of the Rhine boundary. Sweden had gained what Gustavus Adolphus had set forth to claim—the supremacy of the Baltic and a great European position. In furtherance of this policy, his devoted servant, Oxenstierna, made war on Denmark, drove the Danes from the southern provinces of Sweden, and freed his country from all payment of tolls in the Sound in 1645. From mistaken attachment to their master's aims, Oxenstierna and the nobles were strongly opposed to peace; but the young queen's determination in its favour carried the day. During her minority, Oxenstierna and the nobles had provided Sweden with the first of fixed or written constitutions, organising the state on the basis of Lutheranism and aristocratic government. But Christina's masterful personality left no doubt where the real power lay. She made her Court the intellectual centre of Europe; and, in the union of mental gifts and force of character, she is the most remarkable sovereign of the seventeenth century. Vigorous in mind and body, straightforward, thick-skinned, and brave as a lion, she unhesitatingly followed her convictions. These led her to insist upon the peace, to secure the succession of her cousin because she declined to marry, and to abdicate the Crown after her conversion to Roman Catholicism. At the age of twenty-eight she left Sweden, and finally settled down as the centre of a literary circle in Rome. Charles X. succeeded her, in whose short, brilliant reign Sweden reached the height of her greatness.

“The
Form of
Govern-
ment,”
1634

Abdica-
tion of
Christina,
1654

Renewal
of War
between
France and
Spain, 1635

The war between France and Spain was renewed in 1653; yet though Spain had recovered many of her losses in the previous four years, neither power was in a

state to deal a telling stroke. Condé, commanding in the Netherlands, held his own on the French frontier against Turenne. But in 1657 Cromwell, whose advances towards Spain had been repulsed, turned to France and reinforced Turenne with 6000 of the finest soldiers in Europe. Mardyck and Dunkirk and a series of fortresses in Flanders fell into their hands, and Dunkirk became English property. The death of Ferdinand III. strengthened Mazarin's influence in Germany, with the effect of isolating Spain, while Cromwell's death relieved him of an inconveniently powerful ally. Spain was languishing for peace. The preliminaries, arranged in the famous Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa, resulted in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. It completed for France the Treaty of Westphalia by securing her southern frontier, as the former treaty had secured that on the east and south-east, and left her the real mistress of Western Europe.

The Treaty
of the
Pyrenees,
1659


- (1) Rousillon, Cerdagne, Artois, and a number of Flemish fortresses were handed over to France.
- (2) The Duke of Lorraine recovered his duchy, under French supervision.
- (3) Condé was pardoned and restored.
- (4) Louis XIV. was to marry the Infanta Maria Teresa.

The last clause was full of importance for the future. Though the Infanta, for a handsome dowry, renounced her claims as next in the succession to her weakly brother, Charles II., the money was never raised. Thus the renunciation was held in some quarters to be invalid, and became the means of opening another exhausting struggle—the War of the Spanish Succession.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS.

WAKEMAN : The Ascendancy of France.

GARDINER : The Thirty Years' War. (Epoch Series.)

C. R. FLETCHER : Gustavus Adolphus. 

LIST OF BOOKS FOR TEACHERS

(See also additional Lists at end of Chapters)

Germany.

- RANKE : German History in the Period of the Reformation. (Translated.)
S. E. TURNER : Sketch of the Germanic Constitution.
BEARD : Martin Luther and the Reformation.
STUBBS : Lectures on European History (1519-1648).
LINDSAY : Luther and the German Reformation.
FROUDE : Erasmus.
COXE : House of Austria.
TUTTLE : History of Prussia.
LÉGER : Austria-Hungary.
STIRLING-MAXWELL : Cloister Life of Charles V.
ARMSTRONG : The Emperor Charles V.

France.

- Memoires of Philippe de Commines.
LAVISSE : Histoire de France.
MICHELET : ,,
MIGNET : Rivalité de Francois I. et Charles V.
LAVISSE et RAMBAUD : Histoire Générale.
PERKINS : France under Richelieu and Mazarin.
FAGNIEZ : Le Père Joseph et Richelieu.
RANKE : Civil Wars in France.
WHITEHEAD : Coligny.
E. SICHEL : Catharine de Medici.
LADY DILKE : Renaissance of Art in France.

Italy.

- OREIGHTON : History of the Papacy.
RANKE : History of the Popes.
PERRENS : History of Florence.
VON REUMONT : Lorenzo de Medici. (Translated.)

- GUICCIARDINI : Storia Fiorentina.
 DA PORTO : Lettere Storiche.
 MACHIAVELLI : Il Principe. (Edited Burd.)
 MORLEY : Machiavelli. (Romanes Lecture.)
 FROUDE : Lectures on the Council of Trent.
 HORATIO BROWN : Venice : An Historical Sketch.
 BERENSON : Florentine, Venetian, and Central Italian Painters (3 vols.).

Spain.

- RANKE : The Ottomans and the Spanish Monarchy.
 PRESCOTT : Ferdinand and Isabella.
 „ Philip II.
 „ Conquest of Mexico.
 „ Conquest of Peru.
 LANE POOLE : The Moors in Spain.
 FROUDE : English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century.

Sweden.

- BAIN, R. N. : Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.
 WATSON, P. B. : The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa.
 BAIN, F. W. : Christina, Queen of Sweden.

The Netherlands.

- KIRK : Charles the Bold.
 BLOK : History of the People of the Netherlands
 MOTLEY : Life and Death of Oldenbarneveldt.

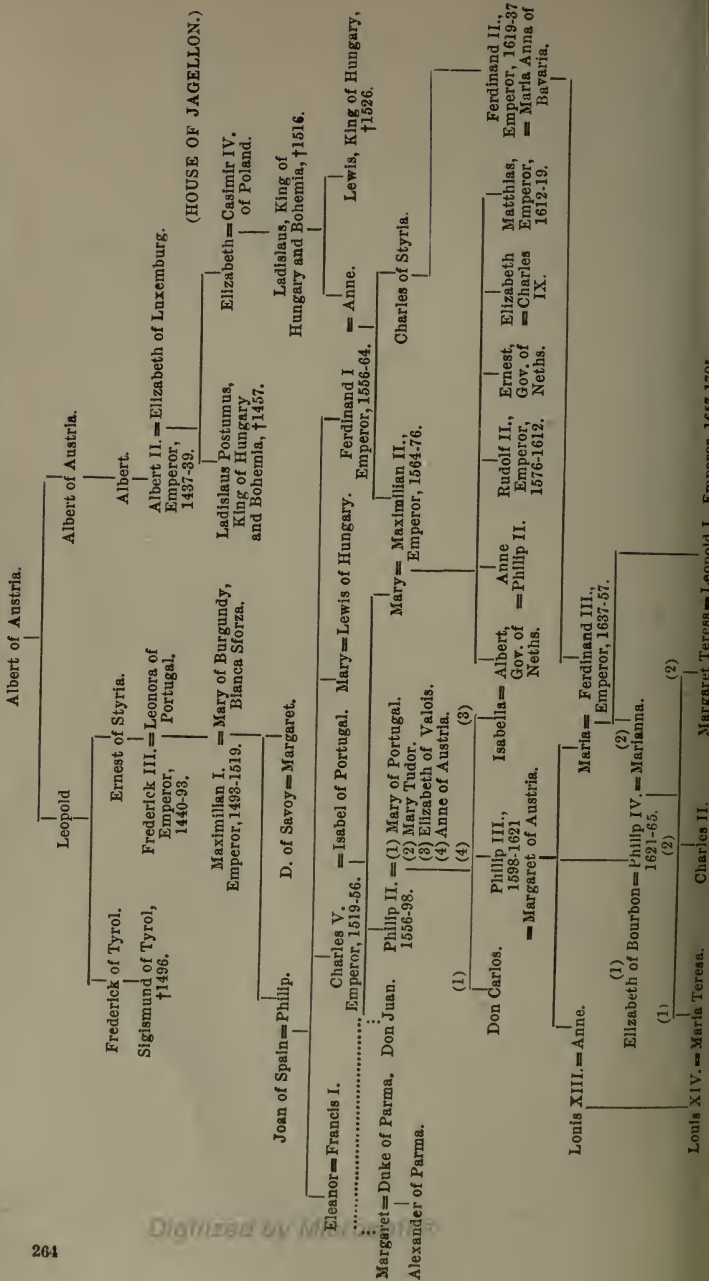
The Ottoman Turks.

- LANE POOLE : The Story of Turkey.
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General.

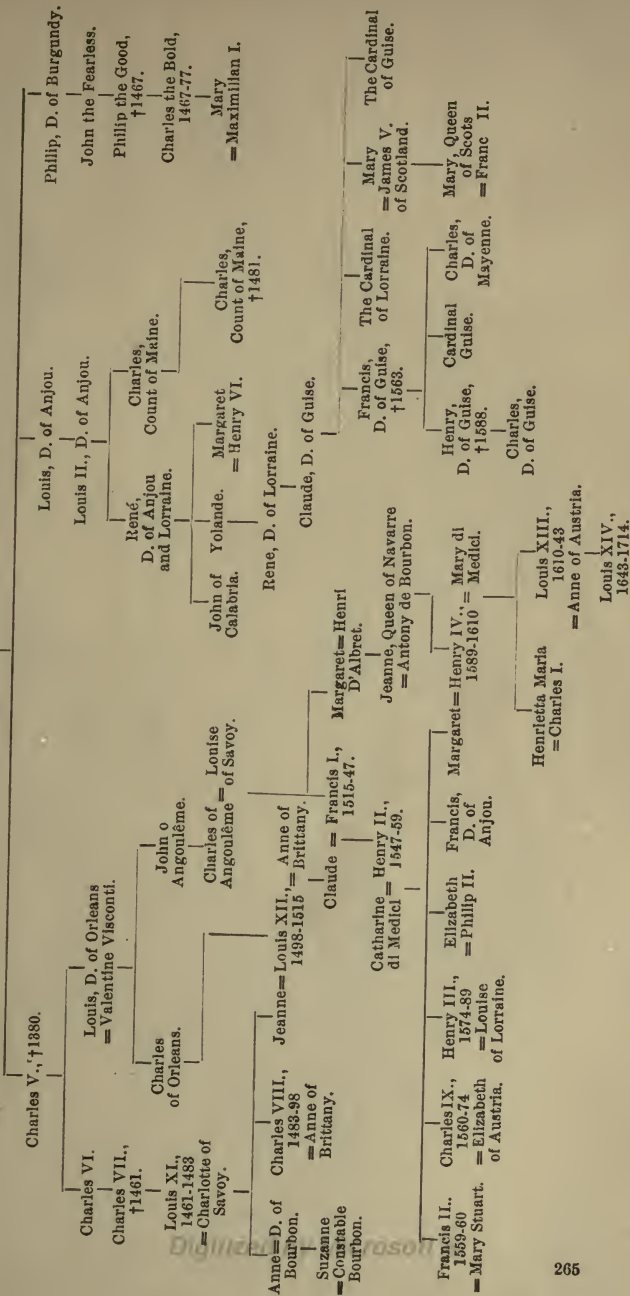
- The Cambridge Modern History, vols. i. to iv.
 Longmans' Periods of European History, edited Hassall.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HAPSBURG AND JAGELLO families



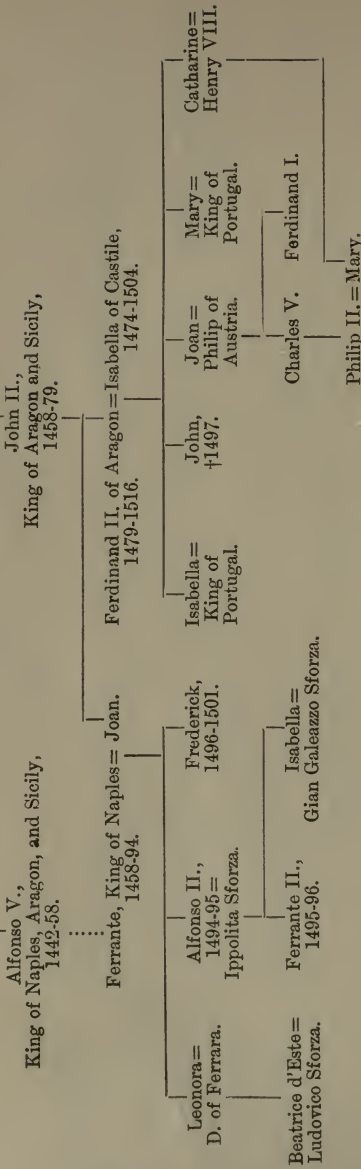
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John II., King of France, †1264.

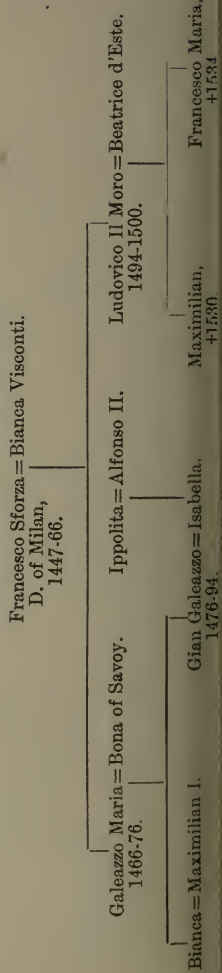


HOUSE OF ARAGON IN SPAIN, NAPLES, AND SICILY

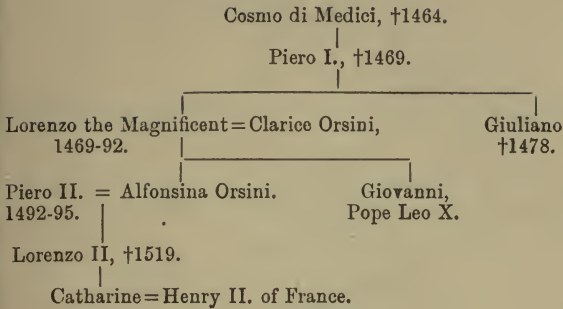
Ferdinand I. of Aragon and Sicily.



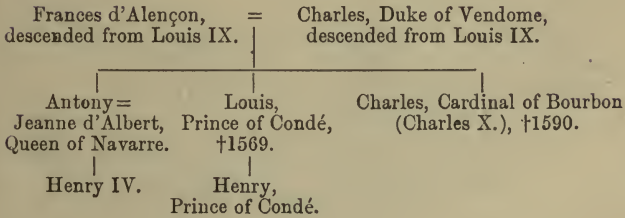
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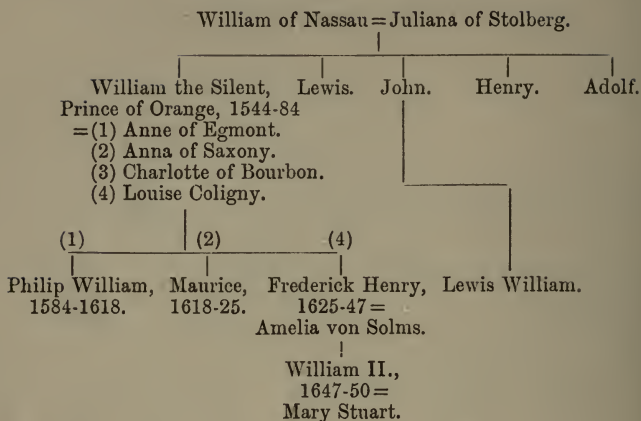
THE MEDICI



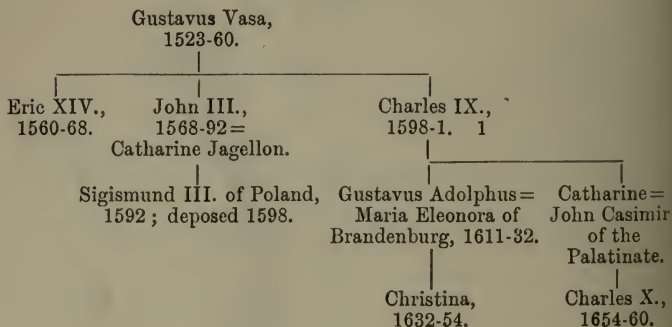
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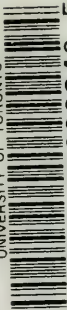
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PREFACE

THE period covered by this volume naturally falls into two sections.

During the first (1660-1715) the chief subjects of interest are the ascendancy of France in Western Europe, that of Sweden in the North, and that of the Habsburgs, against the Turks in the South-East.

During the second (1715-1789) we mark the decline of those three powers, and the rise of Prussia, Russia and England.

The whole age is one of intricate diplomacy, and of incessant wars, and yet it is one of great interest. The wars, no longer caused by religious dissensions, were waged, often ostensibly to maintain the balance of power, but really in the pursuit of national aims, to gain independence, for the acquisition of territory, or for the advancement of commercial and colonial interests. In every country except in England, where real power lay in the hands of a landowning and commercial aristocracy, these national interests were represented by absolute monarchs or their ministers.

Thus we are introduced to many striking personalities who with all their failings did great things for the country under their rule. As we draw to the end, however, we are forced to acknowledge that their day is over. The eighteenth century was to close with the outbreak of the French Revolution—a revolution in which France was the first to break violently with the past, and to help give to Europe these new ideas of government which have to a great extent triumphed in our own day.

Want of space has prevented any consecutive treatment of English History, and it would be well that some book on the subject should be studied alongside of the present volume.

Nor again has any attempt been made to deal with literature or art. To have done so at all adequately it would have been necessary to expand this volume beyond practicable proportions, while a mere enumeration of names would not have been of any value. An attempt, however, has been made in the Bibliography to draw attention to some of the more important writers, whose works might be read with great advantage.

A. H. J.

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	Outbreak of the War of the Fronde.
1649.	Execution of Charles I. of England.
1650.	Death of William II., Stadholder of Holland.
1653.	End of the war of the Fronde.
1654.	Accession of Charles X. of Sweden.
1656.	Mahomed Kiuprili, Grand Vizier.
1658.	Leopold I. elected Emperor.
1659.	Treaty of the Pyrenees.
Feb. 13.	Death of Charles X. of Sweden—Accession of Charles XI.
1660, May.	Restoration of Charles II. of England.
	Treaty of Oliva.
June.	Treaty of Copenhagen.
July.	Treaty of Kardis.
1661, Mar.	Death of Mazarin—Louis XIV. rules directly.
	Achmet Kiuprili, Grand Vizier.
1664, Aug.	Eugène defeats the Turks at St. Gothard—Peace of Vasvar.
1665.	English war against Holland.
Jan.	Peace of Andrussovo.
1667, May.	The Devolution War.
July.	Peace of Breda between England and Holland.
Aug.	Fall of Clarendon—The Cabal Ministry.
1668, Jan.	The Triple Alliance—England, Holland, Sweden.
	Portugal regains her independence from Spain.
May.	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1669, Sept.	Venice surrenders Crete to the Turks.

1670, June.	The Secret Treaty of Dover.
1672, April.	The Dutch War.
July.	William of Orange made Stadholder.
Aug.	Murder of De Witt.
1674, May.	John Sobieski proclaimed King of Poland.
July.	League of Leopold—Spain and Holland against France.
1675, Jan.	Great Elector defeats Charles XI. at Fehrbellin.
1676, Oct. 27.	Treaty of Zurawno.
Oct. 30.	Death of Achmet Kiuprili—Succeeded as Grand Vizier by Kara Mustapha.
1678, Aug.- }	Peace of Nimeguen.
1679, Feb. }	
1679, Sept.	Accession of Charles XII. of Sweden.
Oct.	Chambres de Réunion.
1681, Mar.	The Exclusion Bill.
	Secret Treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV.
1682.	Declaration of the Four Articles.
1683, Sept. 4.	Vienna relieved by John Sobieski.
Sept. 6.	Death of Colbert.
1684.	The Holy League against the Turk.
1685, Oct.	Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
1686, July.	League of Augsburg.
Aug. 12.	Victory at Mohacs over the Turks.
1687.	Venice seizes Athens and Corinth.
1688, April.	Great Elector succeeded by Frederick III. in Brandenburg.
Sept.	War of the League of Augsburg.
	Louis invades the Palatinate.
Oct.	William III. lands at Torbay.
Dec.	Flight of James II.
1689.	Peter the Great overthrows Sophia.
July 1.	James II. defeated at the battle of the Boyne.
1690, Aug. 18.	Duke of Savoy defeated at Staffarda.
1691, Aug. 8.	Turks defeated at Szalankemen.
1692, May 19.	French navy defeated at La Hogue.
June 5.	French take Namur.
Aug.	William III. defeated at Steinkirk.

1693, July.	William III. defeated at Neerwinden.
1695, Aug. 4.	William III. retakes Namur.
1696, June 17.	Death of John Sobieski.
	Peter takes Azof.
Aug. 29.	Treaty of Turin—Duke of Savoy joins France.
Sept. 11.	Eugène wins the battle of Zentha.
April.	Accession of Charles XII. of Sweden.
1697, Sept.-Oct.	Peace of Ryswick.
1698, Oct.	First Partition Treaty.
1699, Jan.	Peace of Carlowitz.
Nov.	League of Russia, Denmark and Poland against Charles XII. of Sweden.
1700, May.	Second Partition Treaty.
Nov. 1.	Death of Charles II. of Spain.
Nov. 30.	Charles XII. defeats Peter at Narva.
1701, Jan.	The Elector Frederick crowned King of Prussia.
Sept.	The Grand Alliance and the War of the Spanish Succession.
1702, Mar.	Death of William III.—Accession of Anne.
May.	Methuen Treaty—Portugal joins the Allies.
1703, Sept.	Victory of Villars at Höchststadt.
1704, Aug. 4.	The English take Gibraltar.
Aug. 13.	Marlborough's victory at Blenheim.
1705, May	Emperor Leopold I. dies—Succeeded by Joseph I.
May 12.	Marlborough's victory at Ramillies.
1706, July.	Augustus of Poland deposed — Stanislas Leszczyński elected.
Sept. 7.	Eugène wins battle of Turin.
Sept. 14.	Treaty of Altranstadt.
1707, April.	Berwick defeats the English at Almanza.
1708, July 11.	Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde.
July 8.	Peter defeats Charles XII. at Pultawa—Augustus restored to the Polish throne.
1709, Sept. 4.	Marlborough's victory at Malplaquet.
1710, Dec. 10. } Dec. 20. }	Vendôme's victories at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa.
1711, April.	Death of the Emperor Joseph I.
July.	Treaty of the Pruth—Peter surrenders Azof.
Dec.	Archduke Charles elected Emperor.
1712, July.	The English withdraw from the war.

1713, Feb.	Frederick I. of Prussia succeeded by Frederick William I.
April.	Peace of Utrecht—End of War of Spanish Succession.
Sept.	The Bull <i>Unigenitus</i> condemns the Jansenists.
1715, Sept. 1.	Death of Louis XIV.—Accession of Louis XV. Philip of Orleans Regent.
1717, Jan.	The Triple Alliance. The Mississippi Scheme.
1718, July.	Treaty of Passarovitz.
Aug.	Byng defeats the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. Treaty of London.
Dec.	Death of Charles XII. of Sweden.
1720, April.	Ministry of Walpole and Townshend.
1721, Aug.	Peace of Nystad between Sweden and Russia.
1723, Dec.	Death of Philip of Orleans—End of the Regency. Duke of Bourbon Minister in France.
1725, Feb.	Death of Peter the Great—Catherine I. succeeds
April.	Treaty of Vienna.
Sept.	Treaty of Hanover.
1726, May.	Fall of Ripperda. Catherine of Russia succeeded by Peter II.
June.	Cardinal Fleury succeeds Duke of Bourbon as French Minister.
Oct.	Treaty of Wusterhausen.
1727, July.	George I. succeeded by George II. in England.
1729, Nov.	Treaty of Seville.
1730, Feb.	Peter II. of Russia succeeded by Anna.
1731, July.	Second Treaty of Vienna.
1733.	War of the Polish Succession.
Sept.	League of Turin.
Oct.	Frederick Augustus II. elected King of Poland.
Nov.	Treaty of the Escorial (First Family Compact).
1735, Oct.	Third Treaty of Vienna (confirmed 1738).
1739, Sept.	Treaty of Belgrade.
1740, May.	Frederick William I. of Prussia succeeded by Frederick the Great.
Oct.	Death of Emperor Charles VI. Anna of Russia succeeded by Ivan.

- 1740, Dec. Frederick the Great seizes Silesia.
- 1741, April. Wins Battle of Mollwitz.
- May. Treaty of Nymphenburg.
- June. Treaty of Breslau—Opening of War of Austrian Succession.
- Oct. Treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf.
- Dec. Elizabeth of Russia succeeds Ivan.
- 1742, Jan. Charles Albert of Bavaria elected Emperor as Charles VII.
- Feb. Walpole succeeded by Carteret in England.
- May. Prussian victory at Chotusitz.
- 1743, Jan. Death of Cardinal Fleury.
- June. English victory at Dettingen.
- July. Treaty of Berlin—End of First Silesian War.
- Sept. Treaty of Worms.
- 1744, May. Union of Frankfort—Beginning of Second Silesian War.
- Oct. Treaty of Fontainebleau (Second Family Compact).
- 1745, Jan. Death of Emperor Charles VII.
- March. Treaty of Füssen.
- May. French victory at Fontenoy.
- June. Prussian victory at Hohenfriedberg.
- Aug. Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, elected Emperor.
- Sept. Prussian victory at Sohr.
- Dec. Prussian victory at Kesselsdorf.
- Treaty of Dresden—End of Second Silesian War.
- 1746, April. Young Pretender defeated at Culloden.
- July. Philip V. of Spain succeeded by Ferdinand VI.
- Oct. English victory off Ushant.
- 1747, May. English victory at Cape Finisterre.
- 1748, April-Oct. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- End of War of the Austrian Succession.
1750. Kaunitz Ambassador at Paris.
1753. Kaunitz becomes Chancellor.
- Sept. Clive takes Arcot.
1754. Recall of Dupleix.
- 1755, July. Defeat of General Braddock near Fort Duquesne.

- 1756, Jan. Convention of Westminster between England and Prussia.
- May. England declares war against France.
First Treaty of Versailles.
- Aug. Frederick occupies Saxony.
Opening of Seven Years' War.
- Oct. Indecisive Battle of Lobositz.
- 1757, Jan. The Imperial Diet declares war on Frederick.
Elizabeth of Russia makes Convention of St. Petersburg with Austria.
- May 2. Second Treaty of Versailles.
Frederick's victory at Prague.
- June. Frederick defeated at Kolin.
- July. Duke of Cumberland defeated at Hastenbeck.
- Aug. Russian victory at Gross Jägerndorf.
- Sept. Convention of Kloster Seven.
- Nov. Frederick's victory at Rossbach.
- 1757, Dec. Frederick's victory at Leuthen.
- 1758, Aug. Frederick's victory at Zorndorf.
Frederick defeated at Hochkirch.
- 1759, Aug. Choiseul succeeds Bernis as French Foreign Minister.
Charles III. succeeds Ferdinand in Spain.
Frederick defeated at Künersdorf.
English victory at Minden.
- Sept. Quebec taken by the English.
Jesuits expelled from Portugal.
- Nov. Hawke's victory at Quiberon.
- 1760, Jan. English victory at Wandewash.
- Aug. Frederick wins battle of Liegnitz.
- Oct. George II. succeeded by George III.
- Nov. Frederick wins battle of Torgau.
- 1761, Aug. The Third Family Compact.
- Oct. Chatham succeeded by the Earl of Bute.
- 1762, Jan. Elizabeth of Russia succeeded by Peter III.
- July. Peter III. deposed and murdered—Catherine II. succeeds as Tzarina.
- 1763, Feb. Peace of Hubertsburg and Paris—End of Seven Years' War.

- 1763, Oct. Death of Augustus II. of Poland.
Archduke Joseph elected King of the Romans.
- 1764, Sept. Stanislas Poniatowski elected King of Poland.
- 1765, Aug. Death of the Emperor Francis I.—Joseph II.
Emperor.
- Sept. Joseph declared co-Regent with his mother,
Maria Theresa.
1767. Jesuits expelled from France.
- 1768, Oct. War between Russia and Turkey.
- 1770, April. Choiseul succeeded by the Duke d'Aiguillon.
1771. Accession of Gustavus III. of Sweden.
- July. Jesuits abolished by Clement XIV.
- 1772, Aug. Treaty of St. Petersburg—First Partition of
Poland.
- The *Coup d'état* of Gustavus III.
- 1774, May. Louis XVI. succeeds Louis XV.—Vergennes Fo-
reign Minister—Turgot Comptroller-General.
- July. Treaty of Kütchuk Kainardji.
- 1775, May. War of American Independence begins.
- 1776, May. Turgot dismissed—Succeeded by Necker.
- 1777, Dec. Death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria.
- 1778, Feb. France joins the American Colonies against
England.
- 1779, May. Peace of Teschen.
- 1780, Nov. Death of Maria Theresa—Joseph sole ruler in
Austria.
- 1781, May. Necker dismissed.
- Oct. Cornwallis capitulates at York Town.
- 1783, Jan. Treaty of Versailles—England recognises the
independence of the American Colonies and
makes peace with France.
- Dec. Calonne appointed Comptroller-General.
- 1785, Nov. Treaty of Fontainebleau.
The League of the Princes.
- 1786, Aug. Frederick the Great succeeded by Frederick
William II.
- 1787, Feb. Death of Vergennes.
Joseph declares war against Turkey.
- April. Calonne dismissed.

1787, Aug.	Turkey declares war against Russia.
1788, July.	The Triple Alliance—England, Prussia. Holland.
Aug.	Necker recalled.
1789, May.	Meeting of the States-General.
	Beginning of the French Revolution.
1790, Feb.	Death of Joseph II.—Leopold II. succeeds in Austria.
July.	Treaty of Reichenbach.
	Leopold II. elected Emperor.
1791, Aug.	Peace of Sistovo.
1792, Jan.	Peace of Jassy.
Mar.	Leopold II. succeeded by Francis II.
April.	Opening of the War of the French Revolution.

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CHAPTERS I-III

For Students:—

- Voltaire: *Siècle de Louis XIV.*
 Hassall: *Louis XIV.*
 Macaulay: *History of England.*
 Traill: *William III.* (English Statesmen Series).
 Parkman: *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.*
 Fénelon: *Télémaque.*
 La Fontaine: *Fables.*
 Racine: *Plays.*
 Molière: *Plays.*

For Teachers:—

- Lavisse: *His'oire de France*, vol. xiv. (This only goes as far as the Peace of Nimeguen, but other volumes will shortly be published.)
 Clément: *Colbert.*
 Lefèvre Pontalis: *Jean de Witt* (translated).
 Sir J. Stephen: *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* (The Portroyalists.)
 Sainte-Beuve: *Port-Royal.*
 Pascal: *Lettres Provinciales.*
 Visct. St. Cyres: *Fénelon.*
 Saint-Simon: *Mémoires.*
 Torcy: *Mémoires.*
 Cheruel: *Saint-Simon, historien de Louis XIV.*
 Mignet: *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne.*
 Giraud: *Le traité d'Utrecht.*
 Wyon: *The Reign of Queen Anne.*

Novels:—

- Dumas: *La Tulipe Noir* and *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne.*
 Conan Doyle: *The Refugees.*
 J. B.-Burton: *Across the Salt Seas.*

CHAPTER IV

For Students:—

- Morfill: *The Story of Poland.*

For Teachers:—

- Carlyle: *Frederick the Great* (Introduction).
 Ranke: *Zwölf Bücher der Preussischen Geschichte* (translated by Miss Austen).
 Tuttle: *History of Prussia*.
 Rambaud: *Histoire de la Russie* (translated by J. B. Lang).
 Geffroy: *Gustave III. et la Cour de France*.
 Schuyler: *Peter the Great*.

Novels:—

- Sienkiewicz: *With Fire and Sword, The Deluge, and Pan Michel*.
 Imlay Taylor: *On the Red Staircase* and *An Imperial Lover*.
 Whishaw: *Near the Tsar* and *Near Death*.
 G. Hope: *The Triumph of Count Osterman*.
 Wymond Carey: *Monsieur Marten*.

CHAPTER V

For Students:—

- Malden: *Defeat of Turks before Vienna (1683)*.
 Morfill: *The Story of Poland*.

For Teachers:—

- Creasy: *The Ottoman Turks*.
 Leger: *Autriche Hongrie*.
 Arneth: *Prince Eugène von Savoyen*.
 La Jonquière: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*.
 Finlay: *Greece under Foreign Dominion*.

Novels:—

- Jokai: *Pretty Michel, Midst the Wild Carpathians, and The Slaves of the Padishah*.

CHAPTER VI

For Students:—

- Saint-Simon: *Mémoires*. (Parts to be selected).

For Teachers :—

Armstrong: *Elizabeth Farnese.*Perkins: *The Regency.*Carlyle: *Frederick the Great* (Introduction.)

Ranke

Tuttle

Rambaud

Geffroy

} as for Chapter IV

Arnoeth: *Prince Eugène von Savoyen.*Lecky: *History of England.*

Novel :—

Dumas: *Le Chevalier d'Harmenthal.*

CHAPTERS VII-IX

For Students :—

Bright: *Maria Theresa* (Foreign Statesmen Series).Macaulay: *Essays.*Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict* and *Montcalm and Wolfe.*Longman: *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War.*

For Teachers :—

Carlyle: *Frederick the Great.*Frederick the Great: *Histoire de mon temps* and *La Guerre de sept ans.*Tuttle: *Frederick the Great.*The Margravine of Baireuth: *Memoirs.*Rambaud: *Histoire de la Russie* (translated by J. B. Lang).Perkins: *The Reign of Louis XV.*Aubertin: *L'esprit public au XVIII^{ème} Siècle.*Mahan: *Influence of Sea Power.*Lecky: *History of England.*Geffroy: *Gustave III. et la Cour de France.*Montesquieu: *L'Esprit des Lois.*Sorel: *La Question d'Orient au XVIII^{ème} Siècle.*

Novels:—

G. Sand: *Consuelo* and *The Countess of Rudolstadt.*

CHAPTER X

For Students --

Bright: *Joseph II.* (Foreign Statesmen Series.)

For Teachers:--

Carlyle: *Frederick the Great.*Rimbaud: *Histoire de la Russie* (translated by J. B. Lang).Lecky: *History of England.*

CHAPTER XI

For Students:—

Gardiner: *The French Revolution* (Introduction).Rousseau: *Émile.*Sorel: *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, vol. i., chap. xi

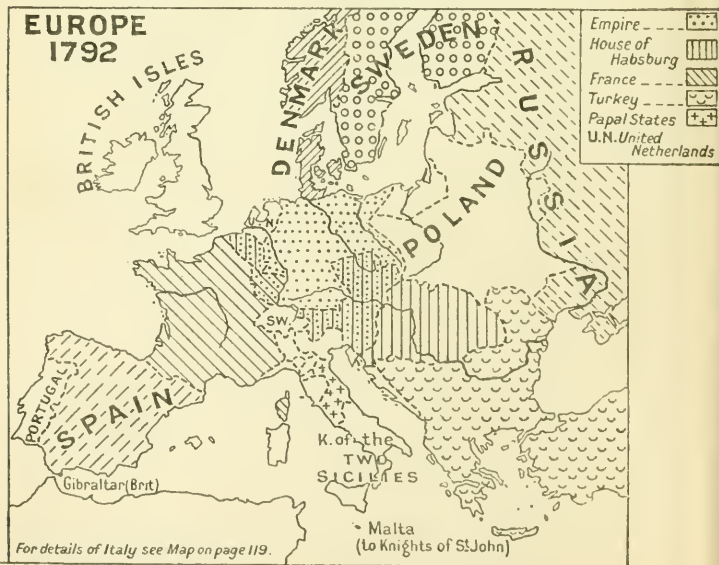
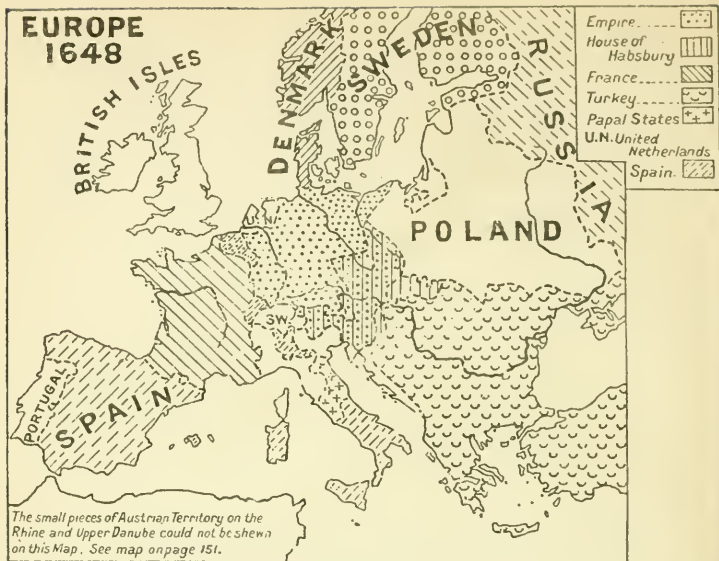
For Teachers:—

Chérest: *La Chute de l'ancien Régime.*De Tocqueville: *L'ancien Régime* (translated. France before the Revolution).Say: *Turgot.*Morley: *Voltaire and Rousseau.*Rousseau: *Le Contrat Social.*Rocquain: *L'esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution.*

Novel:—

M. E. Coleridge: *The King with Two Faces.*

THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENED
DESPOT



THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOT

1660-1789

CHAPTER I

LOUIS XIV. AND THE REFORMS OF COLBERT

WHEN on the death of Mazarin in March, 1661, Position of
France in
1661 Louis XIV. assumed the direct government of France, her predominance in Western Europe was assured.

By the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659), she had acquired possessions of the greatest value. By the former, her old claims to the three Bishoprics of Lorraine, Metz, Toul and Verdun, were definitely acknowledged and she was allowed to garrison Philipsburg, on the right bank of the Rhine. In Alsace she gained the town of Breisach on the left bank of the Rhine, the landgraviate of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the prefecture of ten Imperial cities which lay scattered about, always excepting the Bishoprics of Basle, and of Strasburg, and the Imperial rights over Lower Alsace. In Italy she kept Pignerole.

At the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) she regained from Spain Rousillon and Cerdagne, which completed

her boundary to the South-West. On the East she secured most of Artois, part of Flanders, of Hainault and of Luxemburg, and additional possessions in Lorraine. Finally, the marriage of Louis XIV. with Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of the King of Spain, was, as we shall see, to give her further claims in the future.¹

The importance of these acquisitions will be best understood by reference to the map opposite. Those in Artois, Flanders, Hainault and Luxemburg gave her strong places, which could be made the basis of future advance towards the Spanish Netherlands. Those in Lorraine practically placed that Duchy in her hands, as well as the control of the great roads to the Rhine and the passage over the Meuse and Moselle rivers. Those in Alsace advanced her boundary to the Rhine itself. Finally, Pignerole commanded the important pass of St. Genèvre from Dauphiné over the Alps into Piedmont, and brought her within striking distance of Milan.

Nor was this all. Of the territories which lay thus exposed to her attack, those parts of Alsace and Lorraine which France had not acquired belonged to the Empire, then under the rule of Leopold I., the head of the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg, while the Spanish Netherlands, Franche Comté and Milan were in the hands of the Spanish line of the same house, represented by Philip IV. of Spain; yet of these representatives of the House of Habsburg neither was in a position to effectually defend them.

¹ See pp. 23, 50.

Condition
of the
Empire

As a result of the Thirty Years' War the Empire had slipped from the Emperor's grasp. The Electors and the greater Princes, though still nominally subject to the Emperor and the Imperial Diet, had established their virtual independence. The Emperor, despairing of the Empire, had ceased to represent German interests, and was occupied with the consolidation of his hereditary dominions in the South-East and in arresting the advance of the Turks in Hungary.

Thus Germany, which had never been a united kingdom, had now become a loose confederation of states large and small, each too much intent on the advancement of its own interests to unite against France, yet too weak to resist alone. The want of cohesion had been further aggravated by the conclusion of the League of the Rhine (1658). This was composed of the three ecclesiastical electors, the Archbishops of Mayence, Trèves and Cologne, who were Catholic; of the Protestant Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the King of Sweden as Duke of Bremen and Verden, and was placed under the protection of France.

Although it is true that the League was formed rather against the Habsburgs in Austria than against the Empire, yet it gave France the pretext for constant interference in German affairs, and made her influence in Germany almost as great as that of the Emperor himself.

and Spain

Meanwhile Spain was in rapid decay, the country ruined by religious bigotry and commercial exclusive-

ness, and the ruling family effete. That the magnificent position thus held by France would tempt her to further aggression can scarce cause surprise, especially when we remember that her destinies were in the hands of an ambitious king in his twenty-third year.

Louis XIV. was one of the ablest men of his generation. To an excellent memory and a remarkable knowledge of the conditions of Europe, he added an immense capacity for work, great fertility of resource, diplomatic gifts of a high order, and unwearied patience in the pursuit of his policy. He was served at the opening of his reign by Colbert, a master of finance; by Lionne, an acute diplomatist; by Turenne, probably the greatest strategist of his age; by Condé, a brilliant leader of cavalry; and by Vauban, of whom it is said that he never lost a fortress which he defended, or besieged one without taking it.

Louis XIV.
and his
servants

In no country of Europe was the national pride so high, while the troubles through which she had lately passed during the days of the Fronde had strengthened the conviction, long entertained in France, that her greatness was identified with that of an absolute monarch.

No one, says St. Simon, the great biographer of the time, spoke any longer of the interest or the honour of the State but of the King. Of these sentiments, the young King was the very incarnation. If he never actually used the expression, "I am the State," it at least represents his views. Looking on

himself as the divinely appointed leader and master of his country, he was fully convinced that she was designed to continue in her career of conquest; to acquire the Rhine frontier which Frenchmen have ever, though wrongly, considered to be their natural boundary, and finally to make herself the arbiter of the destinies of Western Europe at least.

Nevertheless even Louis himself recognised that before such a course was possible, it was necessary to set his own kingdom in order. In the very midst of her war with Spain, France had been torn by the "Wars of the Fronde," that strange travesty of the Great Rebellion in England which, begun by the Judicial Court of France, called the "Parlement" of Paris, had been made use of by the Princes of the Blood, the nobles, and all those who had resented the centralising policy of Richelieu and who disliked more especially to see the government in the hands of Cardinal Mazarin, a man of no birth and a foreigner.

The rebellion had indeed been quelled, but it was imperative that the possibility of a renewal of the troubles should be removed, that the work of Richelieu should be completed, and that some order at least should be restored in the political and financial condition of the country.

Internal
conditions

In dealing with the political constitution of France, it is necessary to remember the history of her growth. Based originally on the royal domain, a small district surrounding the cities of Paris, Orleans, and

Bourges, the government had never entirely lost its character. The royal domain had indeed been vastly increased by the gradual absorption of the great fiefs, and by conquests from the foreigner. But the Kings of France had never been able to effectually consolidate their dominions, or to organise a strong united kingdom, as had been the good fortune of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England. They had therefore perforce been contented with assuming a general control, and with establishing certain central bodies, more especially that of the Royal Council, while they left many of the old institutions standing. Hence the government of France was a chaos of old survivals of the past, jostling each other and the central authority, without vitality enough to be of any use, yet able to obstruct the Crown at every turn. A representative assembly of the whole country had indeed once existed in the States-general, composed of deputies of the clergy, the nobles, and the third estate. Its attempts, however, to follow the steps of the English Parliament and to control the Crown had been resisted, and it had never been called since the year 1614.

In some fourteen of the Provinces¹ there still existed provincial estates, but with a few exceptions, these had lost all power, except that of laying their grievances before the King without any means of securing redress.

In the absence of any effective representative

¹The most important were Brittany, the Boulonnais, Artois, Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc.

assembly, the provincial "Parlements"¹ and especially the "Parlement" of Paris attempted to check the royal despotism. Formed of judges and of lawyers, their assumption of political power was based, at least in the case of the "Parlement" of Paris, on a claim to register or to refuse to register the royal edicts.

Not only was the ground of its pretension a narrow one, but being a body practically hereditary, it was in no way fitted to represent the nation; its members had finally discredited themselves by their action at the time of the Fronde, and it was now once more confined to its judicial functions. For the rest, the justice of the country was in the hands of numerous authorities, royal "prevôts," something like our justices of assize; noblemen with their manorial jurisdiction; smaller judges in the villages; all struggling with one another over the limits of their several jurisdictions, and in the case of the two last, dispensing their so-called justice ignorantly and with much petty tyranny.

But the real cancer of the kingdom lay in its financial system.

This violated every acknowledged canon of taxation. It fell very unequally on the various classes, it checked trade, and it was collected in such a manner that the Government was defrauded at every turn, and received less than half the sums levied on the taxpayer.

The direct taxation consisted mainly of the "taille"

¹There were eight: Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Pau, Rennes.

and the "gabelle". The "taille" was a tax on landed property in some provinces and on land and personal property in others. The nobles, the clergy, the judicial and official classes ("noblesse de la robe"), and many others were exempt, so that the tax fell almost entirely on the poor. The "gabelle" was the produce of the Government monopoly from the sale of salt. Each household was obliged to buy a certain amount according to its numbers, and to use it only for table purposes. Thus it was a kind of capitation tax, and, as the price was high, it fell especially severely on the less wealthy. The indirect taxation, or the customs, were not only exceedingly numerous and heavy, but were exacted at the boundaries of every province, so that it has been computed that a tun of wine paid its own value in dues before it reached Paris. It was, however, in the collection of these taxes that abuses were the most flagrant.

Owing to the numerous wars and internal struggles in which France had been engaged throughout her history, not only were the taxes very heavy, but they had in almost every case been farmed out to individuals or companies. These paid a sum down to the Exchequer, and recouped themselves by the taxes which they thereby acquired the right to levy, and they often obtained their lease on fraudulent terms through the influence of royal mistresses or other court favourites. In this way the royal exchequer had acquired the necessary ready money, but at a loss of revenue. Meanwhile the farmers of the taxes had become masters of the situation, and exercised

their rights with severity and with cruelty. They often sub-let to others, and hence there was an army of sordid tax-gatherers, who lived on the unfortunate taxpayer. Moreover, State loans had been raised at usurious interest which were assigned on some tax. France was, in fact, much in the condition of a bankrupt State of to-day which has forestalled its receipts and handed over its future revenues to a number of financiers.

Offices
hereditary

To this we should add another feature peculiar to French government. Almost every office, high or low, judicial, financial, or administrative, had become practically hereditary, and was bought and sold something after the manner of our old system of purchase in the army. Thus the whole administration was clogged by an organised association of hereditary administrators whose very livelihood depended on preserving the effete institutions and who stoutly resisted all reform.

Social
conditions

Nor were the social conditions any better. The Crown, afraid of giving the nobles any political power, had studiously deprived them of all office except that of occupying the nominal post of governors of the provinces, and of serving in the army and in the higher positions in the Church, which were almost exclusively reserved to them, and also of filling offices round the court. They were thus condemned to a life of idleness, the most evil fate which can befall an aristocracy. They spent their time in pleasure and in gambling, thereby impoverishing themselves so much that

they often had to sell their estates; they became absentees, and were known to their dependants only through their stewards, who levied their feudal and other dues; they crowded round the King in hopes of picking up some ceremonial post from royal favour.

The middle classes monopolised the judicial and administrative departments, which, as said above, were practically hereditary in their families, and were tempted by the lucrative character of this work from devoting themselves to trade.

The lower classes were ground down by taxation and by the numerous dues they owed to their lords, and, in the case of the artisans, were checked in pursuing their industry by numerous guilds which were daily becoming more close.

Finally, the Church was divided between the nobles, who held all the higher and well-paid preferments, and the "curés," or parish priests, drawn from the lower classes and scantily endowed.

To reform these numerous and deep-seated abuses was indeed an Herculean task. But in his financial minister, Colbert, Louis XIV. had at least a man who did not shrink from the attempt. The views of this most remarkable man were a strange mixture, some right, some wrong. He started with the absurd proposition that the trade of a country can only be increased at the expense of others; whereas we have no difficulty in seeing that, if every one made twice as much as before, the trade of the world would be doubled, and every one would possess twice as

The
reforms of
Colbert,
1661-1682

much. Thus if the tailors and agricultural labourers were to double their respective output of clothes and wheat, each tailor would be able to exchange his extra clothes for more food, and each labourer exchange his extra wheat for more clothes.

That this theory, though unsound, led Colbert to some valuable conclusions is true. In the first place, it taught the importance of home industry, for by it alone could France make for herself what till then she had bought abroad. Therefore, said he, in a well-regulated State there should be no idle folk. Nobles must be forced to work. Monks must be done away with. The number of the lawyers, the Government officials, and those who lived by "farming" and collecting the revenue must be reduced. Secondly, it taught him the evil of the provincial custom duties, and made him wish to introduce free trade within the country; to reduce the direct taxes, to raise them by more equitable methods, and to put an end to the frauds which the present system caused. Once more, he urged upon the King the necessity of improving the roads and canals, of establishing a uniform scale of weights and measures, and thus in every way increasing industry and trade. Finally, he hoped to substitute for the existing administration, with its antiquated survivals, its inefficiency and its peculations, an uniform and centralised system under the Crown itself. The King should preside over the Councils of Finance and Commerce, supervise the administration of justice, inform himself by personal inspection of the

needs of his kingdom, carefully balance his expenses and his receipts, and thus become the wealthy, powerful King of an opulent people, and eventually the master of Europe.

Louis was not unwilling to listen to his advice, and opened his reign with vigorous measures. Fouquet, the head intendant of finance, a man who, by his fraudulent methods, had amassed a fortune greater than that of the Crown itself, was seized just after he had sumptuously entertained his master at his more than royal château at Vaux le Vicomte, near Melun; tried with scant justice by a special tribunal, and condemned by Louis himself to perpetual imprisonment, although the court had only judged him worthy of exile. The farmers of the taxes were next attacked; some of them were forced to surrender their leases to the Crown; and those who had lent money to Government had to content themselves with a lower rate of interest or were paid off at a low price. The alienations of the royal domain were to some extent revoked. The customs at the frontiers of the sixteen Provinces in the centre were done away with, and free trade established within those limits. Industries were fostered and measures taken to teach new and better methods of manufacture. Many roads were improved and canals made.

The colonies of France, more especially that of Canada, were developed; emigration was stimulated, and the soldiers who served in the colonies were forced to marry. The colonial and Indian trade was placed in the hands of chartered companies, and

colonial affairs put under the supervision of a Council of Commerce, in which the manufacturing towns of France were represented. Nor were the interests of science, of literature, or of art neglected. Academies of science, painting and sculpture were founded, and the great writers Molière, Corneille and Racine were awarded pensions.

The same energy was also shown in dealing with the other departments of administration. An attempt was made to fix the price of the purchase of offices and the age at which office might be taken. The independence of the Provincial Estates was attacked. But far the most important and far-reaching of the reforms is to be found in the development of the functions of the "Intendant". This official, whose origin is to be traced to the days of Richelieu, had in the first instance been appointed to supervise the local financial system, but his powers had been extended, and the system was now finally established. Unlike the other officials, his office had never become hereditary or the subject of sale. He represented the King himself in each Province, and kept a general control of the local administration of police, of justice and of finance, and reported to the Comptroller-General, now Colbert himself.

Colbert's
reforms
not carried
out com-
pletely.
The result

Had Colbert's views been carried out to their logical conclusion an effective, though perhaps despotic, system of administration might have been established. But the King was not prepared for such a drastic reform. Accordingly the governors of the Provinces, the Provincial Estates, the local

“Parlements” and other courts, the numerous agents, financial and other, still survived. Henceforth we note the presence of two conflicting authorities: the ancient, effete survivals of the past, and the new, that of the “intendants,” who gradually indeed absorbed most of the power, and yet were constantly opposed. Hence perpetual friction, which checked efficiency, and bred discontent. This too was the final outcome of the other attempts at reform. The evils were too deep-seated, and too many interests and privileges were assailed, too many customs interfered with, too many prejudices shocked.

The very agents of reform were bribed. Colbert himself doubted whether the abuses could be removed in one lifetime, although he reminded Louis that he was still young. Moreover, the King himself was soon weary of the struggle. The discontent it caused was becoming serious; the initial loss to the exchequer would be great, the King himself imperatively needed money and neglected Colbert's earnest adjuration that he should carefully balance his expenses and his receipts. Accordingly the hope of radical and thorough reform was abandoned, and the King contented himself with acting much as the “Intendants” did. He left the old institutions with all their evils, intervening personally, violently, partially and often unjustly, when his attention was directed to any flagrant abuse. By this means his pride was flattered, since he could look upon the work, such as it was, as all his own. But his country suffered. The institutions, instead of becoming simple, centralised

and efficient, fell more hopelessly into confusion. The Government became more arbitrary and more personal, and reform grew daily a more difficult task. The great savings which Colbert had effected were soon dissipated by war, and the danger of national bankruptcy daily increased. There is truth, therefore, in the saying that if Louis brought France to the height of her glory, he did it by methods which prepared her ruin.

For this Colbert himself was in part responsible. His economical views, as said above, were wholly wrong and bore evil fruit in many ways. It is perhaps unfair to accuse Colbert of disregarding agriculture, or to blame his policy of forbidding the export of wheat except when the harvest was plentiful, for France was often exposed to famine, and no one at that time realised that the best remedy was to be found in free trade, even if that had been practicable. Moreover, it was the refusal, contrary to Colbert's wish, of each province to allow export to any other province even in good years which was the fatal step, for thereby the market became so limited that it hardly paid to grow corn at all, and the farmers positively dreaded a good year. It may also be argued that his other views were only those of his day; that his protective measures had a political aim and were designed to increase the national independence and solidarity of France; and that the world is not even yet convinced in favour of free trade. But at least it may be said that no one would now agree with his main proposition given above

(p. 13), nor approve of his conclusion that the great aim of a country should be to destroy the manufactures of another country. For how could this be done except by imposing prohibitive tariffs on the goods of other countries, a policy which must lead to retaliation on their part? Hence, a war of tariffs, which would probably lead to war itself. Colbert declared that this was the only policy to be adopted towards Holland, then the chief industrial rival of France. "Holland," he said, "must either be forced to accept our terms or be conquered." Thus Colbert urged the King on that course of war in which he was only too eager to engage, and which was finally to ruin all efforts at reform.

CHAPTER II

THE WAR OF DEVOLUTION, DUTCH WAR, AND WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

HAD a cautious statesman been on the throne of France, he would have realised that the country really needed peace, and that the royal energies should be concentrated on completing the financial and other reforms which had been only half accomplished.

Meanwhile attention might have been directed to colonial expansion, for in this direction France had a great opportunity.¹ Spain had enough in Mexico and in South America to more than occupy her failing powers; the English colonies in North America were confined to Newfoundland and the western strip between the Alleghany Mountains and the sea, the Bermudas and Bahamas in the Atlantic, Jamaica, Barbados, and a few other small islands in the Caribbean Sea. In Canada to the north, therefore, and in the great basin of the Mississippi to the south France had ample opportunity for further

¹ The French East India Company was founded in 1664. In the West Indies France held St. Domingo, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Martinique; in America, Canada, part of Nova Scotia and Louisiana; in Africa, Senegal.

advance. Brazil in South America and the settlements once made by Portugal in Africa, had languished since the mother country had been absorbed by Spain, and even when she did regain her independence she was in no position to fight for her possessions. In India the English East India Company was as yet a feeble trading company with no pretensions to empire. In a word, the colonial empires of Spain and of Portugal were falling to pieces; that of England had only just been started; while Holland, the only dangerous rival, could not possibly have prevented a French empire, or done much more than preserve what she at present possessed.¹ Thus France might have anticipated England, and if she had further pursued Colbert's policy of establishing a strong navy she might well have proved victorious when the final struggle came.

It may, no doubt, be questioned whether the French had really the necessary qualities to become successful colonists, or whether emigrants would have been found in sufficient quantities; but that France needed peace and not war can scarcely be disputed.

Unfortunately, though the ambitions of Louis

¹ The only important Dutch settlements in the West were New Amsterdam in North America (ceded to England, 1674, and called New York), and Dutch Guiana in South America. In Africa they held the Cape, many factories on the Persian Gulf and along the Indian coast, the islands of Mauritius, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, part of Borneo and the Celebes, and the large isthmus of Malacca.

were not confined to Europe, he wished to be master in Europe first. The extension of the French frontier, especially towards the Rhine, was part of the national tradition; most great kings of France had distinguished themselves in war, and the young King desired to outrival them. The position of European affairs seemed most propitious, for there was no one State which was strong enough to resist. The ease with which he had stilled all opposition within the kingdom led Louis to overestimate his powers, and the partial success of Colbert's reforms gave him ready money. Tempted by his opportunities, he determined on a policy of unnecessary and of unjustifiable aggression, and dreamt not only of fresh conquests but of subduing Europe itself.

A pretext alone was necessary, and that was soon found. Louis XIV., it will be remembered, had married the eldest daughter of Philip IV. and the only child by his first marriage. On the death, therefore, of the Spanish King (1665), he claimed all the Spanish Netherlands in her name, in virtue of the Law of Devolution, whereby he asserted that all the father's rights passed to the eldest daughter of the first marriage, to the exclusion of the children of any subsequent marriage. The claim was altogether baseless, for this law or local custom only obtained in some parts of the Netherlands, and moreover applied to private property exclusively and not to the sovereignty. In the war which was commenced in May, 1667, the success of Louis seemed certain,

The War
of Devolu-
tion,
1667-1668

Spain was hampered by the attempt of Portugal to regain her independence, which had received French support. The Emperor Leopold was engaged in suppressing a revolt in Hungary. Many of the German princes were bribed, and Sweden was forced by threats to acquiesce, while Holland and England were still at war over commercial matters. The advance, therefore, of the French was only feebly opposed. In August, Turenne occupied the three most important fortresses on the frontier—Charleroi, Tournay and Lille—and the whole of the Netherlands appeared to lie within his grasp.

The Triple
Alliance,
Jan.-May,
1668

Yet Louis was to be baulked of his prey. Europe became seriously alarmed. Holland and England had now come to terms, and Charles II., bending before the popular feeling, allowed his representative at the Hague, Sir William Temple, to form the Triple Alliance with Holland and with Sweden. Louis, indeed, anxious to have something which he might use for the purpose of bargaining, sent Condé to occupy Franche Comté, which he did with his well-known dash. The coalition, however, was a formidable one. Spain had in February made peace with Portugal and recognised her independence and thus had her hands free, and the French King, with a prudence which did him credit, determined to treat.

The members of the Triple Alliance, anxious if possible to prevent any further continuance of the war, had prevailed upon the King of Spain to submit to some loss and to allow France either to keep her conquests in the Netherlands, or to retain Franche

Comté. Louis took advantage of this. He induced the Emperor Leopold to promise in a secret treaty (January, 1668) that, on the death of the childless Charles II. of Spain, Franche Comté and the Spanish Netherlands should fall to France, and having thus provided against the future, offered peace to Spain on condition that he should retain his conquests in the Netherlands while he surrendered Franche Comté. Spain was forced to acquiesce. Accordingly in May, 1668, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

The Peace
of Aix-la-
Chapelle,
May, 1668

Left France in possession of Charleroi, Lille, Tournay and eight other towns on the frontier of the Netherlands.

Thus Louis had secured a strong position which would form a basis for future advance. The peace would give him time to recruit his forces, and meanwhile the Coalition might by clever management be dissolved.

Charles II. was first approached. He had followed the popular impulse in forming the Triple Alliance, but the commercial jealousy between England and Holland still survived, and there were more potent influences with the King himself. Although too indolent to attempt the definite establishment of despotism, he disliked the restraints imposed upon him by his Parliament, and longed to be free from its financial control. Moreover, he desired, if not to re-establish Roman Catholicism, at least to secure complete toleration for the adherents of that faith. But these two aims could only be attained by the help of Louis, and accordingly in June, 1670, Charles signed

Secret
Treaty of
Dover,
June, 1670

the Secret Treaty of Dover, by which he pledged himself in return for a promise of money to break with Holland.

Two years later the Swedish Council of Regency, which ruled during the minority of Charles XI., was also bought. Meanwhile the neutrality of the Emperor and of many German princes, with the exception, however, of the Elector of Brandenburg, was secured, and Louis was free at last to wreak his vengeance on the defenceless republic of Holland.

The French diplomacy of these past three years had been exceedingly clever, and from a military point of view, the attack on Holland had much to be said for it, for Holland once gained, the Spanish Netherlands must fall to France. Yet Europe was certain to be aroused by the renewed danger of French supremacy, and the only question was whether France could overwhelm the Republic before Europe moved. Louis might well anticipate success, for neither the character of the Government of the Republic, nor the internal situation at the moment offered much chance of instant and effective resistance.

Character
of Dutch
govern-
ment

The constitution of the seven united Provinces¹ was that of a confederation of very independent States which had handed over to a central representative body (the Estates-general), and to a central Council of State, the control of matters common to all, and the appointment of the Captain-general

¹ They were Holland, Friesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelderland, Overyssel Gröningen.

and the Admiral-general, who presided over the military and naval forces, while they retained not only all local administration in their hands, but also the election of their "stadholders," the voting of supplies and the questions of peace and war. By custom, though not by law, most of the Provinces had always, since the war of independence in the sixteenth century, elected the head of the House of Orange as stadholder, Captain-general and Admiral-general, and as this official was a member of the Council of State and nominated the chief magistrates, the unity of the confederation was thereby strengthened as well as by the fact that the Province of Holland, both in wealth and importance, nearly equalled that of the other provinces together.

During the great struggle for independence against Spain, 1572-1609, the necessities of the time had rendered unity imperative, but no sooner was independence gained than the forces of disunion began to be strengthened by party and religious strife. The stadholder, supported by the country districts, the nobles, the Calvinistic clergy and the peasantry, hoped to increase the central authority under his leadership, while privileged burghers of the great towns fought for a continuance of provincial autonomy and a republican constitution, and were further opposed to extreme Calvinistic doctrines. The failure of an attempt to turn the stadholderate into an hereditary monarchy by William II. of Orange, and his death shortly after (November, 1650), had indeed increased the strength

Character
and
position of
De Witt,
1650-1672

of the burgher party, the office of stadholder was abolished, and since that date the destinies of Holland had been guided by John de Witt. This great statesman represented all that was best in the Dutch character. To the simplicity, the straightforwardness, the stubbornness in the face of adversity, and the prudence in time of success, which were peculiarly the characteristic of his countrymen, he added a refinement, an eloquence, and a gift for diplomacy which were not so common. He had indeed fallen on troublous times, but he had guided his country safely through all dangers. He had dared resist the belligerent Commonwealth of England in their attempt to ruin the Dutch carrying trade, and though forced to bow before the superior artillery of the English, and the tactics of Blake (1654), had again renewed the struggle against Charles II. of England (1665-1667). Once more, indeed, the English proved the stronger, yet at one moment the Dutch De Ruyter succeeded in sailing up the Thames and the Medway, in capturing two and burning five other men-of-war, and finally England had consented at the Treaty of Breda to relax the Navigation Laws¹ so far as to allow Dutch ships to carry to England goods from Germany and from Flanders.

Treaty of
Breda,
July, 1667

By the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, which shortly followed, the triumph of De Witt's policy

¹ The Navigation Act of the Commonwealth forbade foreign ships to bring any goods to England except those of their own country. It was aimed chiefly at the Dutch, who were then the chief carriers of Europe.

seemed to be permanently secured. As events proved, it only prepared his final overthrow. With all his diplomacy, De Witt failed to plumb the depth of Charles II.'s duplicity, or to realise the weakness of the King of Sweden. He believed, and believed rightly, that Europe would not acquiesce in the overthrow of his country without a struggle, but he did not realise the necessity of constant watchfulness, and in this matter was to some extent blinded by party considerations. In the hopes of conciliating the Orange party, he had in 1668, by the Project of Harmony, obtained for the son of William II., the future William III. of England, the command of the army when he should reach the age of twenty-two; he was then eighteen.

When, therefore, Louis finally declared war, the The Dutch War, 1672-1679 unfortunate Republic found itself without allies and utterly unprepared. In May, 1672, the French King having seized Lorraine, on the pretext that the Duke had been intriguing with Holland, advanced down the Meuse to Maestricht and thence to Neuss on the Rhine, where the friendly Elector of Cologne had allowed supplies to be collected. His army, commanded by the great strategist Turenne, and the brilliant cavalry leader Condé, marched down the Rhine without opposition till it reached the neighbourhood of Arnheim. Then, swinging to the left, it crossed the old Rhine at Tolhuys, and turned the position of the young Prince of Orange, who was holding the line of the Yssel.

Amsterdam seemed now doomed. A rapid advance

on Muiden might, it has been said, have placed the control of the sluices of that district in French hands, and prevented the Dutch from flooding the country. This may be so, for the Dutch did not decide to cut the dykes till 15th June, and this was not completely effected till the 20th, though it may be questioned whether in any case the French could have advanced quickly enough.

By the 20th of June, at all events, the country had been flooded, and Amsterdam and most of the Province of Holland was for a time safe from all attack. Elsewhere, however, the Peace party were strong. Accordingly the States General made overtures for peace to Louis, the Dutch at the end of June offering to surrender practically the whole of their eastern frontier from the Meuse to the Scheldt, which would have included the important fortress of Maestricht on the Meuse and the district round it. This would have given France a magnificent position for any further attack on the United Provinces, and would have left the Spanish Netherlands at her mercy. Louis, however, puffed up by his success and urged by Louvois, his Minister of War, only raised his terms still higher. He himself acknowledged subsequently that he was driven on by ambition, which he pleaded was pardonable in a prince so young and so well treated by fortune as he had been.

The Dutch refused the new terms, overthrew the party of the burghers, and gave to young William of Orange the post of Stadholder, as well as that of Captain and Admiral-general (July 3-8). The pop-
 William of Orange made Stadholder, July

ular indignation, fanned no doubt by party spirit, was not yet satisfied. It demanded a victim, and that victim De Witt, who had for twenty years guided his country's fortunes with such wisdom. From a first attempt on his life on 21st June he had escaped, but at the end of August he and his brother were dragged from prison, where they were awaiting their trial, and brutally murdered in the streets of The Hague. It does not indeed appear that William of Orange himself was directly implicated in this foul deed, the result of which was to leave him without any rival in Holland. Nevertheless, he took care to know nothing of the intended outrage and did not intervene. In short, the future King of England here first displayed the callous and calculating temperament which ever alienates our sympathies.

Murder of
De Witt,
August

Louis's ambition had overleapt itself. William was thereby enabled to pursue his policy of no surrender, and Louis soon found, as he had found before, that Europe had to be reckoned with.

Alliance
against
France.
1672-1674.

In October, the Emperor Leopold, and the Great Elector of Brandenburg, made an offensive alliance with the Dutch Republic, and though the latter was defeated by Turenne in the following June and forced to withdraw temporarily, the coalition steadily grew. In August, 1673, Lorraine and Spain; in January, 1674, Denmark; in March, the Elector Palatine and other German princes were added to the League, while in February, 1679, the English Parliament forced Charles II to abandon his French ally, and Sweden alone remained.

The struggle indeed continued with success for France. Spain, as usual, was the one to suffer most. She saw Franche Comté once more in French hands, while the Spanish Netherlands became again the theatre of war.

Battle of
Fehrbellin

The following year, however (1675), closed gloomily for Louis. In June, the King of Sweden was decisively defeated by the Great Elector at Fehrbellin near Berlin. More serious was the loss of Turenne. After a most brilliant winter campaign in Alsace, he had driven the Austrian troops under Montecuculi and the Great Elector across the Rhine. Having pursued Montecuculi to the Black Forest, he was struck down by a stray shot just as a complete victory appeared within his grasp. In the autumn ill health forced Condé to resign.

Death of
Turenne,
July 27,
1675

France had now lost her two great generals and was thoroughly exhausted. The struggle, however, still continued for three weary years (1676-1678), marked only by a victory of the Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis, over William of Orange, a victory it is said which caused the jealous King extreme disgust.

Meanwhile Louis, convinced that nothing more was to be gained by war, betook himself to diplomacy, and by his cleverness succeeded in extricating himself from a perilous position with some success.

He turned first to England and prevented that country from active interference by supporting the Whigs, some of whom were bribed, in their attacks on Charles; then, working on the jealousies which are

always the chief weakness of a coalition, he succeeded in concluding separate treaties with his foes. By the Peace of Nimeguen the Dutch lost nothing.

Peace of
Nimeguen,
Aug. 1678-
Feb. 1679

Spain, which had not been a principal in the war, was the chief sufferer. She had to surrender Franche Comté as well as several fortresses in the low countries which gave France a strong frontier from Dunkirk to the Meuse.¹ The Emperor exchanged Freiburg for Philipsburg, while the Duke of Lorraine, rejecting the terms offered to him, became a soldier of fortune in Austrian pay.

Louis had not succeeded in punishing the insolent Dutch Republic, but so far as actual gains went, the war had not been barren.

The frontier towards the Spanish Netherlands had been materially strengthened, Lorraine was temporarily occupied, and the possession of Freiburg in Breisgau gave him the command of one of the most important passes through the Black Forest to the Upper Danube. Above all, he had acquired Franche Comté, a province much desired by France for two centuries; he had pushed the frontier to the Jura and secured the watershed of the Saone. Yet France had paid heavily for these gains. The frontier provinces had been wasted by war. The exchequer was empty, in spite of increased taxation and heavy loans. Turenne, the best general, was dead, and Condé was now past work.

Unfortunately the ambitious King refused to consider this side of the picture. He thought only of

¹The most important are Cambrai, Valenciennes, St. Omer, Ypres, Cassel, Dinan.

his notable successes both in war and diplomacy. He despised his foes, and looked around for further opportunities of aggrandisement.

Chambres
de Réunion

The Peace of Nimeguen had scarce been concluded before Louis began to move. According to the terms of that peace, as well as that of Westphalia, the districts and towns ceded to France had included their dependencies. To settle what these dependencies were, he proceeded to establish judicial courts, called *Chambres de Réunion*. Of these there were four: the first at Tournay, for Flanders; the second at Besançon, for Franche Comté; another at Metz, for the three bishoprics; and the fourth at Breisach, for Alsace. The work of the first two was soon finished, and their decisions, which settled the question of the Flemish towns and adjudged all Franche Comté to France, were not unjust. Nor perhaps can much exception be taken to the verdicts of the chamber at Metz. It had to decide what were the possessions and who the feudal vassals of the three bishops, since all such were to recognise the sovereignty of the King of France. The question was a difficult one, for during the troublous times of late many lands had been wrongfully seized, and many had tried to escape their feudal dues. Here again, therefore, no gross injustice was perpetrated.

Far otherwise was it with the chamber at Breisach. The Peace of Westphalia,¹ although its terms were vague, had distinctly reserved the rights

¹ Cf. p. 3.

of the Empire over the "immediate" nobles of Lower Alsace, that is, those who held directly of the Emperor, and over those Imperial towns that lay in the same district, as well as the independence of Strasburg. Nevertheless, the chamber gave absolute and exclusive sovereignty over Upper as well as Lower Alsace to Louis, thereby making the immediate nobles vassals of the French King, and by implication handing over the Imperial towns in Lower Alsace to him. Louis forthwith proceeded to enforce the verdicts of the chamber by bribes, by intrigue, and by force. The victims of this shameless act of spoliation were defenceless without the help of the European Powers, and they were not prepared. Austria was once more troubled with her Hungarian rebels, who were aided by the Turks. The Elector of Brandenburg cared little for these places on the Rhine, and had his own quarrels with the Emperor, while Charles II. of England, though disturbed by these fresh encroachments, was driven by the violence of the Whigs in the matter of the Exclusion Bill¹ to become the pensioner of the French King, and thus escape from the necessity of summoning Parliament (March, 1681).

Louis, therefore, met with little opposition, except at Strasburg; and even there, by bribery and by a display of force, he at last attained his end. In September, 1681, he was master of the most important town on the Upper Rhine, as well as

¹ A Bill to exclude James, the Roman Catholic brother of Charles II., from the succession.

Besançon, and on the same day Casale in Montferrat was occupied with the assent of the Duke of Mantua. These fortresses were now strengthened by the great French engineer Vauban, and France was henceforth girded with a line of first-rate fortresses on her eastern border; while Casale, in addition to Pignerole (which had been gained in 1648), gave her armies an easy access to the plain of Lombardy.

Even then Louis was not content. Luxemburg, he declared, was necessary to complete the line of fortresses on the east; but since no chamber could grant him that, he attempted to seize it (November, 1681). Warned, however, by the murmurs of Europe, he drew back, and once more betook himself to negotiations, which even the news that the Turks were at the gates of Vienna (June, 1683) did not interrupt.

Ever since the days of Charles V. and of Francis I. there had been an alliance with the Turks, but France had never actually assisted them, and Louis certainly had no such design. His wish to secure the command of the Mediterranean and to make himself master of the African coast, as well as his pretensions to be the head of the Catholic cause in Europe, rendered such a policy quite impossible. Nevertheless, in Austria's danger lay the opportunity of France. Louis hoped that the siege might fail, but was not unwilling that it should continue. And if the worst came to the worst and the city fell, he could then lead a crusading army of French and

Germans against the infidel, stand forth as the saviour of Christendom, and secure for himself the election of the Imperial crown on the death of the present Emperor. This, at least, was not to be. John Sobieski, the Polish King, marched to the relief of the Austrian capital, drove back the Turks (September, 1683), and snatched from Louis the title of Deliverer of Christendom.

John
Sobieski
saves
Vienna
from the
Turk,
Sept. 1683

On hearing of the relief of Vienna, Charles II. of Spain declared war on France (October, 1683), but only to find himself without allies, and once more to suffer loss. The French took Luxemburg in the following June, and Spain was forced to buy peace by surrendering that town, Bouvines, and other villages near Luxemburg and in Hainault, as well as the protectorate over Genoa. Finally the Emperor and the Imperial Diet, by the Truce of Ratisbon, guaranteed to France for twenty years the possession of all that had been assigned to her by the chambers of Metz, Breisach and Besançon.

Truce of
Ratisbon,
Aug. 1684

Louis, to all appearances triumphant abroad, now turned his attention to ecclesiastical affairs at home. His policy is characteristic of the man. As in State, so in matters ecclesiastical, he desired to establish uniformity based upon the personal authority of the Crown. These views had already brought him into conflict with the Pope. A quarrel which arose in 1673 over the claims of the Crown to the revenues of all vacant benefices in France had led Louis to revive the ancient rights of the Gallican Church, and to induce his clergy to assert not only the superiority

Quarrel
with Pope
Innocent
XI.

The Four
Articles of
S. Germain,
1682

of a General Council of the Church over a Pope, but to deny his pretensions to overrule the customs and rules of the Church of France, and his claim to depose a King, or in any way interfere in matters temporal. Louis did not intend to break from Rome. He only insisted that the Pope should not interfere with his temporal authority over the Church in France. This had long been the policy of the kings of Spain, the most orthodox of sovereigns and of the ancient Republic of Venice, who said they would accept their religion but not their Church government from Rome. Nevertheless it was certain that, if Louis had his way, the Church would become a mere creature of the Crown, and in any case it was not to be expected that the Pope would tamely acquiesce. Innocent XI. at once condemned the "Resolutions," and refused to sanction the consecration of any bishop who accepted them. A long struggle ensued, not ended till 1693, during which as many as thirty Sees were without bishops, and more than one hundred parishes without canonically instituted priests.

Persecution
of the
Huguenots

The desire of Louis XIV. to be free from external interference in the government of the Church may find its apologists, but few would now approve of his policy towards the Huguenots. The Huguenots, or Protestants of France, had since the days of Henry IV. enjoyed, by the Edict of Nantes, a toleration which was denied them in all Roman Catholic countries, and which exceeded that accorded to Nonconformists by Protestant England herself; and although Car-

dinal Richelieu had withdrawn their privilege of organising self-governing communities in several parts of France, he had left them their liberty of worship. To a mind like that of Louis, the very existence of such a state of things was abhorrent. He was the enemy of privilege, and they were a privileged body. He had attempted to establish a uniform centralised government in matters political, and the existence of this body of Nonconformists seemed to him an anomaly. In spite of his quarrel with the Pope he was severely orthodox, and became as life grew on more devout. He loved to pose as the most Catholic King, and was daily assuming the position hitherto held by the King of Spain. His Catholic clergy, headed by Bossuet, the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of the day, then Bishop of Meaux, as well as Père la Chaise, his Jesuit confessor, never ceased to urge that the extirpation of heresy would well befit the most Christian King.

Ever since the year 1661 a policy of repression had been pursued. The clauses of the Edict of Nantes had been narrowly interpreted, and many liberties thereby interfered with. In the year 1681 further measures followed. All Huguenots were debarred from public employment, their children were ordered to be converted, and energetic attempts made to force the parents to conform. When the unfortunate victims of this policy sought refuge in exile, emigration was forbidden, and conversion was enforced by quartering soldiers on the obstinate. Finally the King, perhaps misled as to the success of these

Edict of
Nantes
revoked,
1685

measures, decided to settle the business. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and the profession of Huguenot opinions became a legal crime, while, in the following year, the Duke of Savoy was forced to expel his Protestant subjects from the valleys of the Pays du Vaud, lest by their proximity they might infect France, now restored to orthodoxy.

It has been usual to lay this persecution at the door of that remarkable woman, Mme. de Maintenon, who, once the governess of the royal children, had become the King's chief confidante, and had been secretly married to him in 1684. But, although it was largely due to her that Louis reformed his life, and became more strict and more devout, we have the evidence of her own letters to prove that, if anxious for the conversion of the heretics, she did not approve of these violent measures of repression, perhaps because she remembered that she had once been a Huguenot herself.¹

No, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is so completely a part of Louis' policy that the chief responsibility must lie with him, though none the less it must also be shared by the whole body of the clergy and by a large proportion of the nation itself. Nor must we judge of Louis by the standard of our own day. France had hitherto been in advance of the rest of Europe in the matter of toleration; and if Louis, in reversing this policy, acted with unnecessary and even brutal severity, we must, while con-

¹ She was the widow of the burlesque poet Scarron, and was born a Protestant.

denning him, remember how every Catholic sovereign of the day treated the Protestants in his own country, and how Protestant England treated the Catholics in Ireland.

Yet if his conduct does not deserve to be called a heinous crime it was at least a serious blunder. The Huguenots at that time were in most parts of France composed of the middle and industrial classes, who, by their labour and their enterprise, were enriching France; and these, to the number of at least 300,000, left their country and planted their industries in other lands, Holland and England more especially. Nor was this all. Many joined the armies of the enemies of France, and took their share in inflicting those losses which she was henceforth to suffer.

While Louis was thus depriving his country of some of the best of her sons, and spending enormous sums on his new palace at Versailles, Europe was preparing to resist him once more. Divided though she was, his late aggressions had touched too many interests and awakened too many apprehensions. In the year 1681 a premature attempt at coalition had been made, and finally in July, 1686, the League of Augsburg, League of Augsburg, July, 1686 was formed. It was joined by the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, the Elector of Saxony and by the United Provinces. In the next year the Duke of Bavaria and Victor Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, subscribed to the League, while even Pope Innocent XI., still at variance with Louis, gave it his secret support.

The French King forthwith demanded that the

Truce of Ratisbon (*cf.* p. 37) should be turned into a definite peace, and that his creature, William of Fürstenberg, should be recognised as Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, although he had not been properly elected. On the refusal of these demands, Louis seized the opportunity offered by the death of Charles Elector Palatine,¹ last male representative of the Simmern family, and invaded the country. He claimed it in the name of Charlotte Elizabeth, the sister of the late Elector, who had married his brother the Duke of Orleans.

Invasion
of the
Palatinate,
Sept. 1688

This invasion has often been held to be the capital blunder of the French King. Had he, it is said, attacked Holland instead, William of Orange would never have dared to cross to England at the invitation of the Whig Lords; the Revolution of 1688 would not have occurred, at that moment at least, and James II., forced by necessity to ally himself with Louis, might have altered the fortunes of the coming war. It is even alleged that Louis, piqued at the refusal of James to lend him his support, or to oppose the landing of William by a joint movement of the French and English fleets, a policy which public opinion in England would not brook, made his move on the Palatinate of design, so that William might be free to sail. It is probably true that Louis and his advisers imagined that the struggle in England would be prolonged. As James would not, or

¹ Charles was brother of Prince Rupert and son of the unfortunate Frederick, the Winter King, who married the daughter of James I. of England.

could not, abet his schemes, it might well be that such a struggle would completely paralyse the action of England for a time at least. With England neutral, and William fully occupied, France might again defeat or break up the coalition, as she had done before. In any case, it is extremely doubtful whether an attack on Holland could have been made with sufficient rapidity to stop William's expedition. Louis' main aim was to compel Germany to make permanent the Truce of Ratisbon. The invasion of the Palatinate might well be expected to gain that end, especially as Louis offered to withdraw at once and even to surrender Freiburg in the Breisgau on that condition. The blunder was due rather to a want of knowledge of the true situation in England, but even Englishmen never dreamt that James would take to flight and abandon his crown without an effort. The truth of the matter is that Louis was blinded by his arrogance. He had so often defeated these coalitions by war or by diplomacy that he believed it could be done again, and he would not realise that under existing circumstances this was impossible without the aid of England.

The invasion of the Palatinate served only to arouse the hostility of many German princes who had hesitated. Louis soon found that the country could not be held, and accordingly proceeded to order its devastation, to the grief of the Duchess of Orleans herself, who did not desire that her claim should be enforced at such a cost to its unfortunate inhabitants.

Flight of
James II.
William
III. King
of England

Meanwhile William of Orange had sailed, on the very day that Philipsburg fell, the first city in the Palatinate to be attacked. The crown of England was his, and James II. was a fugitive in France. From that moment the fortunes of Louis XIV. depended on the restoration of James. Had the later Stuarts been true to the best interests of their country, French ambition would have been bridled before. Owing to the political circumstances of the time, England could incline the balance any way she chose, and now that William was King there was no doubt as to the scale into which her influence would be cast. The one motive of his life is to be found in his opposition to the French King, an opposition which was based on fundamental differences of temperament and opinion. As a man, as a Protestant, as a Dutch patriot, as an European statesman the views of Louis were accursed things to him. Here William found the inspiring enthusiasm which warmed his otherwise cold and calculating heart, and made him capable of great things. He had been called to power to save his country from French invasion, and from that moment he was the moving spirit of every coalition against his arch enemy. Nor was he to be despised. Though never beloved, he was at least respected. If he was no great general, and won few victories, he knew how to neutralise the results of defeat, and above all, he prevented others from despairing of his cause because he never despaired himself.

It is then the entrance of England, led by such

a man, into the struggle, and the new importance which, in consequence, the question of the command of the sea assumes, that gives the chief interest to the war of the League of Augsburg. Otherwise so far as the Continent is concerned, although larger forces were engaged than had been ever seen in Europe before, it is a weary story of sieges, scarce relieved by any battle of first-rate importance, while on neither side did any great general appear with the exception perhaps of the French marshal, Luxemburg.

Louis was rightly advised when he decided to send James II. to Ireland to support him there. If Ireland could be held, William could scarcely send an army abroad, while her harbours would form an excellent basis for the French fleet. The defeat, however, at the Boyne once more drove James into exile, and Catholic Ireland was forced to submit to the hateful rule of Protestant England. The question of the supremacy at sea lay longer in dispute, and in 1692 it seemed not unlikely to fall to France. She had made a great effort, and organised a fleet, under the command of Tourville, which was to prepare the way for an invasion of England. In that country there was much discontent, and many, including Russell, the English admiral, were intriguing with James II. But though many might be anxious to restore James, they were not prepared to see this done by French arms, and Russell, declaring that he would throw the first man overboard who whispered treason, led his fleet to victory at La Hogue in May, 1692. England henceforth was safe, and

Battle of
the Boyne,
July, 1690

Battle of
La Hogue,
May, 1692

William could once more actively intervene on the Continent.

Here the struggle extended from the Rhine to Piedmont. In Italy the French defeated the Duke of Savoy at Staffarda (August, 1690), and in 1693 drove Prince Eugène from Piedmont. In the Netherlands they took Mons (April, 1691), and Namur in June, 1692, an important fortress which stands at the junction of the Sambre and the Meuse, and thus commands the great military road from France. In the same year William was defeated at Steinkirk by Marshal Luxemburg (August), and again at Neerwinden in the following June. It is true that in 1695, William, whom no defeat could cow, was able to recover Namur, yet on the whole the advantage lay with Louis. When therefore in October, 1696, he succeeded in buying off Victor Amadeus by restoring Savoy, which had been occupied, and by ceding Casale and Pignerole, it looked as if France might end the war without loss.

But Louis could not hide his eyes to the desperate exhaustion of his people which Fénelon, then Archbishop of Cambrai, one of the best of clergy of his day, had pointed out as early as 1693. Although Louis was not likely to follow Fénelon's injunction to expiate his past misdeeds by the surrender of all his unjust conquests, he was anxious to recruit his forces in preparation for the great European crisis which must arise on the death of Charles II. of Spain. He therefore offered to treat.

His terms proved far more moderate than had

been expected, and accordingly negotiations were set on foot, which led in the autumn of 1697 to the Peace of Ryswick. By that Peace, Louis was forced to disgorge some of his ill-gotten gains.

Peace of
Ryswick,
Sept.-Oct
1697

1. He restored all places adjudged to him by the chambers of Reunion, or seized outside Alsace and Franche Comté since the Peace of Nimeguen.

2. He allowed the Dutch to garrison certain fortresses on the western border of the Spanish Netherlands, such as Ypres, Menin and Namur, as a "barrier" against French aggression. He granted them a favourable commercial treaty, although they in return restored Pondicherry in India to the French East India Company.

3. He surrendered Lorraine with the exception of the three bishoprics to its Duke, and bartered his claim on the Palatinate for a sum of money.

4. He abandoned the candidature of Cardinal Fürstenberg to the archepiscopal See of Cologne. He acknowledged William as King of England and promised to support no attempt against his throne.

A limit had at last been put to Louis' aggression; his prestige had been lowered in Europe, while at home his country was at the last stage of exhaustion. The taxes had been heavily increased; the debt had grown; the Crown had been forced to betake itself to a renewed sale of offices to fill the empty treasury and there was no Colbert to grapple with the growing evil.¹

Nevertheless the gains of Louis since the Peace of Nimeguen had been considerable. He had retired to the left bank of the Rhine, he had surrendered

¹ Colbert died in 1683.

some of the fortresses on the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and allowed others to be garrisoned by the Dutch against him. By abandoning Pignerole and Casale he had handed over to the Duke of Savoy the gate into Italy. Yet for all this the acquisition of all Alsace with Strasburg was a solid compensation. Doubtless the accession of William III. to the throne of England was a serious blow, but William was not in a position to assume the offensive even if he had wished so to do, and, if no new crisis had arisen, Louis might henceforth have sheathed his sword, and have turned to heal the distress of his people, which these long wars had caused.

