



CRUSADERS SIGHTING JERUSALEM

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Volume X

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Italy

The Spanish Peninsula

The Crusades

Trade of the Middle Ages

The Renaissance

The Reformation and After

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THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

THE END OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

THE relations established by Charlemagne between the Frank dominion and Italy reveal a complete change in certain aspects of the social order in the peninsula. The side of Italy facing eastward has surrendered its historical importance to the westward side; Ravenna is dethroned, and Rome appears in a new, though for the moment a borrowed, splendour; the Teutonic civilisation, which is now paramount, gradually pervades all public institutions and the general conceptions of life and its duties, even in spheres which had hitherto been subject entirely to Byzantine influence. Apart from Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, where Greek influences remained predominant, Italy had now become an integral part of the Frankish Empire, and as its several districts gradually became unified and united, they adopted that peculiar form of territorial ownership which is denoted by the term "feudal system." This change forms the main portion of that section of Italian history to which, from its connection with Central Europe beyond the Alps, the name "Ultramontane" may be given, using the term in a sense precisely the reverse of its modern meaning.

Frankish Feudalism in Italy The introduction of the Frankish feudal system into Italy of the ninth century is still regarded in many quarters as no great innovation and as possessing no decisive importance, for the reason that the country upon several occasions had previously been permeated with institutions of Teutonic origin; none the less we have before us an entirely new development. It must be remembered that the foundation upon

which the Goths and Lombards were obliged to build had never entirely lost the indelible stamp of Roman custom. Early and recent Roman law, Lombard edicts, Frankish tribal law, and German imperial law—these three or four influences have co-operated to determine the later constitutional developments of Upper and Central Italy. Local divergences are easily explained as the result of special geographical influence. The character of the older economy had been determined by the predominance of territorial ownership and of the town with its peasant citizens.

The development of freehold property rights had started from two different forms of revocable conveyance—a hereditary freehold, especially in the case of Church property, might extend over three generations, or land might be held in usufruct. Then came the division of Italy into the Lombard and non-Lombard districts. In the latter portion, together with the militia and the ecclesiastical landed proprietors, who held a special position, the commanders of the castles—the *Tribuni*—had become hereditary lords and independent chieftains after the Byzantine protectorate had disappeared; in the other districts, under the Lombards, the colonists had become dependents, almost in the position of serfs. The period of lease was almost unlimited, a beneficial institution compared with the confusing system of yearly leases which continued from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

New social classes gradually became distinct within the Lombard territory; the smallest landholders and the farmer

who worked with forty yokes were inferior to the landowners who possessed at least seven hides of freehold, and of these the king did not necessarily hold the largest extent of property, as his possessions were largely divided among adherents who looked for some tangible reward. To these classes was afterwards added the mercantile class, possessed of personal property. The wide divergences which separated these groups were inevitably accentuated by the processes of internal consolidation and change, which in other cases was completed with comparative rapidity. For that very reason the Carolingian social order was first able to extend its influences with comparative uniformity over both portions and to produce a similarity, and for that reason again this influence is by no means so unimportant a matter as it would have been under other circumstances.

Italy Under Change and Development

Thus the ninth century brought to Italy a further expansion of the beneficiary system. Investiture with Church property was connected with the entirely Teutonic institution of vassalage, and here even upon Italian soil we undoubtedly find the seeds of the feudal system. The protection demanded by the papacy against domestic and foreign enemies undoubtedly fostered and disseminated the Central European theory that possession of the fief obliged the holder to render faithful service in war.

By its very nature the feudal nobility aimed at separatism and independence, and its strength implied a gradual weakening of the central power, which suffered a corresponding loss of territorial and military power; this process continued in Italy, and an obvious example of a feudal state in process of disruption is Benevento, which broke up into Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. A number of petty subordinate vassals were often held in subjection by the more powerful vassals. These various grades of separate power which had interposed themselves between the wearer of the crown and the general mass of his subjects were inspired by an invincible longing to make their property hereditary and their position independent; in Italy their attainment of this object was hindered for the moment by the prosperity of the cities, which, though surprising for its early maturity, can be explained by reference to the conditions of past centuries.

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Prosperous State of the Cities

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During that time the islands on the coast line were more and more disturbed by the Arabs, or Saracens, whose raids increased the traditional value attaching to fortified towns; in effect they occupied the position that was formerly held by the invading barbarians, who had advanced upon the country from the north.

The picture which we gain of Italy under the successors of Charles the Great is generally unsatisfactory. The founder of the world-empire, upon the premature death of his son Pippin on July 8th, 810, had personally placed Pippin's son Bernard in command of Italy in 812, and had made him king of the Lombards in the following year; Lewis, on the other hand, received the imperial crown on September 11th, 813. Lewis, after his father's death, proceeded to rearrange the imperial administration in July, 817, without consulting the interests of his nephew, who thereupon revolted. Bernard's rapid submission in December could not mitigate the severity of his punishment, that of being blinded, on April 15th, 818; he died two days afterwards. His fate foreshadows that of many another Italian prince. The emperor repented of his severity, and Bernard's son Pippin repaid evil with good by liberating the Empress Judith with a few faithful followers who had been banished to Italy in July, 833; in April, 834, Pippin restored her to her husband, whose descendants became counts of Vermandois.

Lothair on Italy's Throne

From the year 822 the co-emperor Lothair ruled over Italy upon the basis of the "Divisio imperii" of 817; the country was involved in the struggles which broke out in 830 between Louis the Pious and his sons. From February 2nd, 831, to June 30th, 833, Lothair was king only of Italy, though by a rapid change of fortune he then became sole emperor, until his subjugation in the autumn of 834. After that date his possessions were again confined to Italy, and he rewarded his faithful servants with estates at the expense both of the Church and of his secular adherents, with the result that from the autumn of 836 serious discontent was felt with his action. Eventually, at the end of May, 839, took place the final reconciliation with his weak father, which ended in a fresh partition of the empire.

By these arrangements Lothair chose the half to the east of the Maas, without Bavaria, and this portion naturally

ITALY: END OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

included Italy, with which he was already connected. We can therefore understand that after the settlement with his brothers—that is to say, after the battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye on June 25th, 841, after the flight of Lothair in March, 842, and the Treaty of Verdun in August, 843—he preferred the central portion of the three parts, the rights and revenues of which were practically identical; this portion extended from Frisia along the Rhine and Moselle, the Saône and Rhone, as far as Italy.

In this way the Emperor Lothair united the three capitals of Rome, Pavia, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and secured the connection between them free from any interruption by foreign territory; more than this, his strong hand gained possession of the old and even then very important commercial route from the Mediterranean harbours of Southern Provence to the staple markets in Frisia and on the Lower Rhine, Duurstede, Ghent, and Antwerp. If the partition of Verdun had been maintained, this long and narrow central empire, known from 851 as the "Regnum Hlotharii"—Lotharingia in the

How Lothair Helped Commerce

wider sense of the term—would have had an advantageous prospect of economic development notwithstanding its ill-defined boundaries. Even though a considerable part of the Oriental trade had continued to pass Italy and to seek transmission northwards from Marseilles, the emperor's portion of the peninsula would at any rate have gained a continent for its export and retail trade such as was secured only centuries later when the difficulties of Alpine transport had been methodically overcome.

The reality proved very different. At first it appeared as if the permanence of the Lotharingian realm had been guaranteed; on June 15th, 844, the emperor's son Lewis II. was anointed and crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II.; the Duke Siginulf of Benevento did homage in person. During those years the father was occupied in the north by the incursions of the Northmen and other events of the kind, and his prestige was diminished, in so far as the imperial rights of supremacy which Lothair had retained by his treaty with Pope Eugenius II. in November, 824—providing that coronation should take place before the arrival of the imperial ambassador—were disregarded for the second time in 847. On

the other hand, the aggressions of the Saracens were checked, though only for the moment, in 847 and 852, by comparatively successful campaigns which Lewis conducted in the south; in the course of these movements Salerno was definitely separated from Benevento in 847 for the purpose of securing an effective frontier defence. Lewis was now indisputably master of Italy, and his position received formal recognition by his coronation as emperor at the beginning of April, 850, at the hands of Pope Leo IV.; Lothair naturally retained the supremacy, as Louis the Pious had done in 822, until his abdication and his death, which followed in September, 855.

The Emperor Louis II. retained the crown for fully twenty years. It may be at once admitted that he did his best to consolidate Italy at home and to secure her position against foreign powers. In 860 he crushed Benevento; he conquered Bari with Greek help on February 2nd, 871, after a four years' siege, and relieved Salerno in August, 872. It would hardly have been possible, however, even for a more powerful ruler to have checked the progress of anarchy, a symptom of which was the terrifying prevalence of highway robbery, as attested by punitive capitularies of 850 and 865. In any case, even before the Treaty of Mersen the unity of Greater Lotharingia had ceased to exist.

The economic projects and the plans entertained by Lothair in 843 were naturally brought to a sudden end by the transfer of Frisia to Lewis's brother, Lothair II., at the beginning of 855; he also secured Francia with Aix-la-Chapelle—Lotharingia in the narrower sense—six months later, while Charles, as the youngest son, obtained Provence and a part of Burgundy. After September, 855, Italy was again thrown upon her own resources. The situation was not materially altered

by the acquisition of Geneva and its environs in 859, or of Provence and other parts of Burgundy beyond the Jura in 863; the connection with the Carolingian north was definitely interrupted. The helplessness of the imperial power is shown with appalling clearness after the death of Lothair II., on August 8th, 869. The justifiable claims of Lewis II. were unable to secure a hearing, and his uncles, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, divided

the inheritance which they were glad to grasp. The other side of the picture consists of the inevitable and successful action of the Popes Nicholas I. and Hadrian II. against Lothair III. upon the question of his unlawful marriages with Theutberga and Waldrada, in the years 865, 867, and 869, and the result displays a faithful reflection of the general superiority of the papacy to the Carolingian partition princes. Inglorious also for the Emperor Lewis was his surprise by Adelchis of Benevento and a band of conspirators on August 13th, 871; equally inglorious was the humiliation by which he secured his liberty on September 17th, though his self-respect may have been healed by Pope Hadrian, who released him from his extorted oath and performed his coronation on May 18th, 872. The friendly attitude of the Curia hardly blinded the emperor's eyes to the fact that he was further from the complete mastery of Italy at the end of his life than he had been at the beginning of his reign.

However, after the death of Lewis II., on August 12th, 875, even the cowardly Charles the Bald was tempted to claim the imperial crown, which he actually secured upon the Christmas Day of that year. Carloman, the eldest son of Lewis the German, to whom the crown had actually been bequeathed, was for the moment cheated of his hopes. At the rumour of his approach with an army, Charles fled in September, 877, and died on October 6th, when Pavia did homage to his nephew. Carloman, however, who had been ill at the end of November, succumbed to his malady in a short time, and died on March 22nd, 880. Previously, in 878, Pope John VIII., hard pressed by the Saracens, and turning the inactivity of the East Franks to his own advantage, had attempted, with a remarkable display of independence, to choose a more suitable emperor in the person of Boso of Lower Burgundy, who had become the son-in-law of Lewis II. by his abduction of Irmengard.

Boso, however, declined the honour, and Carloman in the middle of August, 878, averted a threatening loss by the cession of Italy to his "little" brother, Charles the Fat. The country was naturally suffering considerably under an uncertainty which accelerated its disruption, and offered a

joyful welcome to the new king, who entered Lombardy at the end of October. The desired support was, however, denied for the moment, for in the spring of 880 Charles turned his back upon Upper Italy in order to crush Boso of Vienne.

In November he re-entered Italy, and was actually crowned Emperor of Rome; the campaign which the Pope desired was, however, again deferred. It was not until the murder of John VIII., on December 15th, 882, that a new Italian expedition was undertaken. The deposition of Duke Wido II. of Spoleto and Camerino, in June 883, was an inadequate measure, as Charles afterwards returned to Germany in November, while the sentence of deposition was graciously removed on January 7th, 885. The same year brought Charles the homage of the West Franks. In consequence of this event he was overwhelmed with tasks demanding completion, and the short Italian visit of the spring of 886 brought no help to the papacy, which was hard pressed by the Arabs. Towards the end of the autumn of 887 the patience of the nations, who were irritated by the emperor's incapacity, gave

Italy Disunited and Broken way. Charles retired in favour of Arnulf, who had been chosen king, and died at Neidingen on the Danube. Thus, within the short space of barely ninety years the great creation of Charles the Great had disappeared. The want of some dominant centre once more became obvious; the separate political organisations could not be easily combined, owing to the extended configuration of the peninsula, and were connected only by the feeble ties of locality. Thus, disunited and broken into many fragments, Italy was unable to defend herself against the Arabs, whose raids became speedily bolder, or to check the disastrous insecurity of life and property which prevailed throughout the country.

Notwithstanding her insular position, and her protected situation, Venice was then an Italian community, like so many others, with a basis of Roman law modified by Greek, Lombard and Frankish edicts and customs; from the year 840 she had gradually withdrawn from the Byzantine protectorate, though some remnants of this supremacy survived in titles, etc., until the thirteenth century. The official representative of the emperor of East Rome had long ago been forced to make room

for the native Dux, Duke, or Doge, though he had not upon that account become dependent upon the Franks. Between 811 and 942 the dignity of Doge belonged to seven Parteciaci. Since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the summer of 812, the Frankish emperor, who wished to be recognised as such by the east, had renounced his claims to Venice, which he had hardly secured.

In the centre of the peninsula the Pope held sway, restricted in many respects, but none the less holding the balance of equality and capable of guiding his neighbours. The north and north-west formed in general the Italian kingdom with Pavia as the capital. From this centre the Frankish feudal system followed a course of domestic development which laid stress upon practical rights and their hereditary transmission, and triumphantly extended into the non-Frankish districts.

This was, however, the only case in which the Frankish nationality made any progress; elsewhere retrogression was but too clearly perceptible. The Margrave of Ivrea and the Duke of Friuli, the Margrave of Tuscany and the Duke of Spoleto, at times proved very restless under the Carolingian yoke. The crown seemed an object worthy of effort as much for the actual power which its possession implied as for the fictitious splendour of the imperial title.

It cannot, however, be asserted that this rivalry for the imperial crown at Rome conferred any benefit upon the peninsula. Arnulf found much difficulty in maintaining the Carolingian claim. At the end of 888 and in the early winter of 895 he subjugated Berengar of Friuli; at the end of January, 894, he stormed Bergamo, which had been defended by Ambrosius, the Count of Spoleto; he overthrew Adalbert of Tuscany in February, and was finally crowned Emperor of Rome in February, 896, after taking the capital by storm. Even at that moment the actual supremacy of the north and part of Central Italy was in other hands whose power was not disputed. For more than a generation (888-924) Berengar I. of Friuli, who was related through his mother to the Emperor Louis the Pious, held the throne of the Lombards and became Roman emperor in December, 915.

He, however, was severely defeated in 889 on the Trebbia by Wido II. of Spoleto, who was not related to the Carolingians; further defeats were suffered at the hands of the Magyars, on the Brenta, and of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy at Fiorenzuola on July 17th, 923; during his lifetime it was only in the north-east that his position was fully recognised. With the exception of those months when Arnulf was staying in Italy the central part of the country was ruled by the above-mentioned Wido, the only Italian king without the most shadowy hereditary claim, who was elected by the nobles.

After his death, in December, 894, he was succeeded by his son Lambert, who was prudent enough to open friendly relations with the Curia after the final retreat of the East Franks. When he died, on October 15th, 898, Berengar might have been able to rule the entire kingdom of Italy in peace had not a second rival appeared; this was Louis III., king of Provence, then twenty years of age, a true Carolingian through his mother, and descended, moreover, from the Italian line. His efforts to secure the crown were at first successful, and Benedict IV. crowned him emperor in February, 901. He was surprised, however, at Verona, in July, 905, by Berengar and his Bavarian sympathisers, was blinded, and died twenty-three years afterwards in Arles.

Upon the removal of Louis, Berengar I. found a third opponent in 921 in the person of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy. Rudolf secured the supremacy in 923, but was obliged to share the favour of the nobles after 926 with Hugo of Provence, who was a Carolingian. The treaty of 933 left Hugo in possession of Italy, while he also succeeded in securing the inheritance of Lewis II. after his death; Rudolf received Lower Burgundy and retained Upper Burgundy.

The power of Hugo came to an end before Rome, and was soon to be limited from the north. The path was thus clear for Berengar II., who had been crowned with his son Adalbert. But the settlement was apparent rather than real. A more powerful character was even then approaching who was to reorganise and consolidate the affairs of Italy.

Death of Wido II.