The fates however willed it otherwise.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV

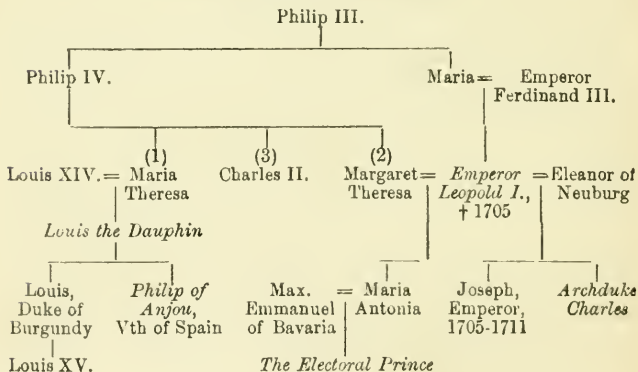
FOR many years the powers of Europe had looked forward with apprehension to the day when the childless Charles II. of Spain should die. His dominions, in spite of his late losses, were enormous. They included the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, with the exception of Portugal and the Balearic isles, the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples and Sicily, and certain ports on the coast of Tuscany as well as parts of North Africa and the Canary Islands, enormous colonies in Central and South America, and many islands in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Caribbean Sea, and in the Pacific.¹

The question of the succession was as momentous

¹Spain claimed the whole of Central and South America except Brazil, which belonged to Portugal, and Guiana which belonged to Holland. Mexico, Florida, and Peru were then the most important of the West Indian possessions. Cuba and Hayti were the largest islands. In the Pacific she held the Philippines.

as it was inevitable,¹ It involved the most serious issues, touching not only the commercial interests of England and Holland, but the prosperity of all the Powers and the very existence of some. Under these circumstances, it was absurd to expect that the question should be decided on mere legal grounds, as would be the case with regard to the succession to a private estate, and it is not fair to charge statesmen with cloaking their ambitions under the hypocritical cry of the necessity of maintaining the balance of

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION



1. The Electoral Prince claimed as great-grandson of Philip IV.

2. The Emperor Leopold I. claimed: (1) as the grandson of Philip III.; (2) that he had married the second daughter of Philip IV., and that his daughter, Maria Antonia, had surrendered her right to him. He, however, passed on his claim to his second son, the Archduke Charles.

3. The Dauphin claimed through his mother, Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV. Louis XIV., on marrying her, had renounced all claims she might have on Spain, but held that the renunciation was void because: (a) her dowry had never been paid; (b) the renunciation had never been confirmed, either by the Cortes, or by the Parliament of Paris.

power, or to liken them to harpies fighting over the body of their dying victim.

The problem had long engaged the attention of the diplomatists. As early as 1668, Louis had signed a Partition Treaty with the Emperor by which the Emperor was, on the death of Charles II., to have Spain, the Milanese, and the Indies, while Franche Comté, the Netherlands, Naples and Sicily were to fall to France. Franche Comté Louis had now gained, but Holland and England would never, he was sure, allow him to hold the rest. A new arrangement must be made, and it is probable that the predominant motive which had induced Louis to accept such moderate terms at Ryswick is to be found in the hope that he might, by clever diplomacy, gain more than was possible by a continuance of the war. At all events, no sooner was the peace concluded than Louis opened negotiations with England and with Holland.

Of the many claims to the Spanish throne, that of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was the most favoured, because his succession, accompanied by certain concessions to the other claimants, would not endanger the balance of power. By the first Partition Treaty, therefore, it was decided that he should have Spain, the Netherlands and the Indies, while the remainder were to be divided between the Archduke Charles and the Dauphin. Even had the Electoral Prince lived, it is doubtful whether either Spain or the Emperor would have acquiesced. In any case his death in January, 1699, reopened the whole question.

First
Partition
Treaty,
Oct. 1698

Louis XIV., who throughout the negotiations showed a very remarkable knowledge of the European situation, abandoned all hope of gaining Spain itself for the Dauphin, and devoted his energies to securing as much of the other territories as possible for France.

Second
Partition
Treaty,
May, 1700

By the second Partition Treaty, signed once more by England, Holland and France, the Archduke Charles was to succeed to Spain, the Spanish Netherlands and the Indies; while to the Dauphin were promised Guipuscoa in Navarre, Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports and the Milanese, though this was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

The Emperor, however, complained that this Partition Treaty would, by giving the command of the Mediterranean to France, leave his son, as King of Spain, entirely at her mercy, and refused to accept it.

Will and
death of
Charles II.,
Oct.-Nov.
1700

Meanwhile in Spain the news that her ancient empire was to be divided caused the greatest indignation. The Queen, who was the Emperor's sister-in-law, forthwith urged him to support the national cry, and to send the Archduke at once to Madrid. But Leopold was not prepared thus to lay down the challenge to Europe, and declined. The Queen and her Austrian party thus lost all influence; a court revolution took place, and Charles II., induced to believe that France was the most likely country to fight for the integrity of the Spanish Empire, left the whole of his dominions by will to the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, with remainder to his younger brother, the Duke of Berri,

and, in his default, to the Archduke Charles, should the Duke of Anjou ever succeed to the French throne. All alienation of Spanish possessions was forbidden, and no foreigners were to be admitted into the Government. Thirty days later Charles II. died.

The terms accepted by Louis XIV. in the Partition Treaty were so moderate, and the prospect offered by the will so magnificent, that Louis has been accused of deluding Europe with negotiations, while he was intriguing through Harcourt, his Minister at Madrid, to extort that will at Charles' death-bed. Although it is certain that Louis had by his diplomacy completely outwitted the Emperor, and had succeeded in making the French cause popular in Spain—no mean performance, if we remember how Louis had treated that country—this accusation is probably unjust. Indeed it may be questioned whether France would not have gained more by the treaty that she did under the will. With the territories allotted by the treaty to the Dauphin, territories which would some day be united to the Crown, the strength of France would have been much increased. The possession of Guipuscoa would serve as a centre for a future attack on Navarre. The exchange of the Milanese for Lorraine would some day lead to the incorporation of the Duchy of Lorraine with France, and this had always been one of the chief aims of Louis. Sicily, Naples and the Tuscan ports would be invaluable as a basis for a great navy, which might dominate the Mediterranean; and France, once

master there, would not only be able to establish her power on the northern coast of Africa, but would control the important commerce of that sea. One objection might, no doubt, be raised. With the Milanese in the hands of the Duke of Lorraine, and Piedmont and Savoy in those of the Duke of Savoy, neither of them very friendly to France, an alliance might be formed against her between these two dukes, the Archduke Charles, now King of Spain, and his father, the Emperor Leopold, an alliance which would encircle France with a line of hostile Powers from Austria to Spain itself. But the Duke of Savoy might be induced to exchange his territories for Naples and Sicily; the Milanese might never be given up to the Duke of Lorraine. In any case, it was much to the advantage of France that the Milanese should no longer be in Spanish hands; while as long as France controlled the Mediterranean a union of the forces of Austria and Spain would be always difficult.

On the other hand, if the will were accepted, and the Duke of Anjou secured the whole of the Spanish Empire, Louis must abandon the hopes he had so long cherished of annexing the Spanish Netherlands and of directly extending his power in Italy. Nor could it be predicted with any certainty that the new King of Spain would be able or even willing to remain faithful to the French Alliance. Against such a policy the pride of the Spaniards might well revolt, especially when they recalled the losses they had suffered of late at the hands of France.

That Louis was not blind to these considerations is proved by his hesitation on hearing the purport of the will, and by the anxious counsel which he took with his chief advisers. Finally, however, he listened to the opinion of those who urged the acceptance of the will, and wrote a despatch to William III. explaining the reasons for thus repudiating the Partition Treaty. His arguments had great force. War, he held, was inevitable in either case. If he adhered to the treaty, Austria and Spain at least would fight, and might well gain other allies. How could he be sure that Holland and England would support him? In England at least the second Partition Treaty had been intensely disliked because it gave the command of the Mediterranean and its commerce to France, and William was daily becoming more unpopular on those and other grounds. The English had cried for a reduction of the Army, and loudly declared that they were being sacrificed to the personal and the Dutch interests of their King, and William himself acknowledged that the English preferred the will to the treaty. On the other hand, if Louis had to fight to place his grandson on the Spanish throne, he would at least be supported by the national enthusiasm of the Spanish fighting against the dismemberment of their empire. Moreover, as he reminded William III., the acceptance of the will would cause less apprehension to Europe. France herself would gain nothing, and would be prevented from any encroachment on the Spanish Netherlands.

Louis XIV.
accepts the
will of
Charles II.

So forcible did these arguments appear, that England and Holland declared their willingness to acknowledge Philip of Anjou as King of Spain, if his claims to the French throne were renounced and if he would consent to cede the Spanish possessions in Italy to the Archduke Charles, allow the barrier fortresses to be still garrisoned by the Dutch, and grant the same commercial privileges to the Dutch and the English in the Indies as should be given to France.

These were, it is interesting to note, practically the terms to which France and Spain were forced to accede at the end of the war. Had, therefore, Louis accepted them now, Europe might have been saved from thirteen years of carnage, and France would have had time to restore her finances and alleviate the misery of her people. Spain, though she would have deeply resented the dismemberment of her empire, could not have fought alone. The Emperor would have been forced, though grudgingly, to comply. All, therefore, depended on the decision of France. But the ambition of Louis had now been stirred again. His answer to these proposals was to reserve the rights of Philip of Anjou to the French throne, to seize the barrier fortresses, to throw an army into Italy, and to show that he intended to secure for France exclusive commercial privileges not only in the Mediterranean but in the Indies.

Holland and England, threatened not only by the danger of a great Bourbon family compact, but in their trade, which was the mainspring of their life,

were determined to resist, and prevailed on the Emperor to sign a secret treaty, which subsequently was expanded into the Grand Alliance.

The allies declared as their aims the procuring of a reasonable satisfaction for the Emperor, and for the Dutch and English a guarantee for the safety of their respective countries and their commerce. To this end the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy must be conquered, and measures taken to prevent the Crowns of Spain and France from ever being united. The commercial privileges of Holland and of England in the Spanish dominions must be confirmed, France must not be allowed to acquire any of the Spanish West Indies or any trading rights there, and any conquests made there by the allies should be theirs. It is noticeable that in these terms there is no mention of the claim of the Emperor or Archduke to the Spanish throne: indeed Philip of Anjou is by implication acknowledged. The war, therefore, was originally engaged in pursuit of the balance of Power and of the commercial interests of England and Holland. Louis, if he had been moderate in his demands, might have secured Spain for his grandson. This opportunity he had thrown away, and now, as if to show that he despised his adversaries, he made one more grave blunder. On the death of the exiled James II., he recognised his son the Pretender as King of England. By so doing he broke his promise made at Ryswick, and roused English feeling to fever heat. William III. became once more the nation's representative, and, although he was not

The Grand Alliance, Sept. 1701

Primary object of the Allies

Louis acknowledges the Pretender, Sept. 1701

Death of
William
III.,
Mar. 1702

permitted to see the end of the struggle, he died with the full assurance that the war with his life-long enemy would be pursued with energy.

At the commencement of the war the combatants were not ill-matched. On the side of the allies stood England, Holland and Austria; the Elector Palatine; Frederick, the Elector of Brandenburg, bribed by the title of King of Prussia; and the Elector of Hanover; while shortly after the Imperial Diet was induced to declare war. Of these Powers, the energy of England depended mainly on whether the Tories or the Whigs would secure a majority; Holland was "a many-headed, headless" confederacy, whose attention was concentrated on the Netherlands, and who would not support the war elsewhere; Austria was much distracted by the troubles in Hungary, and weakened at home by divided counsels and an ill-organised executive; and the rest of Germany was chiefly valuable as a recruiting ground. On the other hand, Louis obtained the alliance of Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria; of his brother, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne; and of Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. These allies were of the greatest value. The Duke of Savoy could open the Alpine passes from France to Piedmont; Cologne gave him a strong position on the Lower Rhine, close to Holland itself; while Bavaria afforded an indispensable basis for an attack on Vienna. The Spanish Netherlands, which had been occupied before the war broke out, formed, with its numerous fortresses, a barrier which could only be forced with

difficulty, as well as a constant menace to Holland. In Spain, the French cause was certainly the most popular, while at home the concentration of all power in the royal hands should have made for military effectiveness and despatch.

→ Favoured by these advantages, as in the previous wars, France was at first, on the whole, successful. In Italy, where the Emperor claimed the possessions of Charles II. as lapsed fiefs, the war had broken out before the formation of the Grand Alliance. Here Prince Eugène, after beating back the French to the line of the Adda and taking prisoner Villeroy himself, was forced for want of due support to drop back behind the Adige (August, 1702). Meanwhile Marlborough, Captain-general of Holland and commander-in-chief of the allied armies in the north, by seizing a line of fortresses from Venlo on the Meuse to Bonn on the Rhine, secured his communications with Germany (1702-May, 1703). Nevertheless, owing to the unwillingness of the Dutch to co-operate in an offensive attack, he was unable to make any impression on the French position in the Netherlands.

Thus in the year 1703, Louis was able to develop his main attack on Vienna. In February, Villars crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, masked the position of Louis of Baden at Stolhofen, forced the passes of the Black Forest, and joined the Elector of Bavaria on the Upper Danube. In Italy, Vendôme pushed Prince Eugène up the Adige, and over the Brenner Pass to Innsbruck. A bold advance on Vienna might

Campaigns
in Italy
and in the
Nether-
lands,
1702-1703

French
advance on
Vienna,
Feb. 1703

Duke of
Savoy
abandons
French
alliance

have ended the war, but such a plan, though urged by Villars, was rejected by the Elector as too hazardous until Eugène had been dislodged from Innsbruck. This the Elector attempted, and the Prince was in danger of being caught between his troops and those of Vendôme, who were pressing north. At this moment the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who with the selfish foresight so characteristic of his house, had determined to join the allies, forced Vendôme to retire to the Milanese, and the Elector threatened by Eugène and the Tyrolese, who rose in defence of the House of Habsburg, dropped back on Bavaria.

Höchstadt,
Sept. 1703

Villars, however, had meanwhile defeated Louis of Baden at Höchststadt, near Blenheim, and had driven him back to Stollhofen, when the approach of winter put an end to the campaign and Villars was superseded by Marsin, a very inferior soldier, an act of incredible folly on the part of the French Government. Next year (1704) the French advanced again, while Ragotski, the Hungarian rebel, threatened Vienna from the east. At this moment the whole fortune of the war was changed by the military insight and decision of the English general Marlborough.

Campaign
of
Blenheim,
Summer,
1704

Realising the desperate situation of Austria, he determined to leave his position on the lower Rhine, and to hurry to the assistance of Prince Eugène and of Louis of Baden.

To do this, it was necessary to deceive not only the French, then under Villeroy in the Netherlands,

but his Dutch allies themselves, who would certainly have forbidden a movement which might leave them exposed alone to a French attack. Accordingly Marlborough, publicly announcing his intention of turning the French position and of threatening France by the way of the Moselle, instructed the Dutch to protect his right at Maestricht.

On reaching Coblenz (June, 1704), he suddenly changed his course, and ordering the Brandenburg contingent to accompany him, advanced by forced marches to Mainz. Thence, leaving the Rhine, he joined Prince Eugène at Ulm, on the Danube, seized Donauworth, and drove the French under Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria on Augsburg. He had thus forced himself between the two French armies, yet his position was most critical. Villeroy, now aware of his move, pressed south and joined Tallard at Stolhofen. This enabled Tallard to unite his forces with those of Marsin and the Elector at Augsburg, leaving Villeroy to oppose Eugène, who had been detached for the purpose.

The united forces of the enemy now far outnumbered those of the allies. Yet Marlborough determined to strike at once before they could unite, and ordered Eugène to neglect Villeroy and to concentrate on Donauworth. His enemy played into his hands. Believing that they could easily overwhelm him, they rashly accepted his challenge without waiting for Villeroy. In the battle which ensued, Marlborough, with his keen eye for position, directed his main attack on the centre where the enemy did

Battle of
Blenheim,
Aug. 13,
1704

not expect him. Piercing it, he hemmed Tallard between him and the Danube and forced him to surrender with all his infantry. Marsin and the Elector fled through the Black Forest to Villeroy at Stohofen, pursued by Prince Eugène.

From that moment Vienna was safe, and France was never again able to take the offensive in Germany.

Alteration
in the
objects of
the Allies

Methuen
Treaty,
May, 1703.
Portugal
joins the
Allies

Meanwhile the character of the war had changed. In the original terms of the Grand Alliance no mention had been made of the Emperor's claim to the throne of Spain, and Philip of Anjou had for three years been left undisturbed. But in May, 1703, the King of Portugal was induced by the favourable tariff offered by the English on all port wine imported into England to join the allies, on condition that the Spanish throne should go to the Archduke Charles, a condition which suited England because she believed that her commercial interests would be safer under a Habsburg than a Bourbon. The Emperor consented, though unwillingly, to surrender his claim to his younger son, and in 1704 the Archduke went to Spain, accompanied by a Dutch and English force. The change of policy was unfortunate. The national pride of the Spaniards revolted at this attempt to force the unpopular Habsburg on them. Charles was never received elsewhere than in Catalonia. The English and Portuguese, under Galway, indeed penetrated to Madrid in 1706, but had to retreat, and when he renewed the attempt in 1707 he was completely crushed by Berwick at Almanza.

The chief advantage was reaped by England. In August, 1704, Rooke seized Gibraltar, and England gained command of the entrance to the Mediterranean. Gibraltar seized, Aug. 4, 1704

When Eugène had by his brilliant victory at Turin in September, 1706, secured the north of Italy for the allies, and a revolt in Naples had forced the French to evacuate that kingdom, the presence of the English force effectually prevented any attempt to recover these possessions. The English took Sardinia and Minorca in August, 1708, and Italy was finally lost to the French. French lose Italy, 1708

It was, however, in the Netherlands that the decisive campaigns were to be fought. Progress in that quarter was difficult. The numerous fortresses prevented rapid advance; the Dutch, chiefly intent on defending their own country from invasion, were dilatory and inconstant, while the attention of Austria and the Empire was distracted by the death of the Emperor Leopold I., and the election of his son, Joseph I. Nevertheless, during that year, Marlborough succeeded in pushing up the Meuse nearly as far as Namur, and defeated the incapable and boastful Villeroy at Ramillies, which lies at the source of the Gheet, a tributary of the Demer, and, having thus completely turned the flank of the French, forced them to evacuate Brussels, and to fall back on the frontier fortresses to the west. Campaign in the Netherlands

At this moment his operations were checked by a threatened diversion from the north-east. Charles XII. of Sweden, who had defeated Peter the Great Death of Leopold. May, 1705. Joseph I. elected Emperor

Battle of Ramillies, May 23, 1706

at Narva in 1700, had turned aside to drive Augustus of Saxony from his Polish throne, and to set up his own candidate, Stanislas Leszczinski. In his camp in Altranstadt he had just received the submission of Augustus, and was now listening to the solicitations of Louis XIV., who urged him to come to his aid.

Marlborough visits Charles XII. at Altranstadt, Sept. 1707

But Marlborough, who was as skilled in diplomacy as he was in war, visited the Swedish conqueror, conciliated him by concessions extorted from the Emperor with regard to the Protestants in Silesia, and, seeing a map of Russia on the table, convinced himself that Charles was too intent on his Russian schemes to intervene in the West.

Charles XII. defeated at Pultawa, July 8, 1709

In September, 1707, the Swedish King left his camp on the fatal campaign, which was to end at Pultawa in 1709, and Marlborough was free to continue his campaign in the Netherlands.

Battle of Oudenarde, July 11, 1708

There Vendôme, who had replaced the "exploded balloon," as St. Simon calls Villeroy, had once more reoccupied some of the Flemish towns, notably Ghent and Bruges, and had laid siege to Oudenarde, on the Upper Scheldt. But the presence of the young Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis XIV., who had been placed in chief command, led to divided counsels; and Marlborough, with the assistance of his old comrade-in-arms, Eugène, was able, though with difficulty, to win the battle which led to the final evacuation of the Netherlands by the French. In October, 1708, Marlborough took the important fortress of Lille, and

Mons and Namur alone remained to stay his advance into the heart of France.

France was now in the last extremity. On all sides, except in Spain, she had been defeated. She had lost Italy and the Netherlands, her position on the Rhine was seriously threatened, and there seemed small chance of arresting the advance of the allies on Paris. Her best armies were no more, and her resources were exhausted. No further taxes could be imposed, or loans raised, and though many offices were created to be sold, this was a policy which could not be long pursued. Nature herself seemed to conspire against her, for the winter of 1708-1709 was so severe that the fastest rivers froze, and even trees were split by the intensity of the cold. Her proud King bowed before the hand of Providence, and reopening negotiations which he had already attempted in 1706 after the defeat of Ramillies, offered the most humiliating conditions. Lille, Tournay, Ypres and other towns should be ceded to the Dutch, Strasburg should be restored to the Empire; Newfoundland should be ceded to England, and France should cease to demand either Italy or Spain for Philip. The allies, however, raised their terms and finally insisted that Louis should himself use his forces to beat his grandson out of Spain.

Exhausted
condition
of France

Louis' offer
refused

No King with any sense of self-respect could submit to such conditions. Louis, after vainly attempting to influence Marlborough by bribes, refused, and appealed to the patriotism of his people.

He was not disappointed. Volunteers arose to defend their country, rich and poor poured in their contributions, and a fresh army was collected. Yet even this supreme effort seemed doomed, for at Malplaquet, Villars was defeated by Marlborough and Eugène, and the fortresses of Mons fell. Once more at Getruydenberg, in the winter of 1709-1710, Louis offered peace. He offered to surrender Alsace and furnish supplies for the allied armies in Spain. The allies, however, insisted on their previous terms, and the negotiations broke down.

But the enemy had overshot their mark. In the year 1710, Spain herself arose, and showed that she would not have a Habsburg King. A Spanish army, led by Vendôme, beat back the allies from Madrid, and driving its way between Stanhope and Stahremberg, forced the first to surrender at Brihuega, and after defeating the second at Villa Viciosa pushed him back on Barcelona in Catalonia.

France was now to be saved by the jealousies of her enemies, and by the party factions of the English. In England the Whigs, who had been in power since 1705, fell (August, 1710), and the Tories under Harley and St. John came in shortly after. An intrigue, which was connected with the party strife, led to the dismissal of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough from the court, and of Marlborough himself from his command.

With the Tories the war of late had become most unpopular. They were the little Englanders of the day, and had long been declaring that England had

Mal-
plaquet,
Sep. 11,
1709

Battle of
Brihuega,
Dec. 10,
and of Villa
Viciosa
Dec. 20,
1710

The Tories
come into
power,
Aug. 10

Marlbor-
ough dis-
missed,
Dec. 1711

small interest in the Spanish question, while some of them were hoping to restore the Pretender, and were therefore inclined to favour France, where he had found a refuge. Secret negotiations with France had already been commenced, in which England promised to desert her allies as soon as her trade interests were secured, when the Emperor Joseph died and the Archduke Charles, the Habsburg claimant, succeeded to the hereditary dominions in Austria, and was elected Emperor.

Death of
Joseph I.
April, 1711
Archduke
Charles
elected,
Dec. 1711

By this event, the situation was entirely altered, and the arguments for peace were strengthened. The war, the Tories asserted, and with justice, had not been originally fought to drive the French candidate from his Spanish throne, but to preserve the balance of power, and to safeguard the commercial interests of the maritime Powers. The latter might be gained by treaty, while the former would be better attained by demanding a guarantee that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united, and by securing the Italian possessions for the Emperor, than by giving him the whole of the Spanish dominions, and thus reviving the formidable empire of the great Charles V., when Habsburg ruled in Germany and in Spain. After-events conclusively proved the truth of this contention, and the desire of the Tories to end the war must therefore be commended. Nevertheless, party faction led them to extremes, as we may read in Swift's powerful pamphlet *The Conduct of the Whigs*. The war was denounced as one continued in the interest not of

the Prince or people but in that of Marlborough, the Whigs and the moneyed class who grew fat on the loans that had been raised; a war in which her allies were to have the whole profit, while England, the dupe and bubble of Europe, was to bear a double share of the burden.

Influenced by such sentiments as these, the Tories continued negotiations for peace without consulting their allies, and actually instructed the Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded to Marlborough's command, not to hazard any battle without further orders; an order which though known to the enemy was not communicated to Prince Eugène.

England
withdraws,
July, 1712

Victories
of Villars

On 17th July, 1712, England finally withdrew from the war. The allies, justly indignant at this conduct, still fought on. But Eugène, deprived of the help of English troops, and of Marlborough's advice and leadership, was no match for the energy and dash of Villars. Declaring that no time should be lost in preparing fascines, since the bodies of those first slain would serve to fill the ditch, the French general stormed the camp of Denain, 24th July, retook the fortresses of Douai, Le Quesnoy and Bouchain (September-October), which had been lost in the summer.

The Dutch now came to terms, and in April, 1713, the peace was signed at Utrecht by all but Austria. The obstinate determination of the Emperor to continue the struggle enabled Villars to continue his successes. Landau was retaken, Spire and even Freiburg on the German side of the Rhine were

occupied (August-November, 1713), and Austria, bowing to the inevitable, signed the Treaty of Rastadt on 7th March, 1714, which was confirmed by the Diet six months later.

The terms of the various treaties, which are included in the Peace of Utrecht, were as follows :— Peace of
Utrecht,
April, 1713

1. Philip was acknowledged King of Spain and the Indies, on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

2. Naples, Sardinia, Milan and the Netherlands were given to the Emperor, and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy.

3. The Elector of Brandenburg was to be acknowledged King of Prussia, and was given Spanish Guelderland.

4. England received Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain ; and from France Newfoundland (subject to certain fishing rights reserved by France), Acadia or Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay. She also secured a preferential tariff for her imports into the port of Cadiz, the monopoly of the slave trade, and the right of sending one ship of merchandise a year to the Spanish colonies.

5. The Dutch were to have the right of garrisoning the following towns on the west side of the Netherlands as a barrier against France · Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Ghent, Tournay, Mons, Charleroi, Namur, and for this purpose were to receive financial support from the Austrian Netherlands. They were also to be allowed to close the Scheldt to all trade without their permission.

6. France was to acknowledge George I. as King of England, and to promise not to restore the fortifications of Dunkirk.

It will be well to note the chief changes in the European situation which had been effected since the opening of the struggle. The Peace of Utrecht finally closed the long series of wars which had been caused by the ambition of Louis XIV. By the peace, the rule of the Habsburg in Spain, which

- Position of Europe dated from the beginning of the sixteenth century, came to an end, and henceforth till our own day the crown has been worn by a French Bourbon prince. On this point Louis XIV. had gained his end, and the will of Charles II. was confirmed. The old monarchy of Spain, though it retained its possessions in the new world, had to acquiesce in the French occupation of Franche Comté, and to surrender its Italian dominions and the Netherlands to the Habsburg in Austria.
- Austria Whether these acquisitions by Austria were a fair equivalent for the loss of Alsace may well be questioned. For their inhabitants did not speak her language; they lay at some distance from her true centre of gravity, and served only to unfit her for the leadership of the empire. Henceforth the Habsburgs devoted themselves to the pursuit of Austrian rather than German interests. Thus the way was prepared for Brandenburg, now King of Prussia, to occupy the position they were abdicating.
- Holland The Dutch Republic secured the trade of the Scheldt, and obtained a barrier against French aggression. But she made no fresh conquests from this moment; she ceased to be a first-rate power and was forced to follow the lead of England.
- England England was no doubt the chief gainer. She had finally thrown off her Stuart kings, who had made her the paid adherent of France. Gibraltar and Minorca, with its harbour of Port Mahon, formed a basis for her future naval supremacy in the Mediterranean; Newfoundland, and her conquests on the

mainland of North America, for a future attack on Canada. Although she had not made such use of her navy as she might have done, yet she came out of the war the mistress of the sea and with valuable commercial privileges.

The Duke of Savoy had gained Sicily and was left ^{Savoy} in the possession of Piedmont, which gave him a position of great importance in any future struggle between Habsburg and Bourbon.

France herself, chiefly owing to the dissensions of ^{France} her enemies, escaped from the war on much better terms than she had any reason to expect. Although all chance of her dominating Europe was over, she lost nothing on the continent which she had gained in the previous wars of Louis' reign except a few towns on the east frontier. She retained Artois and most of Flanders, Valenciennes and Cambrai, Alsace and Franche Comté, as well as Cerdagne and Roussillon on the Spanish frontier; and the importance of these acquisitions was great. Her position in America was still magnificent. She held Canada and the island of Cape Breton in the north, Louisiana and many West Indian islands in the south. And if her military prestige had suffered in the last war, it had been partially restored by the last campaign of Villars. If, therefore, we look at external results, we must admit that the warlike policy of the King had met with brilliant success.

At home, however, the price had been a heavy one. Opinions will always differ on the question whether a strong centralised administration under a despotic

king was the best form of government for France at that time. But no one can doubt that the centralisation to be successful should at least have been complete, and established on a sound financial basis. The long series of wars had done much to check completeness, and, added to the reckless extravagance of the King in building his new palace at Versailles and other royal palaces,¹ had ruined the finances. The problem of the future was, whether the necessary reforms would be carried out, whether the abuses in the central government would be abolished, and the survivals which marred its efficiency would be removed; whether the nobles could be weaned from their idleness and made to abandon their harmful privileges, and whether finally, the country could be saved from bankruptcy.

In any case the result of this absolute rule was in one way evil. By the weakening of local government the people lost that political education which the enjoyment of self-government provides, and all individuality and independence of thought were dwarfed.

Persecution
of the
Jansenists

To this last result the religious policy of Louis XIV. contributed. Not satisfied with the expulsion of the Huguenots, the King in his later years insisted on uniformity within the Church, and took severe measures against the Jansenists. This party, so called from their founder, Jansen, Bishop of Ypres in the seventeenth century, may be called the Low Church party within the Church of Rome. They

¹ Versailles alone cost £24,000,000, and could house 10,000 persons.

adopted Luther's doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works, as held by their great opponents the Jesuits. They also accused the Jesuits of insisting too strongly on the importance of the intention of the mind in estimating the criminality of an act, and of maintaining that "the end justifies the means"; in other words, that for a good object one may break the moral law. That the views of the Jesuits if pressed too far are dangerous is true enough; yet it must be acknowledged that there is truth after all in the main contention of the Jesuits, that the criminality of an act does depend to a great extent on the aim and intention of the doer, and that if we once admit, as the Jansenists themselves did, the desirability of the confessional, some system of casuistry¹ is necessary to its working.

Moreover, if undue insistence on the efficacy of works tends to impair the necessity of Christ's Redemption, overmuch dependence on the opposite doctrine may lead to the belittling of a good life, since, if we are to be saved by faith alone, where is the need of works at all? It must also be acknowledged that the Jansenists threatened to become a political party, and were critics of the Government of the day. Nevertheless, among their numbers were to be found some of the best Frenchmen of the time, and the destruction of their famous educational seminary and literary society at Port Royal in 1710, and the extortion from the Pope, Clement XIV., of the Bull

¹Casuistry is the application of general moral rules to particular cases.

Unigenitus in 1713, by which all Jansenist opinions were condemned, were the last fatal deeds of the absolute monarch.

Last
days of
Louis XIV.
His death,
Sep. 1, 1715

Louis XIV. did not long survive the peace. His last days were clouded with domestic grief. In 1712 the Duke of Burgundy, his grandson, and the duke's wife and eldest son succumbed to fever. The Duke, who had been Dauphin since the death of his worthless father Louis in 1711, though by nature a boy of ungovernable passion, insatiable appetite and arrogance, had so profited by the teaching of Fénelon, one of the best and most interesting of the French Churchmen of the day, that many looked forward to a new era under his beneficent rule. France, however, was not destined to be governed by a prince "already ripe for a blessed eternity". After the Duke's death the heir to the Crown, the future Louis XV., was a weakly child, who was not expected to live, and the regency was, by the wish of Louis XIV., left to a Council of Regency, under the presidency of his nephew, the indolent and immoral Philip, Duke of Orleans.

The last words of the dying King to his young grandson form a terrible comment on his long reign of seventy-two years, the longest reign in the annals of France. "Do not imitate my love for building and for war, and assuage the misery of my people." The great monarch had indeed raised France to an unexampled pitch of glory, but the consequence at home had been ruinous. His successors forgot his warning, and brought by their follies evil days on the country which Louis had loved well indeed, but not altogether wisely.

CHAPTER IV

NORTH AND EASTERN EUROPE

WHILE the question whether France should dominate Western Europe was being fought out, a similar problem was engaging attention in the North-East. At the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden seemed not unlikely to make herself the predominant power there, and to turn the Baltic into a Swedish lake. Before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, she had already gained from Russia the eastern shore as far south as Livonia, which belonged to Poland, and during that war had not only won from Denmark the island of Gothland and the province of Halland in pawn, but had gained free passage without toll for her ships through the Sound.¹ By the Peace of Westphalia itself, she was admitted a member of the Empire, and received the town and district of Wismar, all Pomerania west of the Oder, and the command of the mouths of that river, as well as the Archbishopric of Bremen, and the Bishopric of Verden on the river Weser.

Position of
Sweden

¹The Sound is the narrow passage between the island of Zealand, on which Copenhagen stands, and the province of Scania, then belonging to Denmark.

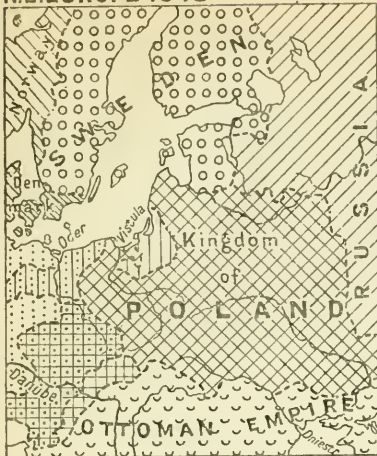
To understand the events which followed, it is necessary to study the map and grasp the situation of the other Powers concerned.

To the south of Sweden lay Denmark, which still held the southern provinces on the Swedish mainland and stretched along the Baltic as far as the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Then came Wismar and Western Pomerania which Sweden had just gained.

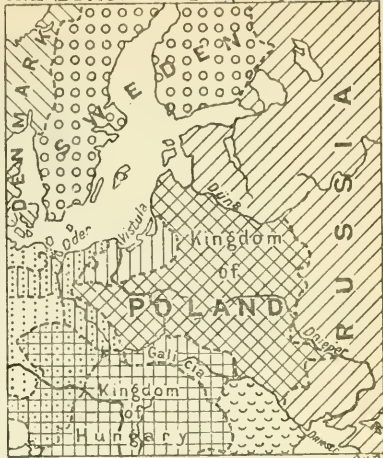
East of the Oder, we first come to Eastern Pomerania, which had been adjudged to the Elector of Brandenburg at the Peace of Westphalia. Further to the east lay Western Prussia, which belonged to Casimir, King of Poland; then Eastern Prussia, between the rivers Vistula and Niemen, which Brandenburg held as a fief of Poland; next Courland, also a fief of Poland under its Duke, and finally Livonia, which Poland possessed in full sovereignty, and which marched with Esthonia, the furthest limit of Swedish territory on the south-eastern shore of the Baltic.

The chief Powers, therefore, interested in the question of the Baltic, were Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, Poland and Russia. Of these, Denmark had been steadily declining, since Sweden had broken away and declared her independence under the House of Vasa, 1523, while Poland, once under the powerful House of Jagellon, the most formidable kingdom in the north-east, was, under an elective King, John Casimir (1648-1669), rapidly falling a victim to an anarchical constitution, and to nobles who knew not how to obey, or to treat their serfs as human beings.

N.E. EUROPE 1648



N.E. EUROPE 1792 (Treaty of Jassy)



The Empire Prussia House of Habsburg Ottoman Empire

N.E. EUROPE



English Miles
120 60 0 60 120

Russia On the other hand Russia, under Alexis (1645-1676) of the new house of Romanoff, which had secured the throne in 1613, was beginning to recover the country, which in earlier days had been wrested from her by the Turks on the South, and the Poles on the West, and was laying the foundations for the future reforms and conquests of Peter the Great (1689-1725). While Brandenburg, under the great Hohenzollern Elector, Frederick William (1640-1688) had already started on that career of conquest, and of internal consolidation, which was to culminate in the reign of Frederick the Great (1740-1786).

Brandenburg

Neither Russia nor Brandenburg, however, were as yet in a position to oppose Sweden alone, and were quarrelling with each other. Now or never was the moment for Sweden to pursue the advantage already gained, and to complete the conquest of the Baltic shore. This was the aim of Charles X., who in 1664 succeeded, on the abdication of that interesting though somewhat erratic personality, Christina. Seizing, therefore, the pretext that his title to the Swedish throne was disputed by John Casimir, King of Poland,¹ who at that moment was disputing with Russia for the possession of Livonia and the country about Kiev, he obtained from the Elector of Brandenburg free passage for his troops through Eastern Pomerania. Two successful campaigns in 1655-56, brought Poland to his feet, and, had the Tzar Alexis

Charles X.
of Sweden,
1654-1660

¹ Casimir's father Sigismund III., had also been the heir to the Swedish throne but had been rejected because he was a Roman Catholic. 1604.

listened to his offer to divide the kingdom of Poland between them, the ambitious schemes of Charles X. might have been realised, and Sweden might have ruled the North.

If, further, an alliance had been formed between the victorious Swedish King and the young Louis XIV., an event by no means impossible considering the friendly relations between the two Crowns, France and Sweden might have dominated Europe.

Alexis, however, declined the offer, and made peace with Casimir of Poland. Frederick William, the Great Elector, and Frederick III. of Denmark joined their League, which also secured the support of the Emperor, and Charles found himself opposed to a powerful combination of all those whose jealousies and fears he had aroused. The King of Sweden, however, was not easily dismayed. Crossing over to the mainland of Denmark in depth of winter, and seizing the town of Friederick-sodde (1657-58), he passed the Little and the Great Belts on the ice, laid siege to Copenhagen, and forced the King of Denmark to submit. Charles was now preparing to attack the Elector of Brandenburg in East Prussia, when England and Holland, finding their commercial interests injured by this Baltic struggle, induced France to join them in intervening to re-establish peace. A meeting was held at The Hague in May, 1659. The death of the Swedish King facilitated the negotiations, and the regency, which succeeded to power, concluded the Treaty of Oliva, near Danzig, with the Elector and the King

League
against
Charles X.,
1657

Death of
Charles X.,
1660.
Feb. 13,
Accession
of Charles
XI.

of Poland, that of Copenhagen with Denmark, and that of Kardis with the Tzar.

Treaty of Oliva, May 1660; of Copenhagen, June, 1660; and of Kardis, 1661

Treaty of Oliva.—(1) Sweden to hold the northern part of Livonia; (2) Brandenburg to hold East Prussia in full sovereignty.

Treaty of Copenhagen.—(1) Denmark to cede the districts of Bohus, Halland, Scania and Bleking (*i.e.*, all that Denmark had hitherto held on the mainland of Sweden); (2) the Sound to be closed to all except Danish and Swedish ships.

Treaty of Kardis.—(1) Sweden to retain her previous conquests in Russia (Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia); (2) Russia abandons to Poland all claims on Southern Livonia.

Sweden had thus driven Denmark from her soil, and extended her conquests on the eastern shore of the Baltic by the acquisition of Northern Livonia. But on the southern coast she had made no advance, while Brandenburg, henceforth her most dangerous rival in that quarter, had, by securing the full sovereignty of Prussia, freed herself from foreign interference.

For eleven years the tranquillity of the North was undisturbed, save for a war between the Tzar Alexis and Casimir of Poland, which ended by the cession to Russia of Kiev, Smolensk and the right bank of the Dnieper, at the peace of Andrussovo, 1667. Meanwhile changes in the internal condition of the four northern kingdoms took place, some of which were to have a profound influence on their future fortunes. In all these countries the struggle between aristocracy and monarchy, through which all nations have passed at some period of their history, was at that moment to be found in its acutest form, and in every case, except in that of Poland, the cause of

Internal politics of the Northern Kingdoms

monarchy prevailed, while even there the energy of her military King, John Sobieski (1674-96), increased the personal prestige of the Crown.

In 1661, Frederick III. of Denmark, profiting by ^{Denmark} the discontent caused by the late ill success against the Swedes, succeeded in overthrowing the nobility, who had hitherto monopolised the Government, while they claimed exemption from taxation. The Crown was declared hereditary; the capitulation or charter which the King had hitherto been forced to sign as a price of his election was annulled, and the privileges of the nobility abolished. In Sweden, where the ^{Sweden} Constitution was originally very similar, the monarchy had to wait. Under the rule of the Regency, which governed during the minority of Charles XI., the nobles returned to power, and the Crown was impoverished by lavish grants to them out of the royal lands.

In Brandenburg, a far more complicated task lay ^{Branden-}
before the Great Elector. The Hohenzollerns, ^{burg} originally Counts of a small district in the Suabian Jura, had been Burgraves of Nuremberg in the Middle Ages. Thence, at the close of the fifteenth century, they had moved north; and by grant, by succession, and by conquest, had collected under their hand a number of territories, which fell roughly into three groups.¹ In the centre stood the Electoral Mark of Brandenburg,² which gave

¹The districts in Suabia and Franconia, that is, Hohenzollern, and the country round Nuremberg (Anspach and Baireuth) went to younger branches.

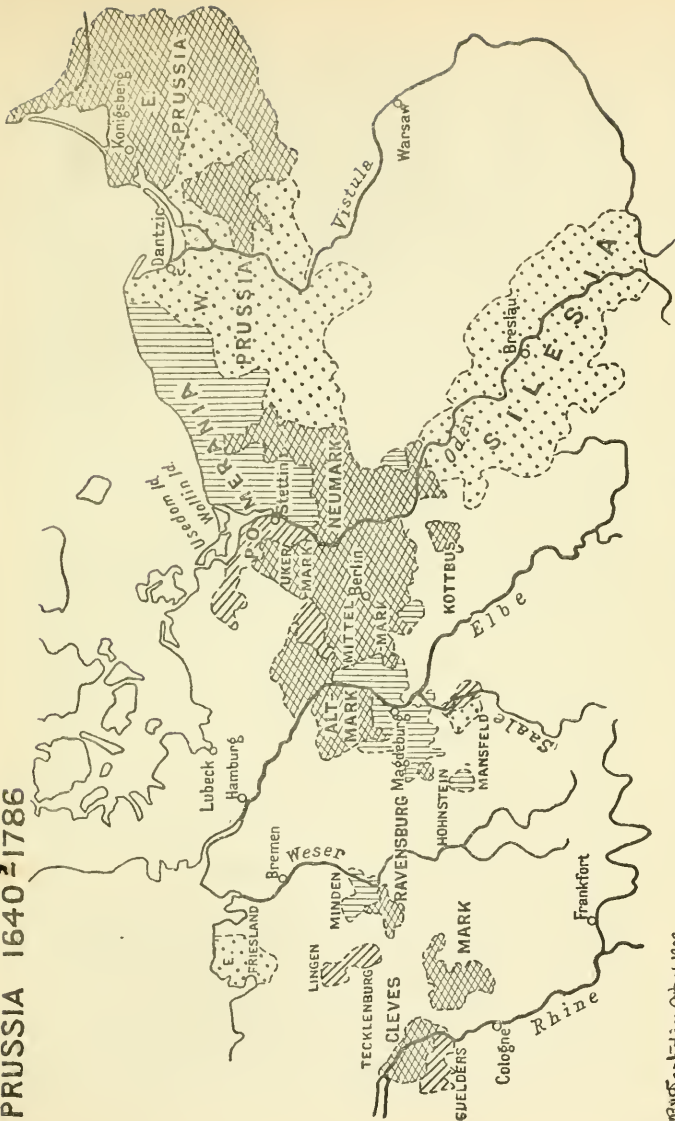
²Divided into the Altmark, the Mittelmark and the Kurmark.

Frederick William his seat in the electoral chamber of the Imperial Diet. To this had been added the New Mark in the sixteenth century, and, by the Peace of Westphalia, Magdeburg and Halberstadt on the Elbe, Eastern Pomerania and the Bishopric of Cammin, and the Bishopric of Minden on the Weser. Then came the Duchy of East Prussia, held as a fief of Poland. Thirdly, the Duchies of Cleves and the Mark on the Rhine near Cologne.

These three groups were isolated from each other. The peoples who inhabited them were not of the same race. Those in the centre and the west were German, while Pomerania and East Prussia were largely Slav. They had no bond of union except the personal connection with their ruler. He held his possessions by different titles. Each had their separate "Estates" or assemblies, their laws and customs, and no native of one district could hold office in the other. The "Estates" were formed of feudal nobles, who were ignorant and obstructive, with great powers over their serfs. Finally the whole country was in a backward condition; its soil was for the most part unfruitful, and its industries few.

If Brandenburg was ever to advance to the dignity of a united State, and to be respected by her neighbours, it was essential that these scattered territories should be brought together. Yet the country was not yet ready for a united legislative assembly. The provincial differences were too great, the jealousies too deep. The only alternative lay in strengthening the personal authority of the Elector,

PRUSSIA 1640-1786



By the author's sketch, October, 1908.

Extent at accession of Great Elector 1640

Gains during his reign (1640-1688)

Gains up to accession of Frederick the Great 1740

Gains during his reign (1740-1786)

Reforms of
the Great
Elector,
1640-88

and in making him the pivot and mainspring of the Government. Leaving, therefore, the separate provincial assemblies or estates their ancient forms, the Elector proceeded gradually to circumscribe their powers, while he controlled the local administration by appointing the officials and by subordinating them to the central "Privy Council," in which the governors or "Stadholders" of the various provinces found seats beside the higher ministers. This Council, originally that of the Mark of Brandenburg alone, was now made a Board of Supervision over all the various provinces, and served as an advisory council to the Elector himself, though he still retained the right of ultimate decision on all important matters. The very want of unity facilitated his designs. The various provincial estates tried to oppose these measures, but in vain, and, deprived of the strength which union might have given, gradually submitted with murmurs of discontent.

A like policy was adopted towards the nobles. Afraid of arousing too great opposition, he left them their rights of manorial jurisdiction and of police, while he taught them to look to his service for advancement and for honour.

The whole system of taxation was revised. In the towns of the Marks an excise was substituted for the old house and land tax; the revenue was increased by import and export duties and by careful administration of the Elector's private domains, which were extensive, more especially in East Prussia.

Conscious that the weakness of his country was due to the scantiness of the population, to the sterility of the soil, and ignorance of improved methods of agriculture and of industry, he did his best to find a remedy. Colonies were planted, and, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a refuge was found for some 20,000 "nimble" Frenchmen, who taught the Brandenburgers how to turn their waste sands into profitable "potherb gardens". Manufactures and trade were encouraged, and canals cut, more especially the famous one which bears his name, and which, running between the Oder and the Spree, the tributary of the Elbe, connected the two great rivers of Brandenburg together. But this was not enough without an effective army. He therefore substituted for the ill-organised and insubordinate feudal array a standing army, levied partly by conscription and partly by pay, under officers of his own appointment, and placed the military organisation and finance under a separate department. These reforms were carried out gradually, indeed, but persistently, and in the pursuit of his end the Elector had little regard for traditional rights or for legality. Those who opposed his measures were, if unimportant, disregarded, and if formidable, removed. Thus Rhode, the burgomaster of Königsberg, was imprisoned for life; and when the Prussian noble, Kalkstein, dared to break his parole, he was seized, in violation of all international rights, on Polish ground and executed.

We may well demur to some of these methods;

but, if we consider the geographical and other peculiarities of the territories over which the Great Elector ruled, we shall probably agree with those who defend the aims of his home and foreign policy.

The results were soon to be seen. In 1672, Charles XI. joined Louis XIV. in his Dutch War, while Christian V. of Denmark and the Elector sided with the opposing coalition. The Swedish King was indeed victorious over the Danes, but was decisively beaten by the Elector at Fehrbellin when he was threatening Berlin. The defeat was significant. It was the first battle which the Swedes had lost since the days of Gustavus Adolphus, except where they had been overwhelmed by superior numbers. It showed therefore that the military power of Sweden was passing away, and at the Peace of Nimeguen, which followed in 1679, the intervention of his French ally alone enabled Charles to retain Eastern Pomerania.

Battle of
Fehrbellin,
June, 1675

For some twenty years, peace reigned on the shores of the Baltic, and when the struggle began again the scenes had shifted and new actors had come upon the stage.

In one way Sweden profited from her misfortunes. The disaster of Fehrbellin was laid to the charge of the regency, since the alliance with France had been their work, bribed, it was rumoured, by French gold; and Charles XI. who attained his majority in the same year (1675), taking advantage of the popular discontent, felt himself strong enough to revoke

many of the grants of royal lands, to overthrow the authority of the oligarchical Senate, and re-establish the personal authority of the Crown.

When, therefore, Charles XII. succeeded his father in 1697, Sweden was, so far as internal conditions went, somewhat better prepared for war. Moreover, the bent of the young King—he was only fifteen—was essentially military. Though not ill-educated, the only serious study for which he cared was that of military engineering. He preferred to read the history of Alexander the Great, whom he admired as the conqueror of the then known world at the age of thirty-two, and the Norse sagas which told of the heroic deeds of the Vikings of old. For the softer amusements, for wine, for gambling, even for the society of women he had no liking. He loved rather the most dangerous and violent sports: the pursuit on foot of the bear amid the winter snows, or wild nightly raids in the streets of Stockholm to the terror of the peaceful inhabitants.

The character of the man was well displayed in his features and in his dress. The abnormally high yet narrow forehead, the long and prominent aquiline nose, the pale thin face with steel blue eyes, portrayed the believer in predestination, the man of limited ideas, but of intense energy and pitiless determination; while his sombre-coloured coat, his short-cut hair devoid of the then fashionable wig, his high boots which he always wore, well fitted the warrior King.

One year previously, 1696, his future rival, Peter

Accession
of Charles
XII., 1697

Peter the
Great,
1698-1725

the Great, had finally risen to power. The period which preceded this event had been a troublous time for Russia. This was due partly to the measures Alexis, his father, had taken to strengthen the executive, partly to the reforms introduced by Nikon, the Patriarch of Moscow, in the ancient service books and ritual, so as to make them conform to those of the Greek church elsewhere.

The nobles were indignant at the first; the second led to the rise of the sect of the "old believers," who denounced Alexis as Anti-Christ, welcomed persecution, and in one district were fanatical enough to immolate themselves by a fire of their own lighting.

After the brief reign of Feodor, his eldest son, 1676-82, these troubles were intensified by the disputes about the succession. At first the two boys, Ivan, son of the first wife of Alexis, and Peter, the son of the second, were declared joint Tzars, with Sophia, the sister of Ivan, as regent. A female regent was unknown in Russia, and the whole arrangement was impossible. The partisans of the various parties intrigued for power, and the Streltsi,¹ who had got completely out of hand, sided now with one party, now the other. Murder and executions followed, and anarchy seemed likely to ensue. In 1689, however, the Regent Sophia was overthrown by the partisans of Peter, and the death of Ivan in 1696, left him the sole occupier of the throne at the age of twenty-five.

Peter sole
ruler in
Russia,
1696

¹The Streltsi were an hereditary caste of soldiers with special privileges, not unlike the Prætorian Guard in ancient Rome.

The character of the young Tzar, who was so profoundly to influence the future history of his country, was one of violent contradictions. A man of commanding stature and of a highly-coloured complexion, he had a broad and open countenance, though somewhat marred by a small and flat nose, eyes of piercing blackness, and a sunny smile when not in anger. He was simple, natural and straightforward; and at ordinary times, an attractive personality.

Nevertheless, his passions were under no control, and his passions were those of an animal. He was dirty in his personal habits. His appetite for food and spirits was insatiable, and he was often drunk for days. He was passionate, revengeful and cruel, and when his anger was aroused, often fell into epileptic fits. These purely animal qualities were, however, relieved by immense nervous energy, and by mental gifts of a high quality. To acute gifts of observation, and the power of mastering the minutest details of any subject he took up, he added a faculty of learning from experience, a brain receptive of new ideas and a genius for method and organisation.

In some ways his very contradictions well fitted him for his people and for his times. Russia needed a ruler of constructive power, and of far-reaching views, while his restless vigour, his disregard of scruples and his tyrannous ways suited a backward and uncivilised nation, accustomed to despotic rule, and demanding a master who would drive them along the path of progress.

Foreign
policy of
Peter

The aims of the foreign policy of Peter the Great centred round the chief interest of his youth: a love for the sea. When in 1689 he had overthrown his sister, the Regent Sophia, Russia had but one outlet at Archangel, on the White Sea, and that was of little use, since it was frozen during the winter months. It was therefore the dream of Peter to gain a footing on the shores of the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, and the Baltic and to unite the waters of the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper, and the Neva, which run into these seas, by a series of canals. Thus he hoped to make Russia the highway of communication and of commerce between the south-east and north-west. To these schemes of foreign conquest was added the desire to stand forth as the representative of the Greek Church and the liberator of the Christians under the blasting rule of the infidel.

Already in 1696, he had taken a prominent part in the War of the Holy League, and had torn from the Moslem the possession of Azof on the sea of that name, itself an arm of the Black Sea. Peter, however, had always been more attracted by the West than by the East. From his earliest youth, he had admired, and tried to learn, all things Western, and the journey which he took through Western Europe in 1697, immediately after his accession to undisputed power, served to intensify this respect. To gain, therefore, the eastern shore of the Baltic, and thereby to "open a window" to western civilisation became henceforth the passion of his life, and shortly after his return an opportunity presented itself.

The Swedish rule in Livonia, which dated only from the Peace of Oliva, 1660, was distasteful at once to the German nobles, the descendants of the old crusading order of the Livonian knights, and to their Slavonian dependants. In the reign of Charles XI., their protests had been answered by the imprisonment of the ringleaders, in violation of a safe conduct. One of them, however, John Reinhold Patkul, had effected his escape, and was now seeking for aid to throw off the foreign yoke. The foes of Sweden listened to his appeal, and in 1699, a coalition was formed by Frederick IV. of Denmark, and Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had been chosen King of Poland on the death of John Sobieski (1696), while Peter the Great himself promised to join as soon as the Turkish war was ended. The liberation of Livonia was the pretext, but the real aim of the League was to conquer the Baltic possessions of the Swedish King and, on the part of Denmark, to gain Schleswig-Holstein, which belonged to a brother-in-law of Charles XII.

League
against
Charles
XII., Nov.
1699

The war-loving Charles XII. eagerly accepted the challenge; and pouncing upon his opponents before they had time to unite, seemed likely to win an easy victory. Setting out for Copenhagen, he seized that town, while the King of Denmark was engaged in Holstein, and after a struggle of six weeks, Frederick IV. was forced to sue for peace (August, 1700).

Charles then sailed for the Gulf of Finland, and attacked the Russians as they were besieging the

Battle of
Narva,
Nov. 30,
1700

town of Narva. Charles had but 8500 men, his opponents 40,000. But the Russian troops were ill-organised and raw. Peter was not present, the commander-in-chief, Le Croy, and many of the officers were German and unknown to their troops. On the first onslaught of the Swedes, the centre broke with the cry "the Germans are betraying us!" The general himself, saying that "the devil alone could command such troops," took refuge in the enemy's camp, and though the two wings fought bravely, they did not act together. The left wing capitulated before the sun went down, and the right wing in the morning. Charles now turned southwards, defeated the Saxons near Riga (July, 1701), occupied Courland, and pushing into Poland, seized Warsaw, May, 1702.

His wisest policy would now have been to concentrate his attack on the Russians, and to have strengthened his position in his own districts of Esthonia, Karelia and Ingria, for Augustus, finding but scant support in Poland, would probably have come to terms. But Charles was determined to deprive him of his Polish kingdom. He therefore rejected all overtures, and continued the war, in spite of having broken his leg by a fall from his horse. In July, 1703, the Polish Diet was forced to depose Augustus and to elect Stanislas Leszczinski, a Polish noble.

Now, at all events, Charles should have turned against the Tzar, who had taken advantage of his absence to occupy Karelia and Ingria. But Charles

was bent on humbling Augustus completely. He therefore marched into Saxony, violating by the way the neutrality of Silesia, which belonged to the Emperor, where he declared himself the protector of the Protestants against Austrian oppression, and finally dictated terms to the unfortunate Elector, at Altranstadt, 14th September, 1706.

Charles at
Altrans-
tadt, Sep.,
1706

Augustus (1) acknowledged Stanislas as King of Poland; (2) renounced the Russian alliance; (3) delivered Patkul to the vengeance of Charles XII., who had him broken on the wheel.

It was at this moment that Louis XIV., then in great straits owing to the disasters of the Spanish Succession War, sought the alliance of Charles. A more acute statesman might have listened. Had Charles thrown his weight into the Western struggle, Louis XIV. might yet have conquered his opponents, and then have rewarded the Swedish King by joining him against the Tzar.

Peter the Great could not have resisted the combined French and Swedish forces; Charles would at least have kept his own possessions, and France and Sweden might between them have dominated Europe. But Charles was no statesman, and declined the offer. Puffed up by his success he believed that he could crush his chief assailant, Peter, without other aid, and in September, 1707, he broke his camp to march eastwards.

Charles had now spent seven years since the victory of Narva, and these years had not been wasted by

his foe. Taking advantage of the absence of the Swedish King, he had defeated the few troops left in the Eastern Baltic Provinces, strengthened his position there, and even laid the foundation of his future capital, St. Petersburg. Charles should therefore have directed his efforts to recover these dominions. Instead of that, he hoped to dictate terms in Moscow itself, and moved in that direction as far as Mohilev on the Dnieper. Peter, adopting the same tactics which were to ruin Napoleon I. in later times, retreated before him, contesting his advance where opportunity offered. Now, however, Charles stayed his course, and leaving part of his army under Lewenhaupt, turned southwards. He hoped to secure the aid of Mazeppa, the hetman or chief of the Cossacks on the Russian bank of the Dnieper, who was intriguing with both sides in the hope of thereby establishing his independence. The step was fatal. Peter had little difficulty in crushing Lewenhaupt, who fell back on the main army with the loss of 5000 men.

The Swedish army, thus reduced, was decimated by the severe winter of 1708-1709. When summer came at last, his generals urged Charles to retreat. But the foolhardy King declared that were an angel to command him he would refuse, and invested Pultawa, which was held by a Russian detachment, for "a diversion" as he said. Peter was now ready. Since the defeat at Narva he had been improving and organising his army, and training his soldiers in numerous petty conflicts. "We shall be often

Battle of
Pultawa,
July 8,
1709

beaten," he had said, "but in time the Swedes will teach us how to beat them." The moment had now come. Reminding his troops that they fought not for the Tzar alone, but for their country and the Orthodox Church, he ordered the attack. The advantage was entirely on the Russian side. Charles had but 16,500 Swedes who were fit to fight (5000 more were sick), and 3000 Cossacks under Mazeppa, who could not be relied upon, and only four guns, while he himself had been wounded in the foot in a reconnaissance and had to be carried in a litter. Peter brought 44,000 troops and seventy-two cannons into the field. At the first onslaught indeed, the left wing of the Russians was driven back, but elsewhere the Russians stood firm, and finally the Swedes, overpowered by numbers and by the artillery fire, broke and fled. Eleven thousand were killed or taken prisoners, and, a few days after, 13,000 capitulated.

The Swedish army was annihilated. Charles himself was first thrown on to a horse, but that was killed, and then into a carriage, but the horses were shot down. Finding another mount, he escaped with difficulty, and crossing the Dnieper took refuge in Turkish territory at Bender. There he remained, a half-willing captive, for five years, 1709-1714, which he for the most part spent in fruitless attempts to find allies.

Charles
XII. at
Bender,
1709-1714

The Sultan was indeed induced to declare war on Russia, and in 1711 Peter, surrounded by a Turkish force, only escaped capitulation by bribing the Grand Vizier to grant him terms. Even so, he had to

Treaty of
the Pruth,
July, 1711

abandon the port of Azof and his grip on the Black Sea. The Sultan, satisfied with this important success, had neither the wish nor perhaps the power to do more. Meanwhile in the North, the results of Pultawa were far-reaching. Peter had little difficulty in finally securing the eastern Baltic shore, and Augustus of Saxony at once regained his Polish throne. Denmark again declared war, to be shortly joined by Frederick I. of Prussia, who was eager to secure Swedish Pomerania. When, therefore, in 1714 Charles at last returned from exile, he found himself opposed by a new and still more formidable coalition. In the following year, 1715, George, Elector of Hanover, and now King of England, joined the League, tempted by the offer of Bremen and Verden. Charles at last listened to advice, and, following the counsels of Goertz, a man of Holstein, his new-found Minister, he resorted to diplomacy. By ceding to Peter his Baltic acquisitions, he put an end to the war in that quarter, and there seemed a fair chance that Peter would help him against his other foes.

Death of
Charles
XII., Dec.
1718, fol-
lowed by
alterations
in the con-
stitution

Whether this strange alliance would have lasted may well be doubted. In any case the death of the Swedish warrior King, as he was besieging a petty town in Norway, then a dependency of Denmark, decided the matter. His death was followed by a complete change of government in Sweden. As he left no son, the nobles were once more able to regain power. They elected his sister, Ulrica Eleonora, Queen, and, on her abdication in 1720, acknowledged her husband, Frederick of Hesse Cassel, and declared

the Crown hereditary. The royal authority was, however, practically destroyed. The Diet, composed of four benches or houses, the nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants, in which, however, the nobles had chief power, was allowed to meet without royal summons, and could not be dissolved without its own consent. The royal veto on legislation was abolished, and the legislative power of the Diet was unrestrained, save by the strange proviso that it could not by any measure increase the royal authority. The Diet also exercised supreme authority over the Administration while it sat, but at other times this lay with the Senate, nominated by the Crown out of a list presented by the Diet. In this Senate the King had two votes. For the rest his authority was restricted to signing orders issued by the Senate, while later, in 1756, the Ministers had printed forms of the sign manual, which they could affix to such orders at will.

No sooner had the aristocracy established their power on the ruins of the royal authority than they hastily made peace.

Sweden
makes
peace
at Nystad, .
1721

To Hanover they surrendered Bremen and Verden ; Denmark was allowed to rob the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein of his duchy ; Prussia was given the mouth of the Oder ; finally, by the Peace of Nystad, 1721, Sweden surrendered to Russia Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria and part of Karelia.

Of all the Baltic Provinces, Sweden only retained Finland, part of which she lost in 1743, and part of Western Pomerania, which she was to retain till 1815.

The great Northern war, which had thus lasted twenty-one years, profoundly affected the fortunes not only of the North but of Western Europe. Sweden had failed to make the Baltic a Swedish lake, and henceforth fell into the position of a third-rate Power. Poland, though she did not lose in territory, had been devastated by war and torn by the quarrels of the two parties; the rivalries remained, and Poland, the victim of faction and of anarchy, was rapidly declining. On the other hand, the Elector of Brandenburg, now King of Prussia, had secured the mouths of the Oder, one of the great commercial arteries of Northern Germany; and, more important than all, Russia had finally seated herself on the Baltic and had begun to influence Western politics.

Some would attribute the fall of Sweden to the rashness and want of statesmanship of Charles XII., others to the feeble and selfish policy of the oligarchical rule that followed. That Charles precipitated the catastrophe, or that the aristocrats intensified it, few would deny. Yet the causes of the decline of Sweden lie deeper, and the wonder is, not that Sweden fell, but that she did not fall before. The truth of the matter is, that the position held by Sweden since the days of Gustavus Adolphus had been an artificial one, due to temporary conditions and to the personal influence of her great kings. The Empire which she had attempted to weld together had no common bond of union either of race or institutions, of religion, or of sympathy. It

could, therefore, only be held by force, and this the geographical distribution of its parts made difficult. The foreign possessions formed a somewhat narrow circle, broken at several points, and with an enormous "hinterland" behind. Possibly it might have been based upon a powerful Baltic fleet, but the Swedes have never been a seafaring people. It was therefore inevitable that, as soon as strong kingdoms had established themselves behind her narrow coast line, the Empire would fall to pieces. It was now decided that these two Powers should be Russia and Prussia, and it is in the growth of these two kingdoms that we must look for the most significant results of the Northern war.

Peter had now "opened a window to the west". But to fulfil his idea, it was necessary to introduce Western civilisation and Western forms of government. The reforms had been commenced as soon as he began to reign, but were now completed. His model was German rather than French, and he was assisted by the German philosopher Leibnitz. Instead of the Zemski Sobor, or ancient representative assembly, and the Douma of the Boiars or nobles, which had controlled the executive, he substituted a Senate of nine, appointed by himself and under his control. This Senate was at once a Great Council for deliberation and for the issue of Imperial decrees, a High Court of Finance, and a Supreme Tribunal of Justice. Under it stood ten colleges, or chambers of central administration, and under them again seventy-two local governments,

Reforms of
Peter

Government

under a governor appointed by the Senate, and assisted by a council elected by the nobles; while the towns were entrusted to elected town councils, under the supreme magistrate of St. Petersburg, nominated by the Tzar. The villages were, however, left under their old communal system of the "Mir," governed by a village council which periodically allotted the lands, which were tilled in common, according to the size of the families, and were responsible to the central governments, or to their lord, if they had one, for the poll tax imposed by Peter.

By the institution of this poll tax, however, the position of those peasants who, besides the communal lands, held others of a lord by payment of a rent in kind, was seriously affected. To secure the regular payment of the tax, they were forbidden to leave their lands, and thus became fixed to the soil and confused with the serfs, who held their land in virtue of labour services due to their lord.

Church

The collegiate system was also applied to the Church. The office of Patriarch was abolished. In his place the Holy Synod was established, formed of bishops, and presided over by a procurator-general, often a soldier, the direct representative of the Tzar. The object of this change is thus explained by Peter himself: "It will prevent the common people from being dazzled by the splendour and glory of the highest pastor, and from thinking that the spiritual power is higher than that of the civil autocrat, as belonging to another and a better realm".

In a word, he desired to check ecclesiastical pretensions, and to make the Church, so far as administration went, a department of State, under the complete control of the civil authority. It should, however, be remembered that, in questions of belief and matters of purely spiritual discipline, the Russian Church has always held its own as an integral part of the whole Eastern Church, and would resist any change of this kind without its consent. Nor has the civil power ever disputed this claim. Moreover, Peter had no desire for absolute uniformity. Though no propagandism was allowed, all sects were tolerated except the Jesuits, because they were political intriguers; Jews, "because they were rascals and cheats," and the extreme fanatics of the "old believers".

To enforce this autocratic rule, a secret Chancery of Police was organised; while in the place of the Streltsi, who had attempted to restore the power of Sophia, a regular standing army and navy, based on conscription, were established, and, to support the whole fabric, a more regular system of taxation.

The reforms of Peter did not stop here. Aware that this novel system would not suit the old Russian habits and customs, and that these are stronger than outward forms of government, he attempted to alter them as well. Without destroying the old nobility of birth, he instituted a nobility based on service, which took precedence of it. All nobles were forced to serve either in the army, the navy, or the civil service, and this official nobility

Social and
economical

was divided into fourteen grades. He abolished the law of equal succession among the sons of nobles, because this tended to impoverish the landed nobility, and ordered that all the land should go to the eldest, or to one chosen by the father. Believing that the monastic life led to idleness, he suppressed the smaller monasteries, and ordered all those that remained to support hospitals and schools. No one under thirty, and no noble or State official was allowed to become a monk without the royal leave. The Eastern seclusion of women was in every way discouraged, Western dress introduced at court, and all who insisted on wearing the beard were taxed. On education, the views of the Tzar were strictly practical. Elementary schools were started in the provinces, and in the towns technical schools, while in St. Petersburg, an academy of the sciences was founded. By these measures he hoped to make his people industrious and well-informed, but he also wished to increase the wealth and prosperity of his country, and for that purpose agriculture, manufactures and commerce were promoted by the protective system, which was then everywhere in vogue.

This attempt to revolutionise the whole system of Russian government and society naturally led to grave discontent. Some asserted that the Tzar was no true Russian, but a substituted child, or an illegitimate son of his mother by a German. By others he was denounced, as his father had been, as Anti-Christ. But Peter was not to be deterred. He had cruelly suppressed the Streltsi at the beginning of his reign

because they supported Sophia his sister, acting in some cases as executioner himself, and had mercilessly punished all who opposed him. His own family were not spared. His sister, Sophia, was immured in a convent, and his first wife, Eudoxia, divorced, because they represented old ideas. Even his son, Alexis, for the same reason, was cruelly treated, and when he took to intrigues, was beaten to death.

Nor were his difficulties less with regard to his new administrative machine. To work it, it was necessary to have foreigners, and these were naturally disliked, while the Russians, who, after a preliminary training, often abroad, were admitted to office, proved in many cases hopelessly inefficient and corrupt.

This is well illustrated by Peter's remonstrances. He bids them be serious when at business; not to talk too much or interrupt others; and not to behave like market women. He says they make laughing stocks of themselves, and above all he accuses them in bitter words of being bribed. Peter, in fact, was learning that honesty and efficiency cannot be forced upon an uncivilised people by a tyrant's rod.

Nevertheless he persevered, and when in 1725 he died at the early age of fifty-three, he had changed a patriarchal, oriental despotism into one of modern type, and established the Bureaucratic system of modern Russia.

The question whether his policy was wise is much disputed to this day. Some say that in no other way could Russia have been reformed, or fitted to take part as she has since done in European affairs. This

school declares that the confusion which followed his death is not to be attributed to the dislocation and discontent caused by his reforms alone. The continued disputes with regard to the succession,¹ the break in continuity of policy, and the factions which resulted from the constant changes; the want of patriotism, and the selfishness of the nobles; the absence of any person of commanding power on or off the throne; all these things they say must be taken into account. This is not to be denied, yet some of these very evils were exaggerated, if not caused, by Peter's reforms. The character of those who adopted Peter's ideas was not really altered. They only acquired a thin veneer of Western civilisation, and with it many Western vices. The new institutions caused discontent, and were too new to bear the strain. The presence of foreigners aggravated the party strife, and led to the formation of a counter (old Russian) party.

Meanwhile in the midst of all these troubles, the power of the Bureaucracy, that is of the Government officials, grew, and often was too strong for the Tzar himself; the factions among the administrators often led to palace revolutions, and Russian government tended to become a despotism controlled by its own officials, and tempered by assassination. A consideration of these evils has led many to believe that Peter's reforms were a grave blunder, since they arrested

¹ From the death of Peter, 1725, to the accession of Catherine II., 1762, a period of only thirty-eight years, three Tzars and three Tzarinas ruled.

natural development and checked the real, if slower, progress which would otherwise have come about. Nay, some assert that Peter is chiefly responsible for the situation in Russia to-day, where we see on the one side a powerful official class who will not listen to reform, on the other, a people whose indignation has been aroused to blood heat by two centuries of oppression, and yet who have never been given the opportunity of self-government and have lost the training and sense of moderation which responsibility alone can give.

Whatever may be the truth as to these two views, we may at least assert that, for good or for ill, the reforms of Peter the Great have left an indelible impress on the history and character of his country.

CHAPTER V

THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS

Revival of
the Otto-
man power
due to the
Kiuprili
Mahomed,
1656-1661;
Achmet,
1661-1676

DURING the latter half of the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire, which since the middle of the sixteenth century had been rapidly declining under the effects of inefficient and corrupt government, showed signs of unexpected vitality. The revival was due, not to the Sultans, who were, with few exceptions, nonentities, but to the influence of two remarkable men, Mahomed Kiuprili (1656-1661), and Achmet, his son (1661-1676), belonging to an Albanian family, which had been long settled in Asia Minor. When, at the age of seventy, Mahomed Kiuprili was appointed Grand Vizier by the mother of the young Sultan, he could neither read nor write. His aim was not to originate any new reforms, but to reawaken the ancient military spirit and racial pride of the Turks, accompanied by a contempt of all things Western, and to re-establish discipline and obedience. Under his just but remorseless rule, the insubordination of the Janissaries¹

¹ The Janissaries were originally formed of Christian children, torn at an early age from their parents and brought up under military discipline, and not allowed to marry. With no stake

S.E. EUROPE 1648



S.E. EUROPE 1792 (Treaty of Jassy)



The Empire [wavy pattern]

House of Habsburg [grid pattern]

Ottoman Empire [wavy pattern]

S.E. EUROPE



was repressed and their ringleaders executed, and the military service of the Spahis¹ rigorously enforced.

A Christian patriarch was hanged for treasonable correspondence with the enemy; the most powerful in the land felt the weight of Mahomed Kiuprili's heavy hand, and it has been computed that the number of those who fell before his inexorable justice amounted to no less than 500 a month. Meanwhile, at no time were the envoys of the Western Powers treated with greater contempt. The effect of this policy was instantaneous. Kiuprili first turned his attention to the war against Venice, which had broken out in 1645. At the moment of his accession to office, the Venetian fleet held the Dardanelles, and threatened Constantinople. After a severe struggle they were driven from the Straits, with the loss of their admiral, Mocenigo; the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos were recovered, and the siege of Candia in Crete was pushed on with vigour (1659-1661). Meanwhile Mahomed had interfered in the affairs of Hungary. That large country, which lies between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, was at that time divided into three parts. In the west lay Austrian Hungary with its capital, Presburg; to the south and east the Turks ruled

Turkish
successes
against
Venice,
1657-1661

Interfer-
ence in
affairs of
Hungary

or position in the land, they were the devoted servants of the Sultan. But in the sixteenth century Turks were admitted, who were allowed to marry, and even to engage in trade. They thus lost their peculiar virtues and became insubordinate.

¹ The Spahis or Timarists were Turks who held their lands on terms of military service.

the great plain from the Danube to the river Theiss; to the east stood Transylvania, then tributary to the Sultan.

Declaring that Ragotski II., Prince of Transylvania, was acting too independently, the Vizier overthrew him and replaced him by a nominee of his own. Ragotski appealed to the Emperor Leopold, and thus the struggle became one between the Turk and the Habsburg for the possession of Hungary and the lower Danube.

At this moment Mahomed died (1661) and was succeeded by his son Achmet, who, a well-educated man, continued the policy of his father without its merciless severity. Having occupied Transylvania, he invaded Austrian Hungary, which had long been discontented under Habsburg rule; crossed the Danube at Gran, took Neuhaüsel (Sept. 1663), and even ravaged Moravia and Silesia. However, the main Austrian fortresses on the Danube still held out and next year Achmet struck further south, attempting an invasion of Styria. Here he was defeated at St. Gothard on the River Raab by an Austrian army under Montecuculi, reinforced by some French troops, which Louis XIV. had sent out of irritation at the flogging and imprisonment of his ambassador at Constantinople.

The Emperor, however, suspicious of the loyalty of the Hungarians, and jealous of the French, at once offered terms, and by the Treaty of Vasvar acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan over Transylvania, and left him in possession of Neuhaüsel and all Hungary from Lake Balaton to the Danube.

Achmet
Kiuprili,
1661-1676

Battle of
St. Goth-
ard, Aug.
1, 1664


Treaty of
Vasvar,
Aug. 1664

Achmet now turned to the siege of Candia. In September, 1669, in spite of French assistance, the town capitulated and the Venetians surrendered the island of Crete, which had been in their hands since the thirteenth century. The conquest of Crete marks the high tide of Turkish conquest, and was the last Christian possession won by the Turks in the Mediterranean.

Venice
surrenders,
Crete, Sep.
1669

The indefatigable Vizier then moved to the valley of the Dnieper. Here the Cossacks of the Ukraine, or March of the Dnieper, whose territory had lately been ceded by the Tzar Alexis at the Treaty of Andrussovo (p. 80), were resisting the attempt of Poland to establish her authority and to substitute the Roman for the Greek Church. The Poles were defeated, and their feeble king Michael surrendered the disputed territory. At this moment Poland displayed a spark of its ancient valour. The Diet indignantly refused to ratify the treaty and found a leader in John Sobieski, one of their nobles. This man, a true representative of the old prowess of his race, reversed the fortunes of the war. He defeated the Turks at Choczim and Leopold. Elected king by popular acclamation on the death of Michael (1674), he carried on the war and, by the Treaty of Zurawno (October, 1676), retained two-thirds of the disputed territory. Seven days later Achmet Kiuprili died, and with him the true glory of the Kiuprili family came to an end. His brother-in-law, Kara Mustapha, who became Grand Vizier, equalled his predecessors in ambition, but had none of the other qualities which had been the secret of their success.

John
Sobieski,
King of
Poland,
1674
Treaty of
Zurawno,
Oct. 1676
Death of
Achmet
Kiuprili,
Oct. 1676

He abandoned their simplicity of life, and rivalled the Sultan in magnificence; he extorted money from foreign envoys as a price of concessions, which he did not carry out; he treated the Turks themselves no better than the Christians, and reintroduced the system of corruption and bribery in the administration, which his predecessors had tried to eradicate. Nevertheless, the spirit which had been aroused was not yet dead, and the condition of Austrian Hungary gave him his opportunity. 

Here the Emperor Leopold had taken advantage of the peace with the Turk to restore order and to persecute the Protestants. When this repressive policy led to a conspiracy, severer measures were adopted. The office of Palatine, or Viceroy, was suppressed; the country, governed by Austrian officials, was treated like a conquered province; the Magyar language was discouraged, and soldiers quartered on the inhabitants. At other times this policy, though cruel, might have succeeded, but it was certain to be deeply resented by the proud Magyar nobles, and no sooner was the Emperor engaged in the Dutch war than they revolted under Emeric Tököli. Tököli not only gained the secret support of the Turks but, by the inscription on his coins, proclaimed Louis XIV. as the "Protector of Hungary". In 1681 Leopold, dismayed at the serious character of the revolt, offered certain concessions, which conciliated many. But Tököli, having now married the widow of Ragotski of Transylvania, hoped to use the influence and wealth of the family to gain that country for

Hungary
rises under
Emeric
Tököli,
1674

himself, and sought the definite alliance of the Turks.

Kara Mustapha at once listened to his appeal. Entering Austrian Hungary, he declared it tributary to the Porte, crossed the Danube in the spring of 1683, and in July encamped before the walls of Vienna itself. The Emperor fled to Passau, and no Power seemed likely to save the capital from her doom. The attention of Germany was distracted by Louis XIV.'s aggressions in Alsace; in Russia the Regent Sophia had been forced by the state of affairs at home to make peace with the Sultan; Venice was exhausted by her late war; Spain was in no condition to come to the rescue of the Cross; while Louis XIV. was not sorry to see the Emperor humbled for the time at least.

Siege of
Vienna,
July-Sep.
1683

Fortunately the warrior King, John Sobieski, still ruled in Poland, and, though he had no reason to be pleased with the Emperor, yet he rightly judged that if Vienna fell the turn of Poland might come next. He had accordingly promised help in March, and was now hurrying on his preparations at Cracow. Yet Cracow was a long distance from Vienna, and, had the Vizier shown the energy of Mahomed or of Achmet, and ordered the city to be stormed, it would probably have fallen before succour could have arrived. His presumption, however, and his cupidity were to be his ruin. He believed that the terror of his name would force the city to capitulate, and hoped by a capitulation to win the chief booty for himself instead of sharing it with his soldiers. Kara,

therefore, proceeded leisurely with the siege until he was rudely awakened on the 4th of September by the approach of the united forces of the Empire and the Poles. On the 12th, Sobieski ordered the attack on the Turkish camp. After a severe struggle the enemy were seized with a panic and fled, leaving their camp, which had been most luxuriously fitted up, in the hands of the victors. Among the spoil a French plan for an attack on Vienna was found.

Sobieski
relieves
Vienna,
Sept. 12,
1683

Kara Mustapha had made his effort and had failed. He himself, at the command of the indignant Sultan, soon paid with his life the penalty of failure, but the evil results of his rule showed themselves in continued disaster.

By the end of the year, John Sobieski had driven the Turks from Hungary. In the year that followed (1684), Leopold succeeded in gaining the alliance of Venice and the support of the Pope in a Holy League against the Moslem.

The Holy
League,
1684

The Polish King had saved Austria and earned the praise of Europe, yet the victory was of little advantage either to him or his kingdom. Immediately after the battle itself, Sobieski complained that the Austrians would not help to bury the Polish slain, and allowed the Polish baggage to be pillaged, and the breach thus formed was widened by the jealousy and meanness of the Emperor. Alienated by such treatment, John Sobieski withdrew from active co-operation in 1685. Meanwhile in Poland itself conditions had not improved. The Polish nobles could fight the enemy indeed, but they loved anarchy at

home. Nor had their king the qualities necessary for the task of ruling so turbulent a people. With all his chivalry and valour he was a true Pole, and had no statesmanlike gifts. He had little stability of character, and allowed himself to be influenced by a frivolous and selfish wife. The royal authority therefore declined during his last years, and the period which followed after his death, in 1696, is one of the most disastrous in the history of his unfortunate country, which, like the Ottoman Empire itself, was threatened with internal dissolution.

Death of
Sobieski,
June 17,
1696

Fortunately for the Holy League, the Ottoman Power was fast sliding back into her old ways. The viziers who rose to power were incapable. The Sultan Mohammed was deposed, and the two who succeeded him only reigned four years apiece.

Further
successes
against the
Turk

Under these circumstances, the Christian advance was rapid. In 1686, Buda, the capital of Turkish Hungary, fell, and Tököli was driven into Transylvania. In August, 1687, the Turks were again defeated at Mohacs, on the Danube, the scene of one of their greatest victories in the sixteenth century.

Battle of
Mohacs,
August 12,
1687

Meanwhile, in the south, the Venetians reconquered the Morea, and occupied Corinth and Athens, destroying, to their shame, a large part of the Parthenon in their attack.

Venice
conquers
the Morea,
1687

In January of the following year (1688), the Hungarian "Estates" or Assembly, cowed by a reign of terror, declared the crown of Hungary hereditary in the Habsburg family, abolished the old coronation

oath, and did away with the right of insurrection hitherto enjoyed by the nobles. In May of the same year, the Hungarian patriot Tököli submitted, and acknowledged the Austrian suzerainty over Transylvania.

Austrian successes in Hungary, 1688

The successes of the Austrians did not stop here. In September, Belgrade, the capital of Servia, was occupied, the Danube was crossed, and Servia and Bosnia overrun. Even to the east of the Carpathians, the Hospodar, or Viceroy of Wallachia, hitherto the vassal of the Sultan, rebelled, and Peter the Great of Russia began to advance on the Sea of Azof.

The year 1689, indeed, witnessed a slight reaction in favour of the Crescent. The Emperor Leopold was engaged in the war of the League of Augsburg. Mustapha Kiuprili, the brother of Achmet, who was called the Virtuous, was appointed Vizier, and actually recovered Belgrade and re-entered Hungary. In 1691, however, he was killed at the battle of Szalankemen, on the river Drave, and, though the Sultan, Mustapha II., who succeeded in 1695, actually took the field with some success, his cause soon declined.

Battle of Szalankemen, Aug. 1691

In 1696, Peter the Great took Azof, and pushed the Russian boundary to the Southern Sea, and in 1697, Prince Eugène won the first of his great Turkish victories at the battle of Zentha.

Peter takes Azof, 1696

Battle of Zentha, Sept. 11, 1697

The Turks had no alternative but to submit, and in January, 1699, the Peace of Carlowitz for a time closed this desperate struggle. By it—

Peace of Carlowitz, Jan. 1699

1. Austria retained all Hungary and Transylvania except the Banat, or district of Temesvar, on the Lower Theiss.

2. To Venice was ceded the Morea and most of the Dalmatian coast.

3. Peter secured Azof (though he was to lose it again in 1711).

4. Poland recovered Podolia, *i.e.*, the country between the Bug and the Dniester, and the Western Ukraine.

Decline of
the Otto-
man Power

The Peace of Carlowitz marks the commencement of the final decline of the Ottoman Power. Henceforth she no longer seriously threatened Western Europe. It may well be doubted whether the revival started by the Kiuprilis could have lasted, even if their policy had been continued. The ills were too deep seated. The Turks had come into Europe as conquerors, and could still fight well, but they knew not how to administer a country or to develop its resources. The government of their European conquests, with their religious and racial antagonisms, was no easy matter. The Sultans were often the victims of the intrigues of the Janissaries, of the palace, and of the harem, and were sunk in indolence and vice; while the taxes, necessary to support them in their extravagance, were levied by unjust and unequal methods. The custom of polygamy among the ruling classes destroyed family life, and led to the infusion of foreign blood. The officials, often only half-Turkish, were hopelessly corrupt; and, if the lower classes, saved from the corruption of the harem because they could not afford to keep more than one wife, have to this day preserved their nationality and their pristine

honesty and trustworthiness, they have never succeeded in trade. This fell into the hands of foreigners, chiefly Greeks, who, with their independence, had lost all sense of honour. Finally, the influence of the Koran checked natural development and prevented radical reform. Believing it to be not only a creed but a code, which gives Divine sanction to the existing government, the Moslem looks upon all attempts to alter this government not only as a treason but a crime.

From this moment, therefore, the Turk became the sick man of Southern Europe, as was Poland in the North, and the question of the future is as to the date of his final decease and as to the disposal of his effects in Europe at least. In a word, what is termed "The Eastern Question" has begun.

CHAPTER VI

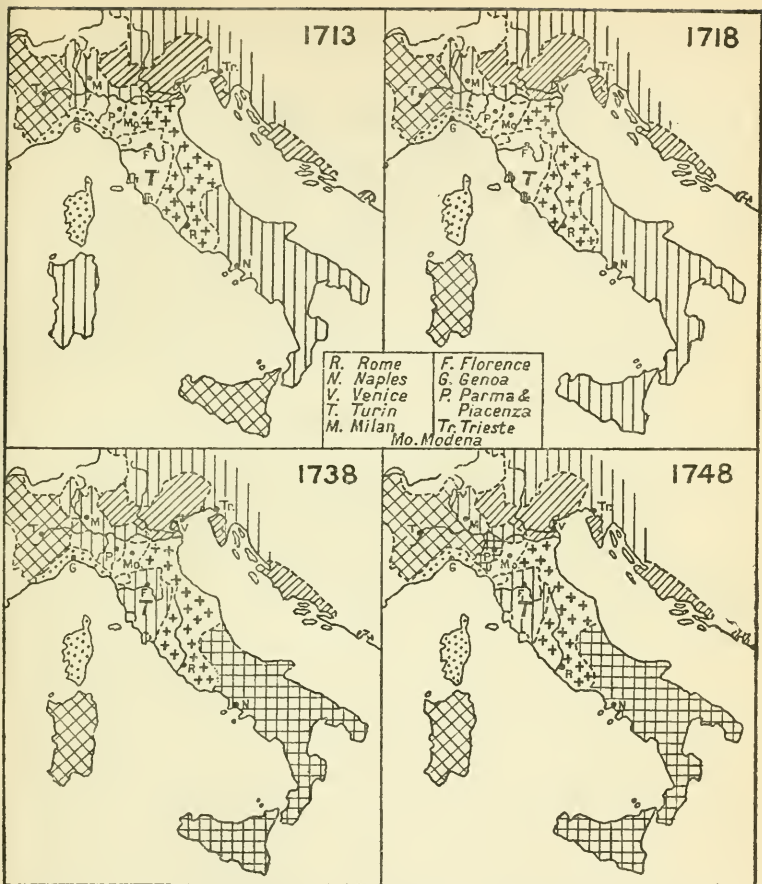
THE TRIPLE AND QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE—THE TREATY OF HANOVER—THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION—HOME POLICY OF THE REGENT ORLEANS

Discontent
of Austria
and Spain

IT could scarcely be expected that the Peace of Utrecht would long secure tranquillity. It had attempted to remodel the map of Europe, but in so doing it had failed to reconcile two at least of the late combatants. The Emperor Charles VI. looked upon his acquisitions in the Netherlands and in Italy as poor compensations for the crown of Spain, which he had hoped to unite with his possessions in Germany, more especially as the value of the Netherlands was impaired by the closing of the Scheldt, and by the irksome stipulations with regard to the Barrier towns.

Thwarted in his endeavours to free himself from these restrictions by the opposition of England and Holland, he refused to abandon his claim to the throne of Spain, and intrigued to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, which had been granted to the Duke of Savoy.

The discontent in Spain at the dismemberment of her ancient dominion was even more intense, while Philip V. still clung to the hope of exchanging the



Austria	-----		Venice	-----		N.B. Italy remained unchanged
Savoy	-----		Genoa	-----		from 1748 to the outbreak
Spanish Bourbons	-----		Papal States	-----		of the Revolutionary War
T. Tuscany						except that Corsica went
						to France 1768.

Alberoni

crown of Spain for that of France in the event of the death of the young and sickly Louis XV. The Spanish national feeling was at this time voiced by Cardinal Alberoni, the new minister of Philip. This remarkable man, son of a market gardener of Placentia, though an Italian by birth, devoted himself to the interests of his adopted country, and dreamt of raising Spain once more into the position of a first-rate Power, and of regaining some of her lost possessions in Italy.

Alberoni was, however, too shrewd a statesman to desire war at once. He realised the weakness of Spain and wished to begin with reforms at home, while he sought to win the support of England by the offer of increased commercial privileges.

Elizabeth
Farnese

Unfortunately this policy was too cautious for the daring second wife of Philip, Elizabeth Farnese, whom he had just wedded. This masterful woman, who has not inaptly been named "The Termagant," had been recommended by Alberoni as "a good healthy girl, accustomed to hear of nothing but needlework and embroidery". It was not long before she showed that she was made of different stuff. While she supported the national aspirations of the Spaniards, she had besides her own dynastic ambitions to satisfy. As her uncle and stepfather, Francis, who ruled in Parma and Piacenza, had no sons, she hoped to acquire these possessions for Don Carlos, her infant son by Philip of Spain, who, as her husband had elder sons by his first wife, had little prospect of succeeding to the crown of Spain.

Aware that these conflicting aims of Austria and of Spain were likely soon to clash, England and France had already drawn together. Both were interested in maintaining the peace of Europe, both had dynastic interests to serve.

The Jacobite insurrection of 1715 had been hatched in France, and though it had failed, George I. of England was anxious to buy off French assistance from any further attempt on behalf of the Pretender. Moreover, as Elector of Hanover, he feared the designs of Peter the Great on Mecklenburg, and those of Sweden on Bremen and Verden, which he had gained at the Peace of Utrecht, while the English were interested in resisting the claim of Sweden to close the Sound to foreign ships. The best way to secure these ends lay in an alliance with France, more especially as Peter was at this moment bidding for her friendship. In France, the Duke of Orleans, who held the regency during the minority of Louis XV. (1715-1723), was hoping to succeed to the throne on the death of the sickly young King, an event which was confidently expected shortly, and realised that England would be inclined to support his claim against that of Philip of Spain.

These were the chief causes of the Triple Alliance which the English minister, Stanhope, and the Abbé Dubois, the French envoy, formed with Holland in January, 1717. Meanwhile Austria was negotiating with the Duke of Savoy for the exchange of Sardinia for Sicily, when the seizure of the Spanish inquisitor by the Austrians at Milan forced Alberoni to declare war.

England
and France
draw
together

The Triple
Alliance,
Jan. 1717

Spain
declares
War

The die once cast, the Spanish minister acted with characteristic energy. In August, 1717, a Spanish fleet seized Sardinia, and in July of the following year, Sicily was invaded by Spanish troops. He next attempted to stir up trouble for his enemies. He succeeded in reconciling Peter the Great and Charles XII., and induced them to join with him in supporting a fresh Jacobite conspiracy in England. In France, he hatched a plot to overthrow the Regent, while he excited the Hungarians to fresh efforts against the Emperor. Vigorous as were the efforts of Alberoni, they were doomed to fail. He was in no condition to resist the united forces of England and of France. In August, 1718, his fleet was defeated by the English Admiral, Byng, off Cape Passaro, in Sicily, and the rest of his ships, according to the laconic despatch of one of Byng's captains, were captured and sunk "number as per margin". In the same month, the Emperor Charles VI., on the promise that his Italian interests should not be neglected, joined the alliance, which thus became the Quadruple Alliance, and now that the Treaty of Passarovitz (*cf.* p. 150) had freed him from the Turkish War, sent troops to Sicily. In December, the death of Charles XII. at Frederickshall, in Norway, ended the temporary alliance between Sweden and Russia. The Jacobite conspiracy in England and that in France were easily suppressed.

Battle off
Cape Pas-
saro, Aug.
1718

The
Quadruple
Alliance

In January, 1719, France declared war, and an army invaded the North of Spain, supported by an English fleet. Philip now realised the uselessness

of further resistance. He dismissed Alberoni, and acceded to the terms dictated by the Quadruple Alliance.

By the Treaty of London (1720)—

Treaty of
London,
1720

1. Charles VI. was allowed to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, the Duke of Savoy being satisfied by his acknowledgment as King of Sardinia.

2. Don Carlos was recognised as heir to the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

Shortly after, Philip V. was conciliated by the betrothal of his infant daughter to Louis XV.

The interest of the complications we have briefly sketched lies more especially in the novel alliance between England and France, an alliance due partly to personal motives, but which had also sound political grounds, and which had succeeded in giving peace to Western Europe, and in the rearrangement of the map of Italy. Here Austria had gained by joining Sicily to Naples, while the ambitions of Elizabeth "the Termagant" had been partly realised.

The foreign policy of Dubois, the able though unscrupulous minister of the Regent, had been successful. The same praise can scarcely be awarded to his policy at home.

Here the efforts of the Regent had been directed to the following objects:—

Home
policy of
the Regent

(1) To substitute for the autocratic rule of Louis XIV., based on a bureaucracy of the middle class, a system of government by councils, which might in some measure mitigate the excessive cen-

tralisation, and recall the nobility to a share in the administration.

(2) To adopt a more tolerant policy towards the Jansenists.

(3) To check the financial corruption, which had increased during the later years of Louis XIV., and to do something to meet the heavy debts incurred by the prodigal expenditure of the late reign.

The seven
Councils of
Admini-
stration

In none of these endeavours did the Regent succeed. France had been too long accustomed to the centralised government of a bureaucracy to appreciate the division of power among seven councils. The members quarrelled with one another on questions of precedence. The nobles proved themselves incapable, and displayed their aristocratic insolence by contemptuous treatment of the middle class lawyers, who alone had the necessary knowledge. The Duke of St. Simon gives us an amusing confession of his own incapacity to serve in the Council of Finance, saying that he could not manage his own finances, and was ignorant of arithmetic.

In less than three years, the councils were suppressed, and the old system restored.

Ecclesiasti-
cal policy

Nor was the ecclesiastical policy of the Regent more successful. It only aroused the jealousy of the Jesuits, and the flame of religious bigotry burst out afresh. The Regent had no consistency of purpose and no pith. The attempt was soon abandoned, and the Jesuits continued their persecutions.

Finance

Meanwhile the endeavours to restore the public credit led to one of the most startling crises in

the history of French finance. The Council of Finance had resorted to the usual practices of French financiers. They had lowered the rate of interest on the National Debt, they had debased the coinage, and they had endeavoured to put an end to the peculations of the farmers-general. The last ended, as in the reign of Louis XIV., in the punishment of a few, and the escape of the more powerful; the first amounted to partial repudiation; and the second, if it helped the exchequer, raised the price of all goods. The Regent now turned his ear to the attractive suggestions of a Scotchman, John Law, who promised, if he were given a free hand, not only to wipe out the public debt, but to open out a glorious future.

Law and
the Mis-
sissippi
Scheme

The scheme proposed by this interesting, though visionary reformer, was as follows. In the year 1717 a great company was to be formed, which should not only act as its own banker, make a profit from coining and from the issue of paper money, and farm the taxes, but should start a vast trading and colonial enterprise, and thus acquire for itself the profits which had hitherto been gained by individuals. The company was to take over the National Debt, which amounted to 150,000,000 francs. For this it was to receive 3 per cent. from the Government, instead of the 4 per cent. which had hitherto been paid. The shares of this company were to be offered in the first instance to the public creditors in the exchange for their claims on the Government. In this way the Public Debt would be absorbed in

the shares of the company, and both the State and its creditors would benefit; the State, because it was to pay 3 per cent. instead of 4 per cent. on its debt; the creditors, because instead of a beggarly 4 per cent., they would receive good dividends on their shares.

The project at first met with brilliant success. To the Company of the West, or Mississippi Company, the colony of Louisiana and the great basin of the Mississippi was granted with sovereign rights. The East India Company was to be incorporated with it and many monopolies granted. It was then united with the bank, which had been started before, and it was given, in return for further loans to the State, the right to coin money, to issue banknotes, and to farm the taxes.

The shares, which were of the nominal value of 500 francs, were first issued below par; that is, they could be bought at less than their nominal value, and some holders of the National Debt hastened to exchange their claims for shares. Those that delayed till the market value of the shares rose did not effect the exchange on such favourable terms. As this transaction did not provide sufficient working capital to start the concern, new shares were created and offered for general subscription, but as the market value had risen the shares were now only to be obtained for 1000 francs, or double the original price. Nevertheless the prospects of the company, which had been loudly advertised, were now considered so good, that they were eagerly subscribed for. A mad

fit of speculation ensued. The shares rose by leaps and bounds until at last, at the close of the year 1719, a 500 franc share could be sold for 15,000 francs, that is, thirty times its nominal value. Fortunes were made in a few days, sometimes in a few hours, while the reckless issue of paper notes made money very cheap. The company paid a dividend of 12 per cent., and promised 40 per cent. in the future. Law's wildest dreams seemed likely to be fulfilled.

It was not, however, long before a reaction set in. The price at which the shares stood was not based on the earnings from the business of the company, which had not yet been properly set going, and people began to ask whence the dividends were to be derived, and saw further that even a 40 per cent. dividend would only give a return of 2 per cent. on the market value of the shares. At once the price of the shares began to fall, and a panic soon ensued.

At the same time the bank notes became depreciated, as inevitably happens when there is an over-issue, that is, when more notes are issued than there is gold or silver in the hands of the issuers to represent them. Law was now face to face with a double difficulty, how to keep up the market price of the shares, and how to prevent the further depreciation of the bank notes. Desperate measures were resorted to (February-March, 1720). The bank notes were declared to be inconvertible, that is to say, the bank would no longer give gold and silver coins for them. He then proscribed the use of gold

and silver coins, and finally forbade the use of the precious metals for other purposes, for jewellery and the like; he hoped in this way to destroy their value and keep up the value of the bank notes. But you cannot make people believe by legislation that paper money, which can be no longer exchanged for gold and silver, is of the same value as the precious metals themselves, at least for this reason, that gold and silver can be exported; while the foreigner will not take an inconvertible paper currency, unless the credit of the issuer is good.¹

He then tried to fix the price of the shares, and offered to exchange them for bank notes. But as both still continued to fall this was of no avail. Both holders of shares and of bank notes were now threatened with ruin, and fortunes were lost as quickly as they had been made. Public indignation ran so high that it was necessary to put an end to the whole scheme. At first an endeavour was made to redeem the 10 franc bank notes, but the rush was so great that many people were crushed by the crowd, and the bank, unable to find money enough, was obliged to stop cash payment. All holders of notes or of shares were then ordered to present them with an account of how they had been acquired (July, 1720). Those who were discovered to have earned them during the period of speculation, had their amounts reduced, besides being fined in proportion to their gains. The nobles, however, as usual escaped. The shares which were held by the King, or which the

¹This is the case with our present Treasury notes (1925) which, though inconvertible, are declared to be legal tender.

company had bought back in the days of depression, were destroyed. By this means the number of the bank notes was reduced to 1,700,000,000 francs, and the shares to 56,000.

The holders of bank notes received government securities, "rentes" at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in proportion to the amount of their holding. The shares were returned to the owners. The bank was closed; but the Company of the West, with privileges reduced, and with a restricted business, continued to do a fair trade until 1769, when, owing to the decline of the Colonial Empire, it was dissolved.

The Mississippi Scheme has many points of similarity with the South Sea Bubble in England, which occurred at the same time. Its failure was due chiefly to two causes—the wild speculation which had raised the price of shares far beyond their proper value, a speculation which the Government at first encouraged; and the reckless issue of paper money without adequate security. Its results were most unfortunate. The interest, indeed, on the National Debt was reduced from 4 per cent. to $2\frac{1}{2}$; but this was only effected by what amounted to partial repudiation, and the capital amount of the debt was positively increased by 20,000,000 francs.

Meanwhile, if a few were enriched, thousands were ruined. St. Simon tells us that the distress was so great that he wonders there was no popular rising. He does not, however, remind us that the way in which nobles had escaped at the final settlement was one cause of the discontent. Some useful lessons were taught as to the true nature of credit, and trade received an impulse which did not end with

the crisis. Even that, however, was accompanied by an increase in the spirit of gambling and a lowering of commercial morality.

But perhaps the most significant result is to be sought for in the growing unpopularity of the Regent and of the Government, which expressed itself not only in epigrams and lampoons, but even in more serious works. Thus Montesquieu, in his *Persian Letters* (1721), made a severe, though covert, attack on the absolute government of France; while Voltaire, in his tragedy of *Œdipus* (1718), was believed to allude to the vices of the Regent. The easy-going Regent was himself a patron of literature, and was too indolent to intervene. All this serves to remind us that the age of Louis XIV. had passed away. The revival of criticism on the Government may also partly be accounted for by the influence of English ideas and writings, which was an outcome of the late alliance. Now for the first time Frenchmen began to study English, and to visit England, and learnt in that country the advantages of a freer government and of greater personal liberty.

Death of
the Regent,
Dec. 1723

The regency only lasted two years longer. In February, 1723, the young King reached his fourteenth year, and was considered to be of age. This, indeed, made little difference to the Government; but in December the Regent died a victim to his excesses, and the Duke of Bourbon became chief minister. St. Simon tells us that foreign nations regretted Orleans more than the French did. In other words, his foreign policy, directed as it was by the

Abbé Dubois, was on the whole successful. The same cannot be said of his home policy. The Duke was a man of quick wit; of wide, if desultory, reading. He dabbled in music, in painting, in science. He was broad-minded, and wished to promote the public welfare. But all these gifts were marred by superficiality and by utter want of character. He loved half measures, and lacked courage, decision and persistency. The reforms he inaugurated were lightly abandoned; they therefore served only to weaken the centralised government left by Louis XIV., and excited criticism. His private life was not only infamous, but it was not even veiled by an outward show of decency, and his example was followed by the court and by society. "Vice," it has been said, "no longer paid virtue the homage of hypocrisy," and "for shallowness and levity, concealed by literary artifice and play of frivolous wit, the regency has never been surpassed." All that can be said for the Regent is that he did not allow his mistresses to play the part in politics which they did in the reign which was now to follow.

The arrangements made by the efforts of the Quadruple Alliance in 1720 (*cf.* p. 122) were not likely to endure. They neither satisfied the Emperor nor Spain. Philip of Spain desired to recover Gibraltar from England, while Elizabeth Farnese was not content with the mere promise of the succession of her son, Don Carlos, to the Italian duchies of Parma, Placentia and Tuscany. Moreover, the friendly relations established by the

First
Treaty of
Vienna
and the
League of
Hanover,
1725

Regent between France and Spain through the betrothal of the Infanta to Louis XV. in 1722, were at this moment rudely shaken by the policy of the Duke of Bourbon, now minister in France. Anxious to secure a wife of maturer age for the King, and therefore likely sooner to bear an heir to the French crown—the Infanta was then barely eight years old—he sent her back to Spain, and found a new bride in Maria, the daughter of Stanislas Leszczinski, King of Poland.

Meanwhile, the Emperor, who was eager to advance the commercial interests of the Austrian Netherlands and to establish trading settlements in India, had just formed an East India Company at Ostend. He was also intent on securing the recognition of the so-called "Pragmatic Sanction" by the European Powers, that is to say, the acknowledgment of the right of his daughter Maria Theresa to succeed to his dominions, contrary to earlier provisions by which females had been excluded. As none of the members of the Triple Alliance—England, Holland and France—would support either of these schemes, and as England and Holland were violently opposed to the Ostend Company, threatening, as it did, their commercial interests, he turned a ready ear to the suggestions of Ripperda, a Netherlander of Spanish origin, who had succeeded Alberoni as minister in Spain.

Ripperda

Why, Ripperda urged, should not Spain and the Emperor come to terms with regard to Italy, and unite to gain their respective ends elsewhere?

On this basis, the courts of Spain and Vienna signed the Treaty of Vienna in April, 1725. The news of this astounding alliance at once aroused the fears of the old members of the Triple Alliance, who accordingly, in September, formed the counter League of Hanover, which was subsequently joined by Prussia, Sweden and Denmark.

This was answered by a still more startling agreement between Spain and Austria in the Secret Treaty of Vienna (November, 1725), by which—

1. Philip of Spain guaranteed the Ostend Company, and promised to transfer to it the commercial privileges hitherto enjoyed by England and Holland.

2. The Emperor promised to try and regain Gibraltar and Minorca for Spain.

3. The hand of Maria Theresa, the Emperor's eldest daughter, was to be given to Don Carlos, the son of Elizabeth, and with it the succession to all the Habsburg dominions outside Italy.

4. Don Philip, Elizabeth's second son, should marry the Emperor's second daughter, and hold the Austrian possessions in Italy, as well as the reversion to the Italian Duchies.

5. The claim of the Stuarts to the English Throne should again be supported, and France be forced to surrender Alsace to the Emperor, and Cerdagne, Roussillon and Lower Navarre to Spain.

By this treaty a complete revolution in the diplomatic relations of Europe was caused. The Habsburg in Austria broke with the maritime Powers with whom they had been allied since the reign of William III. of England, and came to terms with the Bourbons of Spain, and had the idea of Ripperda succeeded, France might have lost Alsace, the most

precious conquest of Louis XIV. Nay, it might have happened that by the extinction of the line of Don Carlos and of Don Philip the old possessions of Charles V. would have fallen once more into the same hands.

Moreover, when Frederick William I., bribed by the promise of the Emperor that he should succeed to Julich and Berg on the Rhine on the death of the present holder (Treaty of Wusterhausen, 1720) withdrew from the League of Hanover, and Catherine I. of Russia promised her support, success seemed not unlikely. In any case a war which would involve all Europe appeared imminent.

Ripperda
dismissed,
May, 1726

Nevertheless there was little prospect of this magnificent dream being realised. A strong party at Vienna, led by Prince Eugène, warned Charles that the project of this double marriage would, if carried out, make Austria a province of Spain, while in Spain itself the old animosity against Austria was aroused, and Elizabeth dismissed Ripperda (May, 1726). The next year, the death of the Tzarina, Catherine I., altered the policy of Russia, and Charles VI., unwilling to engage in war, began negotiations for peace.

Treaty of
Seville,
Nov. 1729

Elizabeth was now convinced that Austria would never allow the marriages to take place; she reverted to her original scheme of securing the Italian duchies for her eldest son, Don Carlos, and gained the assent of England, France and Holland by the Treaty of Seville (November, 1729). Finally, the Emperor, eager to obtain further guarantees for his Pragmatic

Sanction, unwillingly gave way on the question of the Italian duchies, and signed the second Treaty of Vienna with England, Holland and Spain.

Second Treaty of Vienna, July, 1731

By that treaty :—

1. The suggested marriages between the courts of Madrid and Vienna were abandoned.

2. Charles VI., in return for a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by England and Holland, consented to abolish the Ostend Company, allowed Don Carlos to take possession of Parma and Piacenza, the last Farnese Duke having just died, and acknowledged his right of succession to the Duchy of Tuscany.

Once more England and France, now guided by Walpole and Fleury, who had succeeded the Duke of Bourbon in 1726, had saved Europe from a general war. The Emperor, in the vain hope of securing the succession of his daughter, had allowed the Spanish Bourbons to fix their hold on Italy, a hold they were not to relax, and Elizabeth Farnese had gained a great triumph. That restless spirit was not, however, satisfied, and soon the question of the Polish Succession gave her another chance.

Ministry of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743

The most serious objection to an elective monarchy lies in the danger that each election may involve the country in war. Even in an hereditary kingdom a disputed succession has often led to war, as had been the case in the War of the Spanish Succession, and was again shortly to be the case in that of the Austrian Succession. But where the monarchy is elective the danger is intensified. Every country which has political interests to advance is constantly intriguing

Condition of Poland

during the life of the reigning monarch in support of its future candidate, and is ready to support his claims when the vacancy occurs.

Such had been the fate of Poland ever since the extinction of the Jagellon Dynasty at the close of the sixteenth century. In the year 1709, Frederick Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, had been restored to the Polish throne by Peter the Great after the defeat of the Swedish King Charles XII. (p. 94), who had set up Stanislas Leszczinski as his candidate, and now the death of Frederick Augustus (February, 1733) attracted the attention of Europe.

Of the candidates for the Polish throne two were the most prominent, Stanislas Leszczinski, the Polish noble who had already held the crown for a brief period (1704-1709), and Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of the previous king.

The cause of Augustus was supported by Charles VI., the Emperor, and Anna, Tzarina of Russia. The Emperor was influenced in his choice by the promise of the Elector that he would guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, while Anna thought that she could exercise more influence in Poland under a foreign king than under the rule of a Polish noble, who had once been the candidate of Sweden, and was further conciliated by the offer of the Duchy of Courland to her favourite, Biren.

The question whether war would be avoided depended on the policy of France. Had she acquiesced in the election of Augustus, or had she remained neutral, as Cardinal Fleury wished, the Poles would

not have dared to resist. Louis XV., however, not unnaturally desired to press the claims of his father-in-law, Stanislas. Stanislas was the popular candidate in Poland; it had been the aim of France since the days of Louis XIV. to use Poland as an ally in the north-east against Austria and Russia; and the military party, headed by Villars, one of Louis XIV.'s veterans, were eager for a war, which might give them an opportunity of fleshing their swords against their old enemy the Habsburgs. Fleury accordingly was forced to take up the cause of Stanislas, and by bribing the important Polish nobles had little difficulty in securing his election (21st September, 1733). Russia and Austria at once prepared for war, and most of the princes of the Empire, with the exception of Prussia and the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne and the Palatinate, all three members of the Wittelsbach family, followed suit. France now had to look for allies. Two were soon found. Philip of Spain had been of late leaning to the side of France, more especially since the birth of the Dauphin in 1729 had destroyed all chance of his succeeding to the French throne. He had been irritated by the neglect of his interests which the Emperor had shown in the late war, and Elizabeth Farnese was alarmed at the delay of Charles VI. in recognising Don Carlos as Duke of Parma and Placentia, which were held to be Imperial fiefs. A French alliance, she thought, might strengthen his position, and even offer an opportunity for further acquisitions. Elizabeth, therefore, though with some hesitation, joined the popular cry and declared for the French alliance.

Election of
Stanislas
Leszczinski,
21st Sept.
1733

Policy of
Charles
Emanuel,
King of
Sardinia

More surprising was the conduct of Charles Emanuel I., the young King of Sardinia. It is here that this astute person began that clever, though critical policy which he pursued with such success until the close of the War of the Austrian Succession, a policy dictated by the geographical position of his country. Geography, it has been cynically said, did not allow him to be honest. A glance at the map (p. 5) will show that Piedmont, with its capital Turin, and Savoy on the other side of the Alps, command the two great passes from France into Italy, that of the Mont Cenis and the Mont St. Genèvre, while on its eastern side Piedmont marches with the Duchy of Milan, then in the hands of Austria. In any struggle, therefore, between France and the Habsburgs, it was difficult to maintain neutrality, and easy to play off one Power against another. With this aim in view, Charles Emanuel determined to accept the tempting offers of the French.

League of
Turin, 26th
Sept. 1733

By the League of Turin, France and Sardinia agreed to assist each other in driving the Habsburgs from Italy. Of the Austrian possessions, Don Carlos was to have Naples and Sicily and to hand over the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, the Tuscan ports called "The Presidii," and the claim to the Duchy of Tuscany to his younger brother, Don Philip. Milan was to belong to the King of Sardinia, and in return he was to cede Savoy to France.¹

Treaty
of the
Escorial
First
family
compact,
Nov. 1733

In November, a closer secret compact was concluded between France and Spain. The first of the

¹Philip mistrusted the Treaty because Mantua was not mentioned and because Charles Emanuel had been given supreme command: a compromise was found in the appointment of Villars, whereon Philip, though protesting against the Treaty, took part in the war.

three family compacts, the object of which was to push the interests of the Bourbons. By this treaty the quarrel between the two Bourbon courts of France and Spain, which had lasted since the Peace of Utrecht, was finally ended; and henceforth, if not active allies, they never fought again.

Of the remaining Powers, the interests of Sweden, Neutrality of Sweden, Turkey, Prussia Turkey and Prussia were involved. Sweden and Turkey wished to oppose the advance of Russia; for Sweden might hope to recover some of her lost possessions on the eastern coast of the Baltic, and the Porte feared the increase of Russian influence in Poland, which marched with her territories on the lower Dnieper; the King of Prussia was jealous of the continued rule of Saxony in Poland. None of these three Powers, however, took any part in the war. Sweden, torn by the factions of her nobles, who were divided into the parties of the "Hats" and the "Caps", was in no position to move, while the "Hats" were in the pay of France. Frederick William I., the cautious King of Prussia, was unwilling to risk his well-drilled army on the battlefield; he sent a contingent to the imperial army, but took no further part, while Turkey, which would not stir unless Fleury would guarantee her against any loss, was shortly called off by the attack of Nadir Shah of Persia, who was incited thereto by Russia.

In England, the opposition clamoured for war in support of the Emperor. The alliance with France, Peace policy of Walpole due chiefly to the personal and dynastic interests of the Hanoverian Kings and the Regent, had been breaking up of late. The Regent was no more, and

George II. was firmly established on the throne. Here, then, it was said, was a great opportunity for forming another grand alliance like that of William III., of returning to the side of Austria, the true ally of England and of Hanover, and of seizing the moment, when France and Spain were engaged in a European struggle, to settle our colonial and commercial quarrels with those countries. Walpole, however, who since 1730 had become supreme in the councils of George II., resolutely declined to interfere. Poland, he said, was no affair of England. That his policy of peace had much to be said for it at the moment cannot be denied. Yet some have held that an alliance with the Emperor at this juncture might have prevented the outbreak of war, or at least so have strengthened Austria that she might have fared better than she did; and that in this way the future War of the Austrian Succession might have been prevented, while the struggle with France in America and in India, which was inevitable, might have been ended sooner than it was.

Stanislas
deposed
and the
Elector of
Saxony
elected
King, Oct.
1733

In the war which ensued Austria and Russia had little difficulty in overthrowing Stanislas and in securing the election of their candidate, the Elector of Saxony. Fleury, after an ineffectual attempt to relieve Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula, where Russian and French swords were crossed for the first time in history, abandoned the Poles to their fate, and devoted himself to the campaigns on the Rhine and in Italy. In 1733, Charles Emanuel took Milan, and in 1734, aided by the French, won

the battles of Parma and Guastalla. In the same year Don Carlos seized Naples; and in 1735 he invaded Sicily and was crowned King. Meanwhile the French had occupied Lorraine and were successful on the Rhine.

By this time, however, the aims of the members of the League of Turin began to diverge. Elizabeth, not content with the acquisition of Naples and Sicily by Don Carlos, tried once more to gain for him the hand of Maria Theresa, the Emperor's daughter, and was eager to secure Mantua for Spain. By these designs she at once aroused the fears of Charles Emanuel. He was not prepared to see North Italy in the grip of the Bourbons. If Milan and Mantua were to go to Spain, while Don Philip secured Parma and Placentia, as well as the reversion of Tuscany, he would be completely surrounded by the Bourbons of Spain and France, and rather than this he preferred to leave Austria in quiet possession of Milan and Mantua. Accordingly he began to make secret overtures to the Emperor. Fleury, seeing how matters stood, forthwith signed the preliminaries of the third Treaty of Vienna with Charles.

Third
Treaty of
Vienna,
Oct. 1735-
1738

By that treaty it was agreed that:—

1. Francis Stephen, the Duke of Lorraine, should cede that duchy to Stanislas Leszczinski, the ex-King of Poland, with reversion to France, and receive the Duchy of Tuscany instead on the death of its Duke; this occurred in 1737.
2. France should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.
3. The Emperor was to have Parma and Placentia and to retain Milan and Mantua with the exception of the districts of

Tortona and Novara, which were to be granted to Charles Emanuel.

4. Don Carlos was to hold the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Spain and Charles Emanuel were indignant at being thus left in the lurch, and for some time refused to acquiesce, but they were helpless without the aid of France, and finally in November, 1738, they accepted the offers dictated to them and signed the Definitive Treaty.

The war which was thus closed has little importance from a military point of view, and the campaigns were in no way striking. Yet in its character and in its results it was none the less significant. It closed a period of intricate and confused diplomacy, caused by the quarrels arising out of the Peace of Utrecht, more especially with regard to Italy,¹ and vitally affected the future of all the Powers engaged. Austria suffered most. She had indeed placed her candidate on the Polish throne; she retained Milan and Mantua, and gained for a brief period Parma and Placentia; while, after the marriage of Francis Stephen of Lorraine to Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor, Tuscany became an Austrian possession. But she had to surrender Naples and Sicily, her prestige had been impaired, and Lorraine was lost to the Empire. It

¹The distribution of Italy remained with one exception, that of Parma and Placentia, as it was settled by the Treaty of Vienna, till the wars of the French Revolution. In 1748 Austria lost Parma and Placentia, which was given to Dou Philip, son of Elizabeth Farnese.

was not till 1768 that Lorraine finally fell to France, but during the life of Stanislas the duchy was practically in her hands. The most remarkable result of the period thus closed is to be found in the success of Elizabeth Farnese. At every peace made since the Peace of Utrecht the cause of her children had been advanced, and now at last she had gained for her eldest son the proud position of a kingdom, that of Naples and Sicily. In 1748 her ambition was finally satisfied by the acquisition of Parma and Piacenza for her second son, Don Philip.

The War of the Polish Succession is also of importance in the history of North-Eastern Europe. Poland henceforth practically lost her independence, and was before long to be divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia in this war, for the first time in history, had sent an army to the Rhine and established her claim to interfere in Western politics.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

Prussia
under
Frederick
William I.,
1713-1740

WHILE the other Powers of Europe had been engaged in incessant wars, Prussia, under the careful rule of Frederick William I., had been gradually preparing herself for the important part she was henceforth to play. Since his succession in 1713 he had for the most part pursued a policy of neutrality. He had taken part in the struggle between Peter the Great and Charles XII., and had thereby gained part of Western Pomerania, with Stettin and the mouth of the Oder, his most important waterway to the sea. For a moment he had joined the League of Hanover, but had speedily withdrawn (*cf.* p. 134), and in the war of the Polish succession had, after some hesitation, contented himself with sending his contingent to the Imperial army, which he could not lawfully refuse. His policy has generally been attributed to his ignorance of foreign affairs and to his fears lest war might spoil the symmetry of his well-drilled army and decimate his favourite "Potsdam Giants". A more probable reason is to be found in his conviction that Prussia needed to be strengthened and reformed, and for that purpose

required peace. In any case it is as a reformer and peaceful administrator that Frederick William I. takes his place in the history of his famous house.

To appreciate the value of these reforms we must remember the character of the country over which he ruled. This has already been described in speaking of the Great Elector (*cf.* p. 81). Here it is only necessary to add that the Duchy of East Prussia had been freed from the supremacy of Poland by the Great Elector; that the Elector, Frederick III., had been granted the title of King of Prussia in 1701, thus becoming the only Protestant King on the continent; and that by the Peace of Utrecht Spanish Gueldres had been acquired.

Many of the characteristics of the Prussian territories remind one of the possessions of the Habsburgs, but the racial differences were not so great in Prussia, and the German element was stronger. The Prussian State owed its position in Europe to its ruler, and had no ancient memories, as was the case in Austria. Moreover, the Elector King had no shadowy Imperial claims, which in Austria were ever conflicting with the interests of the Archduke; and while Austria was the slave of the Jesuits, in Protestant Prussia the Church was the servant of the King. These differences, partly at least, explain why the policy to be attempted so unsuccessfully in Austria by Joseph II (*cf.* p. 232) met with brilliant results in the case of Prussia.

The Great Elector had already laid down the lines of reform, but the problem still remained for final

The re-
forms of
Frederick
William I.

solution. If Prussia was ever to become a State, it could only be done by establishing a strong central executive under the personal guidance of its ruler. To strengthen the powers of the local assemblies would have meant the perpetuation of aristocratic tyranny and of national disruption, and if the State was to be strong against its enemies without, it must be based on a large army. Frederick, extravagant and fond of display, had done little beyond winning the royal title. His son, Frederick William I., took up the work with all the energy of a narrow yet powerful mind.

Adminis-
tration

Finding that the financial and military departments were always quarrelling, he united them into one Supreme Directory of War, Finance, and Royal Domains, and made that Directory, though nominally under the Privy Council, the real instrument of civil and military administration under his own direction, while foreign affairs were controlled by an interior council of which he was the head. Having thus established an effective and simple system of government, he next devoted himself to the army. He more than doubled its numbers, and gave Prussia an army of 80,000, nearly as large as that of Austria with her far greater resources.

Army

Half of this army was raised by conscription on a local basis, half was recruited from foreign lands, and the Elector resorted to every device to obtain recruits of fine physique. The proportion of cavalry and of artillery was increased, an elaborate system of drill such as was then unknown was enforced, and

the iron ramrod introduced whereby the rapidity of firing was enhanced. To meet the heavy expenses thus involved, he proceeded to abolish the feudal Finance tenure on which his nobles had hitherto held their land, and substituted one uniform land tax. He carefully administered the royal domains, which were especially large in Prussia. He continued the excise and sought to raise revenue by a rigorous system of customs on all foreign goods, whereby he also hoped, according to the ideas of his day, to develop industries at home.

To the same end foreign artisans were invited and protected; Protestant exiles, who had been driven from Salzburg, were settled in Prussia; marshes were drained, and agriculture fostered and improved.

Although he was unable to ameliorate the position The serf peasants of the serfs throughout the country, since they belonged to the nobles, in his own royal domains in Prussia a system of fixed dues was substituted for the old labour services.

On the question of education, the views of the King Education were peculiar. He had a contempt for all higher learning, for literature and art, and did nothing to promote them. Education was to be essentially practical, but more than one thousand schools were founded, primary education was made compulsory, and the study of medicine and of the economical and administrative sciences was encouraged. The Ecclesiastical policy same features are seen in his ecclesiastical policy. Theological controversy was to be avoided, and the practical side of religion insisted upon. Uniformity

of outward ritual was rigidly enforced, and although Roman Catholics were tolerated, scepticism was not. A Berlin dentist who was suspected of atheistical views was subjected to an examination conducted by the King himself, and a free-thinking philosopher he threatened to immure.

Treatment
of his son

The system thus established was carried out with remorseless severity. Honest, straightforward, and with a genuine desire to improve his country's welfare, the King was unsympathetic, narrow, coarse and brutal. Strict and parsimonious himself, he expected his subjects to be the same. As he drilled his army, so he drilled his subjects. There is much in all this which is distasteful to an English mind, and yet we may allow that his policy was suited to his times. In any case this excuse can hardly apply to his treatment of his son. The young Frederick was by nature fond of literature and music, and hated the practical studies, military, economical and evangelical, upon which his father insisted with rigorous formality. When in his anxiety for a freer life and to see the world, he tried to escape, his father forced him to witness the execution of his tutor, who was suspected of connivance, and subjected him to stricter confinement and still severer discipline. It may be that the young man learnt under this harsh treatment the power of self-restraint, of endurance and self-reliance, but it is certain that it hardened and brutalised him; that it destroyed his generosity and his sense of honour, and helped to make him a cynic who disbelieved in human good-

ness. Had Frederick's education been different he might have been a far finer character, yet without his father's reforms he would probably never have earned the title of "The Great". Frederick William I. left to his son a well, if despotically, governed people, a splendid army, and a well-filled treasury, and a few months after his death their value was to be conclusively proved.

Death of Frederick William I. Accession of Frederick the Great, May, 1740

On May 31, 1740, Frederick the Great became King; in October the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., without male heirs, brought forward the double problem as to who should succeed him in his own possessions, and who should be elected Emperor. Throughout his reign of twenty-nine years, the policy of Charles had been devoid of all consistency of purpose. No doubt the position was one of great difficulty. Of his hereditary territories the centre lay at Vienna, divided into *Lower Austria*, round the capital itself; *Inner Austria*, which comprised Styria, Carinthia and Carniola; Tyrol and the Breisgau, near the Black Forest, which were called *Further* and *Upper Austria*. To this nucleus, composed of a German-speaking race, were added the Tsech, or Slavish Bohemia, with its dependency, Silesia, and Austrian Hungary, peopled by the Ruthenes, also of Slavish origin, with a Magyar or Tartar nobility, both interspersed by a certain admixture of Germans.

Death of Emperor Charles VI. Oct. 1740; his policy

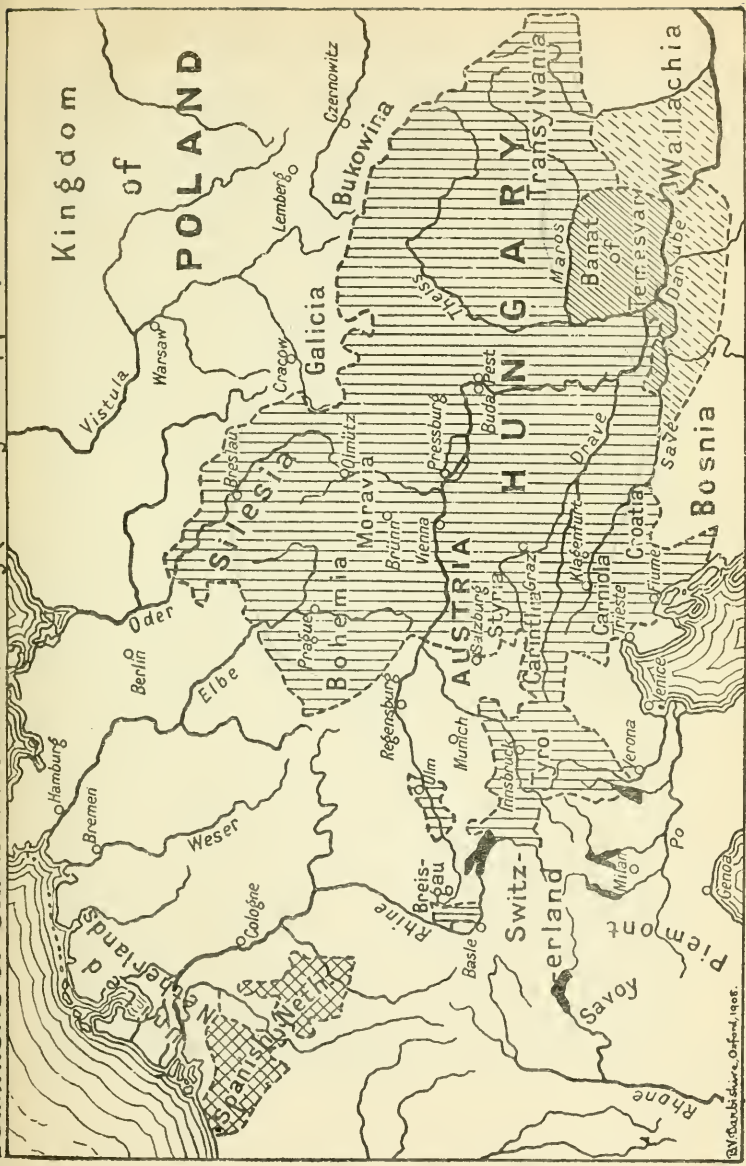
The Peace of Utrecht had added to these hereditary dominions by the grant of the Austrian Netherlands and of the possessions in Italy, which at

Charles' death consisted of the Duchies of Milan, Parma and Placentia, while by the Treaties of Passarowitz (1718) and Belgrade (1739) he had gained Turkish Hungary and Transylvania.

The bond between these different peoples was of the loosest description. They spoke eleven different languages or dialects; they had no common interests. Charles ruled his territories by different titles; he was Archduke of Austria, Duke of Milan, King of Bohemia and of Hungary; and the administration of each of the five groups into which they fell was a separate one. It surpassed the wit of man to adopt a policy which would suit all these at once. To advance down, or to the south of, the Danube meant the increase of the non-German element; yet the Turk could not be left in Hungary at least. Any attempt to add to the Italian territories would certainly be opposed by Spain, and in the last war had been resisted by France and the King of Sardinia, while any scheme for developing the trade of the Netherlands aroused the hostility of England and Holland.

It would appear that the best policy would have been to abandon Italy altogether; and either to have exchanged the Netherlands for Bavaria, an idea which was entertained, or to have surrendered that as well; and, as Prince Eugène advised, to have married the Emperor's eldest daughter and heiress, Maria Theresa, to Charles, the young electoral Prince of Bavaria. In this manner the way would have been prepared for the incorporation of a rich and

DOMINIONS OF CHARLES VI. Outside Italy (For Italy see Map p.119)



..... Gained at accession 1711

..... Gained at Treaty of Passarowitz 1718

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German-speaking country, which marched with the Austrian lands; the German element would have been strengthened, and a powerful kingdom might have been formed, which could have more successfully controlled the non-German Bohemia and Hungary.

But Charles was the victim of the great prospects of his earlier years. He had hoped, by the war of the Spanish Succession, to gain Spain and all her dependencies in Europe and in the New World, and thus to re-establish the Habsburg Empire of the great Charles V. He had neither the foresight nor the strength of character to confine himself to possibilities. It was long before he gave up his claim to the throne of Spain. Even then he clung with desperate tenacity to the poor morsels of the great inheritance which he had gained at Utrecht, and tried to increase them, now in this direction, now in that. He had not indeed been altogether unsuccessful; but his finances were exhausted, and the death of Prince Eugène in 1736 had deprived him of his only capable statesman and general. His government was in hopeless confusion. His prestige had been impaired of late, and he had been willing to sacrifice much to obtain the guarantee of Europe for his Pragmatic Sanction. Prince Eugène had warned him that a well-filled treasury and a well-drilled army would be of more value than a thousand such guarantees, and no sooner was he dead than the truth of this statement was seen.

The rule of the young Maria Theresa—she was barely twenty-four—was indeed accepted in the

Austrian lands. She proceeded forthwith to declare her husband, Francis Stephen, late Duke of Lorraine, whom she had married in 1736, joint ruler, and hoped to secure his election to the Imperial crown. But her succession was nowhere very popular, the attitude of Bohemia and Hungary was doubtful, and Charles of Bavaria at once protested. Though the Wittelsbach electors of Bavaria had at times intermarried with the Habsburgs, and Charles himself had married the cousin of Maria Theresa, they had long been jealous of their more powerful neighbour. The Elector of the day had joined France in the war of the Spanish Succession, and, though neutral since that time, had not supported the Emperor in his wars.

Charles of Bavaria, indeed, had been anxious to secure the hand of Maria Theresa for his son, but he had been refused, and he now laid claim to the Austrian inheritance. His claim was based on the will of Ferdinand I., the brother of Charles V. (1564), whose daughter had married the then Elector. According to the Bavarian copy, that will had promised the succession to the Bavarian house on the failure of "male heirs" to the Habsburgs; but in the Austrian copy the words were "legitimate heirs," which would, of course, include Maria Theresa. As authorities to this day dispute about the correct version, the conduct of the Elector can cause no wonder. Nevertheless, had he found no support, he would not have pressed his cause. Of the European Powers, England, Holland and Russia stood by their

guarantees ; but the policy of the Elector of Saxony, now King of Poland, and of the King of Sardinia, who had some shadowy rights themselves, was doubtful ; while Fleury declared that the guarantee of France had only been in support of "lawful possession," and not of a mere claim.

Frederick
seizes
Silesia,
Dec. 1740

While matters thus hung in the balance, Europe was astonished by the unexpected move of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Frederick's ministers had advised him to make a demand for Silesia as the price for his support of Maria's other claims. Silesia is a valuable district, about one-third the size of England. It completely surrounds the upper waters of the Oder, and as its boundary to the north is within twenty-four hours' march of Berlin, its possession was of the greatest strategic importance to Prussia. Frederick knew its value full well, but this conventional way of proceeding was not to his taste. He was convinced that Austria would refuse his offer, and therefore determined to follow the injunction once given him by his father that he should strike quickly when it was necessary to strike at all. Without giving any warning, therefore, he ordered his army to advance, and by the end of January had occupied Breslau, the capital ; then saying that he had moved to save Silesia from others who had claims on the inheritance of Maria Theresa, he offered to negotiate. His offers were indignantly rejected. Maria Theresa refused to treat as long as a Prussian soldier remained in the country, and sent an army to oppose him.

This was, however, defeated at the battle of ^{Battle of} Mollwitz, and Frederick was practically master of ^{Mollwitz,} all Lower Silesia. ^{April, 1741}

Attempts have been made to justify this unwarrantable conduct. As for certain ancient claims which Prussia had on Silesia, they are best answered by the King himself, who acknowledged that they were worthless. It is true that Frederick was not bound by the guarantee made by his father at Wusterhauzen (1726) to support the claims of Maria Theresa, for that promise had been made on a condition which Austria never kept (*cf.* p. 134), and Frederick William I. had then warned Charles that his son would avenge him. Again, it may be urged that Austria had of late shown by her jealous conduct that nothing was to be gained from her generosity. These arguments would have justified Frederick in taking the opportunity to bargain for Silesia, but are no defence of this breach of all rules of international morality. It is strange that Frederick should have acted as he did. He would have been in nearly, if not quite, as good a position if he had sent an ultimatum, with twenty-four hours' notice, before he marched, and would have placed himself in the right in the eyes of other Powers. But he was a cynic. He affected to despise the ordinary conventionalities as trivial matters, and loved to shock the world. "Ambition," he said, "and the desire to make myself talked about, these were my motives."

The war, however, was still confined to Prussia

and Austria. Once more, as in the war of the Polish succession, it lay with France to decide whether it should become European. For Bavaria needed money, and as England was at that moment engaged in a war with Spain over commercial questions, and held the Mediterranean, Spain could not move on Italy unless France gave her a passage for her troops. Finally Russia, owing to the death of Anna (October, 1740), was not at the moment in a position to intervene.

Treaty of
Nymphen-
burg, May,
and of
Breslau,
June, 1741

Again the war party in France prevailed, and Fleury listened to their cry that now at last the moment had come finally to ruin Austria. In May, 1741, therefore, he concluded the Treaty of Nymphenburg with Charles Albert of Bavaria, and that of Breslau with Frederick in June. Maria Theresa was to have part of Austria and Hungary, the rest of her territories were to be partitioned; Charles Albert of Bavaria was to be elected Emperor. This decided the matter, and shortly most of the European Powers, except Russia, had taken sides.

The coalition against Maria Theresa appeared overwhelming. It included France, Prussia, Sardinia, Saxony and the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne and the Palatinate. The only allies that Maria Theresa could gain were Holland and England. Of these, the Dutch were kept at home by fear of France. George II. declared Hanover neutral, and Walpole only sent subsidies, and moreover kept urging Maria Theresa to come to terms with Frederick.

Nevertheless, the coalition was not so formidable

as it seemed, for Bavaria and France were alone united in their aims. Saxony could be bought off, Charles Emanuel could never be trusted, Spain would only act in Italy. Above all, the interests of France and Frederick were sure to clash. France did not wish to make Frederick too powerful, while Frederick had joined France unwillingly, and had no desire to see Austria completely humbled or French influence too great in Germany. If he could only gain Silesia, he would gladly withdraw. To keep these points in mind will help us to follow more clearly the complications which ensued.

France began the war by sending two armies into the field, one to the Netherlands to keep the Dutch in check, the other to co-operate with the Bavarian army, while Frederick acted on the defensive in Silesia.

In September, 1741, the united French and Bavarian forces occupied Linz on the Danube, and were within three days' march of Vienna. Frederick now urged them to advance on the capital itself, but fearing lest this move would force Austria to come to terms with Frederick, they turned northwards into Bohemia. They thus missed the chance of settling the war at once, while Maria Theresa, seeing the necessity of conciliating Prussia for the moment at least, made the secret convention of Klein-Schnellendorf with Frederick, whereby she allowed him to hold Silesia without definitely acknowledging his claim.

Convention
of Klein-
Schnellen-
dorf, Oct.
1741

She was now free to concentrate her attack on the Bavarians and French. The Hungarians, after long negotiations, had in return for a guarantee of their privileges now recognised her title, and raising the cry "We will die for our Queen," supported her most loyally. She was therefore able to check the advance of the allies in Bohemia and to threaten Bavaria itself.

Unfortunately, Frederick now began to be alarmed. Whichever way the fortunes of war might turn, he dreaded lest he should be left out in the cold. The secret convention had given him time to strengthen his hold on Silesia, and it was no longer of much use. Seizing, therefore, the pretext that the convention had been divulged, he again intervened, and entered Moravia, seizing the important town of Olmutz. By this move he threatened the position of the two Austrian armies in Bohemia and Bavaria, and had the French and Saxon army, which was then at Prague, heartily co-operated, Vienna itself might have fallen. The French and Saxons, however, refused to leave Bohemia, and Frederick, unsupported, was forced to abandon Moravia and drop back into Bohemia.

Furious at the conduct of his allies, he now once more offered Austria terms. Maria Theresa declined them until she heard that Charles of Lorraine had been defeated at Chotusitz on the Upper Elbe. Then at last she consented to treat. By the Treaty of Berlin, Frederick, in return for the definite cession of Silesia, promised to remain neutral. The Treaty

Frederick
again takes
part in the
war and
captures
Olmütz,
Dec. 1741

Battle of
Chotusitz,
May, 1742

Treaty of
Berlin,
July, 1742

of Berlin thus ended what is known as the First Silesian War.

End of
First
Silesian
War

Maria Theresa, once more free from her most formidable opponent, was able to concentrate her attack on France and Bavaria. Other events also helped her cause. In February, 1742, Walpole had fallen from power, and Carteret, who now guided the foreign policy of George II., was anxious to pursue a bolder policy and join Austria in humiliating France. In the following September, Saxony also withdrew from the allies, while in January of the next year, Fleury died, and France under the immediate government of the incapable Louis XV. fell into confusion.

Improved
prospects
of Austria

The Austrians, therefore, had little difficulty in driving the French from Bohemia in the autumn of 1742, and in occupying Munich in the following June. Charles Albert, who had been elected Emperor in January, 1742, was forced to fly from his dominions, to suspend hostilities, and to leave Bavaria in Austrian hands till the conclusion of the war (June, 1743).

In the same month the French were defeated at Dettingen by a mixed army of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians led by King George of England himself.

Battle of
Dettingen,
June, 1743

Maria Theresa should now have made peace. The Emperor Charles offered to renounce his claims to her hereditary dominions and to abandon the French alliance on condition that he should be left in quiet possession of Bavaria and of the Imperial title. Unfortunately, Maria Theresa was elated by her success. Sublime in adversity, she was remorseless in her

Treaty of
Worms,
Sept. 1743

revenge. She hoped to compensate herself in Bavaria for the loss of Silesia and to humble the Bourbons. Accordingly, supported by England, Holland and Saxony, she concluded the Treaty of Worms with Charles Emanuel of Sardinia. That Prince had entered the war in the spirit of a mercenary, and was open to the highest bidder; on the promise of material acquisitions he agreed to join in driving the Spanish Bourbons from Italy.

Frederick
again inter-
venes, May,
1744

As might have been expected, Frederick the Great at once became alarmed. He did not wish to see Maria Theresa become too strong. If the new league were successful, as seemed not improbable, the allies might turn on him, and, with his usual suspicion, he observed that no guarantee of his possession of Silesia had been made in the public terms of the Treaty of Worms. Accordingly in May, 1744, he formed the Union of Frankfort with the Emperor and some of the other German princes. Meanwhile France and Spain had drawn more closely together. In October, 1743, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau,

The Family
Compact,
Oct. 1743

they formed the second family compact for the mutual defence of Bourbon interests, and France, which had hitherto not been nominally at war with England, now definitely declared hostilities, prepared to support the young Pretender in his projected attempt, and in June, 1744, joined the Union of Frankfort. It is idle to discuss the question of morality in dealing with the Prussian King, but for this change of policy there is much to be said. He could hardly be expected to remain passive while

Maria Theresa strengthened herself, and her future conduct showed that nothing short of necessity would force her to abandon all hopes of regaining Silesia, which she termed the fairest jewel of her crown.

With the summer of 1744, therefore, we enter into a new phase of the struggle, which has been called the Second Silesian War. The two leagues again stood face to face, the one intent on dismembering Austria, the other on humbling the Bourbons and Prussia, while the entrance of France and England into the war as principals, reminds us that the struggle for India and America had already begun.

The death of the Emperor in the following January still further altered the character of the war. His successor in the Bavarian electorate, Maximilian Joseph, at once offered to give up all claims on the Austrian dominions and promised to vote for the husband of Maria Theresa at the coming Imperial election. Maria Theresa accepted his terms in the Treaty of Füssen and turned her energies against her arch-enemy Frederick. In May, 1745, the Elector of Saxony was bribed by a promise of a share of the Prussian dominions to abandon his policy of neutrality, and the Tzarina Elizabeth joined the Austrian alliance.

The fate of Frederick now seemed sealed. His only allies were France and Spain. Spain could not help him, and France was intent on the Netherlands. Here in May, led by Marshal Saxe, she revenged the defeat of Dettingen in the victory of Fontenoy. Frederick declared that the victory was of no

Second
Silesian
War, May.
1744-Dec.
1745

Death of
Emperor
Charles
VII., Jan.
1745

Treaty of
Füssen,
April, 1745

French
victory at
Fontenoy,
May, 1745

more use to him than if it had been fought on the Scamander, and sought the mediation of England. The cautious Henry Pelham, who had abandoned the magnificent ideas of foreign policy entertained by his predecessor Carteret, complied, but Maria Theresa declined to listen. Determining, therefore, to conquer or to die the Prussian King neglected the advance of the Russians, threw himself on the Austrians and Saxons and won a decisive victory at Hohenfriedberg.

Frederick's
victory at
Hohen-
friedberg,
June, 1745

Austrian
and Saxon
defeats at
Sohr, Sep.,
and Kes-
selsdorf,
Dec. 1745

Treaty of
Dresden,
Dec. 1745 ;
end of
Second
Silesian
War

England once more urged Maria Theresa to come to terms, and in August secretly promised Frederick that he should retain Silesia. Maria, however, was obdurate. She declared that there was no safety till Frederick was completely crushed ; she would prefer, she said, to make peace with France, and actually offered terms. Fortunately for the King of Prussia, Louis XV., elated by the success of his arms in the Netherlands and in Italy, refused, and shortly after the defeat of the Austrians at Sohr and that of the Saxons at Kesselsdorf, followed by the Prussian occupation of Dresden, convinced Maria Theresa of the uselessness of continuing the struggle against Prussia. With an indignant protest at the conduct of England—"Heavens," she said, "see how we are treated by our allies"—she submitted to the inevitable and made the Treaty of Dresden with Frederick.

By this Treaty, Frederick recognised Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, as Emperor ; and guaranteed Maria Theresa in her possessions in Germany,

though not elsewhere, while Austria promised to leave Frederick in possession of Silesia.

Frederick did not attempt to defend his conduct in thus for the third time deserting his allies, except by saying that the French had neglected his interests in the late campaign, and that they should have known that he would forsake them when it suited him.

The war was now practically confined to a struggle of Austria against France and Spain on the continent, and between England and France in India. Argenson, the French foreign minister, indulged in a scheme of driving the foreigner, both Spanish and Austrian, from Italy, and of forming a league of native republics or kingdoms under a federal bond. The dream, though interesting as an anticipation of what was to come one day, was not to be realised. It would mean the expulsion of Don Carlos and Don Philip from Italy, and this Elizabeth Farnese would do her best to frustrate, while even Charles Emanuel of Sardinia feared that, if successful, Italy would fall under the tutelage of France. The policy of this shifty prince had throughout been directed towards maintaining a balance between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. He therefore only carried on negotiations as a blind to gain time, till Austria should be ready to move. Spain, angry at Argenson's policy, did not cooperate. Accordingly, Austria and Sardinia had little difficulty in clearing Italy of both French and Spanish troops, and even attacked Provence. In the following April the defeat of the Young Pretender at Culloden

War confined to Austria, England and France

Failure of d'Argenson's Italian policy

French and Spanish driven from Italy, Feb. 1746

Defeat of Young Pretender at Culloden, April, 1746

French defeated at sea but successful in Netherlands

destroyed all hopes of a Stuart restoration, while at sea the French suffered two serious reverses, off Ushant, October, 1746, and Cape Finisterre, May, 1747. On the other hand, the French, led by that great general, though profligate man, Marshal Saxe, completely overran the Netherlands and even entered Holland.

Thus the successes of the Austrians in Italy were balanced by the victories of Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands, while if in India the French admiral Labourdonnais was able to take Madras, in North America the French lost Louisbourg, the capital of the island of Cape Breton, which guards the entrance to the St. Lawrence.

Dissensions between the allies

Philip V. of Spain succeeded by Ferdinand VI., July, 1746

Under these circumstances, it was but natural that the Powers should begin to weary of the war, and that quarrels should arise between the allies themselves. England was little pleased at the way in which her subsidies were used by Austria to carry on the war in Italy, while the defence of the Netherlands was left to her. Charles Emanuel of Sardinia, unwilling to see the Austrians too successful in Italy, was again intriguing with France. The death of Philip of Spain and the accession of Ferdinand VI., his only surviving son by his first marriage, had weakened the influence of Elizabeth Farnese. In a word, all the Powers except Austria were anxious for peace, and even Maria Theresa recognised that as Elizabeth of Russia did not move, a continuation of the war without the hearty co-operation of England and of Sardinia was impossible. The actual terms of the

peace were however dictated by France and England, and were only tardily accepted by the other Powers.

By the terms of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle which was signed by France, Holland and England in April, 1748, and finally accepted by all in November:—

The Peace
of Aix-la-
Chapelle,
April-Nov.
1748

1. The acquisition of Silesia by Frederick was guaranteed.
2. Savoy and Nice were restored to Charles Emanuel as well as Upper Novara and Vigevano, "two leaves of the Milanese artichoke".
3. The Netherlands were restored to Austria in return for Parma and Piacenza, which were ceded to Don Philip.
4. The French restored Madras to England and regained Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton.

Three Powers, Frederick, Charles Emanuel and the Spanish Bourbons, were the chief gainers by the war. In France there was much discontent at this "stupid peace" by which the Netherlands, a most valuable conquest, were surrendered to provide for an establishment in Italy for Don Philip, the cousin of the King. For the rest, if we except the acquisition of Silesia by Frederick, the results of this prolonged struggle were unimportant, while the peace itself is chiefly interesting on account of the jealousies and divisions among the allies themselves, which preceded it, and contributed to it, and which heralded the radical changes in alliances which were shortly to follow.

CHAPTER VIII

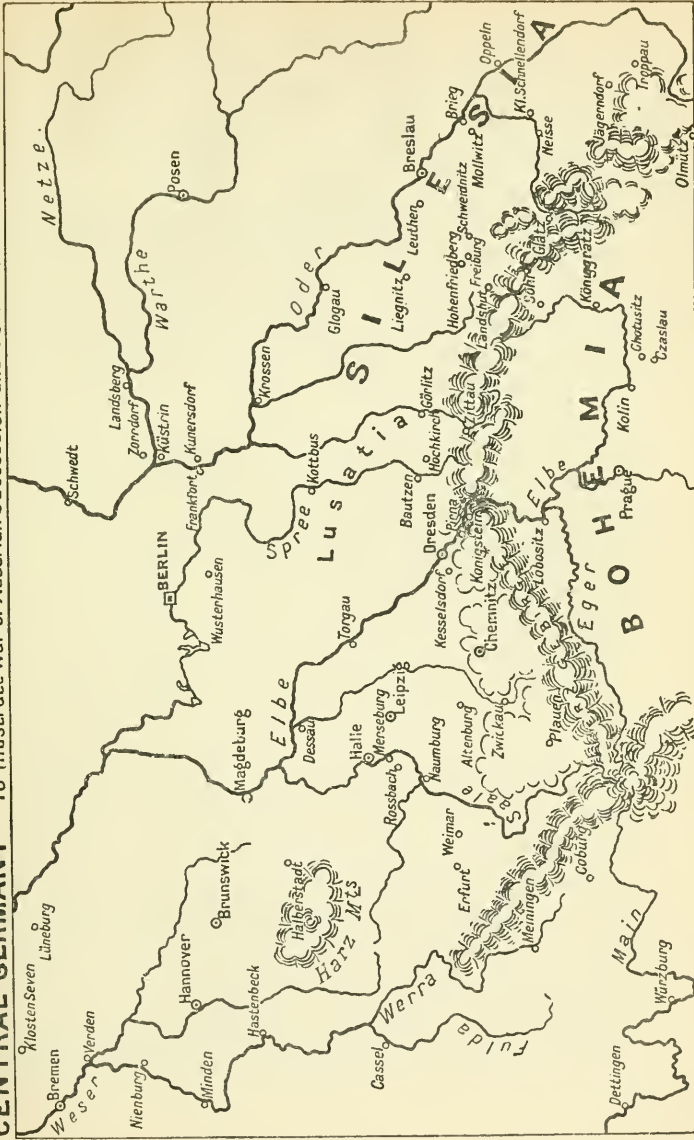
THE CHANGES IN EUROPEAN ALLIANCES—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The re-
forms of
Maria
Theresa

BY no one was the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle more disliked than by Maria Theresa. She had been forced to surrender Parma and Placentia in Italy, and above all, Silesia. She had protested against the clause which permanently guaranteed its possession to Frederick, and the war was no sooner over than she was preparing for another.

If, however, Austria was to have any chance of success, two things were essentially necessary: a reform of the government at home, and a change of alliances abroad. Hitherto the old councillors had, as the Empress herself said, "been too prejudiced to give useful advice, and yet too respectable to be dismissed". But about this time Providence removed most of these, and four new men came to the front who were eager for change: Ludwig Haugwitz, the son of a Saxon general, who had administrative experience in Silesia, and who, as Chancellor, devoted himself to reforming the government; Rudolf Chotek, who especially concerned himself with financial matters; Van Swieten, originally Maria Theresa's phy-

CENTRAL GERMANY To illustrate War of Austrian Succession and Seven Years War



BY S. Austin, Oxford, 1908

Scale



sician, who turned his attention to education; and Wenzel, Count Kaunitz, who became minister of foreign affairs.

Adminis-
trative
reforms of
Maria
Theresa

The weakness of Austrian government will be easily appreciated if we remember the character of the lands over which it ruled (*cf.* p. 149), a collection of territories rather than a well-organised State; there was no common deliberative or legislative assembly, and only a confused and ineffective system of central justice and administration. Hence constant friction between various parts, the subordination of the interests of the State to those of the particular province or country, and a general want of efficiency.

Moreover, the nobles had too much power in their respective provinces, and, supported by the clergy, resolutely opposed reforms which touched their privileges.

No doubt a good many of these difficulties were due to deeper causes than the mere external form of government—that is, to the racial divisions and jealousies which remain to this day. Nevertheless something could be done by a reformed system of government; and to this end Haugwitz now devoted himself. The general lines of his reforms were those already adopted with such good effect by Austria's new rival Prussia, and their aim was to increase the central authority, and to weaken the powers of the local nobility. The political power of the Provincial Assemblies was reduced, especially in matters of finance and of the army. Instead of an annual contribution of men and money, a fixed sum was to

be voted for ten years, and the administration of the army was taken entirely out of their hands. The local administration was placed in the hands of Colleges (*Gubernium*) appointed by the central authority and responsible to it, in which, though the nobles found a place, the real work was done by the professional members.

In the central departments the judicial work was definitely separated from the financial and administrative and placed in the hands of a Supreme Court (*Hofrath*).

The financial and the administrative affairs were placed in the hands of a Directory, or ministry of internal affairs, which was, however, subsequently separated into a central chamber (*Kammer*) of finance, and a supreme chancery (*Kanzlei*) for executive purposes. Hungary, however, still retained its own separate chamber of finance (*Kammer*) and chancery (*Kanzlei*), nor would the Diet surrender any of its powers.

The Council of War, the only body which had hitherto represented unity, was continued, and later a better organised Privy Council (*Staats Rath*), with supreme control over these departments, took the place of the earlier secret conference of ministers.¹ Army reform

At the same time the army was increased and reformed. Conscription was introduced, the peace establishment fixed at 100,000, which could be in-

¹ These reforms did not apply to the Netherlands or to the Italian possessions, nor to Hungary.

creased in time of war to 195,000, and better drill introduced.

Financial,
social and
educational
reforms

The financial system was next improved by Chotek. The exemptions of nobles from taxation were abolished, a universal income tax and a graduated poll tax introduced. Many internal customs were abolished. The trade of Trieste and the Mediterranean was encouraged, and canals and roads were improved.

At the same time the lot of the peasants was bettered. The jurisdiction of their lords over them was regulated, their dues reduced, and they were offered the opportunity of buying the lands they held.

Lastly, under the advice of Van Swieten, the University of Vienna was brought more closely under Government control, and at a somewhat later date a system of primary education was established.

While steps were thus being taken to develop the internal resources of the country and to make the government and the army more efficient, Kaunitz was urging his mistress to look for new allies.

Kaunitz
and his
ideas of
foreign
policy

This remarkable man, who dressed like a dandy and had the airs of a coxcomb, had, by the ability with which he had conducted some diplomatic missions, completely won the confidence of Maria Theresa, and was permitted by that proud lady to treat her in a manner allowed to no one else. His views were based on the central point that the rise of Prussia had revolutionised the balance of power in Europe. Prussia was now the arch-enemy of Austria and must be resisted; and Silesia, whence

Frederick could strike a blow at the very heart of her possessions, must be retaken. Of her old allies, the maritime Powers, England and Holland, had by their conduct in the late war shown that they had no longer the interests of Austria at heart. England had even forced her to cede Silesia and to make the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Indeed, in any future war they were not unlikely to join Prussia, the young and Protestant country. Russia, owing to constant changes in the order of succession and to the palace revolutions, could not be depended upon. Under these circumstances, the true ally was France, for she was as much concerned in checking the power of Prussia as Austria herself.

Although there had been indications of the truth of Kaunitz' view during the late war, this complete reversal of a traditional policy was opposed by the Emperor and some of the other ministers. The Empress herself, however, turned a willing ear to it, and in 1750, Kaunitz was appointed Austrian ambassador at Versailles. Here he succeeded in gaining the personal favour of Louis XV., and his mistress, Madame de Pompadour. The King, however, at this moment was very unpopular. The Government, now practically in the hands of Madame de Pompadour, was in great confusion, and engaged in a serious quarrel with the "Parlement" of Paris over the question of taxation and the treatment of the Jansenists. This was scarcely the moment to reverse the traditional policy of centuries. The proposals of Kaunitz, therefore, met with no approval, and on his

Kaunitz,
ambassa-
dor at
Versailles,
1750-1753

Kannitz,
Chancellor,
1753

return to Vienna in 1753 to become Chancellor and Prime Minister, there seemed little prospect of success.

Conflict
between
England
and France
in America

At this moment the conflict between England and France in America, which had been long smouldering, broke out afresh and materially altered the situation. The importance of the struggle then will be best appreciated if we briefly describe the position of affairs. With the exception of Jamaica and a few West Indian islands, the English colonies were confined to a comparatively narrow strip between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. To the north lay Canada in the hands of the French, and to the south their colony of Louisiana commanding the mouths of the Mississippi, and originally colonised from Canada itself.¹

It was the aim of the French more effectually to occupy the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and thus to connect their colonies in the south with Canada. Had they succeeded in their attempt, the English would have been prevented from pushing westward, and the rest of North America to the shores of the Pacific, might have belonged to France.

¹The *English* colonies were: (1) The indeterminate territories held by the Hudson Bay Company, north of Canada (founded 1670); (2) The thirteen colonies with Acadia, though its limits were disputed; (3) Newfoundland; (4) The Bermudas and Bahama Islands; (5) Jamaica and Honduras; (6) Barbados, Montserrat, Antigua and Tobago. The *French* were: (1) Canada and the Island of Cape Breton; (2) Louisiana; (3) French Guiana in S. America; (4) The islands of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada and S. Domingo (or half of the present Haiti). Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent were neutral.

When therefore Duquesne, the Governor of Canada, seized the valley of the Ohio and built the fort which bears his name, the English colony of Virginia thought it necessary to resist, and sent against the French a body of militia under Washington, who was however defeated. One year later, a force of regulars, under General Braddock, shared a like fate, and the general himself fell.

Defeat of Washington, 1754, and of General Braddock, July, 1755

Unless England was prepared to submit, it was clear that war must be declared against France herself. In that case, the French would be certain to threaten Hanover, and also to seize the barrier fortresses which England thought necessary to protect Holland and her own commercial interests. As England could not hope to resist this attack without the aid of some continental power, the English ministry approached their old ally Austria, and asked her to send troops to defend the electorate of Hanover, to rebuild the barrier fortresses which had fallen into decay, and to send her troops into the Austrian Netherlands. The demands of England seemed to confirm the assertion of Kaunitz that her alliance was burdensome; Maria Theresa was indignant at the way she had been treated in the war of the Austrian Succession; she considered her alliance with England as directed less against France than against her bitterest and not less dangerous foe, Frederick of Prussia, and she felt that the English proposals placed the whole burden on her and might well result in a fatal dispersion of Austrian strength. As for the Netherlands, it had been the persistent policy of England and of Holland to interfere with their

Austria refuses England's advances

George II.
therefore
turns to
Russia and
Prussia

development, and that she would neither increase the army of occupation nor rebuild the fortresses unless England and Holland would co-operate. George II. of England therefore turned to Prussia, having previously obtained a promise of assistance from the Tzarina Elizabeth in return for a subsidy (September, 1755).

The personal relations of George and the Prussian King were by no means cordial, and there were further disputes arising out of the late war which had not been settled. Nevertheless, Frederick was convinced that Maria Theresa was forming a league against him. He had learnt through the treachery of Menzel, a clerk in the Saxon service, that a defensive treaty against Prussia had been signed between Austria, Russia and Saxony in 1746, during the late war. He knew that negotiations to the same effect had been going on since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The news, therefore, of the agreement between England and Russia made him fear that, if he declined the request of England, he might find her added to the coalition against him, while France under her present Government, for which he had a supreme contempt, might leave him in the lurch. If, on the other hand, he joined England, he hoped at least to secure the neutrality of Russia. Accordingly, he concluded the Convention of Westminster; by which—

Frederick
makes Con-
vention of
Westmin-
ster, Jan.
1756

1. He promised to protect Hanover from the French.
2. England undertook to abandon her design of using Russian troops for that purpose.

3. Both Powers mutually guaranteed the neutrality of Germany.

In the meantime, France had despatched an ambassador to Berlin, asking for a renewal of the old alliance. He was met by the news of the convention. Frederick, indeed, attempted to show that his agreement with England was purely defensive, and did not necessarily pledge him to act offensively against France. He further advised Louis XV. to devote French energies to the sea, and not to mix himself up with European affairs. By this advice he hoped to keep on good terms with both countries and to isolate Austria. Louis XV., however, angry at the rebuff, allowed the Abbé Bernis, then at the head of affairs, to accept the offers of Kaunitz and to conclude the First Treaty of Versailles. The terms of the treaty were very general.

France and Austria conclude First Treaty of Versailles, May, 1756

1. Each Power engaged to defend each other's possessions in Europe, though France did not undertake to aid in the recovery of Silesia.

2. Austria promised to assist France if she were attacked by any ally of England on the continent, though she expressly declared herself neutral in the actual war between France and England in the New World and India.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth of Russia, declaring that her agreement with England had been made to defend Hanover from Frederick, and that it had been annulled by the Convention of Westminster, now offered Maria Theresa to attack Frederick with

Elizabeth of Russia joins Austria, April, 1756

80,000 men, and promised not to make peace till Silesia was regained.

Frederick II. enters Saxony without declaration of war, Aug. 29, 1756

Frederick the Great became convinced that his destruction was being prepared. He, therefore, massed his troops on the frontier. When Austria did the same, he demanded an explanation, and on receiving an equivocal answer, first asked the Elector of Saxony for leave to march through his territory, then proceeded to occupy it, and insisted that the Elector should join him. "Good God," said the Saxon envoy, "such conduct is without example." "I think not," answered Frederick; "but even if that were so, are you not aware that I pride myself on being original?" And when his minister Podewils advised him to refrain from so rash a step, he contemptuously dismissed him with an "Adieu, monsieur de la timide politique". Augustus of Saxony, contrary to expectation, refused to comply and retired to the fortresses of Pirna and Königstein, which stand on the borders of Saxony where the Elbe forces its way through the Bohemian mountains, in the country now called Saxon Switzerland.

Indecisive battle of Lobositz; Saxony occupied (Oct. 11)

When, however, the Austrians under Marshal Browne advanced to the relief of the Elector, Frederick masked the fortresses and met him with half his army at Lobositz. The action, though indecisive, forced Browne to retire and the Elector was obliged to capitulate. He betook himself to Warsaw, his Polish capital, while his army was compelled to join the Prussians.

In the *Mémoire raisonnée*, which Frederick subsequently published, he attempted to justify his con-

duct in thus invading a country without declaration of war. Unfortunately, the Menzel documents do not prove that Saxony had actually made an alliance with Austria against him.¹ The policy of the Saxon minister, Count Brühl, may be described as one of "I dare not waiting on I would". He rejoiced at the prospect of a coalition against Prussia; he had listened to the proposals of Austria, and when an opportunity offered he probably would have joined the coalition. But he had done no more, and it has been well said that, if we remember the usual methods of diplomacy, most Powers would, on the ground adduced by Frederick, be justified at any moment in forcibly entering their neighbour's country. Frederick, however, cared little for the opinion of Europe. The real question for him was the practical advantage to be gained. He had learnt by the experience of the late war the danger of having Saxony as an enemy, and the importance of that country as a basis of operations. Nevertheless, it may be questioned whether it would not have been better to have moved on Austria by way of Silesia. The Saxon business delayed his operations for more than a month, and gave Austria time to prepare. Whatever may be the decision of military experts, it cannot be doubted that in other ways Frederick's conduct increased his difficulties. Although, as he said with truth, his action had been in self-defence and not with any aggressive aim,

¹ In August, 1747, Saxony had joined the defensive alliance of St. Petersburg concluded in May, 1746, between Austria, Russia, England and Holland. But this alliance was mainly defensive and had been made after the Peace of Dresden.

his methods exposed him to the charge of being a thoroughly untrustworthy and dangerous man, who must be crushed.

The Diet
declares
war on
Frederick,
Jan. 1757

In January, 1757, the Imperial Diet declared war against him as a disturber of the public peace. In the same month the Tzarina Elizabeth, by the Convention of St. Petersburg, undertook, in return for payment, to aid Austria in regaining Silesia and in partitioning Prussia; and, finally, in May, 1757, just one year after the first Treaty of Versailles, France signed a second treaty, by which—

Second
Treaty of
Versailles,
May, 1757

1. France was to continue the war till Silesia had been gained and Prussia partitioned, "in order that she might no longer disturb the public tranquillity".

2. On the acquisition of Silesia, Austria was to cede Mons, Ostend, and other districts in the Netherlands to France, and to give the remainder to Don Philip, the son-in-law of Louis XV., in return for Parma and Placentia, which were to go to Austria, as well as the reversion of the Netherlands, in the event of Don Philip leaving no children.

Thus Kaunitz had gained his end, and had completely revolutionised the political alliances of Europe. England, the traditional ally of Austria, had become her enemy, and France, her traditional enemy, had become her friend.

Policy of
the treaty
discussed

That France had made a great mistake has generally been assumed. Yet it is difficult to see what alternative she had. It has been argued that she should not have interfered in the European contest at all, but have devoted herself to the struggle with England for the command of the

sea, and for the possession of India and America. It is true that Austria could not help her in this struggle, and that by engaging in Austria's quarrel she divided her aims, and put a double strain on her resources.

Yet, apart from the question whether France was ever likely to become a great colonising Power, a question much debated, it may be doubted whether, if she had confined herself to the struggle with England, she would have been successful. She had only sixty-three ships of the line, and, even had she secured the Spanish Alliance at first, which she failed to do, the united fleets would only have amounted to 109 ships, while England had 130. A country that starts on a naval war at such a disadvantage has the greatest difficulty in ever gaining the supremacy. A navy cannot be made in a day; and once the enemy has obtained the superiority, and with it the command of the sea, any new ships are sure to be destroyed as soon as they venture out of harbour, and before they have had time to practise their crews. The French navy had been neglected of late, and France was now to pay the penalty. The command of the sea once gone, the loss of Canada and of India was inevitable; and yet, that France should abandon her possessions without a struggle could scarcely be expected.

It would therefore seem that her real mistake was, that, in the Second Treaty of Versailles she did not ask enough in return for her alliance, so

that, in the event of success, Austria would reap all the advantage. Had she demanded a larger share of the Netherlands, Austria would, in all probability, have complied, and England might not have been able to prevent it. It was certainly absurd that the chief return for the enormous sacrifices France was asked to make was the establishment of the Spanish Don Philip in the Netherlands, especially when his brother, the King of Spain, declined to give his aid.

Indeed, it might be argued that the true alternative for France was to have concentrated her whole attention on the European struggle. She never wished to rule India. Many in France thought the colonies themselves scarcely worth the expense; and as she was doomed to fail on the sea, her better course would have been to come to terms with England, which would certainly have been quite possible, without the loss of Louisiana or Canada, and to have thrown herself resolutely on the side of Austria.

Later events have shown that the rise of Prussia has been the great danger of France. There was much in Kaunitz's argument that Prussia was the real enemy, not only of Austria, but of France; and that, under the new circumstances, they were the true allies. Had France thrown her whole energy into that war, it is hardly conceivable that Prussia could have escaped partition, and she might never have risen again.

France had, however, decided to carry on the war in both hemispheres. Failure would be disastrous,

and the war once undertaken should have been pressed with the greatest vigour. Yet this was out of the question so long as the Government was the victim of the whims and the personal dislikes of the frivolous yet ambitious mistress of a sensual and feeble King.

For Austria, indeed, Kaunitz seemed to have made a brilliant stroke, and the ruin of the arch-enemy Frederick appeared inevitable; yet, as events proved, Kaunitz had only gained a useless ally in France, and made an abiding enemy of Prussia.

In the war which became general in 1757 all the Powers of Europe were engaged, except Holland, Spain and Sardinia. Holland did not feel herself interested enough to interfere. In Spain, Ferdinand VI. was influenced by jealousy of his half-brother, Don Philip, and Charles Emanuel of Sardinia, now that Habsburg and Bourbon were in alliance, could no longer play off one against the other, and therefore had nothing to gain by intervening.

The struggle, therefore, falls into two divisions: the contest between England and France for supremacy at sea, in India and in North America, and that on the Continent. These are only very indirectly connected and may be treated separately.

The war on the Continent was confined to the East of the Rhine and centres round Frederick himself. To the surprise of his opponents, he took the initiative, and advancing against the Austrians, who were holding Prague, he was able, by the superior efficiency of his troops in the matter of tactics, to

Powers en-
gaged in
the Seven
Years' Wa-

Frederick
wins the
battle of
Prague,
May, 1757

outmanœuvre Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Emperor's brother, on the battlefield, to defeat him, and to blockade him in Prague. Here, however, his success ended for the time. Marshal Daun, waiting till he had a sufficient force, marched from the East to the relief of the beleaguered city. Frederick rashly pursued his offensive tactics, and was overwhelmed by superior numbers at Kolin on the Upper Elbe. Had Charles of Lorraine only shown more energy Frederick would probably have been completely crushed; as it was, he was forced to evacuate Bohemia.

But is
defeated at
Kolin,
June 18,
1757

French
victory at
Hasten-
beck and
Convention
of Kloster
Seven,
July-
Sept. 1757

Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., and his Hanoverian troops were beaten by the French under Marshal d'Estrées at Hastenbeck, and the Duke agreed to the Convention of Kloster Seven, by which his troops were allowed to retreat under promise that they would not serve again for a year, and Hanover was handed over to the French till the conclusion of the war.

Russian
victory at
Gross
Jägern-
dorf, Aug.
1757

Nor were matters better in the North. In August the Russian Apraxin won the battle of Gross Jägerndorf on the Pregel and in September the Swedes invaded Pomerania.

The Austrian army under Charles of Lorraine and Daun now advanced into Silesia, while the Imperial army and the French under Soubise, having occupied the Prussian possessions in Westphalia, moved on Saxony.

Reasons for
failure of
the allies

Frederick appeared to be doomed. His enemies were closing in on all sides, and to resist them he had

but one army in the field. That he escaped is to be attributed partly to the want of co-operation between the French and the Austrian commanders, partly to the superiority of the Prussian troops, causes which recurred again and again throughout the war. The Prussian army, originally the creation of Frederick's father (*cf.* p. 146), had been perfected by the experience of the late war, and since that time had been carefully looked after by Frederick himself. No luxury was allowed among the officers. The inferior officers, on whom so much depends, thoroughly knew their work and their men. Promotion was according to desert; insubordination was checked with a stern hand; the artillery had been improved, and the cavalry, under Seidlitz, made the most effective in Europe. Moreover, the army was inspired by the masterful personality of Frederick himself, a man who, though not originally a soldier in tastes, had, through the lessons of the late war, become one of the greatest generals, not only of his own, but of all times; and who, since he controlled the Government as well, had never to subordinate his military operations to motives of State policy which were not his own.

Of the armies opposed to the Prussian King, that of the Austrians was by far the most efficient. It had been reorganised during and after the war of the Austrian Succession. Though inferior to the Prussian army in quality, it was much larger, and had it been well led, would have been most formidable. Unfortunately, Prince Charles of Lorraine was in-

capable and timid, and had no claim to command, except that he was brother to the Emperor. Marshal Daun, though a much better general, was far too cautious and slow, and failed in that most necessary gift, the power of following up an advantage gained. Yet the chivalrous spirit of Maria Theresa forbade her to dismiss her loyal, if inefficient, servants. The Russian army proved itself formidable indeed, but its effectiveness was constantly checked, not only by the changeableness of Russian policy, but by the unfortunate custom of retiring at the end of every autumn behind the Vistula, and thus sacrificing the fruits of the summer's campaign. As for the Imperial army, it was really worthless. The contingents were formed of riff-raff. It had no common organisation, nor even a common commissariat, and was feared rather by its friends than by its foes.

The weakness of the French army, like that of Austria, lay not so much in the quality of the rank and file as in the inefficiency of its officers. These, recruited exclusively from the nobility, were brave enough on the battlefield, but were ignorant of their duties and luxurious in camp. Promotion was only to be gained by favour or by purchase, and some were colonels while they were still boys. As a rule the regiments were raised by the colonels themselves, and much speculation was the result. Above all, the commands of the armies were given according to the whims of Madame de Pompadour, and anyone who incurred her enmity was quickly removed. Thus Marshal d'Estrées, who had won the battle of

Hastenbeck, was superseded by the profligate Riche-lieu, and the amiable but incapable Prince de Soubise. If we add to these causes the dismissal of Count d'Argenson from the Ministry of War because he dared to be independent, and the substitution of nonentities who had often purchased their offices, and the squandering of the revenue by misappropriation, bad administration, and even fraud, we shall not be wrong in saying that the secret of French defeats is to be sought in the chamber of Madame de Pompadour.

In the late autumn of 1757, Frederick, having the advantage of the interior position, and safe from the East, owing to the retirement of the Russians into winter quarters, left the Prince of Brunswick-Bevern to hold Breslau against the Austrians, and threw himself on the united Imperial and French army under the command of Soubise at Rossbach, in Saxony. Once more, chiefly owing to his superior tactics and the efficiency of his cavalry and artillery, he won a decisive victory. The Imperial army dispersed, and the French retreated to the Rhine plundering, as was their wont.

Frederick
wins battle
of Ross-
bach, Nov.
5, 1757

He then turned back and attacked the Austrians who, under Charles of Lorraine and Daun, had taken Breslau. Although his forces did not number more than one half of those of the enemy, he defeated them at Leuthen, and regained almost all Silesia except Schweidnitz, which is of importance as commanding the pass from Breslau into Bohemia.

and the
battle of
Leuthen,
Dec. 5,
1757

In the following spring, the misfortunes of the

English
repudiate
the Con-
vention of
Kloster
Seven, 1758

allies continued. In the first place, the English repudiated the Convention of Kloster Seven. Richelieu, who had made it, had exacted no guarantees. It was nearly as unpopular in France as in England, and according to the principles of international law, a convention before it becomes binding requires the ratification of the Home Governments. The English ministry refused to ratify it. Forthwith, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick drove the French, with their hated leader Richelieu, who was called the Marauder, out of Hanover and across the Rhine.

Frederick, thus relieved from all apprehension from the West, and having now taken Schweidnitz, determined to make a bold stroke on Olmutz in Moravia. If he could take that important fortress and secure the valley of the March, he would threaten Vienna itself. He had twice attempted the same move during the war of the Austrian Succession, and now, as before, he did not succeed. Indeed, when we remember that Daun was behind him in Bohemia, and that the Russians were again advancing into Silesia, his move must be held to have been over-rash. Finding that his communications were threatened by Marshal Daun, he was forced to retreat through Bohemia, a movement which he carried out with masterly success in the presence of superior forces. Then, passing into Silesia, he dashed against the Russians, and after a desperate struggle of ten hours he worsted them at Zorndorf, near Custrin, on the Oder.

Frederick's
victory at
Zorndorf,
Aug. 25,
1758

His difficulties were not, however, over. Two Austrian armies were on his track: one under Harrach pressed into Silesia; the other under Daun entered Lusatia, or Saxony east of the Elbe. Frederick turned against the latter. Trusting to the usual slowness of his adversary, he rashly exposed his flank. Daun, contrary to expectation, followed the advice of Marshal Lacy, an Irishman in the service of Maria Theresa, seized the opportunity offered, and once more beat his formidable antagonist at Hochkirch, near Bautzen. However, Daun, as usual, did not follow up his victory, and Frederick was able to drive Harrach from Silesia.

His defeat
at Hoch-
kirch,
Oct. 14,
1758

At the close of the year 1758, Frederick had on the whole the advantage over his enemies. His own dominions were intact; he still held most of Saxony, and the French had been driven across the Rhine. He had won four pitched battles, and lost only two, or three if we include Gross Jägerndorf, where he was not personally present. Yet time was telling against him. His resources were well-nigh exhausted, and English subsidies were beginning to fail. Although his artillery was still excellent, especially his horse artillery, which he was the first to introduce into European warfare, he could only put 110,000 men into the field against 300,000. His veterans had been decimated, and his troops were many of them raw recruits. His adversaries had begun to adopt his tactics, and at Hochkirch had actually taken the offensive. From this time forward, therefore, he was forced to act on the defensive, and

there were evident signs that he could not carry on the unequal contest much longer.

Choiseul
succeeds
the Abbé
Bernis,
Dec. 1758

Moreover, the Abbé Bernis, the negotiator of the Treaty of Versailles, had been dismissed because he now saw the necessity of peace, and had been succeeded by the Duke of Choiseul, a far more able and independent man, and France under his leadership was likely to take a more active part.