Rivalry for Italy's Throne

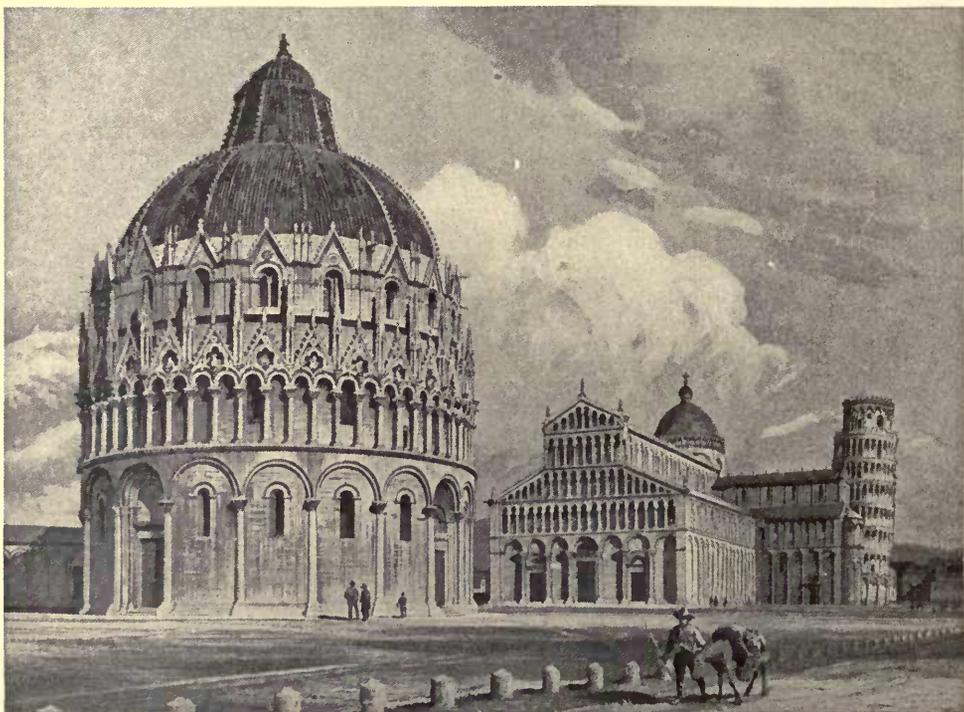
Hugo's Power at an End



THE BEAUTIFUL GOTHIC CATHEDRAL OF PALERMO

Photochrome

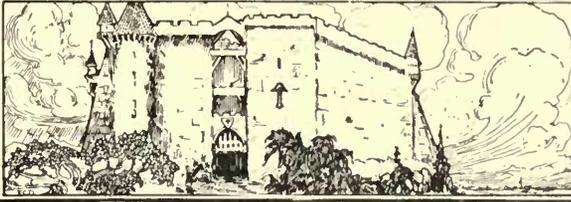
Chief of the beauties of Palermo is its cathedral, a magnificent Gothic structure, the building of which began in 1180. Within its walls are the porphyrys and marble tombs of Henry VI., Frederic II., and their queens, these indicating the connection of Italy with the German Empire—a period treated in the chapter which follows.



THE BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

The celebrity of the town of Pisa is due in large measure to the buildings shown in the illustration. In the foreground, on the left, stands the baptistry, the outer foundations of which were laid in 1153. Various alterations were carried out on this noble structure from time to time, until, in the fifteenth century, the dome was crowned by a cupola on which rises the bronze statue of John the Baptist. The cathedral adjoining the baptistry was, in its restored form, begun in 1006, while behind the cathedral stands the wonderful leaning tower, a campanile begun in 1174.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
ITALY II

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY AND THE FLOURISHING OF THE CITIES

THOUGH since the year 875 election had been the habitual method of imperial appointment, the theory of the hereditary rights of the dynasty, formulated in the Carolingian period, had never become extinct, and formed the basis of the emperor's supremacy. Evidence of this fact is found not only in the many secret transactions upon the occasion of a change of rulers and the repetition of the elections, but also in the fact that King Adalbert became a suitor for the hand of Lothair's widow, Adelaide. After his rejection she did not resign her claims to the crown, but combined legal possession of the Italian kingdom with prospects of securing Burgundy, and accepted the strong hand of the Saxon Otto I., who thus secured an indisputable claim to Italy. His first entry into Italy occurred in the sixteenth year of his rule in East Francia. At first his authority was by no means uniformly extended. In 956 his son Liudolf, who was possibly crowned at Parma in May, and who died in 957, was obliged to advance against Berengar, who, in August, 952, had been invested with Italy, not including Istria, Aquileia, Trient, and Verona. For the moment the powerful Alberic II. opposed his entry into Rome.

After Alberic's death, in 954, when Germany had been pacified and its eastern frontier secured, Otto was able to pay closer attention to those Italian problems awaiting his solution. This process began with his second journey to Italy in the winter of 961-962, which gave to Central Europe a second Charles the Great on February 2nd. In 936 John XII., the son of Alberic, was deposed by the new emperor, as also was Benedict V. in 964, while in 963 and 964 Leo VIII. was raised to the papacy, and John XIII. in 965 and 967. Compelled to surrender in the mountain fortress of St. Leo, or Montefeltro, in 964, Berengar II. died in Bamberg in 966; Queen Willa took the veil;

and Adalbert, who died between 971 and 975, was driven into exile with his brothers and sisters. Thus almost the last offshoots of the Carolingian dynasty in Italy became extinct. Capua, Benevento, and Salerno submitted to the Saxon emperor, and only the extreme south remained Byzantine and Arab. The connection between the cold north and the warm south became steadily closer. Otto II., the son of Otto and Adelaide, who had been joint emperor from 967, married, in 972, the Greek princess Theophano, a member of the "Macedonian" dynasty of emperors, which was not altogether distinguished by greatness of descent. The centre of interest and inclination was thus transferred towards the south, and even more definitely so in 983, when Otto III. succeeded to the German throne at the age of three years. Apart from all other attraction, the influence of two previous generations will suffice to explain the enormous influence which Italy exercised upon the history of Germany from the close of the tenth century.

The extent to which the south was connected with German history, not only then but for a long period afterwards, is a matter with which we have already dealt. Here we can merely develop and extend our consideration of those movements which were temporarily or entirely Italian, and which lie outside the limits of the account of the East Frankish Empire provided by the earlier section. The fact is in any case worthy of remark that King Otto III., when he made his youthful relation, Bruno, Pope, with the title of Gregory, placed the first German upon the papal throne. This was done from the point of view of Carolingian and Ottonian imperial theory, which regarded the Pope as nothing more than the first officer of the Church. The Crescentius who opposed the emperor in the person of his protégé

Three-year-old King of Germany

A Second Charles the Great

First German Pope

paid for his attempt by a dishonourable death at the end of April, 998. The end of the first Christian millennium was now at hand. In comparison with the state of affairs in 800, the position had considerably altered, notwithstanding the shortness of the intervening time. It is not to be supposed that the "Chiliast" doctrine,

The Great Age of Venetian Architecture

which predicted the end of the world for the year 1000, had met with any general acceptance. Outside the narrow circles of Otto III., Boleslav I. Chabri, and Vladimir of Kief, the doctrine met with few adherents and was probably but little known. The architectural activity of Venice at that time is an argument against its wide acceptance. But the relations of the various leading powers in Italy had undergone many modifications.

The first point which strikes us is the strong revival of the Byzantine power in the south. The Saracen advance had been checked between 850 and 870 only by Lewis II., and had been shattered after his death entirely by the tenacious resistance of the Byzantine garrisons. About the year 890 the Arabs were expelled from Calabria and Apulia, and in 915 these triumphs of Christianity were crowned by the splendid victory on the Garigliano. The supremacy of the emperor of East Rome extended once more over the thrones of Salerno, Naples, and Capua, including Benevento, and the rulers were no longer changed with the former astonishing rapidity.

Only a few isolated communities were able to retain their independence beyond the outset of the eleventh century, under favourable political circumstances and through the advantage of geographical position. A case in point is Amalfi, which had left the eastern empire without a struggle in 839, and had become a republic at that date and a family duchy in 958. Apart from the raids

Raids of the Wild Magyars

upon the coasts and islands, which never entirely ceased, and apart from the occasional incursions of the Magyars, it may be said that the interior of the south was almost entirely pacified in the tenth century. The monasteries of Monte Cassino and of San Vincenzo on the Volturno rose once more from their ruins, and once again the disruption of the feudal states was checked. On one point, however, uncertainty still

remained; the Pandulfs of Capua and the Waimars of Salerno considered that their revived independence might enable them to dispense with the eastern emperor, while the Byzantine Strategist regarded that ancient Lombard principality as really belonging to the *Themes*, or provinces, of Longibardia and Calabria. There was naturally no definite delimitation of the frontier line.

In other respects much mutual consideration was shown, and the diplomacy of Byzantium was sufficiently far-sighted to spare the Lombard and Roman nationalities. The advantage of this policy was seen in the fact that even when the opportunity appeared most favourable for secession, as in 1010 and 1017, the South Italian towns were not to be seduced from their allegiance, or induced to throw open their gates to insurgents or Normans.

Northern Calabria, on the lower reaches of the Crati, and Southern and Eastern Lucania were so penetrated with the spirit of Greek imperialism that they appeared in the twelfth century under the name "Basilicata." The original

Influences in the Making of Italy

substratum of the population in these districts remained Greek, and the proud edifice of Norman rule, which left the local constitutions untouched, merely replaced the imperial governor, and is to be understood only by keeping this basis in mind. If the enormous influences which moulded Southern Italy in the Middle Ages be placed in due gradation, the series will appear as follows. At the head stand the Byzantine and Norman influences, which were followed by the Roman—in legal matters—the Lombard, and Frank, while last of all comes the Arab influence, which ended for Sicily in 1072. Striking evidence for these facts is afforded by the history of Christian art in Lower Italy, which was materially enriched by Greek and Eastern influences during the second half of the eleventh century.

After the extinction of the warlike Candiani, who provided four Doges for Venice between 932 and 979, this city reached the culmination of its remarkable course of development about the year 1000. Its restricted territory and its geographical situation directed the efforts of Venice to the sea and to foreign countries, and for the successful conduct of this difficult policy an almost monarchical

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

government seemed peculiarly appropriate. The family of the highly talented Doge Pietro Orsello II. (991-1009) was treated on terms of equality by the most distinguished dynasties of Europe. Great prestige was gained by the victorious expedition against the Croatian king, Dircislaw, in the year 1000.

The war and commercial fleets of the Venetians were never so powerful as then, and Greek models and patterns were as unmistakably followed here as in the reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Mark, begun by the father of Pietro of the same name who was Doge from 976 to 978. Together with Venice, the commercial cities of Genoa and Pisa began about this time to break away from the counts of Este and the Italian kings, who were unable to protect them against the Saracens of Corsica and Sardinia, so that they felt the necessity for independent measures of defence. The first real success of these efforts was the joint victory gained over the Arabs of Sardinia in 1015 and 1016. During the period of rivalry which then

Where the Germans were Hated

followed Pisa retained the preponderance during some decades. Throughout the rest of the empire the feudal system was now in its maturity, and had assumed an unwonted ecclesiastical character in consequence of the preference shown by the Ottos for the bishops.

This conscious co-operation of the government with the most distinguished clergy as the higher officials of the empire bore golden fruit immediately after the death of Otto III., in 1002. The nobles of Lombardy, inspired by hatred of Germany, or, in other words, by a spirit of nationalism, crowned the Margrave Arduin of Ivrea, who had been outlawed in 999, as king in Pavia on February 15th. At the earnest representations of the clergy, King Henry II., the Saint, crossed the Alps in 1004, and was elected and crowned king on May 14th. His triumph was not of long duration, and a second Italian campaign became necessary at the end of 1013.

After some short enjoyment of his success, Arduin was forced to yield in the summer of 1014, and died in the monastery of San Benigno at Fruttuaria on December 14th, 1015; he was the last native king of Italy for a long time to come. On the other hand, the power which a mutinous ecclesiastical vassal could acquire under

certain circumstances is proved by the defiant attitude of the proud Archbishop Aribert towards the Emperor Conrad II. (1037-1038); during his time Milan began to realise its own power. To these days of confusion belongs the famous "Edictum de beneficiis" of May 28th, 1027, also known as the "Constitutio de feudis," by

Normans in South of Italy which the mediate fiefs of smaller vassals not immediately dependent upon the king were expressly made hereditary from father to son and from brother to brother. By this means the importance of the feudal lords, who had grown too strong and had presumed upon the number of secondary vassals formerly dependent upon themselves and now transferred to the Crown, was reduced in favour of a stronger central power.

These changes are, however, unimportant in comparison with the strong influence which was exercised not only upon Italy, but upon the whole of Central and Western Europe, in the wider and final sense of the phrase, by the appearance of the Normans in Southern Italy in 1017. In itself, and considered from a purely geographical point of view, the change which the Byzantine south suffered as a consequence of the Norman attacks was by no means so extraordinarily decisive as is usually supposed. At the same time it remains one of the most important events in the mediæval history of Italy. Ranke regards it as no less important than the simultaneous invasion of the Turkish Seljuks in Iran. It was an important change, for the reason that the Norman invasion implied the entrance of a new member among the varied number of Italian powers, and of one which threatened unusual dangers, first to the Lombards, to Amalfi, and other city states, then to the Pope, and finally to the emperor.

So late as 1022 Henry II. had conducted a successful campaign, on the occasion of his third journey to Rome, against the Greeks in Apulia, against whom he had been summoned by Pope Benedict VIII., whose nationalism had been already tested in Sardinia in 1016. In April, 1027, his successor, Conrad II., who had been crowned in Milan at the end of March, 1026, easily reasserted the rights of the western empire over Lower Italy. Even at that day those germs existed which, though invisible for the moment, were

speedily to prove a devouring plague. The Lombard Prince Pandulf IV. of Capua, who had formerly been taken to Germany in captivity by Henry II., had been sent home by Conrad II., and had recovered his supremacy over Lower Italy within a short period. About 1035 this ruler advised the widowed Duchess Maria of Amalfi to marry

Circumstances that Favoured the Normans

her daughter to the Norman Rainulf, and to invest this chieftain with the "Terra di Lavoro"; here he was settled in 1029 by the Byzantine Duke Sergius IV. of Naples, and in 1030 founded the fortress town of Aversa. By this means the connection of this new neighbour with Byzantium was intentionally weakened; on the other hand, the position prepared for the Normans by the Lombards proved too advantageous to admit any possibility of voluntary retirement.

Other circumstances also favoured the Normans, who had thus established themselves at this point in the south. At that moment the Lombards were weakened by mutual quarrels; in 1038 the Emperor Conrad replaced Pandulf of Capua by Waimar IV. of Salerno, who also conferred Aversa as a fief upon Count Rainulf with the emperor's permission. After the murder of Waimar, on June 2nd or 3rd, 1052, the Normans strengthened their position by giving help to his son Gisulf II., who was aiming at the succession. This ruler was speedily hard pressed by Richard of Aversa, and was eventually forced to conclude peace with Amalfi in 1057, and to recognise the independence of that state merely in order to keep the Normans in check; on June 18th, 1053, they had already defeated and captured Pope Leo IX. at Civitate in Northern Apulia.

The impolitic aggression of Gisulf drove Amalfi at the end of 1073 into the arms of the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, the most capable of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville; he conquered Calabria, be-

The Great Robert Guiscard

came Count of Apulia in 1057, and assumed the title of duke in 1059 with the consent of Pope Nicholas II. In 1071 Bari was wrested from the Byzantines, who had held it since 876; in 1074-1075 followed the Norman subjugation of Calabria, and on December 13th, 1076, Gisulf of Salerno surrendered in person to his ruthless brother-in-law. When Landolf IV. of Benevento was gathered to his fathers, on November 27th, 1077, the Lombard

kingdom in Lower Italy, which had survived the fall of its northern counterpart for fully three centuries, came to an end. The complete victory gained by the closely consolidated Norman state was crowned by the agreement which Pope Gregory VII. was forced to conclude on June 29th, 1080, with Robert Guiscard at Ceperano.

It was only upon the far side of the Adriatic that the ambitious king was unable to secure his objects; his designs upon Albania, which even at the present day is in a certain connection with Southern Italy, were shattered by the defeat of Alexios at Durazzo in 1081. On January 17th, 1085, this crafty leader died at Porto Phiscardo, in Cephallenia, without securing any tangible result.

In another direction, however, a highly desirable extension of the frontier had been secured. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, was dissatisfied with the position assigned to him in the southernmost part of Calabria; in 1061 he was invited to help the Arab *ibn Timnah*, who was unable to make head against the Normans at Castrogiovanni, and proceeded to begin the conquest of Sicily. In this

The Arab Conqueror in Sicily

island there were no inhabitants likely to oppose his action, and practically no feudal lords to interfere with his claims; the subjugation of the Mohammedans would secure the favour of heaven, and when completed by a system of religious and legal toleration, almost modern in its generosity and extraordinarily far-sighted for that time, would make it possible to extend a strong and uniform government over the subjugated population, which included numerous Jews, and to make them loyal subjects [see page 3547]. The theory is clearly obvious in the exceptional position which Count Roger I. was able to secure, without any quarrel about investitures, on July 5th, 1098, from Pope Urban II., who also granted him the highly important ecclesiastical dignity of apostolic legate for Sicily.

The monarchy of Sicily thus promised well for the future, and after the death of its founder, on June 22nd, 1101, his place was taken by a yet greater successor; this was Roger II., born so late as 1095, the second son of Roger I. by his third wife, Adelasia, a niece of Count Boniface I. of Vasto, who belonged to the north-western Italian family of the Aledramids. His was a long reign. Though he died on

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February 26th, 1154, he ruled independently from 1112, and from September 27th, 1130, as "King of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, Prince of Capua, Lord of Naples and Benevento." To be strictly accurate, Malta should be added to this list, for from 1090 it formed part of the Sicilian Empire until its occupation by the Knights of Saint John in 1530. The work which his father had begun, the stern repression of the barons and the organisation of a uniform bureaucratic government, was completed by Roger II.

Thus in the island of Sicily, and extending thence to Lower Italy, we find the beginning of a policy which overpowered the feudal system at a time when feudalism gave no rest to continental Italy notwithstanding Conrad's "Edictum de beneficiis." In this respect also the Norman supremacy marks the entrance of a new element into Italian history. Cold and hard, cunning, prudent and experienced, such was the character of this Norman who appears to us as a romance product, or southern modification of that Teutonic spirit which was coming to the front elsewhere; he is,

Revival of Byzantine and Arabic Art

as it were, the prototype of a Maurice of Saxony or of a Wallenstein. In his predilection for intellectual Mohammedans, his liking for the great geographer Edrisi, his central position between the west and east, his extensive revival of old Byzantine and Arab art and science, Roger II. may be compared with the great Hohenstauffen, Frederic II. A splendid example of the hybrid civilisation which he promoted may still be admired in the Cappella Palatina in the castle of Palermo, which was consecrated on June 9th, 1140, and in point of time and construction is a worthy counterpart to the brilliant mosaic of the cathedral of Monreale.

This king was not merely "primus inter pares"; he was no mere prince who might be submerged by the baronial class which separated the crown and the nation, leaving no trace behind, but a supreme monarch, who did for Sicily and Southern Italy what Louis XI. did for France. The bold adventurer of former times was now replaced by the clever diplomatist, the restless but systematic statesman. The Norman intruder, who had struggled to secure a footing, and with difficulty had retained some few stations on the coast, had become a rich and powerful lord for whose favour Popes and kings were rivals.

Roger, however, was too far in advance of his age for the creation of his genius to outlast his death. Before the modification of social customs and of religious faiths was able to produce an amalgamation of the Sicilian peoples, racial antagonism overthrew the whole edifice. In this many-coloured fabric the warp of nationalism was too weak, and that degree of settlement which guarantees progress was never secured, notwithstanding the initial promise of prosperity. Thus the Normans of Southern Italy add yet one more to the number of these Teutonic hordes which have perished in the land of the olives.

Lower Italy and Sicily had been united from 1061 to 1072 under conquerors of the same race and under the government of one sole ruler from 1127, and had developed with surprising rapidity into the most powerful state which had been seen in Italy during those centuries; meanwhile the centre and north of the country had been advancing in wholly different directions. Under Pope Benedict IX. it seemed as if the Curia would never rise from the depth to which it had fallen; it owed its salvation solely to the German, Henry III., and was able a generation later to triumph over his son. It was the complete subordination of the papal to the imperial power in the middle of the eleventh century which broke the tyranny of the degenerate Roman nobles and fostered or facilitated the revival of temporal power of the papacy.

At the same time was revived the papal claim to complete independence of all secular power, a claim now advanced with new meaning. The capacity and farsightedness of Popes Leo IX., Nicholas II., Alexander II. and Gregory VII. secured the abolition of simony and other abuses, brought about the breach with Byzantium, which could only increase the prestige of the Roman Bishop as sole head of the Western Church, passed the

What the Popes Demanded

decree concerning the papal election in 1059, which replaced the changing influence of the Roman people, nobles, and emperor by that of the more reliable body of cardinals, and eventually secured a complete theocracy. These doctrinal developments represented the apostle of God upon earth as a supreme feudal lord to whom all believers in possession of ecclesiastical

or secular property owed obedience; it is a precise reversal of the theory and of the practical situation which existed under Charles the Great and the Ottos.

The clergy were brought into closer dependence on the Pope by the oath of fidelity and the obligation of celibacy, which loosened their connection with the

Struggles of Emperor and Pope

family and the secular state; in the universal state of the Church they were to be what the Rogers were then making the Sicilians—namely, a bureaucracy. Obviously if this goal were ever to be attained it was necessary to abolish the conflicting right of the emperor and of his greater vassals to institute bishops and abbots and to invest them with the ring and staff. The struggle upon this point forms the content of the investiture quarrel. This spiritual war was not ended by the conventions of February and April, 1111, and of October, 1119, or by the concordat of Worms in 1122, which was in close documentary and legal connection with those conventions; none the less the concordat was recognised as a binding contract by both parties, and was supposed to form a permanent principle of imperial and ecclesiastical government.

It was impossible for the Church to abide by the compromise which the cleverness of the Emperor Henry V. had provided unless she were willing to surrender all prospect of realising the ambitions of Gregory, and to face that possibility of sacrificing her own existence which the course of events rendered probable. Hence Pope Innocent III. turned the favourable situation to the best advantage, and on July 13th, 1213, obliged the young Frederic II. to renounce his right of interference in episcopal elections—a right which the Curia considered had been misused since 1139.

This great revival of the papal power was further strengthened about 1078, and

Revival of the Papal Power

on November 17th, 1102, by the magnificent legacy of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, which provided a desirable, though soon disputed, secular support; as might be expected, the new power exercised an indisputable influence upon the relations of the German emperor with that part of Upper Italy which was not under the Pope, or, more exactly, was outside the states of the Church. Apart from all other considerations, it

must be noticed that in strict nationalist circles the imperial power of the Germans produced the bad impression of a foreign supremacy; moreover, since Popes of Germanic nationality had no longer been chosen, the chair of St. Peter had been occupied for the most part by Italians or Romans, and in consequence the papacy was regarded by the natives as the natural representative of their interests, inasmuch that even in the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of an Italian federation, with the Pope at its head, showed some prospect of realisation. The place of a shattered and disorganised state was taken by the free communes about 1100.

Especially in the department of judicial administration we find at an early period those members of the community who were prominent by birth, position, or wealth distinguished by the title of "nobles" or "majores," "tribuni," "primates" or "judices," "fideles" or "sapientes," "boni homines" or "homines idonei." They secured an increasing importance in course of time; from 1100 onwards, and

Treaties of Venice and Constance

somewhat earlier in the valley of the Po than in Tuscany, there arose the institution of the consulate. The resolutions of the imperial diet of Roncaglia in 1158 were strongly opposed to this highly inconvenient innovation, but after the defeat of Legnano in 1176 they were almost entirely annulled by the Treaties of Venice and Constance in 1177 and 1183; only the imperial investiture of the consuls betrayed the continuance of the old imperial supremacy.

In the second half of the twelfth century—in 1151 in Bologna, Ferrara and Siena, in 1176 in Parma, and in 1190 in Genoa—the position of the consuls was taken by the Podestà, the supreme official of the commune, who was summoned in every case from without; upon his entry into office he swore to observe the municipal statutes—the first printed copies of which are some of the finest extant incunabula—concentrated in his own power various functions which had previously been in different hands, and became in particular supreme judge and leader in war.

Prosperity was by no means impossible under papal government, as is, for instance, shown by the rapid rise of Benevento to the position of a city state after the time when it came under the Pope's

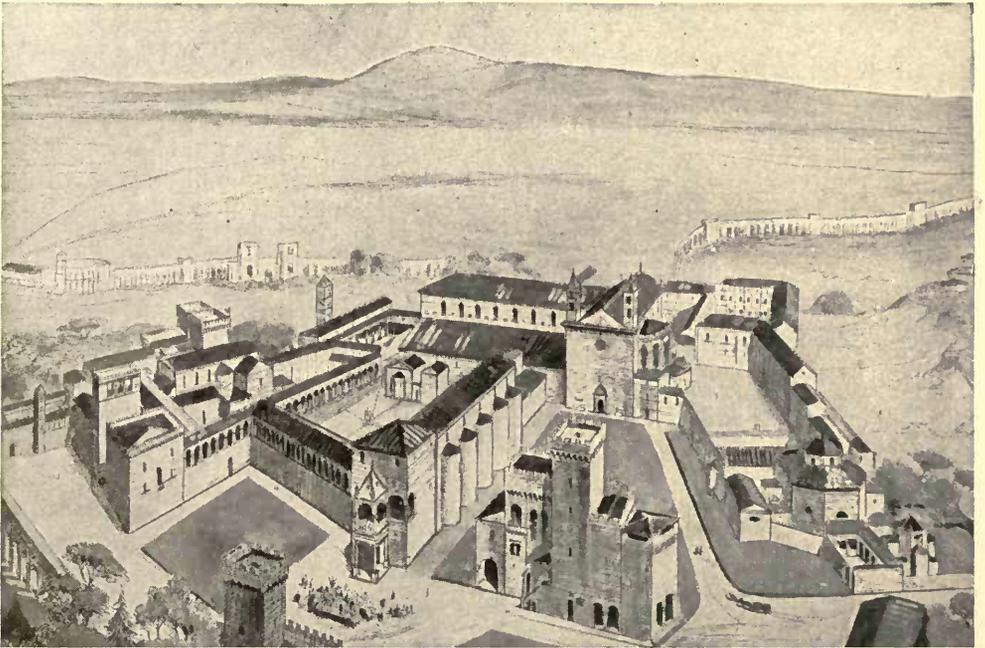
THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

supremacy upon the extinction of its Lombard ducal family. In the north, also, the position of those towns which were but loosely dependent upon the states of the Church, or had shaken off the burdensome rule of their episcopal counts, developed to no less advantage. Freedom, indeed, in this quarter eventually reached a far more brilliant development than in the south, which from 1130 onwards was systematically subjugated by the Norman monarchs, and commercially outstripped by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa.

The impulse to town independence was never so violently opposed by the Curia as

transitory successes, such as the subjugation of Chieri, Asti, and Tortona in 1155, the destruction of the defiant Spoleto in 1155, and the overthrow of Crema in 1160, Milan, Brescia and Piacenza in 1162 by Frederic Barbarossa; this was due chiefly to the fact that the empire was unable to amalgamate the rising power of the German towns with that of the state.

This special grouping and attitude of the great powers enabled Italy to survive some centuries, but could not prevent her eventual disruption, and the inevitable weakness which resulted. Those



THE EARLIEST HOME OF THE POPES IN ITS MEDIÆVAL STATE

The most ancient basilica of Rome is the great Church of St. John Lateran, which is regarded as the mother church of Rome. Here stood the old palaces of the Laterani family, which were confiscated by Nero and subsequently ordained by Constantine as the patrimony of the Popes of Rome. In these palaces the Popes had their residence till the fourteenth century, when the Vatican became the permanent seat of the papacy after the return from Avignon, in 1377.

by the more powerful German emperors to the time of Henry VI. Consequently the good relations subsisting between the Pope and the towns speedily proved to the advantage of both parties; the Pope had a strong protecting force at his service, and the towns could develop as they pleased. Hence arose the heroic period of the Verona federation of 1164 and the Lombard federation of 1167, which, among other points, was so important for the military training of the infantry gathered about its Carroccio. The party which suffered under that arrangement was the empire, notwithstanding some

neighbours, indeed, who might have turned this weakness to their own account were occupied too entirely with their own affairs. Moreover, the participation of their ruling classes in the Crusades forbade any interference or expansion at home; the interests of the Christian nations of the West were for many centuries attracted to the East. Thus upon this side no danger was to be feared for a long time; on the contrary, the task of transporting the numerous forces of the Crusades proved a profitable commercial enterprise, and largely increased the prosperity of the more important coast

towns affected by the movement. During the centuries in which the greater part of the Mediterranean trade belonging to such harbours in Lower Italy as Bari and Amalfi was transferred to the north for general or local reasons, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa became predominant over the other towns. Venice had been ruled by a Doge,

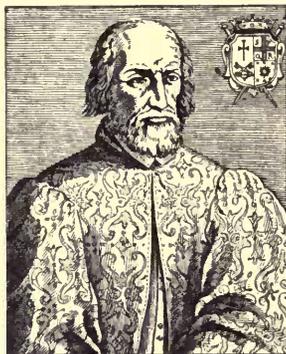
Venice Ruled by the Doges

an office which had become almost hereditary until the final overthrow of the Orseoli in 1032 gradually introduced an oligarchical government; eventually the oligarchy of the *Comune Venetiarum* was definitely founded by the constitutional oath of the Doge Domenico Morosini of 1148, and was finally completed by the undertaking given by Giacomo Tiepolo upon his accession to office in 1229. So early as the close of the eleventh century Venice displayed a principle of division, remarkable at that period, between Church and State, which was expressed in the phrase "religion is a private matter, but one of serious import"; five hundred years later this separation was to find its proudest expression in the invincible defiance of the Servite Paoli Sarpi to Pope Paul V.

Venice was recognised as mistress of the Adriatic even by the Normans in 1154 and 1157, and availed herself of that great piratical expedition generally known as the Fourth Crusade to secure an extensive colonial empire in 1204 in the Ægean Sea. From the outset the Venetian merchant had been anxious to grow rich by means of trade and commercial profit, but the attainment of this object was made possible only by extending the limits within which his mercantile activity could operate. Throughout the habitable globe no one was able to develop his activities and increase his prosperity with greater freedom than the commercial Venetian.

For a considerable period Pisa had shared the fate of Adria, Amalfi, Aquileia, Metapontam, Ravenna, and many other towns upon the coast. This was due to unfavourable political conditions, and to a shifting of the coast line, which greatly reduced the value of the harbours. When the Arno ran a shorter course and entered

the sea at a different point from that of modern times, ships of considerable size could sail up stream as far as Pisa. The pennon of Pisa pointed to bold seafarers the road to victory over the Saracens, as far as Corsica and Sardinia, the Balearic Isles and North Africa. In 1063 rich booty had been secured by a raid upon Palermo, and the produce was employed in extending with magnificent splendour the cathedral, which had been begun in 1006. This became the model of many cupola-basilicas, which are evidence of an ancient art once more revived. During the years 1153-1154 the foundations of the outer and inner circuit of the noble baptistery were laid, and twenty years later the building of the tower was begun; it gradually sank towards the south, but by a clever



"LAST OF THE TRIBUNES"
The Roman patriot, Cola di Rienzi, was violently opposed to the nobles, and incited the citizens to revolt. He was elected tribune in 1347, but his haughty manner eventually turned the Romans against him, and he was murdered in 1354.

device of compensation was raised to a height of fifty-five metres. Lastly, the construction of the Campo Santo, begun in the famous north-west corner of Pisa between 1278 and 1282, betokens both in point of time and fact the memorable conclusion of the heroic period of this highly religious commercial republic.

In the meantime, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, Pisa had been outstripped by Genoa. The rise of this town is certainly to be dated from the vigorous impulse to prosperity given by the Crusades. At first, by means of an alliance with Pisa for the war against the

infidels in the Western Mediterranean, Genoa attempted to avoid the obligations which the powerful town on the Arno did not hesitate to lay upon a rival whose progress had aroused her jealousy; but neither during the years between 1070 and 1080 nor during the period from 1110 to 1120

The Lost Dominions of Pisa

was Genoa able entirely to shake off the yoke of Pisa. However, in 1133, the latter town lost half of her influence upon Corsica, which was really papal territory, and in 1175 a quarter of her dominions in Sardinia. Finally, upon August 6th, 1284, the battle of the island of Meloria decided the preponderance of Genoa, which, from 1270 to 1291, was under the uniform leadership of two Ghibelline "capitani," over Pisa, which

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was also for the most part a Ghibelline town, but was too deeply entangled in the faction quarrels of Tuscany, and was therefore losing her maritime power. After the year 1261 Genoa was able to expand successfully in the Greek east, a possibility provided and secured by the victory of Meloria, and thus came into conflict with Venice, which had been firmly established in that region after the advantageous Golden Bull of 1082 and the Fourth Crusade; this conflict of interests caused continual friction, and did not come to an end until the year 1381.

The rising prosperity of the three great commercial towns during the eleventh century naturally exercised a stimulating influence upon the aspirations of other city states. We find, indeed, the inland town now assuming that preponderance which the maritime town had previously claimed. Though her extensive seaboard appears to offer every advantage to maritime communication, Italy at that period does not seem to have produced an essentially maritime nation. Of her general area, seventeen and five-tenths per cent. is inland territory; but even though the importance of Sicily be very highly estimated, the influence of the sea upon Italian history is by no means so obvious as the conditions would lead us to expect. In the case of Denmark or England, the surrounding water is the striking feature, but in Italy attention is attracted by the products of the soil. The connection with Central Europe overpowers the attraction to the Mediterranean, and from the age of the communes this influence grows steadily stronger.

Italy displayed that result which invariably occurs upon the disruption or partition of the forces latent within a nation which is from the outset not a uniform whole; numerous centres of

civilisation were simultaneously formed, and almost every one of them proved surprisingly successful. If to these influences be added the Italian climate and the atmospheric conditions of the south, there can be no surprise at the fact that during those centuries, so barren of political result, art was able to develop and to produce achievements which could stimulate and delight the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Apart from Petrarch, how many celebrities have been produced by the bright and cheerful Apennine town

of Arezzo, notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, its thin, pure air! How entirely harmonious is the intellectual clarity visible in the masterpieces in the Umbrian school of painters with the beneficial seclusion of the town of Perugia! In colder latitudes the comforts and luxuries of civilisation are invariably connected with an impetus to artistic performance, and much more was this the case in those favoured spots. The fact that the Teutonic peoples began their renaissance one hundred and fifty years later than Italy is due not merely to the less favourable climate, but also to the later rise of commercial prosperity.

Notwithstanding the favours of fortune, the Italian towns from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries secured,

as a general rule, no permanent political power; this fact is due not merely to the continual jealousies and feuds of the several communities — for even the economic policy of the maritime town, with its comprehensive character, was modified by definite tendencies in favour of monopoly—but in a specially high degree to the fact that political parties within individual towns were continually in violent conflict. It would be wrong to suppose that the policy of the more famous city republics was entirely



RIENZI'S MONUMENT AT ROME



THE RUINS OF THE FAMOUS CASTLE OF CANOSSA

The ancient castle of Canossa, high up in the Apennines, is no longer a proud fortress, for it has fallen into decay and ruins. It is famous in history on account of its association with the humiliation of the German Emperor, Henry IV. [see page 3590], who, having been excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII., in 1077, followed the papal autocrat to its gates, and for three days stood shivering in the snow before obtaining absolution on terms of abject humiliation.

uniform; such catchwords as "Ghibeline tendencies" or "a citadel of the Guelfs" may easily give rise to these erroneous views. On the contrary, in those districts of Upper and Central Italy which were generally under the power of the emperor loyalty and fear of imperial interference gave an extraordinary impetus to the formation of domestic factions.