The year 1759, therefore, opened gloomily enough. In the summer Frederick had once more to meet a combined attack from the Austrians and the Russians.

Frederick's
defeat at
Küners-
dorf, Aug.
1759

Although in the battle which followed at Künersdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder, against the Russians who were strengthened by an Austrian contingent, the dash of the Prussians at first carried all before them, they failed in their attack on the last entrenchment, and beaten down by numbers, which were as usual two to one, suffered a severe repulse, mainly owing to the Austrian cavalry. Had Soltikoff, the Russian general, only pursued his advantage, Frederick must have been caught between him and Daun and overwhelmed. But Soltikoff, declaring that it was now the turn of the Austrians, desisted, and in October retired to the Vistula. As it was, Daun was able to occupy Saxony and to force Dresden and Torgau on the Elbe to capitulate.

Successes
of the Eng-
lish at
Minden
(Aug. 1759),
Lagos, and
Quiberon
(Nov.)

Fortunately the success of the English in the West and on the ocean did something to relieve the gloom. In August, Choiseul's attempt to reconquer Hanover was foiled by the victory of Ferdinand of Brunswick over Contades at Minden, a battle in

which the English for once took a prominent part, while his idea of invading England was effectually prevented by the victory of Boscawen at Lagos as De la Clue was attempting to unite with the Atlantic fleet at Brest, and by the still more decisive defeat of the Brest fleet by Hawke at Quiberon. Henceforth the English were masters of the sea, and blockaded Toulon, Brest and Dunkirk. Indeed the year 1759 was a year of victory for the English. In September, Quebec fell, and with it Canada was practically lost to France. The island of Guadeloupe and Goree in West Africa were taken, while in the following January the battle of Wandewash ended the French supremacy in the Carnatic.

Fall of
Quebec,
Sept. 1759;
and battle
of Wandewash, Jan.
1760

Choiseul, having now tried his best, became convinced of the necessity of peace. Yet Maria Theresa, believing in ultimate success, obstinately refused to consider peace, and in March, 1760, concluded a fresh treaty with Elizabeth of Russia, by which East Prussia was promised to Elizabeth in return for further help.

The plan of the allies was to make a concerted attack on Silesia, Brandenburg and Saxony. Laudon, a far more active general than Daun, moved into Silesia and won a victory over one of Frederick's lieutenants at Landshut, but was defeated by the Prussian King himself at Liegnitz. In October the Russians, with an Austrian contingent under Lacy, entered Berlin, but on the approach of the Prussians retired across the Oder, and Frederick, displaying his old power of strategy, turned against Daun who had secured nearly all Saxony. Though suffer-

Frederick
wins battle
of Liegnitz,
Aug. 1760

and Tor-
gau, Nov.
1760

ing great loss he was able by the help of Seidlitz and his cavalry to win a battle at Torgau, which he declared to be the severest in the war. Torgau was the last pitched battle which Frederick ever fought. Fortunately his enemies were nearly as exhausted as himself, and the year 1761 was not marked by any decisive engagement in Germany.

Accession
of Charles
III., Aug.
1759; and
George
III., Oct.
1760

Elsewhere, however, two events had occurred which were to lead to important developments. In August, 1759, Don Carlos had succeeded his half-brother, Ferdinand, as King of Spain, and in October, 1760, George III. became King of England. George III. was anxious for peace, and Choiseul was not unwilling to come to terms, even if he had to abandon Maria Theresa. The negotiations, however, broke down because Chatham's terms were too high. The French minister, therefore, turned to Charles III. of Spain. The new King was not, like his half-brother, Ferdinand, a weak, uxorious hypochondriac. As Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, he had shown himself an active reformer. He now transferred his energies to his new kingdom and dreamt of reviving once more the ancient glories of Spain. He therefore accepted the advances of the French, and in an evil moment for his country concluded the third and last of the unfortunate Family Compacts. By this—

The Family
Compact,
Aug. 1761

1. Each guaranteed each other his possessions as they should be at the peace.

2. Citizens of one country trading in the other were to enjoy the privileges of natives.

3. In a secret article Spain promised to declare war on England if peace were not made by May, 1762.

Had Spain joined France at first, her alliance might have been of some avail. It was now too late. It only postponed the peace, and as far as Spain was concerned led to the loss of some of her colonies to England.

Indirectly, however, the conclusion of the Family Compact affected the war in Germany. Chatham, having received information of the secret article, was eager to declare war on Spain at once. The King refused, and Chatham accordingly resigned. The Marquis of Bute, who succeeded him, was the favourite of the King, and shared his pacific views. Thus France and England began to withdraw from the contest, and if Maria Theresa lost the support of France, this was not so serious as the defection of England from Frederick's side, especially as England would not long continue her subsidies, without which Frederick could not persevere.

When, therefore, late in the autumn of 1761, Austria and Russia began to move again, Frederick was in a desperate strait. East Prussia, part of Pomerania, and Silesia were in their hands. The Russians had at last determined to make their winter quarters in Pomerania, so as to be ready for instant action in the spring. So hopeless was the position that Frederick, who had often contemplated suicide, now wrote many odes in praise of it. But, although he did not, at least from the moral point of view, deserve it, Providence came to his aid and saved him from himself.

On 5th January, 1762, his bitter enemy, the

Resignation of Chatham, Oct. 1761; the Earl of Bute

Frederick saved by death of Tzarina Elizabeth, Jan. 1762

Tzarina Elizabeth passed away, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. The new Tzar, though half-crazy, was a fanatical admirer of the warrior King. He thought himself a soldier. He spent his time in idle mock battles, in which he expended an enormous amount of powder, which might have been used to better effect. Kneeling before the portrait of his hero, he was heard to say: "My brother, together we could conquer the world". Inspired by such sentiments, he made haste to make an alliance with Prussia. His action at once forced the Swedes to make peace, though they had done little in the war.

In the summer of 1762, Peter despatched a body of 20,000 Russians to reinforce the Prussian army, and Frederick had now hopes of driving the Austrians from Silesia.

Unfortunately the crazy Tzar was not allowed to put his boast to the trial. His vagaries had alienated all classes in Russia, while his violence threatened the liberty, if not the life, of his wife. This remarkable character, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, the daughter of a small German ruler, owed her position as Tzarina to Frederick himself, who had negotiated the marriage. Her ambition had been excited by her good fortune, the follies of her husband had aroused her contempt, while his dangerous moods had given her cause to fear him. She accordingly fostered the discontent, and in July, Peter was deposed and shortly afterwards murdered, with Catherine's assent, if not at her instigation.

Peter III.
deposed,
July 8,
1762

Her first act was to recall the Russian troops, and the hopes of Austria rose. But Catherine had no intention of rejoining the Austrian Alliance. She preferred to remain neutral, and await further developments. Frederick was, therefore, able to retake Schweidnitz in October, while Prince Henry of Prussia defeated a mixed Austrian and Imperial army at Freiburg, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was also successful in Western Germany against the French, who here, in the Autumn of 1762, conducted an ignominious campaign, the last which they were to fight before the wars of the French Revolution.

Continued
successes
of Fred-
erick

Nor was France more successful in her struggle with England. Complete masters of the sea, the English had been rapidly reducing the French and Spanish islands. It was evident that, if France and Spain were to retain any, they must treat for peace. Fortunately, Chatham was no longer in power, and George III. and his new minister, Bute, were willing to come to terms. Accordingly negotiations had been opened in September, 1762, which, in November, led to the signing of the preliminaries of peace.

Successes
of England
at sea

The original cause of the war having thus been settled between them, neither England nor France were much interested in the Continental struggle; and Maria Theresa, left practically single-handed, became at last convinced that she must forgo her desire to revenge herself on the Prussian King. Even her demands that she should retain Glatz and hold some of the Prussian Rhenish provinces, and

that Saxony should be compensated for her sufferings during the war, were contemptuously rejected by Frederick. "Not a foot of land, and no compensation to Saxony; not a village, not a penny." These were his terms, which were finally accepted at Hubertsburg, in Saxony.

Peace of
Huberts-
burg, and
of Paris,
Feb. 1763

So far as Europe was concerned, therefore, that peace made no alteration in distribution of territory. "A million of men had perished, and yet not a hamlet had changed its ruler." Nevertheless, the indirect results were far-reaching.

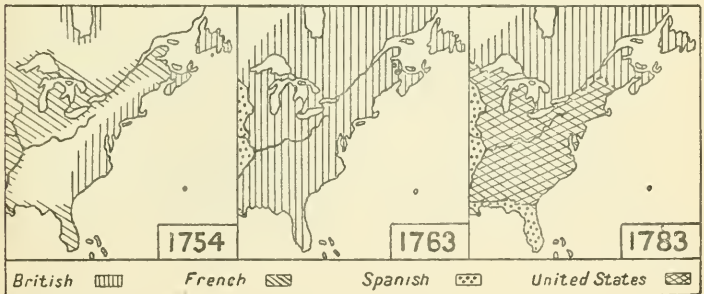
The kingdom of Prussia had finally established herself as one of the five great Powers, and henceforth disputed with Austria the leadership in Germany. She had, indeed, suffered severely. Her population was decimated, her trade ruined. There were scarce horses enough to plough the land, or enough corn for seed. But the King had escaped debt, and had even money enough in his coffers for another campaign. He now improved his finances, introduced the system of excise—which, however, caused some discontent—and used his great gifts as an administrator so effectively that in seven years all traces of the war had nearly disappeared. From this time forward he abandons the rôle of the warrior, becomes the advocate of peace, especially within the empire, and when he wishes for aggrandisement, seeks to attain his end by diplomacy.

Austria, indeed, had suffered nearly as much as Prussia in a material point of view. She had,

THE AMERICAN COLONIES



Engl. Miles 0 100 200 300



BY GARDNER

besides, lost credit, and the great scheme of Kaunitz had conspicuously failed.

The position of England, so far as Europe is concerned, was not improved. Frederick was deeply angered at the way she had left him in the lurch in 1761, at the most serious crisis of his fortunes, and scarce consented to continue diplomatic relations. When, therefore, some twenty years later, England was engaged in her great struggle with her American colonies, she not only found France on the side of her rebellious colonists, but had no ally in Europe whom she could use against her. If, however, we turn to the immediate results of the war itself, the gains of England in India and America were great.

Peace
of Paris,
Feb. 1763

By the Peace of Paris, which was signed at nearly the same moment between England and France and Spain—

1. France ceded Canada, the whole of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton in the north, and the following West Indian islands: Grenada, Tobago, Dominica and St. Vincent, as well as Senegal, on the west coast of Africa.

2. The French settlements in India were restored, but no fortifications were to be permitted.

3. Spain ceded Florida to England, but in return received Louisiana from France, which Louis XV., with somewhat misplaced generosity, insisted on giving as a proof of his gratitude to his unfortunate ally.

The Seven Years' War may thus be said to have decided that England, and not France, was to be the first colonial Power; that North America was to

belong to the Anglo-Saxon race; and that England was to be the ruler of India.

It is generally held that the reason why France was beaten in this great contest was that she had imperative interests in Europe which she could not, or would not, neglect; that while her energies were thus divided, England, less concerned in these questions, could devote herself almost exclusively to the sea, to India and to America, while, by subsidising Frederick, she could keep France employed, and so "win America in Germany".

Causes of the success of England in America and India

The soundness of this contention has already been questioned (*cf.* p. 179). It was there shown that at the opening of the struggle the navy of France was distinctly inferior to that of England, and the difficulty of recovering that supremacy during the course of a naval war was demonstrated. It only therefore remains for us to note how completely the fortunes of the struggle were dominated by the control of the sea. For here it may be observed that, interesting though the questions may be, whether the French had the desire, or the capacity, to become a great colonising people, and what the future of these colonies and dependencies might have been if they had not been conquered by England; or again, whether the English or French in America would have won if they had been left alone by the mother country—all these are but the "might-have-beens" of history. The important fact for us is, that England did win these dependencies

by war, and that the success of that war depended upon the sea.

Position of
France at
opening of
the war

In America, then, France started with this advantage.¹ She had been the first to establish forts in the disputed territory; she had been most successful in gaining the alliance of the chief Indian tribes; her efforts were united, whereas the thirteen English colonies were wanting in harmony and even in devotion to the common cause, and little was to be expected from the weak and timid Government of the Duke of Newcastle.

Character
and policy
of Pitt

But with the final entrance of William Pitt into the ministry (June, 1757) all this was changed. "England," said Frederick the Great, "has long been in child-labour, but has at last produced a man."

The predominant traits of the great statesman Pitt were his extraordinary energy and his distinguished personality, by which he was able to impart that energy to others. Every one it was said left the presence of Pitt a braver man than when he entered it. If we add to this an insight into character, which never failed him, we shall realise that Pitt was one of the best war ministers that this country has ever seen. No sooner was he in power than the incompetent were dismissed; Wolfe was selected for high command, and the war pushed with the greatest energy.

Canada was the main objective of England. It

¹ For relative position of England and France at this time, cf. p. 172.

was not until the English fleet, under Boscawen, had taken Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton, that we completely commanded the estuary of the St. Lawrence, and prevented the landing of any further reinforcements from France. To the urgent demand of Montcalm, the French general, the answer henceforth was that it would be useless to send reinforcements, as the English fleet would surely intercept them. Thenceforth, Louisburg became the chief basis of our operations. The English fleet carried Wolfe and his army to the victory on the heights of Abraham, which gave us Quebec, at the cost of Wolfe's life, indeed—a loss which was, however, in some measure balanced by the death of Montcalm as well.

The English now had Louisbourg on one side and Quebec on the other. Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, still held out at Montreal, and, taking advantage of a rash attempt of the English army to leave Quebec, had beaten them, and laid siege to the town. But then the English fleet again advanced, and forced Vaudreuil to raise the siege and drop back on Montreal. Finally, the English advanced from Lake Champlain, and Vaudreuil, completely surrounded, was forced to surrender Montreal, and Canada was ours. Meanwhile, in the South, the English command of the sea not only forced Louisiana to surrender, but towards the close of the war allowed us to take the French islands as we chose.

If we pass to India, we see the same truth illus-

Fall of
Louisbourg,
July 26,
1755

Fall of
Quebec,
Sept. 13,
1759

and of
Montreal,
Sept. 1760

The French
in India

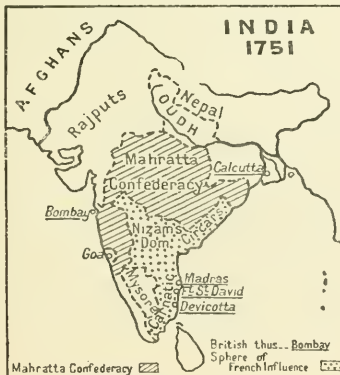
trated. Indeed, except by some power like Russia, that can attack India from the North, the control of that great continent, if it is to be in the hands of any European Power, must fall to that one who is mistress at sea. Nevertheless it should be remembered that France had thrown away the best chance of an Indian Empire before the Seven Years' War began, and had done this intentionally.

Dupleix,
1740-1754

The brief history of French predominance in India centres round one man, Dupleix, who, having risen in the service of the French East India Company, was made Governor-General in 1740. It was Dupleix who first laid down the principles shortly after to be adopted by Clive and later founders of our Empire. First, that a sufficiently large and adequately equipped European force could overcome any number of the troops which Indian Princes could put into the field; secondly, that although the native troops were not to be feared when under native command, they could under European discipline and leadership be made most effective; thirdly, that there was no alternative between abandoning the Indian trade altogether and assuming political control, for trade could not live amidst the palace revolutions which were constantly disturbing the numerous native states, both great and small, and amidst the deep-seated corruption which was rife in them.

In vain had Dupleix urged these views both on the Directors of the Company and on the Government. The Company wished for trade and dividends, not for power. "We do not need states, but some ports

INDIA



J. Y. Cambisire, Oxford, 1908.

for trade, with a territory two or three leagues in extent," wrote the Directors; and they were supported in their views, not only by the Government, but by public opinion. Nor need we be surprised. It was only men who knew India, and who had insight and foresight as well, who saw the matter otherwise, and we may remind ourselves that the opinion of the Directors of our own Company was very much the same, only their hands were forced by a succession of very able and independent Governors-General.

Impressed with these views, the French had at Aix-la-Chapelle surrendered Madras, which their fleet had won in the war. The subsequent brilliant successes of Dupleix, whereby he made himself master of the Carnatic and of the Deccan, decided the course of the succession, guided the councils of his enemies, and gained for the Company the possession of four great provinces (the Southern Circars), were looked upon askance, and his ideas condemned as visionary. When his position was challenged by his great rival Clive, he received but niggard help from home; and when, largely from want of due support, he met with defeat, he was recalled at the suggestion of the English themselves, who declared that his wild ambitions alone prevented the reestablishment of peace. His successor was instructed to share with England the possessions he had acquired, and to enter into a mutual agreement to take no part for the future in the disputes between native Princes (December, 1754), a promise which it was impossible

Dupleix
recalled,
Aug. 1754

to keep. Dupleix suffered most cruelly. The large amount of private money which he had expended in the public cause was never repaid, and, nine years later, he died neglected, saved only by private charity from absolute destitution, in the very year which saw the final overthrow of the French power in India, November, 1763.

At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, therefore, the position of the French East India Company was highly critical. They still, however, held Chandernagore on the Hoogley above Calcutta, and Pondicherry, eighty miles south of Madras; they still were the practical rulers of the Deccan, where Bussy, Dupleix's best general, was in command, and they still had a good naval base in the Isle of France. But the policy adopted by the French Company had ruined their prestige. With their prestige their trade had declined, while the English Company, under the able administration of Clive, was profiting by French supineness. Shortly after the declaration of war, Clive took Chandernagore, and thus excluded the French from Bengal.

Position of
French E. I.
Company
in 1756

The French Government, when too late, attempted to do something to undo the past, and despatched a new force which landed in India in September, 1757. But any chance of success, which now was small, was destroyed by the conduct of the Government. They did not send the right kind of man, they refused to learn by experience, and the expedition was not properly supported, especially by sea.

Count de
Lally
Tollendal
sent to
India,
Sept. 1757

The Count de Lally Tollendal, son of an old

His policy
and char-
acter

Jacobite exile, who had taken service in the French army, was very ill-fitted for his task, except for his hatred of England. Although a good soldier, a man of honour and integrity, he was suspicious, bad-tempered and utterly deficient in tact. Ignorant of Indian ways, he soon succeeded in alienating, not only the natives themselves, but his own subordinates, Bussy included, more especially by his well-meaning though ill-timed attempts to do away with the system of corruption which was too prevalent and deep-seated to be cured in the midst of a struggle for existence. The policy dictated to him in his instructions, of which he himself approved, was to expel the English from the Carnatic, so that the French Company might devote itself to trade undisturbed by foreign rivals; to withdraw French troops from the Deccan; and to enter into no alliances with native rulers which interfered with the peaceful pursuit of commerce. The last instruction had been adopted in the agreement made in 1754. It had not, however, been kept by the English, and without such alliances the French had little chance of prospering. Nor did the new commander receive adequate support, as we have said.

Lally takes
Fort St.
David,
June, 1758

Bussy re-
called from
the Deccan

His first effort was, indeed, successful. In June, 1758, Fort St. David, near Pondicherry, was taken. Immediately afterwards the recall of Bussy from the Deccan was followed, as Bussy predicted, by Salabut, who then ruled as Sabahdar, calling in the English. Clive at once seized the opportunity, and the French influence was destroyed in that province. Obstinate-

refusing to seek for native support, Lally's hopes of driving out the English from the Carnatic were soon dispelled. In sore need of funds, he attempted to recover the payment of a sum of money owed to the Company by the Rajah of Tanjore. The demand was refused, and when he tried to extort the payment by force, the expedition failed. His attack on Madras was no more successful. The French Government had indeed despatched a fleet under D'Aché to help him. But the admiral was incompetent, and after an indecisive engagement with the English fleet, he sailed away to the Isle of France. Even then Lally captured part of the town. Had the English not been reinforced the fort itself must have surrendered, but in February, 1759, just when the garrison were at the end of their resources, the English fleet arrived, and Lally had no alternative but to raise the siege.

Lally's siege
of Madras,
Dec. 1758-
Feb. 1759

In the following September, D'Aché again appeared. Though worsted in the battle which ensued with the English fleet under Admiral Pocock, he could still have kept the seas; but, unwilling to risk another engagement, and, as was usual with the French, afraid of the monsoon which usually comes on about that time, he again retired.

Final re-
tirement of
French
fleet

Meanwhile Clive was steadily pursuing his course. The native Princes interpreted the French policy of non-intervention as a sign of weakness, and rallied to the side of the more powerful. Finally, the victory of Sir Eyre Coote over Lally at Wandewash, January, 1760, was soon followed by the blockade of

Battle of
Wandewash, Jan.
1760; loss
of Pondi-
cherry,
Jan. 1761

French
finally
lose India

Pondicherry by land and by sea, and with the fall of that town in January, 1761. Lally and the French army became prisoners of war, and the Carnatic was lost to the French. By the Peace of Paris in 1763 the town of Pondicherry was restored to the French Company, as well as Chandernagore and some other posts, but they were not to be fortified. The Company obtained what they had asked for—the right to trade; but this was of little value. Its prosperity declined. In 1769 the privilege of trading with the French settlements was opened to all French subjects, and shortly afterwards the French East India Company was dissolved. The Company had been founded by Richelieu, had been reorganised by Colbert, and had for a moment been incorporated in Law's great Mississippi Company. It had been, with the establishment of the colonial power of France, one of the most remarkable achievements of the old monarchy of France, and with that colonial empire it fell, as the French monarchy itself was soon to fall.

CHAPTER IX

FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND—GUSTAVUS III. AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1772—CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV

THE Seven Years' War had hardly closed when the death of Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, once more attracted the attention of Europe to that ill-fated country. Conditions in Poland had not improved during the reign of the late King. Driven from Saxony during the war, he had taken refuge at Warsaw. But he had neither the desire nor the power to attempt any reform, and the only result of his reign was that Poland fell still more entirely under Russian influence. To increase this influence and to reduce Poland to the condition of a Russian dependency, if not to absorb it, had been for a long time the policy of the Russian Court. Yet Catherine II. was fully aware that such a policy would meet with opposition from Frederick the Great, and probably from Austria. She, therefore, thought it more prudent to act with Prussia for the present. Frederick, on his part, was eager for a Russian alliance. His worst defeats in the late war had been inflicted by Russian troops; it

Death of
Augustus
II. of
Poland,
Oct. 1763

had been Peter's accession and changes of policy which had saved him; and he feared Russia more than any other Power at the moment. Accordingly, he gladly accepted the advances of Catherine, and agreed to unite with her in supporting the election of her nominee, Stanislas Poniatowski, a Polish noble, and once a favourite of the Tzarina. They further engaged to prevent any reform of the constitution which might strengthen the crown or make it hereditary.

France and Austria also had their candidate, but they were not prepared to support him by force of arms. Moreover, the influence of France had been altogether destroyed by the fatuous policy, long indulged in by Louis XV., especially in Polish affairs, of carrying on a system of secret diplomacy behind his ministers and even his mistresses. This course of action had led to strange absurdities and contradictions, and had not unnaturally disgusted the French party in Poland.

Election of
Ponia-
towski,
Sept. 7,
1764

Catherine II. and Frederick, therefore, had no difficulty in forcing the election of their candidate on the Polish Diet, partly by show of arms, partly by bribes. When the new King dared attempt some reform of the constitution, more especially the abolition of the absurd rule that any member of the Diet could veto any measure by his one vote, his new masters at once intervened. "It is to your Majesty's interest," said one of Frederick's agents, "that Poland should remain in its present state of anarchy." They then proceeded to take up the cause of the "Dissi-

dents," or dissenters from the orthodox Catholic Church, and demanded that they should be admitted to equal political rights. The demand, cloaked under the pretext of adherence to the enlightened ideas of the age, was really made with the intention of maintaining the anarchy; and, in view of the fact that such equality did not exist elsewhere in Europe, Poland was hardly the country in which to try the experiment.

Nevertheless, the Diet, called in October, 1767, was so completely terrorised by the presence of Russian troops that it had no alternative but to comply. The Dissidents were made eligible to all places in the Diet and the Senate; and at the same time it was decided that the Crown should remain elective, and that the constitution should not be reformed. The result, as might have been expected, was the outbreak of civil war, led by the Catholics, who formed the large majority, and by those who saw clearly that their national independence was at stake. The Catholic nobles in the south formed the Confederation of Bar, in Podolia. Their standard was a crucifix, and their watchword "The Virgin Mary," and they obtained secret assistance from the French, who still had hankerings after influence in Polish affairs. Russia at once took up arms; and in pursuing some of the confederates, violated the Turkish frontier in Bessarabia, and burnt the town of Balta.

It happened that the reigning Sultan, Mustapha III., was a man of some energy and of warlike

The Dissidents admitted to political rights, Oct. 1767

Outbreak of civil war

The Turks declare war, Oct. 1768

tendencies. He dreaded the increase of Russian influence in Poland, and, incited by the French minister, Choiseul, now embraced the cause of the confederates and declared war (October, 1768). Catherine II. eagerly accepted the challenge. In the campaign which ensued, in the following year, Azof, which had once been in the hands of Peter the Great, was again occupied; the Turks were driven from Moldavia and Wallachia; Bucharest was seized, and the Russians seemed likely to cross the Danube.

Meanwhile, Catherine sent a fleet to the Mediterranean, and stirred up the Greeks of the Morea.

A renewed European war now seemed not unlikely. Austria, not unnaturally, viewed the advance of the Russians on the Danube with alarm, while this opportunity of reviving her influence in Poland might even lead France to take an active part on the side of her ally. On the other hand, Frederick was bound by treaty to assist Russia.

Interviews
between
Frederick
and Joseph,
Aug. 1769,
Sept. 1770

Frederick himself had had enough of war, but he saw, in these European complications, an opportunity for fishing in troubled waters and furthering his own interests. His conduct is a most masterly piece of diplomatic intrigue. He first approached Austria. Fortunately he had not to deal with Maria Theresa, but with her son, Joseph II., who since the death of his father had become joint ruler with the Empress, 1765, while Kaunitz did not share her feelings of personal animosity against the robber of Silesia. He flattered the old diplomat by praising his State

paper, the young man by prophesying for him a great future. He disquieted Joseph on the question of Russian advance, and it was probably due to his suggestion that Austria, in July, 1771, made a secret treaty with Turkey. He then turned to Catherine. He warned her that Austria would, in all probability, resist any further attack on Turkey, and that, exhausted as his country was, he could not give her any material assistance. Finally, he suggested that the three Powers should come to terms over the Turkish question, and take their compensation in Poland.

Catherine would no doubt have preferred to continue the Turkish war, while she gradually prepared the way for the complete absorption of Poland. But she was not prepared to face the danger of war with Austria, and after some hesitation, she complied with Frederick's suggestion. The Treaty of St. Petersburg declared that to put an end to the anarchy in Poland and to satisfy their legal claims, the three Powers decided to annex the following portions of Poland:—

Treaty of
St. Peters-
burg, Aug
1772

1. Russia was to take all the country which lay east of the Dwina and the Dnieper.

2. The share of Prussia was to be Polish, or Western Prussia, with the exception of the towns of Danzig and Thorn, and part of Great Poland.

3. To Austria was given most of Red Russia, Galicia, part of Podolia, and the city of Cracow.

The Polish Diet had no alternative but to submit, and Poland lost about one-third of its territory.

The partition of Poland is one of the most shame-

less acts of an age that was not over-scrupulous. It might possibly have been justified on the grounds that the anarchy in the country formed a constant menace to its neighbours, if Russia and Prussia had not designedly fostered the anarchy and opposed any reform.

It would be unfair to accuse Frederick of having first originated the idea of the partition, for it had often been mooted before. Nevertheless, he first made it a practical question, and he throughout behaved as the Mephistopheles of the plot. His desire to unite the duchy of East Prussia with the rest of his dominions can scarcely be wondered at, yet this does not justify the methods he adopted, and nothing can exceed the cynicism of his correspondence throughout the affair. The true instinct of Maria Theresa condemned the whole business, yet she allowed herself to be persuaded, and thus exposed herself to the gibe of the man she had condemned as a dishonest robber. "She wept indeed," he said, "but she took. The Empress Catherine and I are brigands, but how did that pious lady arrange the matter with her confessor?"

If we look to the material benefits, Prussia no doubt gained most, yet by the first and subsequent partitions she lost the protection against Russia, which a strong buffer state would have given. It is difficult to see how Austria was strengthened by the acquisition of territory outside her natural frontiers, or the increasing of her non-German population by the addition of a turbulent Slav people. Finally, Catherine would have been wiser if she had refused

all ideas of partition, and had worked for a united and a reformed Poland under Russian influence, which some day might have been absorbed. Russian Poland has ever since been one of the most disaffected parts of Europe, and to-day is one of the serious problems of the Russian Government.

The partition of Poland did not put a stop to the Turkish war. Austria, having received her price, ceased protesting for a time and then took her own measures. The Russian advance was, however, for a time arrested, not only by Turkish successes, but by a formidable revolt which broke out among the Cossacks of the Don, a revolt which was chiefly confined to the serfs and was as much against the nobles as against the Government. Both Austria and Prussia took advantage of the difficulties of Catherine to "round off" their acquisitions in Poland by the seizure of some small districts, while Austria occupied the Bukovina on the north-west frontier of Moldavia. The revolt was put down before the end of the year 1773, and in July, 1774, the new Sultan, Abdul Hamid, was fain to accede to the Treaty of Kütchuk Kainardji, in Bessarabia.

Treaty of
Kütchuk
Kainardji
July 19,
1774

1. Russia retained Azof and the north coast of the Black Sea as far as the River Bug.
2. Wallachia and Moldavia and the Greek islands were restored to the Porte, but with stipulations as to their being better governed.
3. Russia obtained the right of free navigation for her merchant ships in Turkish waters.
4. The Christians in Constantinople to be under the protection of Russia.

Thus Russia had at last definitely set her foot on the shores of the Black Sea, while her right of interference in the affairs of Wallachia and Moldavia, and of acting as protector of the Christians in Constantinople, were hereafter to be made an excuse for further claims. Henceforth Russia stands in the somewhat equivocal position of a liberator of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and a destroyer of the independence and liberties of the Christian Polish people.

The policy of Catherine and of Frederick the Great with regard to Poland cannot be excused on the ground of the exceptional character of that country which necessitated their interference, since they had adopted an exactly similar line of conduct with regard to Sweden. Afraid lest a restoration of the power of the Crown in that country might endanger their designs, they had, in 1764 and again in 1769, united in a secret agreement with Denmark to oppose any change of the constitution, and to consider any attempt to restore the unlimited power of the Crown as a sufficient pretext for a war, in which Russia should claim Finland, Prussia Swedish Pomerania, while Denmark might hold any conquests on the Norwegian frontier which she might make. Frederick himself characteristically warned his sister, who was then Queen of Sweden, that in these matters family affection would have to give way to political interests.

Proposed
partition
of Sweden
foiled by
Gustavus
III

The Swedish
*coup
d'état*,
Aug. 1772

Fortunately the old intriguer could not prevent some of his more worthy characteristics from re-appearing in his nephew, Gustavus III., who by his

ability and energy saved his country from the fate that his uncle was preparing for it. This remarkable young man dreamt of the ancient glories of his country. The history of the last fifty years had shown conclusively the weakness of the aristocratic rule. The factions of the nobles had disgusted many, while their privileges had alienated the support of the peasantry. When therefore Gustavus, a little more than a year and a half after his accession to the throne, carried out a cleverly arranged plot to overthrow the Government, he met with much popular support, and the Diet submissively confirmed the alterations in the constitution which Gustavus proposed, and which restored to the Crown many of the prerogatives of which it had been despoiled.

The triumph of the Swedish King, which occurred in the same month as the partition of Poland, was a great blow to the designs of the three Powers. Russia, and even Denmark, thought of effecting by war what they had failed to do by intrigue. But France, which had supported Gustavus with money for his enterprise, now threatened an alliance with the Swedish King. Frederick was determined not to appeal to arms, and Catherine, still encumbered with the Turkish war, and shortly after with a Cossack revolt, thought it wiser to abandon for the present her designs on Sweden. Gustavus had saved his country, and for a brief period under his vigorous though somewhat rash direction, Sweden again played a not unimportant part in the affairs of Europe.

Improved
condition
of France
due chiefly
to Choiseul

The success of Gustavus, and the support he received from France, did something to improve her position in European politics. Although the *coup d'état* in Sweden had been effected after the fall of Choiseul, it had been prepared with his approval. He therefore gained the credit of it, while his purchase of Corsica from Genoa and its annexation (1768) gave France a new naval basis in the Mediterranean. At home his administration was one of the best that France had seen, at all events since the fall of Fleury. Having learnt by the experience of the Seven Years' War the importance of the navy, he devoted himself to its improvement, and with such success that, when he fell, France was once more fit to enter the lists with her formidable antagonist England. This was shortly to be seen in the War of the American Independence. Some salutary reforms were also introduced into the army. Nor were the peaceful interests of the country neglected. Choiseul was the follower of the new school of French economists, who believed that agriculture, manufacture and trade would be more prosperous if freed from Government restraint and left to natural laws. Accordingly free commerce in corn within the country was allowed, and free export so long as the price remained below a certain sum. Some of the French colonies were declared free ports, and private trade with India was permitted. The absurd sumptuary law which forbade the use of calico or cotton fabrics, lest the wool trade should be injured, was revoked. These reforms did not, indeed, meet with universal ap-

proval, and the edict with regard to the free export of corn was reversed in 1770. Nevertheless the movement was in the right direction, and both agriculture and manufacture made considerable strides. Moreover, as long as he was in office, the baneful influence of Madame de Pompadour was restrained.

Choiseul, however, was not a great statesman, nor a great man. He was changeable and superficial. His luxurious and extravagant habits ill-fitted him for grappling with the financial problem, the real cancer of France, and after his fall (December, 1770) the evil was intensified by the reckless policy of the new Comptroller-General, the Abbé Terray. This unprincipled man adopted the policy of the spendthrift. He met current expenses by repudiating or postponing the payment of his debts, a policy which, if it gave momentary relief, only increased the difficulty of borrowing in the future.

Meanwhile the Government adopted two measures, which, though in themselves capable of defence, had a disastrous effect on its stability. The Jesuits were expelled, and the "Parlements" overthrown. The first, though not very eagerly supported by Choiseul, had been acquiesced in by him, the other occurred immediately after his fall.

The expulsion of the Jesuits was not due to any theological controversy, nor was it caused, as it was in Portugal in 1759, by their political intrigues. Nevertheless the actual beginning of the quarrel is illustrative of the change which had come over the society since the days of its original foundation.

Choiseul succeeded by Duke of Aiguillon, 1770

The expulsion of the Jesuits

Of all the works of the Jesuits, none reflects greater credit upon them than their missionary efforts.

As their missions grew in importance, they, perhaps not unnaturally, betook themselves to trade. After all, their missions required funds, and these their trade gave them. And yet this devotion to trade would have shocked their founder, Ignatius Loyola, and there was great danger lest the religious fervour of the missionary should be thereby impaired.

In any case, the jealousy of the merchants is not to be wondered at, and, in consequence of their complaints, the Government ordered Lavalette, the Superior of the mission at Martinique, to refrain from further trade. Unfortunately for the society, Lavalette neglected the injunction. Shortly after, at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, a large consignment of goods was seized by English cruisers. Lavalette had borrowed money on these goods, and when the payment became due, the French merchants, on whom the claim fell and to whom the goods had been consigned, were unable to meet the demand and became bankrupt. The creditors forthwith attempted to recover the debt from the society in France itself. The Jesuits declared that the commercial transactions of Lavalette were none of their business, and declined to accept the responsibility, but lost their case before the Consular Court at Marseilles. The society might have appealed to the Great Council, where they would have been more likely to obtain a favourable verdict. Instead of

that they laid their case before the "Parlement" of Paris.

The step was a fatal one. Not only were the lawyers who composed that body actuated by the usual jealousy of one privileged body for another, but the "Parlement" had long been engaged in attempting to resist the claim of the Jesuits to forbid the sacraments and the right of burial by the Church to all Jansenists. Their judges, therefore, were by no means impartial. The question to be decided was whether the whole society was responsible for debts contracted in trade by a Superior of one of its branches. To help them in their decision, the "Parlement" demanded to see the rules of the society, and having read them, they not only affirmed the judgment of the Consular Court, but declared that many of the regulations of the Jesuits contravened the fundamental principles of Christian society; proceeded to forbid Frenchmen to enter the Order, and declared all schools under its control closed. The decision met with much approval, more especially among the middle classes, with whom the Jesuits had never been popular. Madame de Pompadour and Choiseul both had their reasons for disliking the society, and advised compliance. The weak King, after a vain attempt to prevail upon the Jesuits to modify their rules, more especially with regard to the unlimited powers of their General, a demand which was met by the famous answer, "Sint ut sunt aut non sint,"¹

Jesuits
suppressed
in France,
1767

¹ "The society shall remain as it is or cease to exist."

bowed before public opinion and suppressed the Order in France, 1767.

The action of France must not be looked upon as an isolated event. Portugal had given the lead, and the example was shortly followed by most Roman Catholic countries, and though the existing Pope in vain attempted to save the society, his successor, Clement XIV., finally consented to abolish it altogether.¹

Clement
XIV. abo-
lishes the
Jesuits,
July, 1773

The suppression of the Jesuits is therefore of the greatest significance, not only in France but in Europe. Founded to combat the Reformers in the sixteenth century, they had taken the leading part in restoring the fortunes of the Papacy, and since then had deeply influenced the policy of all the Catholic Powers. Few religious orders have done a greater work, none have met with greater obloquy. The question as to their influence or morality has already been discussed (*cf.* p. 73). Here it must suffice to indicate the importance of their suppression in the history of France. The French Government, since the death of Louis XIV., had not indeed identified itself so closely with the Jesuits as had been the case elsewhere, and in the controversy between the society and the Jansenists, which disturbed the reign of Louis XV., though it generally inclined to the Jesuit cause, had been vacillating. That the Crown should take so extreme a step as to expel the Jesuits, and this chiefly because it dared not or cared not to resist popular clamour, well illustrates the decline of the royal authority, the growing

¹The society was again restored by Pius VII. in 1814.

strength of public opinion, and of the spirit of change.

The Crown had destroyed one of the old institutions of the country, its next step was to overthrow a still older one, that of the Parlements.¹ The relations between the Government and the "Parlement" of Paris had been more or less strained throughout the reign of Louis XV. It had opposed the financial schemes of Law; it had fought the cause of the Jansenists, and it had just forced the Crown to expel the Jesuits. Many of its members had from time to time been exiled, but had always been restored. It now proceeded to protest against the dishonest financial schemes of the Abbé Terray. Finally, in 1770, it took up the cause of the Provincial "Parlement" of Brittany, which opposed the collection of a tax imposed by the governor, the Duke of Aiguillon, and accused him of tyranny and corruption. The Duke demanded a trial before the "Parlement" of Paris. At this moment he was chosen to succeed Choiseul. The King, therefore, interfered. He forbade the "Parlement" to proceed, since the process involved acts of government over which it had no jurisdiction. He reprimanded it for having at various times interfered in matters outside its province, and "of having put itself beside, and even above, the royal power," and ordered that all joint action between the local "Parlements" and that of Paris should cease. In answer to this royal

The abolition of the "Parlements," 1771

¹ For an account of the "Parlements" cf. p. 10.

injunction the "Parlement" of Paris declined to carry on its judicial work, and closed the courts.

It happened that Maupeou, the Chancellor at the time, belonged to an old parliamentary family, and that he had himself once been the President of the "Parlement". Possibly the judges counted on his support and hoped that the struggle would, as often before, end in a compromise. But they had mistaken their man. After a fruitless attempt to obtain the submission of individual members, Maupeou took the "Parlement" at its word. It was declared abolished. The members were deprived of their offices, though with some compensation, and they were exiled to various parts of the country. A like fate overcame the local "Parlements". A new system of courts was established, which were strictly confined to judicial work. The judges were appointed with fixed salaries and the system of purchase was done away with. This bold step met with approval from a few of the most intelligent, and among them Voltaire. It cannot be denied that the whole position and character of the "Parlements" was illogical, and really incompatible with a well-organised Government. They were a strange survival of the past. That justice should be administered by a practically hereditary body was a system unknown elsewhere in Europe at the time. Their claim to approve of royal edicts, that is, to share in the power of legislation, was anomalous. Nor had they always exercised their powers well. The justice they administered was often partial, cruel and

unjust ; witness the case of the unfortunate Huguenot, Calas, who was condemned by the "Parlement" of Toulouse to be broken on the wheel on the charge of having murdered his son because he wished to become a Roman Catholic, a charge which was subsequently declared to be unfounded. Their opposition to the royal edicts had often been wrong, especially on matters which touched the privileges of their members in matters of taxation. That the confusion between the legislative and judicial functions should cease was highly desirable, and the abolition of the system of purchase was a great reform in itself. Something, too, was done to redistribute the areas over which the jurisdiction of the "Parlement" of Paris ran, so that litigants should no longer be forced to come to Paris from distant provinces. Maupeou, indeed, wished to follow up the change with further alterations ; to establish a uniform and simple system of civil and criminal law in the place of the old, which was full of intricacies and contradictions ; and to introduce a more equitable system of procedure. These ideas he was never able to carry out. Nevertheless, the changes he did effect were good in themselves, and might have been successful if they had been followed by a radical reform of the whole government of the country, and by the substitution of a constitutional system in the place of autocratic despotism. But this neither Maupeou nor the King proposed. This exceptional act of authority was accompanied by an assertion of the irresponsibility of the monarch to any one but

God ; words which came ill from the lips of one who used his divine power so badly, and which alienated a public opinion which was already being influenced by the writings of Rousseau and other liberal authors. The Crown had shown that the old institutions were no longer necessary, and people began to ask whether the whole system itself was worth preserving. From this moment the cry for the revival of the States-general was often heard.

On the other hand, the supporters of the monarchy itself were indignant at the attack on a privileged and ancient institution. The new courts were virulently abused. It was difficult to find competent men to fill the vacant seats, and any hope that time would remedy these difficulties was destroyed by Louis' successor. One of the first acts of Louis XVI. was to restore the "Parlements" (1774). Any good results that might have followed were thrown away, and the whole affair only served to weaken still further the royal prestige, which had already fallen sufficiently low.

Death of
Louis XV.,
May, 1774

Three years afterwards Louis XV. died a victim to smallpox, and thus closed an inglorious reign of fifty-nine years. His character as a man and as a king was contemptible. He was easy-going, good-natured, and even generous when it cost him little ; but, as is so often the case, this good-nature was really a form of selfishness. The private morality of princes has rarely been high, but there are few kings who have been so fickle in their "amours," while the contradiction between

his shameful life and his professions of religious devotion bring despair to the pious, and, not unnaturally, are made use of by all enemies of religion.

Nor was Louis XV. any better as a king. Timid and afraid of opposition, he either allowed his mistresses to usurp his place, as was the case with Madame de Pompadour, or was in the hands of the minister of the moment. Devoid of courage to oppose them openly, he resorted, as already mentioned, to an absurd system of secret diplomacy behind their backs, which thwarted them at every turn, and if he interfered it was generally to dismiss the minister at the dictation of some mistress or of some court favourite. Hence the weakness and the inconsistencies of French government and diplomacy during his reign, and the disasters of the Seven Years' War, when France lost her position in the Old World and failed to hold her own in the New. No king ever spent so much public money on his mistresses, and that at a time when the country was face to face with bankruptcy.

One would have expected that, under these circumstances, the reign would have closed in gloom. Yet it has been well observed that, on the contrary, the country was full of hope. Two facts explain this apparent contradiction. In spite of the hopeless condition of the public finances, the material prosperity of the people was advancing. Manufactures and trade had increased, and the middle classes were in a much better plight than they had been at the beginning of the century. Meanwhile the advance

of science had shown the possibilities of the future, and the power of man over the material universe; while the new school of writers, led by Rousseau, were preaching the doctrine of the perfectibility of man, and attributing the evils and the misery which assailed him to faults of an artificial civilisation and of a bad government, faults which could easily be cured.

But if this faith in the future was of good augury for the country, it was full of danger to the monarchy and to the privileged orders. The monarchy had lost its popularity, and was no longer considered necessary, as it had been in the days of Louis XIV. The Government itself had destroyed old institutions, the Jesuits and the "Parlements". Why, people began to ask, should not the Government itself be altered? At the same time, the position of the privileged orders was exciting discontent among the middle classes. The privileged orders had ceased to take any effective part in the government of the country. They were no longer feared, while they were hated and viewed with increasing jealousy.

CHAPTER X

JOSEPH II.

OF all the enlightened despots of the eighteenth Policy of Joseph II century, no one furnishes a more interesting or more instructive example than Joseph II. "I have made Philosophy the legislator of my Empire. Her logical principles shall transform Austria." Inspired with these ideas, Joseph proposed to do away once for all with the infinite variety which was the essential characteristic of the Habsburg dominions; to fuse the different nationalities into one centralised State; to establish a uniform system of justice; and to grant intellectual freedom and religious toleration, while at the same time he overthrew privilege and reduced society to a condition of social and political equality beneath a despotic Crown, devoted to its welfare. The Church should also be freed from the interference of the Pope and subordinated to the civil authority.

His foreign policy was marked by the same thoroughness. Recognising that the Netherlands were of little value, he was willing to abandon them, or use them for the purposes of exchange, while he devoted his attention to the extension of his terri-

tories in other directions. Bavaria added to Austria would form a strong nucleus of German-speaking people. The acquisition of the lands of Venice should unite the Milanese with this centre, and also give him Istria and the Dalmatian coast, and thus secure a strong position on the Upper Adriatic. To these possessions, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia, and part of Servia, taken from the Turks, should be added. Thereby he would gain a strong footing in the Balkan Peninsula, while the conquest of Wid-din, Orsova, and part of Wallachia would secure the Lower Danube and perhaps prepare the way for some day holding the mouth of that great river. These views on home and foreign politics were not new. They had often floated before the eyes of Austrian statesmen during the eighteenth century. Prince Eugène had advocated the extension of the Austrian power down the Danube; under Maria Theresa reforms had been effected in the direction of simplicity and unity (*cf.* p. 166). But no one had ever pushed the ideas so far, or conceived the possibility of carrying them out in the space of one lifetime.

Joseph had been acknowledged Emperor on his father's death in 1765, and since then had been co-regent with his mother in Austrian lands. As long, however, as Maria Theresa lived, he was prevented from embarking fully on his internal reforms. The first partition of Poland had been his first venture in foreign politics. Here the gains of Austria had been small compared with those of Russia and of Prussia. Joseph, therefore, eagerly seized the next

opportunity which arose to pursue his aims. In December, 1777, Maximilian Joseph, the last of the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbach family, died. According to an old agreement, the electorate was to pass to the elder branch which ruled in the Palatinate, then represented by Charles Theodore, who had no children. Joseph had married the daughter of the late Elector of Bavaria, probably with an idea of strengthening his claim. She, however, died of small-pox in 1761. He therefore now advanced claims to most of Bavaria. Charles Theodore, a worthless Prince, who had no mind for anything beyond luxury and sports, acquiesced on condition that the rest of the country should be guaranteed to him, and Joseph marched troops into Bavaria. Success seemed assured. Joseph had, however, forgotten Frederick the Great. The old King had said long ago that Joseph was a young man whom it was necessary to watch. He was not, therefore, unprepared, and forthwith approached Charles of Deux Ponts, nephew and heir of Charles Theodore, who despatched a protest to the Diet, while Frederick moved troops into Bavaria. Austria at once called on France to carry out the terms of the old Treaty of Versailles, and Frederick sought the aid of Catherine II. Fortunately neither was prepared to respond. The French minister Vergennes was already fully occupied in supporting the American colonies in their struggle against England, and pointed out that, by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, France was only bound to aid Austria

Death of
Maximilian
Joseph,
Elector of
Bavaria,
Dec. 1777

Conference
and Peace
of Teschen,
March-
May, 1779

to retain her old possessions. He, therefore, offered to mediate, an offer which was followed by Catherine II., and which Joseph dared not decline. At the conference which was held at Teschen in Austrian Silesia—

Joseph was granted the Quarter of the Inn, that is the country from Passau, between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, some one-sixteenth of Bavaria, while the rest was to pass to Charles Theodore.

By this treaty, then, Joseph only gained a fragment of what he had desired, while the union of the Palatinate with the rest of Bavaria made that electorate more powerful than before. The Peace of Teschen had, however, other important results. Joseph became convinced of the uselessness of the French alliance, and began to look to Catherine of Russia, who had in the late conference for the first time established her claim to act as an arbiter in the politics of Western Europe.

Death of
Maria
Theresa,
Nov. 1780

In the following year Maria Theresa died at the age of sixty-four and after a reign of forty years. Maria Theresa is one of the few sovereigns of the eighteenth century on whose memory it is pleasant to dwell. She had guided her country through a most critical period. Coming to power as an untried young woman of twenty, she had, largely owing to the influence of her personality, saved Austria from dismemberment during the War of the Austrian Succession, and left it unimpaired, save by the loss of Silesia, and strengthened by the reforms she had introduced.

Although superior in ability and in character to her husband, she never showed that she realised his inferiority, and retained her deep affection for him to the last. Though not exactly great, she was a noble character. At the same time, in the obstinate tenacity with which she nursed her desire to recover Silesia, in her enduring hatred of Frederick the Great, in her refusal to dismiss her old, though somewhat incapable, statesmen and generals, and in her real love of making matches for her daughters,¹ we note a certain subordination of policy to sentiment, which is perhaps peculiarly, though not exclusively, a feminine weakness.

Yet, if she had foibles, that is merely to say that she was thoroughly human. If she erred sometimes, she was not dishonest or mean. She objected, though in vain, to the partition of Poland, and to the late Bavarian policy of her son. Though there was no loss of affection between mother and son, her latter years were disturbed by constant differences on State matters, and by fears of the dangers which his rash policy might bring on her country.

By the death of his mother, Joseph became sole ruler of the Austrian dominions, and was free to pursue his schemes. The old minister Kaunitz,

Joseph
sole ruler
in Austria
1780

¹ The marriages of her daughters, except that of Christina, the wife of Albert of Saxony, were unfortunate. Caroline, the wife of Ferdinand of Naples, was very unhappy; and Marie Antoinette, wife of the unfortunate Louis XVI., was guillotined during the French Revolution.

always rather a visionary himself, submitted to his masterly will, and confined himself to advice, which was not always followed.

Joseph's
reforms

Few of Joseph's internal reforms survived him. It will, therefore, suffice if we treat them very lightly. The German lands, including Hungary and the Netherlands, were divided into thirteen "Governments," each with a military commander, and two courts of justice—one for the nobles, the other for the commoners, with an appeal to the Supreme Court at Vienna, and also with an administrative council. These councils were formed of officials nominated by and under the control of the central offices at Vienna, which were left untouched. Each "Government" was divided into circles, and under the circles stood the towns and villages. The meetings of the "Estates," or Diets, became purely formal, or were omitted altogether; from them, however, were elected two representatives as advisers to the "Government" in financial matters.

The Church was placed under State control. No Papal bull was to be admitted without the Emperor's consent. Some bishoprics were suppressed, the revenues of others cut down; the bishops were to be nominated by the Emperor; side altars and emblems, which savoured of superstition, were removed from the churches, and the service books altered by Imperial command. Many monasteries and convents were abolished; those that remained were placed under the authority of the bishop, and devoted to useful works. The Church schools for

secular priests were replaced by State seminaries ; and for the laity primary education, compulsory, but free, was enforced. Civil and political rights, as well as freedom of worship, were conceded to members of all religions. A universal tax of 13 per cent. was imposed on all lands in the hands of clergy or laity, noble or peasant, without distinction. Lastly, the position of the serfs was ameliorated ; they were allowed to marry without their lord's consent ; they were secured in the possession of their land, which they now might sell ; and their labour services were to be commuted for fixed money payments.

The unification of the kingdom, the subordination of all provincial or class interests to the welfare of the State, these are the main principles of the reforms. No one can dispute that the aim of Joseph was a good one, or that many of these changes were in themselves desirable. In their general features they resemble the reforms attempted by every enlightened despot of the age, and they should more especially be compared with those carried out so successfully by Frederick William I. in Prussia (*cf.* p. 146). It is possible to argue that, as in the case of Prussia, Austria was not ready for constitutional representative governments, and that the local " Estates " or Diets were not worth preserving. A statesman, however, has to deal with possibilities. He should remember the strength of selfish interests, of national and class prejudices, of custom hallowed by time, all of which such reforms assailed. He should realise the difficulty of finding men as self-

sacrificing, as industrious, and as intelligent as himself to work the new machinery.

Unfortunately, it was here that Joseph, like many an idealist before him, failed. He had not the gift of realising the feelings of those with whom he had to deal, nor even of securing the confidence of his subordinates. When once convinced of the justice of a measure, no motive of prudence restrained him. Any opposition he treated as if it were a personal matter, and any delay on the part of his subordinates he attributed to apathy or to idleness.

No doubt Joseph was influenced by the success which had attended the reforms in Prussia, but he forgot that the circumstances were different. To this day the Habsburgs have not succeeded in Germanising the various nationalities over which they rule, nor in establishing complete unity. Surely, then, the attempt to do this in a lifetime was a dangerous experiment.

The opposition was greatest in the Netherlands and in Hungary. In the Netherlands the privileges, which dated from mediæval times, had been confirmed by charter, had survived the Spanish domination, and had been guaranteed by the Habsburgs when they acquired these provinces at the Peace of Utrecht. As for Hungary, she looked upon herself as an independent nation, only connected with the rest of the Austrian territories through the ruler, who, as her king, had made a personal contract with her. In these two countries, therefore, Joseph affronted not only religious feelings and class preju-

dices, but the spirit of nationality. Since, however, the reforms were not all introduced at the same moment, and discontent takes time to organise itself, Joseph was able to neglect the opposition which was aroused, and to pursue meanwhile his foreign policy.

Joseph entertained two alternative views with regard to the Netherlands—either to knit them more closely with his southern dominions by forming them into one of the thirteen “Governments,” or to exchange them for Bavaria. In any case it would be well to increase their importance, while he freed himself from the irksome burden of the Barrier Treaty.¹ If they were to continue to belong to Austria, she would thus gain; if not, their improved condition would make them a better equivalent for Bavaria. As England was at this time engaged in her struggle with her American colonies, and at war with the Dutch over the question raised by the Armed Neutrality (*cf.* p. 247), Joseph did not expect to be opposed by either of these Powers.

Policy
towards
the Nether-
lands and
Holland

In November, 1781, therefore, he intimated to the Dutch his intention of abandoning the barrier fortresses. “As France was now the ally of Austria,” he said, “they were no longer needed.”

On the Dutch complying, he extended his demands. He first asked that they should cede Maestricht (May, 1784) and then withdrew this request, on condition that the Scheldt should be declared open, and trade with the East Indies permitted, and in August, 1784, ordered Austrian ships to enter the river. England

¹ *Cf.* p. 69.

had, however, now made peace with her colonies, with Holland, and with France (January, 1783), and the Dutch had therefore their hands free to resist. "They will not fire," Joseph said to Kaunitz, who had warned him of the danger of his high-handed conduct. "Sire, they have fired," was the laconic reply.

Joseph now hoped for the support of Catherine and of France. The former, indeed, wrote on his behalf to the Dutch, but Vergennes, the French foreign minister, anxious to retain the friendship of the Dutch, declined, threatening even to oppose Joseph in arms, while he offered to mediate. Joseph realised that the game was up. He accepted the offer of Vergennes, and by the Treaty of Fontainebleau withdrew his demands on payment of a sum of money which France, anxious for a settlement, in part provided.

Treaty of
Fontaine-
bleau,
Nov. 1785

Joseph, foiled in this direction, now turned to his second idea, that of exchanging the Netherlands for Bavaria. Charles Theodore was not popular among his new subjects, and as before, in the matter of the Bavarian Succession, was compliant. Catherine of Russia, who had just been supported by Joseph in her annexation of the Crimea (January, 1784) and wished for his alliance against the Turk, favoured the project. Even Vergennes, the French minister, thinking that the Netherlands, in less powerful hands than those of Austria, would fall under French tutelage, acquiesced, on condition that Frederick the Great gave his consent.

Here, however, Joseph was to be once more thwarted by the Prussian King. Frederick had viewed with some dismay the growing friendship between Catherine and Joseph. Since the Seven Years' War he had clung to the Russian alliance. He was now in danger of being isolated in Europe. But he still had influence in Germany, and the acquisition of Bavaria by Austria he was determined to prevent. Accordingly he again stirred up Charles of Deux Ponts, the heir of Theodore, who forthwith declared that he would rather be buried under the ruins of Bavaria than comply. Frederick then turned to the German Princes, who were disturbed at the ambitious schemes of Joseph, and formed with their assistance "The League of the Princes".¹ The objects of the League were declared to be the maintenance of the integrity of the Imperial Constitution, and of the respective States of which it was composed, against the revolutionary policy of the Emperor. As neither Russia nor France would help him with arms, Joseph had no alternative but to withdraw, and to abandon, though with regret, his favourite project.

"The League of the Princes,"
July, 1785

Some of the smaller members of the League were anxious to seize this opportunity for reorganising and reforming the Empire. But this was distasteful to the more powerful Princes, who feared the loss of their independence, and Germany had to be taught

¹The chief members of the League were Prussia, Saxony, George III. as Elector of Hanover, Charles of Deux Ponts, the Archbishop of Mayence, and Charles Augustus of Weimar.

the necessity of greater unity by the agonies of the Napoleonic tyranny. The League, it is true, strengthened the position of Prussia, and, had it lasted, might have given her the leadership of Northern Germany. This was prevented by the death of Frederick himself; and with his death the League fell to pieces.

Death of
Frederick
the Great,
Aug. 1786

Frederick has, not unnaturally, gained his chief reputation as a soldier. Yet it is a mistake to look upon him as one who delighted in war. He thought Silesia necessary for the strengthening of his kingdom, he therefore seized it and refused to surrender it. Hence the two long wars which mark his reign, in the latter of which he was acting in self-defence. From that moment he had avoided war. He became the man of peace and the diplomat. At home he devoted himself to the development of his kingdom, while he beguiled his leisure moments with literary productions. For Frederick's verses little can be said, and if his quarrels and reconciliations with Voltaire are amusing, they do not add to the reputation of either. In all other respects Frederick, though not a noble character, well deserves his title of "the Great". As a soldier he had no rival in his day. A moralist may well take exception to the methods of his diplomacy, but of their cleverness there can be no doubt. It is, however, in his whole-hearted devotion to the interests of his subjects that he deserves most praise. He not only made Prussia one of the foremost Powers of Europe, he also left her prosperous. His father had reorganised the Government, and in that direction he had little to

do, but in all his work he displayed those gifts of practical statesmanship which were so conspicuously absent in Joseph II. In one way only did he fail to provide for the future. The fault in the system, established by the Great Elector, Frederick's father, lay in the fact that its successful working depended on the character of the ruler. As long as Frederick lived to control and guide, all went well. But he was followed by weaker kings, and the whole machinery of government fell into confusion. Prussia had yet to undergo a period of humiliation and see her very existence threatened at the hands of Napoleon I., a greater, though not a better man, than Frederick himself.

Frederick William II. was in every way a contrast to his uncle, whom he succeeded. The predominant feature of Frederick's character was common sense ; his nephew was a sentimentalist. Frederick had scoffed at religion, yet preserved an outward decency of life ; his nephew was a curious mixture of superstition and sensuality. Frederick had never allowed anyone to guide his policy ; his successor fell under the influences of mistresses and spiritual advisers. That under these circumstances his policy at home and abroad should have been weak and unstable can cause no wonder. And yet the first venture of the new King in foreign politics met with a certain measure of success.

Character
of Freder-
ick Wil-
liam II

In the year 1786, the quarrel between the Burgher party and that of the Stadholder in Holland, which had long been smouldering, broke out afresh. The

Frederick
William
II. restores
the Stad-
holder, and
forms the
Triple Alli-
ance, 1788

Stadholder, William V., was deprived of his office of Captain-General, and still his opponents continued their attack. It had been the traditional policy of the Burgher party to lean on France, and since the war with England (1780-1783), English influence had been undermined by the French minister Vergennes. When, therefore, in June, 1788, the Princess Wilhelmina, wife of the Stadholder and sister of the Prussian King, was refused entrance into Holland by the agents of the burghers, and when Frederick William utilised this sensational affair as a pretext for armed intervention, he received the moral support of England. The result was the accordance of full satisfaction to the Princess and a great increase in the powers of the Stadholder. France, deprived of the leadership of Vergennes (he had died in February, 1787), and already on the verge of the Revolution, was in no position to interfere, and Frederick William succeeded in forming a Triple Alliance with England and the Stadholder. By this alliance the influence of England in Holland was restored; England and Prussia were once more friends; England was no more isolated in Europe, and a league had been made which promised well for the future. The Prussian King had, however, gained too easy a success. He looked upon himself as the arbiter of Europe, and attempted to play a rôle for which he was not well fitted.

On the death of Frederick, Joseph had thoughts of seeking the alliance of Prussia. "Such an alliance," he said, "would astonish Europe and excite the admiration of our subjects." The help of Prussia might be gained to quell the disturbances

Prussia might be gained to quell the disturbances which his reforms had caused, more especially in the Netherlands, and, with Prussia as his ally, he need fear no possible combination against him. But Kaunitz declared the alliance impossible. The Emperor, therefore, listened to the urgent request of Catherine of Russia that he would join her in the Turkish War which had broken out in August, 1787.

The ideas of Catherine were somewhat alarming. Ever since the Peace of Kütchuk Kainardji, she had been intent on her Turkish project. She aimed not only at extending the Russian frontier along the coast of the Black Sea, but also dreamt of forming a Greek empire at Constantinople, which should be conferred on her infant grandson. He had already been christened Constantine; Greek nurses had been provided for him; and medals struck representing the destruction of the mosque at Constantinople by lightning. The realisation of her plan would certainly not be to the interest of Austria, yet a close alliance with Russia would give Joseph a predominant position in Europe and strengthen his hand against his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, after some hesitation, he joined her in the war against the Porte.

The allies were not at first successful. Russia had been taken at a disadvantage by the unexpected conduct of the Turk in first declaring war, and was hampered by the attack of Gustavus of Sweden, who was stirred up by the members of the Triple Alliance. Joseph had not the gifts of a successful general, and,

The Eastern policy of Catherine II

Joseph joins Russia in the Turkish War, Feb. 1788

besides, was seriously out of health. In the autumn of 1789, however, the tide began to turn. Catherine, by rousing Denmark against Gustavus, diverted his attention, and thus was able to send Suwaroff, her best general, to the Turkish war. Joseph retired from the campaign, and left the command in the hands of Loudon, the best of the Austrian veterans; and while Suwaroff pushed down through Wallachia and Moldavia, Loudon beat back the Turks, and laid siege to Belgrade (October, 1789).

Elsewhere fortune was declaring against the Emperor. The revolt in the Netherlands had marched apace. The Austrian troops had been forced to evacuate Brussels, and fall back on the last stronghold, Luxemburg. Hungary was on the point of rising; and Prussia, eager to take advantage of Joseph's difficulties, was thinking of intervening.

Death of
Joseph II.,
Feb. 1790

At this moment Joseph passed away. He had returned from the Turkish war a dying man, and since then he had been racked with pain. His last moments were tortured by the conviction of utter failure. "One thought," he said, "oppresses me, that, after all my trouble, I have made but few happy and many ungrateful." He wrote to Leopold, his brother, who was to succeed him, bidding him take immediate steps to close the Turkish war, and pacify his distracted country, and urging him to hurry up from Tuscany, and see him ere he died. But Leopold delayed until too late. Joseph's favourite niece came, indeed, only to die in childbed, partly from the shock; and Kaunitz, though he still

corresponded with his master, could not overcome his superstitious dislike to visit a dying man.

Few deathbeds present a more pathetic picture than that of the Emperor. Death in the moment of success is terrible enough, but death in the midst of failure was Joseph's fate. "Here lies the man who never succeeded in anything he attempted," this was the epitaph which he said should be engraved upon his tomb. The historian of to-day may point out that his work was not wholly useless; that some of his reforms, more especially with regard to the serfs in Austrian lands, survived him; and that, if the rest were premature, many have been carried out successfully since his death. Yet, when all is said, the Emperor's verdict cannot be gainsaid. The fate of this interesting, though unfortunate, personality symbolises the failure of the Enlightened Despot. It shows us how difficult it is for any ruler to understand his people's needs, or to do for them what they had better do themselves. It warns us that reforms will rarely be accepted at a despot's nod which, though good in themselves, do violence to existing interests and deep-rooted prejudices.

Leopold, the brother of Joseph II., who succeeded him, was well fitted for the task entrusted to him. As Grand Duke of Tuscany, which Joseph had ceded to him, he had shown himself a capable and enlightened ruler. Though he had none of Joseph's brilliancy, he was a far more prudent man, and had considerable gifts as a statesman. In accordance

Leopold
II., 1790-
1792

with the last injunctions of his brother, he had not much difficulty in conciliating the Hungarians and his Austrian subjects by restoring the Government as it had been at the death of Maria Theresa.

Prussia had now to be dealt with. Frederick William had long been wavering as to the policy he should adopt. His ambassador at the Turkish Court urged a definite alliance with the Turk. Sweden, he declared, would join the League owing to her hostility to Russia. Poland might be roused; even Holland and England might be induced to join in opposing the Austro-Russian alliance, and a formidable league be thus made. But the Prussian King was unwilling to take so bold a step, and listened instead to the advice of Hertzberg, an old minister of Frederick the Great. Hertzberg advised him to take the part of the honest broker, which his predecessor had played so successfully at the time of the first partition of Poland. The scheme was briefly this. Turkey might be induced to cede all territories north of the Danube to Russia and to Austria, on condition of her other possessions being guaranteed to her. Austria, in return, should restore Galicia to Poland, and Prussia should be rewarded for her mediation by the grant of Danzig and Thorn by Poland. Thus Europe would be pacified, and Prussia would gain the two important towns which she had failed to get at the first partition of Poland.

Of this somewhat fantastical proposal Leopold made short work. Nothing, he declared, would induce him to acquiesce. Rather than that he would make peace

with Turkey at any price, he would surrender part of the Netherlands to France, and with her help reconquer the rest, and then let Prussia look to herself. Frederick William was not the man to face a war in which he was unlikely to find allies. He withdrew his proposal, and promised, at the Treaty of Reichenbach, to vote for Leopold at the coming Imperial election.

Treaty of
Reichen-
bach, July
27, 1790

Having thus disposed of Prussia, Leopold soon recovered his authority in the Netherlands. The insurgents had broken into two factions, an aristocratic and a republican, which were quarrelling. Leopold was therefore able to reoccupy Brussels. England, Holland and Prussia offered their mediation; and the Netherlanders were forced to accept the promise of Leopold to cancel all the changes which Joseph had introduced. Finally, Leopold closed the Turkish War by the Peace of Sistovo, and contented himself with the acquisition of Orsova on the Danube. In August, 1791, Catherine had made peace with Gustavus III. The war with Turkey continued somewhat longer. But Catherine was disturbed at the course which the Revolution was taking in France, and wished to have her hands free. Accordingly in January, 1792, she consented to the Treaty of Jassy on condition that the Russian boundary should be extended to the Dniester.

Peace of
Sistovo,
Aug. 1791

Treaty of
Jassy,
Jan. 1792

Europe was once more at peace, yet three months had scarce elapsed before war broke out between France and Austria, a war which was soon to involve all the Powers of Europe, and which was not finally closed for three and twenty years.

CHAPTER XI

THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Accession
of Louis
XVI.,
May, 1774

LOUIS XVI. was only twenty years of age when he succeeded his grandfather. In private morals he presents a pleasing contrast to the worthless Louis XV. He was virtuous, honest and well-meaning. Yet his education had been neglected, he had no knowledge of affairs, and he had no natural ability, no initiative, no force of will. He was even deficient in dignity and in presence. In quiet times he might have been an amiable nonentity, but he was utterly unfitted to guide his country at this crisis.

Policy of
Vergennes,
1774-1787

Nevertheless, the foreign policy of France, as long as it was directed by Vergennes, was not unsuccessful. The Count of Vergennes, who became Foreign Minister at the accession of Louis XVI., had a good grasp of European affairs, which he had acquired in his long service as a diplomat. We have already noticed his alliance with Gustavus III., and his activity in the matter of the Bavarian succession and exchange (*cf.* pp. 229, 236), all of which raised the reputation of French diplomacy. But it is his policy towards England that deserves the greatest credit.

The revolt of the American colonies, which began in 1775, belongs rather to English than to foreign history; and cannot be dealt with here, except so far as it concerned the rest of Europe, and the foreign relations of England. The view of the situation held by Vergennes displays considerable insight. If the combatants were left to settle the matter by themselves, the success of either would endanger the remaining French and Spanish colonies. It was therefore important to assist the rebels. In this way France would be able to revenge herself on England, and regain some of her colonies lost in the Seven Years' War, while the Americans, under an obligation to France, would not interfere with her colonial expansion. At the same time it would be rash to openly espouse their cause, until it seemed likely to succeed. Vergennes, therefore, at first confined himself to secret support in the way of money and volunteers, and did not join them openly till February, 1778. Even then the condition of his alliance was that the Americans should not make peace till their independence was recognised. He then induced Spain to join him (April, 1779.) To the Americans this assistance was invaluable. Indeed it may be doubted whether without it they would have succeeded. Not only did it furnish them with men and money, but with a navy, and a navy which, owing to the exertions of Choiseul, was able to meet the English. Once more the importance of the sea was illustrated, and the final capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at York Town would not have occurred had

The War of
American
Independence,
1775-1783

France
openly
joins the
American
colonies,
Feb. 1778

Cornwallis
capitulates
at York
Town,
Oct. 1781

not the French fleet at that moment held the Chesapeake Bay and cut off all hopes of relief.

Nor did the activity of Vergennes stop there. Spain was induced to attack Gibraltar, though unsuccessfully, and to seize Minorca, and the rest of Europe was encouraged to form the Armed Neutrality. The members of this League demanded that the existing rules of international law with respect to neutral vessels should be altered. First, paper blockades should no longer be acknowledged; that is to say, no belligerent should seize a neutral vessel entering an enemy's port unless it were effectively blockaded by the presence of a ship of war. Secondly, the flag covers the goods; that is, no goods of a belligerent on a neutral vessel should be taken except contraband of war, and contraband should be strictly limited to food supplies and munitions of war. Such an alteration would impair the advantages of the command of the sea, and England, not unnaturally, refused to comply.¹ None of the Powers proceeded to hostilities except Holland, where the quarrel was complicated by other questions. Yet the dispute prevented England from finding any allies, and she was thus left to carry on her desperate struggle alone. In 1783 she submitted to the inevitable, and the American colonies were lost. In the naval war, however, which accompanied the

Treaty of
Versailles,
Jan.-Sept.
1783

¹ England accepted these alterations at the Peace of Paris, 1870, and is now suggesting the abolition of contraband altogether, at the Hague Conference. Many are of opinion that England has acted very foolishly in this.

closing scenes, England was not unsuccessful. The victories of Rodney over the Dutch at St. Eustatius, and over De Grasse off Dominica, 12th April, restored English supremacy at sea. At the Peace of Versailles

she only lost St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, and Senegal in Africa, to France, while ceding West Florida and Minorca to Spain.

The surrender of Minorca weakened England's hold in the Mediterranean; the loss of her American colonies seemed to herald the decline of her colonial power. She was isolated in Europe, while France had gained both materially and in prestige.

If, however, we turn to home affairs, it may be asked whether France had not paid too high a price for her success abroad. The Americans had appealed to the "Rights of Man" in justification of their revolt. Rousseau had already raised that cry in France, and it was now strengthened by the example of her new ally. It is significant that the Marquis de Lafayette, one of the most prominent men in the early days of the French Revolution, had served in America, and thenceforth became a popular hero in France. The alliance of an effete and despotic monarchy with a young and vigorous democracy, which was based on such ideas, was full of danger. The expenses of the war had increased the public debt, and it was pretty certain that unless bankruptcy could be avoided, and reforms instantly taken in hand, the monarchy would fall.

Home
policy of
Louis XVI.

It was here that the weakness of Louis XVI. was most fatal.

Turgot,
Comptroller-
General,
1774-1776

He had, indeed, at the beginning of his reign found in Turgot, a Comptroller-General who might have saved the situation. Turgot had been Intendant in the province of Limousin, and, from his experience there, had conceived a well-constructed plan. The remedy for the financial difficulties was not, he said, to be sought for in bankruptcy or repudiation of debt, in the increase of taxes or in loans, but in economy and reform. To effect this, the abuses in the collection of the revenue should be removed and sinecures abolished; the "corvée," or forced labour on the roads, should cease, and the inequality of the "gabelle," or salt tax, remedied.

To meet the deficit which would thus be caused, the privileges of exemption, enjoyed by the nobles, the clergy and others, should be done away with, and a single tax on land should be imposed on all classes according to the value of their land. At the same time, free trade in corn within the country should be once more allowed (*cf.* p. 18), the custom duties lowered and simplified, all guilds declared illegal, and other restraints on the freedom of trade and industry removed. Although Turgot was no believer in popular legislation, and still wished to retain all legislative powers in the hands of the King and his council, he wanted to establish an ascending scale of elected assemblies of the village, the arrondissement or district, the province and the nation. The functions of these assemblies would be as with

our district and county councils, to give information to the central authority and to administer the royal edicts.

The plan of Turgot is no doubt open to objections. His idea of a single tax on land was based on the erroneous theory of the physiocrats, that land alone was the source of wealth. This theory forgets that capital and industry of all kinds are equally productive of wealth. Wealth is anything that has value, and everything has value which satisfies human wants, and is not obtainable without effort. Many things answer men's needs besides those directly produced from land. Thus the industry which spins and weaves the wool or grinds the corn into flour increases wealth, since cloth and flour are more valuable than raw wool and corn. Turgot would therefore have been on sounder ground had he made all forms of wealth equally liable to taxation. Yet it was a great thing to abolish the meaningless, unjust and harmful exemptions which existed, and if the time ever came, as it surely would, when the people would demand a share in legislative power, the plan of Turgot was a move in the right direction. Something would have been done to mitigate the extreme centralisation of the government, and the people would have received meanwhile an education and a discipline. They would have learnt the difficulties of government and the danger of pure theory without the chastening, sobering influence which experience alone can give.

Turgot at all events was not allowed to try his

plan. Like many reformers, he had little tact and no conciliatory gifts. He was dictatorial and impatient of opposition and delay, and his enemies made use of his unpopularity to defeat him. The edict allowing free trade in corn within the kingdom led to grave discontent as it had before. An unfruitful year was followed by high prices in some places. The dealers took advantage of the edict to buy up corn at cheap rates where it was plentiful and to sell it where it was dear, and thus neither producer nor consumer seemed to derive benefit. This was inevitable, but in time competition would have partly cured the evil; and Turgot stood firm. Of the discontent thus caused, the privileged classes made good use, and denounced his other schemes. Unfortunately, Louis XVI. had recalled the "Parlement" of Paris. They too joined in the cry, for they were among the privileged, and refused to register the other edicts. Maurepas, the chief minister, supported the opposition, and the weak King, after much hesitation, dismissed his unpopular Comptroller-General.

Turgot
dismissed,
May, 1776

Necker,
Director of
Finances,
Oct. 1776-
May, 1781

The King now listened to the tempting promises of Necker, a Genevan Protestant and banker. As, however, no Protestant could hold the highest offices of State, Necker was only appointed Director of Finances. Turgot had objected to loans, Necker sought safety in further borrowing. This would give him time to carry out the economies he desired as much as Turgot. Meanwhile, by publishing a balance sheet (*compte rendu*) of the public finances

he hoped to re-establish confidence. There was something to be said for thus courting publicity. The country would at least know the worst, and the privileged classes might be thus induced to abandon their privileges. Necker indeed attempted to show that the financial position was not so bad as was supposed. Further scrutiny, however, proved that many items had been omitted, and that his estimates were fallacious. The publishing of the balance sheet therefore only increased the dismay and deepened the discontent. Necker, finding that he was losing power, demanded to be admitted to the ministry, and on this being refused, resigned. The only result of his administration was the establishment of three Provincial Assemblies somewhat after the plan suggested by Turgot, which lasted until the Revolution, and which he had intended to extend to the whole of France.

After the fall of Necker a feverish period ensued of distracted councils and vacillating policy; the King listening now to the party of reaction, now making some feeble attempt at reform. Under Calonne, who was appointed in 1783, the expenses of government and of court increased, and the ruinous system of loans was again resorted to, until at last Calonne was forced to confess that he could not even pay the interest on the debt. He now fell back on Turgot's ideas, and advised the summoning of a Council of Notables to sanction his proposals. The council, which was for the most part formed of the privileged classes, instead of supporting him, attacked

Calonne,
1783-87

The Council of
Notables

his financial policy and forced the King to drive him from office. His successor, Leomény de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, now induced the Notables to accept some of Calonne's proposals, but, as they declined to approve of a general land tax, and demanded the convocation of the States-general, they were dismissed. A final effort was made to obtain the registration of the royal edicts by the "Parlement" of Paris. The "Parlement" refused once more and repeated the demand of the Notables that the States-general should be called. Louis XVI. took them at their word. The "Parlements" of France were declared suppressed, Necker was recalled, and the meeting of the States-general was announced for May 1, 1789. With the opening of that famous assembly, which had never sat since 1614, the French Revolution began.

Necker recalled, Aug., 1788, and States-general summoned

The period which thus closes with the outbreak of the French Revolution may be called the Age of the Enlightened Despot. This theory of government had indeed been heard of in earlier ages, but at no time had it so many exponents. If we omit England, where power, since the Revolution of 1688, had been in the hands of an aristocratic parliament, every country of Europe, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, felt the influence of the idea, either in the person of the ruler himself, or in that of the minister who controlled his policy. It will therefore be helpful if we conclude this volume with a summary of the general motives which underlay the theory, and of the work accomplished by its advo-

The Enlightened Despot in theory and practice

cates; and with an enquiry into its necessary limitations, and the causes of its partial failure.

The three main principles which underlay the conception were: (1) the identification of the State with its ruler; (2) the subordination of all private interests to those of the State; (3) the assumption that the interest or advantage of the State was a sufficient justification for every public act. In the foreign policy of the day we find that statesmen no longer concerned themselves much with the legality of the claims made to any piece of territory, but urged rather the imperative necessity of its acquisition to the safety or prosperity of their country. The theory of the balance of power, a theory once advocated in the defence of small States, was now made an excuse for the aggrandisement of the more powerful. The despots sought to attain their ends by the wiles of a dishonest diplomacy, or, if that failed, by an appeal to arms, in which they bade for the alliance of other Powers as selfish as themselves. No king perhaps equalled Frederick the Great in the cynical frankness with which he avowed his motives and his methods, but most statesmen adopted his principles and followed his example. Hence the intricate network of diplomacy; hence the constant alliances and counter-alliances which change with the variety of a kaleidoscope; hence the never-ending wars and hence the acts of spoliation, of which the partition of Poland is, perhaps, the most shameless, but certainly not the only example.

It is no doubt, true that a worse cause for war

may easily be found than the "imperative interests of a country," but many of the aggressions of the period cannot be justified on these grounds. France, for instance, is still powerful and prosperous, though she no longer holds the basin of the Rhine, nor rules over Spain, as was desired by Louis XIV. ; while a reformed Poland need not have stood in the way of the development of Russia and of Austria.

But if there is much to condemn in the foreign policy of the Enlightened Despots, we cannot say that matters in this respect are much better now, and it must be allowed that many of them had done great things for their country. France certainly gained materially from the conquests of Louis XIV., though perhaps at too great a cost.

Prussia could never have been a great Power without the acquisitions of the Great Elector and of the Great Frederick, nor Russia without a door to the West.

If we turn from questions of foreign policy to those at home, there is much truth in the boast that the Enlightened Despot aimed at the welfare of his country, and that the cry, "All for the people" was not wholly false. Prussia owed her rise entirely to her great rulers. Peter the Great may have misconceived the true line on which Russia should develop; Joseph II. was no doubt too hasty in his reforms; yet no one can dispute the sincerity of either of these remarkable men. The aims of these absolute monarchs we have already seen. They wished to destroy the power

of the nobles, and to substitute for the government by the privileged a centralised system, worked chiefly by the middle class, yet under the absolute control of the ruler himself. The energies of this government should then be devoted to the advance of the material and moral conditions of their people. Serfdom and other feudal abuses should be abolished or softened. The undue influence of the Church should be restrained, and a wider toleration of opinion allowed. The laws and judicial procedure should be simplified and made more equitable. Education should be encouraged; and, finally, industry and commerce should be promoted by direct government action.

But good intentions will not alone suffice. The despot must also be wise enough and well-informed enough to realise what are the true interests of his people. His government, it has been said, must be "directed by a will superior alike to majority and minority, to interests and classes. It is to be the intellectual guide of the nation, the promoter of wealth, the teacher of knowledge, the guardian of morality, the mainstay of the ascending movement of man." In the pursuit of this aim the people are to be ruled, not as they wish to be, but as their master thinks they should be. He is to be the arbiter of right and wrong, and no one is to gainsay his will. Even if such a standing miracle may here and there be found, the people will be kept in a state of pupillage, character will be weakened, and the education and discipline, which the practice of self-

government and the play of free opinion alone can give, must inevitably be lost.

But such rulers are rare, at least are not to be secured under a system of hereditary succession.

Nor is this all. The conditions of society are so complex, and its interests so varied, that no one man can master them all, or conduct the details of administration without help. Enemy as he is to all forms of popular self-government, he is obliged to surround himself with councillors and with an elaborate system of boards or departments of administration. As long as the despot is himself capable and well-meaning he may be able to control this huge machine and direct it in the public interest. When, however, as must, sooner or later, inevitably be the case, a less devoted or a weak man succeeds, the machinery is used for bad ends, as was the case in France under Louis XV.; or is likely to get out of gear and fall into confusion, as was the case in Prussia after the death of Frederick. Moreover, as we have noticed in the case of France and of Russia after the death of Peter the Great, the members of the bureaucracy surround themselves with the privileges of an almost hereditary caste. They become the slaves of custom and of precedent, and the selfish enemies of all reform, while they are often themselves divided by faction and personal rivalries.

Under these influences the despotism ceases to be either reforming or enlightened; it has long ago alienated the sympathy of the noble classes by the attack made on their privileges, and it now ceases

to be popular among those whom it was originally intended to benefit. Such was the fate which threatened, if it had not already overcome, most of the so-called enlightened despotisms at the close of the eighteenth century. In Russia the power of the Tzarina Catherine was still unassailed, but the bureaucracy had already exercised its baneful influence. Austria, shaken to her very foundations by the rash innovations of Joseph II., was indeed recovering herself under the more prudent guidance of Leopold II., but was soon to fall into the hands of weaker rulers. Prussia had lost the controlling mind of Frederick the Great, and was under the feeble and superstitious rule of Frederick William II. In Spain, the capable Charles III. was soon to be succeeded by the worthless Charles IV. The proud monarchy of France, ruined by the carelessness and profligacy of Louis XV., had fallen to pieces in the hands of the vacillating though well-meaning Louis XVI., and the Revolution had begun.

The Enlightened Despot had failed. The future was to show whether governments based on popular representation would do any better.



APPENDIX

FRANCE. THE BOURBON KINGS

Louis XIV., = Maria Theresa, dau. of
1643-1715. | Philip IV. of Spain.

Louis, Dauphin,
ob. 1711.

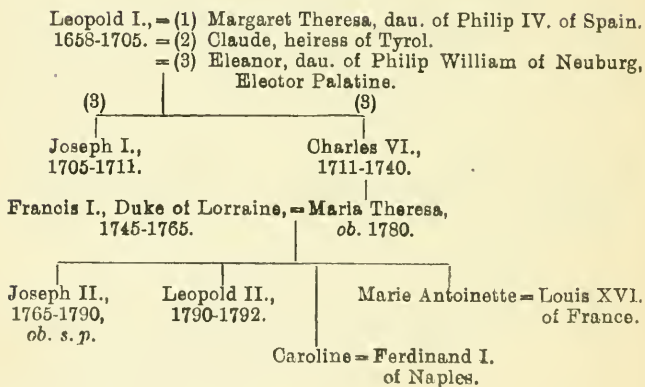
Louis, Duke of Burgundy, ob. 1712. | Mary Adelaide, dau. of Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy. | Philip, Duke of Anjou, Philip V. of Spain.

Louis XV., = Mary, dau. of Stanislas Leszczinski,
1715-1774. | King of Poland.

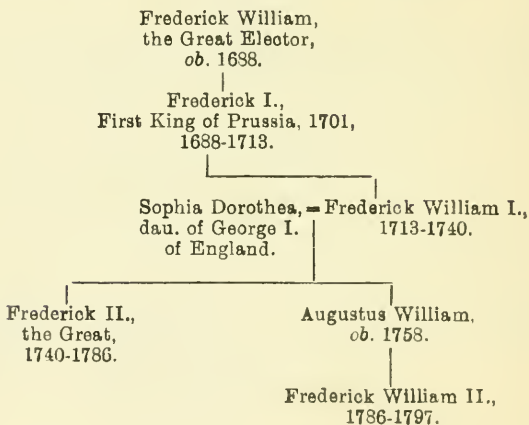
Louis, Dauphin, ob. 1765. = Maria Josepha, dau. of Frederick Augustus II. of Poland and Saxony.

Louis XVI., = Marie Antoinette, dau. of
1774-1792, dep. | Emperor Francis I.
Executed 1793.

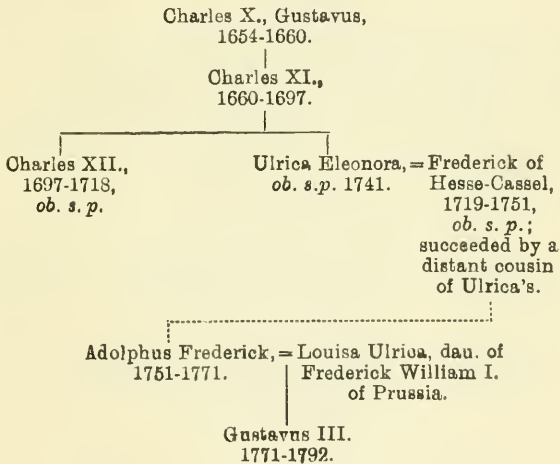
THE HABSBURGS IN AUSTRIA



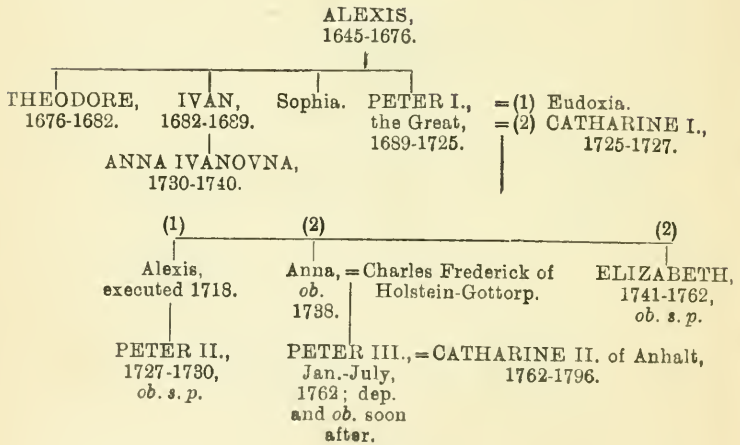
HOHENZOLLERN KINGS OF PRUSSIA



SWEDEN. HOUSE OF VASA



RUSSIA. HOUSE OF ROMANOFF



ELECTORS OF SAXONY AND KINGS OF POLAND
HOUSE OF WETTIN

John George II.,
1656-1680.

|
John George III.,
1680-1691.

|
Frederick Augustus II.,
1694-1733;
King of Poland, 1697-1733.

|
Frederick Augustus III.,
1733-1763;
King of Poland, 1738-1763;
succeeded by
Stanislas Poniatowski.