L'un l'altro si rode

Di quei ch'un muro ed una fossa serra

is the complaint of Dante.

There were, indeed, city fortresses, which were almost invariably in defiant revolt with gates closed to the traveller journeying towards Rome, either because they were attempting some theoretical revival of the early Roman tradition of freedom, or because they were essentially hostile to the imperial policy. But at least as great was the number of those in which an increasing minority succeeded within a few years in cutting off the majority from their resources and driving them out, themselves to suffer a similar fate in their turn after a certain lapse of time. "Two powers were always opposed in Italy, because in this country a party could easily be

formed against any ruler." The Montecchi and the Cappelletti—Montagues and Capulets—are not to be regarded as two families bitterly opposed to one another in the same town (Verona), since the Cappelletti belonged to Cremona; but this fact does not impair the correctness of the other view, that the development of such communities, which might have achieved great results under a system of stern self-discipline, was more often checked by their own social and family feuds than by wars with their neighbours. The guilds revolt against the nobility, the young generation against the old, and even within these groups we find a social line of demarcation which betokens discord. Thus, the obstinate division into imperial and papal, into aristocratic and democratic republics, distorted and destroyed such unity as Henry III. had secured in the northern half of Italy, and also prevented the formation of any permanent unity within the more important towns. Hence, the history of Italy during these centuries is marked by the disadvantageous feature of disruption, notwithstanding the heroic achievements

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

of individual communities; and it is consequently impossible for a brief narrative to attempt any detailed account of the several stages of development.

Autonomous city government naturally did not possess precisely the same strength and permanence in every district of Upper and Central Italy. Indeed, in isolated districts native or immigrant princes were able to maintain their ground; such were the powerful Aledramids in Piedmont, a family which had divided from the tenth century into the several branches of Sezzè, Albissola, Busca, and Ponzona of Vasto and of Montferrat, which on their side inherited the possessions of the dynasty of the Palæologi in 1305. Other families of this kind were the counts of Turin, whose line began with Humbert White Hand of Maurienne, the counts of Savoy, and the Lombard Otbertini or Estensi, with their rich countries of Milan, Genoa, Tortona, Luni, Gavello, Padua, Este—after the eleventh century—and Bobbio. More short-lived were the counts

of Canossa, who secured the possessions of the Widoni of Tuscany about 1030. After the emperor and Pope had fought for the valuable inheritance until 1120, these western portions passed to the greedy towns of Pistoria and Bologna, Mantua and Reggio, Modena and Lucca. All these counts—at that time the term was not official, but merely titular—were able to bring into immediate dependence upon themselves all towns and districts which were dissatisfied with their state of tutelage under mesne vassals. By this means such districts were transferred from the feudal system and were incorporated in a petty state without further difficulty.

On the other hand, Rome repeatedly experienced dangerous revolts of the citizens against the papal power. The inspiring example of Lombard civic freedom induced the Romans, who had already been excited by various schisms, to entertain the project of restoring the old republic in the autumn of 1143. This



THE BEGINNING OF THE GUELF AND Ghibelline Wars

The incident depicted in this painting by Sabatelli, at Florence, was the prelude to long and bloody warfare between two factions in Italy. A young Florentine of high rank named Buondelmonte was murdered by the friends of the young lady to whom he had pledged himself in marriage, and whom he had forsaken in order to marry another, and this led to the community dividing itself into Guef's and Ghibellines, and carrying on a long and bitter quarrel.

successful attempt was met half way by the inflammatory preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whose powerful moral exhortations brought the capital to his feet after 1147 and enabled him to gain a remarkable triumph, both over the deceased Pope, Innocent II. (1130-1143), his unfortunate opponent of 1139, and over the living Pope, Eugenius III. (1145-1153); eventually in 1153 he was defeated by the tenacity of the Englishman Hadrian

IV., who declined to abate any portion of his rights. Of less importance were the revolts against Alexander III., Lucius III. (1180-1182), Gregory IX. (1234-1235), and others. Throughout the years in which Rome was left to itself, during the "Babylonish exile" of the papacy, the symptoms of decay are so plainly marked that the hopes of noble optimists such as Dante and Petrarch, who considered that but for the Pope Rome might become the head of a new universal monarchy, were wholly nullified. The

two violent persecutions began in 1347 and 1354 by the "Tribune of the People," Rienzi, originally in the name of the Pope, against the Roman nobility, the Colonna, eventually developed into grossest tyranny, fruitless of result.

At one time it had seemed as if civic freedom in Upper and Central Italy, hemmed in as it was upon both the north and south, was doomed to speedy destruction. It was the period when, in the midst of infinite confusion, the brilliant eldest son of the mighty Barbarossa, the Emperor Henry VI., succeeded in incorporating the deserted Norman Empire in Lower Italy and Sicily. Basing his action upon indisputable hereditary right, Henry did not shrink, in April 1119, from the treacherous abandonment of Tusculum, a town loyal to the emperor, in order to secure the compliance of the vacillating Pope Celestine III. His hands would now have been free for the humiliation of Naples had not his action been checked by the devastations of the plague during the summer and by a conspiracy of his princes at home. This emperor, however, though not thirty years of age, inexorably pursued his object,

and secured it, at the expense of some cruelty, in the course of the year 1194. In the meanwhile his cause was vigorously and tenaciously defended by the brave persistence of his wife, by Conrad of Lützelhard, by Diepold of Schweinspeunt, by the vigorous Dean Adenulf of Monte Cassino, and others. These facts are recorded in a Latin poem of Magister Petrus de Ebulo, with magnificent enthusiasm.

That union of the German and Lower Italian Sicilian kingdoms, which Italian nationalism feared, and German nationalism disliked, had now become an accomplished fact. The Duke of Spoleto at that time was Conrad of Urslingen; the Count of Ancona and Duke of the Romagna was the faithful High Steward, Markward of Annweiler, while the Duke of Tuscany and of the inheritance of Matilda was the emperor's brother Philip. Mediæval German history very rarely displayed a power so far-reaching and so centralised as that which belonged to the occupant of the imperial throne in the year 1195.

The more striking was the sudden collapse of this proud world-empire immediately after the death of Henry VI., in 1197. The process was begun by Constance, the queen-widow, who received her empire as a fief from the Pope, and banished the Germans. In 1198 the powers of the apostolic legate, so inconvenient to the Curia, also disappeared. So early as November, 1197, a federation was formed in Tuscany between Florence, Siena, Lucca, Volterra, Arezzo, Prato, and other towns. Ancona and Spoleto overthrew their masters in 1198. Alessandria, the name which had been changed on March 14th, 1183, to "Cæsarea," resumed the offensive name of 1168. To these facts was added the double election of March 8th and June 9th, 1198, which shattered and paralysed the powers of Germany. Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) was precisely the man to turn this favourable situation to the best account, though it must also be admitted that as guardian of the emperor's son, Frederic II., he administered his Southern Italian inheritance upon disinterested principles. At



THE TYRANT EZZELINO
He was a Ghibelline leader in the reign of King Manfred, and fought stubbornly on behalf of that cause.

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the same time, fifty years of imperial government in Upper Italy had so firmly rooted that institution that the year 1210 seemed to reverse the position of 1197. However, with the Pope's help, Frederic II. expelled the victorious Guelfs from 1212 onwards.

The Northern Italian towns were unable, as usual, to resolve upon any uniform policy, by reason of their mutual mistrust, and the opposition between the Guelfs and Ghibellines steadily increased. The Church State, in that expansion guaranteed in 1213 by the Golden Bull of Eger, now again included Tuscany and the inheritance of Matilda, Spoleto and Ancona, Ravenna and the Pentapolis. The Curia was also the feudal superior of Sicily, which was under a strong

monarchical government, connected with Germany only by personal union. Frederic II., however, transferred the centre of his wide activities to the south in the midsummer of 1220, and the struggle between the Pope and emperor was consequently renewed. Upon this occasion it was a struggle for life or death. Frederic showed great dexterity in turning to the best account the originally meagre support which the emperor had found among the towns in 1226, 1231, and 1236. On November 27th, 1237, at Cortenuova, between Crema and Bergamo, he succeeded in inflicting a complete defeat upon the hostile towns; In 1238 he subjugated Tuscany, united Sardinia to his dynasty by the marriage of Enzo with Adelasia, and remained



THE LAST HOURS OF EZZELINO, A PRISONER AT SONCINO

Failing to surprise Milan in 1259 and to conquer the Lombard crown and rule as a Ghibelline, Ezzelino, a leader of that cause, was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds at Soncino on September 27th of that year.

From the painting by C. F. Lessing

master of almost the whole of Italy until the death of Gregory IX., on August 21st, 1241, and even after the election of Innocent IV., on June 25th, 1243.

The Lombard question, however, cut off all hopes of any general pacification. The month of July, 1244, when the Pope retired from Rome and went to Lyons

by way of Genoa, marks the declension of the Hohenstaufen domination, which was

unable to maintain its ground after the surprise of Parma in June, 1247, though it offered a bold resistance and secured isolated successes. "Stravit inimicum Christi colubrum Fredericum" (He crushed the enemy of Christ, the serpent Frederic) is the inscription upon the tomb of Innocent in the Cathedral of Naples. After the premature death by fever of King Conrad IV., who had overpowered Capua and Naples in 1253, the disaster proved irreparable, notwithstanding the noble efforts of King Manfred, who revived the splendour of the court of Palermo in 1258, and the energetic support of his viceroy, the Count Jordan d'Agliano.

The day of Montaperti, September 4th, 1260, remained a disaster for the Guelf town of Florence and a triumph for the Ghibellines of Siena. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of Ezzelino to surprise Milan in 1259, to conquer the Lombard crown, and to rule, in intention at least, as a Ghibelline. The tyrant died of his wounds on September 27th of that year, as a prisoner in Soncino. The period of German supremacy was definitely at an end. Roman nationalism triumphed in the person of Charles of Anjou, who was brought forward by the French Popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV. On February 26th, 1266, he overthrew Manfred at Benevento; on August 23rd, 1268, he conquered the last male Hohenstaufen, Conradin, a son of Conrad IV., in the plain of Palentina, between Tagliacozzo and Alba at Scurcola, by a timely advance

of his reserves, while on June 11th, 1296, he routed Provenzano Salvani of Siena at Colle di Val d'Elsa.

It must not, however, be supposed that German influence in the south was but a transitory phenomenon which left no traces behind. The foundation of Manfredonia at Siponto in 1261-1263 is a direct reference to its founder by name. The fairest ruins of Apulia, from the magnificent fortress of Castel del Monte to the scanty remnants of the tombs of two empresses in Andria, are memorials of the brilliant period when the favourite settlements of a world-wide ruler were situated in the "Capitanata," and when Foggia was his capital. The name of Frederic II. is revered among the Apulians of to-day as that of Napoleon among the French. The inhabitants of Bitonti still show with pride the stone tablet on which the great emperor has termed them "asinini."

He who stands in the Cathedral of Palermo, before the porphyry and marble tombs of Henry VI., Frederic II., and their queens, will realise that the connection of Italy with the German Empire was no mere empty theory, maintained with difficulty for a few decades, but was, on the contrary, a stern fact to which numerous generations, voluntarily or involuntarily, were forced to yield. The Guelfs may, in excess of patriotism, regard the German domination as one of the "barbarian invasions;" the Hohenstaufen dynasty can confidently confront the question whether it gave more than it

received to the country. The Renaissance owes something to the infusion of German blood, whether of knights or craftsmen, which certainly modified the mixed Italian nationality, though to what extent is a matter of conjecture rather than of demonstration. In any case the calm and unprejudiced observer will avoid the error of estimating the magnificent imperialism of past ages by the measure of German particularism.





FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THE DAYS OF THEIR SPLENDOUR AND THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD IN ITALY

FROM the Italian point of view the fall of the Hohenstauffen dynasty implied liberation from an oppressive alien rule. In view of the Angevin supremacy on the one hand, and the revival of the German claims under Henry VII. upon the other, it might reasonably be supposed that the liberation had been purely nominal, and that the old tyranny remained. In this view there was some truth. The devastating quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines continued, though the recollection of its origin had gradually died away.

The last emperor who was crowned in Rome belongs to the fifteenth century—Frederic III., crowned on March 16th, 1452, with the Lombard crown, and on March 19th with the imperial crown; the last emperor who assumed the title of king and emperor from Italy does not appear until the sixteenth century—Charles V., crowned on February 22nd and 24th, 1530, at Bologna. The German supremacy was thus by no means entirely brought to an end by the overthrow of 1268, though in the meanwhile the general situation had undergone great transformation and modification.

Apart from the meteoric revival of the true imperial ruler in the person of Henry VII., we know of no German king who was able to realise in practice the tradition of northern supremacy. After his time we meet only with vague theories and mere shadows of the former power. It is a paper supremacy, which the Germans from the time of Lewis of Bavaria could no more renounce than the Hansa towns were able at a later time to surrender their privileges, which, though attested by documents, had long fallen into disuse. A country divided by nature into two parts at least, and by its previous history into countless divisions, could not be permanently governed by means of expeditions to Rome as occasion arose. Hence Upper and Central Italy went their

own ways. Conditions in the south were somewhat different, for this part of the country long remained under the domination of foreign rulers.

The question has been raised whether the decay and downfall of the supremacy of the "emperors from different dynasties" between 1273 and 1437, who were respected only occasionally or not at all, implied the outset of a happier age for those districts of Italy which had hitherto been primarily anti-German. It is a question which can be answered definitely in the negative; sufficient evidence for the answer may be gained by a glance at Dante's "Divina Commedia." The responsibility for failure rests chiefly upon the incompetence of the contemporary Popes after Innocent IV., who had even made a formal entry into Naples shortly before his death, in 1254, and after the important Nicholas III. Orsini (1277-1280). This incompetence is twice manifested—in 1282 when Sicily was lost to Aragon, and in 1303 when the papacy was defeated by French nationalism.

It cannot be denied that during the first half of the thirteenth century Italy displayed fair possibilities of development to an independent and national course of existence. In this respect the first place must be given to the movement connected with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, and to his disciples who carried their inspiring enthusiasm abroad, after 1210, from the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church. It is difficult in a few words to give an adequate account of the enormous effect produced by these reformers, which continued almost uninterruptedly till the time of Bernardino of Siena, who died in 1444.

The national life of Italy in the thirteenth century displayed the most varied features. Geographical configuration and climate, position with reference to neighbours and

**Why Italy
was
Unhappy**

**German
Supremacy
in Italy**

**The Zeal
of Francis
of Assisi**



THE HOME OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER: THE FORTRESS CHURCH OF ASSISI

Among the movements that were witnessed in Italy during the early part of the thirteenth century that associated with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order was significant. From the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church, shown in the illustration, he and his disciples went forth on preaching expeditions, and their zealous religionism did much to mould and influence the life of that period.

the world at large, had produced different effects in Sicily, Rome, Milan, and Venice. Institutions were in a state of flux, and nowhere do we meet with any definite constitution. No one town constitution resembled any other. At every point transformation, confusion, and transition meet the eye. None the less, however, a certain uniformity is plainly obvious, and this is provided by the ferment which ran throughout the lower classes from the outset of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon is not confined to Italy: a similar social movement appears in France and Spain, and even in the colder climate of North-west Europe. The term "Renaissance" usually evokes in our minds the thought of those brilliant achievements which this revival produced in the domains of literature and art.

We are too much inclined to forget that the spiritual, scientific and artistic Renaissance would never have exercised the deep comprehensive influence which it actually exerted had it not been preceded by a long period of preparation which

cleared the ground for the permanent reception of the beauty and the freedom gathered from classical antiquity. This preparation was the work of the thirteenth century—a work performed tentatively, with vacillation, and at times with appalling retrogression, but upon the whole with success; for it was a period which made that most valuable of all discoveries, the truth of individualism.

This achievement was not attained without a severe struggle. Opposition, negation, resistance, such were the obstacles. To escape from the ordinary grooves of existence and thought, to throw off political or ecclesiastical tyranny, such was the doctrine which then occupied and attracted the strongest and noblest minds of the period. "Uniformity disappeared in individualism." The state became conscious of its individuality, began to realise its tasks and to oppose the Church, which was attempting to break its bonds. A similar process was advancing within the minds of particular men. Situation and fate raise the individual upon occasion to the

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

superhuman position of an Ezzelino da Romano, who persecuted with violent tyranny as evil any refusal to recognise what he personally considered just, right, or necessary.

Position and circumstance again may overwhelm the individual in associations scorning every instinct of humanity, such as the orthodox intolerance manifested in 1303 towards the Paterene Fra Dolcino. Others are driven—and the case is frequent—to renounce the secular life, to abandon the family and state, to proclaim their personal belief in conscious revolt against ecclesiastical authority, or are induced to wander abroad as apostles offering a pattern of the ascetic life, and denouncing the irreligious and sinful habits of nobles and apostates. It was tendencies of this latter character that enabled St. Dominic to found his order in 1215; he speedily secured large numbers of adherents from Florence, Orvieto, Perugia and Ravenna, as far as Tarentum and Palermo, beyond the straits.

Freethinking and scholasticism, church discipline and sectarianism, mysticism and religious mendicancy, are the wholly dissimilar children of one and the same mother. Even the foundation of the poetical Francis of Assisi is penetrated entirely by individualism; the founder combines in his own person the subjective poet, the friend of the poor and the shepherd of souls, seeking his own salvation, and in some contradiction the "caput" of a "religio" or brotherhood, thus connecting the inner life of the individual and the sanctification of his personal salvation with the service of others and ready obedience to their will. These facts are plain from the history of the Franciscan order from the year 1221, and also from the history of art in general. The passionate preachers of repentance, who offered a resolute opposition to all that could beautify and refine existence, inexorably opposed all those innovations comprehended under the term "Renaissance," from the Dominican John of Vicenza, the peacemaker of 1233, con-

demning all secular pleasure and all secular quarrels, to the time of his Dominican brother Girolamo Savonarola, who fell a victim in 1498, under the most tragical circumstances, to the political efforts of hostile Franciscans.

In all these talented Franciscans two instincts were furiously struggling—the instincts of subjection to authority and of individual freedom. At a later date the victory was secured upon other soil; one witness can here serve—the stake at which the ex-Dominican Giordano Bruno was burnt on February 17th, 1600. The acts of the Franciscans produced no permanent result, and certainly none in Italy. The enthusiasm passed away, and

Fra Salimbene de Adamo, the first modern historian, a true contemporary of Frederic II., the first modern prince, retails with apparent complacency the biting satire of the Florentine grammarian Buoncompagno :

"Et Johannes johannizat et saltando choreizat. Modo salta, modo salta, qui coelorum petis alta ! Saltat iste, saltat ille resaltant cohortes mille ; saltat chorus dominarum saltat dux Venetiarum."

John now shows himself true John, Dancing, leads the chorus on. Dancing early, dancing late, Thou shalt win to heaven's gate ! Dancing here and dancing there, Crowds are dancing everywhere. See the troops of dames a-dancing ! See the Doge of Venice prancing !

In fact, upon August 28th, 1223, on the meadow of Paquara by the Etsch, to the south of Verona, Brother John is said to have preached from a lofty pulpit to a motley crowd of listeners and spectators, including the Counts of Camino, Este, Romano, San Bonifacio, and others, together with 400,000 knights, peasants, citizens, clergy, and bishops

from a score of great towns.

Notwithstanding the hopelessness and apparent difficulty of its individual phenomena, the whole movement undoubtedly produced one good effect—it stirred the people from their state of senseless indifferent torpor. Though the waves of the movement occasionally passed beyond the frontiers of Italy, yet one



ST. BRUNO THE MONK
St. Bruno was the founder of the austere Carthusian order. He died in 1101.



Boccaccio



Dante



Petrarch

THREE GREAT FIGURES OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The awakening of Europe to a new era of literary activity was due in large measure to the rise of these three writers of Italy. Dante was, of course, the supreme poet of mediæval times, bridging the gulf that had been unspanned since Virgil. In Petrarch and Boccaccio the Renaissance took two different courses, the former great poet and thinker striving to direct it along the high spiritual plane on which Dante had placed it, and Boccaccio, in his warm humanism, achieving the more readily attainable by the broad appeal of his prose writings to the primal sympathies of mankind.

of its results, and that by no means the least important, was the strengthening of the national consciousness. The "pataria" of Milan, the attempts at ecclesiastical reform which Ariald, Landulf and Erlembald had undertaken between 1056 and 1057 assumed a political character in the course of time. The ascetic, mystical, and reforming movements might easily have combined to secure a domestic renovation of Italy had the people given greater attention to the teachers and had the two mendicant orders given in their adherence to the papacy with less rapidity.

Italy's Year of Hallelujah

The suppression of factious animosity, with its evil consequences, and of the spirit of private revenge in the year of Hallelujah, 1233, might have led to a fruitful political union of all classes; in the year 1220 St. Francis himself preached the cause of peace with powerful effect in the town of Bologna, a city highly cultured though torn by domestic faction. A similar note can be heard even in the pessimistic assertions and gloomy prophecies of the Cistercian abbot Joachin of Fiore, and in the exaggerated diatribes of his adherent, the Minorite Gherardino of Borgo San Donnino in 1254 against the Hohenstauffen.

At that moment individual poets in Sicily, from Arezzo, Bologna, Todi, and Florence, who were all dependent upon the Latin and Provençal languages, had ventured to write in a kind of Italian national language. Thus the thirteenth century amalgamated the motley population of Italy into a national whole, or gave a highly promising impulse to

eventual national union. The patriotic art and the literary splendour of that poetic constellation, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, confirm this event. The possibility of a successful ascent to these intellectual summits depended upon economic prosperity rather than upon political pre-eminence.

That such prosperity existed in full abundance is proved by the appalling height of the rate of interest and the flourishing position of the moneylender. It is extraordinary how often we meet with decrees upon this latter occupation, which forced the heirs of the moneylenders to make a penitent restoration of property gained by "robbery and evil means," and remind us almost of the humiliating penance which Otto III. performed in 1001 before St. Romuald in the old basilica of Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna "on account of crimes committed." A protocol concerning money-lending by Italians who carried on business in Nimes shows that interest was demanded at the rate of 75, 113, 120, 175, and 218 per cent., and even 262 and 266 per cent.—figures in comparison with which the average rate of 43.33 per cent. appears comparatively modest.

When Moneylenders Flourished

There was every reason for giving the name of "Lombard" to the credit banks.

The chief centres of the money-changers and usurers were Asti, Chieri, and Piacenza in the north-west, Venice and Vicenza in the north-east, Siena, Lucca, and Florence in Tuscany, Rome in the states of the Church, and San Germano in the south. The

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discovery of the St. Gothard Pass, about 1220, completed the prosperity of finance and mercantile communication.

The term "signory" as applied to these city states is not to be regarded as in every case implying fully developed individual supremacy. Such a view would be erroneous. The Italians of this time rather comprehended under the term "signoria" republican freedom in visible form, though it was a freedom very remote from the idea of freedom which the nineteenth century and English models have inspired. In Florence, for instance, the term signory denoted for many decades

the rule of the heads of the guilds until the time of the Medici. After 1282 and 1293 the popular power of this town lay in the hands of the priors, who met in the Palazzo Vecchio, and of the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (the standard-bearer of justice). The signory of Venice was practically the ministry of the Doge. In other parts of the country, where the general exhaustion consequent upon the struggles of social classes had produced an earnest desire for peace, the institution developed upon different lines; here we find the civic dissensions composed by impartial mediators, acting in a dis-

interested manner, or we meet, under other circumstances, with a tyranny in its sternest form. "The friend" often enough disagreedly surprised the weak by appearing in the character of a guardian, whose rule could no longer be overthrown. Thus it was that the Grimaldi of Genoa made themselves masters of Monaco in the fourteenth century.

It is no matter of surprise that in the states of the Church during the same century other signories of the kind were founded, and maintained their ground for some time in view of the well-known mildness of the papal rule, which in any case was reduced to comparative impotence by the "Babylonish captivity." Thus the Pepoli, and after them the Bentivogli, ruled over



DANTE IN HIS EXILE SEEKS FOR PEACE

Because of his adherence to the White Guefts, Dante was banished from his native city, Florence, in 1302, and never again did he see his home, as he died a wanderer in 1321. The above illustration, from the painting by P. van Onderaa, shows the poet at the monastery of Santa Croce Cirvo, at which he found shelter on his way to Paris. When asked by the kindly friar what he sought, Dante made the brief answer, "Peace."



A SESSION OF THE GREAT COUNCIL IN THE HALL OF THE COLLEGE OF VENICE
 The small but beautiful chamber in the ducal palace known as the Hall of the College was chiefly used for the reception of foreign ambassadors and state functions of the Grand Council, a session of which is represented in the above picture
 From the painting by Malombra in the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

Bologna, the Da Polenta over Ravenna—Dante's place of refuge—the Manfredi over Faenza, the Ghibelline Ordalaffi over Forlì, the Malateste over Rimini, the Varani over Camerino, the Montefeltri over Urbino, the Prefetti da Vico over Viterbo and Civita Vecchia. Here also the Italian tendency towards multiformity is preserved. The case may be summed up as follows. In places where the term "signoria" implies no expressed lordship, development remained some decades behind, in comparison with other towns which possessed "signori" proper. As a matter of fact, the free communes in Tuscany maintained their ground longer than in Upper Italy, and in this respect such examples as the signori of Florence were a late growth of the preceding age.

After the battle of Meloria, Pisa endured three years of Guelf supremacy under Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, as captain-general (1285-1288). When this yoke had been shaken off with great cruelty, the decay of the town was accelerated by the restoration of a communal government; in the armistice of

July 31st, 1299, Pisa was obliged to cede Corsica and part of Sardinia to Genoa, paying an indemnity of 160,000 lire, and was driven from the sea. Eventually, in 1313, it was easily overpowered by the Ghibelline Uguccone della Faggiuola, who also subjugated Lucca in 1314—where Dante, upon his second banishment, remained until 1316—and defeated Florence on August 29th, 1315, at Monte Catini. In 1316 Uguccone was banished from Pisa on account of his severity to Castruccio

**Venetian
Fleet
Defeated**

Castracani—who died in 1328 as Duke of Lucca—and other nobles. The signory was then held by the Gherardesca family until June 5th, 1347, after which date the Gambacorta family retained a comparatively firm grasp of the power until 1399, notwithstanding changes of fortune and occasional alterations of constitutional form.

The proud city of Genoa had inflicted a crushing defeat, on September 5th, 1298, upon the Venetian fleet off the Dalmatian island of Curzola. For some time it was governed, by a Ghibelline party in the

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style of a signory, upon a democratic basis, though with two aristocratic chiefs; on November 22nd, 1311, this independence, which the town had maintained even against Charles of Anjou, was replaced by an imperial signory.

This government, however, was of short duration, and soon afterwards civil war broke out the more violently. The resulting disasters were invariably compensated and repaired by the advantages of geographical position, a highly valuable attribute; had they been possessed, for instance, in the same measure, by the ambitious town of Ancona, Ancona would undoubtedly have become a second Genoa. The attempts of the inhabitants to shake off the rule of Milan, of the French, of a foreign Montferrat dynasty, or, finally, of a native aristocracy, never resulted in any permanent success.

Affairs in Venice ran a similar, and yet in details a very different, course. The similarity consisted in the desire, which most of the Italian towns displayed, to put

an end to the wide membership of the commune, and to replace this body by a smaller council, invested with sovereign powers, to substitute for the democracy and mob rule an oligarchy of consuls and of the podestà, which eventually gave way to a half monarchical signoria. This process can be traced plainly throughout the constitutional life of Venice. On the other hand, in Venice a pure monarchy

The Doge never came into existence; in
Who was the "hall of the great council"
Executed of the palace of the Doge, in the
centre of the row of seventy-six
Doge portraits, a black plate marks the spot which should have been occupied by the portrait of the Doge Marino Faliero, who was beheaded on April 17th, 1355, for high treason. The podestà, notwithstanding his title, "by the grace of God," was very far from enjoying a monarchical position, and similarly the powers of the Doge were strictly limited by several oligarchical authorities, the "signori" proper of Venice. The more or less



THE HALL OF THE GREAT COUNCIL AT VENICE

In this magnificently decorated hall, whose walls and ceilings were painted by Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and other famous artists employed at the expense of the republic, the Great Council, presided over by the Doge, met to deliberate on the affairs of the state. Around the frieze are portraits of all the Doges in the history of Venice with the exception of Marino Faliero, who himself fell a victim to the extraordinary intrigues which were commonplaces in the annals of the ambitious republic and its unscrupulous statesmen. This chamber is one of the gems of Venice.

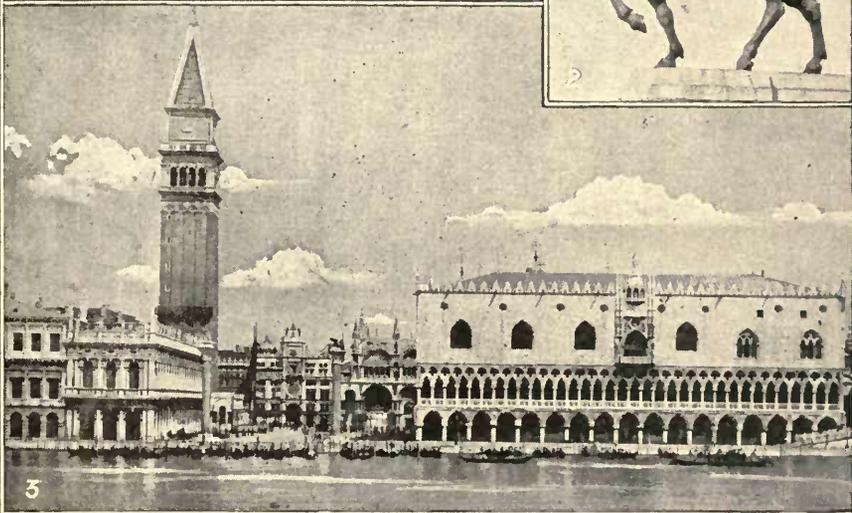


Many of the great palaces on the Grand Canal (1) still remain outwardly as they were in the Middle Ages, nor has the aspect of the Rialto Bridge (2), formerly the Exchange, been greatly altered, while the Bridge of Sighs (3) remains as it ever was. Santa Maria della Salute (4), the fine church built in 1632 as a memorial of deliverance from the plague, is one of the most characteristic views of Venice.



ON THE GRAND CANAL AND OTHER FAMOUS SCENES IN VENICE

Photos: Frith and Anderson



Between the famous pillars (1), looking across to S. Giorgio Maggiore, the political offenders of old Venice were beheaded. The equestrian statue of Colleoni (2), an undistinguished captain of the republican army, is said to be the finest in the world. The ducal palace, the library, and the Campanile, destroyed a few years ago, but now rebuilt, are seen in our third view, and the façade of St. Mark's (4).



THE SPLENDID MONUMENTS OF THE GREAT DAYS OF VENICE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

stringent absolutism of a Carrara, Medici, Scala, and Visconti was never at any time possible in the history of Venice.

Thus from 1148, and to a greater extent from 1192, onwards, at which date Enrico Dandolo swore to the constitution, Venice

ensured by the co-operation of Vittore Pisani and Carlo Zeno, and by the Peace of Turin of August 8th, 1381, which was gained by the good offices of the "Green Count" Amadeo VI. of Savoy. After that date a new revival began. Advantageous treaties with the infidels were justified after 1454 with the characteristic excuse, "Venetians first and Christians afterwards." The previous century, however, had induced the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339) to make extensive acquisitions of territory in the Trevisan interior. These mainland conquests were successfully continued as far as the Adda and Rimini by his successors in office, Michele Steno (1400-1414), Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423), and Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), together with Erasmo Gattamelata of Narni in 1438, celebrated by Donatello's mounted figure before Sant' Antonio at Padua, who saved the republic when captain-general from the Viscontine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino.

If we turn our eyes upon the extension of the square of St. Mark, running towards the sea, astonishment and admiration are infinite, so close has been the co-operation between Nature and human art. Yet even



VENETIAN CITIZEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES
From a painting in the Corsini Gallery, Florence

for fully six centuries remained the pattern of a true oligarchy. Great, indeed, were her achievements in this character. After the Fourth Crusade, which brought vast profit to the Venetians (1202-1204), she founded her possessions in the Adriatic and the Ionian Islands, and consolidated and extended her hold of Cerigo and Eubœa, of Candia and Cyprus. The state became purely mercantile. Commercial voyages grew to the size of expeditions. Nicolò Maffeo and Marco Polo remained in China at the court of Kublai Khan from 1275 to 1292.

To the reasonable vexation of Venice, the Latin Empire was overthrown in 1261 by the efforts of Genoa, and the rule of the Palæologi was restored, though to a more modest extent. The unfavourable conditions in Syria increased the rivalry of Venice and Genoa for predominance in the Black Sea, where Tana and Kaffa were the chief centres of Genoese commerce. Eventually the long-desired end to the struggle was secured by the surrender of Chioggia on June 22nd, 1380,



A VENETIAN SENATOR IN HIS ROBES
From a painting by Tintoretto

a view in full moonlight will not provide unmixed satisfaction. Between the two granite pillars bearing St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark rises the shadow of the hero of Maclodio (1423), the condottiere Francesco Bussone of Carmagnola, who

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was executed on March 5th, 1432. On the right hand, the silent mint reflects the watchful strength of the Venetian constitution. But few windows illuminate the solemn splendour and the proud dignity of the Doge's palace. Even though its notorious leaden chambers have been destroyed for 110 years, yet its "cisterns," its rack chamber, and its Bridge of Sighs which connects it with the old criminal prison, preserve the memories of a system of state inquisition and police supervision, the counterpart of which can have existed only in Spain or under Asiatic despots. It is no mere chance that the ambassadorial and diplomatic systems and the use of a diplomatic cipher—evidenced by documents so early as 1226—found their earliest and most distinguished development in Venice.

It would indeed be surprising that the plastic arts here found so fertile a soil were it not for the fact that economic prosperity and the Oriental wealth of the ambitious reigning families inspired and preserved the taste for beauty and luxury. Andrea del Verrocchio, the creator of the magnificent equestrian statue of the captain-general, Bartolomeo Colleoni (1400-1475), the rich memorials of the Dominican churches of San Giovanni and San Paolo, and, finally, the master of the full Renaissance, Jacopo Sansovino, who, as "architect to the republic," constructed, from 1536 onwards, the magnificent double hall for the proper housing of the libraries of Petrarch and Bessarion—these poured the sunlight of Florence with lavish hand upon the darker gloom of the commercial town, with its domination of sea and land.