ELECTORS OF BAVARIA. HOUSE OF
WITTELSBACH

Maximilian Emanuel,
1679-1726.

|
Charles Albert,
1726-1745;

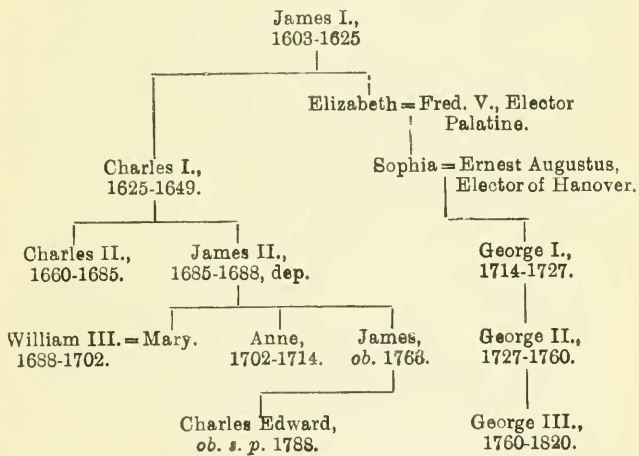
Emperor 1742, as Charles VII.

|
Maximilian Joseph,
1745-1777,

ob. s. p.;

succeeded by Charles Theodore.
Elector Palatine.

KINGS OF ENGLAND. HOUSES OF STUART
AND HANOVER



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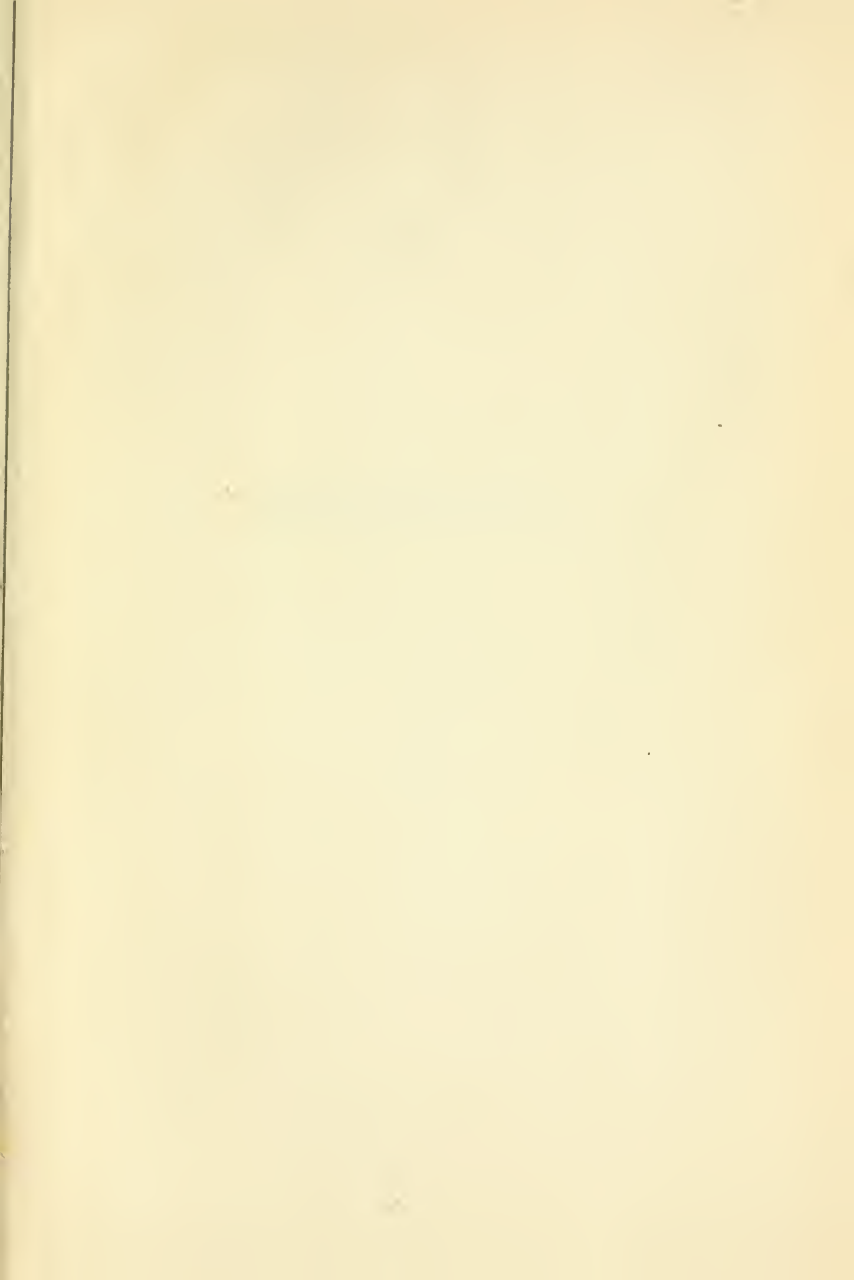
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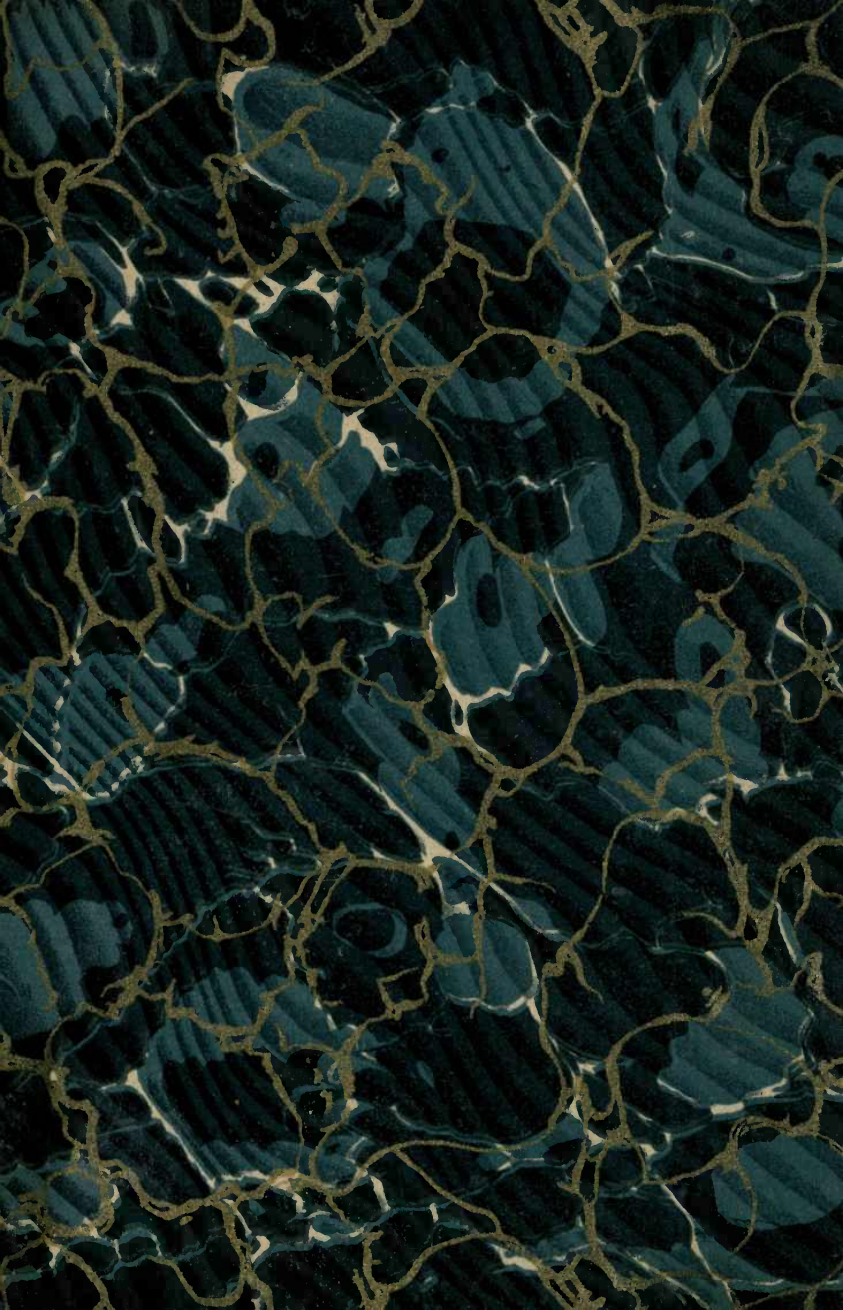
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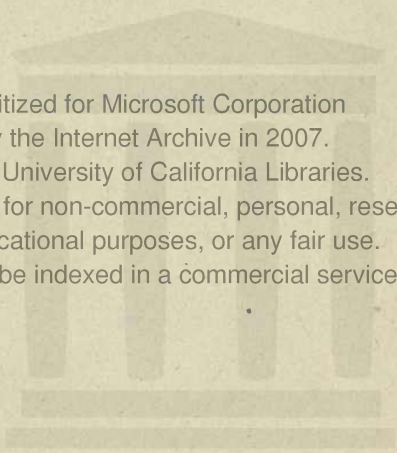
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SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

GENERAL EDITOR: A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME VI

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1789-1878

FOR THE HIGHER FORMS OF SCHOOLS

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THE REMAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE TREATY OF BERLIN

1789-1878

BY

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WITH TEN MAPS



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PREFACE

THIS little book is intended primarily for students who are beginning the study of foreign history at Schools and Universities. Such students generally have an examination in view, but this is not a cram book. My hope is that it may be found suggestive and stimulating, but not satisfying. That it will serve the less well, on that account, as a text-book for examinations I do not believe, since the best examiners do all in their power to discourage "cram". But it will fail of its main purpose if it does not stimulate a desire for bigger and better books and ampler information.

Any one who has been set down to write the history of a crowded period in a given number of words will judge leniently its many imperfections. Such a task involves a perpetual choice between obscurity and incompleteness. As lucidity seems to me the one essential quality in an introductory sketch I have not hesitated to prefer it to every other consideration. How far I have attained even to this virtue my readers

alone can judge. There are glaring omissions, especially in the second part of the book (1815-1878); but within the allotted limits of space I could do no more than suggest the great outstanding achievements of the period. It is my hope some day to fill in the sketch here presented.

I have made free use of the works of my predecessors in the same field, but I hope that I have not, without acknowledgment, appropriated their ideas or phrases. No one, however, who has been for many years teaching a particular subject can be at all certain that his most cherished ideas and most original phrases are really his own. On this point many have suffered cruel disillusionment. For any unwitting and unacknowledged appropriation I crave pardon.

The maps have been designed to subserve an historical rather than a geographical purpose—to emphasise the main lessons which it is the purpose of the text to enforce. I am grateful to Mr. Darbishire for the patience and skill with which he has interpreted my wishes in the matter. For the index I am indebted to the assistance of my wife.

My thanks are due to the Editor of the series for constant advice; but that is no uncommon or recent debt. Not a few teachers of history in Oxford have incurred a heavy debt to him, and mine is among the heaviest. I am grate-

ful also to my friend, Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, of Magdalen College, for reading the proofs of the early part (1789-1815), and to the Rev. A. B. Beaven, who performed a similar service for the later. Neither of these eminent scholars is responsible for any errors which may appear, but both have saved me from many which do not.

J. A. R. M.

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THE REMAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

1789-1878

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE period of European History between 1789 and 1878 divides naturally into two unequal portions. The dividing line must be drawn at the Battle of Waterloo and the resettlement of Europe at the close of the Great War (1815). The contrast between these two divisions is striking, and suggests a radical difference in the method of treatment. From 1789 to 1815 the gaze of the spectator is concentrated upon France. He is looking upon the successive scenes of a drama—or melodrama—with a unified and coherent plot. He watches a series of political experiments tried upon the Parisian stage: a futile attempt at limited monarchy; a democratic republic; a consulate in the hands of a successful soldier, and finally an Empire based upon military prestige. He sees Europe growing more and more uneasy at the development of events in France, and at length taking up arms in order to lay the horrible spectre of revolution. He sees the assault unexpectedly repulsed by the enthusiasm of the French republicans, and France in her turn assuming the offensive and flinging herself with the ardour of

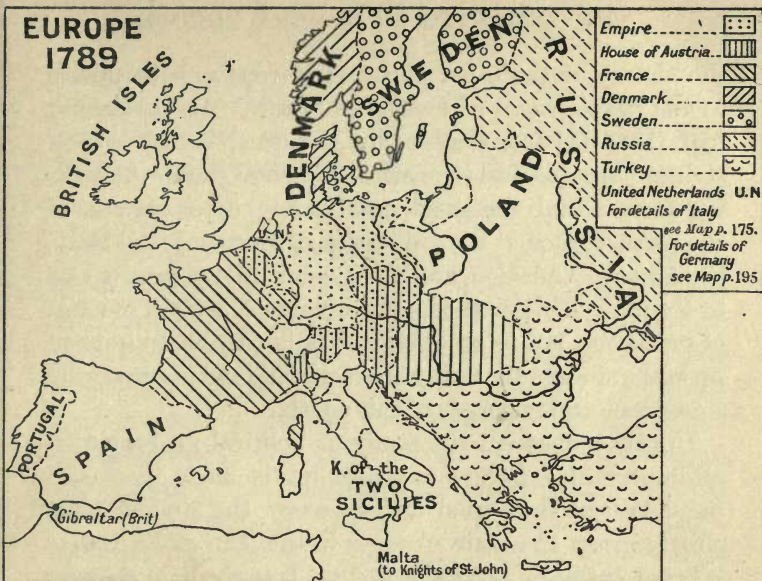
a crusade upon the established Governments of Europe. He sees power pass, as Burke predicted that it must, to the successful soldier, who makes himself master first of the legions and ultimately of the state. He sees Napoleon Bonaparte, not content with the Empire of France, attempting, and with all but complete success, to impose his yoke upon the whole of continental Europe, and he sees his design frustrated by the tenacity, the wealth and the sea power of Great Britain. One scene unfolds itself after another, and each contributes to the systematic development of an impressive drama.

In the second half of the period—from 1815 to 1878—it is different. There is indeed a principle of immense significance underlying the mass of apparently miscellaneous and unrelated events. But at first sight it is difficult to discern it. The attention of the bewildered spectator is drawn now to France, now to Germany, now to Italy, now to Russia, now to the Balkan peninsula and now to the Iberian, now to the far East and now to the far West.

Nevertheless, there is a principle at work which gives unity to the historical manifestations of the nineteenth century. It is to be found in the complex and elusive idea of *Nationality*. But the operation of this force is far from uniform. Sometimes it is disruptive—tending to break up a seeming unity into fragments, as in the provinces formerly subject to the Sultan of Turkey, and in the countries held together by the Austrian Emperor. More often it has tended to unification; to weld into a single whole artificially divided provinces or states, as in Germany and Italy.

I propose, therefore, in the first half of the period (1789-1815) to concentrate attention upon France, and to treat

EUROPE 1789



EUROPE 1908



B.V. Barbiskire, Oxford, 1908.

the history of the other states of Europe as subordinate to the development of events in France. In the second half (1815-1878) I shall adopt a topical rather than a strictly chronological treatment, and shall group the leading facts round the great outstanding developments of the century, such as the unification of Germany and Italy, the Eastern Question, and the Constitutional revolutions in France. This method may involve a certain amount of repetition, but in no other way is it possible to impress upon the student the really characteristic and permanently significant achievements of this epoch.

In this connection the study of political geography is all-important. Before any attempt is made to master the details of the period under review, the student must clearly grasp the main changes in the map of Europe as effected between 1789 and 1878. Intermediate changes may for the moment be ignored, but no effort should be spared to apprehend the nett results of diplomacy and war upon the political boundaries of the leading states.

If we compare the map of Europe ¹ at the beginning and end of this period the following among other changes will arrest attention :—

I. Germany

The Holy Roman Empire has disappeared, and a German Empire has come into being. Germany, instead of containing several hundred principalities and city states, bound together by the slenderest of political ties, is now a Federal Empire consisting of Prussia and twenty-four other sovereign states, and the Imperial-land Alsace-Lorraine. From the new Germany the various states ruled by the Austrian Emperor are excluded, and within it Prussia has both extended and consolidated her terri-

¹ See p. 3 *supra*.

tories, having absorbed, in addition to the great Rhine province, Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenburg, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-Main.¹

II. Austria-Hungary

To the South of Germany a new power has arisen and taken a place in the European polity. No sooner was the Holy Roman Empire dissolved (1806) than the Emperor assumed the new title of Emperor of Austria. Under this style the house of Habsburg-Lorraine still successfully holds together a compact but heterogeneous collection of states of which the more important are Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. The Spanish Netherlands have passed out of their keeping and have been transformed—after a brief and unsatisfactory union (1815-1830) with Holland—into the new kingdom of Belgium. Their Italian provinces have similarly gone to the new kingdom of Italy.

III. Poland

On the Eastern frontier of Germany another significant change must be noted. That frontier is now coterminous with that of Russia. The ancient kingdom of Poland, already dismembered by the first partition of 1772, has been completely effaced. Portions have fallen to the share of Austria and Prussia, but the greater part has been swallowed—though incompletely digested—by Russia.²

IV. Russia

The first strides of Russia—Westward and Southward—were taken in the eighteenth century, but her further advance between 1789 and 1878 is still sufficiently remarkable. Reference has already been made to the absorption of a great part of Poland (1793, 1795 and 1815). Finland was snatched from Sweden in 1809; the

¹ See maps, pp. 195 and 209.

² See map, p. 146.

dominion of Russia over the Eastern shore of the Baltic was thus completed. On the Black Sea she had already obtained a strong grip by the Treaty of Kainardji (1774); but her frontier to the south-west was further advanced to the Dniester by the Treaty of Jassy (1792) and to the Pruth by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812). Of even vaster extent are her acquisitions to the east of the Black Sea and to the east of the Caspian, bringing her into immediate contact with Persia, Afghanistan and the Empire of China. Of all the changes in the political map there are few more significant than those which record the steady expansion of the Russian Empire.

V: The Balkan Peninsula

Hardly less conspicuous than the advance of Russia has been the shrinkage in the dominions of the Turk. Russia's expansion in Europe, and still more in Asia, has been largely at the expense of Turkey. But apart from this the Sultan's authority has been seriously curtailed. The kingdoms of Greece, Roumania and Servia have been carved out of his European territory; the Principality of Bulgaria is independent in all but name; England is in occupation and virtual possession of Egypt and Cyprus; Austria has practically incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina.

VI. Italy

In 1789 Italy was in truth nothing more than a "geographical expression," divided up into ten separate states. Central Italy still lay in the grip of the Papacy; Naples and Sicily (the "Two Sicilies") were ruled by Spanish Bourbons; Tuscany and most of the smaller Duchies were in the hands of Habsburgs; Lombardy was incorporated into Austria; Sardinia and Piedmont were governed by the Dukes of Savoy, with the title of King

of Sardinia. The republics of Venice and Genoa alone survived to recall the Italy of the Middle Ages, an Italy which though divided was independent. Between 1789 and 1871 the changes in Italian government were kaleidoscopic; but from 1848 onwards they all tended towards the realisation of independence and unity. By 1871 Italy was at last rid of the foreigner, and her ten states had become united, with Rome for the capital, under the House of Savoy. But the cradle of that House had passed with Nice to France.¹

VII. France and the Iberian Peninsula

France has undergone less rectification of frontier than most of the great European states. She has gained Nice and Savoy from Italy, and lost Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Spain and Portugal show no change as regards the map of Europe.

VIII. Scandinavia

Passing to Northern Europe we observe notable changes in the Baltic lands. The cession of Finland by Sweden to Russia has been already mentioned. Sweden was compensated by the acquisition of Norway,² snatched from Denmark in 1815, and Denmark itself has suffered further loss by the cession of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia (1866).

IX. Holland and Belgium

In the Low Countries we have to note the formation of a new kingdom. The Southern Netherlands were in 1789 still in the unwilling custody of Austria. Absorbed for many years into France they were gladly ceded by Austria in 1815 and combined with Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands. But the union was brief

¹ See map, p. 175.

² Declared independent in 1905.

and disastrous, and in 1830 the new kingdom of Belgium was brought into being chiefly through the good offices of England and France.

X. The British Empire

A map of Europe avails but little to indicate the change which in the course of a century has transformed the British Kingdom into a world-Empire. In 1789 the chance of such a transformation seemed remote; the sun of England appeared to have set. Britain had lately lost thirteen colonies in North America, and Canada, though under British rule, could not yet be counted as a British Colony. Advantage had recently been taken of Captain Cook's discoveries to despatch a ship-load of convicts to Botany Bay (1786), but neither in Australia nor in New Zealand had colonisation begun. Cape Colony and Ceylon were still ruled by the Dutch East India Company. Warren Hastings had saved India from the fate of North America, but the expansion of British rule on the great scale was still to come under Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings and Lord Dalhousie. The story of British expansion during the century under review must be read mainly on the maps of Asia, Africa, Australia and North America. But the map of Europe shows notable additions to the safeguarding of the great Mediterranean highway by the acquisition of Malta and Cyprus, not to speak of the occupation of Egypt.

This summary statement of the chief geographical changes may suffice to indicate the nature of the task before a student of this period. It may also suggest its absorbing interest. But more important even than the number and extent of these territorial readjustments is

the question of their political significance. Do the changes seem to obey any given law? Do they point any political moral? Have they, in the main, contributed to the better government, to the material prosperity and the social well-being of the peoples immediately concerned? It has been reckoned that "one-fifth of the population of Europe may now be called to fight *against* flags *under* which the grandfathers of men not yet old might have been called on to fight, and this without reckoning anything for the separation of Austria from Germany, or for transfers from one German or Italian flag to another".¹ This is in itself a fact of immense significance. But the more important question still remains to be answered. Have the changes been due merely to the ambition of rulers and the whims of diplomats, or have they tended to the fulfilment of a healthy political law and to the increased happiness of the masses of the people whose allegiance has been transferred?

It is the main purpose of the following pages to describe the changes, thus summarised, and to attempt an answer to the question proposed.

¹ Professor Westlake: ap. *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge Press.)

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1793)

Les révolutions qui arrivent dans les plus grands états ne sont point un effet du hazard, ni du caprice des peuples.—SULLY.

The *States-general*

DURING the winter of 1788-89 France was plunged into unwonted excitement. Louis XVI. (1774-1793), amiable and well intentioned, but utterly lacking in strength of character or clearness of vision, had yielded to a demand for the summoning of the *States-general*. This general assembly of the French Estates—the Nobles, the Clergy and the *Tiers état* or Commons—was almost coeval in antiquity with the English Parliament, and in structure was not unlike the original form of that body. But in the subsequent development of the two bodies there was no similarity. The *States-general* was entirely dependent on the will of the sovereign, who summoned or neglected to summon it as he chose ; it never acquired any real control over legislation or administration, and above all never kept the power of the purse. During the last three centuries it had met at long intervals, and since 1614 it had never met at all. It is easy, therefore, to imagine the excitement caused throughout France by the announcement that the *States-general* was to meet in May, 1789. There was considerable uncertainty as to proper forms and methods of election, and few people could have had any clear conception as to what the *States-general*

when elected would do; but the possibilities were as imposing as they were vague, and all men felt dimly that a new era was opening for France. It is estimated that in the winter of 1788-89 about 40,000 political meetings were held, while pamphlets poured in their thousands from the press, and this in a country which had not witnessed a general election for nearly two hundred years.

What were the hopes which inspired the electors? What were the grievances which they intended to redress? These questions we are fortunately able to answer with precision owing to the survival of the *Cahiers*—memoranda of instructions and grievances drawn up by each order for the guidance of their representatives. These *Cahiers* prove that all classes—privileged and unprivileged alike—looked for radical reform. All classes demanded the establishment of constitutional government, and looked to regular meetings of the *States-general* to secure it. The readjustment of taxation, the abolition of privileges and exemptions, the removal of feudal burdens were demanded by the *Tiers état*, and were not resisted—at any rate on paper—by Nobles or Clergy. Securities were to be obtained for personal liberty, offices were to be open to all classes, and all men were to be equal before the law. The *Cahiers* prove, in short, that even before the *States-general* met privilege was doomed, and that no resistance would be offered by any section of the people to far-reaching reforms.

The *States-general* was opened by the King on 5th May, 1789. It consisted of 1,136 deputies, of whom 270 represented the Nobles, 291 the Clergy and 575 the *Tiers état*. By royal decree "double representation" had been given to the Commons, and consequently their deputies outnumbered those of the two other Orders combined.

But the significance of the concession depended entirely upon the decision of another question hitherto undecided. How were the deputies to vote? By orders, in three separate Houses? Or as a single assembly—*par tête*? If in a single House, the Nobles and Clergy would be swamped by the double representation of the *Tiers état* and all real power would be vested in the latter. For six weeks this question was hotly debated and no business was done, but on 17th June the Commons cut the Gordian knot by declaring themselves the National Assembly of France, and invited the other Orders to join them. Three days later (20th June) the Commons, finding themselves excluded by the King's orders from their Hall of Assembly, adjourned forthwith to a neighbouring tennis-court and there registered a solemn oath not to separate until they had given to France a Constitution. Had the King at this critical moment possessed sufficient strength of mind to ignore the advice of courtiers and declare boldly for the Commons, the whole subsequent history of France might have been different. But the King, while announcing a large programme of reform (23rd June), refused to sanction the bold usurpation of the Commons or to recognise the "National Assembly". The latter stuck to their point; the lower Clergy (*curés*) joined them, and together they defied the orders of the King. "Tell your master," cried Mirabeau to the grand master of the ceremonies, "that we are here by the power of the people, and we shall not go hence save at the bayonet's point." The Nobles and the high Ecclesiastics were persuaded by the King to give way, and to join the Commons. The first great victory had been won.

Fall of the
Bastille

The King, once more listening to the advice of his Queen and courtiers, now decided to mass troops on Paris,

and to dismiss Necker¹ from his councils. Necker, though a successful financier, was a timid, uninspired and narrow-minded statesman, but his dismissal was rightly regarded as a sop to the reactionaries, and caused much excitement in Paris. The concentration of troops caused more. Riots broke out; national guards were enrolled, arms were distributed, and on 14th July the mob, having made themselves masters of the capital, attacked, and after five hours of fighting captured, the Bastille. This old fortress prison held at the time less than a dozen prisoners, but it symbolised all the judicial tyrannies and abominations of the old régime. Its capture was hailed, therefore, with enthusiasm as a blow struck for personal freedom. The King on hearing the news exclaimed: "Why, this is a revolt!" "No, Sire," rejoined the Duc de Liancourt, "it is a revolution!"

It is necessary, at this point, to pause and ask why in the summer of 1789 revolution thus blazed out in France? Causes of
the French
Revolution Revolutions rarely come suddenly, and never by chance. An accidental spark may fire the train, but the train itself must have been long and carefully laid. The causes of the Revolution in France cannot be really understood except by a perusal of its history for the last two hundred years. But here it must suffice to summarise them.

The first point to realise is that for centuries all political The Crown power in France had been concentrated in the hands of the Crown: that all limiting and competing authorities had been ruthlessly swept aside. For this concentration there were excellent historical reasons. It was the monarchy which had made France. It was the monarchy which had resisted the efforts of a self-seeking feudal aristocracy which, in its own interests, would gaily have

¹See Vol. V. of this Series.

dismembered France. It was the monarchy which had withstood the hardly less mischievous tendencies of the political Huguenots. It was the monarchy of Louis XIV. (1643-1715) which, entering upon a heritage bequeathed to it by the patient labours of a long series of great kings, and still greater ministers, had raised France to a dazzling pinnacle of prestige among the powers of Europe. But in the eighteenth century the monarchy had ceased to be efficient. From India and North America France had been expelled by the arms of Englishmen: in Europe its military prestige had been shattered in a series of disastrous and expensive wars. At home things were no better. The personal vices of Louis XV. (1715-1774) were not redeemed by political capacity, and the administration drifted into confusion and bankruptcy. But the Nemesis which waits on autocracy overtook the French monarchy not when things were at their worst under the vicious and incompetent Louis XV., but when reform was being seriously undertaken by the patriotic and well-meaning Louis XVI. (1774-1793). Paradoxical as it may seem it is generally so. The contrast between increasing material prosperity on the one hand and social and fiscal inequalities on the other, was, as De Tocqueville has luminously shown, one of the main reasons why revolution broke out in France.¹

The Nobles But the Revolution of 1789 was directed not primarily, if at all, against the monarchy, but against the privileged orders: the Nobility and the Clergy. And here again we are confronted by paradox. There was not more of feudal privilege in France than in other continental countries, but less. So long as feudalism was intact, it was immune. Richelieu, early in the seventeenth century,

¹See De Tocqueville. *France before 1789*, bk ii., c. i.

had destroyed the political powers of the French nobility : but the loss of their political functions served to render only more hateful the survival of social and fiscal privileges. "Against whom are the Germans fighting?" Von Ranke was asked in 1870. "Against Louis XIV." was his prompt reply. If Louis XIV. was responsible for the Franco-German war, Richelieu was largely responsible for the Revolution of 1789.¹ Feudalism as a political institution had long since disappeared in France ; as a social institution the fabric was intact. The Nobles still enjoyed virtual immunity from direct taxation, and escaped too lightly from indirect ; they could still compel the peasants to grind their corn at the lord's mill, to press their grapes in his wine-press, to pay innumerable dues and tolls, and to submit to social customs some of which were degrading and all of which were obsolete. Such privileges were tolerable so long as the Nobles governed and defended the country, and they were less felt so long as the peasants were tenants and serfs. But before the Revolution the Nobles had ceased not only to be governors but in great measure to be landlords. Serfdom had practically disappeared ; the peasant had become the owner of the soil he tilled ; the noble had become a mere non-resident rent-charger, and the mutual relations of the two classes had in consequence become intolerable.

The great Ecclesiastics were even more unpopular than The Church the Nobles. Drawn largely from the same social class they enjoyed the same social privileges, and their clerical privileges in addition. And just as Richelieu had undermined the position of the nobles, so Voltaire and the other great writers of the eighteenth century had under-

¹De Tocqueville's luminous work *L'Ancien Régime* is largely a commentary on this text.

mined the prestige of the Church. The curés or parish priests for the most part retained the affection of their flocks by their devotion to duty, and by the fact that they shared the poverty and hardships of the peasant class from which they were drawn. And with the *Tiers état* they joined hands when the day of revolution came. Not against them, but against the vast wealth and luxurious lives of the princes of the Church was the satire of Voltaire and the fury of the revolutionary mob directed.

Added to the political and social causes making for revolution in France there were economic and fiscal reasons tending to the same end.

The fiscal
system

It is difficult for an Englishman, accustomed for many generations to see the rich bearing the main burden of taxation, to realise the extent to which in France this burden was borne by the poor. It has been estimated that in the eighteenth century a French peasant could count on less than one-fifth of his income for his personal enjoyment and support. Eighty-two per cent. went in taxes, tithe and feudal dues. From direct taxes, as we have seen, the Nobles and Clergy were all but exempt, as were the official classes. Places were, indeed, eagerly sought largely in order to secure this privilege. Of indirect taxation the same classes bore less than their share. The real burden fell upon the poor. Small wonder that France was in chronic bankruptcy, and that every capable financier who came into power demanded—Turgot most loudly of all—that there should be an end of these mischievous exemptions. Unfortunately, the rôle of constitutional opposition was assumed, in the præ-revolutionary era, by the great judicial corporations or *Parlements*. These “nobles of the robe” were themselves highly privileged, and the last principle which they were prepared to accept

was that of equality of taxation. Rather than surrender one iota of privilege in this respect they preferred to compel the Crown to summon a meeting of the *States-general*. Never did a privileged order show itself more selfishly short-sighted.

But bad as was the taxative system of the old régime, the commercial system was worse. An unjust and ineffective system of taxation prevents the government from utilising for national purposes the wealth of its citizens. But a bad commercial system prevents the creation of wealth. French trade in the eighteenth century was still wrapped in the swaddling clothes appropriate to infancy. Production was hampered by the survival of "guilds" and corporations, and exchange was rendered as cumbrous and difficult as possible by a multitude of internal custom barriers, and by stacks of antiquated regulations. English travellers well qualified to judge—like Adam Smith and Arthur Young—point to France as a veritable "museum of economic errors". Turgot (Controller-general, 1774-76) did all in his power to reform these abuses. He did much to equalise the burdens of taxation; he restored national credit; he reformed fiscal abuses; he broke down barriers on internal commerce; he suppressed guilds and emancipated industry; he abolished the *corvée* and reformed the *octroi*. But what he was allowed to accomplish was not a tithe of what he proposed, and his project of establishing a uniform tax on land from which none should be exempt was indignantly rejected by the privileged classes. His projected reforms meant the curtailment of privilege; the privileged classes were too strong for this intrepid and enlightened reformer, and he was dismissed. His successor Necker did something, but not enough, and the

trade of France was still struggling to emancipate itself from mediæval shackles when the Revolution broke out. Economic reform, therefore, not less than social and political, was imperatively required.

The
Philo-
sophers

There remains to be noted a curious feature of the situation. In France there existed side by side gross practical abuses and exceptionally enlightened theories. Nowhere was public opinion better informed or more critical. But the mischief was that the critics had no chance of giving effect to their theories in practical administration. Adam Smith learnt his Free Trade principles in France, partly from the French Physiocrats, partly from an examination, at close quarters, of the *reductio ad absurdum* of Protection. He taught Pitt the principles which the latter carried into practical effect at the Exchequer. Turgot was just as apt a pupil of Quesnay as was Pitt of Adam Smith. But while Pitt was the master of the House of Commons, Turgot was the servant of the King. None the less the work of the French theorists, of Quesnay and the Economists, of Diderot and the Encyclopædists, of Voltaire and Montesquieu, and above all Rousseau, must be reckoned as among the most potent of the forces which prepared the way for the Revolution. Napoleon declared that if Rousseau had never lived there would have been no Revolution, and it is true that without Rousseau the Revolution would have followed a very different course. His *Contrat Social*, published in 1762, exercised, and continues to exercise, a profound influence upon political thought. It is the gospel of modern Democracy. All government, according to its maxims, rests upon the consent of the governed. How, he asked, can the individual citizen, while securing the advantages of political society,

“obey only himself and remain as free as before”? He can do so only by entering into the fundamental contract from which emerges the sovereignty of the people. That sovereignty is, accordingly, illimitable, irresponsible, inalienable and indivisible. Voltaire described Rousseau’s doctrines as a “code of anarchy,” but the influence of his teaching was immediate and profound. Into a soil prepared by social grievances, by political abuses, and by mischievous economic restraints, Rousseau flung broadcast the seed of philosophical speculation. To masses of men who were at once credulous, oppressed, and inexperienced he preached a new social gospel.

Thus was the train of revolution laid. Three sparks ignited the powder.

The first was the revolt of the English Colonies in North America (1765-1783). In that revolution France saw a welcome opportunity of paying off old scores against England, and of putting her own philosophical theories into practice at a neighbour’s expense. No doubt France fired a big gun against England, but the recoil was terrific. The American war was the last financial straw, and France sank into bankruptcy from which she did not emerge until the Revolution. Moreover, the success of the rebels encouraged revolutionary doctrines at home. The autocracy was seriously alarmed, and pushed on the work of reform with feverish haste. The last years of the old régime were crowded with reforms projected and effected. But again and again reform found itself broken on the wheel of privilege, and slowly people began to realise that before reform could be effectual privilege must be dislodged, and that privilege would not be dislodged by any existing political

machinery. New and stronger weapons would have to be forged.

The second spark was applied by the Parliament of Paris, which, though the home and incarnation of Privilege, startled the world at this moment by demanding that the *States-general* should be convoked. The *States-general*, when it met, got rid of much besides the Parliament of Paris.

Finally: during the winter of 1788-89 France was devastated by famine and its trade was dislocated by an economic crisis of unprecedented severity. It must never be forgotten that the elections to the first *States-general* elected since 1614 took place at a moment when thousands of Frenchmen were starving, and that when it met Paris was thronged by workless and destitute crowds. But for this fact the French Revolution might never have assumed its lawless and bloodthirsty character.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

Making the Constitution which is a new term they have adopted, as if a Constitution was a pudding to be made from a receipt.—ARTHUR YOUNG.

THE capture of the Bastille marked the beginning of mob rule in Paris. The example of Paris was soon followed by the Provinces. Inflammatory speeches were addressed from thousands of platforms to starving peasants and workless artisans. In the garrison towns fortresses were stormed by the mob and the troops fraternised with the people; in the country, monasteries were sacked and châteaux were burnt. Everywhere the Government showed itself impotent to maintain order or to protect life or property. In a few weeks the old régime, and all for which it stood, had collapsed from end to end of France.

The National Assembly at Versailles, worked up to a pitch of hysterical excitement by the reports which daily arrived from the Provinces, proceeded to a "St. Bartholemew of Property". On 4th August ("the extreme unction day of Feudalism" in Carlyle's phrase) the Assembly adopted a frenzied series of resolutions designed to get rid of the last relics of the feudal system.

All men were to be henceforth equal before the law; offices and preferments were to be open to all; justice was to be administered gratuitously; serfdom, forced labour (the *corvée*), all customary services, all exclusive sporting rights were to cease; guilds and corporations were to be dissolved, and labour was henceforth to be "free"; tithes, annates and pluralities were abolished. One night's work thus sufficed to complete the destruction of a social system under which Frenchmen had lived for centuries.

The Rights
of Man

Meanwhile there was imperative need for the Assembly to embark on the work of reconstruction. The old Government had collapsed; nothing had been devised to replace it, and France was drifting into anarchy. But precious weeks were consumed in the composition of a Declaration of the "natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man in order that this Declaration, being constantly before all members of the social body shall remind them continually of their rights and duties". Among these rights were "liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression"; freedom from unlawful arrest; freedom of conscience; and security of property. This famous document was published on 27th August, 1789.

Making the
Constitu-
tion

This done the Assembly proceeded to "make" a new Constitution, "as if," says Arthur Young, "a Constitution was a pudding to be made from a receipt". Two points were decided in September: (1) that the legislature should consist of a single elected chamber, and (2) that upon the legislative proposals of this single chamber the King should have merely a suspensive veto. Against the narrow pedantry of these decisions one strong voice was raised in vain but emphatic protest. It was that of the Count of Mirabeau, the one man who in these constitu-

tional debates displayed any statesmanlike knowledge and grasp.

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau,¹ is beyond Mirabeau comparison the most notable figure in the early history of the French Revolution. Born in 1748 he ought to have been in the prime of manhood when elected to the *States-general*, but violent excesses of every kind had not merely undermined a robust constitution but had inspired general mistrust of his character. Rejected as a deputy by his own Order he was elected by the *Tiers état* both at Marseilles and at Aix, and as deputy for Aix he took his seat in 1789. Regarded with suspicion and received with insults his splendid eloquence and ripe political judgment quickly impressed the Assembly. His courage and resource in the crisis of 23rd June established his pre-eminence among a crowd of inexperienced mediocrities, and from that day until his death he mostly dominated the Constituent Assembly.

What was Mirabeau's political creed? At what did he aim? For the philosophic abstractions of Lafayette and the windy rhetoric of the Rights of Man Mirabeau had nothing but contempt, while the work of 4th August was to him a "mere orgy". But with the Ancien Régime he had no sympathy, and his supreme desire was to convince the King that the breach with the past was irreparable and to reconcile him to the new order. Not that he desired any weakening of the executive authority. On the contrary, a strong executive was to his mind the first necessity of government, but its strength must be derived from the willing assent of the people and from harmonious co-operation with the people's representatives in the Assembly. In fine, Mirabeau desired to see in France

¹ For biography cf. P. F. Willert: *Mirabeau*. (Foreign Statesmen Series.)

a Constitutional Monarchy of the English type, with which he had become familiar and which he fervently admired. Even to Mirabeau, however, the Assembly on this subject refused to listen. But the leadership of the Revolution was soon to pass from the Assembly.

March
of the
Maenads,
5th and 6th
October

Early in October the news reached Paris that the Court at Versailles was contemplating a counter-revolution. The King, it was rumoured, was to withdraw to Metz, and Paris was to be overawed by faithful troops. A military banquet at Versailles gave substance to the rumours. A huge mob, headed by a band of frenzied women, marched out from Paris to Versailles on 5th October, attacked the Palace, and on the 6th carried the King and the royal family back with them to Paris virtually as prisoners. The National Assembly followed the King, and thus the control of the revolutionary movement passed into the hands of radical clubs and the populace of Paris.

The new
Constitu-
tion

In Paris the work of Constitution-making was resumed in grim earnest by the Assembly. Local government was entirely reorganised: the old Provinces were abolished, and France was symmetrically mapped out into eighty-three Departments. The Departments were subdivided into Districts, Cantons, and Communes or Municipalities. The last numbered 44,000. In every department, district and commune there was an elected council with its executive officers. The electoral franchise was conferred upon all "active" citizens, *i.e.*, all citizens over twenty-five years of age who paid in direct taxes a sum equal to three days' labour. Office was open to all who paid direct taxes to the amount of a silver mark. The administration of justice was thoroughly overhauled. The Parlements and other courts were swept away, with many of the abuses attendant upon them—arbitrary im-

prisonment, for example, and excessive punishments. A criminal court was established in every department, and in these trial by jury was introduced; a civil court in every district; and besides these numberless courts of summary jurisdiction under *juges de paix*. At Paris there was to be a court of appeal. Unfortunately, a judicial system otherwise admirable was vitiated by the mania for election which pervaded the whole body of reforms effected by the Assembly. Firmness and impartiality could not be expected from judges who held office—and for short terms only—by popular election. Military reforms were carried out with equal thoroughness. The number of highly paid officers was reduced; the pay of the private was improved and all ranks were made eligible for promotion. Privilege of every kind was, of course, doomed. Hereditary titles of nobility were suppressed, while at the other end of the scale the slaves of St. Domingo were summarily emancipated. But not even revolutionary fervour could sustain the burden of government without money, and money was difficult to come by. Necker had come to the end of his tether in regard to loans, and his income tax of 5s. in the £ proved a failure. Under these circumstances greedy eyes were turned to the property of the Church. The curés were ill paid, but the wealth of the high Ecclesiastics and the religious houses was enormous. Tithes were abolished (to the sole advantage of the landowners) on 4th August, 1789. In 1790 the religious houses were suppressed, and all Church property throughout France was appropriated by the State. To meet immediate necessities *assignats* or promissory notes were issued upon the security of the Church property. The Church itself became a State-department, and a “civil constitution” was imposed upon the Clergy. Here again everything was

sacrificed to mathematical symmetry and the mania for election. Every department was to have a bishop, every district a curé, in each case elected by their flock, and the papal veto on such elections was done away with. At the same time gross inequalities of income were redressed. The scheme was not without merits, and though hotly resisted by the Clergy and unsanctioned by the Pope, might have formed the basis of a settlement but for an act of egregious and gratuitous folly. The Assembly insisted that every clergyman should take an oath of allegiance to the new system. At least half refused, the Church of France was rent in twain, and the new Government converted possible adherents into implacable opponents.

It remained to define the relations of the single-chamber legislature to the executive. Partly in deference to the theories of Montesquieu, partly in acceptance of American as against English precedent, most of all from ineradicable suspicion of the Crown and the Court, the Assembly resolved that no executive minister or holder of office under the Crown should be a member of the legislature. Mirabeau, in accordance with his known principles, strove earnestly to avert this divorce, but in vain; and his failure removed the last hope of reconciliation between the Crown and the National Assembly, the last hope that constitutional reform might be effected without destructive revolution.

Foiled in the Assembly Mirabeau did all that in him lay by a series of memoranda¹ characterised by remarkable shrewdness and insight to guide the steps of the King and to save the monarchy. His first plan was the formation

¹ Cf. *Mirabeau : Correspondence avec le Comte de la Marck*. (Paris 1851.)

of a "Responsible" ministry which should command the confidence both of the Crown and of the Extreme Left. But the materials for such a ministry did not exist. Quick to recognise his failure, Mirabeau's next plan was to induce the King to unite France against Paris. The advice was at once sagacious and bold, but the execution of the scheme needed organising genius of the first order. Where could the Court find agents fit for the task? Mirabeau himself was not fully trusted by the Court, and the golden opportunity which he and he alone might have seized was lost.

But despite his failure Mirabeau's political ascendancy seemed to be never more unquestioned than in the last months of his tempestuous career. In December he was elected President of the Jacobin Club, and on 30th January, President of the Assembly. On 2nd April, 1791, he died. Carlyle confidently affirms that "had Mirabeau lived, the history of France and of the world had been different". It is far from certain; but no one can question the accuracy of Mirabeau's own prediction: "When I am gone they will know what the value of me was. The miseries I have held back will burst from all sides on France. I carry in my heart the death-dirge of the French monarchy: they will fight over its corpse." The one real statesman in France was dead: whether even he could have saved the monarchy and averted the deluge that followed it is impossible to say. It is certain that no one else could.

From this moment the King seems to have realised the hopelessness of his position. On 18th April 1791 he attempted to leave Paris for S. Cloud, but was stopped and turned back by the mob. His one hope now was to get away from the capital. On 20th June the royal family

Flight to
Varennes

left Paris secretly for Metz, but the affair was shamefully bungled, they were stopped at Varennes and brought back—virtually prisoners—to the capital.

It is at this moment that the project of a Republic comes distinctly into view. Robespierre¹ and Danton² demanded the deposition of the King, but the proposal commanded only thirty votes in the Assembly, and it was decided to suspend the King provisionally until the Constituent Assembly should have completed its labours. The extremists resented this decision and organised a republican demonstration for 17th July. Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, and Lafayette as commander of the National Guard attempted to carry out the orders of the Assembly and maintain order. The mob refused to disperse; the soldiers fired, and twelve people were killed and many wounded. This unfortunate collision, commonly known as the "Massacre of the Champ de Mars," widened the breach between the Assembly and the Parisian mob. But the work of the Constituent Assembly was now complete: on 21st September the new Constitution received the assent of the King; Louis swore to maintain it and was reinstated in office. On 30th September, 1791, the Assembly was dissolved.

The work of the Constituent Assembly has been severely criticised and not without warrant. The members were, of course, utterly lacking in experience of affairs; they were the slaves of certain philosophical theories, and were inspired by a mania for the principle of popular election; they declined to listen to the sagacious advice of the one statesman among them, and they fell into innumerable pitfalls. But there is no reason to

¹ Cf. Belloc's *Life* or Morley's *Essay*, ap. *Miscellanies*, Vol. I.

² Cf. *Life* by Beesley or Belloc.

question their honesty or patriotism, or to doubt that they were inspired by a genuine desire to secure for France a new Constitution modelled upon the most approved principles of political science. Moreover, practically all their civil as apart from their political creations have stood the test of time. It was their misfortune rather than their fault that they were men of theory engaged upon the hopeless task of devising popular institutions for a nation which had had no training in the supremely difficult art of self-government.

The new Assembly known as the *Legislative*, met on 1st October, 1791. It consisted of a single chamber of 745 members entirely new to political life. For by an act of self-abnegating folly the *Constituent* had concluded its labours by passing a decree that none of its members should be eligible for election to the new chamber. Once again, therefore, the destinies of France were committed to men, mostly young lawyers, who were full of theories but devoid of experience.

Parties quickly defined themselves in the new chamber. The Right consisted of the Constitutionalists—better known as the *Feuillants*, a name derived from their club which met in the Convent of the Feuillants. They posed as the defenders of the Constitution of 1791 and maintained friendly relations with the Court. They rested on the support of Lafayette, the National Guard and the middle classes. The King's best policy would have been to give them his confidence, and to support as far as possible their policy. The Left was divided into two factions, both of them frankly republican, the Girondins and the Jacobins. The latter, numerically the weaker, derived much strength from the support of Paris and particularly of the clubs. At the Jacobin Club Robespierre

The
Legislative
Assembly

was supreme; Danton and Camille Desmoulins swayed the destinies of the Cordeliers, while the lusty brewer Sauterterre exploited the canaille of the Paris faubourgs in the interest of the extreme republican party. Within the chamber the most distinguished, and at first the most influential of the many groups into which the Left was divided was that of the Girondins.

The
Girondins

This famous group derived its name from the fact that its leaders came from the department of the Gironde. Among them were such men as Vergniaud, their most brilliant orator, Brissot, the editor of the *Patriote*, with some knowledge of foreign affairs, Condorcet, the philosopher, Guadet and Gensonné. Madame Roland represented the party outside the Assembly. Their ardent republicanism was based on classical models; they were highly gifted, full of fiery eloquence, and totally devoid of experience. They soon became (as Von Sybel says) "the darlings of all those zealous patriots for whom the Cordeliers were too dirty, and the Feuillants too lukewarm".

The new chamber was confronted by a score of difficulties; among the most pressing were those presented by the position of the Non-juring Clergy and of the Nobles who had fled from France.

The Non-
jurors
and the
Émigrés

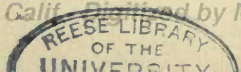
Many of the Clergy had, as we have seen, refused to take the oath imposed by the Constituent Assembly, but supported by their flocks they still continued to perform their duties. Consequently in November, 1791, a Decree was passed ordering the expulsion of all priests who refused the oath, but the King interposed his veto and the Decree never became law. A similar fate attended a second Decree (27th May, 1792) authorising the departments to banish all Non-jurors. The confusion, therefore, was

unrelieved, and the only result was further to alienate the Clergy and such of the people as remained devoted to them.

Still more difficult was the problem presented by the position of the *Émigrés*. From the early days of the Revolution a steady stream of French nobles had poured over the German frontier. The conduct of these men was despicable. By sticking to their posts they might have done something to stem the tide of revolution, or by frankly accepting the new situation they might have guided a movement which they could no longer control. Instead of this, they fled shrieking into Germany to implore the help of foreigners to arrest the progress of revolution. Their conduct at this crisis must be held largely responsible for the outbreak of war, for the excesses of the reign of terror, and for the murder of the King. At Coblenz they established a miniature Court over which the King's brothers, the Count of Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.) and the Count of Artois (afterwards Charles X.) presided. They organised also a regular army. The Assembly was seriously alarmed. A Decree was passed with the King's assent requiring the Count of Provence to return to France within two months; a second was proposed declaring that all *Émigrés* still in arms on the 1st January, 1792, should be punishable with death as traitors to France and their property be confiscate to the State. The King vetoed this Decree though he urged the *Émigrés* to return.

Meanwhile the *Émigrés* continued their appeals to the German Powers to arrest by force of arms a movement which threatened not France only but every constituted Government in Europe.

The response to this appeal opens a new chapter in the history of the Revolution.



CHAPTER IV

EUROPE AND THE REVOLUTION

No Monarchy, limited or unlimited, nor any of the old Republics, can possibly be safe as long as this strange, nameless, wild enthusiastic thing is established in the centre of Europe. . . . It is with an armed doctrine that we are at war.—BURKE.

The war
of 1792

IS it possible that under any circumstances the Revolutionary movement started in 1789 could have been confined to France? The question thus stated has been variously answered. We can only point to the fact that the conflagration lighted in Paris quickly engulfed the whole of Europe in the vortex of flames.

For this development there were many reasons. (i) The doctrines proclaimed by the National Assembly and adopted by the Legislative Assembly which followed were, if true at all, of universal validity. They asserted the rights not of Frenchmen or Germans, but of man as man. Hence there was no reason why their acceptance should be confined within political frontiers. (ii) The Girondins who rapidly mounted to supreme power in the autumn of 1791 were bent on war partly "to make all tyrants tremble on their thrones of clay," partly as the best hope of consummating the Revolution at home. From the first, therefore, they did everything in their power to provoke a breach between France and her neighbours. (iii) On no side of France were there

barriers strong enough to resist the tide of revolutionary sentiment. Most of the Governments of Central Europe were hopelessly decadent. Germany presented a sorry spectacle of weakness and disunion. Its two leading powers, Austria and Prussia, were deadly rivals; its political constitution had for centuries been entirely ineffective; the Holy Roman Empire had long since ceased to be "either Holy, Roman, or an Empire," while in few of the hundreds of states ruled by sovereign princes was there any stirring of a healthy national life. Worst of all, perhaps, were the ecclesiastical states on the Rhine and its tributaries. And while the Governments were rotten, the people were ready to welcome the principles proclaimed in France. Particularly was this the case in the Austrian Netherlands, in the Rhine electorates and (in less degree) in the United Provinces.

No sovereign could be indifferent to the events taking place in France, or deaf to the appeals of the emigrant nobles, least of all the Emperor Leopold. As Head of the Holy Roman Empire, and still more as a ruler of the Austrian Netherlands, he was peculiarly exposed to the revolutionary infection; as brother of the Queen Marie Antoinette he had good reason to fear for the safety of his relatives. But Leopold was a calm and sagacious statesman, and clearly realised that nothing would be more likely to inflame passions in France than foreign intervention.

In August, 1791, the Emperor and the King of Prussia (Frederick William II.) met at Pilnitz. They rejected the appeal of the *Émigrés* for immediate intervention, and refused to let them use their asylum in Germany for making armed preparations against France. At the same time the two monarchs unfortunately issued the

Declaration
of Pilnitz

Declaration of Pilnitz. This famous document maintained that the position of the King in France was a matter of concern to all European sovereigns. It demanded that the Princes of the Empire should be reinstated in their feudal rights, and it expressed the intention of the German monarchs, if other nations concurred, to attain their objects by force of arms. The Emperor was aware that England would not concur, but he foolishly imagined that the empty threat launched from Pilnitz would suffice to bring the extremists in Paris to reason.

It had precisely the opposite effect. It played into the hands of the Girondists and lashed into fury the extreme republicans who, like Robespierre, were against war. Unfortunately Leopold died in 1792, and in March, 1792, Louis formed a Girondist ministry, the portfolio of the interior being given to the husband of Madame Roland, and that of foreign affairs to the able but unscrupulous Dumouriez. At the latter's bidding the King announced to the Assembly amid immense enthusiasm that he had declared war on Austria (20th April, 1792).

The declaration was immediately followed by an attack upon the Austrian Netherlands, but the French troops fled in panic, and murdered their own generals. This initial fiasco confirmed the prevailing notion that the war would be over in a few weeks, that the disciplined Germans would sweep aside the armed mob opposed to them, that the allies would march straight on Paris, rescue the French royal family and restore tranquillity to France.

Mob Rule
in Paris

Such anticipations were absurdly wide of the mark. The failure of French arms served only to inflame the passions of the mob against the King and still more against the Queen. The Court party was denounced as

the "Austrian Committee"; the King's Body Guard guaranteed by the Constitution was dismissed; the dregs of the populace were armed with pikes, and insults were daily offered to the Queen. On 20th June a mob of armed ruffians burst into the palace of the Tuileries, and for four hours surged round the King. The lives of the King and Queen were saved only by their own calm and dignified courage. This outrage roused the Constitution-
 alists in defence of the Crown and produced a decided though transient reaction. Lafayette left his troops on the frontier and hurried back to Paris to defend the King. But the Jacobins flouted his demands, the King mistrusted his goodwill, and things rapidly went from bad to worse.

On 11th July, after a speech of fiery eloquence from Vergniaud, the Assembly declared that the country was in danger; on 25th July Prussia formally declared war, and a few days later the Prussian commander, the Duke of Brunswick, issued from Coblenz a manifesto to the French people. He summoned all authorities in France to submit to their lawful sovereign, declared that the whole French nation would be held individually responsible for any resistance offered to the allied armies, and threatened Paris with demolition if any outrage were committed upon the King or royal family. This foolish and insolent manifesto sealed the fate of the French monarchy. The reply to it was the insurrection of the 10th of August.

Brunswick's
Manifesto

Early in June the King had vetoed a Decree for the assembling of a force of 20,000 fédérés or provincial volunteers in Paris, and on the 13th had dismissed his Girondist ministers. Despite the veto a force of fédérés marched from Marseilles and at the end of July arrived in Paris singing the new national hymn—the "Marseillaise"

The tenth
of August

—and determined to “strike down the tyrant”. Meanwhile (9th August) the popular leaders set up a new *Commune* (or municipal government) and on the same night sounded the tocsin of insurrection throughout Paris. Mandat, the brave commander of the National Guard, was murdered; the Tuileries were invaded; the Swiss Guard was massacred, and the King, with his family, took refuge in the Assembly. There on the 10th of August a remnant of terror-stricken deputies decreed the suspension of the monarchy. The King was sent as a prisoner to the Temple; a camp was formed under the walls of Paris; the Girondist ministers were restored; Danton—the real author of the 10th of August—became the Minister of Justice, and a National Convention, to be elected by universal manhood suffrage, was summoned to meet immediately.

Advance of
the Allies

On 19th August the allied army crossed the Rhine; on the 20th Longwy was invested; on the 24th it capitulated and on the 30th the invaders reached Verdun. Lafayette refusing to recognise the new authority in Paris was declared a traitor, took refuge with the allies, and was succeeded by Dumouriez. The best chance of the allies would have been a bold and rapid advance on Paris. Brunswick, their commander, was a fine strategist of the old school, but the situation demanded more than strategy. Brunswick would risk nothing, advanced with caution and slowly pushed Dumouriez back. The golden opportunity was lost.

The Sep-
tember
Massacres

Meanwhile, terrible scenes were enacted within the walls of Paris. The advance of the allies created a panic; the entire control fell into the hands of the Commune; Danton became virtual dictator. His policy was simple. With the allies advancing on Paris; with more than half

France sympathising with the objects they were coming to achieve, the one path of safety for the republican minority was to strike terror into the hearts of their opponents.

“In my opinion,” said Danton, “the way to stop the enemy is to make the Royalists fear.” The surrender of Verdun (2nd September) opened the road to Paris, and on the same day massacres began in prisons already crowded with Royalists. For five long days the prisoners were handed over to the tender mercies of a band of cut-throats. There was no discrimination of rank, sex or age. Men, women and children, bishops and priests, nobles and magistrates,—all who were suspected of Royalist leanings were foully murdered with the added mockery of judicial forms. The number of victims is variously estimated from 2,000 to 10,000. Marat invited the provinces to follow the brilliant example of Paris.

In fairness it must be added that in the midst of the massacres Danton threw himself with splendid energy into the task of organising the National Defence. The cannonade of Valmy (20th September) checked Brunswick and saved the capital. With Valmy the tide turned; on the 6th of November Dumouriez won a brilliant victory on the Belgian frontier at Jemappes; Mons, Brussels and Antwerp surrendered in turn; the French armies were welcomed by the populace as friends, and the Austrian Netherlands were in the hands of the French Republic.

Similar success attended the army of Custine on the Rhine: Mainz, Speier, Worms, Frankfort and Coblenz opened their gates to the French (October). Not less enthusiastic was their welcome on the Southern frontiers. General Montesquieu occupied Savoy, and General

Anselme Nice. Thus before the winter of 1792-93 closed in, the armies of the Republic were in possession of Belgium, Savoy and Nice, and had got a firm grip on the middle Rhine.

The
National
Convention

Success upon the frontiers naturally quickened the pace in the capital. The Legislative Assembly had dissolved itself and had summoned a National Convention to frame a new Constitution for France. The Convention was opened on 21st September, and resolved by acclamation that "royalty was abolished in France," and that Year I. of the Republic should date from that day. A decree of perpetual banishment was passed against the *Émigrés*, and it was resolved to bring the King to trial before the Convention.

Execution
of the King

The trial opened on 11th December. The Girondists attempted to interpose delays, and suggested that the King's fate should be decided by a vote of the whole nation. But the mob became impatient; on 14th January, 1793, they surrounded the Convention with cries of "Death to the tyrant," and two days later Louis XVI. was by a narrow majority sentenced to death. On 21st January the sentence was executed. Thus died upon the scaffold, with calm courage and unruffled dignity, one of the kindest, most unselfish and best-intentioned of French kings. Unfortunately he was as weak as he was good. A really strong king might have dissociated himself from the privileged orders and led the movement along the path of ordered reform. But Louis XVI. was incapable of initiative, and not wise enough to profit by the advice of the one counsellor who might have supplied his deficiency. Personally well meaning he fell upon evil days and had not sufficient force of character to "direct the whirlwind" or "to ride the storm". His execution

was both a crime and a blunder. "Louis must die," said Robespierre, "because the country must live." The dilemma was imaginary; and posterity has endorsed with rare unanimity the dictum of Charles James Fox—"a most revolting act of cruelty and injustice."

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

THE REIGN OF TERROR

I detest the French Revolution in the act, in the spirit, in the consequence, and most of all in the example.—BURKE.

He pitied the plumage, but forgot the dying bird.—TOM PAINE ON BURKE.

The Propa-
gandist
Decrees

THE execution of Louis XVI. sent a thrill of horror through Europe, but it could not in itself justify foreign intervention. The Revolution, however, was changing its character. Intoxicated by success the republicans, in the autumn of 1792, had challenged the existing order in Europe at large. They had already declared the navigation of the Scheldt open, and issued two propagandist Decrees calling upon all peoples to rise in revolt against their rulers. The importance of the Decree of 15th December, 1792, justifies quotation:—

“The French nation will treat as enemies the people who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, are desirous of preserving their prince and privileged castes, or of entering into communication with them. The nation promises and engages never to lay down its arms until the sovereignty and liberty of the people on whose territory the French armies shall have entered, shall be established. It is evident that a people so enamoured of

its chains, and so obstinately attached to its state of brutishness as to refuse the restoration of its rights, is the accomplice not only of its own despots, but even of all its crowned usurpers, who divide the domain of the earth and of men. Such a servile people is the declared enemy of the French Republic."

Such conduct rendered the maintenance of neutrality difficult if not impossible. England was particularly embarrassed by the opening of the Scheldt, in conjunction with the French occupation of Belgium. Always sensitive in regard to Antwerp she had specifically guaranteed in the interests of Holland the closing of the Scheldt,¹ and the action of the Convention consequently compelled serious notice.

So far the Government of England had shown no hostility to the Revolutionary movement. Some people took the cynical view of Lord Chesterfield, that if France were kept well occupied at home "the rest of Europe would be quiet". Others welcomed its early stages as likely to procure for France the advantages—long enjoyed in England—of a limited monarchy. Some were flattered to trace in its progress the influence of English writers, more particularly Locke. A few, like Charles James Fox, were excited to enthusiasm even by its more violent episodes.

Unquestionably the first effect of the Revolution was to encourage the political societies and clubs which had come into existence during the American war. Among these the "Revolution Society" obtained some notoriety—after the manner of unimportant busybodies—by sending an address of congratulation to the National Assembly (November, 1789). To this society was addressed the

¹ *I.e.*, that no goods should be brought up the river except in Dutch ships, or on payment of dues to the Dutch.

sermon which Burke took as the text of his *Reflections* upon the French Revolution, a fact which has secured to Dr. Price, the preacher, a spurious immortality.

Burke's
Reflections

Burke made from the first no secret of the anxiety and abhorrence with which he regarded the course of events in France, and in November, 1790, he published his *Reflections*. In this famous treatise his first care was to repudiate the suggestion that France was merely improving upon the example set by England in 1688, and to emphasise the contrast between the cautious and conservative advance of England and the abstract and un-historical radicalism of France. To give any idea of the exuberant wealth of historical illustration, or the profound wisdom of the political reflections by the aid of which Burke enforced his main thesis, would here be impossible. But attention must be drawn to his remarkable prediction. The new system of government set up by the National Assembly would, he prophesied, quickly lead to the destruction of the monarchy; the fall of the monarchy would result in anarchy, from which France could only be rescued by a military despotism. But Burke's first concern was not for France but for his own country, and his treatise has, therefore, been truly described as "a polemic against Jacobinism, particularly English Jacobinism". In both respects it produced an extraordinarily powerful effect. Thirty thousand copies were quickly sold in England and a very large number in France and elsewhere. Nor was the success undeserved; for few similar treatises have so effectively combined the character of a political pamphlet designed to produce an immediate effect, and that of a permanent contribution to political thought.

Not that Burke's influence was wholly salutary. From

the outset he held that the only cure for the highly contagious disease raging in France was the armed intervention of the Powers. "This evil in the heart of Europe must be extirpated from that centre, or no part of the circumference can be free from the mischief which radiates from it, and which will spread, circle beyond circle, in spite of all the little defensive precautions which can be employed against it." Most people will now agree that Burke was inaccurate in his diagnosis and unfortunate in his prescription.

But despite Burke's advice, Pitt held steadily on the path of rigid neutrality. There are few charges against any public man more demonstrably false than that which makes Pitt responsible for the outbreak of war between Europe and France. But the force of iteration is remarkable, and libel dies hard. To have introduced a Peace Budget in 1792, and to have reduced both army and navy, may argue lack of prescience, but at least it proves the sincerity of his aversion to war. Even after the Continental war had broken out Pitt clung to the hope that Great Britain might not only maintain neutrality, but might intervene as arbitrator between the combatants. Such hopes, though generous, were vain, and as the summer of 1792 deepened into autumn, Pitt's struggles for peace, though never relaxed, grew sensibly less and less effective.

On both sides of the channel passions were rising which no statesman could control. The republicans in Paris had challenged all existing Governments, good and bad alike; they had shown their indifference to existing obligations; they had proclaimed, in their Decrees, a Revolutionary crusade; finally, on the 21st of January, 1793, they sent their sovereign to the scaffold. The

Pitt and
the Revolution

execution of Louis XVI., however inconsequently, roused the war temper of the English people. Chauvelin, who had for some time unofficially represented the French Government in London, was sent home, and on the 1st of February, 1793, the Convention declared war upon England and Holland, and a month later upon Spain.

The War
of 1793

Between 1793 and 1801 the war between England and France continued without break. Other Powers came in and fell out; coalitions were formed and dissolved; treaties of peace were concluded, and wars were again declared, but all the while the old rivals held doggedly on. Even the treaty concluded at Amiens (1802) represented nothing more than a temporary truce; no real peace was made until after the final overthrow of Napoleon in 1815. But not until the beginning of the Peninsular War (1808) did England play any considerable or continuous part in the military operations on the Continent. This was Pitt's deliberate policy, and it has been abundantly vindicated by the greatest of modern strategists: "It was economically wiser, for the purpose of the coalitions," writes Captain Mahan,¹ "that [Great Britain] should be controlling the sea, supporting the commerce of the world, making money and managing the finances, while other states, whose industries were exposed to the blast of war, and who had not the same commercial aptitudes, did the fighting on land." That in Pitt's conduct of the war there were serious mistakes in detail must be conceded: but he set before himself a definite aim, and he pursued it with dogged tenacity and, on the whole, with conspicuous success.

The adhesion of England, Holland and Spain combined with the distracted condition of France to secure to the

¹ *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire.*

allies six months of unbroken military success (February-August, 1793). The Austrians won a notable victory over Dumouriez at Neerwinden (18th March). The French then evacuated Belgium, and the Austrians crossed the frontier and threatened Paris. Another Austrian army invaded Alsace; the Prussians drove the French from the middle Rhine; the English, under the Duke of York, besieged Dunkirk; Admiral Hood was admitted into the harbour of Toulon, and the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees and conquered Roussillon. But these reverses to French arms served only to increase the pace of revolution in Paris and to invest its leaders with the halo of patriotism. The desertion of Dumouriez, who took refuge with the Austrians after Neerwinden, and the outbreak of civil war in La Vendée tended in the same direction. France was in danger, and at all hazards it was necessary to restore unity to her councils. On 2nd June thirty-two leading Girondists, including Brissot, Vergniaud and Pétion, were arrested, and thus the struggle between the Girondists and the Jacobins was finally decided in favour of the extremer and more vigorous party. An extraordinary tribunal to judge, without appeal, conspirators against the State had been established in March; the "Committee of Public Safety," formed originally in April and reorganised in July, was invested with practically supreme powers; while Carnot, admitted to the Committee in August, demanded a *levée en masse*, reorganised the army and inspired its administration with his own fiery energy. By the early autumn he had 750,000 men under arms. The results were quickly discernible. The royalist rising in La Vendée and the South was crushed; the siege of Dunkirk was raised; the English were defeated at Hondschoote (September) and the Austrians at Wattig-

nies (October). Thus Neerwinden was avenged and all danger on the North-eastern frontier was averted. Simultaneously Alsace was cleared; the allies were forced back across the Rhine; and before the end of the year the great arsenal of Toulon was recaptured from the English. On every side the armies of Carnot were triumphant.

It is futile to deny that the French victories on the borders were due to the triumph of the Jacobins in the heart of France. The Girondins, with their virtuous declamation and their doctrinaire republicanism form an interesting phase in the development of the Revolution. But they were unequal to the stern realities of war, and military reverses sealed their political doom. The spirit of the new administration was well expressed by Robespierre: "Tyrants beset us without our borders; the friends of tyranny conspire within. In such a crisis the principle of our policy must be this: To govern the people by Reason and the enemies of the people by Terror. Terror is only justice more prompt, more vigorous, more inexorable, and therefore Virtue's child."

Every interest was to be subordinated to that of the public safety. The "young men shall go to war; the married men shall forge arms and transport supplies; the wives shall make tents and clothes and serve in the hospitals; the children shall tear old linen into lint; the aged shall resort to the public places to excite the courage of the warriors and hatred against kings." We may detest or deride the cause which evoked this enthusiasm; but the enthusiasm was genuine and not unheroic. Nothing must be permitted to stand in the way. Commercial maxims must be set at naught, and the ordinary guarantees for personal liberty must be suspended. By the "law of the maximum," maximum prices were fixed for

The
Jacobin
triumph
and the
Reign of
Terror

provisions, manufactured goods and even raw materials. By the "law of the suspects" the Revolutionary committees—not in Paris only but throughout France—were authorised to imprison all members of noble families, all relatives of *Émigrés*, and all who by word or act or writing showed sympathy with the fallen monarchy or the *Ancien Régime*. The prisons were, before long, crammed to overflowing, and the congestion was relieved only by the daily procession to the Place de la Révolution where the guillotine was doing its ghastly work. "The guillotine, we find, gets always a quicker motion as other things are quickening. The guillotine, by its speed of going, will give index of the general velocity of the Republic. The clanking of its huge axe rising and falling there in horrid systole diastole. . . . Heaven knows there were terrors and horrors enough: yet that was not all the phenomenon: nay, more properly that was not the phenomenon at all, but rather was the *shadow* of it, the negative part of it." There is truth in Carlyle's statement, though the expression is fantastic and rhetorical, and despite our natural and righteous detestation of the "Terror" and its agents, we must recognise the vigour of those who organised it.

Meanwhile terrible scenes were daily enacted in Paris. On the 16th of October the Queen, Marie Antoinette, went to the scaffold with a dignity and courage not unworthy of the daughter of the great Hungarian Queen, Maria Theresa. The pathos of her death and the brutality of her murderers have thrown a halo of romance around a woman whose influence was almost uniformly mischievous. Marie Antoinette was followed to the scaffold by the twenty-two leaders of the Gironde—among them Vergniaud, Brissot and Madame Roland; by Philippe

Egalité,¹ and by Bailly the first Mayor of Paris under the new municipality, and first President of the States-general itself. The "Terror" thus imposed on Paris was carried out with even greater violence in the provinces. "To be safe," said Hébert, "you must kill everybody." A systematic attempt was made to carry out the prescription. The Vendéan revolt was stamped out in blood the inhabitants of Toulon and Lyons were practically exterminated, and whole provinces were handed over to military execution in the hope of wiping out a population which could not be coerced into submission.

Thus was the supremacy of the Jacobins established. Before long, however, divisions began to manifest themselves in the ranks of the extreme party. A section led by Danton and inspired by the *Vieux Cordelier* of Camille Desmoulins desired to stay the hand of vengeance and re-establish a Government at once stable and comparatively merciful. At the opposite pole were the followers of Hébert, himself the advocate of unsparing terror and revolting atheism. It was the Hébertists who, having forced the Convention to abolish the Catholic religion and substitute for it the worship of Reason, celebrated (10th November) the Feast of Reason in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

To the Hébertists Robespierre and his followers offered uncompromising opposition. "If God did not exist," said Robespierre, "it would be necessary to invent Him." Atheism he denounced as aristocratic. By an alliance with the Dantonists Robespierre crushed the Hébertists, and in March, 1794, Hébert himself, Chaumette and

¹ Louis Phillipe, Duke of Orleans, great-grandson of the Regent Orleans, and father of Louis Phillipe who became King of the French in 1830. See p. 137.

Anarcharsis Clootz were sent to the guillotine. Having thus disposed of the extreme Left, Robespierre next turned upon the Moderates, and in April Danton, Camille Desmoulins and many of their followers shared the fate of the Hébertists. So Danton, the hero of Carlyle's famous epic, passes out of the story.

The Triumvirate

The triumvirate of Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just was now supreme. In May, 1794, the Convention, at the instance of Robespierre, resolved to recognise the existence of a Supreme Being, and in June Robespierre himself presided over a blasphemous festival designed in honour of the deity of his own creation. Two days after this festival Couthon proposed to the Convention the famous Law of the 22nd Prairial (10th June)—a law designed to increase the murderous efficiency of the Revolutionary Tribunal by abolishing all formal proof of guilt.

"Of all laws ever passed in the world, this," says Lord Morley, "is the most nakedly iniquitous." Prisoners were henceforth tried in batches without counsel to defend them, and were deprived even of the privilege of calling witnesses for the defence. The Tribunal was, however, undeniably effective. Within six weeks the number of its victims exceeded 1,400; but the end was now in sight; the tyranny of Robespierre and the triumvirate had become intolerable. Had Robespierre himself possessed an atom of practical ability his ascendancy might have been considerably prolonged; but of decisive action he was incapable.

The Revolution of Thermidor

Thus things hurried on to a crisis. No party and no individual knew who would be the next victims, and all determined to strike at the arch-terrorist. On the 9th of Thermidor the blow was struck. Robespierre,

St. Couthon and St. Just were arrested, and though the Commune of Paris stood by them the Convention managed to assert itself, and Robespierre and his comrades at last shared the fate of thousands of their victims.

Robespierre is a curious and interesting study: he proclaimed himself to be the champion of morality and a "living martyr to the Republic, at once the victim and the enemy of crime". It was a pose, but an unconscious one. Fertile in phrases and a genuine sentimentalist, Robespierre probably deceived himself even more than he deceived others. With his death we reach a turning-point in the Revolution, the close of the Terror and the beginning of the reaction. Why France endured for so long (April, 1793-July, 1794) a system under which thousands¹ of innocent victims were sent to the scaffold in the name of Liberty remains one of the enigmas of history. The Terror was the work of a contemptible and not wholly compact minority, and its overthrow was welcomed by the vast majority of the citizens of France.

"Oui, il y a un Dieu," said a Parisian artisan, as he gazed upon the prostrate body of Robespierre. The sentiment was re-echoed throughout France.

¹ Taine puts it at 17,000, but this is probably an exaggeration. It is estimated that between April, 1793, and July, 1794, 2,625 persons were sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris alone.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADVENT OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. THE REACTION IN FRANCE (1794-1802)

Constitutional Government is a chimera at the conclusion of a Revolution such as that of France. It is not under shelter of legal authority that parties whose passions have been so violently excited can arrange themselves and repose; a more vigorous power is required to restrain them, to fuse their still burning elements, and protect them against foreign violence. That power is the Empire of the sword.—THIERS.

The
Reaction

THE "Revolution of Thermidor" marks the beginning of reaction. Nearly all parties were now anxious to put an end to the Terror, and to re-establish a settled Government. The Revolutionary Tribunal was suspended; the Law of the 22nd Prairial was annulled; the suspects were gradually released; the agents of the Terror were brought to that Justice which they had so hideously burlesqued; the decree proscribing the priests and nobles was revoked; the seventy-three excluded Girondist deputies were recalled to the Convention, and, in December, 1794, the Jacobin Club was closed. Finally, with a laudable anxiety to restore a healthy tone to commerce and finance, the *Law of the maximum* was repealed, and the system of requisitions for the supply of the army was gradually abandoned (December). These measures, though eminently wise and just, served for the moment only to intensify the financial crisis. By the end of 1794 as-

signats (or paper money) to the nominal value of 7,000 million francs were in circulation, and within twelve months this huge amount was more than doubled. The value of this paper currency fell with corresponding rapidity. In December, 1794, the assignats were worth 22 per cent. only of their face value; in May, 1795, they had fallen to 7 per cent., and by the end of the year to 1 per cent. With the fall in the value of the currency prices rose to starvation height; an assignat of 100 francs would scarcely purchase a plate of soup, and distress, both in Paris and the provinces, became intense. In the spring of 1795 the remnant of the Jacobin party rallied sufficiently to make political capital out of distress and to inflame the starving populace to a couple of revolts (12th Germinal and 1st Prairial). But after several days of street fighting these insurrections were suppressed, and the Convention took advantage of its victory finally to extinguish the power of the Terrorists. The National Guard was reorganised, the populace was disarmed; sixty deputies of the "Mountain" or Jacobin party were proscribed, and many of the leading agents of the late administration were guillotined or exiled to Cayenne.

The triumph of the Moderates was accentuated by the extraordinary success which in the main had attended the arms of France. The victory of the allies during the spring and summer of 1793 was a mere flash in the pan. Before the end of that year France, as we have seen, was rapidly regaining the ground she had lost, and in 1794 was able to resume the offensive. England indeed maintained her position at sea and inflicted a decisive defeat upon the French fleet on the 1st of June. But Howe's famous victory was counter-balanced by that of Jourdan

French
Victories

at Fleurus (26th June); the English and Austrians were driven back on Holland, the Prussians had to give way on the middle Rhine, and by the end of 1794 Belgium was once more in the hands of France. "Eight pitched battles won, 116 towns and 230 forts taken, 90,000 prisoners and 3,800 guns captured." Such was the French record for 1794. From Belgium the French advanced into Holland, and early in 1795 they proclaimed there, to the undisguised satisfaction of the inhabitants, the Batavian Republic. As a consequence England virtually withdrew from all part in the continental struggle and concentrated her efforts upon the maritime and colonial contest. On the Italian and Spanish frontiers French arms were no less successful. Political forces were also working in their favour, and the European coalition was rapidly going to pieces. From the first Prussia had been more interested in the development of events in Poland than in France. In conjunction with Russia she had effected the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, and in 1795 the two Powers admitted Austria to a share in the final dismemberment of that unhappy country. In the same year the war of the First Coalition came to an end. The Grand Duke of Tuscany made peace early in 1795, and during the summer a series of treaties was concluded at Basle. Prussia (5th April, 1795) agreed to surrender her provinces to the west of the Rhine, and for ten years took no further part in the war; France granted peace, on Prussia's intercession, to the Northern States of the Empire, and by a secret Treaty (5th August) agreed to compensate Prussia, in return for the Rhine frontier, with territory to the east of that river. Spain purchased peace by the cession of part of St. Domingo, and England, Austria and Sardinia were thus left alone to confront France.

Treaties of
Basle 1795

Meanwhile, encouraged by the progress of the anti-Jacobin reaction, the Royalist *Émigrés* attempted to re-^{Royalist Risings in the West}inforce the efforts of the Vendéans in the West. In June, 1795, they made a descent upon Quiberon Bay, but their forces were routed by Hoche, and the attempt served only to demonstrate the military incapacity of the *Émigrés* and the attachment of the French people to the Republic. Before the end of the year Hoche by a combination of sternness and clemency at last succeeded in bringing the risings in La Vendée and Brittany to an end.

Victorious over its enemies abroad and at home, and relieved of one source of embarrassment by the death of the young Louis XVII.¹ (8th June, 1795), the Republic now made a determined effort to secure for itself a stable government. The effort issued in the establishment of the government of the Directory. A brief experience had taught France the practical inconvenience of a single-chamber legislature. Under the new constitution, therefore, the legislative authority was vested in two Councils—the Council of Cinq-Cent and the Council of Ancients. The former had the sole right to initiate legislation. The latter possessed only the right of veto. One-third of each Council was to retire every year, though it was subsequently decreed that of the first Councils two-thirds should be selected from the members of the outgoing Convention. This “perpetuation” decree was passed partly to avoid the opposite blunder of 1791, and partly to exclude Royalists from the new Councils. But though not indefensible the provision was taken to betray a lack of confidence in the electorate, and it gave the new constitution a bad start.

¹ Nominally succeeded his father, Louis XVI., as a lad of eight in 1793.

The executive power was confided to a Directory of five members, selected by the Council of Ancients from a list of ten presented by the Cinq-Cents. One Director was to retire annually, but otherwise the Directors, removable by impeachment, were not responsible either to the legislature or to the people. This, in fact, was the cardinal defect of the Constitution of the Year III.: neither directly nor through the Legislature could the country impress its will upon the executive. The supreme importance of securing harmonious co-operation between law-makers and executive administrators was a lesson which Frenchmen were slow to learn. But nothing did more to wreck successive constitutions than the neglect of this truth. The Directorial Constitution was no exception to the rule.

13th Ven-
démiaire

Its first peril was, however, successfully encountered in the insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire (5th October, 1795). The insurgents, led by a combination of reactionaries and extreme democrats, were inflamed by the "perpetuation decree" of the Convention. The latter decided on stern measures of repression, and entrusted the execution of them to Barras and a young Corsican gunner who had been favourably mentioned in despatches from Toulon—Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte carried out his orders with characteristic thoroughness. The "whiff of grape-shot" dispersed the insurgents; and the Convention, triumphant over all its foes, declared its long session (since September, 1792) closed.

Napoleon
Bonaparte

The first batch of Directors included, besides three nonentities, Barras and Carnot, but the appearance of the "strong man" upon the stage of Parisian politics opens a new act in the drama of the Revolution. By his aid the Convention had triumphed; on his strong arm the

Directory was to lean ; in him the Revolution was to find both consummation and contradiction. For Napoleon Bonaparte was at once the embodiment of the principles of the Revolution and the representative of the reaction against them.

Born at Ajaccio in Corsica (1769) Bonaparte was educated at the military schools of Brienne and Paris. He appears to have had some thoughts of entering the service of the English East India Company, where "gunners were better appreciated than in France," but remaining in Corsica he resisted the separatist movement in the island, and when the Corsicans, led by Paoli, declared their independence of France (1793), Bonaparte took refuge in Marseilles. In France he posed as a Jacobin, attached himself to the party of Robespierre, and in August, 1793, found himself virtually in command of the artillery in the force raised for the siege of Toulon. In that siege he greatly distinguished himself, and in 1794 he was appointed general of artillery in the army of Italy. The fall of Robespierre (July, 1794) endangered for the moment the position he had won, and he was suspended from his command ; but his talents were too great to be ignored, and before the end of the year a post was found for him at the war office. His signal service to the Republic in the insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire was rewarded by his appointment to the command of the army of Italy. He had been employed at the war office to draw a plan for an Italian campaign, and Carnot's eagle eye discerned in the draftsman the soldier best fitted to execute his own plan. That his appointment to this important command coincided with his marriage to Josephine Beauharnais (March, 1796) is true ; but it was due less to the social influence which he then for the first time enjoyed,

than to the recognition of sheer military capacity. Before the end of March he left Paris to take up his command.

That command marks the real beginning of Bonaparte's political career, and a turning-point in the history of the war.

The Italian
Campaign

At the end of the eighteenth century Italy had reached the nadir of impotence and degradation. For centuries she had served as the cockpit of contending dynasties, and had suffered the domination now of Habsburg now of Bourbon. In 1796 Italy was divided into fifteen states. The Milanese (Lombardy) was the only one actually incorporated into a foreign Empire (Austria), but Tuscany was an appanage of the Austrian House, and several of the smaller Duchies were under its influence. One Spanish Bourbon was on the throne of the Two Sicilies and another was Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Venice and Genoa still retained their republican independence, but without any of their ancient vigour; while central Italy lay benumbed under the hand of the Papacy. Piedmont, ruled by the King of Sardinia, alone among the Italian states showed any sign of vigorous political life, and even Piedmont failed when the hour of trial came.

Such was the Italy into which, in the spring of 1796, Bonaparte marched, proclaiming himself the champion of Italian freedom and the destined restorer of Italian nationality.

His plan of campaign against Austria involved a three-fold advance on Vienna. Jourdan, in command of the army which had lately conquered the Netherlands, was to advance into Germany by the valley of the Main; Moreau was to cross the Rhine at Strasburg and advance by the Danube; Napoleon himself was to attack in north Italy and take the Austrians in flank. The scheme though

brilliant in conception demanded great nicety of execution, and, except where Napoleon himself commanded, it broke down. Jourdan and Moreau found themselves opposed by the Archduke Charles, a strategist of the first order, at the head of 100,000 troops. Jourdan crossed the Rhine at Cologne and at Düsseldorf, and penetrated into the Palatinate, but defeated by the Archduke at Amberg (24th August) and Würzburg (3rd September) was glad to regain French territory without further disaster. Moreau made a dash into Bavaria and got as far as Munich, but the defeat of his colleague left him to face alone the army of the victorious Archduke. No course was open to him but to fall back on the Rhine, and by a series of masterly rear-guard actions he regained Strasburg in December.

Far different was the issue of the Italian campaign under Napoleon. His first business was to drive in a wedge between the Austrians and their Sardinian allies. This done he compelled the King of Sardinia to sue for an armistice before the campaign was a fortnight old. Peace was concluded on 15th May, by which Sardinia ceded Savoy and Nice to France and allowed Bonaparte to occupy the strong fortresses of Tortona, Valenza and Coni.

Having crushed the Piedmontese Bonaparte now turned upon the Austrians, forced a passage over the bridge of Lodi (10th May), and entered Milan on the 16th. All Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua, was now at his feet. Alarmed by the brilliant success of French arms other Italian Powers hastened to come to terms with the victorious general. The Dukes of Parma and Modena concluded armistices with the French in May; the Pope and the King of Naples in June. By the definitive Peace of Tolentino (19th February, 1797) the Pope was compelled

to renounce all claim to Avignon and to cede Bologna and Ferrara to France. Meanwhile Bonaparte had already begun the reorganisation of Italy. Before the end of 1796 Austrian Lombardy was erected into the Transpadane Republic, and Bologna, Ferrara, Modena and Reggio combined to form a Cispadane Republic.

But Mantua was still untaken. Incomparably the most important strategical point in North Italy, this great fortress resisted all the efforts of Bonaparte from June, 1796, to February, 1797. Again and again the Austrians attempted to relieve it, but Wurmser was defeated at Brescia and at Castiglione in August; Alvinzi was routed after three days' fighting at Arcola (15th-19th November), and again at Rivoli (14th January), and on 2nd February Mantua surrendered. Bonaparte was now free to advance on Vienna: but in April preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben, and after six months of negotiation a definitive peace was concluded between France and Austria at Campo-Formio (17th October, 1797).