In respect of artistic creation Florence undoubtedly occupies the foremost place during those centuries; inspiring light and breath proceed from her activities from an early date. Even such early

creations as the "Madonnas" of Giovanni Cimabue (1240-1303) and the frescoes of his pupil, Giotto (1266-1337), are radiant with light, purity, and vital force. The "Madonna" painted about 1270 for the Cappella Rucellai was carried from the house of Cimabue to the church of Santa Maria Novella by the enthusiastic Florentines "with much splendour and trumpets, in solemn procession." Nobility of form, naturalness, character and virility are the oft-noted characteristic features of the work of Giotto, which announced a new era.

In sunlit Tuscany the stereotyped formality of Byzantine tradition was overpowered and cast aside by the faithful

observation of Nature. Even more truly Florentine than her painting, which was influenced from neighbouring sources, is her sculpture, which held the first place from the Trecento to the Cinquecento, from Andrea Pisano and Andrea di Cione—known as Orcagna—to the times of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donato Bardi—known as Donatello—and thence until Luca della Robbia and Michelangelo Buonarroti. The first ecclesiastical construction of the Renaissance is the Medicean church of San Lorenzo.

Great, however, was the contrast between these artistic powers and the political condition of the chief city within this happy district, with its hedges of olive and fruit trees, with its holm-oaks and pines, its villas and cupolas, and with such towers as that of San Gimignano. The soil gives food in full abundance, colour to the painter, and marble to the sculptor; yet here, as everywhere in Upper and Central Italy at that date, confusions of party faction, reigns of terrorism, and political disruption were intensified. "From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century there was always a Florence in exile," says Ranke. Yet it is possible that this violent



A FAMOUS PORTRAIT OF A DOGE
The genius of Giovanni Bellini has bestowed unmerited fame upon the subject of this portrait, Leonardo Loredano, who held the office of Doge during a period of "comparatively small importance to the constitution of Venice." This famous painting hangs in the National Gallery, London.

contrast between Nature and mankind may have stimulated imagination and given it wings, and have provided an un-failing supply of nourishment to artistic imaginative power.

War is the father of all things, and the fact is true in the present case. The age of the signories, when the idea of republican "freedom" often suffered such extraordinary explanations, compelled the Italian spirit to produce its finest works. Continuous vacillation between hope and fear, the abrupt and violent transitions from supreme power to banishment, from the bounteous table of the ruler to the scanty bread of the outcast, offered a rich supply of dramatic situations, crying to

The Great Days of the Arts

comparatively wide influence, as was only natural from a democratic point of view. This influence is evidenced, for instance, by the documents relating to the statue of St. Matthew of Ghiberti (about 1420); also by the history of the building of the Tempio Malatestiano of Rimini, about 1450, by the great memorial of the Renaissance couple, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta and Isotta degli Atti, with its contorted s, raised by L. B. Alberti, or, finally, by the accurate terms of the commission, which the highly cultivated Isabella d'Este gave to such an artist as Perugino—"The Victory of Modesty over Lust," in 1505. During those golden-centuries the patron, whether an individual or a corporation, prescribed rules for



A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN THE PLACE OF ST. MARK AT VENICE

It is the unique glory of Venice that the republic spared no expense in attracting to its capital the greatest of the artists of the time, and in encouraging its own children to strive for distinction in the arts. As a result, no town in the world could vie with it in artistic riches. It even granted a splendid palace to Petrarch for no other purpose than to have the greatest living poet of Italy a resident in Venice. The above picture by G. Bellini illustrates a procession in the Place of St. Mark, and shows how completely the whole place has been preserved.

be used, and immortalised both by the plastic and by the literary arts. The only perceptible difference is the fact that poetry was rather cherished by the sufferers under banishment, while painting and sculpture, in the majority of cases, were in the service of the prosperous, who were driven by guilty consciences to make amends to God. Roman Catholicism places high value upon artistic appeals to the senses; what marvellous art did Benvenuto Cellini expend merely upon the unseen vessels in the kitchen of Maria of Loretto!

In most cases it was a secret anxiety for the cause of art which inspired the artistic patron to make his sacrifices; hence the artist readily conceded to him a

performance, and watched, though with full respect, the work of the artist stage by stage, reserving the right to interfere. The co-operation of religious fanaticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, of the sense of beauty and the Italian climate, was bound to produce splendours of imperishable

Imperishable Splendours of Italy

power. So arose the Gothic cathedrals of Siena and of Orvieto; the former, though begun amid the confusion which heralded and conditioned the defeat of Montaperti, is in complete harmony with the prosperity of the proud victor at that moment, the faithful copy of Genoa as a territorial city state; the latter, begun a generation later, at the edge of the small and gloomy rock fortress, hardly to be

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compared with Spoleto, impresses the surprised spectator as indeed marvellous. From a political point of view, however, the disaster of Montaperti had produced little or no permanent effect upon the humiliated Florentines. The old murderous quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, which the exaggerations of tradition retrace to the murder of a Buondelmonte by the Amidei, Lamberti and Uberti, on the Easter morning of 1215, continued after 1250, when the nobility were expelled by the community of the citizens, to the end of the century, until the spring celebrations of May 1st, 1300, when it was prosecuted in the inter-necine division of the Guelfs into the "Blacks" (Donati) and the "Whites" (Cerchi).

In 1301 the Florentine "Whites" assisted in the expulsion of the "Blacks" from the neighbouring town of Pistoja; the "Whites," who were then overthrown by the ferocity of the ambitious Pope Boniface VIII., at the end of September, 1300, joined the Ghibelline party with their adherent Dante, who from June 15th to August 14th had been one of the six guild priors of his native town. The threat of excommunication and interdict by the papal "pacifator," the Cardinal Bishop Matthew of Aquasparta, thus did not come about until the expiration of Dante's priorate. The 450 confiscations of property and condemnations which the "White" Pistoja executed, in many cases without

examination or investigation, between 1301 and 1303 accurately reflect the ferocity of the methods employed by the Guelfs in Florence until 1306.



A DOGE OF VENICE

Francesco Foscari was elected Doge of Venice in 1423, and was expelled from that office in 1457 as a result of the opposition of his hereditary foes, the Loredani.

The breach had become irreparable. Florence then possessed a dominant economic position. Through her hands passed the greater part of the trade in salt and corn, in wool and cloth; her financial business was highly profitable, and as early as 1250 the project for a Tuscan coinage union had been conceived and carried through within her walls—an extremely far-reaching project for that date. Her share of Mediterranean traffic and shipping during those decades was surprising in its prodigious and almost undisputed extent. No attempt, how-

ever, was made to utilise these advantages in favour of a comprehensive policy; on the contrary, the city continued the process of self-destruction, and condemned herself by her own acts to political impotence.

Under Guelph fanaticism Florence closed her gates on January 6th, 1311, to Henry VII., who had been crowned at Milan with a crown of steel fashioned like a laurel wreath in place of the famous "iron crown," which the Della Torre had pawned with a Jew. Henry might otherwise have been capable of unifying Italy. The city preferred to endure for ten



A FAMOUS STATUE AT PADUA

When Captain-General of the republican army, Erasmo Gattamelata saved his country from the Viscontine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino, and this statue of the brave leader, by Donatello, stands before Sant' Antonio at Padua as a perpetual reminder of a heroic life.

years (1313-1321 and 1326-1328) the yoke of the Angevin kings, Robert of Naples and Charles of Calabria, and in 1342 conferred the signory upon the titular Duke of



THE FAMOUS PROCESSION OF CIMABUE'S GREAT PAINTING TO THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA IN FLORENCE

Nothing can better illustrate than this picture the glorious idealism of the Renaissance, when, despite the distracted condition of Europe and all the petty wars and family feuds continuously being waged, the minds of men were steadily fixed on spiritual things and their expression in literature, art, and architecture. Cimabue, the Florentine artist, was one of the great pioneers of the Renaissance in art, not so much on account of his actual work but because of his immense influence on his contemporaries of the younger school. Art had long been left to the mosaics, and in the centuries after the decay of Rome and the rise of Byzantium design had frozen into conventions suited to expression in mosaic. But Cimabue, with the revival of painting, struck a note of freedom and naturalism while still retaining from the old mosaic its decorative value. This is admirably illustrated in the celebrated painting of the "Madonna and Child," now preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella, in which we observe at once the touch of actuality in the figures and faces and the influence of the mosaic decorative art in the arrangement and detail of the picture. Florence was so delighted with this painting that it could find time to crown the painter with laurels and carry his picture in procession through the streets. The youth whom Cimabue has by the hand is Giotto, the greatest of his pupils, whom he had found as a shepherd lad, and who did so much to adorn Dante's famous city.

From the painting by Lord Leighton, by permission of the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, W.

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

Athens, Walter VI. of Brienne, though his expulsion became necessary so early as July 26th, 1343. The popular party made many attempts to wrest the government from the plutocracy, from the time of the commercial lord Giano della Bella, a kind of Cæsar or Mirabeau (1293-1295), to the revolt of the Woolcombers (1378-1382) and to the time of the "last Florentine republican" Filippo di Filippo Strozzi, who died in 1538. All of these resulted in failure after some short

success. Upon one occasion Florence, with the help of a German king, succeeded in thwarting the Ghibelline Milanese and their attempts to establish a general supremacy, at an expense of 175,000 ducats. Here we meet with that remarkable conjunction of events which drove Wenzel's rival, Rupert of the Palatinate, into a declared Guelf alliance in 1401, and reduced him to the unworthy position of the English condottiere John Hawkwood, who led the city mercenaries from 1390 to 1394. The republic was then ruled by the noble family group of the

Albizzi, and was reluctant to expend a single additional penny upon the enterprise, while Rupert, though inspired by the best of motives, was without resources; consequently the alliance did not secure for Florence the supremacy at which she aimed, and the result was a

miserable fiasco for both sides. The conquest of Pisa by Gino Caponi on October 9th, 1406, brought a gleam of hope to the almost exhausted city, a possibility renewed on June 27th, 1421, by the acquisition of Livorno from the Genoese for 100,000 ducats. After that date the trade in Egyptian spices passed through the hands of Florentine merchants, who paid for those desirable wares with woollen fabrics.

Eventually Cosimo di Giovanni de Medici, the son of a

banker, who was influential with the lower classes, secured an almost monarchical position, while retaining the forms of a republic. His administration at the same time betokens the dawn of a second Periclean age. The spirit of princely patronage over art was incarnated in the person of the Medici who succeeded the "Father of his Country," who died on August 1st, 1464; these were Piero's sons, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-1492) and Giuliano (1469-1479), Lorenzo's second son Giovanni, who became Pope Leo X. (1513-1521), and Duke Cosimo I. (1537-1574), after 1569

"Grand Duke of Tuscany." This period of the Renaissance and the coming Rococo age. It brought forth, indeed, some unsound fruit, such as Catherine, the instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and others. Typical of these products are the criminal pair of



THE FIRST GREAT PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE
The above is a reproduction of the celebrated "Madonna" painted by Cimabue, and preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, the story of which is told on the opposite page.

cousins, Alessandro and Lorenzino, murdered on January 6th, 1537, and on February 26th, 1548.

Pandolfo Petrucci ruled Siena from February 7th, 1404, until his death, on May 21st, 1512; and had his successors been men of similar character and capacity, this smaller but more brilliant neighbouring town might easily have become the seat of the Tuscan dukes in place of Florence. None the less, no royal family rendered such services to art and science in so comparatively short a time as the dynasty of the Medici. This was no small achievement in an age which saw the artistic rise, not only of such centres as Rome, Venice, and Naples, but also of smaller capitals,

such as Ferrara and Modena — in the sixteenth century, under the two Alfonsos of Este, the friends of Ariosto and Tasso; Mantua, under the art lover Gonzaga; Parma, 1547–1731, under the Farnese; Turin, from 1408 the capital of the Counts of Savoy; and Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael, under the Montefeltro and Rovere.

The attempt to discover an Italian signory which may serve as a type of a true patriotic policy would prove successful only in the case of Milan, so long as that town remained under the rule of the Visconti (1311–1447), a dynasty disturbed by no moral scruples, but ruthlessly pursuing its object, the unification at least of Lombardy. In this case we meet with vigour and

fidelity, which may reconcile us to many divergences from the strict path of uprightness, and to many acts of severity. With the exception of an interim from 1277 to 1302, the town had been ruled by the Gueff family Della Torre from 1240, and in the winter of 1310–1311 it offered a reluctant submission to Henry VII. and his policy of composing all differences. The remaining nine decades of the fourteenth century secured the inclusion of Milan in the empire, a change which met with little opposition, and offered every prospect of undisturbed expansion and amalgamation, while no danger was to be feared from the obvious weakness of the empire. The imperial power of an Otto, a Frederic, or



THE READING OF A PROCLAMATION IN MEDIÆVAL VENICE
From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



MEDIÆVAL PERSIAN MERCHANTS TRADING WITH LADIES OF VENICE

In the Middle Ages all the riches of the Orient were poured into the wonderful city on the Adriatic; its streets swarmed with the most cosmopolitan population, and the merchants of the East came laden with their precious wares to dispose of among the luxury-loving and wealthy citizens of the maritime republic, whose palaces lined the Grand Canal.

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

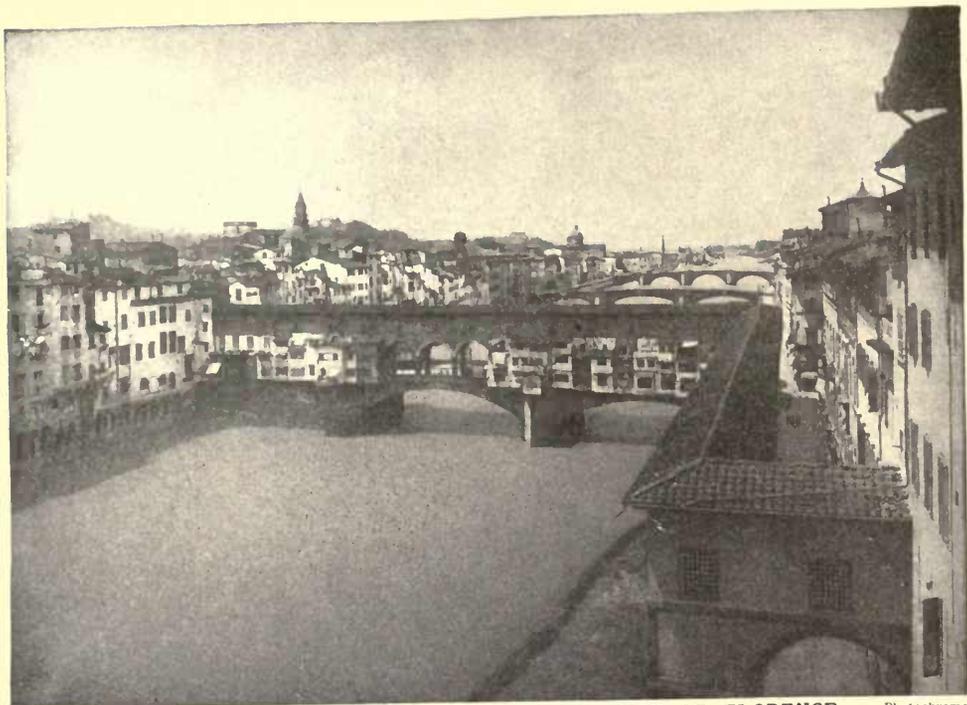
a Henry had long since disappeared, leaving no trace behind, and the task of mutual recognition and tolerance had become extremely simple.

Nothing is more characteristic of this situation than the commercial attitude of Charles IV. between 1354 and 1355, and in the summer of 1368. Italy was then harassed by the constant plague of mercenary troops, the "Compagnie di ventura," who, while generally brave, were entirely unscrupulous; she was also anxious to recover her spiritual head, now far away in dependence upon France. These tasks had been attempted with better, though not with lasting, success by a famous woman, Santa Katharina Benincasa of Siena, who died in 1380, and to them the second Luxemburg king devoted no real part of his power. The exact antithesis of his ideal grandfather, Henry, and of his father, John, who was ever a chivalrous character, he preferred negotiation to action.

Thus the shattered country was again threatened with the necessity of casting out the plague of foreign defenders and native intriguers—who used this disruption

for their own purpose—by means of a few sharp strokes, after which the process of reform might be attempted. The curative process was painful, and consisted in a complete renunciation of the almost inevitable factions and in a transition to the hated "subjection" under some absolute ruler, and this process was almost automatically completed. The physician in question was Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti—born October 16th, 1351, in Pavia—who would most certainly have deserved the name of a national hero had it not been for the premature death which overtook him on September 3rd, 1402, before he could complete his difficult task.

His government began by his determined efforts to destroy the power of his cruel uncle, Bernabo, in 1385. He proceeded to secure his own inheritance in defiance of Bernabo's sons, to expel from Verona the remnants of the Della Scala, who seemed ready, under Can Grande, the patron of Dante, and under Mastino II., to realise the Ghibelline idea of Italian salvation. The next steps were the determined expulsion of Francesco I. and II. da Carrara



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF FLORENCE

Photochrome

The gallery which is here seen carried across the river Arno on the top of the old bridge connects the two famous picture galleries of the Uffizzi and the Pitti, which were formerly palaces belonging to the families whose names they still bear.



THE UNFINISHED MEDICI CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE

It was under the Medici that Florence reached the height of its mediæval prosperity, and the tombs of that remarkable family are one of its great sights. These are contained in the chapel attached to the unfinished church of San Lorenzo, illustrated above, and are largely the work of Michelangelo. The unfinished church is, in some sort, a symbolical memorial of the downfall of the Medici, who had so long and tyrannously imposed their rule on the state of Florence,



THE TITULAR DUKE OF ATHENS, WALTER VI. OF BRIENNE, BEING COMPELLED TO RESIGN THE SIGNORY OF FLORENCE IN 1343
From the painting by H. Kaulbach, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany



Lorenzo de Medici



Giuliano de Medici

THREE FAMOUS LEADERS OF THE GREAT FAMILY OF THE MEDICI

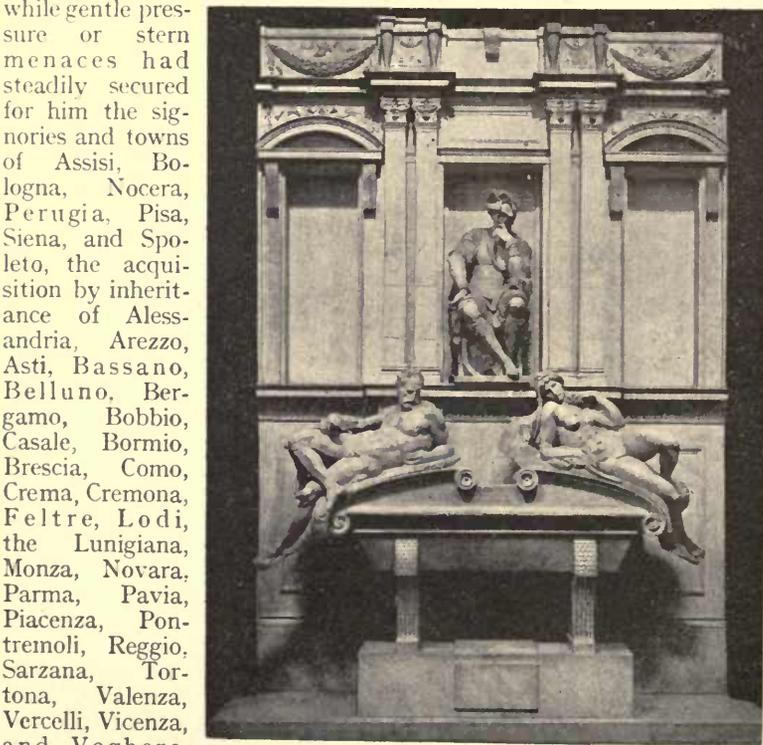
The Medici were a Florentine family that rose to great power in the fourteenth century, and wielded vast influence. Expelled from Florence towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Medici were soon afterwards re-installed in power.

from Padua, and the intimidation of Francesco I. da Gonzaga by the attempt of his naval engineers to divert the course of the Mincio, and to transform Mantua into a swamp; then followed the purchase of the ducal title from the needy King Wenzel, the elevation of Pavia to a county, and the successful inducement of Niccolo of Este to enter Ferrara in 1401. Mean-

while gentle pressure or stern menaces had steadily secured for him the signories and towns of Assisi, Bologna, Nocera, Perugia, Pisa, Siena, and Spoleto, the acquisition by inheritance of Alessandria, Arezzo, Asti, Bassano, Bergamo, Bobbio, Casale, Bormio, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Feltre, Lodi, the Lunigiana, Monza, Novara, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Reggio, Sarzana, Tortona, Valenza, Vercelli, Vicenza, and Voghera.

These gains brought the power of Gian Galeazzo to such a height that the anxiety of the towns and signories, which wished to remain Guelf at any price, became very intelligible, as also did the joy and satisfaction of the other towns at the approaching fulfilment of the "idea unitaria" by the Visconti.

A view of Upper and Central Italy as it existed in the summer of 1402 will show no power comparable with the Duchy of Milan, except Savoy and Piedmont, Saluzzo and Montferat, Asti, and Genoa, Massa and Carrara, and the other districts of the Malaspina, Mantua and Modena, Venice and Florence, and the Church State. It is thus no remarkable exaggeration when Alfieri, a worthy teacher of Latin at Kaffa in the Crimea, in his "Ogdoas," composed about 1421, makes Gian Galeazzo ask: "And what would have



TOMB OF LORENZO DE MEDICI BY MICHELANGELO



LUCREZIA BORGIA DANCING IN THE PRESENCE OF HER FATHER, POPE ALEXANDER VI, AND HIS CARDINALS

Lucrezia Borgia, famous for her beauty and for her love of art and science, was the daughter of Rodrigo Borgia, who in 1492 became Pope, taking the title of Alexander VI. She is here pictured as dancing in the presence of her father, sitting in the papal chair, with his cardinals around him. Lucrezia was three times married; she was born in 1480 and died in 1519.

From the painting by H. Kaulbach, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

happened if fate had granted me five years more?" and represents his illegitimate son, Gabrielle Maria, as replying: "The whole of Italy would have obeyed thy sceptre." Notwithstanding the occasional severity of his decrees, he was

reverenced for another hundred years by the people as a saint, and this in spite of the fact that the increasing expense of his military enterprises had obliged him to withdraw his support from the splendid building of the Certosa, near his brilliant capital of Pavia. This monastery had absorbed considerable benefactions from 1303 to 1306, but from the laying of its foundation stone on August 27th, 1306, had received no help from the ruler until his death, while he was also unable to spend upon the marble cathedral of Milan after 1386 as much as he had done during the first decade.

The Lombard crown, after an absence

of twenty years in Avignon, had been once more kept at Monza from March 20th, 1345, and was thus in the power of Gian Galeazzo, but the proud ruler of Milan was not destined to wear it. The tripartite division of the "best duchy in the whole of Christendom" was contemplated under his will, but was prevented by the execution of Gabriele at Genoa in 1408, by the murder of Giammaria at Milan in 1412, and by the efforts of the brave generals of Filippo Maria

(1412 - 1447); these were Francesco da Carmagnola, Niccolo

Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza, the eldest son of Giacomo Addendolo, known as Sforza of Cotignola, who was drowned in the Pescara on January 4th, 1424. The fourth representative of the family of the last-mentioned upstart, a highly capable character, Lodovico Sforza il Moro, suggested the invasion of Italy to the French.



TWO OF THE FAMOUS VISCONTI

Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti was the most famous of the noble Lombard family of the Visconti. He did much to regain the territories of his house, but died, in 1402, before his task was completed. Matteo, whose portrait is also given, belonged to an earlier period, and in the thirteenth century held for a time the government of Milan. In 1322 he was condemned as heretic, and died three months after his trial.



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII. INTO FLORENCE

From the painting by Bezzuoli in the Gallery of Modern Art at Florence



SOUTH ITALY UNDER THE ANGEVINS THE SICILIAN REVOLT & SPANISH SUPREMACY

IN 1266 the Angevin dynasty displaced the Hohenstauffen in Southern Italy. During their period we meet with vitality, and occasionally with freedom, though within intelligible limits. The brilliant traditions of the Normans and the carefully organised administration of the Hohenstauffen could not be abolished in a moment. At the same time the Southern Italian is by nature so protean a character that, provided blood is flowing in his veins, the impact of any foreign influence will suffice to drive him forward on an altered course; only the torpidity of the later period of oppression has caused the extinction of this characteristic.

Hence an accurate examination does not confirm the impression that the foreign French or the first Spaniards were responsible for the sudden death of southern civilisation. It is, no doubt, true that the presence of these foreign rulers intensified that separation from the rest of Italy which originated in the Byzantine period, and became permanent in view of the hopelessness of all attempts at fusion with the north. This alienation it is which has indisputably stamped the general historical development of the two Sicilies with that lifeless character which has prevented every careful observer, from the papal Saba Malaspina to N. Nisco and R. de Cesare, the biographers of Ferdinand II. and Francis II., from feeling the pleasure of unrestrained satisfaction before exploits of undoubted magnificence; the sense of some flaw in the picture is ever dominant.

Charles I., the first Angevin king of Naples and Sicily (1266-1285), began by thoroughly destroying all traces of the government which he had set aside; he wished, above all things, to erase from the book of history the two previous decades. This Capetian and Provençal ruler was disinclined to appear

as the heir of the Germans, an attitude adopted by his greater Carolingian predecessor in 774 towards the Lombard inheritance; Charles made every conceivable effort to appear as a "new master." In this bureaucratic state, which had grown up under the Normans, the Saracens, and the Hohenstauffen, the feudal system underwent an unexpected revival under French forms. Dependence, however, upon pre-existing forms, and resistance, upon the other hand, to aggressive attempts, caused the king constant anxiety. In 1270 he considered that the second crusade of his brother Louis IX., if it had failed to capture the last refuge of the Hohenstauffen party, had yet sufficiently terrorised that retreat. He therefore reverted to the old Norman idea of foreign policy, and proposed to become master of both shores of the Adriatic. He was, however, unable to cope with the superior diplomacy of Byzantium.

The battle of Berat brought Charles' ten years of struggle for Albania to a temporary conclusion in April, 1281; while the dangerous alliance of Orvieto, which Charles concluded on July 3rd, 1281, with Pope Martin IV., Venice, and Philip of Courtenay, the husband of his daughter Beatrice, with the object of reviving the Latin Empire of Baldwin II., broke down at the moment when it was put to the test, and Sicily, which was wildly excited by the intolerable burden of taxation, threw off the heavy yoke forthwith.

Revolt of the Sicilians On March 31st, 1282, the alarm was rung by the vesper bell of Santo Spirito, in the plain of Oreto to the south of Palermo, and was transmitted to the capital by the bell of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, with its almost Mohammedan cupola. The Sicilian Vespers overthrew the French supremacy, and after a five months' republican government, Peter III., the Great,

of Aragon seized the masterless throne. The island of Sicily—that is to say, one-half of the southern kingdom—was for the long period of more than two centuries a valuable possession for the dynasty of Aragon. Naturally the policy of Aragon exerted a decisive influence upon Sicilian history between 1282 and 1516. Some few

**Spain's
Dominance
in Italy**

exceptions there were during this period, after James' renunciation in favour of Anjou in 1295 had been nullified in 1296 by the elevation of the Ghibelline Frederic II. The weak government of Frederic III., who ascended the throne in 1355 and reigned thirteen years, conceded too much influence to Rome and Naples after 1372; then came the reign of his daughter Maria, during whose minority the barons rose to power and engaged in faction fights until her husband, Martin the Younger of Aragon, appeared in 1392 and overthrew the opposition nationalist party of Andrea Chiamonte. The interregnum between the death of Martin the Elder, in 1410, and the election of his nephew Ferdinand I., the Upright, in 1412, was too short to enable the island to throw off the yoke of Spain.

The preponderance of Spain was but strengthened by the union with the kingdom of Naples, which was introduced theoretically in 1420 and practically between 1442 and 1458 by Alfonso V.—commemorated to-day by the magnificent renaissance triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo—and was made a permanent institution in 1454.

The reconquest of Sicily was never effected by the Angevins, although they employed powerful naval forces—in 1283, 1299, and on other occasions—and used the gentle persuasions of Angevin princesses, such as Bianca and Eleonora. Attempts to secure Maria's marriage with an Italian prince—among other possible candidates Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti, a widower from 1372, was proposed in 1377—were nullified in 1378 by her abduction to Barcelona. It thus became necessary for good or evil to leave the island to itself. It cannot be said that the kingdom of Naples was greatly affected by this reluctant renunciation.

On the contrary, after the turbulent and unfortunate government of Charles II. (1288–1309) it seemed as if some prosperity might be vouchsafed to Naples, which had been isolated since 1302 under the government of the philosophical and poetical king, Robert the Wise (1309–1343). His efforts to check, first Henry VII., at the end of 1311, who replied by deposing him on April 26th, 1313, and then, in 1328, Lewis of Bavaria, by a strong federation of the Guelf towns in Tuscany, eventually proved successful. A fundamental feature in the policy of Robert, and of the Angevin rulers in general, was an attitude of friendliness to the papacy, which need cause no surprise in view of the origin of these kings and of the position of the papacy at that moment. The reign of Robert was succeeded by a century of confusion which centres round the whims and passions of two masculine queens-regent, Joanna I. (1343–1382) and Joanna II. (1414–1435). Charles Robert, as the great-grandson of the Arpád Stephen V., who was a nephew of King Robert, had ascended the Hungarian throne in 1308, and Naples, which then enjoyed a remarkable degree of intellectual culture, was thus brought into a highly interesting connection with the semi-barbarous country of the Magyars. Complicity in the murder of Andreas on September 18th, 1345, the



CHARLES OF ANJOU
The youngest son of Louis VIII. of France, Charles of Anjou became King of Naples in 1266, but his government created a discontent which led to revolt.

unfortunate first husband of the beautiful and sensual young Queen Joanna, a character typical of Petrarch's period, helped to secure a certain influence for Provençal-Neapolitan civilisation upon the leading classes in Hungary. The nobles who accompanied Lewis the Avenger to Italy in 1347 were the most receptive and inquiring spirits of their nation, a fact needing no proof. In 1348 the bubonic plague, or "black death," described by Boccaccio in the introduction to the first day of the "Decameron," was brought to the Mediterranean territories from Asia by way of the Crimea. Notwithstanding "preventive" measures such as murders of the Jew and pilgrimages of flagellants, the plague spread with extraordinary rapidity, and prevented

any lengthy stay on the part of Lewis, though in 1350 he reappeared in Naples. Even after the cruel end of the unbridled but highly cultured princess on May 22nd, 1382, the attempt was renewed to consolidate this remarkable alliance between Southern and Eastern Europe. At the beginning of 1386 Charles III., the Short, was crowned, and in 1403 was succeeded by his brilliant son Ladislaus. In either case these projects resulted in failure. It seems as if the friendly star which had guided the first Charles to Naples, and pointed the way for his

merating a number of territories which he had little prospect of ever possessing, as his claims existed only upon paper; at the same time he had the resources and the capacity to pursue an imperial policy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. The increase of the power of Gian Galeazzo of Milan disturbed his Guelf opponents and obliged them to concentrate. During those years we meet with more than one mention of a league between Naples, the Pope, Florence, King Rupert, and Venice, which Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua were to have joined. On the



THE SICILIAN VESPERS. MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH AT PALERMO

The tyrannous government of Charles of Anjou pressed very heavily on Sicily, which, in 1282, rose in revolt, the outbreak beginning with the massacre of the French at Palermo, known as the Sicilian Vespers, from the vesper bell giving the signal. The island then came under an Aragonese dynasty, and in later years became a Spanish dependency.

energetic grandson, Robert, had deserted the latter at Angevins. The fact is true both of the Durazzo dynasty and of the three Louis of the younger house of Anjou, invited southwards by Joanna I.; they were unfortunate, or fortune mocked them.

One exception there seems to have been—namely, Ladislaus (1390-1414). His titles were pompous; he styled himself "King of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Ramia, Servia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Cumania, and Bulgaria, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont," thus enu-

other hand, the continued cry raised by the East for a thorough Crusade against the Turks gave a great stimulus to the project of an alliance of some of these powers with France, Genoa, and Athens. In no case did the plan meet with any considerable success, but the ready compliance with which distant and close neighbours made overtures to the liberal King of Naples sufficiently shows what extraordinary prestige Ladislaus enjoyed about 1400. On April 25th, 1403, Rome opened her gates to him, an example

followed by Perugia. These ambitions, however, aroused distrust elsewhere, for no one was anxious to replace the ambitious Visconti with an Angevin, who might complete the unification of Italy. None the less, when he had availed himself of the schism so far as to be upon the point of regaining his mastery of

Italy's Rome, he died, before he had
Age of reached the age of forty,
Decadence on August 6th, 1414, not
six months after he had
granted at Piperno, on the edge of the
Pontine marshes, remission of house tax
to some two hundred families of Sezze—
an instance of his care for the people. He,
again, possessed neither good fortune nor
guiding star.

Ladislaus and his sister, Joanna II., belong to the age of decadence, as is attested by the inscription on the Gothic memorial raised by the king's fraternal love behind the high altar of San Giovanni Carbonara at Naples. A new spirit, or the revival of the old, is first typified in Alfonso I. the Noble of Sicily, who had been Alfonso V. of Aragon since 1416, and in his mastery of Naples by twenty-two years of obstinate struggle. His theories of life were far removed from the general obscurantism which characterised the Angevins, of which there is no more striking proof than the fact that under his government the keen champion Laurentius Valla attacked the secular power of the Pope in 1440 by his researches "de falso credito et ementita Constantini donatione."

In the same sense is to be understood Alfonso's remarkable grant of help in 1453, during the last heroic struggle of Constantine XI. It was not so much the result of zealous championship of Christian doctrine as the outcome of a

Revival calmly considered imperialist
of the policy. However, in company
Sciences with other royal humanists of
his time he eagerly grasped
the precious fruit of the destruc-
tion of Constantinople, the revival of
the sciences by the dispersed exponents
of Greek civilisation. The first seven
years of the reign of his illegitimate
son and successor, Ferdinand I. ("Fer-
rante"; 1458-1494), were disturbed
by struggles with the Angevin John

of Calabria, the son of René of Bar. He was a true contemporary of men like Sixtus IV. della Rovere and of the upstart Francesco Sforza, and he succeeded in establishing his own rule by marriage alliances with both families. The nobility soon felt the results of his success, and upon this question King Louis XI. had already provided a precedent which cried aloud for imitation. Otranto, an outpost important for its advanced position, had been captured by the Turks, with great cruelty, on August 11th, 1480; thirteen months later—on September 10th, 1481—Prince Alfonso reconquered it with the help of the Pope. In other respects Ferdinand showed high capacity in his position; two favourite objects of his domestic care were jurisprudence and the culture of the silk-worm.

With the death of Ferrante the favour of fortune which had protected the south for half a century came to an end. Alfonso II. was intimidated by the menaces of Charles VIII. and hated by his people.