During those six months Bonaparte had not been idle. In May he picked a quarrel with Venice, and having deposed the ruling oligarchy, in the sacred name of "Liberty" he occupied the city itself, and the Venetian islands in the Greek Archipelago (Corfu, Cephalonia, etc.). In June he reorganised northern and central Italy into the Cisalpine Republic, consisting of the Transpadane and Cispadane Republics, Austrian Lombardy, Romagna and the Legations, to which were subsequently added the Valtelline, the western portion of Venetia and other strips of territory. In the same month (4th June) Genoa was converted into the Ligurian Republic in strict dependence upon France. Nor was Bonaparte neglectful of political developments at home. The Directory had not succeeded

in tranquillising France; Pichegru, strongly suspected of royalism, had become President of the Cinq-Cent, and Barthélemy, an avowed royalist, had succeeded Letourneur as Director. The Councils themselves had by the new elections been strongly reinforced by royalists, and Barras and his republican colleagues in dire alarm sent for the conqueror of Italy. Bonaparte knew how to wait; the pear was not yet ripe, but he despatched Augereau—a trusted lieutenant—to Paris, and by Augereau's help the *coup d'état* of 18th Fructidor (4th September, 1797) was effected. Fifty-three members of the Councils, including Pichegru, were arrested and sent into exile; Carnot and Barthélemy, threatened with a like fate, managed to escape, and the authority of the republican Directors was temporarily restored. What is the real significance of Fructidor? Ostensibly a defeat for the royalists it put one more nail into the coffin of the Republic. In the long run Bonaparte was the sole gainer. His language had already begun to indicate an increasing independence of his nominal masters. "Do you suppose," he wrote in May, 1797, "that I triumph in Italy for the glory of the lawyers of the Directory, a Carnot or a Barras? Do you suppose that I mean to found a Republic? What an idea? A Republic of thirty millions of people! With our morals, our vices! How is such a thing possible? The nation wants a chief, a chief covered with glory, not theories of government, phrases, ideological essays that the French do not understand. They want some playthings; that will be enough; they will play with them and let themselves be led, always supposing they are cleverly prevented from seeing the goal towards which they are moving." His tone in the peace negotiations with Austria corresponded with these views. He was the

Peace of
Campo-
Formio

independent conqueror not the servant of a tottering Republic, and as such he granted to the Emperor the terms finally embodied in the Peace of Campo-Formio (17th October, 1797). By this exceedingly important treaty:—

(1) The Austrian Netherlands were definitely ceded to France; (2) the Republic of Venice was annihilated and its territories partitioned: Continental Venetia east of the Adige, Istria and Dalmatia were annexed to Austria; Venetia east of the Adige to the Cisalpine Republic; the Ionian islands to France; (3) Austria recognised the Cisalpine Republic and agreed to indemnify the Duke of Modena with Breisgau.

Such was the public treaty; the secret terms were even more significant. By these Austria was to acquiesce in the attainment of the Rhine frontier by France; the dispossessed princes were to be indemnified in Germany, and Austria was to be compensated with Salzburg and a slice of Bavaria.

The Treaty of Campo-Formio was at once a triumph for Bonaparte and a real satisfaction to Austria. Bonaparte had won for France the "scientific frontier" (the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees), for which Richelieu and Louis XIV. had sighed and fought in vain; he had acquired Savoy and Nice; he had established the domination of France in Italy and in Holland; and he had planted the French flag in the Ionian isles. Austria, on the other hand, gained much and lost little that she cared to keep. Despite defeat, her position remained unexpectedly advantageous.

That Bonaparte deliberately spared and even caressed Austria at Campo-Formio there can be no doubt. He was already flying at higher game.

The acquisition of the Ionian isles by France is the key to Bonaparte's policy. They were a stepping-stone

to Egypt, and Egypt, as Bonaparte believed, was the key to the conflict between France and England. "Really to destroy England," he wrote in August, 1797, "we must make ourselves masters of Egypt." What were his chances of success?

The French conquest of Holland in 1795 led England, as we have seen, to concentrate her efforts on the maritime and colonial struggle. After the establishment of the Batavian Republic Holland became to all intents and purposes a dependency of France. England, therefore, promptly declared war upon her, and as a result many of the Dutch colonies fell into British hands. Cape Colony was occupied in 1795: Malacca, Ceylon and part of the West Indies were conquered in the same year. Spain similarly threw in her lot with France and with similar results. For a maritime Power to enter into alliance at this juncture with France was merely to expose itself and its colonies to the attack of the British navy. Thus Spain's declaration of war was immediately followed by the loss of Trinidad and by the annihilation of her navy at Cape St. Vincent (February, 1797). Holland suffered similarly at Camperdown in October. St. Vincent and St. Lucia, taken by the French in 1795, were recaptured by Abercromby in 1796, and in December of the same year Hoche failed in his attempted descent upon Ireland.

But though England's successes at sea were virtually unbroken, the outlook for her in 1797 was not free from anxiety. Ireland was on the verge of rebellion; there were mutinies in the fleet and no little discontent at home; a financial panic compelled the suspension of cash payments, and Consols fell to 48. Moreover, on the Continent there was no longer a soldier in arms

Napoleon
Bonaparte
and
England

against the French Republic. Pitt, always averse to the war, was now more than ever anxious to make peace. Twice in 1796 he had made overtures to the Directory, and in 1797 negotiations were resumed at Lille. Lord Malmesbury, to whom they were entrusted, was sincerely anxious for peace, but his efforts to obtain it were vain, and Pitt no sooner realised their vanity than he threw himself with vigour into the task of forming a second coalition against France.

Hardly was the ink dry on the Treaty of Campo-Formio before it became clear that Bonaparte regarded it not as a settlement but as a stepping-stone. Disturbances in Rome led to the occupation of the City by French troops (February, 1798). The advent of the French was soon followed by the establishment of the Roman Republic and the expulsion of the Pope. The Swiss Federation was the next victim. The Swiss were now as ever anxious to avoid being involved in the continental turmoil: but no efforts could avail; early in 1798 Switzerland was conquered, and the Helvetic Republic was established in close dependence upon France.

The Egyptian Expedition

But Bonaparte himself had bigger things on hand. Soon after the *coup d'état* of Fructidor he was appointed to the chief command of the "army of England". His immediate objective was Egypt, and on 18th May, 1798, he set sail at the head of a great expedition from Toulon. Malta was occupied without resistance from the Knights (10th June); Bonaparte landed his troops in Egypt (1st July); took Alexandria (2nd July); fought and won the battle of the Pyramids (21st July), and occupied Cairo on the 22nd. Egypt was in his hands. But Nelson and the English fleet were on his track, and on 1st August they annihilated the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. Nelson's

great victory rendered Bonaparte's position in Egypt exceedingly precarious. Deprived of his fleet, cut off from his base, a lesser man would have deemed it desperate. On 1st September Turkey, encouraged by Nelson's victory, declared war on the French and prepared for the reconquest of Egypt. Bonaparte, therefore, determined to take the offensive in Syria. He took Jaffa by assault, laid siege to Acre (March, 1799) and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Turks at Mount Tabor (16th April). Acre, thanks to Sir Sidney Smith, proved impregnable, and Bonaparte decided to retreat on Egypt. From Egypt the Turks were determined to dislodge him. On 11th July a second Turkish army despatched from Rhodes disembarked at Aboukir, only to be annihilated by the French and driven headlong into the sea on 25th July. This battle of Aboukir (to be carefully distinguished from Nelson's victory in Aboukir Bay twelve months earlier) established Bonaparte's supremacy in Egypt. But it was a barren victory. News from France convinced him that the moment for striking the effective blow in French politics had come, and that it must be struck in Paris. On 25th August, precisely a month after the victory of Aboukir, he embarked at Alexandria, leaving the command in Egypt to Kléber. The Mediterranean was carefully patrolled by the English fleet, but Bonaparte managed to evade it, landed at Fréjus on 9th October, and on the 16th reached Paris. On 9th November he carried out the *coup d'état* of 18th Brumaire, and by a single blow, struck at precisely the right moment, made himself master of France.

During Bonaparte's absence in Egypt events had moved rapidly in Europe. In the winter of 1798-99 a fresh coalition was formed, largely through the efforts of Pitt,

War of the
Second
Coalition,
1798-1801

against France. Great Britain, Russia and Austria were the chief parties, but Turkey, Naples (the Two Sicilies) and Portugal also adhered to it. Prussia alone stood conspicuously aloof. The war opened in Southern Italy where Ferdinand of Naples overthrew the recent Roman Republic and invited the Pope to return to the Vatican. But his triumph was brief. The Directory marched an army into Italy. Charles Emmanuel IV. of Sardinia was expelled from Turin and compelled to take refuge in Sardinia; Ferdinand of Naples was driven to Palermo; the Roman Republic was re-established, and Southern Italy was organised as the Parthenopean Republic (January, 1799).

Campaign
of 1799

But the campaign of 1799 was in the main unfortunate for France, though Massena's grip on Switzerland prevented the allies from turning their victories in the field to much account. Their plan was to attack France (i) by way of the upper Rhine and (ii) in North Italy. On the upper Rhine the Archduke Charles was completely victorious. He defeated Jourdan at Stockach (north of Lake Constance, 25th March, 1799); drove Massena back in Switzerland, occupied Zürich, and took Manheim (18th September). Not less decisive were the victories of the Austro-Russian forces in North Italy. Kray's victory on the Adige (Magnano, 5th April), drove the French back on Milan, and Suvaroff's brilliant campaign (April-June) completed their discomfiture. After the great battle of Trebbia (17th-19th June) the French power in Italy seemed to be annihilated. The Roman, Parthenopean and Cisalpine Republics were overthrown; Genoa alone was held by France. But despite reverses in the field France held the key of the strategical position, and both in a military and a political sense the coalition was a rope of sand. Suva-

roff, owing to his own insolence and Austrian jealousy, had to retire over the S. Gothard. While he was still in the Pass Massena inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russians under Korsakoff at Zürich (26th September); the fruits of Suvaroff's great campaign were lost, and Russia withdrew in dudgeon from the war. A Russo-British descent upon Holland (August-September, 1799) had served little purpose except to demonstrate afresh the incapacity of the Duke of York.

The campaign of 1800 opened under very different conditions. The futile Directory had gone, and the resources of France were concentrated under a single dominating intellect. The result was seen at once. Austria was attacked vigorously by the Danube and in North Italy. Bonaparte's campaign in Italy was crowned by the great victory of Marengo (14th June) and Moreau's march into the heart of South Germany by that of Hohenlinden (3rd December). Austria was once more at the mercy of Bonaparte, and in February, 1801, was compelled to sign the Peace of Lunéville.

Campaign
of 1800
and Peace
of
Lunéville
(1801)

By that Treaty the concessions already made at Campo-Formio were confirmed: the Emperor Francis was further compelled to accept the Adige as his boundary in North Italy; to surrender Tuscany to the son of the Bourbon Duke of Parma, an arrangement preliminary to the latter's elevation to the kingdom of Etruria: to recognise the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Helvetic and the Batavian Republics, and to acknowledge the right of France to the Rhine frontier.

Bonaparte subsequently concluded with Naples a peace by which King Ferdinand agreed to exclude British and Turkish vessels from his harbours, and to surrender to France the *Stato dei Presidii* (i.e., the maritime districts of Tuscany) for the augmentation of a future kingdom.

of Etruria. By a treaty with Spain the latter ceded Louisiana to France, from whom it was subsequently purchased (1803) by the United States.

Once more Great Britain stood alone confronting France. Bonaparte had had little difficulty in detaching the Czar Paul of Russia from the coalition. More than that, the Czar, instigated by France, had revived against England the Armed Neutrality (December, 1800), consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark. But this sinister combination was quickly broken up first by Nelson's brilliant victory at Copenhagen (2nd April, 1801), and, secondly, by the assassination of the Czar Paul (March, 1801). Paul's successor Alexander I. was a man of a different mould and temper. Meanwhile Great Britain was determined to allow no remnant of Bonaparte's authority to remain in Egypt. The victory of Sir Ralph Abercromby at Alexandria (March, 1801) practically decided the matter: in September the French agreed to evacuate Egypt, which was forthwith restored to the Porte. There was no longer any immediate obstacle in the way of the conclusion of peace, and on 25th March, 1802, a treaty was signed at Amiens between England on the one side, and France, Spain and the Batavian Republic on the other.

France agreed to evacuate the Papal States and Naples, to restore Egypt to the Porte and to acknowledge the independence of the Ionian islands. Great Britain, on the other hand, restored to France and her allies all the conquests made during the war, except Ceylon (captured from Holland in 1795) and Trinidad (taken from Spain in 1797); she agreed that Malta should be restored to the Knights of St. John, and tacitly accepted the continental settlement as defined at Lunéville.

The Treaty of Amiens, the only peace made between

Peace of
Amiens,
1802

Great Britain and France during the long series of Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, proved to be a hollow truce. But Pitt was no longer at the helm in England, and Bonaparte desired a breathing space in which to consolidate his power in France.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

ENGLAND AND NAPOLEON

We have done with the romance of the Revolution ; we must now commence its history.—NAPOLEON.

Steps
towards
the Empire

AT peace not only with Europe but with England Bonaparte had now an opportunity to establish his position in France. He did not neglect it. The way had been cleared by the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire. During the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, the unpopularity of the Directory had become more and more profound. It began to be whispered that the Directors, conscious of their weakness and jealous of the reputation of the successful soldier, had sent Bonaparte to Egypt to get rid of him. His reappearance in France was timed with perfect precision. He found everything ready for the step which he had long foreseen. On the 15th Brumaire he came to an understanding with the Abbé Siéyès, one of the Directors, and three days later the *coup d'état* was effected. The Directory was dissolved ; the Council of the Cinq-Cents was driven out at the point of the bayonet ; that of the Ancients acquiesced, and executive power was provisionally conferred upon Siéyès, Roger Ducos and Bonaparte. Thus was accomplished the destruction at once of the Directory and of

the Republic. Few Frenchmen regretted them; the *coup d'état* of Brumaire was almost universally approved. Royalists and reactionaries, moderates and republicans all saw in the overthrow of the Directory the possibility of the opening of a new era satisfactory to their several interests, hopeful for their divergent aims. The royalists regarded it as a step towards the restoration of the Bourbons; the moderate republicans fondly imagined that it might establish "Liberty"—so frequently proclaimed in word, so constantly denied in fact; the masses saw in it—with greater insight—the triumph of the strong man who would restore order in France. Many hopes were shattered in the months that followed; the harvest of Brumaire was reaped exclusively by Bonaparte. Thus was the prediction of Burke literally and remarkably fulfilled. The popular general had arrived who understood "the art of conciliating the soldiery," and possessed "the true spirit of command," and who knew how to draw "the eyes of all men upon himself".

The provisional Government lasted only until the 13th of December. On that day the new *Constitution of the Year VIII.* was promulgated. Drafted by the prince of constitution-mongers, the Abbé Siéyès, it seemed the most fantastic scheme ever evolved out of the brain of a doctrinaire. But perhaps there was method in its madness.

The Consu-
late Con-
stitution

The scheme, despite lip homage to democratic ideas, virtually extinguished popular representation. The legislature was to consist of three bodies: (i) a *Senate* of 80 members, nominated for life, and charged with the duty of selecting (from a list of 5,000 sent up by the departments) the members of the two other bodies, and of vetoing any "unconstitutional" measures passed by them;

(ii) a *Tribunate* of 100 members, which could discuss laws, but could not vote on them; and (iii) a *Corps Législatif*, which could vote upon laws without debate. The executive was vested in a Grand Elector and two Consuls, and a Council of State, nominated by the former, the principal function of the Council being to prepare laws to be discussed by the *Tribunate*, and voted on by the *Corps Législatif*. The Grand Elector having nominated the Consuls was to hold a mysterious position without responsibility or real power. Such was the "phantom" constitution of the Abbé Siéyès, the culminating absurdity of the constitutional experiments attempted during the last ten years in France. Napoleon¹ turned it inside out. The legislature was "impotent for mischief," and might be neglected for the moment, but he dealt drastically with the phantom Grand Elector. Siéyès, as Mr. Fyffe says, "might apportion the act of deliberation among debating societies and dumb juries to the full extent of his own ingenuity; but the moment that he applied his disintegrating method to the executive, Bonaparte swept away the flimsy reasoner, and set in the midst of his edifice of shadows the reality of an absolute personal rule". The Grand Elector was transformed into a First Consul with powers which rendered him master of France. To him was to belong the right of nominating all the chief officials who were to be responsible solely to him; of initiating legislation, and of nominating the members of the Senate. In 1802 Napoleon was confirmed in the Consulate for life, with power to nominate a successor, and in 1804 he accepted, or rather assumed, the Imperial Crown. Though the way had been long prepared, two reasons may have precipitated the final transformation of the Consulate into

¹ After he becomes Ruler of France I write of him as Napoleon instead of Bonaparte.

an hereditary Empire : the renewal of war with England and the detection of a conspiracy against the First Consul. Of this conspiracy, as of the Popish Plot of 1678, it may be said :—

The wished occasion of the Plot he takes,

Some circumstances finds, but more he makes.¹

The prime movers in the plot were Georges Cadoudal, a Breton zealot, and the republican generals Pichegru and Moreau ; the English Government was at least privy to it. Napoleon, thanks to Fouché and the French police, had all the threads of the conspiracy in his hands from the first ; some were actually spun by him, but he dexterously waited until the arrangements were complete and the leaders within his grasp. His patience and dexterity were amply rewarded. Pichegru and Moreau were suddenly arrested with other leading conspirators in Paris. Pichegru died, probably by a violent death, in prison ; Moreau suffered two years' imprisonment and then went into exile in America. But it was desirable that some member of the Bourbon house should be involved in the conspiracy. The Count of Artois could not be enticed from his retirement in England ; it was determined, therefore, to make the Duc d'Enghien the victim. This young Bourbon prince was living quietly in Baden, when he was suddenly seized by French troops, marched off to Vincennes, and after the mockery of a court-martial was shot. His innocence was subsequently admitted by Napoleon with cynical frankness. "I had to choose between continuous persecution and one decisive blow, and my decision was not doubtful. I have for ever silenced both royalists and Jacobins. Only the republicans remain—mere dreamers who think that a Republic can be made out of an old monarchy." The dreamers,

¹ Dryden : *Absolom and Achitophel*.

he believed, were few and unimportant. The gorgeous ceremonial in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and the acclamations which hailed the coronation of the new Charlemagne, appeared to justify his belief.

Reorganisa-
tion of
French
Institu-
tions under
Napoleon

Meanwhile the new Dictator had already entered upon the stupendous task of reorganising the institutions of France and of building up afresh the fabric of social order.

In this work Napoleon showed himself at once the heir of the Revolution, and the product of the reaction against it. Of "Liberty" he retained nothing but the husk; but virtual autocracy was combined with a large measure of social and fiscal "equality". The Constitution of the Year VIII. was further emasculated (notably by the modification and ultimate suppression of the *Tribunate*) until all power was concentrated in the hands of Napoleon. As with Central so also with Local institutions. The elective system established in 1790 had issued in hopeless chaos. Local government, therefore, was reorganised on centralised and autocratic lines; the elected Councils were reduced to impotence; the Departments were placed under prefects, the "Arrondissements" under sub-prefects, and the Communes under mayors—in each case appointed by, and responsible to, the central government. Similarly, the levying of taxation was taken out of the hands of local bodies and vested in those of controllers appointed from Paris. The exchequer and the taxpayer alike benefited. The peasant paid less and the Government got more. The establishment of the Bank of France (1800) further tended to restore financial confidence. Social confidence was restored by the repeal of the cruel *Law of Hostages*, and of almost all Laws and Decrees against the emigrant nobility; ecclesiastical tranquillity by the Concordat (1801). Ever

since 1790 the Church in France had been rent in twain by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. This schism was at last healed, and with the goodwill of the Papacy the Church took its place in the ordered autocracy of Napoleon. The Pope undertook to secure the resignation of all the bishops; the vacant sees were then filled impartially from "Constitutionals" and "Non-jurors"; the State was to nominate, the Pope to institute; the bishops in their turn were to renominate and reinstate the curés; the sales of Church property were confirmed, and the clergy became the salaried officials of the State. Such was the famous Concordat of 1801. As with the Church, so with education. Both were to subserve the work of social and political reconstruction. "So long," said Napoleon, "as people are not taught from childhood whether they are to be republicans or monarchists, Catholics or free-thinkers, the State will not form a nation; it will rest on vague bases and be constantly subject to change and disorder." The educational system was reorganised in consonance with this fundamental conception. A single "University of France" was set up under officials appointed by Napoleon, and the University in its turn was to control the whole educational machinery higher, secondary, technical and elementary. The Press was brought under similar control; a strict censorship was established, and recalcitrant journals were suppressed. The Judiciary was rendered hardly less dependent upon the will of the executive. A small committee of experts had been appointed in 1793 to codify the law, and the results of their labours, carried through under the direct supervision of Napoleon, still survive in the famous *Code Napoléon* (1807). Much of the law of Continental Europe is based upon this code to-day. Thus did France exchange

liberty for efficiency.¹ With "equality," Napoleon had less quarrel. The institution of the Legion of Honour (1802) proved that he was quick to realise that French democracy has little affection for an undecorated equality; but "equality of opportunity" is the best guarantee of efficiency, and this principle was rigidly respected by Napoleon.

Renewal
of War

In the midst of all this activity at home, Napoleon again became involved in war. The truce with England secured by the Treaty of Amiens proved to be of short duration. Napoleon complained that the British Government declined to evacuate Malta. England complained that Napoleon's aggressions in time of peace were hardly less numerous and less lucrative than in time of war. Piedmont had been annexed to France; Napoleon himself had become President of the Italian Republic in 1802 and "mediator" of Switzerland in 1803; the Batavian and the Ligurian Republics had been virtually incorporated in France. The English newspapers attacked Napoleon, and the *Moniteur* published an official report of Colonel Sebastiani's mission in Egypt, which gave great offence to the English Government. The latter consequently demanded (i) that France should evacuate Holland and Switzerland; (ii) that England should retain Malta for at least ten years; and (iii) should acquire Lampedusa—an island off the coast of Tunis. The demands, though not unreasonable in view of Napoleon's conduct, were such

¹ On this, cf. Lord Acton, who enforces the great truth proclaimed by De Tocqueville that "the French Revolution far from reversing the political spirit of the old State, only carried out the same principles with intenser energy. The State which was absolute before became still more absolute, and the organs of the popular will became more efficient agents for the exercise of arbitrary power". (*Historical Essays and Studies*, p. 182.)

as could not be accepted, and, on the 18th May, 1803, England declared war.

From 1803-5 the war was devoid of serious incidents. England struck at the West Indies, capturing Tobago, St. Lucia and Guiana (from the Dutch) in 1803, while Napoleon, in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Basle, occupied Hanover and Naples. Of all the Powers Prussia was most nearly touched, both in honour and material interests, by the occupation of Hanover; but Prussia, under Frederick William III. and Haugwitz, was bent upon the maintenance of neutrality and offered no protest. Even the closing of the Elbe and the Weser to English ships—a notable anticipation of the Continental system—failed to rouse North Germany. Austria and Russia, however, were becoming restless. The treacherous murder of the Duc d'Enghien; Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial Crown (December, 1804), and most of all, perhaps, his assumption of the Crown of Italy (May, 1805), roused the hostility of the Czar and the Emperor. Hence Pitt, who had returned to power in April, 1804, was able in 1805 to form the Third Coalition.

In this, England and Russia were joined by Austria and Gustavus IV. of Sweden. The avowed objects of the allies were to drive France out of Italy, Hanover, Holland and Switzerland; to restore Piedmont to the King of Sardinia; Naples to its Bourbon king; and, to unite Holland and Belgium under the House of Orange as a barrier against France. Prussia still adhered to her policy of neutrality; Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg were on the side of France.

The main interest of the campaign of 1805 centred in the attempt of Napoleon to achieve the supreme object of his military ambition—the invasion of England. To this

The Third
Coalition

The
Trafalgar
Campaign

end he mobilised a great army at Boulogne, and constructed a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats to transport it across the Channel. But to the success of his scheme one condition was essential: he must have at least temporary command of the Channel. This was to be obtained by a concentration of the French fleets then in the harbours of Brest, Rochefort and Toulon. The naval scheme was complicated, and had the fatal weakness of being planned not by a sailor, but by a soldier who assumed the same precision of movement in fleets as in armies. Nevertheless, it was only just less successful than ingenious. The English disposition was as follows: the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve was watched by Nelson; that of Rochefort under Missiessy by Collingwood; that of Brest under Gantheaume by Cornwallis. Villeneuve was to slip out of Toulon, pick up some Spanish ships at Cadiz, and draw Nelson after him to the West Indies; Missiessy, having slipped out of Rochefort, was to join Villeneuve at Martinique; and Gantheaume, having eluded Cornwallis, was to make all speed across the Atlantic and effect a junction with the Toulon and Rochefort fleets at Martinique. The combined squadron was then to make all sail for Europe and appear off Boulogne between 10th June and 10th July.

Villeneuve successfully eluded Nelson, and with the fleets of Toulon and Cadiz reached Martinique on 14th May, 1805.¹ Missiessy, who had reached Martinique in February, was by that time on his way back to Europe (Rochefort, 20th May). Nelson, despite a false impression that Egypt was Villeneuve's objective, was soon on his heels, and got to Barbadoes on 4th June. Villeneuve, however, again eluded him in the West Indies,

¹ See map, p. 101.

turned and made for Europe. Nelson learnt the news at Trinidad (12th June); at once realised the game, and despatched a swift brig—the *Curieux*—to warn the Admiralty at home. The Admiralty got the news on 8th July; reinforced Cornwallis off Brest, and ordered Sir Robert Calder to intercept Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre. Calder engaged Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre on the 22nd of July. The action itself was indecisive, but Villeneuve failed to push on to Brest, retired to refit at Vigo, then slipped into Corunna, and on 15th August decided to make for Cadiz. Calder's action off Finisterre ruined Napoleon's plan for the invasion of England. Nelson meanwhile had got back to Europe on 18th July, and formed his junction with Cornwallis, off Brest, a month later (15th August). On 19th October Villeneuve, in obedience to Napoleon's order to bring the fleet round to Toulon, crept out of Cadiz, and on 21st October Nelson, who had joined Collingwood off Cadiz on 28th September, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar. The results of Nelson's great victory cannot be exaggerated: not only did it destroy the French and Spanish fleets; not only did it establish the naval ascendancy of England; but it compelled Napoleon to adopt a policy which ultimately proved his ruin. With England indisputably supreme at sea Napoleon could strike at her only with economic weapons. Thus the "Continental system" was the last desperate plunge of a gambler on the brink of ruin.

But no one could have anticipated such results in 1805. The year closed in gloom for England, in triumph for Napoleon. The failure of Villeneuve to reach Brest, the prompt return of Nelson, convinced Napoleon that invasion was impossible. With extraordinary rapidity his plan was changed: by 26th August the Boulogne

The Campaign of Austerlitz

army was on the march for the upper Rhine, and on 6th October it reached the Danube. The Austrian General Mack found himself surrounded at Ulm before he knew that Napoleon had left Boulogne, and on 20th October was compelled to capitulate. The road to Vienna was now open; on 13th November the Austrian capital was occupied by Murat, and on 2nd December Napoleon himself inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Czar and the Emperor Francis at Austerlitz in Moravia. Austerlitz smashed the Third Coalition, and Prussia, just on the point of tardy intervention, was compelled to accept from Napoleon the humiliating Treaty of Schönbrunn (15th December).

By this Treaty Prussia was compelled to accept Hanover from Napoleon and to exclude English ships from her harbours.

Treaty of
Pressburg

Even more disastrous, though less humiliating, were the terms imposed upon Austria in the Treaty of Pressburg (26th December, 1805). Hitherto Austria had been leniently treated; but Napoleon now made up his mind that the power which had formed the backbone of three Continental Coalitions must be crushed.

By the Treaty of Pressburg Austria resigned Venetia to the kingdom of Italy and recognised Napoleon as its king; to Bavaria, raised by Napoleon to the dignity of a kingdom, she ceded the whole of the Tyrol with the Vorarlberg, and several Bishoprics and minor principalities: to Würtemberg (also converted into a kingdom) and to Baden she ceded her outlying provinces in Western Germany.

Reconsti-
tution of
Germany

Austria thus lost 3,000,000 subjects and large revenues; was cut off from Italy, from Switzerland and from the Rhine; and was reduced to the rank of a third-rate Power. The time had now come for the final recon-

stitution of Germany, long contemplated by Napoleon, and on 19th July, 1806, the Confederation of the Rhine was formally proclaimed under his Protectorate. The Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Hesse—Darmstadt and Berg, the Archbishop of Mainz, and nine minor princes definitely separated from the German Empire and accepted the Protection of Napoleon, whom they pledged themselves to support with an army of 63,000 men. On 1st August, 1806, France formally declared that she no longer recognised the Holy Roman Empire, and on 6th August, 1806, that venerable institution came to a dishonoured end. It had long since ceased to be effective, but it was at least a symbol of German unity, and its dissolution marked the attainment of an end for which France had been struggling for centuries. The work of Richelieu, of Mazarin and of Louis XIV. was thus consummated by Napoleon. Meanwhile, the Emperor Francis II. became Hereditary Emperor of Austria under the title of Francis I.

The Treaty of Pressburg marks an epoch of immense significance in the history of the Napoleonic Empire. Henceforth Napoleon was in truth a second Charlemagne, a veritable Emperor of the West; and just, as in an earlier period, the French Republic had surrounded itself with client Republics, so the new Charlemagne surrounded himself with dependent kingdoms. The Dukes of Bavaria and Würtemberg were, as we have seen, advanced to kingly rank; Ferdinand of Naples was declared, by the same fiat, to have forfeited his crown, which was assigned to Joseph Bonaparte; the Batavian Republic was transformed into the kingdom of Holland for another brother, Louis (1806), and a year later a kingdom of Westphalia (1807) was carved out of North

Germany at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick and Hesse for a third brother, Jerome.

Austerlitz had indeed avenged Trafalgar. It had done more: it had hastened the end of William Pitt. The great English statesman died on 23rd January, 1806. The historians of the last generation, notably Lord Macaulay, were wont to deride Pitt as an incompetent war minister. The juster view is now beginning to prevail that Pitt did more than any other single man, Nelson and Wellington hardly excepted, to save England and to save Europe from the domination of the Corsican adventurer. He died indeed at a moment of gloom, so deep as hardly to be relieved by Nelson's great victory, but his primary task was already implicitly accomplished. Napoleon had made himself master of the Continent, but that was only half his task. He had yet to face the mistress of the sea. Austerlitz might dazzle contemporaries, but Napoleon's ultimate defeat, unless he was prepared to abandon the dearest ambition of his heart, had been already assured by the seamanship of Nelson and the tenacity of Pitt.

CHAPTER VIII

TILSIT AND THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Take special care that the ladies of your establishment drink Swiss tea ; it is as good as that of China. Let them take care also that no part of their dress is composed of English merchandise ; *tell that to Madame Junot* ; if the wives of my chief officers do not set the example, whom can I expect to follow it ? It is *a contest of life or death between France and England* ; I must look for the most cordial support in all those by whom I am surrounded.—NAPOLEON TO JUNOT, 23rd November, 1806.

I will no longer tolerate an English ambassador in Europe. I will declare war against any Power that receives one. . . . The English no longer respect neutrals at sea ; I will no longer respect neutrals on land.—NAPOLEON TO PORTUGAL.

AUSTERLITZ smashed the Third Coalition and knocked Austria out of the game, but it did not end the war. Russia retired to recruit her forces ; Fox, after Pitt's death, entered upon negotiations with France, but a new enemy was forthcoming from an unexpected quarter. Prussia at last turned against Napoleon.

For more than ten years Prussia had been a negligible quantity in the politics of Western Europe. More responsible than any other Power for the initiation of the contest against Revolutionary France, Prussia, with her eyes fixed upon Poland, had retired from the war at an early stage (1795).¹ Prussia was now suffering the

Policy of
Prussia

¹ See p. 54.

Nemesis which awaits all over-centralised autocracies. The administrative system bequeathed by the great Frederick to his successors had fallen into hopeless chaos and corruption. The mainspring had gone, and the machinery had rusted. Mirabeau had foretold the disaster now so near at hand. "The Prussian monarchy is so constituted that it cannot bear up under any calamity." The army, in particular, was in a miserable state. The officers, still drawn exclusively from the noble caste, were mostly very old, or very ignorant, or both. The rank and file—so far as they were native—were serfs "compelled to defend a country which starved them" (Seeley). There was perhaps some reason for the persistent refusal of Frederick William III. to be drawn from a policy of neutrality. Many efforts had been made to draw him. So late as 1805 Napoleon had vainly offered him Hanover and the Imperial Crown. The efforts of Austria and Russia had been equally fruitless. Neither cajolery, threats nor humiliations seemed potent to affect the stolid neutrality of Frederick William. But when, in October, 1805, Bernadotte marched his army through the Prussian territory of Anspach the insult was bitterly resented at Berlin. Haugwitz was despatched with an ultimatum to Napoleon, who played with him until after Austerlitz, and then dictated the Treaty of Schönbrunn. Napoleon's supreme object was to add to the number of England's enemies. Hence the humiliating and embarrassing gift of Hanover to Prussia. Fox justly described Prussia's conduct in accepting it as "a compound of everything that is contemptible in servility, with everything that is odious in rapacity". But as far as England was concerned the only result was the seizure of some 400 Prussian ships in English ports, and the

annihilation of Prussia's maritime commerce. Great was the indignation of Prussia when she learnt (6th August, 1806) that in negotiation with England Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover. The temper of the Court, roused to a sense of its degradation by the patriotic Queen Louisa, found an echo in the popular indignation excited by the judicial murder of a Nürnberg bookseller, Palm, who was shot (25th August) by Napoleon for circulating a patriotic pamphlet, *Germany in her Deep Humiliation*. On 1st October, 1806, Prussia declared war on France. Her action, hitherto procrastinating, was now foolishly precipitate. Austria lay crushed under Napoleon's heel; Russia was not ready for a renewal of the fray; England could give no immediate help. The whole wrath of Napoleon was concentrated upon Prussia, and the disastrous defeats of Jena and Auerstadt (14th October) were the result. The power of Prussia was annihilated at a single blow, and within a fortnight Napoleon was master of the whole of Brandenburg. One after another the great fortresses, Erfurt, Halle, Spandau opened their gates, and on 27th October Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. Saxony, erected into a kingdom, was drawn into the Rhenish Confederation; Weimar and four other small Duchies went with her; Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel were converted into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome Bonaparte.

But Napoleon's eyes were fixed on England, not on Germany. From Berlin he issued the famous Decree which inaugurated the *Continental System*. "I mean," he said, "to recover with my land armies the Cape and Surinam." England itself Napoleon could not reach; he determined, therefore, to bring her to her knees by the ruin of her trade. The Berlin Decree was the first

The Con-
tinental
System

instalment of this policy. It declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade; interdicted all trade with England; ordered all British merchandise to be confiscated wherever found, and all British subjects prisoners of war: and forbade the reception in French or allied ports of any ship coming from Great Britain or her colonies.

The boycott of British trade was further extended by Decrees issued from Warsaw (25th January, 1807), Milan (17th December, 1807) and Fontainebleau (18th October, 1810). The British Government retaliated in a series of *Orders in Council* (January-November, 1807) which declared all ports from which the British flag was excluded to be in a state of blockade; prohibited any ship from entering a French or allied port; and declared any ship proceeding to such a port and paying customs there, good prize, unless it had touched at a British port. Between the Decrees launched by Napoleon and the British reprisals there was this essential difference: Great Britain had the power of rendering them effective; Napoleon had not. Both have been subjected to serious criticism, perhaps in neither case wholly deserved. The situation was without precedent. The struggle was *à outrance*, but the two protagonists had no common element on which to fight. Napoleon was master of the continent: England was mistress of the seas. Neither could directly assail the other. Thus the *Continental System*, however disastrous in its ultimate effects, must be regarded not so much as the gratuitous insolence of overweening pride but as the last throw of a political gambler compelled by the exigencies of the game to risk all or face ruin. In a word, the *Continental System* was forced upon Napoleon by Nelson's last and greatest victory at Trafalgar.

Meanwhile Napoleon, master of Brandenburg, advanced to the Vistula, beyond which the Prussian Court had retired. The familiar tactics were repeated. Napoleon proclaimed himself the restorer of an annihilated nationality, and the Poles were summoned to strike a blow for independence. They flocked in thousands to Napoleon's standard: but the Russians fought stubbornly behind the Vistula. At Eylau (8th February, 1807) Napoleon was checked by the Russians; but at Friedland (14th June) he won a decisive victory, and the great fortresses of Danzig and Königsberg fell into his hands. The Russians and Prussians were driven across the Niemen, and accepted an armistice which paved the way for the famous Treaty of Tilsit.

With characteristic rapidity Napoleon had determined on a new move. The relations between Russia and England were none too good, why not come to terms with the Czar and so add another to England's enemies? Such was the object of the historic interview between Napoleon and Alexander in a floating pavilion moored in the middle of the Niemen (25th June, 1807). The bargain was soon struck. Prussia was to be dismembered; England to be crushed and ruined; Napoleon and Alexander to divide the world between them. The details were embodied in the Treaty of Tilsit (with Russia, 7th July):—

By this: Russia recognised the Napoleonic kingdoms of Naples, Holland and Westphalia; the Confederation of the Rhine; the Duchy of Warsaw, under Saxony; and Dantzic, as a free city. The Vistula was to be the western boundary of Russia, and the latter agreed to mediate between France and England. The treaty with Prussia (9th July, 1807) deprived the Hohenzollern of all their provinces west of the Elbe, and of all their acquisitions since 1772 from Poland; imposed upon them a crushing indemnity, and re-

quired them to recognise the Napoleonic kingdoms and to keep their harbours closed against English trade.

Terms more onerous and humiliating have rarely been imposed upon a defeated foe. But even more significant was the secret arrangement between Napoleon and Alexander.

By this : Russia was to cede the Ionian islands to France, and to make common cause with her if England did not come to terms by 1st November. In return she was to get Finland from Sweden ; Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey ; while Sweden, Denmark and Portugal were to be coerced into war with England.

Such was the basis of the Tilsit conspiracy—a conspiracy designed for the ruin of Great Britain.

Fortunately for this country the Foreign Office had lately passed into the hands of Canning. Canning got wind of the secret agreement, and in order to anticipate Napoleon at once despatched an English fleet to Copenhagen. Denmark was required to deposit its fleet with England, under pledge that it should be restored intact on the conclusion of the war. Denmark naturally refused, and England was under the disagreeable necessity of bombarding Copenhagen and taking the fleet by force. Canning's action must be justified by the law of self-preservation. Napoleon had himself declared the impossibility of neutrality ; the Danish fleet was a pawn of considerable importance ; it had to be borrowed either by England or France, and England could at least offer better security both for principal and interest. Canning's promptitude countermined the Tilsit conspiracy.

Foiled in the Baltic Napoleon turned next to the Iberian Peninsula. In 1801 he had compelled Spain to attack Portugal in order to force the latter to close her ports to English commerce. This step was fatal to the

England
and the
Danish
Fleet

Attack on
Portugal

trade of Portugal, and in 1804 she purchased from Napoleon a formal recognition of neutrality. After Tilsit this arrangement no longer suited Napoleon's convenience. Accordingly he determined to revoke the neutrality, to partition Portugal and to seize its fleet. As a preliminary he demanded the adhesion of Portugal to the *Continental System*; the seizure of all English subjects and property within the kingdom, and an immediate declaration of war against England. Portugal hesitated to comply. Hesitation was enough. Junot, at the head of a large army already collected on the Spanish frontier, crossed the Bidassoa on 19th October and advanced against Portugal; the royal family escaped, under the protection of the English fleet, to Brazil; one day later (1st December, 1807) Junot entered Lisbon, and a declaration was issued that "the House of Braganza had ceased to reign". But Napoleon was forestalled. The Portuguese fleet was saved. The attack upon Portugal, insignificant in itself, proved to be the opening of one of the most momentous chapters in European history. Hitherto Napoleon had been at war mainly with Governments, and one Government after another had gone down before him. He was now to come into conflict with a people, and thus to evoke, in antagonism to himself, the potent force of nationality. Tilsit, so commonly regarded as the zenith of Napoleon's career, marks, in reality, the beginning of his decline. To all outward seeming his power was never more dazzling, never more intact. But the seeds of decay had been already sown, and the harvest, though distant, was assured.

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONALIST REACTION

THE PENINSULA—GERMANY

From Spain the living spark went forth :
The flame hath caught, the flame hath spread !
It warms, it fires the furthest North.
Behold ! the awakened Moscovite
Meets the tyrant in his might ;
The Brandenburg, at Freedom's call,
Rises more glorious from his fall ;
And Frederic, best and greatest of the name,
Treads in the path of duty and of fame.
See Austria from her painful trance awake !
The breath of God goes forth—the dry bones shake !
Up Germany ! with all thy nations rise !
Land of the virtuous and the wise,
No longer let that free that mighty mind
Endure its shame ! She rose as from the dead,
She broke her chains upon the oppressor's head.
Glory to God ! Deliverance for Mankind !¹

SOUTHEY, *Carmen Triumphale*, 1813.

Napoleon
and Spain

NAPOLEON'S attack on Portugal was only the prelude to a much larger enterprise. Spain, like Prussia, had retired from the first coalition in 1795, and for the last twelve years had acted as a vassal state of France. Under the influence of his minister Godoy, the feeble Charles IV. had done little but register the edicts which issued from Paris. He declared war, concluded peace

¹ I quote these lines for their historical not their literary value.

and again made war, obediently at the bidding of France, and invariably to his own detriment. Still Napoleon was unsatisfied. "Un Bourbon sur le trône d'Espagne, c'est un voisin trop dangereux." After Tilsit, therefore, he determined to expel the feeble dynasty, to make Spain a dependency of France, and to put one of his own brothers on the throne. The domestic quarrels among the Spanish Bourbons and the refractoriness of Portugal gave him his chance. On 27th October, 1807, the Treaty of Fontainebleau was concluded.

By this: Portugal and her colonies were to be partitioned between the King of Etruria, the Spanish minister Godoy, and France. The first was a Spanish prince who was to surrender Tuscany to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy; Charles IV. was to be dowered with half the colonies of Portugal and become "Emperor of the two Americas". Spain was, in return, to join in the attack on Portugal.

That attack, as we have seen, had already begun. Its immediate purpose was frustrated, but it left France virtually in military occupation of Spain. By a series of unblushing intrigues, Napoleon then proceeded to push aside the King, the heir and the minister. Charles IV., Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, and Godoy, "Prince of the Peace," were lured separately to Bayonne; there the King and Prince were compelled to execute an abdication of the throne, and a handful of Spanish Grandees were induced to elect to the vacant throne Joseph Bonaparte, who was forthwith crowned at Madrid (July, 1808). Joachim Murat, who had prepared the way for Joseph in Spain, was rewarded by the succession to the throne of Naples.

Meanwhile Joseph's tenure in Madrid was uncertain and brief. Napoleon might indeed push aside the feeble

The
Spanish
Rising

Spanish Bourbons, but it was only to find himself confronted by the Spanish people. To impose his yoke upon a people, loosely united among themselves, intensely provincial in sentiment and long inured to guerilla warfare, proved to be no easy task. To Napoleon himself the uprising of a people was a strange phenomenon, as yet undreamt of in his philosophy. He was destined to learn more of it before long. No sooner was Joseph nominated to Madrid than Spain blazed forth into angry resistance. Committees or *Juntas* were speedily organised in the different provinces; troops were enrolled; more than one repulse was inflicted upon the seasoned soldiers of France, and on 19th July, 1808, Dupont was compelled to capitulate with his whole army, at Baylen. Joseph fled from Madrid on 1st August, and on the 15th Palafox successfully defended Saragossa. The Spanish rising had opened a new chapter in the history of the Napoleonic era. The nationalist reaction had begun.

England
and the
Peninsular
War

England, to whom the Spanish patriots applied for help, at once realised its significance. Canning in particular perceived the potentialities of the new force which with blind fatuity and vulgar insolence Napoleon had aroused. His response to the application of the *Junta* was emphatic and prompt. "We shall proceed upon the principle that any nation of Europe which starts up with a determination to oppose a Power which, whether professing insidious peace or declaring open war, is the common enemy of all nations, becomes instantly our ally." On the principle announced by Canning England acted throughout the remainder of the war.

Sir Arthur
Wellesley

On 1st August Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal, and three weeks later won a brilliant victory at Vimiero (21st August). Unfortunately, however, he was

superseded by Sir Harry Burrard, who concluded with Junot the disastrous Convention of Cintra (30th August, 1808). The French were, indeed, compelled to evacuate Portugal, but their army stores and spoils were carried to France in English ships. Wellesley came home, and Sir John Moore was appointed to the supreme command. Moore was a fine soldier, but too despondent in temper for a war of this special kind. Moreover, Napoleon had himself assumed command in Spain, had defeated the Spanish forces near Burgos (10th November), had advanced on Madrid, and restored his brother Joseph to the throne (9th December). Moore, who had been marching on Burgos "with his hand always on the bridle," determined to retreat on Corunna and was killed at the moment of a brilliant victory won under the walls of that town (16th June, 1809). His army returned to England in miserable plight, but in the spring Wellesley was appointed to the command. Portugal was quickly cleared of the French; Wellesley advanced on Madrid, and on 27th, 28th July, 1809, won a great victory at Talavera. He was obliged for the moment to retreat on Portugal, but with Talavera his great career in the Peninsula definitely began. Thenceforward for six long years he kept alight, through fortune good and bad, the fire of insurrection, supporting with his organised forces the guerilla warfare of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

The importance of that insurrection cannot be exaggerated. For the first time England was enabled to take a leading and continuous part in the military operations of the Continent; Europe was taught that Napoleon was not invincible, and he himself acknowledged that the "Spanish ulcer" drained his military and financial strength; finally, an immense impulse was given to

the nationalist movement in Germany. Even in the Habsburg dominions, so long dominated by absolutist ideas, the thrill of nationalist sentiment was felt.

Austrian
Rising,
1809

Ever since the humiliations heaped upon her at Pressburg, Austria had been waiting for the opportunity of revenge, and steadily preparing to make it effective. The Archduke Charles had been appointed generalissimo, and with the help of Count Stadion had thoroughly reformed the army administration. Incompetent officers were cashiered; military schools for the training of officers were opened; regulations were issued for kindly treatment of the private soldier; journals devoted to the discussion of technical military problems were published; all able-bodied men, between the ages of nineteen and forty-five, were enlisted in the Landwehr, and a reserve was formed of nearly 250,000 men; finally, an appeal, inspired by the example of Spain, was issued to the patriotism of the German folk (6th April, 1809). "Soldiers! the freedom of Europe has sought refuge under your colours. Your triumphs will loose her fetters, your German brethren, still in the ranks of the enemy, await deliverance by you." The moment for a national rising in Germany against the yoke of Napoleon seemed eminently propitious. Three hundred thousand French troops were shut up in Spain; the Czar was said to be restless; England was ready to help anywhere and everywhere; North Germany, thanks to the work of Stein,¹ and Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst, and Von Humboldt, thanks not less to the patriotic appeals of Schiller (*William Tell*, 1804) and Fichte (*Addresses to the German Nation*, 1808) was ripe for revolt; the brave peasants of the Tyrol, incorporated since 1805 in Napoleon's mush-

¹ See p. 107 *infra*.

room kingdom of Bavaria, were eager for a chance to throw off the hateful yoke ; everything seemed propitious. But in the event everything was disastrous.

Austria declared war on France on 15th April, 1809. A magnificent army, under the Archduke Charles, entered Bavaria ; a second, under the Archduke John, raised the standard of revolt in the Tyrol and marched into Italy ; a third, under the Archduke Ferdinand, advanced to Warsaw. The Tyrolese peasants fought with splendid courage, but the regulars were badly led, and Napoleon's strategy once more proved irresistible. In a week's campaign (18th-22nd April, 1809) the Archduke Charles was forced back upon Vienna, and on 13th May the French Emperor was once more in the Austrian capital. But for the next two months Napoleon's position was really critical, and with good generalship, with any approach to co-operation between the Austrian archdukes, a crushing defeat might have been inflicted upon him. As it was, he was severely repulsed, with a loss of 27,000 men, in the great battle of Aspern-Essling, on the Danube below Vienna (21st, 22nd May, 1809). The news of Aspern was received with a thrill throughout Europe. "In Prussia," wrote one, "the enthusiasm is general ; the spell is broken ; Napoleon is no longer invincible !" Even Frederick William was emboldened to promise that after one more victory he would throw in his lot with Austria. The Duke of Brunswick flung himself upon Saxony and drove the King out of Dresden ; Dornberg rose in Hesse ; Schill raised the standard of revolt in Prussia ; Westphalia prepared to rise against Jerome ; England fitted out an expedition for a descent upon North Germany. All the portents were favourable, and it seemed as though the day of German liberation were

at hand. But Napoleon was not beaten yet. The six weeks after Aspern were exceedingly critical, but on 5th and 6th July he fought and won the battle of Wagram. Wagram was not a rout like Austerlitz, but it was sufficiently decisive to induce Austria to accept the armistice of Znaim (12th July), and ultimately to acquiesce in the Treaty of Vienna (10th October, 1809). Before the treaty was concluded Napoleon's hands were strengthened by the failure of Wellington to push on after Talavera, and still more by the disastrous issue of a British expedition to the Scheldt. At the end of July a British force of 40,000 men descended upon the Isle of Walcheren, with the object of capturing Antwerp and destroying the French fleet. The idea was a brilliant one, but the execution was disastrously feeble, and in September the army, decimated by disease, returned to England.

The failure of the English diversion enabled Napoleon to impose very severe terms upon Austria :—

Treaty of
Vienna or
Schön-
brun, 10th
October,
1809

Austria had to surrender Western Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (King of Saxony) and Eastern Galicia to Russia ; Trieste, Croatia, Carniola, and the greater part of Carinthia (the "Illyrian Provinces") went to Napoleon, and the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg, together with Salzburg and a strip of upper Austria, were restored to Bavaria. Austria lost 4,500,000 subjects ; she had to pay a war indemnity of £3,400,000 ; to reduce her army to 150,000 men, and to promise strict adhesion to the *Continental System*.

Thus at the end of 1809 Napoleon's power was to all appearance not merely unbroken, but actually increasing. He advanced boldly along the path of annexation, and at the same time redoubled his efforts for the ruin and humiliation of the only foe against whom he was as yet entirely impotent.

To this end a few more turns were given to the screw

Napoleon's
Annexa-
tions

of the *Continental System*, and recalcitrant or even half-hearted vassals were ruthlessly deposed. The Pope Pius VII. refused to shut his ports to English ships. Immediately the Papal States were annexed to the kingdom of Italy (July, 1809), and the Pope—reduced to the rank of a bishop—found himself a prisoner at Savona. In Holland Louis Bonaparte found the yoke of the Continental System intolerable and resigned his crown (1st July, 1810). Holland itself was formally incorporated in France before the end of the year. Shortly afterwards Hamburg and other Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Oldenburg, half the kingdom of Westphalia and part of the Grand Duchy of Berg were similarly incorporated. The annexation of Oldenburg caused friction with Russia, as its Duke was the Czar's brother-in-law. But the claims neither of kinship nor of friendship could be permitted to stand in Napoleon's way. The Continent must at all costs be hermetically sealed against English commerce. "A puncture at any one point must produce a general collapse of the experiment" (Rose). But how long could a puncture be avoided? How long would Europe endure the strangulation of its commerce and the ruin of its industries? The next two years would show.

Napoleon's
Marriage
to Marie
Louise

Early in 1810 Napoleon's personal position was sensibly strengthened by an event of far-reaching significance. The new Charlemagne had no heir. His devoted wife Josephine was, therefore, divorced at the end of 1809, and negotiations were opened for a bride from Petersburg or Vienna. On 1st April, 1810, Napoleon was married to the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria—a niece of Marie Antoinette—and a year later a son was born and announced to the world as King of Rome.

Meanwhile Wellington, notwithstanding the forced

retreat after Talavera, was still holding the French marshals at bay, and keeping brilliantly alight the torch of national resistance in Spain and Portugal. Clear for the moment of all other complications Napoleon determined in 1810 to concentrate his efforts upon the Peninsula. By the middle of that year there were no less than 370,000 French troops in Spain. Soult with one great army forced the passes of the Sierra Morena (20th January), captured Seville (31st January), and overran Andalusia; and later in the year Masséna with a still stronger force advanced on Portugal. Wellington had spent the winter in constructing the lines of Torres Vedras behind which he was practically unassailable.

The great fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered, after a gallant defence, on 10th July, Almeida on 27th August, but at Busaco (27th September) Wellington inflicted a severe defeat upon Masséna and then retired behind the lines of Torres Vedras. Outside them the country had been laid bare; the French troops suffered terrible privations, and in March, 1811, Masséna, having lost 30,000 men, was compelled to retire, impotent to pierce the famous lines. Reinforced from England Wellington was now ready to take the offensive. He defeated Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro (5th May, 1811), and took Almeida, while his colleague Beresford won a brilliant but fruitless victory at Albuera (16th May). The operations of 1811 did not seriously shake the French position in the Peninsula. Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo were untaken, Cadiz could not shake off its blockaders; Marmont was encamped on Portuguese soil.

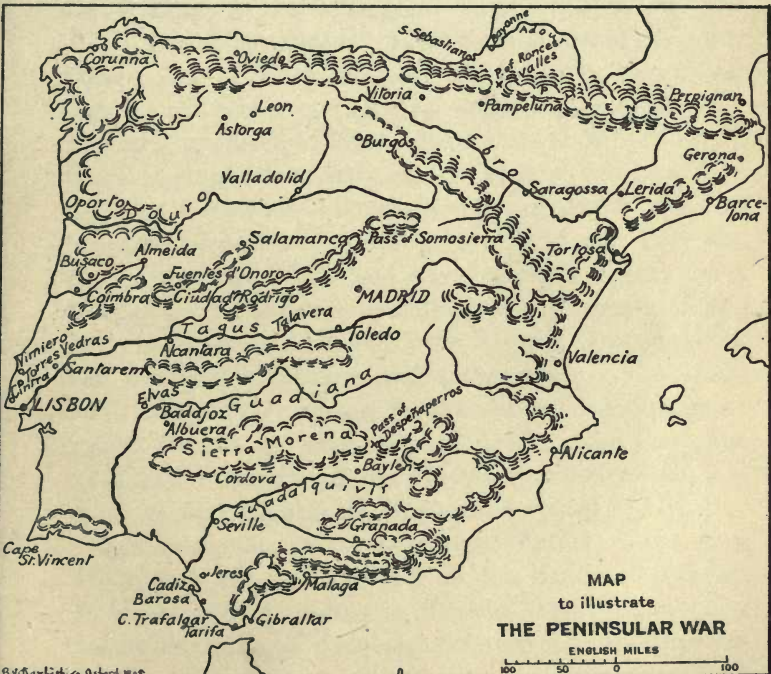
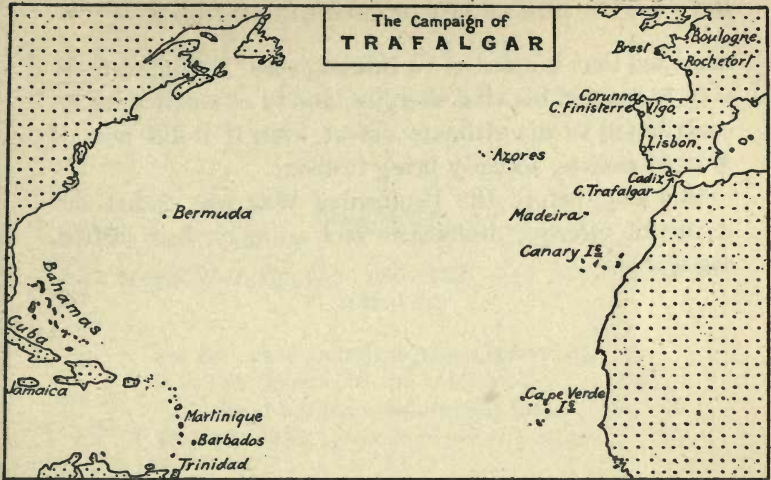
But 1812 was a year of triumph for English arms. Wellington made a brilliant dash on Ciudad Rodrigo (19th January, 1812); stormed Badajoz (6th April); and

routed Marmont at Salamanca (22nd July). In consequence of these victories the siege at Cadiz was raised, the French evacuated the south of Spain, Joseph fled from Madrid, and Wellington entered the capital in triumph (12th August). But he could not hold Madrid nor take Burgos. The French reoccupied the capital in November, and Wellington, for the last time, retired to his winter quarters in Portugal. In 1813 Soult, with the flower of the Peninsular army, was withdrawn to Germany. Wellington was now at last ready to make the decisive movement which was to drive the French armies out of Spain. Moving rapidly north, and leaning upon his fleet, he threatened the only great military road from Madrid to the Pyrenees. The French in haste abandoned the capital and made for the frontier. But Wellington moved faster than the French, blocked the road at Vittoria and then inflicted a crushing defeat upon Joseph.

Wellington then determined to fight his way across the Pyrenees into France. Soult was sent back from Dresden to oppose him, but San Sebastian surrendered on 30th August, Pampeluna on 31st October, and the French forces were steadily driven across the Pyrenees.

The great struggle was virtually at an end. Wellington followed up his successes on French soil in the spring of 1814, but on 6th April, 1814, Napoleon ceased to be Emperor of the French. The Spanish insurrection had done its work. Thanks to the dogged patriotism of the Spanish *Juntas*, thanks to the splendid tenacity and skill of Wellington, Napoleon had been compelled to keep a large army in the Peninsula which would have been invaluable on the Elbe. Though he contemptuously described the struggle as a "war of priests and monks," he

The Campaign of
TRAFALGAR



MAP
to illustrate
THE PENINSULAR WAR

ENGLISH MILES
100 50 0 100

B.V.S. Architects, Oxford, 1940

admitted that it acted as "a running sore". Unquestionably it drained his vital energies, and in no small measure contributed to his ultimate defeat, even if it did not, as Marbot asserts, actually bring it about.

But long before the Peninsular War was ended the centre of interest, diplomatic and military, had shifted eastwards.

CHAPTER X

THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN AND THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1812-1814)

But now, rous'd slowly from her opiate bed,
Lethargic Europe lifts the heavy head ;
Feels round her heart the creeping torpor close,
And starts with horror from her dire repose.

AT Tilsit, as we have seen, Napoleon and the Czar ^{Breach} Alexander agreed to divide the world between ^{between} them. But however dazzling the prospect, the actual ^{France and} share of the junior partner was singularly unsubstantial. ^{Russia} The bargain struck at Tilsit was renewed at Erfurt (1808). About to plunge personally into the Spanish war Napoleon thought it desirable to make assurance doubly sure on his eastern frontiers. Accordingly, in October, 1808, the Emperor of the West held high court at Erfurt for a fortnight. There were assembled the Emperor of the East, the four vassal Kings of the Rhenish Confederation, and a crowd of princes and ambassadors. The social festivities were on a magnificent scale, but the diplomatic results did not go much beyond Tilsit. The Czar was to receive Finland and the Danubian principalities, and in return to recognise the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain.

But two years had passed since Erfurt, three since Tilsit, and Finland was still in the hands of Sweden, Moldavia and Wallachia in those of the Sultan. Nor were other causes of alienation between the two Emperors

lacking. The continued encroachments of Napoleon along the north German coast—particularly the annexation of Oldenburg—caused growing uneasiness at Petersburg; his suspicious solicitude on behalf of the Poles caused even more, especially in view of his marriage with the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise (1st April, 1810). But all these things were trifling compared with the suffering and humiliation brought upon his vassals and allies by the increasing stringency of the *Continental System*. In the earlier stages of that system a considerable number of licenses of exemption had been issued both by England and France. These mitigated to some extent the hardships which the system entailed; but as the struggle became fiercer, even these exemptions ceased, and terrible misery ensued. A severe commercial crisis occurred in England in 1810-11, but our sufferings were as nothing compared with those of France and her dependencies. Factories were brought to a standstill for lack of raw material; the price of necessaries rose to famine standard; credit collapsed; merchants were ruined. One illustration of the commercial dislocation must suffice. It is stated (by Dr. Rose) that "owing to the prohibition of all intercourse with England two parcels of silk sent from Bergamo to London were smuggled, one by way of Smyrna, the other by way of Archangel to their destination: the former took one year, the latter two years, in the wanderings necessitated by Napoleon's Decrees". If such were the inconveniences to which England was subjected, despite her complete command of the sea, it is easy to imagine what sufferings were endured by Frenchmen, Germans and Russians. The time was fast approaching when they became intolerable.

And Napoleon knew it. "I shall have war with Russia on grounds which lie beyond human possibilities, because they are rooted in the case itself." These were Napoleon's own words to the Austrian minister Metternich in the autumn of 1810. About the same time the Czar had refused, despite the insistence of Napoleon, to confiscate, in Russian harbours, neutral ships carrying colonial produce. From that moment Napoleon bent all his energies to the isolation of the Czar. Approaches were even made to England, only, of course, to be indignantly refused. Abominably as Russia had behaved to her, England was still true to Canning's maxim: to be at war with Napoleon is to be in alliance with England. Napoleon then tried the Turks. But the Sultan remembered Tilsit and Erfurt, and lending a ready ear to the advice of England made opportune peace with Russia at Bucharest (28th May, 1812). Nor was Napoleon more successful with Sweden. Marshal Bernadotte, who had been chosen by the Swedish Estates as Crown Prince in 1810, had long been growing restless under the rigours of his former patron's *Continental System*. In November, 1810, he had been forced, much against his will, into war with England—a war which England, be it said, did not resent. The letter in which Napoleon announced his decision to Bernadotte is characteristic enough to justify quotation: "You tell me that you wish to remain at peace with France, but I say, let me have proofs of this disposition. Foreign commerce is the present *cheval de bataille* of all nations. I can immediately cause you to be attacked by the Danes and Russians; and I will instantly do so if within fifteen days you are not at war with England. I have been long enough the dupe of Sweden as well as of Prussia; but the latter Power has at last learned by

the catastrophe of Holland that it was necessary to take a decided line. I cannot reckon always on the alliance of Russia. I loved the King of Holland, but nevertheless I confiscated his dominions because he would not obey my will. I did the same with the Swiss. They hesitated to confiscate the English goods; I marched my troops into their dominions, and they soon obeyed. On the fifteenth day from this, war must be declared, or my ambassador has orders to demand his passports. Open war, or a sincere alliance. These are my last words."

But Sweden came to terms with Russia in April, 1812 (Treaty of Abo), and with England in July (Treaty of Örebro). By the latter Swedish ports were opened to English goods; by the former Russia undertook, in return for the co-operation of a Swedish force in North Germany, to secure Norway for Sweden at the conclusion of peace.

Thus Russia was protected on both her outer flanks: by the Swedish alliance on the Baltic, and by the Treaty of Bucharest on her Southern frontier.

But the inner flanks were secured, by treaties with Austria and Prussia, by Napoleon. Austria promised in return for Galicia to provide 30,000 men for defensive purposes; Prussia undertook to give free passage across Prussian territory to the "Grand Army," and to provide 20,000 men for offensive or defensive operations, and 20,000 more for garrison duty. Napoleon in return merely guaranteed the maintenance of the mutilated Prussian kingdom in its *status quo*. This treaty—"a treaty . . . which added the people of Frederick the Great to that inglorious crowd which fought at Napoleon's orders against whatever remained of independence and

nationality in Europe" (Fyffe)—was the despair of the patriotic party in Prussia.

For Prussia was no longer the Prussia which had succumbed at Jena and turned the cheek to the smiter at Tilsit. Tilsit marked at once the nadir of humiliation and the beginning of resurrection. Of the group of patriots to whom the revival of Prussia, and ultimately of Germany, was due, by far the greatest was Baron Vom Stein (1757-1831). To this masterful statesman Frederick William entrusted the direction of Prussian affairs three months after Tilsit (4th October, 1807). He was in office for little more than twelve months, but in that short period Prussia was transformed. By the *Edict of Emancipation* (9th October, 1807) all personal servitude was abolished; the rigid caste system was broken down; all callings were thrown open to noble, citizen and peasant alike; free trade in land was established, and land was left free to pass from hand to hand and class to class. Thus the Prussian peasants became personally free, but they were still bound to render fixed rents to their lords. A further measure of reform was due to Hardenberg, who by his agrarian law of 1811 abolished dual ownership and converted peasant copyholders into proprietors. One-third of the holding was surrendered to the lord in commutation of all feudal dues, and the remaining two-thirds was retained by the peasant owners in full and unshackled proprietorship. But the agrarian legislation did not stand alone. By the *Municipal Act* (1808) Stein carried through a large measure for the reform of local self-government. The towns were freed from their dependence upon the feudal lords or the central government, and the administration of their affairs was entrusted to elected Councils. The central government

Reforms in
Prussia

was similarly reformed by the establishment of a responsible ministerial cabinet, and but for the fact that in the very midst of his reforming activity (December, 1808) he was sent into exile at the bidding of Napoleon, there is no doubt that Stein would have crowned the edifice he was erecting by the establishment of a regular parliamentary constitution. An ardent disciple of Turgot and Adam Smith, Stein also did much to emancipate Prussian industry.

Not less important were the measures simultaneously taken for the reorganisation of national defence. This was primarily the work of Stein's colleagues Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. The old system, based upon the caste principle, had demonstrated its futility at Jena. After Erfurt Napoleon ordered that the Prussian army should be reduced to 42,000 men. This was Scharnhorst's opportunity. Henceforth every Prussian citizen was to be trained to the use of arms. The active army was limited to 40,000; but after a short service with the colours the citizen was to pass into the reserve, and in addition there was to be a *Landwehr* for defensive service at home, and a *Landsturm*—or general arming of the population for guerilla warfare.

What Scharnhorst did for national defence Von Humboldt effected for national education. Thus economically, politically, militarily and educationally Prussia was transformed between 1807 and 1812. Most of all, a new spirit was breathed into the Prussian people, a spirit which, though often repressed and sometimes quiescent, was destined to lead to the ultimate triumph of 1870. "We must," said Stein, "keep alive in the nation the spirit of discontent with their oppression, with our dependence on a foreign nation, insolent and growing daily

more frivolous. . . . The war must be waged for the liberation of Germany by Germans."

In 1812 it seemed as though the moment for the war of liberation had come. Stein, now in Russia, and acting as the unofficial adviser of the Czar, was strongly in favour of a definite and open alliance between Prussia and Russia. By such an alliance Prussia had everything to gain and little to lose. But the timid Frederick William III was still unable to shake off the hypnotic influence of Napoleon, and Hardenberg reluctantly assented to the humiliating terms detailed above.

The preparations for the great Russian campaign were now all but complete. To the whole enterprise there was strong opposition in France. Mollien (the finance minister) insistently urged upon his master the embarrassment which it would cause to French finance. "Because the finances are embarrassed, they need war," was Napoleon's retort. To no counsels of prudence would he listen; to no such counsels could he listen. The Russian campaign has been described as the most gratuitous and causeless of all Napoleon's military enterprises. Those only can regard it as causeless who fail to grasp the essential fact of the situation. *Delenda est Carthago*.

Napoleon's one real enemy was England. England could be reached, if at all, only through her commerce. From the rigid rule of the *Continental System* no deviation, therefore, could be permitted. Thus as Seeley has insisted:—

"Russia's partial abandonment of the *Continental System* was not merely a pretext but the real ground of the war. Napoleon had no alternative between fighting for his system and abandoning the only method open to him of carrying on war against England."

War was declared on 12th April, 1812. In May

The
Moscow
Campaign

Napoleon held a great reception at Dresden to encourage his allies, and on 24th June he crossed the Niemen at the head of an army of 680,000 men. This great host was composed of the Imperial Guard and the flower of the French army—perhaps 250,000 men in all; about 150,000 Germans from the Rhenish Confederation; 80,000 Italians under Murat; 60,000 Poles, and a miscellaneous crowd of Dutchmen and Spaniards, Swiss, Portuguese and Illyrians. It was not only the largest but the most curiously cosmopolitan army ever put into the field in modern days. To this were at first opposed some 400,000 Russian troops under the supreme command of Barclay de Tolly.

Napoleon's precise plan of campaign is still matter of controversy.¹ "To reach Smolensko in 1812; to liberate Lithuania; to march on to Moscow in 1813, and then in the ancient capital of the Russians to receive the submission of the Czar." Such, according to Metternich, was Napoleon's plan. But whatever his intentions, Napoleon was drawn on, in part by the coolness of his reception in Poland, still more by the Russian tactics. Barclay retreated towards Petersburg, another Russian general Bagration towards Moscow, and no pitched battle was fought. Smolensko, the great fortress which barred the entrance to Russia proper, was abandoned after a brief resistance, and once more the French were lured on to their doom. The population, fanatically hostile, retreated before the French army, devastating their country and burning their towns. On the 7th of September the Russians turned at Borodino, and there the first pitched battle of the campaign was fought; 50,000 Russians and 30,000 Frenchmen fell. A week later Napoleon was in

¹For a criticism of it *cf.* "Marshal Marmont," *ap.* Greville: *Memoirs*, ii, 35.

Moscow in command of a capital deserted by the inhabitants and devoted to the flames. For fourteen days the conflagration raged. In Moscow, however, he tarried for two months (15th September-19th October), waiting for the submission that never came. Gradually the position became unendurable; the French force was decimated by disease, but it was impossible to feed even the remnant of it.

On 19th October the retreat began. To avoid the wasted country Napoleon marched southwards, but the battle of Maro-Jaroslavitz (24th October) forced him to fall back on the already devastated route; the retreat, constantly harassed by the Russians under Kutusoff, became a flight after the battle of Krasnoi (15th November), and after the passage of the Beresina (26th-28th November) it became a rout.

The bitter Russian winter intensified the sufferings of the starved army; Napoleon deserted it on 5th December, and made his way to Paris, and on 13th December a ragged remnant of perhaps 100,000 men re-crossed the Niemen and made their way to Leipzig. Not less than half a million men had been sacrificed in this disastrous campaign.

What was its nett result? That it gave the *coup de grace* to Napoleon cannot be affirmed. Within three months he had raised, by incomparable energy, a new army; the loyalty of France was unbroken; the Rhenish Confederation showed no sign of defection; Austria refused to throw in her lot with his enemies; Frederick William of Prussia still hesitated to break with him, and Alexander himself was undecided whether to seize Prussian Poland and revenge himself on Prussia, or to pursue the French into Germany, put himself at the head

Results of
retreat
from Mos-
cow

of the German Patriots and pose as the liberator of Europe. Luckily for Germany, and luckily for Europe, Stein was still at the Czar's side, and General Yorck was in command of the Prussian auxiliaries. On 30th December Yorck, on his own authority, concluded with Alexander the Convention of Tauroggen, declaring the neutrality of his force. Frederick William repudiated the Convention and ordered the arrest of the general. Yorck was undismayed: "With bleeding heart I burst the bond of obedience, and carry on the war upon my own responsibility. The army desires war with France; the nation desires it; the King himself desires it, but his will is not free. The army must make his will free." It did. Stein and Yorck virtually assumed the reins of government; the King's hand was forced; Prussia threw in her lot with Russia; Alexander's army crossed the Niemen on 13th January, 1813, and on 28th February the Treaty of Kalisch was concluded. This treaty ratified the alliance of Russia and Prussia, and the Czar promised not to lay down arms until Prussia was restored, as regards area and population, to the position she had enjoyed before Tilsit.

It is not too much to say that Stein and Yorck had thus laid the foundations not only of modern Prussia, but of modern Germany. The nation was called to arms against France, and the response, though long delayed, was not uncertain.

The War
of German
Liberation

The history of the war of German Liberation falls into two periods: (i) from the Prussian declaration of war (17th March, 1813) down to the armistice of Pläswitz (4th June); and (ii) from the adhesion of Austria (12th August, 1813) to the entry of the allies into Paris (31st March, 1814).

During the first period it was a popular war waged on

the principles of Stein for the liberation of Germany by Germans; in the second the adhesion of Austria gave to the war, and still more to the settlement which crowned it, a dynastic not to say a reactionary character. Stein and Yorck inspired the earlier movement, Metternich dominated the latter.

Frederick William III. formally declared war on the French on 17th March, 1813. Napoleon had been busily engaged ever since his return to France in raising a new army of 350,000 men. But he was not yet ready to advance; the French forces, therefore, fell back on Magdeburg, and before the end of April the Cossacks and Prussians had occupied Dresden; but Napoleon was now at hand, and on 2nd May drove the allies from their position at Lützen, forced them back behind the Elbe, and himself occupied Dresden (14th May). A week later an obstinately contested battle was fought at Bautzen on the Spree (20th, 21st May). The allies, though beaten, fell back in perfect order on Silesia, and on 4th June Napoleon proposed a seven weeks' armistice. He wanted time to bring up the army of Italy into Carniola in order to intimidate Austria into neutrality. The armistice was, however, as Napoleon subsequently admitted, a fatal blunder. Austria had no wish to exalt Russia and Prussia at the expense of France, but on Napoleon's refusal of her proffered mediation she concluded with the allies the Treaty of Reichenbach (27th June), by which she agreed to join the allies if Napoleon refused the terms proposed by her. The conditions were that Napoleon should retain the Presidency of the Rheinbund, but should restore the Illyrian provinces to Austria; suppress the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and surrender the territory taken from Prussia at Tilsit and from North

Germany in 1810. As Napoleon foolishly neglected to accept the terms before the specified day, Austria declared war (12th August), and the second period of the War of Liberation began.

Battles of
Dresden
and Leipzig

Napoleon was now at Dresden in command of 440,000 men; opposed to him were three great armies: the Austrians, 250,000 strong under Schwarzenberg in Bohemia; Blücher at the head of 100,000 Russians and Prussians in Silesia; and a similar number of Russians, Prussians and Swedes under the Crown Prince Bernadotte of Sweden in North Germany. Besides these, the allies had 300,000 men in reserve, to say nothing of the forces in the Peninsula under Wellington, who was at this moment fighting his way through the Pyrenees. Napoleon's vast power was beginning to crumble. He defeated, indeed, the grand army of Austria at Dresden (26th, 27th August); but on the same day Blücher won a victory over Macdonald in Silesia; on 23rd August Bernadotte repulsed the advance of Oudinot upon Berlin, and drove him back upon the Elbe; and on 6th September Ney was routed at Dennewitz. Napoleon's plan of a triple attack was thus entirely frustrated, and after some weeks of fighting the allies took the offensive and crossed the Elbe in the first week of October. There, on the plain of Leipzig, the final issue was joined. To the 300,000 troops of the allies Napoleon could oppose only 170,000, and in the great battle of Leipzig—"the battle of the nations"—(16th-19th October), he opposed them in vain. Leipzig has been described as "the greatest battle in all authentic history, the culmination of all the military effort of the Napoleonic age" (Fyffe). Leipzig smashed the military power of Napoleon; he lost 40,000 men, killed and wounded, 30,000 prisoners and 260 guns. The victors

lost, in killed and wounded, 54,000. A fortnight later (2nd November) Napoleon and the remnant of his great army re-crossed the Rhine.

In Germany his power collapsed like a pack of cards. The vassal-princes of the Rhein-bund hastened, with the exception of Saxony, to throw in their lot with the allies; fortress after fortress surrendered: Danzig, Dresden, Stettin, Lübeck, Torgau and others; King Jerome fled from Westphalia, and the princes, deposed to make room for him, were restored: Holland was liberated, and William of Orange was recalled.

But, among the allies, there were divided counsels. Blücher wanted to push on at once across the Rhine, but the sovereigns, under the influence of Austria, decided (9th November) to offer terms to Napoleon. It is difficult to realise that even after Leipzig Napoleon might have had peace on terms that would have gladdened the heart of Richelieu or Louis XIV. France was to withdraw within her "natural frontiers"—the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees; Belgium, the Rhenish Provinces and Savoy were to be retained, and Napoleon was to keep the Crown. But Napoleon hesitated to accept, and on the 1st December the offer was withdrawn. Austria was still anxious not to push matters to extremities, but at the end of December the allies entered France, 400,000 strong. Blücher marched straight for Paris; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, entered France by the gap of Belfort: Bülow came south from Holland. They were to concentrate in Champagne. Napoleon was thus confronted by three armies each larger than his own, but by incomparable strategy and taking advantage of the Seine and its tributaries the Marne and the Aube, and aided not a little by the dilatory and half-hearted tactics

of Austria, he held the allies at bay for nine weeks. Twice he might have had peace on terms which would have left him in possession of the throne and the frontiers of 1791. After Blücher's victory at La Rothière (1st February), a Congress was opened at Châtillon on the upper Seine (5th-9th February, 1814). Caulaincourt was entrusted with full powers on behalf of France, but hesitated to accept the frontiers of 1791, involving the loss of Belgium, of the Rhenish Provinces and Savoy. Then came another week's fighting (10th-14th February), greatly in favour of Napoleon, and again conferences at Châtillon (17th February, etc.). Napoleon now attempted, by private negotiations with the Emperor Francis, to get the terms which he had failed to accept in November. But the time had gone by for them. On 1st March the great Powers—England, Russia, Austria and Prussia—concluded the Treaty of Chaumont, cementing a twenty years' alliance, and mutually pledging themselves against separate negotiations: each Power agreed to supply 150,000 men, and England promised a subsidy of five million sterling. Ten days later Blücher won a great victory at Laon, and Napoleon left open the road to Paris. Even now Napoleon might have thrown himself on the communications of the allies, but after some fighting in the suburbs, the capital surrendered on 30th March, and on the following day the allies entered it in triumph. Napoleon was formally deposed by the Senate (2nd April), a provisional Government was set up under Talleyrand—the most astute of French statesmen; and on 13th April Napoleon was compelled to accept the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Napoleon was compelled to abdicate and to renounce all rights on France for himself and his family. In return he was to have

Elba in full sovereignty and a pension of two million francs for himself; the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla for the Empress Marie Louise; and pensions of two and a half millions for members of his family.

The allies had now to decide the fate of France and of Europe. For France various alternatives were suggested. Napoleon himself was impossible; a Regency under the Empress was favoured by the Czar; Bernadotte was proposed as king, and even Eugene Beauharnais; but at length, largely on the advice of Talleyrand, the principle of legitimacy was accepted, and the Bourbons were recalled. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris after an absence of three and twenty years on 3rd May, and shortly afterwards accepted a Charter which guaranteed a Parliamentary Constitution to France. On 14th May another Bourbon, Ferdinand VII., was restored to Madrid, and on the 24th Pius VII., released from imprisonment, made a solemn re-entry into Rome. About the same time Victor Emmanuel was restored to Turin.

The First
Peace of
Paris

Meanwhile the allies were busy arranging terms of peace in Paris, and on 30th May the first Treaty of Paris was signed.

France was treated with extraordinary leniency, not to say generosity. She was restored to the limits of 1792, with the addition of a slice of Savoy and strips of territory on the Eastern frontier and the confirmation of Avignon; no war indemnity was imposed, and France was not even required to disgorge the art treasures (with the exception of the Vienna library and some trophies from Berlin) stolen from nearly every capital in Europe. France engaged not to fortify any places in the East Indies, or to keep any military force there except for police purposes. England restored all the French Colonies taken in the war, except Tobago, Santa Lucia and the Ile de France. France recognised the independence of Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the various German and Italian States so long controlled by Napoleon. England

extorted from France a promise for the abolition of the slave trade, and, in addition to the Colonies mentioned above, retained Malta, and agreed to purchase from Holland Cape Colony, already (1806) acquired by conquest. Other outstanding questions (on some of which private agreement had already been reached by the four leading Powers) were referred to a Congress to meet at Vienna in two months.

A criticism of the settlement thus effected may more fitly be deferred until its completion in 1815.

With Napoleon an exile in Elba ; with the legitimate rulers restored to France, Spain, Holland and Sardinia ; with the Pope once more at the Vatican, the great monarchs and diplomatists might fairly be allowed to take breath before plunging into the discussion of the difficult problems which awaited solution at Vienna.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE SETTLEMENT OF 1815

THE HUNDRED DAYS AND WATERLOO

We are all glad that the Treaty of Vienna has been torn up ; but it ought to be borne in mind that it was in its origin, partly indeed a counter-revolutionary arrangement of the despots, but partly also a military arrangement framed not without necessity to secure Europe against the cruel rapacity of France.—GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE greatest of all European Congresses was formally ^{Congress of Vienna} opened at Vienna on 1st November, 1814. In brilliance of personnel and in magnitude of issues there has been no parallel to it in modern history. Of monarchs there were present no less than six : the Czar Alexander—a curious mixture of shrewdness and mysticism, of ambition and magnanimity ; Frederick William III. of Prussia ; Francis I., Emperor now only of Austria, and the Kings of Denmark, Bavaria and Würtemberg. German electors, dukes and princes were there in crowds, while among the diplomatists the most influential were Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington from England ; Hardenberg and Von Humboldt from Prussia ; Nesselrode from Russia ; Prince Metternich from Austria ; and finally Talleyrand, who with great adroitness procured admission to the Congress on the ground that the quarrel of the Powers had been not with France but with

Napoleon. All the States of Europe, except Turkey, were represented. The task before the Congress was to rebuild the European States system, demolished by the wars of a quarter of a century. Its work has been severely criticised, nor can it be denied that many blunders were made, that little foresight was shown, that important principles were ignored, and that selfish interests were too much regarded. Two things should, however, be remembered: (i) that though the diplomatists were called on to rebuild, it was on old and encumbered sites; and (ii) that they entered upon their task with their hands bound by several recently concluded treaties. By the Treaty of Abo (1812) Norway had been promised to Sweden; by that of Kalisch (February, 1813) Russia had undertaken that Prussia should be restored to a position equal to that which she occupied before Tilsit; by that of Reichenbach (June, 1813) it had been agreed by Russia, Austria and Prussia that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw should be partitioned among them; by that of Töplitz (September, 1813) Austria had been promised her possessions of 1805, and the independence of the Rhenish confederates had been guaranteed; by that of Ried (October, 1813) the King of Bavaria had received a pledge that he should retain full sovereign rights, and all territory acquired through Napoleon, except the Tyrol and the Austrian districts on the Inn; while Murat had received a promise of Naples (11th January, 1814). Moreover, by secret agreements made in Paris it had already been decided that Holland should acquire Belgium; that Venetia and part of Lombardy should go to Austria, and Genoa to Sardinia. Thus the hands of the diplomatists were far from free.

The most difficult questions still to be decided were the

future of Poland; the position of Saxony; the settlement of the Rhine frontier; and the Constitution of Germany. The Czar was determined to have Poland. *C'est à moi*, he said, laying his hand upon Poland on the outstretched map; and it was difficult to resist his claim. "Avec 600,000 hommes on ne négocie pas beaucoup," as one observed. But if Poland were to go to Russia, Prussia must get compensation elsewhere. Shall it be in Saxony, or on the Rhine, or both? Is conquered France to be allowed to retain Alsace and Lorraine? Is not this the opportunity for depriving her of ill-gotten gains threatening to Germany? And as to Germany itself: is the old Empire to be restored? Can a new Empire be evolved? Is Austria or Prussia to dominate it? And what of the minor States. How are the pledges of Töplitz and Ried to be redeemed? The mere statement of the problems suggests the difficulties of solution, and it was soon found that the Congress tended to split into two parties: on the one side Russia and Prussia; on the other, Metternich, Castlereagh and the smaller German Princes, while Talleyrand was ever on the watch to utilise the dissensions of the allies for the benefit of France; and Talleyrand did not watch in vain.

The quarrels were at their height, and war between the allies seemed a not remote possibility, when news reached Vienna that caused all thoughts of dissension to be laid aside and the bonds of alliance to be drawn closer than ever.

Tiring of his contracted sovereignty Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and on 1st March, 1815, had landed with about 1,500 men on the coast of France, near Cannes. From Cannes he marched straight on to Paris: towns opened their gates; his old army—marshals and

The
Hundred
Days

privates alike—flocked to his standard; the Bourbons fled, and on 30th March, amid scenes of frantic enthusiasm, Napoleon entered the capital. Once more the Bourbon monarchy collapsed. The reasons are not far to seek. Louis XVIII. was no bigoted adherent of the old régime, but, easy going and complacent, he allowed power to fall into the hands of his brother, the Count of Artois. The Count was a reactionary fanatic, and surrounded himself with priests and *Émigrés* even more rabid than himself—men who were determined to wipe out every trace of the work of the last twenty-five years. They forgot that in that time a new France had come into being, a France which mocked at Fraternity, which had never known the meaning of Liberty, but which clung passionately to the advantages they had secured under the name of Equality. Above all, the restored Bourbons failed to win the affection of the army, and, as Wellington wrote, “the King of France without the army is no king”. The accuracy of Wellington’s observation was forcibly demonstrated after Napoleon’s return.

The manifesto which the ex-Emperor then put forth was conceived with admirable skill. “He had come,” he declared, “to save France from the outrages of the returning nobles; to secure to the peasant the possession of his land; to uphold the rights won in 1789, against a minority which sought to re-establish the privileges of caste and the feudal burdens of the last century; France had made trial of the Bourbons; it had done well to do so, but the experiment had failed; the Bourbon monarchy had proved incapable of detaching itself from its worst supports, the priests and nobles; only the dynasty which owed its throne to the Revolution could maintain the social work of the Revolution. . . . He renounced war and

conquest . . . he would govern henceforth as a constitutional sovereign and seek to bequeath a constitutional Crown to his son."

France was cajoled; Europe was not. Once more the allies flew to arms; before Napoleon had reached Paris the Treaty of Chaumont was definitely renewed; each of the four great Powers was to furnish 150,000 men and to keep them in the field "until Bonaparte should have been rendered incapable of stirring up further trouble". Most of the minor Powers gave in their adherence and promised assistance against the common scourge.

For three months Napoleon laboured assiduously to raise and equip his army; by the end of May 200,000 men were ready to take the field, and on 12th June Napoleon himself started for the front. The troops of the allies were posted on a line extending from the Scheldt to the Moselle. Wellington was at Brussels at the head of a miscellaneous force of 105,000 men, of whom 30,000 were British. His line extended from Ghent to Mons. Blücher was at Namur with 117,000 Prussians, their line extending from Charleroi to Liége. Napoleon's plan was to smash in the centre of a thin line, divide his enemies, defeat them in detail and march on Brussels. On 14th June he was at the head of a force of 125,000 men concentrated on a front of thirty-five miles on the western bank of the Sambre; on the 15th he crossed the Belgian frontier, attacked the Prussian right at Charleroi, and by that night was in possession of Charleroi and the bridges over the Sambre. Next morning (16th June) Napoleon himself attacked Blücher at Ligny, and ordered Ney to clear Wellington out of Quatre Bras and then to fall upon Blücher's right flank at Ligny. This was the first crisis of the campaign. Ney found that he had

Waterloo
Campaign

more than enough to do at Quatre Bras and never got near Blücher. On the contrary, Wellington beat him back with losses of about 4,000 men on each side. Meanwhile at Ligny Napoleon defeated Blücher, but by no means decisively. The Prussians lost 20,000, the French 11,000, and after the battle Napoleon lost touch of his enemy. This was the second critical point: for Blücher instead of retiring on Liége, as Napoleon imagined, wisely made for Wavre in order to keep in touch with his English colleague. Consequently Grouchy, despatched in pursuit of Blücher with 30,000 men never found him. On the 17th Napoleon, making an unaccountably late start, moved slowly on towards Brussels, and on the 18th found the road blocked by Wellington at Waterloo. On that historic field Wellington sustained the attack for five hours (11-4) alone. But his tactics were based on the assumption that Blücher would come to his assistance; about four o'clock the first Prussians came up, but not until six or later was their help effective. By that time the great battle was all but won; the Prussian cavalry turned a defeat into a rout. Napoleon lost 30,000 men and all his guns; Wellington lost 13,000, and the Prussians 6,000. But the great war was ended. The road to Paris was open, and on 7th July the allied army for the second time entered the French capital.

Battle of
Waterloo

Napoleon fled from Waterloo to Paris; abdicated in favour of his son (22nd June), and made his way to Rochefort with the intent to escape to America. But his old enemies were on the watch; escape was impossible, and on 15th July he surrendered to Admiral Hotham of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. Brought to the shores of England, but never permitted to touch them, Napoleon

was deported to the Island of St. Helena, and there died, a prisoner, in 1821.

While England and Prussia had been disposing of Napoleon in the North, Austria had been dealing with his brother-in-law Murat in South Italy. Murat, despite the guarantee of the allies, threw in his lot with Napoleon, was defeated by the Austrians, fled to France and later to Corsica, and was ultimately captured and shot. His action untied one of the diplomatic knots and rendered easy the restoration of the Bourbons, in the person of King Ferdinand, to the throne of Naples.

By this time the diplomatists in Paris and Vienna were nearing the end of their labours. Louis XVIII. had returned to Paris on 9th July, but France had got to pay for her recent escapade. Still the terms imposed upon her were extraordinarily lenient.

Second
Peace of
Paris

By the second Treaty of Paris (20th November, 1815) she was compelled to give up most of Savoy and the other territorial acquisitions of 1814; to disgorge the stolen art treasures; to pay an indemnity of 700 million francs, and to leave eighteen of the fortresses on her northern and eastern frontiers in the occupation of the allies for five years as a pledge of good behaviour.

On one question there was much dispute among the allies. Ought France to be left in possession of Alsace and Lorraine, filched from the German Empire during the last two centuries? The German Powers—Hardenberg with special emphasis—urged that this was the appropriate moment for restitution. “If,” said the latter, “we want a durable and safe peace, as we have so often announced and declared, if France herself sincerely wants such a peace with her neighbours, she must give back to her neighbours the line of defence she has taken from them; to Germany Alsace and the fortifications of the

Netherlands, the Meuse, Mosel and Saar. Not till then will France find herself in her true line of defence with the Vosges and her double line of fortresses from the Meuse to the sea; and not till then will France remain quiet. Let us not lose the moment so favourable to the weal both of Europe and France which now offers of establishing a durable and sure peace. . . . If we let it slip, streams of blood will flow to attain this object, and the cry of the unhappy victims will call us to give an account of our conduct."

Hardenberg's foresight was more than justified by the events of 1870. But 1870 was far ahead. The immediate concern of the allies was peace and stability; with a restless and embittered France there would be neither. "What have you been fighting all these years?" asked Wellington. "Not France, but the spirit of Revolution embodied in a crusade. You want to re-establish a regular government in France under the ancient dynasty. Are you going to associate their restoration with the loss of provinces so precious to France?" Wellington prevailed against Hardenberg, and for half a century Alsace and Lorraine remained French. The argument was nicely balanced: History was on the side of Hardenberg; Policy and local sentiment on that of the Duke. That France had used the provinces for offensive purposes against Germany is true; that the loss of them would have provoked an early renewal of the contest is probable.

Meanwhile the Congress at Vienna had not allowed itself to be interrupted by the Hundred Days, and in June, 1815, concluded its labours. The main points of the great settlement which it effected must now be summarised.

The Czar Alexander, as we have seen, came to Vienna

determined to restore the ancient kingdom of the Poles, with himself as king, and his determination bore down all opposition. Thus the Grand Duchy of Warsaw passed in its entirety, except Posen and Thorn, to Russia, who also acquired Finland from the Swedes. Results of
Congress
of Vienna

The Duchy of Posen with Thorn and Danzig went to Prussia, who further obtained—again in the teeth of prolonged and bitter opposition—the northern half of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and, most important of all, a huge province on both sides of the Rhine, including the Duchies of Westphalia, Cleves and Berg, the secularised Bishop-Electorates of Köln, Trier, Aachen, the Bishopric of Münster and strips of Limburg and Luxemburg. Thus was the promise of Kalisch fulfilled. Poland had gone to Russia; Anspach and Bayreuth to Bavaria, Hildesheim and East Friesland to Hanover. But Prussia in extent and population was in a position much better than before Tilsit, and with far larger possibilities. 1815 was indeed the turning-point in the fortunes both of Prussia and Germany. Prussia was forced, almost against her will, to find compensation for her losses in the East by acquisitions in the West. The population she lost was mostly Slav; the 2,000,000 subjects she gained were Germans. Above all, by the acquisition of the Rhine Province she was compelled, as the champion of Germany, to confront France. (i) Russia

But to estimate the full significance of these changes they must be considered in connection with the simultaneous changes in the position of Austria. For the last two hundred years Austria had been more and more neglecting German interests and devoting herself to the consolidation of her dynastic interests in Hungary and Italy. In 1815 she gladly surrendered the Netherlands (iii)
Austria

(Belgium) to Holland to form with the latter a great barrier kingdom under the House of Orange. As compensation she acquired Venetia and Lombardy, and recovered the Illyrian Provinces, Eastern Galicia (from Russia), and from Bavaria the Tyrol, Salzburg and the Vorarlberg. Bavaria in turn was compensated with Bayreuth and Anspach (from Prussia), and the Rhenish Palatinate. Hanover became a kingdom with some small accessions of territory. Baden and Würtemberg remained unchanged.

(iv) The
Constitution
of
Germany

But even more difficult than the adjustment of the territorial claims of the several German Princes was the settlement of the constitutional question for Germany as a whole. On this point there was great diversity of opinion, due on the one side to the inveterate rivalry of Austria and Prussia, and on the other to the anxiety of the lesser Princes to lose none of the sovereign rights conferred on them by Napoleon. Stein, to whom the Liberation of Germany was so largely due, originally favoured the division of Germany into two great Federal States, under Austria and Prussia respectively; but this was strongly resisted by Metternich, who objected not less firmly to a revival of the old Empire. Unless, therefore, Germany was to be split up into numberless independent States, it became clear that some form of federal union would have to be evolved. Prussia hoped to make it really effective, Austria to whittle it down, and Austria was supported by the smaller States, who feared that any union would necessarily curtail their independence. Eventually an exceedingly loose form of confederation was established, under which the thirty-nine Sovereign Princes and Free Cities formed themselves into what was little more than a perpetual League, under the name of the Germanic "Bund". A federal diet was to sit at Frank-

fort-on-Main under the presidency of Austria. The several States agreed to defend Germany as a whole and its component States against any attack, and mutually to guarantee the territories of all members of the Bund.

It was further agreed that in every State representative institutions should be established. But the federal tie was of the weakest. To the ardent spirits who had made the War of Liberation such an issue was a bitter disappointment. But reactionary as was the attitude of the Sovereign Princes, seeds had been sown among the German peoples, destined to yield a rich harvest in the future. Though all traces of the Napoleonic occupation were carefully erased upon the map, it none the less left an indelible impression upon Germany.

The settlement of Italy presented similar features. ^(v) Italy There also an attempt was made to erase the handiwork of Napoleon, and with the same temporary success. The Bourbon King Ferdinand once more reigned over the Two Sicilies; the Pope was again master of the States of the Church; Austria, as we have seen, carved out for herself a great Lombardo-Venetian Principality; the ex-Empress Marie Louise was installed in Parma, and Austrian cadets in Modena and Tuscany; while Victor Emmanuel I. was restored to Piedmont and Savoy, with the important addition of Genoa. Once again the dynastic principle seemed to have triumphed over the national, and the outlook for the future was dark. But the Napoleonic unification had nevertheless left permanent results behind.

Switzerland, enlarged by the addition of the Cantons ^(vi) of Valais, Neuchatel and Geneva (twenty-two in all), ^{Switzer-}land was guaranteed by the Powers in perpetual neutrality.

In Northern Europe the same principles reappear.

(vii)
Northern
Europe

Norway, torn from Denmark, was united to Sweden, which lost Finland to Russia and Western Pomerania to Prussia. Belgium was united to Holland. Belgians and Dutchmen were opposed in race, creed and historical tradition, and the union was effected purely in the interests of the European equilibrium.

(viii) Great
Britain

One Power remains to be considered. Great Britain had entered upon the struggle with no selfish aim; she had sustained it with unequalled pertinacity; but in the territorial readjustments at Paris and Vienna she had little interest. She struggled hard to effect a stable settlement on equitable lines; she was anxious that a due balance of power should be maintained; she used her influence for the abolition of the slave trade, but her acquisitions in Europe were confined to Heligoland and Malta and the protectorate of the Ionian Isles. Her substantial gains were farther afield. For ten years she had been undisputed mistress of the sea, and the colonial possessions of France, Holland and Spain were entirely at her mercy, and mostly in her grasp. At the Peace she retained Trinidad (from Spain), Mauritius, Tobago and S. Lucia (from France), and Ceylon (from Holland). Cape Colony, originally acquired by conquest was re-acquired by purchase from the Dutch. In India also the British dominions were largely extended in the period between 1789 and 1815. The war with the United States (1812-14), into which we were driven by the fiscal policy of Napoleon, ended in the mutual restoration of conquests and an agreement to abolish the slave trade (Peace of Ghent, 24th December, 1814).

Such were the main features of the great settlement of 1815. Few of them were permanent: many were quite temporary. The union of Sweden and Norway lasted

ninety years; that of Holland and Belgium, fifteen; the Rhine frontier had to be readjusted in 1870. The settlement ignored the nationality principle which had been evoked by the Napoleonic occupations of Germany and Italy and by the attempted conquest of Spain—a principle destined to dominate European politics during the coming century; it marked a reversion to the outworn ideas of the eighteenth century: to the doctrine of “balance,” and the supremacy of dynastic interests; the clock was set back by the re-partition of Italy and the ineffective re-constitution of Germany. All this is true. None the less the Congress of Vienna marks not merely the close of an old epoch but the beginning of a new. The devouring ambition of Russia is conspicuous; an important though unconscious step is taken towards the Prussianisation of Germany; England’s true sphere of activity is seen to be ultra-European; the House of Savoy is stimulated by the acquisition of Genoa towards the fulfilment of its Italian mission; the solicitude of England for the fate of the slaves heralds an era of humanitarian legislation; the phantasy of the Holy Alliance is a prelude to the concert of Europe. The diplomats of Vienna may have been exceptionally selfish and short-sighted, but twenty years of revolution and upheaval had evoked aspirations and intensified forces which no statesman could control.

To trace the operation of those forces and the fulfilment of those aspirations is the purpose of the pages that follow.

CHAPTER XII

RESTORATION AND REACTION

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

It is verbiage.—METTERNICH, on the Holy Alliance.

Government by
Congresses

FOR twenty-five years Continental Europe had been a prey to revolution; for the next fifteen it was given over to reaction. That reaction has been frequently ascribed to the dominant influence of the Czar Alexander. During the second occupation of Paris the Czar drafted a declaration pledging the allied rulers to regulate their policy, internal and external alike, by the principles of the Christian religion. To this "Holy Alliance" the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia formally adhered. Metternich declared it to be "verbiage"; Castlereagh was led to doubt the Czar's sanity; Canning, with more reason, to question his sincerity. But if the Holy Alliance was the dream of a mystic, the Quadruple Treaty (20th November, 1815), concluded between Austria, Russia, Prussia and England, was a substantial diplomatic fact. Based upon the Treaty of Chaumont it provided for a twenty years' alliance, to be cemented and maintained by periodical meetings between the sovereigns or their plenipotentiaries, and thus inaugurated a system of government by Congresses. The admission of France (1818) converted the Quadruple Alliance into the

“Moral Pentarchy of Europe,” which endured until it was broken up after 1822, by the masterful independence of Canning. Its aims will be disclosed in connection with the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822).

Until 1818 France was excluded from the Committee of the Great Powers; but in the history of the European ^{The} Restoration ^{in France} reaction it is France which must first claim our attention. Not because France dominates Europe, as she had done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but because the clearly marked “periods” in French history and its outstanding “crises” afford the best clue to the bewildering maze of continental history during the nineteenth century.

Between 1815 and 1900 France tried five distinct constitutional experiments: (i) 1815-30, the restored Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII. (1815-24) and Charles X. (1824-30), ending in the “July” Revolution; (ii) “constitutional” monarchy under the House of Orleans (1830-48), ending in the Revolution of 1848; (iii) the second Republic (1848-52); (iv) the second Napoleonic Empire (1852-70); and (v) the third Republic (1870). But it happens that the French Revolutions of 1830, of 1848 and 1870 mark, not for France only but for Europe at large, epochs of first-rate importance. Lucidity, therefore, compels us to deal first with France.

Louis XVIII. was at the time of his first restoration an old gentleman of fifty-nine (b. 1755), and so fat and gouty that he could not sit a horse. Endowed with much more common sense than either of his brothers (Louis XVI. and the Count of Artois), he realised from the outset the impossibility of reviving the præ-revolutionary régime. He talked indeed of “linking again the chain

The Constitutional
Charter

of tradition which had been broken during a period of nefarious crimes," and 1814 was to him¹ not the first but the nineteenth year of his reign. But he frankly accepted the social work of the Revolution, and issued (4th June, 1814) a *Charter* of an exceedingly liberal character. Under this Constitution there were to be two legislative chambers; a responsible ministry and a tolerably wide franchise; the Napoleonic nobility was to be confirmed in its titles and placed on a social equality with the old noblesse; the Press was to be free, and though the Roman Catholic Church was to be established there was to be complete religious toleration. Finally, the eligibility of all classes for employment under the State was to form part of the public law of France.

Reaction
in France

The Charter unquestionably provided a fair basis for a constitutional régime; but unfortunately the first Chamber elected under it proved violently reactionary (*Chambre introuvable*). Marshal Ney was shot; 7,000 Bonapartists were imprisoned, and persecution ensued so fierce as to earn for itself the name of the "White Terror". Talleyrand and Fouché, whose tact and skill had done so much to 'smooth the path for the restoration, were dismissed (1815) to make room for the Duc de Richelieu, who though an *Émigré* was not an "ultra". In 1818 Richelieu won a distinct diplomatic triumph by inducing the allies at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to admit France to the "Pentarchy" of the five great Powers and to shorten the period of foreign occupation. Aix-la-Chapelle marked in fact the re-admission of France to the polite society of Europe. But a general election resulted in the return of a moderate liberal majority, and

¹ Cf. Charles II. of England.

Richelieu had to give place to Decazes, whose programme was "to royalise France and to nationalise the monarchy". The principle thus enunciated was eminently sound, but unfortunately the murder (1820) of the Duc de Berri, second grandson of the Count of Artois, and heir-presumptive to the Crown, led to another and more prolonged royalist reaction. On the wave of this reaction Richelieu came back to power. But for the "ultras," who were now supreme, Richelieu himself was far too moderate, and he in his turn had to give way to Villèle, the leader of the ultra-royalists and clericalists. Among his own party Villèle won much prestige by his success in restoring by force of arms the despotic Government of Ferdinand VII. in Spain.¹

The death of Louis XVIII. (1824) and the accession of Charles X. (1824-30) the Count of Artois under the style of Charles X. gave a further impetus to the reactionary movement. The new King had posed, ever since the restoration, as the leader of the extreme Right. Bigoted, ignorant and superstitious, the comrade of the *Émigrés* and the tool of the Jesuits, he plunged headlong down the hill of reaction. The Chamber of Deputies, however, was against him, and for a while checked his course. An appeal to the country (1827) served only to increase the "moderate" majority and to turn out Villèle in favour of Martignac. But Martignac's moderation was in the eyes of the King and his friends nothing less than treason to the monarchy, and in 1829 he was dismissed to make way for Prince Paul de Polignac, Count Labourdonnaie and Bourmont. The last, nominated to the ministry of war, was notorious as a deserter from the Bonapartist cause on the eve of Waterloo; and all three

¹ Cf. p. 137.

were known to be reactionaries of the most violent type, whose appointment was taken to signify war to the Charter and the Constitution. The Chambers were quick to realise the danger and to take up the challenge. The lower Chamber was consequently dissolved. The country, deaf to the allurements of a successful military expedition which added Algiers to the dominions of France, returned an increased liberal majority. The King and Polignae were then forced to play their last card. Before the Chambers met they issued the famous *Ordinances of St. Cloud* (26th July, 1830). The *Ordinances* were nothing less than a royalist *coup d'état*. The Chambers were again dissolved; a system of double election was devised; the electoral franchise was raised; freedom of the Press was abolished, and a number of "ultras" were nominated to the Council of State. France was momentarily stunned. The Press, led by M. Thiers a young journalist who had lately come to Paris, was the first to recover from the stupor; an emphatic protest was entered against the *Ordinances*, and the nation was called upon to resist the Government. On 27th July Marshal Marmont was entrusted by Polignae with the defence of the capital: barricades hastily erected were quickly demolished, and some citizens were killed or wounded in street combats. On the 28th the mob once more surged through the streets, raised the tricolour, and seized the Hotel de Ville. On the 29th the troops mutinied; the mob burst into the Louvre and the Tuileries, and by nightfall were masters of the capital. Before the next morning the walls of Paris were placarded by Thiers with a proclamation in favour of Philip, Duke of Orleans, the son of Egalité Orleans, who had played an unworthy part in the Revolution of 1789, and the

The *Ordinances of St. Cloud*

The Revolution of July

shoddy Revolution of July was virtually achieved. On the 31st, Orleans, on the invitation of the Chambers, assumed the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Meanwhile Charles X. had retired from St. Cloud to Rambouillet; there he announced (2nd August) his abdication in favour of his grandson Henry, Duc de Bordeaux, better known as the Comte de Chambord. At the same time he appointed Orleans lieutenant-general and regent, and bade him proclaim "Henry V." But the concession was too late, or Orleans was too ambitious. The Crown was offered to Orleans on 7th August by the Chambers, and on the 9th he was proclaimed King of the French, under the style of Louis Philippe. A week later Charles X., his family and Court, sailed for England.¹ Such was the issue of the "glorious days of July"; thus did M. Thiers "dispose of the French Crown by a handbill, and overthrow the dynasty by a placard". The discussion of the significance of the "July Revolution," and the character of the "July Monarchy" must be reserved for a later chapter.

It is time to turn to the history of the reaction elsewhere.

In no country was it more violent than in Spain. Of all the Spanish Bourbons Ferdinand VII. was perhaps the most contemptible; a miserable compound of bigotry, sensualism, superstition and cruelty. None the less his restoration in 1814 to the throne of his father was hailed by the Spaniards with limitless enthusiasm. Ferdinand had hardly reached Madrid before he plunged into an "orgy of reaction".² In 1812 the Cortes had drawn up a Constitution modelled upon the French Constitution of

Bourbon
Restoration
in Spain

¹ He resided first at Lulworth Castle, afterwards at Holyrood, and died in Austria in 1836.

² Phillips.

1791, and based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. The power of the Crown was reduced to a shadow, and the Legislature was to be supreme. But fantastic and extravagant as was the Constitution of 1812 it might have formed, in the hands of a strong and wise ruler, the starting-point of a constitutional régime. Ferdinand was neither strong nor wise. He revoked the Constitution, dissolved the Cortes, restored the Inquisition, recalled the Jesuits, reinstated the nobles with all their oppressive privileges, gagged the Press, let loose all the forces of disorder, and relentlessly persecuted all the adherents of the Bonapartist régime. For six years the royalist terror reigned supreme. But even for Spain the reaction was too violent. The provinces were soon honeycombed with secret societies, largely recruited from the army. Isolated insurrections were put down with barbarous cruelty, but in 1820 the flag of revolution was unfurled at Cadiz, and Ferdinand, as feeble as he was cruel, made abject surrender. The Constitution of 1812 was restored; a single Chamber Legislature was entrusted with supreme authority; the executive was completely subordinated to it; the authority of the Crown was reduced to nullity; a radical ministry was installed in office; the Holy office was once more suppressed; the religious houses were dissolved, and from the "orgy of reaction" Spain plunged with characteristic extravagance into an orgy of reform.

But in the years immediately succeeding Waterloo no country could be permitted to regard itself as an isolated unit. The "moral Pentarchy" was watching with anxiety the development of events in Spain, and the more so as the revolutionary contagion spread to Portugal and Italy.

In 1807, as we have seen,¹ the Portuguese royal family Portugal had transferred the seat of government to Brazil. After the restoration, the former regent, now John VI, declined to return to Europe. He appointed as regent Lord Beresford, the former commander of the English troops in Portugal, and proclaimed the union of the Portuguese dominions under the title of the "United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves". Portugal was thus virtually reduced to a position of a dependency of Brazil. The position was not relished at Lisbon, where insurrection, stimulated by Spain, broke out (1820). The regent was deposed, and John VI. was persuaded to return reluctantly to Europe. Dom Pedro, his son, was left as regent in Brazil, and was instructed, at all hazards, to preserve Brazil to the House of Braganza; "and in case of any unforeseen circumstances which should make the union of Portugal and Brazil impracticable . . . to place the crown upon his own head". The unforeseen happened. The Brazilians, in 1822, declined to recognise the orders of the Cortes any longer, declared their country independent, and proclaimed Dom Pedro as Constitutional Emperor. In Portugal itself the political pendulum swang violently from side to side. In 1821 John VI. accepted complacently a liberal Constitution. But in 1823, under pressure from Spain, from his Spanish Queen and his second son Dom Miguel, the King, with equal complacency, accepted a reactionary ministry.

From the Peninsula the revolutionary movement spread Italy to Southern Italy. Between Spain and the Two Sicilies there were the closest ties, historical and dynastic, but Ferdinand I. of Naples was a much more indolent reactionary than his Spanish kinsman. There was, how-

¹P. 89.

ever, quite enough reaction to provoke active discontent, particularly in the army and among the members of an exceedingly powerful and widespread secret society known as the Carbonari (Charcoal burners). In 1820 discontent blazed out into insurrection. The Spanish Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed, and King Ferdinand was compelled to declare his acceptance of the Constitution on oath. But Austria was now supreme in Italy, and Prince Metternich did not permit the puppet princes, whose strings were pulled from Vienna, to act independently of him. King Ferdinand, therefore, having taken the oath to the Constitution with peculiar solemnity, wrote to the Emperor of Austria to protest that he had acted under duress, and that the oath was consequently null and void. Austria was only too glad to get an excuse for direct interference in Southern Italy, more particularly as she was able to act on a mandate from the Powers.

The
Troppau
Congress

For some time past the Holy Allies had been regarding with growing uneasiness the insurrectionary movements in Southern Europe, and in October, 1820, the three Eastern Powers met in Conference at Troppau in Bohemia, where Lord Stewart (Castlereagh's brother) watched the proceedings on behalf of England. On 19th November, 1820, Russia, Austria and Prussia issued a protocol in which the doctrines of the Holy Alliance were set forth with startling explicitness. "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution," so it ran, "the results of which threaten other States, *ipso facto*, cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability. . . . If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if

need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance."

France expressed, in general terms, adherence to the protocol, but Castlereagh protested that the principle set forth therein was "in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws of the United Kingdom". From Troppau the Conference adjourned to Laibach in Carniola (January, 1821), and at Laibach a mandate was given to Austria to send 80,000 men to Naples. The Austrians marched, practically without resistance, upon Naples; vengeance was exacted from all who had taken part in the recent movement; the principles of legitimacy were triumphantly reasserted, and a system of government was established which was afterwards described (by Mr. Gladstone) "as an outrage upon religion, upon civilisation, upon humanity and upon decency".

Great
Britain and
the Holy
Alliance

Against the doctrines proclaimed at Troppau and the policy sanctioned at Laibach, England, by the mouth of Castlereagh, entered an emphatic protest:—

"England stands pledged to uphold the territorial arrangements established at the Congress of Vienna. The invasion of a weaker State by a stronger one for the purpose of conquest would demand our immediate interference. But with the internal affairs of each separate State we have nothing to do."

Thus it was Castlereagh alone who prevented the general acceptance of the doctrine of interference which the Holy Allies were anxious to maintain.

But while Austria was finding congenial occupation in Naples, and in Piedmont, France, under Villèle, was itching to go to the assistance of Bourbon absolutism in Spain. The Congress which in 1822 met at Vienna and which adjourned to Verona in October was more than

agreeable to the project; but before the formal mandate was given to France an event of European significance had occurred.

Canning

On the death of Lord Castlereagh (August, 1822) the English Foreign Office passed into the control of George Canning. In principle there was no difference between the policy of Castlereagh and Canning; in the method of asserting the principle there was all the difference in the world. By the mouth of Wellington, who went as England's representative to Verona, Canning bluntly informed the Powers that "while England was no friend to revolution, she did emphatically insist on the right of nations to set up for themselves whatever form of government they thought best, and to be left free to manage their own affairs, so long as they left other nations to manage theirs." France had already seized the excuse of an outbreak of yellow fever in Spain to mass an army of 100,000 men on the frontier for the purpose of establishing a *cordon sanitaire*. Canning's protest was too late to stop the intervention of the French, who in April, 1823, marched an army into Spain under the Duc d'Angoulême, and re-established the absolute authority of King Ferdinand. France remained in military occupation of Spain until 1827.

The
Spanish
Colonies

But though powerless to avert the French occupation of old Spain, Canning was determined to prevent the extension of French interference to new Spain.

For some years Spain had experienced increasing difficulty in governing her South American colonies. In 1817 she had purchased peace with the United States by the sale of Florida to the States for five million dollars. But the improvement thus effected in her general situation was merely temporary. Meanwhile the trading

interests of Great Britain suffered severely from the prevailing anarchy in South America. For outrages unnumbered upon British ships no redress could be obtained from Spain. In 1823 Canning appointed Consuls to the Spanish colonies for the protection of British trade, and France was at the same time bluntly informed that though Spain might subdue her revolted colonies if she could, no other Power should do it for her. Finally, on the 1st of January, 1825, the Powers were informed that Great Britain had recognised the independence of Buenos Ayres, Columbia and Mexico. The Powers protested, but nothing came of the protest, and Canning held on his way, heedless of the Holy Allies, and he found a powerful ally in the United States. On 2nd December, 1823, President Monroe had declared "that any interference on the part of the Great Powers of Europe for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the destiny of the Spanish American States, which had declared their independence, would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, and would be considered as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards them". Such was the origin of the famous "Monroe doctrine". The action of Great Britain and the United States was decisive; by 1830 the Spanish Empire in South America had ceased to exist, and the following independent republics had come into being: Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia (= New Granada and Venezuela), Peru, Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay and Rio de la Plata or Buenos Ayres.

Not less prompt and decisive was Canning's action in ^{Portugal} regard to Portugal. There, as in Spain, the reactionary party, led by Dom Miguel, looked for support to France, the liberal party to Great Britain. At the request of the latter a British squadron was sent to the Tagus "to con-

firm in the eyes of the Portuguese nation the strict intimacy and goodwill subsisting between the two Crowns". This gave Dom Miguel an excuse, and early in 1824 he effected a *coup d'état* and virtually superseded his father, John VI. The latter escaped on board an English man-of-war, and managed to reassert his authority. In 1825 Canning routed Dom Miguel and his French friends, and at the same time effected a final settlement of the long-standing difficulty between Portugal and Brazil. John VI. was induced to recognise the independence of Brazil under the sovereignty of his son Dom Pedro, though retaining the imperial title for his life-time. But in 1826 John VI. died. Once more factions broke out in Portugal; Spain and France were keen to interfere on behalf of the reactionaries, but they were stopped by the prompt action of Canning, and, thanks to him, the liberal Constitution was saved.

But decisive as was the influence of Canning in Western Europe it was exerted with even more important results in the East. To that quarter the attention of the Powers had been turned since 1821 with ever-increasing anxiety; for the Greek Revolt had opened a new chapter in European history.¹

¹ In this and the following chapter I have made free use of a previous work of my own: *George Canning and his Times* (Murray, 1903).



CHAPTER XIII

THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION

That shifting, intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths that is veiled under the easy name of the Eastern Question.—JOHN MORLEY.

It offers in detail a chequered picture of patriotism and corruption, desperate valour and weak irresolution, honour and treachery, resistance to the Turk and feud one with another. Its records are stained with many acts of cruelty. And yet who can doubt that it was on the whole a noble stroke, struck for freedom and for justice, by a people who, feeble in numbers and resources, were casting off the vile slough of servitude, who derived their strength from right, and whose worst acts were really in the main due to the masters, who had saddled them not only with a cruel, but with a most demoralising yoke?—W. E. GLADSTONE, on the Greek Revolt.

FOR Europe as a whole the Greek insurrection marks ^{The Turks} the beginning of that sheaf of problems which _{in Europe} we know as "The Eastern Question".

In one sense the Eastern Question dates from the time (1343-1453) when the Ottoman Turks began to "encamp" in the midst of the bundle of races which inhabit the Balkan peninsula. Constantinople fell into their hands in 1453, and thenceforward, for about two centuries, the Turk was the terror and scourge of Christian Europe. Then the problem altered. In the seventeenth century, and still more clearly in the eighteenth, the power of

the Turks exhibited obvious signs of decadence. The Habsburgs began for the first time to make headway against them in Hungary and Transylvania, and Russia pushed down to the Black Sea. These Powers—sometimes singly and sometimes in combination—were constantly at war with Turkey during the eighteenth century.

Treaty of
Kainardji,
1774

In 1774 Russia dictated to the Porte the decisive Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, by which (i) Russia obtained for the first time a firm grip upon the Black Sea, by the acquisition of Azof, and the acknowledgment of her right to free commercial navigation; (ii) Russia secured a permanent Embassy at Constantinople and certain rights of protection in regard to the Greek Church in Turkey; and (iii) the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, together with the islands of the Ægean, were handed back to Turkey only on condition of "better Government".

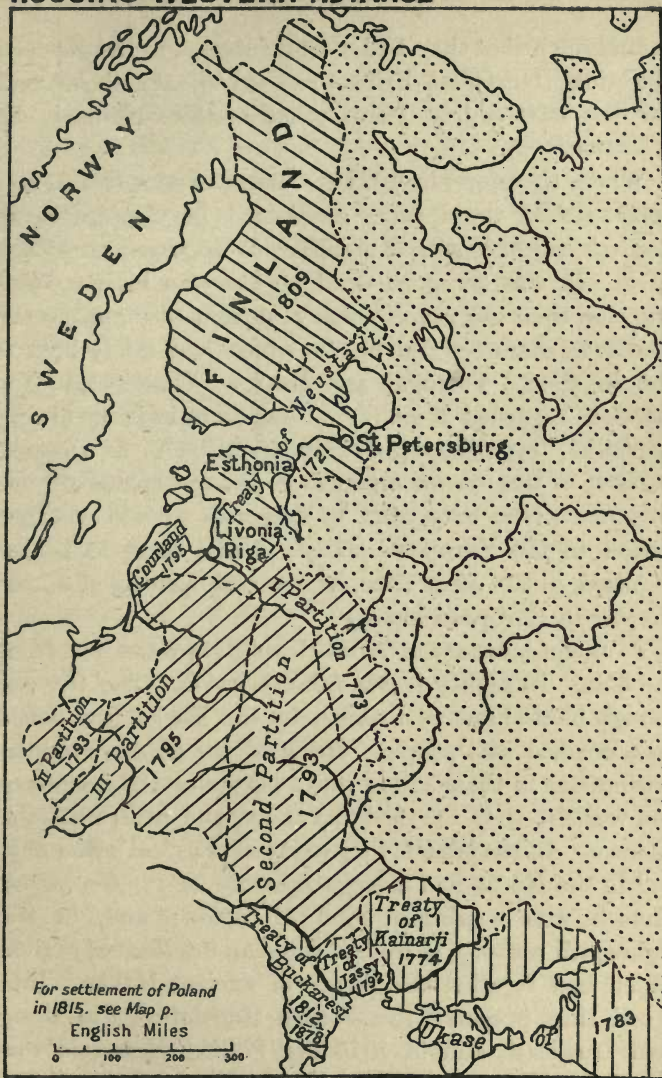
Russia's rights under the treaty were not in all cases distinctly defined, but henceforth the Czar of Russia was, in his dual capacity as Head of the Slav family and Head of the Greek Church, recognised as in some sort the protector of a large proportion of the peoples subject to the Porte.

In 1783 Catherine II. annexed the Tartars east of the river Boug, and in 1792 pushed her frontier to the Dniester. By the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) Alexander I. stipulated, as we have seen, for the cession to Russia of Moldavia and Wallachia. This great prize was denied to him, but by the Peace of Bucharest (1812) he snatched Bessarabia from the Turks, and secured for his allies, the Servians, complete control over the administration of their domestic concerns.

So far the advance of Russia in South-eastern Europe had not excited the alarm of the other European Powers. In 1791 the younger Pitt attempted to convince his

Treaty of
Bucharest,
1812

RUSSIA'S WESTERN ADVANCE



B.V.V. Extent at accession of Peter the Great --- [stippled]
 Acquisitions from Sweden [diagonal lines] from Poland [diagonal lines] from Turkey [vertical lines] [horizontal lines]

countrymen that they had a vital interest in the Eastern Question; but Great Britain refused to take alarm, and for the next thirty years other matters claimed her attention.

The Greek Revolt

When, therefore, in 1821 the news of the Greek Revolt reached the Powers assembled in Conference at Laibach, no exceptional significance appeared to attach to it. It was no more—and no less—an international question than the revolutionary movements, apparently similar in character and origin, which had lately broken out in Spain, Portugal and Naples. Castlereagh, for instance, regarded it simply as one more instance of the prevailing “organised spirit of insurrection”. As a matter of fact, it was on an altogether different plane of importance. Not only was it destined to add another nation to the European polity; it also came to be recognised, in the after time, as the real opening of a new chapter in European history.

Causes of the Greek Revolt

To all appearance the Greek Revolution was a bolt from the blue. In reality it was far otherwise. The Greeks, though blotted out as a nation by the Turks, had never been crushed as a people. Much of the public administration was in their hands, and a large share of commerce and wealth; they manned the navy, and controlled the finances. In the islands they enjoyed practical autonomy, and in the Morea had a large measure of it; the Greek Church was a strong bond of union; and, in the eighteenth century, there had come an intellectual revival which had recalled the glories of ancient Hellas. Into a soil thus prepared the French Revolution had flung seed broadcast, and in 1815 the Philikè Hetaireia was founded. This secret society quickly enrolled 200,000 members, all of whom looked to the expulsion of the

Moslems and the restoration of the Greek Empire at Constantinople.

The insurrection began in March, 1821, under Prince Alexander Hypsilanti, who raised his standard in Moldavia in the confident expectation that Russia would back him. But the Czar Alexander was not only the ruler of Russia but the founder of the Holy Alliance. He frowned upon the enterprise, and by June, 1821, Hypsilanti's rising had collapsed.

Far different was the measure of success attained by the movement in the Morea and the islands of the Ægean. The Turks, taken unprepared, were beaten all along the line, and had recourse to cruel reprisals. The Greek Patriarch was murdered in Constantinople, and a wholesale massacre of the Christians was ordered in Macedonia and Asia Minor. On both sides the struggle was conducted with the utmost ferocity, and the serious attention of the Powers was inevitably attracted to it.

Moreover, Russia had her own quarrel with the Turk, and although the Czar always regarded the Greeks as rebels, who ought to be left to their fate, it was difficult to prevent the two quarrels in which the Porte was involved reacting on each other, if not merging into one.

England also became keenly interested in the struggle. Lord Byron aroused immense enthusiasm on behalf of the Greeks, and in 1822 Lord Castlereagh's (London-derry's) death opened the Foreign Office to George Canning. Canning was a firm friend to the Greeks, but his main cause for anxiety was lest Russia should be allowed to exploit the Greek insurrection for her own purposes. His policy, therefore, was to induce Turkey to come to terms with the Greeks before Russia got a chance of interference.

For three years (1822-25) the Greeks, despite internal feuds, more than held their own against the Turks; but in 1824 a fresh complication arose. The Sultan called to his assistance Ibrahim Pasha, the son of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Ibrahim occupied Crete in 1824, and in 1825 crossed to the Morea, where he "harried, slaughtered and devastated in all directions". The rumour ran that he meant to carry off all the Greeks who were spared by his ferocious troops into bondage in Egypt. And while Ibrahim devastated the Morea the Turk himself was steadily gaining ground. Missolonghi, after an heroic defence of a year, to which English volunteers had largely contributed, fell in 1826, and, in 1827, despite the efforts of Lord Cochrane, General Church and others, Athens was compelled to surrender.

Alexander
succeeded
by
Nicholas I.

The Greek cause seemed desperate. But in 1825 Alexander of Russia had died and been succeeded by his brother Nicholas. Nicholas had all Alexander's shrewdness and ambition, with none of his mysticism. To him it mattered nothing whether the Greeks were rebels so long as their rebellion subserved Russian interests. In 1826, however, Canning induced the new Czar to combine with England to force an armistice on the Porte and to recognise the autonomy of Greece under Turkish suzerainty. The ferocities of Ibrahim had "staggered humanity," and France joined England and Russia. Turkey, however, obstinate as usual, ruined Canning's policy and played straight into the hands of Russia. In 1827 the allied fleets were sent into the Levant with ambiguous instructions. The Turks fired on an English boat in the harbour of Navarino; a general action ensued, and the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed. The battle of Navarino secured the liberation of Greece, but apart

The battle
of Nava-
rino (20th
October,
1827)

from this, all the advantages of the joint intervention were reaped exclusively by Russia. Canning died in August, 1827, and the fruits of his firm diplomacy were dissipated by his successors. Wellington deplored Navarino as an "untoward event" and apologised to the Porte for the accident. The Czar, on the contrary, advanced single handed against the Porte. The campaign of 1828 was a failure, but in 1829 Russia put forth her strength; Diebitsch crossed the Balkans, occupied Adrianople and threatened Constantinople; Kars and Erzeroum had already fallen, and on 14th September, 1829, the Porte accepted the Treaty of Adrianople—a treaty second only in importance in the history of the Eastern Question to that of Kainardji.

Russia restored her conquests, except the "Great Islands" of the Danube; but her title to Georgia and the other provinces of the Caucasus was acknowledged; all neutral vessels were to have free navigation in the Black Sea and on the Danube; practical autonomy was granted to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia under Russian protection; Russian traders in Turkey were to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of their own Consuls, and in regard to Greece the Porte accepted the Treaty of London, thus virtually acknowledging its independence.

The final settlement of Greece was referred to a Conference in London where the Greek frontier was ultimately fixed at a line extending from the Gulf of Volo on the East to Arta on the West. The form of government was to be a Constitutional Monarchy, and the Crown, having been successively declined by Prince John of Saxony and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (afterwards King of the Belgians), was eventually accepted in 1832 by Prince Otto of Bavaria. Capodistrias, who had been ruling Greece since 1827, was assassinated in 1831, and the way

was clear, therefore, for Prince Otto. But Otto was not a happy choice; he neglected the national feelings, and chafed under the limitations imposed on him by the Constitution. An abortive revolution broke out in 1843, and a more successful one in 1862, when King Otto was expelled. The Greeks were anxious for a king from the English royal family, and the Crown was offered to Prince Alfred. But the protecting Powers, England, France and Russia, had pledged themselves not to allow any of their cadets to accept the throne, and in 1863 England obtained for the Greeks the services of a Danish prince, and at the same time presented him with the Ionian Isles. King George's task has not been entirely easy, but under him Greece has made some progress on the path of Constitutional Government. After many attempts has obtained a rectification of her frontier by the acquisition of Thessaly and a strip of Epirus (1881).

The Duke of Wellington declared the Treaty of Adrianople to be the "death-blow to the independence of the Ottoman Porte, and the forerunner of the dissolution and extinction of its power". The Duke underrated the recuperative powers of the "sick man" and the cleverness with which he could make use of the jealousies of European Powers. The Hellenic rising, issuing in a Greek kingdom, has indeed added one more factor to the well-nigh insoluble problem of the "Eastern Question," but the Turk himself, despite loss of provinces and curtailment of jurisdiction, has exhibited unexpected vitality.¹

¹ As these sheets are passing through the Press fresh proof of vitality in an entirely new and unexpected form has been given. By a bloodless revolution the Turks have obtained a parliamentary constitution (1908).

CHAPTER XIV

FRANCE AND HER REVOLUTIONS (1830-1852)

The English have a scornful insular way
Of calling the French light. The levity
Is in the judgment only. . . .

—MRS. BROWNING.

The name of Napoleon is in itself a complete programme. It stands for order, unity, religion; national prosperity within; national dignity without. **NAPOLEON**, in 1849.

THE July Revolution, though shoddy in character and limited in its immediate scope, exerted considerable influence beyond the borders of France. It definitely closed for Europe at large the period of reaction inaugurated at Vienna. Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, and several of the German States, testify to the liberalising impulse derived from "the glorious days of July". The more important of these movements will receive attention in due course.¹ The most striking and the most permanent effect was traceable in the kingdom of the Netherlands.

The Union of Belgium and Holland under the House of Orange was one of the most characteristic efforts of the Viennese diplomatists. Diplomacy demanded a stout barrier between France and Germany, and cared little how it was constructed. Between Belgians and Dutch-

¹ See pp. 177, 197 *seqq.*

men there was little in common, either of race, creed or tradition, and what little there was was speedily obscured by the stupidity of the Hague Government after 1815. It soon became obvious that the Belgians, though numerically predominant, were to be converted into Dutchmen with all possible speed. Against this fusion strong opposition manifested itself in Belgium. The clericals united with the democrats, and both found encouragement and opportunity in the upheaval of 1830. Insurrection broke out in Brussels in August, and quickly spread to Liège, Louvain and other towns in the Southern Netherlands. The King offered limited concessions; the Belgians demanded Home Rule, and both parties appealed to the Powers. Russia, Austria and Prussia were strongly opposed to the destruction of their handiwork, but Lord Palmerston cordially espoused the Belgian cause, and secured the assent of the Pentarchy to the independence and neutralisation of Belgium under European guarantee. The Belgians themselves created a difficulty by the election of the Duc de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, as king. Palmerston refused to permit such an extension of French influence and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widowed husband of the English Princess Charlotte, was elected in his place¹ (June, 1831). Holland was then coerced into submission (1832) by England and France. Thus Belgium, largely through the determined efforts of Lord Palmerston, came into being as an independent kingdom.

We must now return to the effects of the July Revolution upon France itself.

From the outset the position of the "Citizen" King

The Citizen
Monarchy

¹ In 1832 King Leopold married Princess Louise, eldest daughter of Louis Philippe.

was one of great embarrassment. King of the French neither by Divine Right nor by the suffrages of the people his basis of authority was exceedingly narrow. The Legitimists scowled at the man who had treacherously supplanted the Comte de Chambord, and legitimist insurrections broke out at Lyons, Grenoble and in La Vendée. The republicans, men like Lamartine and Barrot, were equally dissatisfied. They accepted Louis Philippe, but only in the hope of surrounding the "Citizen Monarchy" with republican institutions. Among the mass of the people Louis Philippe and his bourgeois ministers, Thiers and Guizot, excited no enthusiasm. The new régime was constitutionally respectable, but unheroic and dull. The actual form of the constitution underwent little alteration from that of 1814. The Chambers obtained, concurrently with the Crown, the right of initiating legislation; the members of the Upper House were nominated only for life, but the supreme question of the ultimate responsibility of ministers was left unsolved. Not to the end was it really decided whether Louis Philippe was to be a "Constitutional" sovereign in the English or in the Bourbon sense. Thiers held that "the King reigns but does not govern"; but Louis Philippe himself was exceedingly tenacious of the control of the executive. "They shall not," he was wont to say, "prevent my driving my own carriage."

Neither the King nor his ministers drove it with much success, either at home or abroad. Nothing indeed did more to dissipate the small measure of popularity enjoyed by the Orleans monarchy than the ineffectiveness of its foreign policy. Starting from a principle of non-intervention Louis Philippe contrived by a combination of weakness and unscrupulousness to alienate sympathy at

Foreign
Policy

home and to offend his best friend abroad—Great Britain.

Egypt

The first rock of offence was in regard to Egypt. France had long regarded herself as having a special interest in the affairs of that country. In 1831 Mehemet Ali, the ambitious adventurer who had become Pasha of Egypt, attacked and conquered Syria, which like Egypt itself was under Turkish suzerainty. The Porte appealed to the Powers for help, but Russia alone was willing to afford it. France and England compelled the Sultan to buy off the hostility of his vassal by the cession of Syria and his confirmation in Candia, which had been granted to him as the price of assistance in the Greek insurrection. Russia reaped her reward in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which secured to Russian ships of war exclusive rights in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles, and virtually established a Russian protectorate over Turkey.

Treaty of
Unkiar
Skelessi,
1833

In 1839 the whole question was once more reopened by the attempt of Turkey to recover Syria from the grasp of her Egyptian vassal. Mehemet Ali, backed by France, was again successful. Constantinople itself was threatened, and again the Porte was compelled to appeal for the protection of the Powers. Lord Palmerston was determined that come what might Unkiar Skelessi should not be repeated. With France dominant in Egypt and Russia supreme at Constantinople, England's position in the Eastern Mediterranean and even in Asia would be very seriously compromised. Consequently, he concluded with Russia, Austria and Prussia the Quadruple Treaty of London (15th July, 1840), by which the Powers agreed to coerce Mehemet Ali into submission and to pacify the Levant. France was now completely isolated, and Louis

Philippe threatened war with England. Palmerston went on his way unheeding. The English fleet captured Beyrout, Sidon and St. Jean D'Acree; France was informed "in the most friendly and inoffensive manner that if she threw down the gauntlet, England would not refuse to pick it up;" Louis Philippe drew back; the fiery Thiers was replaced by the pacific Guizot; Mehemet Ali was deprived of Syria and Candia, and had to content himself with the hereditary pashalik of Egypt; and, finally, by the Treaty of London (13th July, 1841) the Dardanelles were closed, under the guarantee of the Pentarchy, to the ships of war of all nations. The latter stipulation was specially significant, and marked a real triumph for Palmerston. Unkiar Skelessi was torn up, and the Black Sea was no longer a Russian lake. For twelve years the Eastern Question ceased to threaten the peace of Europe.

Treaty of
London,
July, 1841

In the eyes of Frenchmen the Government of Louis Philippe was seriously discredited by the Egyptian fiasco, nor did it improve its position by its intervention in the affairs of Switzerland or of Spain.

Between 1830 and 1848 Switzerland was in a condition of perpetual unrest, and in 1847 civil war broke out. In 1845 the Seven Roman Catholic Cantons had formed a Sonderbund or league for mutual defence. The Republic was threatened with disruption; Austria and France backed the Sonderbund, England the Protestant-liberals. The active intervention of France was averted by the tactics of Lord Palmerston; the Sonderbund was dissolved, the Jesuits expelled, and unity re-established (1848). That France should have taken part with Austria on behalf of absolutism and ultramontanism was exceedingly distasteful to French Liberals.

The
Sonder-
bund

The
Spanish
Marriages

Still more were they disgusted by the treacherous conduct of Louis Philippe in connection with the Spanish marriages.

The question of providing the young Queen Isabella of Spain with a suitable husband had been for some time under discussion between the Courts of England and France. In 1843 and 1844 Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe exchanged visits, and the Queen then agreed to the engagement of the Duc de Montpensier, younger son of Louis Philippe, to Maria Louisa, younger sister of Queen Isabella, provided that the marriage should not take place until after the birth of an heir to the Spanish throne. On 10th October, 1846, the Spanish Queen married her cousin, the Duke Francis—a man notoriously unfit for marriage and therefore acceptable to Louis Philippe. On the same day Montpensier was married to her sister. A more shameless plot, a more flagrant violation of a diplomatic understanding, it would be impossible to conceive. Its authors reaped no advantage. Embarrassments were multiplying around the Citizen Monarchy. Of these two were particularly insistent. On the one side the Liberals were demanding parliamentary reform; an extension of the franchise; a real parliamentary executive, and above all, a purification of the corrupt administration. On the other, the Parisian artisan was clamouring for a recognition of the right to work (*droit au travail*).

The *droit*
au travail

From the outset, as we have seen, the Orleans Monarchy had rested on the support of the bourgeois; nobles, peasants and artisans had held, for the most part, sullenly aloof. Particularly the artisans. In France, as in England, the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid economic change. The application

of steam to manufactures revolutionised industry; the hand-worker succumbed before the competition with machinery; the factory superseded domestic work, and even in France the "self-sufficing" household tended to disappear. No great economic revolution can be effected without suffering to the poor; statesmanship may mitigate, it cannot avert it. In England the fiscal reforms of Sir Robert Peel knocked the bottom out of the Chartist movement; in France the Socialists sought to cure economic distress by effecting a political revolution. Socialism had long been fashionable in Paris. For years past the salons had been discussing the theories of Fourier (1772-1837) and St. Simon (1760-1825), and many fantastic but short-lived experiments were the result. But these philosophers preached to a select audience. Louis Blanc preached to the masses, and from him the French artisan learnt of his "right to work" at the hands of the State. It was this doctrine which supplied the driving power of the Revolution of 1848, and which was thus responsible for the overthrow of the Orleans Monarchy.

But other causes, some of them temporary and accidental, contributed to this result.

When the French Chambers met in December, 1847, the outlook for the Government was gloomy. Respectability was outraged by the Spanish marriage plot; Liberalism was disgusted by Guizot's gravitation towards Austria and his support of the Sonderbund; and from different quarters there were cries for electoral reform; for the purification of the public service; for the removal of the innumerable "placemen" who gave the Government a permanent majority in the Chamber of Deputies; above all for the provision of State employment. The im-

Causes
of the
Revolution
of 1848

mediate cause of the outbreak in Paris was the obstinate bungling of the Guizot ministry in regard to a banquet which the Reformers had organised for 22nd February, to advertise and promote their objects. Interdicted by the Government, it was abandoned by the Reformers, but on the same day Barrot rose in the Chamber to propose the impeachment of the ministry.

The
Revolution
of 1848

In Paris the temper of the mob was rising rapidly. Crowds were beginning to parade the streets; the familiar barricades were erected, only to be demolished by the troops. On the 23rd Guizot's resignation was announced, together with an intimation that the formation of a new ministry had been entrusted to Count Molé. Molé failed in his efforts, and Thiers accepted the task on condition that Odilon Barrot, the leader of the Extreme Left, might be associated with him. On the 24th the new ministry was announced and a dissolution promised. But it was too late. Not even Barrot could control the mob. Several collisions had already taken place between the troops and the people; the corpses of fifty victims had been paraded through the streets; the National Guard had mutinied, and on every side Barrot was received with cries of "Vive la République". Before nightfall of the 24th Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson the Comte de Paris, and appointed as regent the Duchess of Orleans. The abdication was as futile as it was faint-hearted, and sealed the fate of the dynasty. The King and Queen escaped to England; the Duchess of Orleans and her two sons stood their ground courageously in the Chamber. But the Chamber was invaded by an armed mob; the regency and the dynasty were swept aside, and a Provisional Government, consisting of Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès and others, was appointed. On

the same evening Lamartine, speaking from the Hotel de Ville, proclaimed a Republic.

"In France," said Louis Napoleon, "we make revolutions but not reforms." Never was the profound truth of this saying more signally illustrated than in 1848. By the weakness of the executive and the excitability of the Parisian mob a reform movement had been diverted into Revolution. It was, indeed, "less a revolution than a collapse" (Dickinson). Even down to February, 1848, there was nothing in the nature of a settled design to overthrow the bourgeois monarchy, though France was frankly bored by it. "La France s'ennuie." Thus Lamartine summarised the results of the experiment which closed in 1848.

But despite its apparently accidental character the Revolution of 1848 had a real significance. Lamartine might vapour about the old catchwords of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality"; but it was not to assert these principles that the Parisian artisan took off his coat. To him the hero of the Revolution was not Lamartine but Louis Blanc; he was looking not for a mere political republic but for a socialist millennium. The true significance of 1848 is disclosed in the following decree (25th February).

"The Government of the French Republic engages to guarantee the subsistence of the workman by his labour. It engages to guarantee work to all citizens." The doctrines of the *Organisation du Travail* had indeed come home to roost. To fulfil their pledge the Government established "national workshops," where all might obtain work at fixed wages. Before the end of May there were 115,000 applicants; work could not be found for them, and it was derisively proposed that they should

be employed to bottle off the Seine. France was threatened with industrial ruin; the Government plucked up courage to end the fantastic experiment; the Socialists revolted; a state of siege was declared in Paris, and for four days (25th-28th June) a sanguinary conflict raged in its streets. The Republic vanquished socialism, but destroyed itself.

At the opportune moment a new actor stepped upon the Parisian stage.

Prince
Louis
Bonaparte

Prince Louis Bonaparte was the third son of Louis, ex-King of Holland. Born in 1808 he was educated mainly in Italy, where he took part in various revolutionary movements. In 1836 and again in 1840 he attempted to excite the French people to revolt against the Citizen King. Condemned in 1840 to perpetual imprisonment at Ham he escaped to England in 1846, and on the fall of the Orleans Monarchy he offered his sword and his services to the Republic. Both were declined and he retired to England. But the days of June had taught France a lesson. In September, 1848, Prince Louis was elected to the National Assembly by five departments. Returning immediately to France he announced himself (1st December) as a candidate for the Presidency. Under the Constitution of 1848 the Government was vested in a President and a single legislative Chamber, each elected on the basis of universal suffrage. This gave Louis Bonaparte his chance. Out of 7,000,000 votes cast in the Presidential election less than 2,000,000 went to the four republican candidates. Lamartine, the republican leader, got 19,900, Bonaparte 5,500,000.

Elected
President

"The man of destiny" had arrived. As to his predestined mission he himself entertained no doubt. "I believe," he had declared, "that from time to time men

are created whom I will call providential, in whose hands the destinies of their country are placed. I believe myself to be one of those men."

From the moment of his election as President of the Republic Bonaparte looked steadily towards the revival of the Empire. He appealed to all classes, more particularly to the peasants, to the priests and the army. Clericals and soldiers were gratified by the restoration of Pope Pius IX. and the overthrow of the Roman Republic in 1849; the peasants were attracted by the magic of his name. The Assembly also played into his hands. With the fear of February and the terror of June always before their eyes, they disfranchised 3,000,000 voters and muzzled the Press (31st May, 1850). The President could now pose as the champion of democracy against timid reactionaries. Frustrated in an attempt to get a formal revision of the Constitution he effected with consummate adroitness the famous *coup d'état* of 2nd December, 1851. The leading Republicans and Socialists were suddenly arrested; troops were posted to crush resistance in Paris; the Assembly was dissolved, and a draft Constitution was submitted to a national vote. On 20th December over 7,000,000 votes were given in favour of Bonaparte's scheme. His own term of office was prolonged for ten years; ministers were made responsible solely to the President; a Council of State nominated by him was to draft laws on his initiative, and legislation was to be in the hands of a nominated Senate and an elected *Corps Legislatif*. Coup
d'état, 2nd
December,
1851

A second plebiscite, in November, pronounced by a similar majority (7,824,129 against 253,149) for the transformation of the Presidency into an hereditary Empire, and on 2nd December, 1852, the new Emperor The Second
Empire

was proclaimed as Napoleon III. In January, 1853, the Emperor married Eugénie, Comtesse de Teba, a Spanish lady of great beauty, and an heir—the Prince Imperial—was born to them in 1856. By that time the Second Empire seemed to be firmly established in the affections of Frenchmen and in the regard of Europe. But already it had belied its initial promise.

L'Empire c'est la Paix. So Napoleon had declared in 1852. Even as he spoke the sky was darkening with the clouds of a great war—the first of the series in which the Empire was destined to be involved.

CHAPTER XV

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND AFTER (1852-1878)

Tout contribue à développer entre ces deux pays l'antagonisme et la haine. Les Russes ont reçu leur foi de Byzance, c'est leur métropole, et les Turcs la souillent de leur présence. Les Turcs oppriment les coreligionnaires des Russes, et chaque Russe considère comme une œuvre de foi la délivrance de ses frères. Les passions populaires s'accordent ici avec les conseils de la politique : c'est vers la mer Noire, vers le Danube, vers Constantinople que les souverains Russes sont naturellement portés à s'étendre : délivrer et conquérir deviennent pour eux synonymes. Les tsars ont cette rare fortune que l'instinct national soutient leurs calculs d'ambition, et qu'ils peuvent retourner contre l'empire Ottoman ce fanatisme religieux qui a précipité les Turcs sur l'Europe et rendait naguère leurs invasions si formidables.—SOREL.

FOR twelve years the Eastern Question had been permitted to slumber. In 1852 it was rudely awakened by a quarrel about the Holy Places in Palestine.

It had long been the custom for Christians to make pilgrimages to various spots in Palestine hallowed by their association with the life of Christ on earth. By a treaty of 1740 the French had obtained from the Porte the right of guarding several of these Holy Places; but in the latter years of the century the French began to neglect their duties which were assumed by members of the Greek Church. In 1850 Louis Bonaparte, anxious to conciliate the French Clericals, asserted his right to

place Latin monks again in possession. The demand, supported by Austria and other Roman Catholic Powers, was in substance conceded by the Porte. But the concession roused the anger of the Czar Nicholas, the champion of the Greek Church, the more so as it was made to the upstart Emperor of the French. A strong protest was lodged at Constantinople, and the Czar prepared to utilise the situation for the realisation of long-cherished hopes.

Nicholas I.
and
England

He was sanguine enough to suppose that he could carry England with him in his schemes. He had visited England in 1844 and had attempted to persuade the Government that the dissolution of the "Sick Man" was imminent, and that Russia and England might jointly provide for the partition of the inheritance. Early in 1853 he pressed the same views upon Sir Hamilton Seymour, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg. England refused to regard the Turk as irremediably sick, and resented the offer of Egypt made to her by the Czar.

Wise or unwise, right or wrong, this refusal to come to terms with Russia for the settlement of the Eastern Question was fraught with momentous consequences. It may be held immediately responsible for the Crimean War and ultimately for the lasting antagonism between England and Russia in the Far and Farther East.

The dispute as to the Holy Places was now virtually settled to the tolerable satisfaction of both France and Russia; but the concessions of the Porte only encouraged Russia to make more extensive demands. Under threat of war the Sultan was suddenly required to grant Russia a formal protectorate over all his Christian subjects.

On the advice of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe the Porte refused, and in June, 1853, the Russians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. In October the Sultan declared war, and at the end of November the Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet off Sinope.

England and France were watching the conduct of Russia with rising indignation. After the massacre of Sinope their allied fleets were sent into the Black Sea, and, despite the efforts of diplomacy to avert it, war was declared (27th March, 1854). The
Crimean
War

By the time the Anglo-French army, under Lord Raglan and St. Arnaud, reached Varna the Russians had evacuated the Principalities. The allied army was then sent to the Crimea with orders to take Sebastopol. The brilliant victory of the Alma (20th September) seemed to promise speedy success, but Balaclava (25th October) and Inkermann (5th November) proved such stubborn contests that the hope was dispelled, and Sebastopol, fortified by General Todleben, resisted all attacks. Moreover, on 14th November, a great storm dealt destruction to the English transports outside the harbour of Balaclava. The loss of stores inflicted terrible sufferings upon the troops during the severe Crimean winter of 1854-55. Disease followed in the wake of scarcity. The administration completely collapsed; the commissariat broke down; the wretched hospitals were overcrowded, and cholera did its deadly work upon half-starved soldiers. With the turn of the year things began to improve. Miss Florence Nightingale and her devoted band of ladies reorganised the hospitals; in January, 1855, 18,000 Sardinian troops joined the allies under the command of La Marmora; in England Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister and infused fresh

vigour into the military administration, and in March the bellicose Czar Nicholas succumbed to the rigours of the winter, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. In May Marshal Pellissier succeeded Canrobert in the command of the French troops, and on the 28th of the following month Lord Raglan, who had stuck manfully to his post, died from cholera. An assault upon Sebastopol had been repulsed with great loss on 18th June, but was repeated at the beginning of September. The capture of the Malakoff by the French troops rendered the great fortress untenable, and on the 10th it was evacuated. The triumph of French arms satisfied Napoleon who now became anxious for peace. The capture of Kars by Russia (28th November, 1855) inclined the Czar in a similar direction. Austria exerted herself to arrange terms acceptable to all parties, and on 30th March, 1856, the Peace of Paris was signed.

Treaty of
Paris,
1856

The Sultan was required to confirm the privileges of his Christian subjects, but the Powers, including Russia, explicitly repudiated any right of interference, individual or collective, between the Sultan and his subjects; the Russian protectorate over the Danubian Principalities was abolished; the free navigation of the Danube was established, and Russia was compelled to retire from its shores, by ceding a strip of Bessarabia to Roumania; finally, the Black Sea was neutralised, no vessels of war were to enter it, and no arsenals were to be established on its shores.

As to the wisdom of the Crimean War opinion is now sharply divided; the expenditure of blood and treasure was enormous, but to describe it as objectless and fruitless is an exaggeration. For good or evil Russian advance towards Constantinople had been at least temporarily checked; the Sick Man had been set on his legs again, and Russia's claim to exclusive control of the Eastern

Question had been definitely repudiated by the Western Powers.

For the next twenty years the Eastern Question did not seriously threaten the peace of Europe. Nevertheless it soon became obvious that the many problems connected with it were still unsolved. Among the various populations subject to the Turk in the Balkan peninsula there was almost perpetual unrest. In 1858 the Powers had decreed that Moldavia and Wallachia should remain separate though virtually independent. The two States ingeniously elected the same ruler, Prince Alexander Couza. Europe wisely bowed to the accomplished fact, and in 1859 recognised the union of the Romanic Principalities under the title of Roumania. The agitation in Greece has been already referred to.¹ Crete was only kept quiet (1866-68) by the intervention of the Powers, and in 1875 the whole Eastern Question was again reopened by the outbreak of insurrection among the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina who were supported by volunteers from Servia and Montenegro.

Russia was only too glad to have the opportunity of fishing again in troubled waters. For some years after the Crimean War Alexander II., an enlightened ruler, had busied himself with domestic reforms. In 1861 he carried through the Emancipation of the Serfs, converting them into peasant proprietors by methods similar to those of Stein and Hardenberg.² In contrast to this humane legislation was the severity with which the insurrection of the Poles was subdued in 1863. It was not long, however, before it became plain that the Czar Alexander did not mean to accept the results of the Crimean War as final. In 1870, taking advantage of the preoccupation

¹ See p. 152.

² See p. 107.

of Europe with the Franco-German War, he denounced the Treaty of Paris, so far as it related to the neutralisation of the Black Sea. To this Europe, after some demur from England, agreed (1871). But the insurrection of 1875 gave him a still larger opportunity.

The Porte had entirely failed in its promises to ameliorate the lot of its Christian subjects. In 1875 the Powers once more agreed in a note, prepared by Count Andrassy of Austria, to urge reform upon the Sultan. The Porte politely agreed, but the insurgents refused to be satisfied with mere assurances. The Berlin Memorandum, drafted early in 1876, proposed a time limit, but Lord Beaconsfield, deeming that famous document unjustifiably dictatorial, refused to make England a party to it, and it fell to the ground.

The
Bulgarian
Insurrec-
tion

This was Russia's opportunity: the whole of the Balkan provinces were now in ferment. The Bulgarians raised the standard of insurrection in May, 1876, and in June Servia and Montenegro declared war upon the Porte. The Bulgarian insurrection was stamped out in blood, and Servia and Montenegro, despite some initial victories, were crushed by the Ottoman troops. But the atrocities resorted to by the Turks in quelling the Bulgarian revolt aroused profound indignation in England. Accordingly in December, 1876, the Powers held a Conference in Constantinople in the hope of effecting reform without a European war. The Turk, as usual, was eager in his professions of reforms, but stubborn in his refusal to allow Europe to superintend them. Thereupon the Czar declared war (24th April, 1877), and was joined by Roumania. The Russians crossed the Danube in June, but the Turks held out with splendid courage in Plevna, and not until 10th December, 1877, were the Russians

Russo-
Turkish
War, 1877

able to capture that great fortress. Before the end of January, 1878, they reached Adrianople, and in February Constantinople itself was threatened. Kars had already fallen, and in March, 1878, Russia dictated to the Porte the Treaty of San Stephano which virtually annihilated the Ottoman Power in Europe. England thereupon intervened, and demanded that the Treaty should be submitted to a European Congress. Russia refused: the English fleet passed the Dardanelles; the reserves were called out, and a large Sepoy force was despatched from India to the Mediterranean. Russia then gave way, and in June, 1878, the Powers met in conference at Berlin. In July a treaty was concluded, by which—

Treaty of
Berlin

(i) Servia, Montenegro and Roumania received small accessions of territory and were declared independent of the Porte; (ii) Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austrian occupation—an occupation which has proved to be permanent; (iii) Russia acquired Batoum and Kars, and recovered the strip between the Pruth and the Danube of which she had been deprived in 1856; and (iv) Bulgaria, which by the Treaty of San Stephano had been formed into a huge State stretching from the Danube to the Ægean, was divided into two: (a) Bulgaria proper, which was to be an independent State under Turkish suzerainty, and (b) Eastern Roumelia, which was restored to the Sultan, who agreed to place it under a Christian governor approved by the Powers.

This division was manifestly artificial, and in 1885 Prince Alexander of Battenberg united Eastern Roumelia to Bulgaria. The Powers protested, Russia with special vehemence, but acquiesced, and in 1895 a formal reconciliation was effected between Russia and the new Bulgaria.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin it was announced that the good offices of England had been rewarded by the cession of Cyprus.

The settlement of 1878 was regarded at the time as a triumph for Great Britain and a distinct check to Russia, and Lord Beaconsfield, its real author, reached the zenith of a dazzling, though transient, popularity. It has now become the fashion to assume that his work was in part fruitless and in part mischievous. But without entering upon debatable ground it may be stated with confidence that events in the East have developed, for good or evil, on lines widely divergent from those laid down in the Treaty of San Stephano. The check to Russian ambition administered by England at Berlin may have served to intensify Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia, but it undoubtedly delayed, if it did not avert Russian ascendancy at Constantinople. Between the Czar and the object of his ambition there are now interposed the considerable barriers of Bulgaria and Roumania.

CHAPTER XVI

REACTION AND REVOLUTION IN ITALY (1815-1849)

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (if even before it) there never has been a time when Italy could be called a nation any more than Europe could be called a ship.—FORSYTH.

WE have already noted the intervention of Sardinia ^{The Rise of Sardinia} in the Crimean War. Remote as was the interest of Sardinia in the questions at issue, that intervention proved to be the turning-point in the history of modern Italy. It convinced Europe, despite the recent defeats at Custoza and Novara, that the Sardinians could fight, and it enabled Cavour to claim a place in the Congress of Paris as the representative not of Sardinia but of Italy.

In order to appreciate the significance of these statements a long retrospect is necessary. I have hitherto, of set purpose, omitted all but the barest reference to events in Italy, and in Germany, in order to present a continuous narrative of the two most striking and most characteristic political movements of the nineteenth century.

Napoleon I. clearly foresaw the destiny in store for ^{Reaction in Italy after 1815} Italy. "Italy," he wrote, "is one sole nation; the unity of customs, of language and literature, will in some future, more or less remote, unite all its inhabitants under one Government. . . . Rome is the capital which some day the Italians will select." He not only foresaw it,

he did much to achieve it. He created an Italian kingdom; he trampled under foot the prejudices and jealousies of the smaller States; he built bridges and made roads; he unified the law and the administration; he taught the Italians to fight.

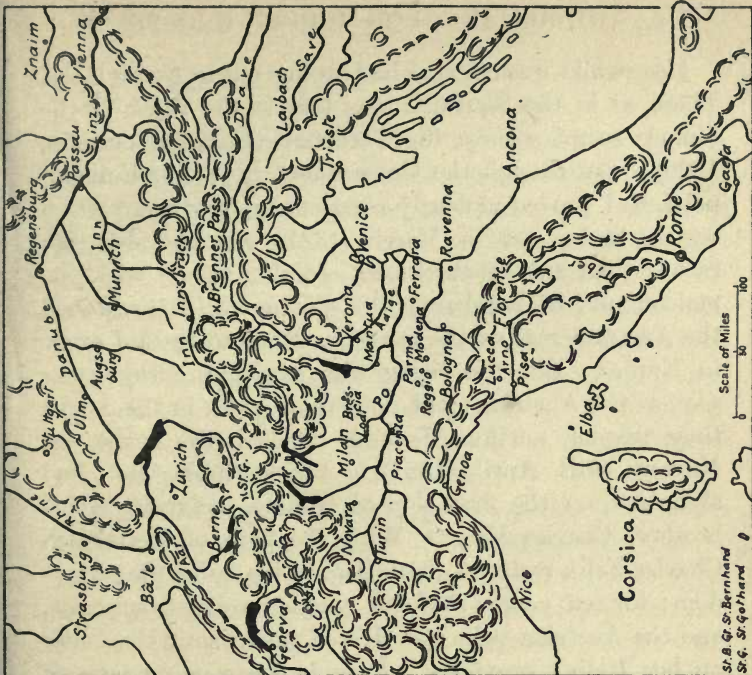
The diplomatists of 1815 did what they could to obliterate all traces of his work, and so far as territorial repartition was concerned they succeeded.¹ But they were powerless to erase from the minds of the Italian patriots the lessons which they had learnt from the Napoleonic occupation. As Mazzini himself said: "The intellectual ferment, the increase of national prosperity, the outburst of fraternisation, are facts irrevocably committed to history".

Neapolitan
Insurrec-
tion, 1820

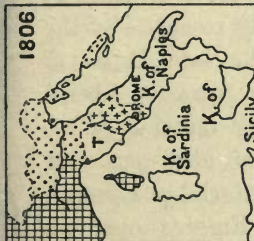
Nevertheless, the history of the period 1815-30 is one of reaction broken only by sporadic and seemingly fruitless insurrections. Of all the petty despots restored to the Italian thrones in 1815 the most despicable was the Bourbon Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies. In 1815 he pledged himself to respect the liberal Constitution conferred upon Sicily by Lord William Bentinck (1812). In the next year this Constitution was torn up at the bidding of Metternich. In 1820, as we have seen,² the revolutionary fever spread from Spain to Italy, and Ferdinand was compelled to make wholesale concessions and establish the "Spanish Constitution". But the Holy Alliance intervened, and Austria was entrusted with the congenial task of restoring absolutism in Southern Italy. In 1821 the work was accomplished; "order" once more reigned in Naples, and for the brief remainder of his reign (*ob.* 1825) Ferdinand was able to indulge without restraint his insatiate passion for political persecution.

¹ See p. 129.

² P. 139.



St. A. Gr. St. Bernhard
St. G. St. Gotthard



1806

French Empire
Kingdom of Italy
Gd. Duchy of Tuscany
States of the Church



FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

Extent of K. of Sardinia 1859
Ceded to France 1860
Acquisitions 1859-61
do 1866
do 1871



1789

France
Duchy of Milan
Republic of Venice
do of Genoa
Duchy of Modena
Gd. Duchy of Tuscany
States of the Church



1815

France
Kingdom of Sardinia
Austria
States of the Church
Duchy of Parma
do of Modena
Gd. Duchy of Tuscany

R. V. Sandström, Oxford, 1902.

Insurrec-
tion in
North
Italy

Meanwhile insurrection had broken out in North Italy. There, as in the South, it was largely the work of the famous secret society, the Carbonari (Charcoal burners, 1820). But though the Government of Victor Emmanuel I. had proved violently reactionary, the insurrection which broke out in March, 1821, was anti-Austrian rather than anti-monarchical. Joining hands with the malcontents of Lombardy the Piedmontese threatened the Austrian rear as the latter marched to restore order in Naples. But the rising was wholly profitless. As soon as the Austrians had done their work in the South they turned northwards and crushed the revolt at Novara (9th April, 1821). Victor Emmanuel had abdicated, on the first sign of trouble, in favour of his brother, Charles Felix. With the help of Metternich Charles Felix restored absolutism in his sub-alpine kingdom; for ten years (1821-30) reaction reigned supreme, and the Austrian yoke was riveted more firmly than ever on her Italian provinces. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the yoke, though bitterly resented by the patriots, was universally galling. The late Duke of Argyll, strongly inclined as he was towards liberal opinions, has left remarkable testimony on this point. "If ever," he wrote, "the dominion of one race over another seemed justified by at least material prosperity, it was the dominion of the Austrian Empire over its Italian provinces at that time . . . the whole face of the people and the country was the face of pleasantness and peace."¹

Charles
Felix of
Sardinia

But "pleasantness and peace" had to be purchased at the price of complete abandonment of patriotic aspirations.

¹ *Autobiography*, i., p. 211.

It is death
To speak the very name of Italy
To this Italian people.

It was after the fiasco of 1821 that one of the foremost ^{Mazzini} of Italian liberators first began to interest himself in Italian politics. Born in Genoa in 1805 Joseph Mazzini resolved while still a youth to dedicate his life to the cause of Italian liberation. He joined the Carbonari soon after he left the University, but from the first he disliked both their aims and methods. "They had no programme, no faith, no lofty ideals," and he determined that it should be his mission to supply the lack. His opportunity came with the Revolutions of 1830.¹

The "July Revolution" in France fanned into flame the ^{Insurrec-} revolutionary embers in Italy. The conflagration centred ^{tions of} in the Papal States, where Bologna, Ancona and other ¹⁸³⁰ towns attempted to put an end to the Temporal dominion of the Pope. Parma and Modena followed suit, and the Duchess Marie Louise and Duke Francis IV. were compelled to flee. They joined Gregory XVI. (elected to the Papal chair in 1831) in appealing for the help which Prince Metternich was only too anxious to afford. Once more an Austrian army marched South. Modena was restored to Francis, Parma to the ex-Empress, and the Romagna to the Pope. Gregory XVI. promised reforms, but nothing was done, and as soon as the Austrians ^{France and} evacuated the Romagna (July, 1831) insurrection broke ^{Austria} out afresh. Once more the Austrians returned, intending ^{in Italy} to occupy Ancona, but France, growing jealous of Austrian supremacy in Italy, determined to anticipate them. In February, 1832, a French force occupied Ancona, and for

¹In this and the following chapter I make free use of a previous work of my own; *Makers of Modern Italy* (Macmillan & Co.).

six years (1832-38) Austria and France confronted each other in the Papal States.

Young
Italy

Italy derived no advantage from their rivalry, but the patriotic movement was making progress. In 1830 Mazzini was entrapped by a Government spy, arrested, and imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. Brought to trial after six months' imprisonment he was acquitted, but was expelled from Italy. It was while in exile at Marseilles that he founded (1831) the famous *Association of Young Italy*. This association was to take the place of the Carbonari; its programme was definite and ambitious. The Austrians were to be expelled; Italy to be liberated and unified; and a reformed Papacy was to assume the moral leadership of the world. The ultimate form of government was to be determined by the people, though a Republic was to be commended by fair argument. Such was the programme of *Young Italy*, and Mazzini was not without hope of its immediate if partial realisation.

Charles
Albert of
Piedmont

In 1831 Charles Felix of Sardinia died, and was succeeded by his cousin, Charles Albert. A Liberal and a Carbonaro, great things were hoped from him. Mazzini at once addressed to the King an eloquent appeal, beseeching him to lead Italy to the goal of liberty and unity. Charles Albert refused to respond except with an order that Mazzini should be arrested if he attempted to return to Italy. But though the Sardinian King frowned upon it, the *Young Italy* movement attracted thousands of ardent spirits, and for ten years the hopes of the patriots in all parts of Italy were focussed upon its programme. The attitude of Charles Albert was a bitter disappointment to his quondam associates, and a plot was formed for his assassination in which Mazzini was unhappily in-

volved. An unsuccessful raid upon Savoy (1834) further contributed to damage Mazzini's reputation among moderate Liberals, and after many vicissitudes he found—like most political exiles—a home in England (1837).

In Italy the association which he founded did splendid work in keeping the Italian ideal alive during a period of disillusionment and reaction. Gradually, however, there emerged other parties which, with similar ends in view, sought to attain them by more moderate means. Of these the most important were the Neo-Guelphs and the Piedmontese Liberals.

The Neo-Guelphs, led by Vincenzo Gioberti,¹ were men The Neo-Guelphs who combined devout Catholicism with ardent nationalism. They looked to the Papacy, purified and reformed, to put itself at the head of the Italian movement. In 1846 they believed that their chance had come. In that year Gregory XVI. died and was succeeded in the Papal chair by Pius IX. (Pio Nono). Pio Nono, a genial, kindly Pio Nono ecclesiastic of Liberal inclinations, began his reign with promises of extensive reforms. Nowhere in Italy were they more sorely needed. Corruption was rampant, and abuses of every kind existed in the extremest forms. The Neo-Guelphs acclaimed Pio Nono as the predestined saviour and liberator of his country. His protest against the Austrian occupation of Ferrara raised enthusiasm to the fever height. Mazzini hailed his accession as fifteen years ago he had hailed the accession of Charles Albert. Charles Albert himself offered to place his sword at the service of the Papacy, if war with Austria ensued. But the Pope's zeal for reform soon slackened. A measure of freedom to the Press and permission for the enrolment of a

¹His work, *Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, was published in 1843.

national militia were conceded, but little more. Tuscany and Piedmont followed the lead of the Papacy, and Charles Albert wrote: "If Providence sends us a war of Italian independence I will mount my horse with my sons, I will place myself at the head of an army . . . what a glorious day it will be in which we can raise a cry for the independence of Italy."

It is clear, therefore, that in the years preceding 1848 two movements were making progress in Italy: one for domestic reform in its several states; another towards liberation, if not towards unification.

In 1848 the storm-cloud burst. A Liberal demonstration in Milan (2nd January) gave the Austrians the opportunity of firing on the mob, and several people were killed. These "proto-martyrs of Italian independence," as they were somewhat grandiloquently called, undoubtedly set the match to the train already carefully laid. Insurrections broke out in Palermo and Naples, and Ferdinand II. was compelled to concede a "Constitution" (29th January). Duke Leopold of Tuscany followed his example (February), and in March Charles Albert called a Parliament at Turin, and Pio Nono one at Rome. But the news of the outbreak of Revolution in Vienna (March) aroused larger hopes in Italy than any which could be satisfied by domestic reforms. The moment had surely come for striking a blow at the Great Power by whom the petty despotisms in Italy had been so long maintained. If Austria were driven out of Italy, the people could deal with domestic tyrants. Metternich was already in exile; why should not his puppets follow him?

In the spring of 1848 these hopes seemed likely to be realised. The Milanese rose, drove out the Austrians and established a Republic. Venice, under Daniel Manin, did

The
Revolution
of 1848

War
against
Austria

the same. The rulers of Parma and Modena, scared by the fate of Metternich, took flight. Charles Albert of Sardinia put himself at the head of the national movement and declared war on Austria. The Duke of Tuscany joined him, and the peoples of Parma, Modena and Lombardy (Milan) united themselves by plebiscite with the Sardinian kingdom. Already it seemed as though the dreams of the patriots had been fulfilled; the foreigner was expelled; North Italy was united under the House of Savoy. But the success was too rapid; Austria was too strong. The veteran Radetsky inflicted a crushing defeat on Charles Albert at Custoza (24th July, 1848), and again at Novara (23rd March, 1849). After the battle of Novara, Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel and a few months later died at Oporto. The victory of Austria in the North emboldened the puppet princes to creep back to their thrones, but not until 25th August did the Venetians, spurred to the most heroic efforts by Daniel Manin, finally surrender.

Charles
Albert
succeeded
by Victor
Emmanuel

Stirring events had, in the meantime, been taking place in Rome.¹ The pace had become too fast for (Pio Nono. He had refused to join the movement against Austria, but had put Count Rossi—a reforming minister—in power. In November Rossi was murdered, and the Pope fled to Gaeta. In February, 1849, a Republic was proclaimed, and three triumvirs—among them Mazzini—were appointed to carry on the Government. But the Roman Republic of 1849 was merely a splendid episode. Louis Napoleon, anxious to conciliate the Clericals, sent an army to Rome to restore the Pope. Under Garibaldi the Romans fought bravely but in vain; Garibaldi himself

The
Roman
Republic

¹ Cf. G. M. Trevelyan's brilliant monograph *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*.

had to fly, the Republic collapsed and the Temporal power was restored. With French influence dominant in Rome, with the Austrians re-established in the North and Bomba (Ferdinand II.) in the South, reaction once more reigned supreme. Nevertheless, the "year of Revolution" left permanent results on Italy. From the Alps to Cape Passaro there was not a State which had not felt the breath of liberty; Austrian supremacy, though ultimately restored, had been rudely shaken; the hopes of the Neo-Guelphs had been shattered. Above all, patriots of all parties had learnt to concentrate their hopes upon the House of Savoy and look to the establishment of a Sardinian hegemony. Thus Gioberti himself in the *Rinnovamento* (1851) declared: "Except the young sovereign who rules Piedmont, I see no one in Italy who can undertake our emancipation".

Victor
Emmanuel
II.

To that object Victor Emmanuel had already consecrated his life. A task, necessarily preliminary, was to set his own house in order. For Piedmont, as for Italy, the outlook was black when on the evening of Novara Victor Emmanuel was called to the throne. Crushed beneath a terrible military disaster; burdened with a heavy war indemnity; frontierless and poor; without place in the Councils of Europe—who could, in 1849, have predicted the future in store for her? In the midst of reaction Victor Emmanuel set himself resolutely to the work of reform, and to aid him in the task he called to his councils one of the most remarkable statesmen of the nineteenth century—Count Camillo di Cavour.

Cavour

By birth a Piedmontese noble, Cavour (1810-61) had travelled much, especially in England, where he made a real study of economic and political questions. In 1847 he started the *Risorgimento*—to educate the Italians in

constitutional ideas, and in 1848 he was returned as member for Turin to the first Parliament of Piedmont. Appointed to the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture (1850) he was able to apply the sound economic and financial principles learnt in England, and the material prosperity of Piedmont advanced by leaps and bounds. In 1851 he became Minister of Finance and in 1852 Prime Minister. He at once announced a large programme of reform—financial, military and ecclesiastical, and at the same time declared that Piedmont must “begin by re-establishing in Europe, as well as in Italy, a position and prestige equal to her ambition”.

His opportunity came with the outbreak of the Crimean War. Deserted by all his colleagues and supported only by the King, Cavour determined to send a large Sardinian contingent to join England and France in the Crimea. This resolution was the turning-point in the history of Sardinia and of Italy. The troops fought bravely; the victory of Tchernaiia (16th August, 1855) wiped out the stain of Novara; Sardinia recovered her prestige, and when the Conference assembled in Paris, Cavour took his place among the representatives of the Powers. Austria strongly resented both his presence and his mission, but, despite her protest, Cavour brought before the Congress the pitiable condition of Italy, more especially of Naples, and he fearlessly fixed the blame on Austria. England and France cordially supported him, but the former did not go beyond moral support. Napoleon III. had not only a genuine sentiment for Italy, but definite ambitions for himself. Of both Cavour skilfully made use.

“Que peut-on faire pour l'Italie?” was Napoleon's question to Cavour in 1855. In 1856 Cavour answered

Sardinian
Interven-
tion in the
Crimean
War

Napoleon
III. and
Italy

it, and the foundations of the fateful alliance were laid. Interrupted for the moment by the attempt of Orsini, an Italian conspirator, on the life of Napoleon (January, 1858), it was cemented by an interview between Cavour and the Emperor at Plombières (20th July, 1858). Austria was to be expelled, and Northern and Central Italy (including the Papal Legations) were to be united under the House of Savoy. One painful sacrifice Victor Emmanuel had to make at once. He gave his daughter Princess Clothilde in marriage to the Emperor's cousin Prince Jerome Napoleon (Plon-plon). Another sacrifice, hardly less painful, was promised—the cession of Savoy, and possibly Nice, to France.

Cavour would infinitely have preferred an English alliance; but Lord Palmerston, interviewed in 1856, could give him no hope of armed assistance; Cavour was convinced that without foreign help the dead-weight of Austria could never be moved, and he was compelled, therefore, to pin his faith to the restless ambition of Napoleon.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY (1859-1871)

But, Italy, my Italy !
Can it last this gleam ?
Can she live and be strong ?
Or is it another dream
Like the rest we have dreamed so long ?

—MRS. BROWNING.

ON 1st January, 1859, Europe was startled by Napoleon's words to the Austrian ambassador in Paris: "Je regrette que les relations entre nous soient si mauvaises". Still more suggestive was Victor Emmanuel's memorable speech at the opening of Parliament at Turin (10th January): "Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the Councils of Europe, because she is great in the idea she represents, in the sympathy she inspires. This situation is not free from peril, for while we respect treaties we cannot be insensible to the cry of anguish (*grido di dolore*) that comes up to us from many parts of Italy." No one could misunderstand the allusion. The speech excited the wildest enthusiasm in Italy, and profound anxiety in Europe. "It fell," said Sir James Hudson, "like a rocket on the treaties of 1815." England did her best to avert the coming war, but on 23rd April Austria sent to Turin an ultimatum demanding disarmament. Cavour confidently accepted the challenge. On 13th May Victor

Franco-Sardinian War against Austria, 1859

Emmanuel went to Genoa to meet Napoleon, the "generous ally" who had come "to liberate Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic".

The allies carried everything before them. The victory of Magenta (4th June) drove Austria back behind the Mincio; Milan was occupied in triumph (8th June); and on 24th June the double victory of San Martino and Solferino drove Austria into Venetia. But Napoleon was already alarmed at the fruits of his own handiwork. The Clericals, encouraged by the Empress, were growing restless in France; the Prussians were reported to be mobilising on the Rhine; the outburst of national feeling in Italy might carry things further than he had intended. On 11th July, therefore, Napoleon met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca, and there, without Sardinia, terms were arranged which were ratified in the Treaty of Zurich (November, 1859). Austria was to cede Lombardy to Sardinia, but to retain Venetia and the great fortress of Mantua. The Italians felt themselves betrayed; Cavour resigned; on all sides the treachery of the "vulpine knave" was bitterly denounced. In the midst of growing excitement Victor Emmanuel alone kept his head. The paper conditions, as he well knew, did not represent the real achievements of 1859. An enormous step had been taken towards freedom and unity. The peoples of Central Italy were absolutely resolved neither to receive back their old rulers, nor to become parts of an Italian federation under the Pope. In 1860 Modena, Parma, Tuscany and the Romagna united themselves by plebiscite with the new kingdom of North Italy.

Napoleon now claimed his price. Victor Emmanuel was compelled to pay it, and make the bitter sacrifice of

Truce of
Villafranca

Union of
Central
and
Northern
Italy

Savoy
and Nice

Savoy and Nice. Nice gave France access to Italy; Savoy, though not Italian, was the cradle of his race. Garibaldi, himself a Nizzard, denounced the treachery of Cavour and his "cowardly set" who had made him "an alien in the land of his birth". But Cavour was not less a patriot because he was a diplomatist, and knew that Napoleon dare not return empty handed to Paris. And he was beginning to understand how much had been achieved. On 2nd April, 1860, Victor Emmanuel opened at Turin a Parliament representative of no less than 11,000,000 Italians.

The credit of the next great step towards unification belongs not to Cavour nor to Victor Emmanuel but to Garibaldi:—not to the statesmen but to the "knight errant". The tyranny of the Bourbons in the South had now reached a point which was unendurable. Ferdinand II. ("Bomba") died in 1859 and was succeeded by Francis II. ("Bombino"), but the change was if anything for the worse. In 1860 the Sicilians, encouraged by Mazzini, raised the standard of revolt at Palermo, Messina and Catania. Garibaldi, collecting his famous "thousand" volunteers, took ship from Genoa, flew to their assistance (May, 1860), and within two months was master of Sicily. Thence he crossed to the mainland, and marched without resistance into Naples (7th September). Bombino fled to Gaeta, and Garibaldi was proclaimed dictator of the Two Sicilies. The situation was now exceedingly complicated. The marvellous achievement of Garibaldi had raised him to the position of a popular idol, and he now declared that he would not annex his conquests to the Crown of Italy until he could proclaim Victor Emmanuel in Rome itself. Cavour, though he had secretly abetted Garibaldi's enterprise, realised the extreme danger of his attitude.

Garibaldi's
Conquest
of the Two
Sicilies

Garibaldi
in Naples

Pio Nono had lately proclaimed a crusade for the recovery of the Romagna, and Victor Emmanuel had despatched troops for the twofold purpose of defending the Romagna from the Pope and, if necessary, of obstructing Garibaldi's attack on Rome itself. Cavour had to use all his adroitness in this delicate situation. The whole of Europe, except England, was against him; the Pope put the King under the ban of the Church, and Garibaldi, mistrusting the ways of diplomacy, was eager to advance on Rome, where the Pope was under the protection, diplomatic and military, of France. The situation was intensely critical, but it was saved by the genius of Cavour. "If we are not in La Cattolica before Garibaldi we are lost; the revolution would spread all over Italy. We are compelled to act." Thus he wrote on 11th September; exactly a week later (18th September) the Sardinian army met and routed the Papal troops—mostly foreign mercenaries under French officers—at Castel Fidardo, and on the 29th compelled General Lamoricière to surrender at Ancona. Meanwhile the Garibaldians and Neapolitans had been engaged on the Volturmo (19th September-1st October) without decisive result. In October Victor Emmanuel joined Garibaldi; the Two Sicilies were annexed by plebiscite to the Italian kingdom; and having taken Capua (2nd November), Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel rode into Naples side by side (7th November). Garibaldi, having introduced the King to his new subjects, refused all reward or decoration and retired to Caprera. Francis held out for some months at Gaeta, but after the departure of the French fleet surrendered to Victor Emmanuel (13th February, 1861). On 18th February a Parliament, representing all Italy save Rome and Venice, met at Turin. The Union of

Union of
North and
South

North and South was formally completed, and Victor Emmanuel reigned over 23,000,000 Italians.

But without Rome Italy, as Castelar said, was "a headless body". Garibaldi was determined to take it; Cavour desired it not less ardently, but he knew, as Garibaldi did not, that the diplomatic difficulties were insuperable. In this hour of great need Italy lost her greatest statesman (5th June, 1861). Cavour had not Mazzini's prophetic gifts; he could not arouse popular enthusiasm like Garibaldi; he was perhaps less cool than Victor Emmanuel, but he was an enlightened domestic reformer and the greatest diplomatist in Europe. He gauged to a nicety the political situation; he knew the limits of the possible; to him, therefore, more than to any other individual, Italy owes her unity and freedom.

One problem he left unsolved. The position of the Papacy in Italy presented indeed a problem perhaps insoluble. Cavour, like his master, attempted to induce the Pope to accept the principle of "a free Church in a free State" (*libera Chiesa in libero stato*), to surrender the patrimony of St. Peter—the last remnant of the Papal States—and to retain simply a spiritual sovereignty. But the Pope was inflexible. Prayers and threats alike failed to move him; to nothing but actual force would he yield.

Garibaldi was determined to apply it. Raising the cry "Rome or death," he once more crossed from Sicily to the mainland (July, 1862). The Government was compelled to interfere, and at Aspromonte (29th August) his volunteers were scattered, and Garibaldi himself was wounded and taken prisoner. But in 1864 Victor Emmanuel at last came to terms with Napoleon in regard to Rome. By the September Convention (1864) France

agreed to evacuate Rome during the next two years, and in 1865 the Italian capital was transferred from Turin to Florence.

Union of
Venetia
and Italy

But for the moment interest was concentrated on another part of Italy. The long rivalry between Austria and Prussia had now reached the zenith, and in 1865 it was clear that the inevitable conflict would not be much longer postponed.¹ In that year Victor Emmanuel offered his assistance to Austria in return for the cession of Venetia. Though the refusal of Francis Joseph was natural it was none the less fatal. In 1866 Bismarck came to terms with Italy, and in the same year the Austro-Prussian war broke out. Disastrously defeated in Germany, Austria more than held her own in Italy. Both on land and sea the Italian forces were defeated (June-July, 1866). But Bismarck kept his word; Venice was wrested from Austria, and by plebiscite united itself with Italy (October, 1866).

Almost simultaneously the last of the French troops evacuated Rome, and Italy was at last rid of the foreigner.

Rome But Rome, and Rome only, still remained to mar the unity of Italy. Garibaldi was resolved that it should mar it no longer. Encouraged by the Government he raised a band of volunteers, landed at Leghorn and marched on Rome. Napoleon despatched a French force for its defence; at Mentana (3rd November, 1867) the French routed the Garibaldians, and once more occupied Rome. Garibaldi, still the hero of the populace, was arrested by the Government, and deported to Caprera.

But the final scene in the long drama was at hand. The outbreak of the Franco-German War (1870) neces-

¹ See p. 211.

sitated the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. Once again Victor Emmanuel appealed to the Pope "with the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the soul of an Italian," to accept the inevitable. The only reply was a *non possumus*. The Italian troops, therefore, moved on Rome; only formal resistance was offered, and on 20th September, 1870, the royal troops occupied the city. A plebiscite yielded 40,788 votes for the King, 46 for the Pope, and on 2nd June, 1871, Victor Emmanuel made a triumphal entry into the city, henceforth to be the capital of Italy. "The work to which we consecrated our lives is accomplished. After long trials Italy is restored to herself and to Rome." So spake "il rè galantuomo" to the first Italian Parliament which met in Rome. The work of unification was accomplished.

Italy has had to pass through much tribulation since 1871. The art of Parliamentary Government is not learned in a day. "The worst of chambers," said Cavour, "is better than the most brilliant of ante-chambers." Had he lived, the path of Parliamentary Government might have been smoothed for his country: without him it has been stony and not always clean. And while there has been corruption at one end of the scale, there has been social disorder at the other. In the South particularly it has been found difficult to eradicate the habits formed under long years of despotism. Politically, not less than socially, there is a wide gulf between North and South, and efforts to bridge it have not entirely succeeded. Moreover, modern Government is expensive—especially where there is leeway to make up—and Italians groan under a terrible load of taxation and debt.

But all these things are trivial as compared with the

still unsolved problem of Church and State. The "prisoner of the Vatican," whose infallibility was decreed by an Ecumenical Council (1869) on the eve of the dissolution of his Temporal Power, still maintains the *non-possumus* attitude, still declines all attempts at compromise. Until this problem is solved, good citizenship and loyal Catholicism must, in theory at least, remain divorced in Italy, to the distress and embarrassment of all those to whom both sentiments are precious.

CHAPTER XVIII

GERMANY (1815-1851)

REACTION, REVOLUTION AND REACTION

By the help of God I hope to defeat the German revolution just as I vanquished the conqueror of the world.—METTERNICH.

IT has been said of the Italian *Risorgimento* that it was "the one moment of nineteenth-century history when politics assumed something of the character of poetry" (Lecky). Nor can it be denied that a romantic interest attaches to the story which enshrines the memories of Mazzini and Daniel Manin, of Bettino Ricasoli and the Poerios, of D'Azeglio and Nino Bixio and Garibaldi.

The
Making of
Germany

But the unification of Germany was more substantial and imposing, though less romantic and less difficult. Bismarck had far more to work upon than Cavour. Italy knew nothing of unity between the fall of the Roman and the transient existence of the Napoleonic Empire. Germany for a thousand years had never lost the semblance of unity, however little it realised the substance. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Federal Empire under the Hohenzollern must take rank as the largest, if not the most amazing, political achievement of the century in Europe.

To disclose the main steps by which that consumma-

tion was attained is the purpose of this and the following chapter.

The Settle-
ment of
1815

The leading features of the settlement of Germany in 1815 have been already sketched.¹ Both from the territorial and the constitutional standpoint that settlement was full of significance. By the relaxation of their grip on Poland and the simultaneous acquisition of large provinces in the heart of Germany and upon the Rhine frontier the Hohenzollern were unconsciously laying the foundations of Prussian hegemony and German unity. The gravitation of the Habsburgs towards non-German lands in the South was equally significant. The surrender of the Netherlands and the establishment of a preponderant influence in Italy proved that she was concentrating her energies upon the consolidation of her dynastic interests, to the exclusion of those of Germany.

The constitutional settlement was, as we have seen, a grievous disappointment to the patriotic party. Only in Prussia was there any genuine anxiety for a strong bond of unity, and even there opinion was divided. Austria was equally opposed to a revival of the old Empire and to the substitution of any effective federal union. The smaller States desired the system which would interfere least with their own autocratic government. As to unity they were, for the most part, entirely indifferent.

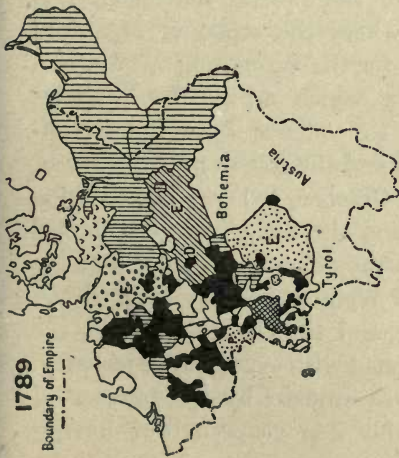
The "Bund" was the characteristic outcome of these divergent and ambitious interests. It encouraged the autocratic tendencies of the sovereign princes, and at the same time provided the weakest guarantees for national defence and the slenderest basis for national unity.

But no more in Germany than in Italy could the diplomatists efface the effects of the Napoleonic occupa-

¹ See pp. 127 *seqq.*

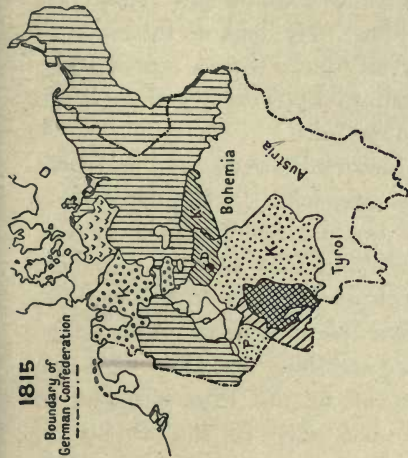
1789

Boundary of Empire



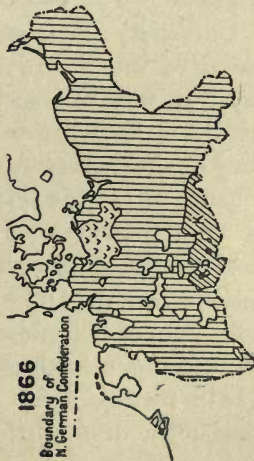
1815

Boundary of German Confederation



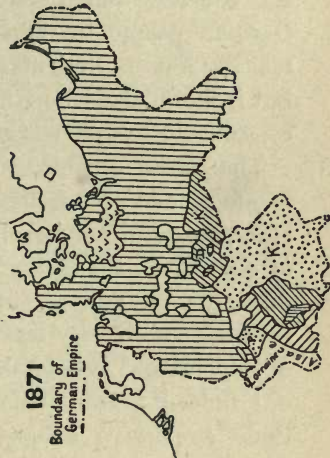
1866

Boundary of N. German Confederation



1871

Boundary of German Empire



Explanation for

1789 & 1815

- Prussia
- Saxony
- Bavaria
- Baden
- Wurtemberg
- Hannover
- Mecklenburg

Ecclesiastical Territory } black

- K. Kingdom
- E. Electorate
- D. Duchies
- P. Palatinates

Explanation for

1866 & 1871

- Prussia
- Saxony
- Mecklenburg
- Bavaria
- Baden
- Wurtemberg

tion. Napoleon had let light into many dark places; he had reduced the political divisions from 800 to 30; he had imposed taxes which were equal though severe; he had introduced a legal and administrative system which was coherent and effective: above all, he had roused the German people to fight him. He had no intention of making a united Germany any more than a united Italy, but in both cases he contributed powerfully though unconsciously to that consummation.

Reaction in
Germany

The period of German history between 1815 and 1848 is one of almost unrelieved reaction. In Germany, as in Italy, Metternich's was the dominating influence. It was, of course, in the Austrian dominions that it was most directly felt, but, to the disgust of the "patriots," the reaction was hardly less marked elsewhere. The Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and the grand Duke of Baden did indeed grant "Charters" on the French model to their respective subjects, but only in the Duchy of Weimar were the stirrings of vigorous political life really discernible. The centre of the Liberal movement was the University of Jena, where the students organised themselves into a society for the promotion of German unity. It was this society which arranged a patriotic festival at the Wartburg to commemorate the tercentenary of the Reformation and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig (17th October, 1817). The occasion was more than innocent and the incidents were devoid of serious significance, but they excited the alarm of the reactionaries; the Duke of Weimar was bidden to curtail the liberties of his subjects, and the Universities and the Press were henceforth watched with even greater jealousy. In 1819 further alarm was aroused by the murder of Kotzebue, a dramatist, who was suspected of having

The
Wartburg
Festival

warned the Czar Alexander against the revolutionary spirit in the German Universities. Hardenberg made it an excuse for refusing to establish representative institutions in Prussia, and Metternich summoned representatives of the leading States to confer with him at Karlsbad. "By the help of God I hope to defeat the German revolution just as I vanquished the conqueror of the world." For the moment it seemed as though Metternich's boast might be justified. The Karlsbad Decrees, subsequently adopted by the Federal Diet at Frankfort, accurately reflect both his methods and aims. They extinguished liberty of the Press; transferred the control of the Universities to Government officials; prohibited the formation of societies and the holding of political meetings; and established at Mainz a central commission which has been truly described as "a sort of inquisition for the discovery and punishment of democratic agitators."

The
Karlsbad
Decrees

Metternich was once more master in his own German house.

Thus matters went on with little change until the outbreak of the July Revolution in France. Nor did that event seriously disturb the even current of affairs in the larger German States. In some of the smaller States there were faint echoes of the Parisian movement, and the rulers of Hanover, Saxony, Brunswick and Hesse were compelled to make some concessions to the Liberal opinions of their subjects; but the domination of Metternich was still unshaken; to him all concession was "unpardonable error," and in his hands the machinery of the "Bund" was used exclusively to one end—to repress any sign of a revolutionary or even a Liberal agitation in any of the German States. At the Diet of 1832 opportunity was taken to confirm the Karlsbad Decrees. A

Revolu-
tions of
1830

The
"Bund"

monster meeting had been held in the Palatinate to celebrate "the dawn of liberty, of German unity and the fraternisation of all free nations". This was enough for Metternich. He declared that "Germany is a prey to frightful disorders," and that "the powers of the Diet must be set in motion to repress it". At his bidding they were. Once more political meetings were forbidden; the Press was censored; all revolutionary songs and symbols were prohibited, and it was announced that the Diet claimed the right to interfere in the individual States in the event of a deadlock between the ruler and his Constitutional Assembly.

The discovery of a conspiracy for blowing up the Diet at Frankfort in 1833 still further stiffened Metternich's back. A conference was held at Münchengrätz in 1833 between the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the Crown Prince of Prussia, who entered into a mutual league not only to suppress Liberal movements in Germany but to resist the democratic tendencies of England and France in Europe at large.

The
Zollverein

In all this dreary period between 1815 and 1848 there appeared in Germany only one symptom which gave hope of better things to come. While the federal machinery was employed almost entirely for the repression of popular feeling; while the individual rulers, particularly in the greater States, were consistently reactionary; while the hopes of unity grew fainter, there was in progress one development fraught with tremendous consequences for the future of Germany.

Prussia, with her scattered and heterogeneous provinces, was the first to realise the inconvenience and loss involved in the existing fiscal system. German industry was strangled by the innumerable custom barriers be-

tween State and State; transportation was almost impossible; means of communication were non-existent; trade was at a standstill, and the people groaned under the weight of taxation required for the maintenance of a mischievous and antiquated system.

In 1818 the Prussian minister, Maassen, took the first step by the establishment of free commercial intercourse between the several Hohenzollern provinces. Some of the Southern States imitated the arrangement, and between 1819 and 1836 practically all the German States except Austria, associated themselves with Prussia in a vast Customs-Union or *Zollverein*. All commercial barriers between State and State were thrown down; internal custom-houses were destroyed; the vast army of officials was dismissed, and a common external tariff was arranged. Not only was an immense impulse thus given to German trade, but also to the sentiment and fact of German unity. The construction of railways, roads and canals; the improvement of postal arrangements; the promotion of commercial intercourse came in the wake of the *Zollverein* and silently prepared the way for organic political changes in the future. Thus the significance of the *Zollverein* is threefold. It brought the several States into more neighbourly relations, and provided a strong financial guarantee against disruption; it brought them together under the leadership of Prussia, and it accustomed them to the exclusion of Austria. Tardily Austria awoke to the significance of these events, and in 1852 made desperate efforts to obtain admission to the *Zollverein*, but by that time Prussia was strong enough to insist on her exclusion. Thus the extent to which the *Zollverein* contributed to the ultimate Prussianisation of Germany can hardly be over-estimated.

Constitutional Reform in Prussia

Prussia was, meanwhile, taking steps to put her own house in order. Frederick William III.—one of the few weaklings produced by the virile Hohenzollern race—had fallen more and more under the influence of Metternich. In 1815 he had promised to establish a central representative Assembly elected by the Provincial Estates and to grant to his people a written Constitution. He was never intentionally faithless to his promise, but excellent reasons for delay were suggested by the reactionaries in Vienna and Berlin, and in 1840, after a reign of forty-three years, the old King died—his promise still unfulfilled. During his last years the Progressives had acquiesced in the postponement of reform, partly out of deference to the prejudices of the King, and partly in acknowledgment of the important results secured to Prussia by his enlightened economic and financial administration.

Frederick William IV.

All the more eagerly, therefore, did the Prussian Liberals welcome to the throne his successor Frederick William IV. (1840-61). But the new King, though he was a cultured patron of art and letters, believed no less ardently than his father in the Divine Right of monarchy. Lacking, however, his predecessor's prestige he was unable to resist altogether the demand for some constitutional concessions. In 1847, therefore, he summoned to Berlin representatives from all the Provincial Estates. The Liberals bitterly resented the cumbrous and antiquated form of the States-general, and also the strict limitations imposed by royal edict upon its functions. While the Diet might advise it must not control. "The Crown can and must govern according to the laws of God and of the land, not according to the will of majorities." Such a subordinate position the Progressives were not willing to accept: violent language was used, and in four

United Provincial Diet at Berlin

months the Assembly was dissolved and the experiment of a "United Provincial Diet" was at an end. One more effort at reform had failed; one more incentive had been provided to Revolution. Revolution came in 1848.

In Germany, as in Italy, the revolutionary movements of 1848 had a twofold aspect and significance. They were directed, on the one side, to the extension of constitutional liberties in the several and divided States; and on the other, towards the realisation of national unity in some permanent and effective form.

The year
of Revolu-
tion in
Germany

Baden, the most liberally governed State in Germany, was the first to feel the impulse of the February Revolution in Paris. On 3rd March the King granted a new Constitution, which formed a model for the other German States. Ministerial responsibility; freedom of the Press; religious equality; trial by jury, and equality of taxation, were among the concessions demanded and made. The rulers of Würtemberg, Nassau, Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Weimar and Brunswick followed suit; in Bavaria, King Lewis, despite the comparative liberality of his rule, was obliged to abdicate in favour of his son Maximilian II. (20th March), and Saxony and Hanover ultimately followed the lead of Baden.

In Berlin disturbances broke out on 18th March, and Frederick William IV. at once conceded the whole Baden programme. An accidental collision between the troops and the people led to some serious street fighting (18th-20th March), and Berlin was only pacified by the removal of the troops from the capital and a promise from the King to assume the leadership "of a free and new-born German nation". The United Diet was to meet immediately, with power to summon a national Constituent

Assembly which should draft a Parliamentary Constitution for the Hohenzollern dominions.

Revolution
in Austria

But naturally it was in Vienna, so long the centre of reaction, that the convulsion was most violent: so violent indeed as to shake even Metternich from the pedestal of power. The insurrection of 13th March drove Metternich into exile in England; that of 15th May compelled the Emperor Ferdinand himself to fly to Innsbruck.

But the insurrection in Vienna was the least of the difficulties by which in this critical year the Habsburg Emperor was confronted.

Insurrec-
tion in
Hungary
and
Bohemia

In the spring of 1848 it seemed as if nothing could save from immediate dissolution the heterogeneous mass of races and nationalities which were united under the Austrian Crown. Italy, Hungary and Bohemia blazed simultaneously into revolution. The character and fate of the Italian Revolution have been already indicated.¹ Hungary and Bohemia demanded not separation but constitutional autonomy under the Habsburgs. The Habsburgs were saved only by the racial disunion of the several provinces subject to their rule. Between the Magyars of Hungary, the Slavs of Bohemia and the Italians there was nothing in common save dislike of Austrian rule. "From the charnel house of the cabinet of Vienna a pestilential wind sweeps over us, benumbing our senses and paralysing our national spirit." So spake Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian revolt; but Hungary itself had to contend with the separatist tendencies of Serbs and Croats to the south of the Drave. In June there met at Prague, a pan-slavist congress representative of Czechs, Moravians, Poles, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats; but riots broke out, and Prince Windischgrätz, who

¹ See p. 180.

commanded the Austrian forces, reduced the city to submission, and by the end of June the Bohemian movement collapsed. In October, Vienna rose for the third time, and the Emperor took refuge in Olmütz, a fortress in Moravia. But against disciplined troops bravely led the Viennese were as powerless as Italians or Czechs, and by 31st October Windischgrätz was master of the capital.

But Hungary was still unsubdued. The task was too much for the Emperor Ferdinand. On 2nd December, 1848, he abdicated in favour of his nephew the Archduke Francis Joseph, who at the age of eighteen assumed the heavy burden of the Imperial Crown. Accession of Francis Joseph

The Hungarians at once refused to acknowledge the new sovereign; war broke out; the Hungarians were badly beaten at Kapolna (2nd February, 1849); the Hungarian Constitution was rescinded, and Hungary was incorporated in the Austrian Empire. In the guerilla warfare that followed the Magyars under Kossuth and Gorgei more than held their own, and on 14th April Kossuth proclaimed the independence of Hungary and the perpetual exclusion of the House of Habsburg from their throne. In the name of legitimacy the Emperor now appealed to the Czar Nicholas. Russia responded with 200,000 men; the rebellion was crushed; Hungary lost all its independent rights and was reduced to a state of simple vassalage. The remnants of rebellion were stamped out with ferocity: hundreds of patriots were sent to the gallows; Kossuth escaped to England.

Victorious over its foes in Italy, in Bohemia and in Hungary the Austrian Government, now in the strong hands of Schwarzenberg, gave short shrift to its German subjects. The "March laws" were repealed, and Metter-

nich's autocratic and centralised system was restored. From Vienna the reaction spread to Berlin and the lesser courts; the revolutionary impulse of 1848 was spent. Absolutism was once more supreme.

It has been shown that as regards the domestic liberties of the several States the revolutionary year left little permanent impress upon Germany. How fared it with the movement towards national unity?

Movement
towards
National
Unity

So far back as October, 1847, representatives from the States belonging to the *Zollverein* had met at Heppenheim, near Heidelberg, with the object of enlarging the scope of that union in a political direction; but the agitation which broke out in the spring of 1848 convinced the leaders that the time had come for the realisation of a larger scheme. They determined to call a Convention to meet at Frankfort for the purpose of organising a Constituent Assembly for the whole of Germany and at the same time to obtain the sanction of Prussia and the Federal Diet to such an Assembly. The assent of Frederick William IV. was given on 17th March; that of the Federal Diet on 30th March, and the Preliminary Convention met on the 31st. Arrangements for the Constituent Assembly were rapidly completed, and on the 18th of May, 1848, 586 representatives, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, came together at Frankfort from every State of the Germanic Confederation.

The
Frankfort
Parliament
1848-49

This historic Assembly was charged with no less a task than the drafting of a Constitution for the whole of Germany. Among many difficulties which confronted it the most serious arose from the question as to the relation of the mosaic Empire of the Habsburgs to the Germanic body. On this point the Frankfort Parliament was sharply divided. The "Great Germans," including

not only the Austrian deputies, but also those from Bavaria and most of the South German States, stoutly opposed the exclusion of the non-German Habsburg provinces. The "Little Germans," starting from the idea of a glorified *Zollverein* and looking to the headship of Prussia, insisted that their inclusion would be fatal to the realisation of German unity in an effective form. Again as regards a Federal Executive Austria favoured a Directory of seven Princes, while the Little Germans insisted on an hereditary Empire. On both points the latter eventually carried their point, and in March, 1849, the new Constitution was completed. Under this, Germany was henceforth to be a Federal State under an hereditary Emperor. There was to be a Parliament of two Chambers, one representing the States of Germany, the other the people, and to this Parliament the federal ministers were to be responsible. On 28th March the Imperial Crown was offered to Frederick IV. of Prussia. But by this time the situation had materially altered. Austria was no longer a negligible quantity. Under the young Emperor and the new minister, Schwarzenberg, she was fast regaining the position she had temporarily lost. Frederick William IV. was hardly less under the influence of Schwarzenberg than his predecessor was under that of Metternich. He had no mind to brave the wrath, possibly the forcible opposition, of Austria; still less to accept the Imperial Crown at the hands of a democratic Assembly and thus proclaim himself "the serf of the Revolution". The offer was, therefore, to the grievous disappointment of the Progressives, definitely declined by him. Prussia was not, in Bismarck's phrase, to be "dissolved in Germany." Germany was to be absorbed ultimately into Prussia; but not until the offer of the Imperial Crown

Offer of
Imperial
Crown to
Frederick
William
IV. of
Prussia

came from the sovereign princes would a Prussian sovereign by Divine Right deign to accept it. The Frankfort Assembly struggled against the acceptance of defeat; but defeat was now inevitable. The States withdrew their delegates, and the radical rump having transferred their deliberations to Stuttgart were eventually dispersed by force (July, 1849).

Restoration
of the
"Bund"

Two years of confusion followed, but in 1851 the "Bund" was restored and the work of the Unionists seemed utterly effaced. In reality it was not so. The Frankfort Parliament had given a powerful impulse to the movement for unity, though the end was ultimately achieved by very different means.

The years between 1851 and 1861 were in the main years of placid reaction in Germany. Austria recovered from the troubles of 1848 with a rapidity which reflects the highest credit on Schwarzenberg, but her strength was sapped by the disaffection of Hungary. In Prussia important reforms were effected under Von Roon in armaments and military organisation; but for ten years the surface calm was unbroken in Germany. The War of Italian Independence in 1859, dealt as we have seen,¹ a serious blow at the political and military prestige of Austria, but not until after 1860 did things begin to move with any rapidity in Germany. The decade between 1860 and 1870 is the most fateful in her annals and demands a chapter to itself.

¹P. 186.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRUSSIANISATION OF GERMANY (1860-1870)

Germany became strong in herself and in the world in the nineteenth century through Prussia, through Prussian politics and military service, through Prussian sense for actualities and Prussian cult of power.—PROF. ERIC MARCKS.

IN 1861 Frederick William IV. of Prussia died and William I. was succeeded by his brother, who took the title of William I. In 1862 he called to his counsels Count Otto von Bismarck. It was these two men who, with the help of Von Roon and Moltke, made the modern German Empire.

The new King had been Regent since 1858 and came to the throne with a clear comprehension of the work before him. The new minister was equally clear both as to end and means, and had already much experience both in German politics and European diplomacy.

Born in 1815, Otto von Bismarck was by descent and Bismarck temper a typical Prussian Junker (squire). Educated at the Universities of Göttingen and Berlin he entered the Civil Service, but in 1839 was recalled to manage the paternal estates in Pomerania. Known as "mad Bismarck"—a hard rider and a hard drinker—he nevertheless proved his administrative capacity, and served as Deputy for his Order in the provincial Pomeranian Diet in 1845. Two years later he became a member

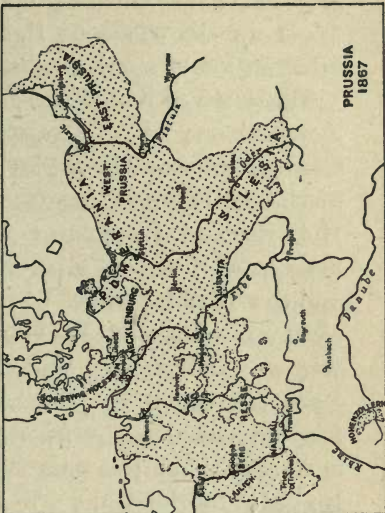
of the United Diet at Berlin. He was at this time a rigid Conservative with a strong religious belief in the divinely appointed monarchy, and used every effort to save Frederick William IV. not merely from the extreme democrats, but from his own transient deference to Liberalism. In 1851 he was sent as Prussian representative to the newly reconstituted Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was the turning-point of his political career. He entered the Diet with feelings of deep reverence for Austria and its policy. He left it eight years later convinced (as he wrote to Von Schleinitz) "that the one constant factor in Austrian policy is its jealousy of Prussia, and that for every minor German State the royal road to Austria's favour is hostility to Prussia" (12th May, 1859). Further, he insisted that "Prussia's connection with the 'Bund' is a weakness which must be cured sooner or later *ferro et igni*, if we do not apply timely remedies". Recalled from the Diet in 1859 he served for three years as ambassador at St. Petersburg, and, in 1862, for a few months, at Paris.

When, therefore, in 1862 Bismarck assumed the reins in Prussia he was intimately acquainted alike with the rottenness of the existing political system in Germany and with the main currents of European diplomacy. In Paris he had taken the measure of Napoleon III., the man with whom he was to cross swords, and whom he regarded as "half dreamer and half trickster".

In 1863 the Emperor Francis Joseph proposed a conference of the sovereign princes of Germany to discuss a revision of the Federal Constitution. Prussia, on Bismarck's suggestion, declined the invitation on the ground that the "Austrian project did not harmonise with the proper position of the Prussian monarchy or with the



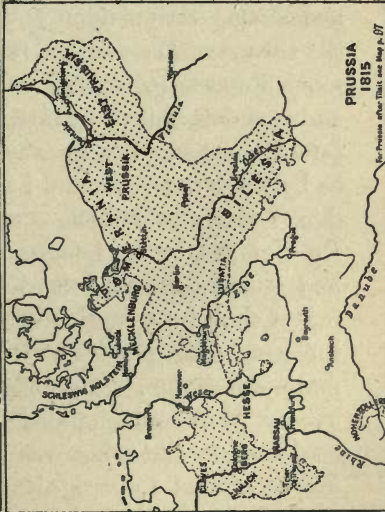
PRUSSIA
1795



PRUSSIA
1867



PRUSSIA
1786



PRUSSIA
1815

interests of the German people". Austria might well have taken up the challenge thus thrown down but for the intervention of another question of grave significance.

The
Schleswig-
Holstein
Question

The death of King Frederick VII. of Denmark in 1863 reopened one of the most embarrassing questions in German politics. Frederick was not only King of Denmark but Duke of the German Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg. His death, without direct male heirs, dissolved a personal union between Denmark and the Duchies which had subsisted since 1460. Holstein was a State of the Germanic Confederation; Schleswig was indissolubly united to Holstein. In both the Salic law survived. Denmark had long been anxious for the complete incorporation of the Duchies in the monarchy; but this was opposed both by the German Diet and by the Duke Frederick of Augustenburg who had strong claims upon the Duchies though none upon the throne of Denmark. Bismarck perceived their enormous importance to the naval development of Prussia, and was determined by hook or by crook to acquire them for his master. But he was not yet strong enough to do so by *force majeure*, and he determined therefore to induce Austria to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for him. By the Treaty of London (1852), England and France had guaranteed "the territorial integrity of Denmark," but of their intervention Bismarck had no fear, and upon the rest of the parties he turned the tables with consummate adroitness. In 1864 the Duchies were by the Treaty of Vienna handed over to Austria and Prussia conjointly. But what was to be done with them? Bismarck offered to recognise Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke on terms which would have meant his complete subjection to Prussia. The Duke declined the terms;

Austria protested against them, and things looked like war between the two great German Powers when a temporary compromise was patched up at Gastein (1865). Prussia was to occupy Schleswig; Austria was to occupy Holstein, and to sell Lauenburg to Prussia.

The Convention of Gastein was merely a makeshift. To Bismarck it was valuable only as a means of enabling him to fix a quarrel upon Austria. In January, 1866, he complained that the Austrians were encouraging—as well they might—the “pretensions” of Frederick of Augustenburg, the legitimate heir. Prussian troops were accordingly poured into Holstein, and the Austrians were expelled. To avenge this outrage upon Austria the German Diet ordered a mobilisation of the federal forces against Prussia (14th June, 1866).

This was precisely what Bismarck wanted. He had not only been spoiling for the fight, but steadily preparing for it. The Prussian army had been re-armed with the needle-gun and brought up to a high state of efficiency by Von Roon. The diplomatic situation was favourable. Napoleon III. was not only involved in his disastrous Mexican enterprise, but had, in 1865, been won over to approval of Bismarck's plans by a personal interview at Biarritz. Italy had been similarly secured (8th April, 1866) by the promise of Venetia in return for assistance against Austria.¹ Russia was friendly. Bismarck had indeed “counted the cost”; Prussia was the strong man armed, and could plunge into the conflict, confident in her might if not in her right. On the latter point Bismarck was opposed not only by the whole of Germany, but by the Prussian Parliament, and even the Prussian King.

¹ See p. 190.

But his masterful character overbore all scruples and overcame all difficulties.

On 14th June the Diet at Frankfort rejected a scheme proposed by Bismarck for the complete reorganisation of the "Bund" and accepted the Austrian motion for federal execution against Prussia. The Prussian delegate was thereupon withdrawn. The States threw in their lot with Austria. A war, destined to be the most fateful in German history, was the inevitable result.

The Seven
Weeks'
War

Prussia declared war upon Hanover, Saxony and Hesse on 15th June. By the 18th her troops were in occupation of the three States. On the 18th she declared war upon the other members of the "Bund," including Austria. A battle at Langensalza, in which the Hanoverians had the best of it (27th June), was followed (28th June) by the pusillanimous surrender of the Hanoverian army. The terms of the capitulation involved the extinction of the kingdom of Hanover and its incorporation in Prussia. Meanwhile the main Prussian army had marched to meet the Austrians in Bohemia, and a week's brilliant campaign culminated on 3rd July in the crushing defeat of the Austrians at Sadowa (Königgrätz); before the end of the month the Prussians were within striking distance of Vienna; terms of peace were arranged on the 26th; the brief but decisive war was over.

Treaty of
Prague

The definitive treaty was signed at Prague (2nd August, 1866). Bismarck, who had thought out every move in the intricate diplomatic game, had already decided to secure Austria's friendship in the greater struggle still ahead of Prussia. Hence the terms were made as lenient as possible, consistent with the attainments of the essential object of the war.

Austria lost no territory (except Venetia to Italy) and the war indemnity was light, but she was excluded henceforward from Germany. The "Bund" was dissolved after an inglorious existence of half a century; Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenburg, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort-on-Main were annexed to Prussia, and all the States north of the Main were to form a North German Confederation under the Presidency of Prussia.

Dissolution
of the
"Bund"

The annexations were of immense significance. For the first time the Hohenzollern were masters of continuous territory stretching from the Rhine to the Baltic; they gained nearly 25,000 square miles of territory and 5,000,000 subjects, and (in Kiel) a magnificent naval base.

But the broad result of the Seven Weeks' War lay in the exclusion of Austria from the Germanic body and the definite acceptance of the Prussian hegemony by the States north of the Main.

In February, 1867, an Assembly met at Berlin representative of all the States of the North German Confederation; Prussia, Saxony, the Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Oldenburg and Saxe-Weimar, the Duchies of Brunswick, Anhalt, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the free cities of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen with smaller Duchies and Principalities—twenty-two in all. The new Constitution was there formally approved. The executive was vested in the King of Prussia as hereditary president, assisted by a federal chancellor; the Legislature was to consist of (i) a Federal Council (*Bundesrath*), consisting of plenipotentiaries from the Constituent States, and (ii) a *Reichstag*, elected by universal suffrage. There was to be compulsory military service throughout the Confederation on the Prussian model. The princes retained certain sovereign

North
German
Confeder-
ation

rights; they might still summon local Estates, levy local taxes, and be separately represented at foreign Courts, but the whole conduct of foreign affairs, the raising and control of the army, and the decision of peace and war were vested in the President.

But even this did not represent the full extent of Prussia's dominion over Germany. The chief Southern States, Bavaria, Baden and Würtemberg, concluded a Convention by which their armies were placed at the disposal of Prussia in time of war, and in 1867 they entered into a new commercial union with the Northern Confederation. The affairs of the *Zollverein* were to be settled by a Customs Parliament sitting in Berlin to which the Southern as well as the Northern States were to send deputies.

The Prussianisation of Germany was all but complete. But the final consummation of German unity was to be attained, by a certain dramatic irony, through the intervention of the hereditary enemy, who was even now watching with extreme jealousy the rapid growth of Hohenzollern power. The relations between Napoleon III. and Bismarck must, however, form the subject of a separate chapter.

Austria-
Hungary

It remains to notice the reorganisation of the Habsburg dominions after the events of 1866. Excluded from Germany and expelled from Italy, Austria was at last compelled to come to terms with the Hungarian subjects who had been reconquered for her in 1849 by Russian arms. Many experiments had been tried since 1849 but the Magyars refused any settlement which did not recognise the independence of Hungary and the equality of the two Crowns. In 1867 a compromise (*Ausgleich*) was reached by the labours of Count Beust, who had

The
Ausgleich

transferred his services from Saxony to Austria, and the Hungarian patriot Francis Déak. By this "dual system" the two Crowns of Austria and Hungary, and the two Legislatures were henceforth to be distinct, while affairs common to them both—foreign policy, war and finance—were to be controlled by common ministers. Each Legislature was, moreover, to appoint a "Delegation"—to meet alternately in Vienna and Pesth—for the discussion of affairs common to the two parts of the "dual Empire".

The system, though terribly complicated, has worked with tolerable success, thanks to the political and personal tact of the Emperor Francis Joseph. But that the problems raised by the racial jealousies of the many peoples united under his rule have been finally solved no observer of contemporary politics would venture to assert.

CHAPTER XX

THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

L'Empire c'est la paix.—NAPOLEON III.

The title I covet most is that of an honest man.—NAPOLEON III.

Great questions are not to be solved by speeches and parliamentary votes but by blood and iron.—BISMARCK.

The Second
Empire

THE circumstances under which the Second French Empire came to the birth have been already described.¹ In a speech delivered at Bordeaux in October, 1852, Napoleon had clearly defined his programme. The revived Napoleonic Empire would stand primarily for peace. "L'Empire," he said emphatically, "c'est la paix." We have already seen how far that promise was fulfilled during the first decade of the new régime. But if the Crimean War and the War of Italian Independence falsified promises, they were not without compensations in military and political prestige. No such compensation attached, as we shall see, to the wars of the second period of the reign.

But the Empire was to stand not only for peace, but for social, economic and moral reform. "I, like the Great Emperor, have many conquests to make. . . . I wish to conquer to religion, to morality, to prosperity, that part of the population, still so numerous, which, in the midst of a country of faith and belief, scarcely knows the pre-

¹ Chap. XIV.

cepts of Christ, which, in the heart of the most fertile country in the world can scarcely enjoy the prime necessities of its produce. We have immense districts of virgin soil to clear, roads to open, harbours to dig, rivers to render navigable, canals to finish, our network of railways to complete. We have, opposite Marseilles, a vast kingdom to assimilate to France. We have all our great ports of the West to bring near to the American Continent, by the rapidity of the communications we have yet to create. . . . Such are the conquests I meditate, and all of you who surround me, who desire like myself the welfare of our country, you are my soldiers.”¹

In this respect promises were not wholly unfulfilled. The emotions of the strange being who for twenty years controlled the destinies of France were genuine though transient. Napoleon III. had a real interest in economic and social development, and during the first ten years of his reign much was done to redeem the pledges given at Bordeaux. The forces of anarchy were repressed; social order was restored; industry was encouraged; everything was done to improve the means of communication; railways, canals and harbours were constructed; banks were established, and an impulse thereby given to agriculture and commerce; Paris was rebuilt and rendered more splendid and spacious if not more beautiful; schemes were promoted for workmen's dwellings, for insurance against accidents and old age; labour combinations were legalised; thrift was encouraged by benefit and co-operative societies; industrial exhibitions were organised, and a long step was taken towards freedom of commercial intercourse by the conclusion of the Cobden Treaty with England (1860). France had indeed surrendered political

Social
Reform

¹ Quoted by Dickinson.

liberty, but the ensuing despotism was undeniably beneficent.

Consti-
tutional
Reform

Between 1860 and 1870 several steps were taken to liberalise the Constitution. The ministers continued (until 1869) to be responsible only to the Emperor, but the Legislature was permitted to criticise and even, within limits, to interrogate them, to initiate legislation and to publish its debates. The Empire thus ceased to be despotic; unfortunately, it ceased also to be efficient.

Foreign
Policy

The verdict of history may pronounce the Crimean War to have been a blunder, but, in the eyes of contemporaries, it enormously enhanced the prestige of the French Emperor. France undoubtedly occupied at the Peace of Paris (1856) a position to which she had been a stranger since the fall of the first Napoleon. History again can perceive that the War of Italian Independence gravely accentuated the difficulties of Napoleon. The annexation of the Romagna to the Italian kingdom alienated the French Clericals; the expulsion of the Bourbons from the Two Sicilies further estranged the legitimists; while the absorption of Savoy and Nice into France aroused the distrust of Europe. But contemporaries were dazzled by the military achievements of Magenta and Solferino, and by the territorial aggrandisement of France.

It needed no historical research to detect and expose the ruinous folly of the foreign policy of the second decade of the reign.

The
Mexican
Adventure

Anything more fatuous than Napoleon's policy in regard to Mexico it would be difficult to conceive.

The Mexican Republic had for some years been in a state of chronic disorder, intensified by civil war between

the two parties into which its politicians were divided. In 1861 the republican leader Benito Juarez overthrew Miramon who represented the Clericals and Monarchists. Miramon appealed for support to the great Catholic Powers in Europe, and in this appeal Napoleon's vivid and fantastic imagination saw an opportunity for killing several birds with one stone. He determined to place on the throne of Mexico the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. In the choice of a candidate he displayed acumen. Maximilian was not only a member of a leading Catholic House, but was the husband of the Princess Charlotte, daughter of King Leopold of Belgium, and had won personal reputation as the ruler of Lombardy and Venice. His promotion to an Imperial throne might therefore be expected to gratify Habsburgs, Saxe-Coburgs and Orleanists, and thus soothe susceptibilities roused by recent French diplomacy. French Catholics would welcome an adventure which had something of the crusading spirit about it; the Empress Eugénie and her countrymen would rejoice in a monarchical triumph in Mexico; English, French and Spanish commercial interests would be served by the restoration of order and the payment of debts.

Juarez gave Napoleon a pretext for interference by the repudiation of the Mexican debt. England, Spain and France agreed to enforce payment, and a joint expedition was despatched for that purpose (January, 1862). But as soon as they discovered Napoleon's ulterior designs England and Spain withdrew, and France was left alone with an awkward job on her hands. Forty thousand French troops were poured into Mexico; opposition was crushed; an assembly of Mexican notables was induced to elect Maximilian as Emperor (July, 1863), and in May,

The
Emperor
Maximilian

1864, that unfortunate prince arrived to take possession of his throne.

It soon became obvious that his throne and even his person was safe only so long as French bayonets surrounded him. In 1865 the bayonets were withdrawn. Napoleon had been tempted to the Mexican adventure partly by the præ-occupation of the United States of America (1861-65). But the American Civil War ended in 1865, and one of the first fruits of restored unity was an order to Napoleon to evacuate Mexico and a refusal to recognise Maximilian. Napoleon obeyed the order in 1867, and Maximilian, deserted by his patron, was left to confront his subjects. After a short but brave struggle he was taken prisoner and shot.

The Mexican tragedy was a terrible blow to the prestige of Napoleon, and contributed largely to his downfall. But a political gambler cannot withdraw from play after a ruinous loss. The Mexican disaster compelled Napoleon to stake all upon a last desperate throw. The Franco-Prussian War was the inevitable result.

Luxem-
burg

“The French Empire,” says Lord Acton, “was imperilled as much as the Austrian by the war of 1866.” “It is France which has been conquered at Sadowa,” said Marshal Randon. These statements point to an important truth. The rapidity and completeness of the Prussian victories in 1866 entirely upset the calculations of Napoleon. He had watched with some uneasiness the growth of Hohenzollern power. But in 1865 Bismarck met Napoleon at Biarritz and secured his benevolent neutrality by the promise of compensation—perhaps a Rhine Province, or Luxemburg, or even Belgium. Napoleon swallowed the bait and allowed Prussia to make her plans for the overthrow of Austria. But he was dumb-

founded by the event. Instead of coming in as a well-compensated arbiter at the close of a long conflict he found himself a humble suitor to Bismarck for an unconsidered trifle. The Rhenish Palatinate was his first suggestion. Bismarck laughed in his face and showed his letter to Bavaria, to whom the Palatinate belonged. The request served only to cement a Prusso-Bavarian Alliance. A demand for Belgium, probably stimulated by Bismarck himself, had no better result for Napoleon, but served Bismarck's purposes admirably. Published to the world in 1870 the proposal alienated English sympathies from France. Luxemburg remained.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was peculiarly situated. It was included in the German Confederation, ruled by the King of Holland, and garrisoned by Prussia. Foiled elsewhere Napoleon negotiated with the King of the Netherlands for the purchase of Luxemburg. The King was willing, but Bismarck demurred. Neither France nor Prussia, however, was quite ready for war, and the question was settled by a Conference of the Powers in London (May, 1867). By the Treaty of London the Grand Duchy was neutralised under European guarantee; the King of Holland retained the sovereignty; the fortifications of Luxemburg itself were demolished and the Prussian garrison was withdrawn. Napoleon's last chance of a "compensation" disappeared.

He now tried to persuade himself and his friends that no "compensation" was really necessary; that Germany was weakened rather than strengthened by the events of 1866. But the military and commercial rapprochement between Prussia and the Southern States proved the hollowness of such professions.

Meanwhile things were going badly elsewhere for

Napoleon. From the Italian dilemma no escape was possible. To abandon Rome meant a rupture with the French Clericals; to retain it meant the forfeiture of Italian support in the impending struggle with Prussia. At home the outlook was gloomy. The finances, already embarrassed by profusion and corruption, became further involved by the Mexican fiasco; constitutional concessions earned little gratitude; worst of all, Napoleon's own health was failing. Prestige must at all costs be recovered in the interests of the dynasty. Would anything avail but a brilliantly successful war?

The
Hohen-
zollern
Candida-
ture in
Spain

A pretext for war was found in the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain. Having got rid of their Queen Isabella, the Spaniards in 1869 declared for a Constitutional Monarchy, and offered their throne to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Prince Leopold hung back; but Bismarck procured a renewal of the offer, and on 4th July, 1870, it was accepted by the Prince.

Napoleon immediately (6th July) intimated to Prussia that France would regard the accession of a Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain as a *casus belli*, and on 12th July Prince Leopold, at his own instance, revoked his acceptance of the Crown. Once more war seemed to have been averted, but, with almost incredible fatuity, Napoleon now demanded that the King of Prussia should not merely express formal approval of Prince Leopold's revocation, but should also promise "that he would not again authorise this candidature". This rather insolent demand was presented to the King at Ems by Benedetti, the French ambassador (13th July). The King declined to go beyond his approval of the revocation.

Bismarck's chance had come. He had been patiently

waiting for it since 1866, "That a war with France would succeed that with Austria lay," in his judgment, "in the logic of history". That such a war was the one thing needful to complete and consolidate German unity was also part of his conviction. That it might restore to Germany Alsace and Lorraine, unrightfully withheld in 1815, was his hope.

Authorised by his master to inform the ambassadors and the Press of the events which had passed at Ems, Bismarck, after consultation with Moltke and Roon, did so in terms which were designed to inflame passions both in Paris and Berlin¹ (14th July). It certainly fulfilled its object. The Parisian populace demanded war, and the Empress Eugénie and the Duc de Gramont pressed it upon the Emperor and the Cabinet. Napoleon was not ready, and he knew it. Bismarck also knew it, and precipitated the conflict while craftily making France appear as the aggressor.

The French declaration of war reached Berlin on 19th July. The Prussian preparations were complete. Within three weeks Roon poured 500,000 men into France, and had a second 500,000 ready to replace them if they fell. On 20th July Bavaria threw in her lot with Prussia, and on 2nd August the war began.

France was without allies. There had been much negotiation between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, but no actual treaty had been concluded. Napoleon imagined that he would be able to march into South Germany as a liberator and that Austria would

¹ Bismarck's part in precipitating the outbreak of war has been endlessly discussed: cf. e.g., Acton, *Historical Essays*; Rose, *European Nations*; Bismarck, *Reminiscences*; Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*.

then join him. In both expectations he was disappointed. Bismarck had squared Alexander of Russia by the hint that it would be a convenient opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Paris (1856). Russia in return kept Austria quiet. France had no friends. Germany rose as one man.

The war itself was short and sharp. The French soldiers displayed splendid courage and dash, but they were badly led and hopelessly outnumbered; there was no organisation, no strategy, no supplies. MacMahon was defeated at Weissenburg (4th August) by the Crown Prince of Prussia; still more seriously in the bloody encounter at Wörth (6th August), and was driven back on Chalons. On the same day Prince Frederick Charles (the "Red Prince") and Steinmetz drove back the French under General Frossard from Spicheren (6th August). On the 18th the Germans won the battle of Gravelotte, and Marshal Bazaine, who commanded the French, shut himself up in Metz. Leaving Prince Frederick Charles to blockade Metz the Germans advanced, under the Crown Prince, on Paris. MacMahon, ordered to advance from Chalons to the rescue of Bazaine at Metz, was caught with his fine army of 130,000 men by the Germans at Sédan (1st September). The French fought with splendid but fruitless gallantry; they were completely outnumbered and outmanœuvred, and on 2nd September Napoleon surrendered to the King of Prussia. The Emperor himself and more than 80,000 Frenchmen became prisoners of war. The first phase of the war was over; it had lasted exactly a month.

The Third
Republic.

The military disaster at Sédan was immediately followed by political revolution in Paris. The Empire collapsed; the Empress fled to England, and a Republic

was proclaimed (4th September, 1870). A "Government of National Defence" was hastily formed under General Trochu, Governor of Paris, Jules Favre and Gambetta. Thiers declined office, but set off on a tour to the European Courts to try to persuade them to mediate on behalf of France. Towards the end of the year Bismarck was seriously afraid that intervention might rob Germany of some of the fruits of the war; but his plans had been laid too well, and Thiers's efforts, though heroic, were unavailing.

It was hoped that Sédan might end the war; but Bismarck's determination to have Alsace and Lorraine, coupled with Favre's note to the Powers declaring that he would not "yield an inch of French soil, nor a stone of French fortresses," rendered its prolongation inevitable. On 20th September Paris was besieged by the Crown Prince, and the Republic established a supplementary seat of Government at Tours. Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon (7th October), assumed a virtual dictatorship and set himself with immense energy and skill to organise the national defence. The first necessity was to succour the beleaguered capital. But on 11th October the Germans defeated the army of the Loire and occupied Orleans. Meanwhile two crushing blows befel the French arms on the Eastern frontier. Strasburg, after a fine resistance, surrendered on 28th September, and a month later Bazaine, with shameful pusillanimity if not positive treachery, delivered the great fortress of Metz, together with 150,000 men and immense stores into the hands of the enemy (28th October). France reeled under the shock of Bazaine's treason, but Gambetta's spirit was unquenchable. He ordered a *levée en masse* (2nd November), and a vigorous campaign on the Loire created

The Siege
of Paris

Surrender
of Metz

in November and December some diversion. Orleans was recaptured (9th November) and a desperate attempt was made to relieve Paris. But both on the South and on the North the Germans repelled all attacks and gradually closed in upon the capital; a final sortie failed on 21st January, 1871, and on the 28th Paris capitulated. An armistice was granted to permit the election of a National Assembly which met at Bordeaux (12th February) and elected Thiers Head of the State. Preliminaries of peace were signed on 26th February and finally ratified at Frankfort on 10th May.

Peace of
Frankfort

France ceded to Germany the whole of Alsace (except Belfort), and Eastern Lorraine, together with the great fortresses of Metz and Strassburg, and agreed to pay an indemnity of five milliards of francs within three years. German troops were to be left in occupation until the indemnity was paid.

The Paris
Commune

Thanks to the astonishing recuperative power displayed by France and to the patriotism of her thrifty citizens the indemnity was paid before the stipulated day, and her soil was freed from the foreigner. But political did not keep pace with financial recovery. Even while the Germans were at the gates an attempt had been made in Paris to overthrow the Government of National Defence (31st October, 1870). Hardly were the preliminaries of peace signed before the revolutionary forces, always near the surface in Paris, broke loose, and the Hotel de Ville was seized (18th March) by a mob consisting partly of fanatics but chiefly of the ordinary Parisian canaille. The National Guard had been permitted to retain their arms when the rest of the garrison surrendered; the troops fraternised with them and shot their commanders; Thiers and the Chamber withdrew to Versailles, and Paris was handed over to an insurrectionary Commune elected on

26th March. The situation was curious. The German flag still waved over St. Denis: the tricolour over Versailles: the red flag of the Commune over Paris itself. The Government were now compelled to reconquer the capital if France was not to be dissolved in anarchy. Between 2nd April and 21st May, 1871, Paris suffered a second siege far more horrible and destructive than the first. Terrible atrocities were committed on both sides, and when, after six weeks' siege, the Government were again masters of Paris, they found the city in ruins and in flames. The insurgents were ruthlessly shot down; 10,000 persons were exiled or imprisoned, and gradually public order was restored; but not for four years was the Republic definitely established. Thiers was elected President on 31st August, 1871, and held office until 1873. To him France owes the restoration of her credit, financial and political; the reorganisation of her military system on the basis of universal service, and the establishment of the Third Republic.

In 1873 Thiers was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon—a pronounced monarchist; but the anti-republicans, though in a majority in the Chamber, were hopelessly divided among themselves. Napoleon III. died in England in 1873, and six years later his dynasty ended with the death of the young Prince Imperial in South Africa (1879). Between the legitimists and the Orleanists there was perpetual discord. The Comte de Chambord, as representing the legitimists, refused to abate one jot of his pretensions, or to part with one of his prejudices, even though the price of obstinacy were to be the perpetual exclusion of his house from the throne of France. Under these circumstances the moderates of all parties agreed to the establishment of a Conservative Republic in 1875.

The Third
Republic

There was to be a President elected by a National Assembly for a term of seven years, and advised by a Cabinet of ministers responsible to the Chambers. Thus the French at last abandoned their old prejudices in favour of a division between the executive and Legislature and adopted the Cabinet system of England. The Legislature was vested in two Chambers: a Senate of 300 members elected for nine years by a process of double election; and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage for four years. Admittedly provisional in many of its details the Constitution of 1875 has already had a longer life than any Constitution of the nineteenth century in France; and under it, despite periodic unrest, France has settled down at home and regained a great position abroad.

German
Unity

But the destruction of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic were not the most significant results of the Franco-German War. That must be found in the fact that it placed the coping-stone upon the edifice of German unity, and hardly less directly upon that of Italy.

Napoleon's primary purpose in plunging into war was to arrest the progress of Prussia and to prevent the unification of Germany. Bismarck welcomed and precipitated war in the conviction that only war with France was needed to crown his life-work. And Bismarck calculated while Napoleon guessed. Had the Southern States been disposed to hang back, the revelation of Napoleon's negotiations for the Palatinate would have convinced them of the hollowness of his friendship. There was no hanging back in 1870. The whole Teutonic folk were united against the foe who had laboured for three centuries to keep Germany divided and impotent.

With dramatic irony the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles was selected for the scene of the formal proclamation of German unity. The terms of union had been already settled between Prussia and the Southern States—Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse¹ and Bavaria—and had been ratified by the Diet of the North German Confederation. On 18th January, 1871, King William of Prussia was formally proclaimed first German Emperor at Versailles. The old King accepted the Imperial Crown as the gift not of the German people, but of his fellow princes. Three months later the new Constitution was promulgated (16th April, 1871). The North German Confederation was enlarged to include all the German States south of the Main (except German Austria), and was transformed into a Federal Empire under the hereditary presidency of the Prussian King. The Emperor, assisted by an Imperial Chancellor, responsible only to himself, controls the executive, while the Legislature is vested in a Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) representing the sovereign princes, and a *Reichstag* elected for five years by universal suffrage to represent the people. Thus was Bismarck's great task accomplished: the Prussianisation of Germany was complete.

Doubts have been expressed whether the German Empire will endure. It has even been suggested that in 1860 the Second Empire seemed as firmly established in France as the Hohenzollern Empire in Germany to-day. There is no parallel between them. The Bonapartist Empire was born in dishonour, cradled in corruption and perished in political penury. The modern German

¹ i.e., Hesse, south of the Main. In respect of his territory north of the Main the Grand Duke of Hesse was a member of the North German Confederation.

Empire represents the long-delayed consummation of an historical evolution; its institutions correspond to a genuine national necessity. It is the Prussian monarchy which has made Germany, and Germany gratefully realises the fact. The constituent States have lost something of their dignity and importance, but much less than is commonly supposed; and if they sometimes resent Prussia's overbearing methods, they are forced to acknowledge the solid advantages they derive from the union. That union is founded upon community of interest, of language, of race and of historical tradition. Resting on such solid foundations it is not likely to be shaken.

CHAPTER XXI

AFTERWORD

THE year 1870-71 is the culminating point of the political history of the nineteenth century. It witnessed in France the collapse of the last of the monarchical experiments and the establishment of the Republic on foundations which have weathered many storms and have endured for thirty-five years. It witnessed the transference of the Italian capital from Florence to Rome and the consummation of the nationality movement in Italy. It witnessed the transformation of the North German Confederation into the German Empire and the consequent completion of German unity. It saw Russia reopen the Eastern Question by the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, and heard the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal infallibility by the Vatican Council (18th July, 1870). To carry the narrative beyond that point would be to confuse the issue and to court the dangers of an anti-climax.

The nineteenth century had accomplished, in Europe, its characteristic work. The last thirty years have witnessed steady development and consolidation. But the development has taken place on lines clearly defined in 1870; there has been no fresh departure, no breach of continuity, no great territorial readjustment. The

modifications in the frontiers of Turkey¹ and Greece; the cession of Cyprus by Turkey to England (1878) and of Heligoland by England to Germany (1890), and the severance of Norway from Sweden (1905)—these represent the chief changes in the map of Europe between 1870 and the present time.

The really significant changes are to be looked for beyond the boundaries of Europe, and in the relation of the European Powers to questions of world-politics.

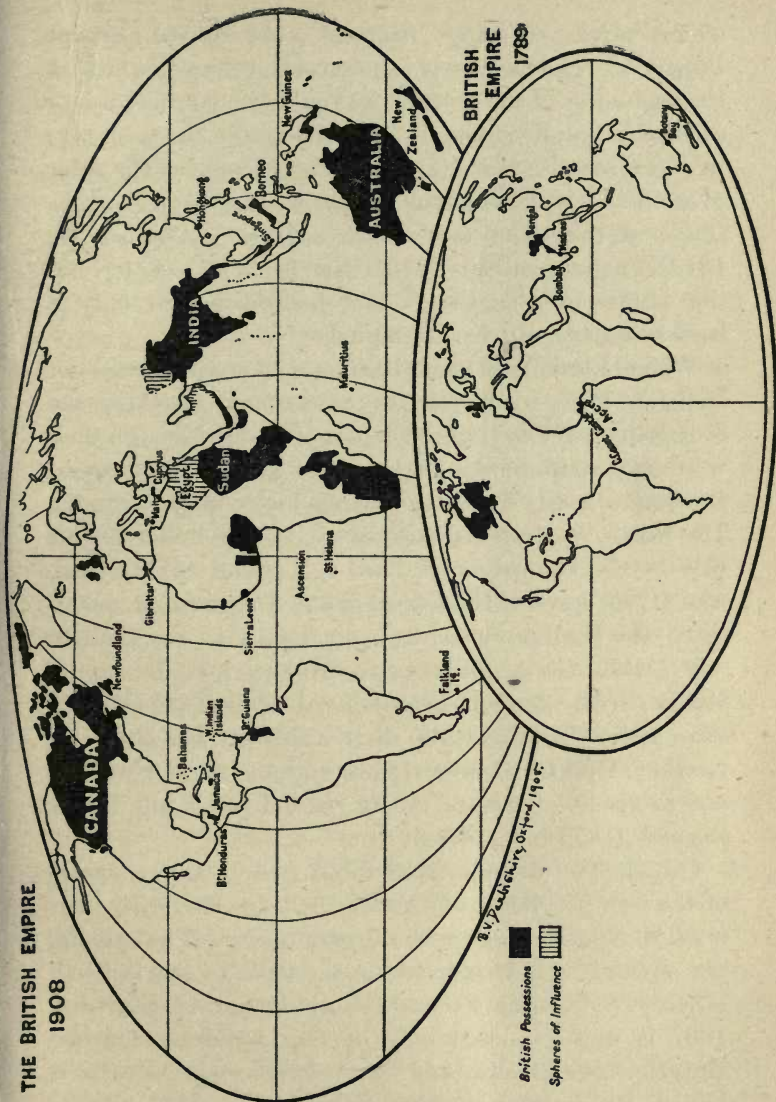
In the last thirty years Science has done much to annihilate space and time. The marvellous improvement in the means of communication and of transportation has caused a real shrinkage in the size of the world. London and Vancouver are now for all practical purposes as near each other as were London and Edinburgh in 1815. Calcutta is hardly further from the capital of the Empire than was Dublin at the time of the Union. As a result, the centre of political gravity has shifted; Africa, America Asia and Australia have begun to react upon Europe; the Chancelleries have to take account of extra-European States, and the mutual relations of the Powers themselves have been sensibly modified.

No country has been so much affected by this revolution in the conditions of world-politics as Great Britain. The scope of this volume forbids any detailed reference either to the foreign or the colonial policy of Great Britain, but no survey, however summary, would be complete which failed to notice the expansion of Britain in the nineteenth century.

At the opening of the century the British Crown ruled over less than half as many subjects (20,000,000) as are now contained in the British Isles alone. It now rules

¹ See Chap. xiii.

**THE BRITISH EMPIRE
1908**



over nine times as many. (Empire = 394,553,581 : British Isles = 42,372,556.) In point of size the Empire which at the beginning of the century was only twelve times as big as the United Kingdom is now ninety-one times as big: in other words, His Majesty King Edward VII. rules over one United Kingdom in Europe and ninety others scattered over the face of the globe. (Area: U.K., 121,027 square miles: British Empire, 11,516,821.) Of the details of this marvellous transformation only a bare summary can be attempted.

India

When Lord Wellesley became Governor-general of India in 1798, we had hardly done more than lay the foundations of the Indian Empire of to-day, though they were laid secure in the possession of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Lord Wellesley changed the map of India. The North-Western Provinces were brought under British rule by the campaigns of Lord Lake; the third Mysore war (1799) gave us the Carnatic and Tanjore, and constituted the Madras Presidency practically as it exists to-day; while the acquisition of Orissa (1804) linked up Madras with Bengal. Since Lord Wellesley's day we have added the Himalayan districts (1815), the Mahratta territories (1818), Sindh (1843), and the Punjab (1849), not to speak of Assam (1826), and Lower and Upper Burmah (1852 and 1886).

Canada

Canada, in 1800, consisted to all intents and purposes of the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with their western frontier resting on the great lakes. The opening out of the North-West has been the work of the last half century. When the Federal Dominion was constituted in 1867 it was composed only of four provinces, Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Manitoba joined it in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince

Edward Island in 1873 and the North-West Provinces in 1897, the latter having since been organised into the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan (1905). To bind the East and West together in commercial no less than political bonds the project of a trans-continental railway was inaugurated in 1881. The work was pushed on with remarkable vigour and rapidity, and the Canadian Pacific Railway was opened in 1886. The great railway, running The C.P.R. from Montreal to Vancouver—a distance of 2,909 miles—is perhaps the most important imperial enterprise of our time. On strategic as well as commercial and political grounds it is likely to prove of the highest value. Thanks to the existence of the Canadian Pacific Railway it is now possible to reinforce with supplies and men a squadron at Vancouver from Great Britain in fourteen days, and a squadron on the China Station in twenty-five.

Passing from the Northern to the Southern hemisphere Australasia a not less remarkable development is witnessed. In 1800 the only British subjects in Australasia were the members of a convict settlement on the coast of New South Wales. In 1821 New South Wales was opened to free immigrants, and from that moment steady though slow progress was made. Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) was separated from New South Wales in 1825, and settlements were effected in Queensland in 1826, in Western Australia (1829), in Victoria (1836), and in New Zealand (1840). In 1900 the five Australian Colonies united into a Federal Commonwealth. Such was the transformation witnessed in the course of the century in the Southern Seas.

From Australasia we pass to South Africa. Occupied South Africa in the name of the Stadtholder of Holland in 1795

Cape Colony was, as we have seen,¹ handed back in 1802, reconquered in 1806, and finally purchased from the Dutch in 1814. But though transferred to the British flag the population of Cape Colony was still exclusively Dutch. Not until 1820 did British immigration make a start. Almost from the first there were difficulties between the British and the Dutch settlers. The emancipation of the slaves (1833) brought things to a crisis, and between 1836 and 1840 some 10,000 Boer farmers shook the dust of British control off their feet and "trekked" into the great regions beyond the Orange and Vaal rivers. Meanwhile a handful of British settlers established themselves at Port Natal (1824), and after some hesitation on the part of the Home Government Natal was declared a British colony in 1843. In regard to the Boers who had trekked to the North-East the British Government pursued a policy of lamentable inconsistency. In 1848 the sovereignty of the Queen was proclaimed over the whole district between the Orange and Vaal rivers. In 1852 the Government recognised, by the Sand River Convention, the independence of the Boers to the north of the Vaal, and in 1854, by the Bloemfontein Convention, that of the Boers to the south of it. Thus the Orange Free State was added to the Transvaal. In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed; re-ceded in 1881, and conquered and re-annexed, together with the Orange Free State, in 1902.

Meanwhile the sovereignty of Great Britain was being rapidly extended over other portions of Africa. East Africa, ruled by a Chartered Company from 1888, was taken over by the Crown in 1895, and Nigeria—a great

¹ P. 130.

district on the West Coast—after similar apprenticeship, was taken over in 1900.

But while British supremacy was steadily extending throughout Southern, Eastern, Western and Central Africa, events of even greater significance were taking place on its Northern shores.

For the last four hundred years the Eastern Mediter-^{Egypt and}
-anean—once the great waterway of commerce—had ^{the Sudan}
sunk into the position of a mere backwater. Trade had deserted its shores for those of the Atlantic. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453) and Egypt (1516) had effectually blocked the old commercial routes, and the discovery of the new route to India by the Cape of Good Hope (1498) completed the ruin which Turkish conquest had begun. The decline of Turkish power in the eighteenth century and the contest between England and France for supremacy in India again recalled attention to the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean. Napoleon's attack on Egypt¹ was a significant hint that he appreciated its importance in relation to European supremacy in Asia. Nicholas I. was, as we have seen,² equally alive to England's interest in Egypt. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, and immediately the Mediterranean regained much of the importance it had lost. Disraeli showed his shrewd appreciation of the new situation when in 1875 he purchased the shares of the Khedive in the Suez Canal, and, in 1878, acquired Cyprus. The purchase of the Canal shares marked the beginning of a new policy. In 1876 England and France established in Egypt a joint financial control which quickly developed into political control. But in 1882 France declined to join England in repressing the rebellion of Arabi Pasha;

¹ See p. 64.

² p. 166.

England undertook the work single-handed, and in 1883 she established a "veiled protectorate" which has practically developed into a permanent occupation of Egypt. In the same year troubles broke out in the Sudan which led, after many sacrifices and vicissitudes, to the conquest of the Sudan (1898). Thus Great Britain is now in all but continuous occupation of Africa from Cairo to Cape Town, the continuity being broken only by German East Africa.

This summary treatment of India, Australia, North America and Africa by no means exhausts the tale of British expansion in the nineteenth century, expansion which has brought one-fifth of the whole area of the world under British rule.

Colonial
Self-
govern-
ment

But not less important than territorial expansion has been the constitutional evolution of the British Colonial Empire. The two Canadas acquired in 1791 representative Legislatures, but without executives responsible to them. On the advice of Lord Durham, whose famous *Report* of 1839 is a landmark in colonial history, Responsible Government was granted to Canada in 1840, and at the same time the two Canadas (Ontario and Quebec) were united. Self-government worked well, but union did not, and in 1867 by the *British North America Act* the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were formed into a Federal Dominion. Other provinces have since joined it.¹

The example of Canada fired the Australasian Colonies. Between 1850 and 1890 the several Colonies of Australia and New Zealand were admitted to the privileges of Self-government, and in 1900 the Australian Colonies united

¹ See p. 234.

in a *Federal Commonwealth* on the Canadian model. Similarly in South Africa: Responsible Government was granted to Cape Colony in 1872, to Natal in 1893 and to the recently annexed Transvaal and Orange River Colonies in 1906 and 1907 respectively. It can hardly be doubted that the South African Colonies will, before long, follow the example of the North American and Australian Colonies and unite in some form of federation.

The extraordinary growth of the British Empire has been the chief factor in the shrinkage of the world. It has also excited, not unnaturally, similar aspirations on the part of other European Powers.

Down to 1870 Germany and Italy were too fully occupied with the task of internal unification to give heed to world-politics. France also was busy throughout the century with domestic revolutions. But the completion of German and Italian unity, and the secure establishment of the French Republic have been followed by excursions into world-politics. Thus in 1881 France established a "protectorate" over Tunis, and subsequently annexed that country. In 1884 the same power compelled China to recognise her protectorate over Anam and Tonkin, and in 1893, taking advantage of the Russian Alliance, France enlarged the boundaries of her Indo-Chinese provinces until they met our own to the north of Siam. Russia had, of course, long been active not only in Persia, but in the "farther East," and in 1898 obtained a "lease" of Port Arthur from China. Germany at the same time obtained a "lease" of Kiaochau, France of Kwang-chau-wan, and Great Britain of Wei-hai-wei. Germany, meanwhile, had in 1884 definitely embarked upon a policy of colonial expansion in Africa, and in 1890 concluded a treaty with Great Britain

delimiting the boundaries of the German Colonies in East and South-West Africa.

U.S.A. These bare facts are sufficiently indicative of the change coming over world-politics ; but more significant still was the war between the United States and Spain and the results following thereon (1898). Hitherto the United States, while warning off the European Powers from interference on the American Continent, had carefully abstained from anything which might involve them in the complications of a foreign policy. The occupation of Cuba and the annexation of the Philippines announced to the world a new departure. Henceforward the United States was to be reckoned among the "Powers," a fact further emphasised by their participation in the Hague Conferences and in the international expedition organised for the suppression of the Boxer insurrection in China in 1900. It is noticeable that in the mixed contingent which in that year marched to Peking, Japanese troops also were to be found side by side with the forces of the European Powers.

The
Nationality
Principle

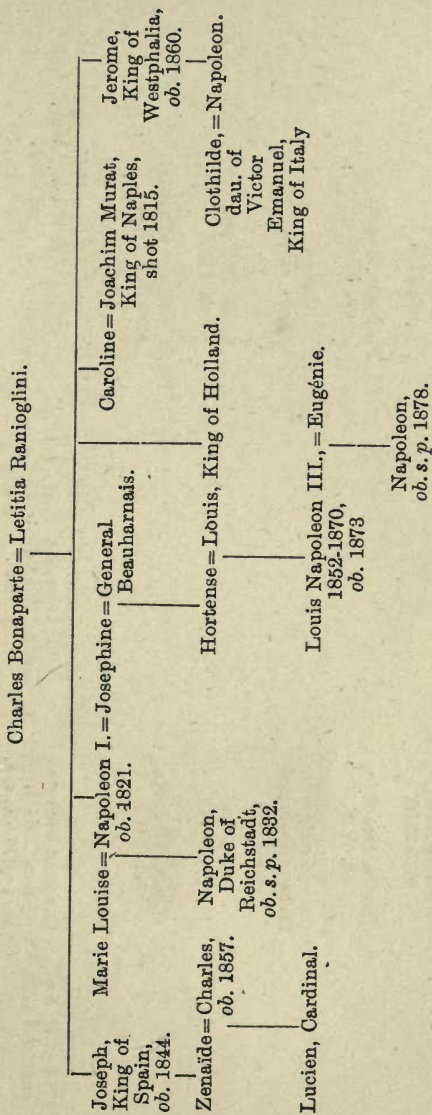
It would be out of place to do more than hint at these significant events. They obviously herald the approach of a new era in world history. They mark not so much the close of the nineteenth century as the dawn of the twentieth. The period with which this book is concerned historically ended with the great events of 1870-71. Passing reference has been made to some subsequent events simply for the purpose of throwing into bolder relief the characteristic work of the nineteenth century. That work consisted in the revelation of the potent force of nationality as a principle of unification and a principle of disruption. Liberated by the French Revolution and emphasised by the Napoleonic wars, that principle found

its most conspicuous illustration in the unification of Germany and Italy; in the quickening of dead bones in the provinces subject to the rule of the Turk; and above all, perhaps, in the movement towards the political unification of the British race scattered in a hundred homes throughout the world.

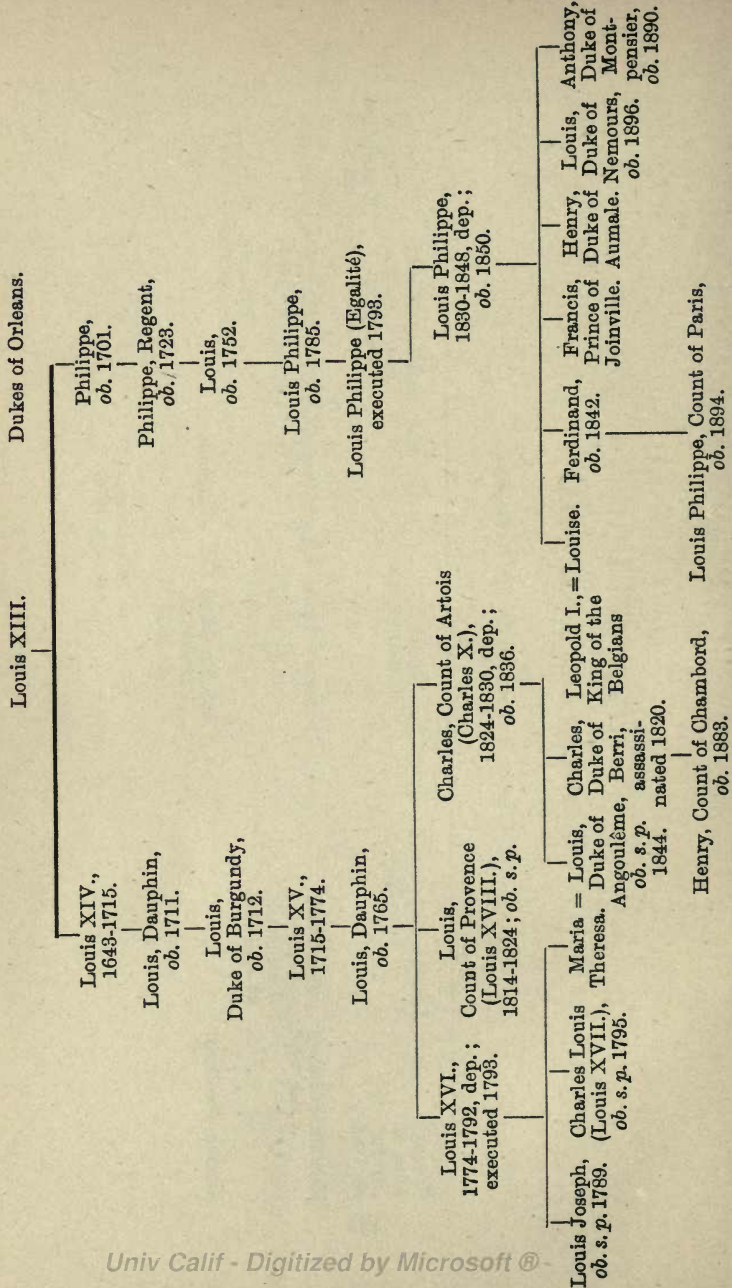
That is the principle which gives unity and coherence to the myriad phenomena of the period under review. At first sight diverse, unrelated, and even contradictory, they are seen to obey a definite political law. In obedience to that law, during the last hundred years, modern Europe has been remade.

APPENDIX I

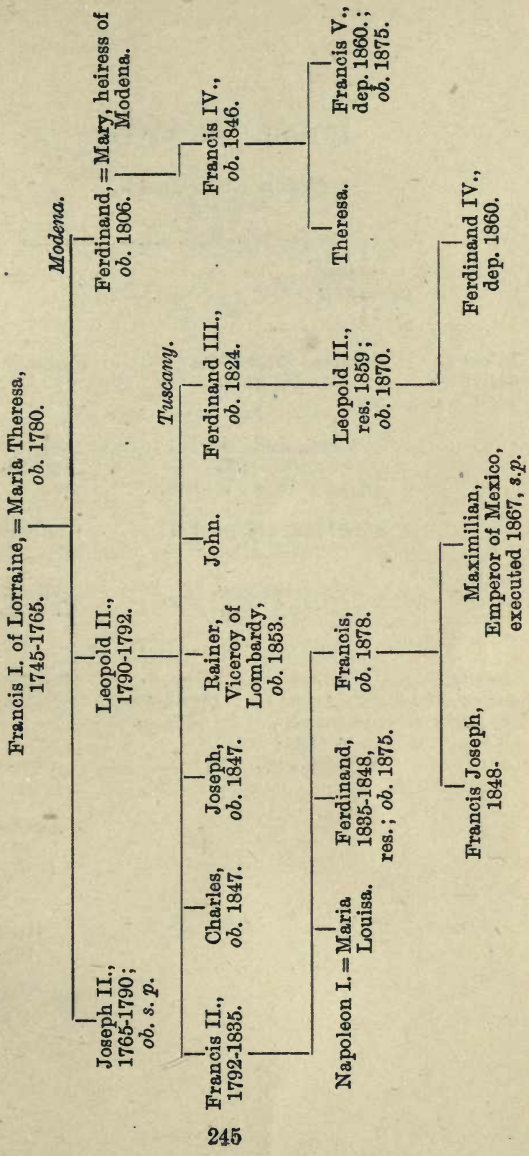
HOUSE OF BONAPARTE



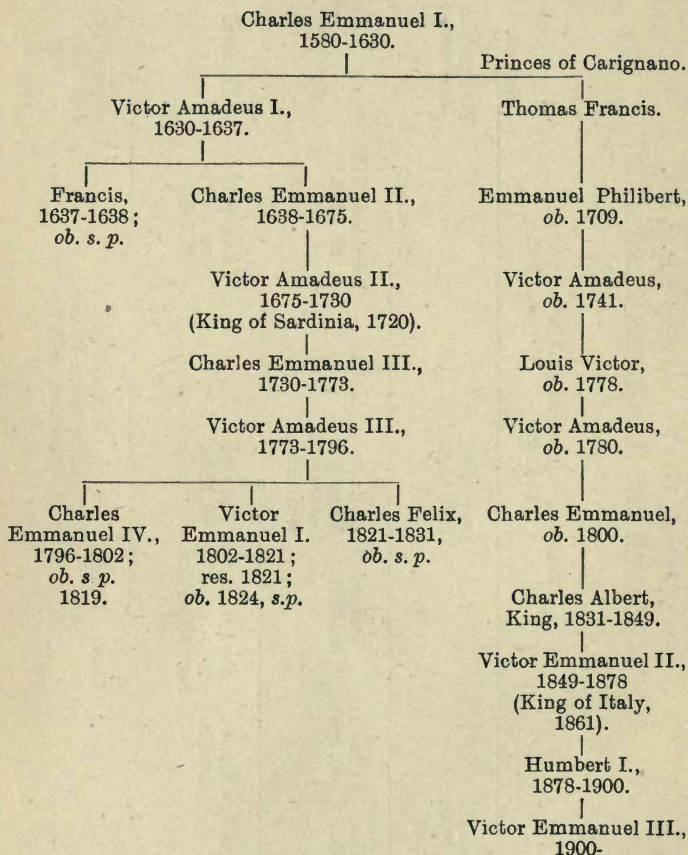
BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE, SHOWING ORLEANS BRANCH



HOUSE OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE



HOUSE OF SAVOY



HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG

Frederick I., first King of Prussia, 1701,
1688-1713.

Frederick William I.,
1713-1740.

Frederick II., the Great,
1740-1786;
ob. s. p.

Augustus William,
ob. 1758.

Frederick William II.,
1786-1797,

Frederick William III.,
1797-1840.

Frederick William IV.,
1840-1861;
ob. s. p.

William I.,
succ. 1861;
"German Emperor,"
1871.

Frederick,
1888.

William II.,
1888-

APPENDIX II

SHORT LIST OF BOOKS ON THE PERIOD 1789-1878

The following list is in no sense exhaustive, but is merely intended for those who wish to fill in the sketch presented in the foregoing pages. For an elaborate bibliography reference may be made to *Cambridge Modern History*, vols. viii.-x.

A. FOR BEGINNERS.

The general history of Europe (1792-1880) may be studied in C. H. Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe*, or more briefly in Lodge's *Modern Europe*, together with a good atlas, e.g., Putzger's or Rothert's, iv. v. b.

Among special books on particular chapters, I have included some historical novels.

Chaps. II.-V. :—

Mallet : *French Revolution*.

Mahan : *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*. (Vol. I., chaps. i., ii. ; II., pp. 361-380, and chaps. xvi., xviii., xix.)

Willert : *Mirabeau* ("Foreign Statesmen").

Beesley : *Danton*.

Morley : *Robespierre*.

Arthur Young : *Travels in France*.

Novels :—

Dumas : *Ange Pitou* ; *La Comtesse de Charny*, and *Chevalier de Maison Rouge*.

Eckmann-Chatrian : *Histoire d'un paysan* and *Madame Thérèse*.

Victor Hugo : *L'an '93.*

Stanley Weyman : *Red Cockade.*

Dickens : *Tale of Two Cities.*

Chaps. VI.-XI. :—

Rose : *Life of Napoleon.*

Seeley : *Napoleon.*

Novels :—

Gilbert Parker : *Battle of the Strong.*

Merriman : *Barlasch of the Guard.*

Balzac : *Les Chouans.*

Charles Lever : *Charles O'Malley.*

Chaps. XII., XIV. :—

Jervis and Hassall : *Student's France.*

Chaps. XIII., XV. :—

Alison Phillips : *Greek War of Independence.*

Holland : *Treaty Relations between Russia and Turkey.*

Novels :—

Jokai : *Lion of Janina.*

E. F. Benson : *Vintage.*

Tolstoy : *Sevastopol.*

Chaps. XVI., XVII. :—

Countess Cesaresco : *Liberation of Italy.*

Marriott : *Makers of Modern Italy.*

Bolton King : *Mazzini.*

Novel :—

George Meredith : *Vittoria.*

Chaps. XVIII.-XX. :—

Malleon : *Refounding of German Empire.*

Headlam : *Bismarck.*

Bismarck : *The Man and the Statesman* (trans. A. J. Butler).

Novel :—

Zola : *La Débâcle.*

B. FOR MORE ADVANCED STUDENTS

I.—General.

- Heeren : *Political System of Europe*.
 Rose : *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*.
 Morse Stephens : *Revolutionary Europe* (1789-1815).
 Alison Phillips : *Modern Europe* (1815-1880).
 Lavisse et Rambaud : *Histoire Générale*. Vols. viii.-xii.
 Seignobos : *Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine*.
 C. M. Andrews : *The Historical Development of Modern Europe* (from 1815).
 Kirkpatrick (ed.) : *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century*.
 Rose : *The Development of the European Nations* (1870-1900).

For the Geography :—

- Poole : *Historical Atlas* (Maps, which can be bought separately, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 42, 43, 59, 70, 82, 89).
 Himly : *La Formation Territoriale*.

II.—On Particular Chapters.

Chaps. II.-V. :—

- De Tocqueville : *France before 1789 (L'Ancien Régime)*.
 Sorel : *L'Europe et la Revolution Française*.
 Morse Stephens : *French Revolution*.
 Cherest : *La Chute de l'Ancien Régime*.
Cambridge Modern History, vol. viii.
 Carlyle's *French Revolution* (edited by Rose or Fletcher).

Chaps. VI.-XII. :—

- Rose : *Napoleonic Studies*.
 Fisher : *Napoleonic Studies*.
 Fournier : *Napoleon I*.
 Oman : *Peninsular War*.
 Sorel : *Le Traité de Paris*.
Cambridge Modern History, vol. ix.

Chap. XII., XIV. :—

- Dickinson : *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*.
 Marriott : *George Canning and his Times*.

Pierre de la Gorce: *Histoire du Second Empire*.
 H. A. L. Fisher: *Bonapartism*.
 Hanotaux: *La France Contemporaine*.
Cambridge Modern History, vol. x. (The Restoration).

Chaps. XIII., XV. :—

Rimbaud: *Russia*.
 Odysseus: *Turkey in Europe*.
 Finlay: *History of the Greek Revolution*.
 Driault: *La Question d'Orient*.
 Kinglake: *Invasion of the Crimea*.
 Holland: *The European Concert in the Eastern Question*.

Chaps. XVI., XVII. :—

Johnston: *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*.
 Bolton King: *History of Italian Unity*.
 Stillman: *Union of Italy*.
 Trevelyan: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*.

Chaps. XVIII., XIX. :—

Sybel: *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reichs* (translated).
 Denys: *La Foundation de l'Empire Allemand*.
 Fisher: *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship* (Germany).
 Metternich: *Memoirs*.
 Asseline: *Histoire de l'Autriche depuis Marie Thérèse*.
 Auerbach: *Les Races et Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*.
 Busch: Various works on *Bismarck*.

Chap. XX. :—

Sorel: *Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*.
 Chuquet: *Precis de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*.
 Lord Acton: *Historical Essays*.

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