Naples' On the last day of the first
Heavy Loss year of his reign he abdicated
to Spain in favour of his son, Ferdinand
II. The latter triumphed
over the French, after eighteen months
of conflict, on July 20th, 1496, and died
upon October 7th of the same year.
The throne of Naples was once again
left desolate. Frederic (1496-1501), the
brother of Alfonso II., was said to have
shown too great a friendship towards
the Turks; and under the excuse of pro-
tecting Christendom, Louis XII., who had
inherited the claims of his cousin, Charles
VIII., upon Southern Italy, joined the
cousin of Ferrante, Ferdinand the Catholic,
in 1500. The latter, however, who was
at heart a determined enemy of the French,
used the allies merely for the purpose
of a joint conquest. The whole of the
Neapolitan kingdom was eventually re-
covered for united Spain in 1504, after
the brilliant triumphs of Gonsalvo de
Cordova, "the Great Captain."

This transference implied a heavy loss to Naples; henceforward the kingdom became a mere appanage of the Spanish monarch, which fell by inheritance to the House of Hapsburg in 1516.

HANS HELMOLT



THE SPANISH PENINSULA

MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN THE SPLENDOUR OF THE CALIPHATE AND THE ANDALUSIAN CIVILISATION

In the middle of the eighth century Spain was but very loosely connected with the Saracen Empire. Rival races set up rulers by force of arms, so that it happened on occasion that Kelbitic tribes helped a Kaisite, or vice versa; the Berbers either formed alliances with the Arab races, or acted for themselves, under the guidance of some fanatical "saint," without attaining any lasting result. In 750 the most powerful man in Spain was the Kaisite Somail; after the Kelbites had been defeated in the battle of Secunda, he found a docile instrument in the governor Yusuf, though his cruelty to the vanquished made him an object of inextinguishable hatred to all the Kelbitic tribes.

Meanwhile, the reigning house of the Ommayyads in Bagdad had been overthrown and almost exterminated by the Abbassides. Only a few members of the family made their escape, among others, the youthful and ambitious Abd ur Rahman. After various adventures, he took refuge in Africa; but there, as everywhere, his attempts to gain power made him an object of suspicion. He was obliged to flee from place to place, and at length his thoughts turned to Spain.

The unsettled condition of the country, which seemed to be on the point of falling apart into separate feudal states, no doubt attracted him. A large number of Arab families in the peninsula had been under the special protection of the Ommayyad house, and from them he might expect unlimited support. But it was essential for any pretender who would step forward

to oppose the hated Somail and Yusuf to win the favour of the Kelbitic race; and the more so if he belonged, as Abd ur Rahman did, to a Kaisite family. Abd ur Rahman succeeded in entering into relations with the friends of the Ommayyad house, and in September of the year 755 he landed on the Spanish coast. Yusuf's first attempts at resistance failed; negotiations were begun, but came to nothing. Most of the Kaisite tribes gathered at Yusuf's camp, while the Kelbites flocked to Abd ur Rahman. Auxiliary Berber troops joined both sides. In the following year Abd ur Rahman won a brilliant victory over his adversaries and seized Cordova; Yusuf and Somail then recognised the Ommayyad prince as the emir of Spain.

Abd ur Rahman devoted all the untiring energy of his ambitious nature to the desperate task of forming Spain into an independent and united nation. Unscrupulous as to the means he employed, crafty and determined, and peculiarly favoured by fortune, he accomplished his task; but he was enabled to hold his ground only by the fact that the Arab tribes, though ever ready to revolt, could never unite or hold together for one common purpose.

Brilliant Period of Arab Rule The age of the caliphate is the most brilliant period of Arab rule in Spain, both as regards the economic and intellectual progress of the country. To understand the development of Spanish-Arabian civilisation, as well as its gradual decline, it is essential to gain a clear conception of that part of Spain which was not under

the rule of Islam, which now began to rise from unimportant beginnings, and eventually came forward as the most dangerous enemy of the caliphate. At first it seemed not only that Spain was submerged in the flood of Moslem conquest, but also that Southern France would fall before the Arab onset. It was only Charles Martel's

**Martel's
Great
Victory**

brilliant victory at Poitiers in the year 732 that drove the army of Islam back across the Pyrenees. But even in Spain the inhabitants of the mountains in the north were never really subjugated. Their submission to the Romans and the Goths had been only temporary, and they had, to some extent, retained their original Iberian language. The Arabs deemed those barren heights comparatively unimportant.

The situation became more critical when that portion of the Gothic people which was capable of offering resistance began to gather in the northern mountains, and to project the recovery of their land by force of arms. Under the leadership of Pelayo, or Pelagius, the people of the Asturian mountains shook off the yoke of their enemies not long after the conquest. Then the Berbers, who had largely settled in the North of Spain, were weakened by the collapse of their rising against the Arabs; moreover, a terrible famine obliged them to migrate southward, and the Christian inhabitants of Galicia seized the opportunity to revolt.

Alfonso, the Duke of Cantabria, which had also declared its freedom, was now recognised as over-lord by all the inhabitants of the north coast of Spain. He made at once a determined attack, wrested Leon and Old Castile from the Berbers, and pushed on to Coimbra, on the west coast, and to Toledo, in the interior of the country, although he was unable to secure these conquests. Thus there rose within a short time a dangerously powerful Christian state, which was really a continuation of the West Gothic kingdom.

**Absolute
Monarchy of
the Caliphs**

As the caliphs had established an absolute monarchy, the foreign history of Spanish Islam is, for some centuries, bound up with the personality of these monarchs, or of those who held the reins of power in their stead. Abd ur Rahman I. was succeeded by his son, Hischam I., who was immediately obliged to take measures against two of his brothers, who had revolted and attempted to found

independent states in the north of the kingdom. After several bloody conflicts, he succeeded in subduing both of them. Hischam also fought successfully against the Christians of the North, but his character inclined him rather to peace and to the furthering of his subjects' welfare.

After his death, in the year 796, his son Chakam ascended the throne. He was at once attacked by the two brothers of Hischam, who had already thrown the kingdom into confusion. At the same time the northern frontier was disturbed by incursions of the Frankish troops. Chakam succeeded in getting the better of his relatives, but against the Franks he was not so successful.

Barcelona fell into the hands of the Christians, and the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia was thus formed. Chakam's army was almost perpetually under arms against the kings of Leon. The fleet, which had been of little importance before the period of the caliphate, undertook punitive expeditions against the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. A revolt of the renegades in Cordova was crushed with terrible severity; some of the inhabitants

**The Caliph's
Luxurious
Court Life**

were forced to emigrate, and, after many trying adventures, they finally found a home either in Crete or in Fez.

The reign of Chakam's son, Abd ur Rahman II., was even more brilliant. The ideal of this monarch was the luxurious court life of the caliphs at Bagdad. Marvels of architectural skill were created during his life. Poetry and music were ever honoured and encouraged at the court of this weak but artistic prince, while the arts of war were neglected. In stern contrast to Abd ur Rahman was his successor, Mohammed, a cold, fanatical devotee, whose stern rule drove the Christians of Toledo and the south-eastern mountain ranges to revolt. Of special importance was the terrible rebellion of the Christians of Granada, which sapped the strength of the kingdom; neither Mohammed nor his successor, Mondhir (886-888), was able to subdue this uprising.

As the central authority began to decline, feudalism among the Arab, Berber, and Spanish nobles again appeared. The next caliph, Abdallah (888-912), had to cope with both of these dangers; and the result of his efforts was most unsatisfactory. Every important noble lived as an independent prince behind his castle walls.

The Christians and the renegades of the Granada mountains pressed forward to the very gates of Cordova, under their leader, Omar ibn Chassun, and the caliph's feeble policy of reconciliation was wholly fruitless.

In the extremity of despair, Abdallah ventured to attack the Christian army which was threatening his capital, and won a victory as brilliant as it was unexpected in 890. He thereby gained momentary relief; but in the year 902 the attempts of the aristocracy to win their independence, and the restlessness of his Spanish subjects, brought him into pressing difficulty. It was only when Abdallah succeeded in winning over his most dangerous opponents, the Arabs of the district of Seville, that the power of the caliphate began to revive.

Abdallah's grandson and successor, Abd ur Rahman III., took vigorous measures to strengthen the tottering monarchy. The dreaded rebel, Omar ibn Chassun, had died in the year 917, and the Christian revolt gradually subsided. War was also successfully waged against the northern Christian states. By adroitly turning to his own advantage the racial wars in Africa,

What Abd ur Rahman III. Accomplished the caliph got possession of several of the coast towns, and a portion of Morocco became a Spanish protectorate.

After a warlike reign of twenty-seven years, Abd ur Rahman III. could say that the caliphate had been restored to its former splendour. The boundaries had been extended and secured; the feudal nobles had been humbled, and deposed from all influential positions. But, in his fear of the Arab nobles and their encroachments, Abd ur Rahman had adopted a dangerous policy. He drew his officials from among freemen and foreigners, and especially the "Slavs" who came to Spain as adventurers or prisoners of war, and who included in their number representatives of every Christian state in Europe.

A moderate estimate informs us that Abd ur Rahman had 6,000 "Slavs" about his person. The preference given to these classes, who were utterly despised by the pure Arabs, aroused the greatest discontent among the nobles, and on certain occasions cost the caliph dear, for several battles were lost owing to the misbehaviour of the native contingents. However, Abd ur Rahman was incontestably the greatest ruler of the Ommayyad dynasty. He was marvellously successful in over-

coming all opposition, in repairing disasters, and, notwithstanding his continual wars, in furthering the progress of the country in every direction. An army such as Arabian Spain had never before seen was under his command, and the most powerful princes, East and West, desired his favour and courted his friendship. In Spain, as elsewhere,

Progress Follows Arab Victories the victory of the Arab power implied an advance in economic progress. In other European countries feudalism steadily gained ground; in Spain it continued to decline, and left room for the increase of general prosperity. The free peasants were able to increase their acquisitions at the expense of the Arab nobility, who were continually at war over private feuds.

The princes and nobles of the land were ever ready to foster and promote the cause of learning; reading and writing were universal accomplishments among the common people. All this intellectual activity was not the artificial creation of an autocratic monarch; it was the healthy and brilliant bloom of well-nurtured material prosperity. In truth, the northern inhabitants of Europe, living as they did in gloomy city alleys or miserable village hovels, clustered around the castles of a rude, uncultured nobility, would have thought themselves in fairy-land, could they have been transported to this joyous, brilliant world. But that which would have especially surprised them, which would have brought a flush of shame to the cheeks of anyone with a spark of Christian feeling in his heart, was the noble spirit of toleration and of intellectual freedom which breathed over the happy plains of Andalusia. He would have been forced to admit that even Christians might receive from the followers of the hated Mahomet instruction in that generous forbearance

Where Creeds Were Tolerated to enemies with which the Founder of their faith had sought to inspire them, Herein lies the fascination which to-day impels us to look back with yearning and regret upon the too rapid flight of that happy period, when Cordova and Toledo guarded the sacred fire of civilisation upon European ground, a fascination which still throws its glamour around the halls of the Alcazar of Seville or the pinnacles of the Alhambra.

Our picture of the dreamy beauty of Andalusian civilisation would be incomplete if we omitted the glorious development of the art of poetry, which drew its sustenance from the western imagination and blossomed to a richer life even than it did upon the banks of the twin rivers of Mesopotamia. But it was

**Where
Poetry
Flourished**

not only in the domain of poetry that the Andalusians exercised the splendid intellectual power which often compelled admiration from their co-religionists. Philosophy also found a home and a refuge from persecution at the courts of the caliph and his governors and fendal princes, who had long since learned that the most audacious opinions must be heard openly among men, and that otherwise they would grow to strange and dangerous proportion in secrecy and persecution. Theologians with their arguments might attack the sceptics when these demanded the mathematical proof of the truth of their religion; they might attempt to brand these unbelievers for ever as drunkards and voluptuaries; they did not burn them at the stake in Moorish Spain.

Abd ur Rahman was, on the whole, successful in checking the growth of the Christian kingdom on the north and in securing his frontiers; but the hopes of conquering Africa, which the revolt of the Abu-Jazird against the Fatimides had aroused, were only of short duration. In the year 947 the rebels, who recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Caliph of Cordova, were beaten and slain.

Spain, in its most flourishing period, was never equal to the task of subjugating Morocco; and before long it came to owe its very existence to the help of African Islam. During the reign of the peaceful successor of Abd ur Rahman III., the patron of the arts, Chakam, or

**The Caliph
as the Patron
of Learning**

Hakem II., the Christian states renewed their attacks with redoubled vigour; but the continual quarrels of his opponents, and the magnificent army which his predecessor had left to him, gave Chakam so great an advantage that in the year 970 the Castilians were glad to make peace, and the caliph obtained leisure to concentrate his attention upon the furthering of civilisation in his country and upon the advancement of learning.

But that wonderful prosperity of Spanish Islam which permitted the rise of a large number of wealthy and brilliant cities, and allowed individual provinces to gain in strength and independence, became dangerous at length to the ascendancy of the Ommayyad dynasty, and prepared the way for the disruption of the kingdom into a number of petty states. Prosperity and progress might gain rather than lose by such a separation, but it could be foreseen that the military power of Spanish Islam would be fatally weakened thereby. Upon the death of Chakam II., in 976, signs of the coming disruption were apparent.

The successor to the throne, Hischam II., was then only eleven years old, and various personages of importance began to quarrel about the regency. Fortunately for the empire, the most capable of these aspirants, the chamberlain Ibn abi Amir, or Al Mansur, as he afterwards was called, succeeded in seizing the chief power by cunning and force, and retained it to the end of his life against his various opponents. Hischam had been brought up by his mother, Aurora, a native of Navarre, who was allied to Al Mansur, in accord-

**An Age of
Moslem
Triumphs**

ance with his ideas, and remained a tool in the regent's hand throughout his life. Abroad, the period of Al Mansur's rule was, undoubtedly, the most brilliant in the history of the Ommayyad dynasty. Never since the conquest had the Moslem sword won such brilliant victories over the Christians, never had the armies of Andalusia penetrated so far into the lands of their hereditary enemies. In the year 981 Zamora was captured. Barcelona was taken in 985, and the fortress of Leon in 987. A tremendous impression was created in 994-997, when Al Mansur pushed on into the barren land of Galicia and captured the national shrine of Spanish Christendom, that of St. James of Compostela, and razed it to the ground.

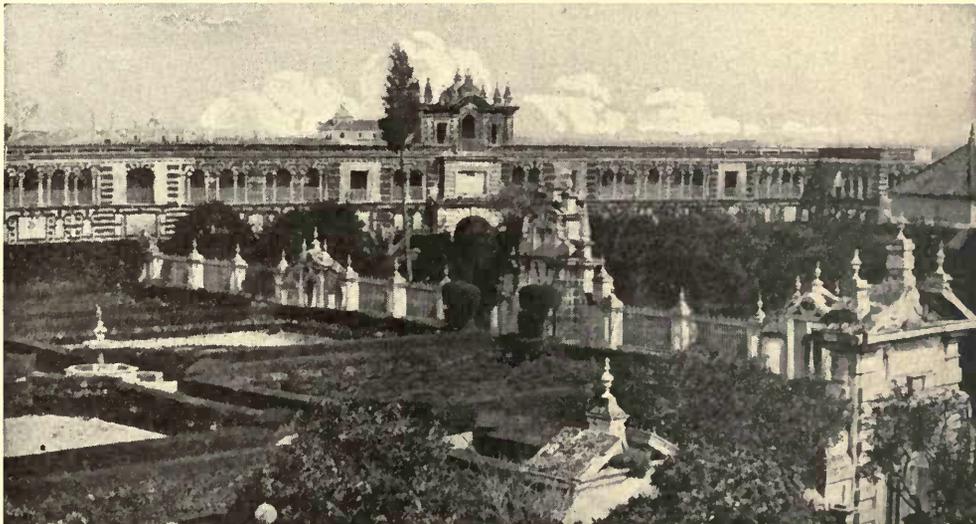
Such successes were made possible only by the sweeping reforms which Al Mansur had introduced, for his own ends, into the military organisation of Andalusia, and by his final breach with the remnants of the old Arab racial organisation. The levy by tribes was wholly abolished, and the inhabitants called upon to serve were arbitrarily drafted into the different regiments. The flower of the army, upon which Al Mansur relied, was formed partly of Berbers from Morocco and partly of Christian soldiers

THE MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN

from North Spain, who had no scruples whatever in fighting against their compatriots. The Christian states were continually at variance with one another, and did not reject the help of the Moors when occasion offered. Al Mansur's most dangerous rival was Ghalib, the commander of the troops on the northern frontier, and a successful general. After he had been defeated and slain the regent could place implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his troops, and could successfully meet all attempts to overthrow his power. But a military supremacy, naturally, did not benefit Spain in the long run. The fact that Al Mansur attempted to strengthen his perilous position by lending a close adherence to the orthodox theology was

as being responsible for the burden that oppressed the people—in particular Al Mansur himself and his most faithful dependents, the Berber chiefs and the Christian soldiery. Upon Al Mansur's death an uproar arose in Cordova, the inhabitants furiously demanding that henceforward Hischam II. should reign as an independent monarch. Mozaffar Abd al Melik Modhaffer, the son of Al Mansur, had much trouble in subduing the rebels. When Mozaffar died, in the year 1008, the general discontent broke into open riot; the brother of the deceased, who took his place, was driven out and killed.

It soon became evident, however, that nothing had been gained by the overthrow of ministerial government. Individual



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE, BUILT BY THE MOORS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY
The name "Alcazar" was given to several palaces built by the Moors in Spain; that at Seville, shown in the illustration, is famous for its architectural beauty, and there are many ancient treasures preserved within its walls.
Photo by Friih

disadvantageous to the progress of learning and of philosophy in particular. The unfavourable consequences of Al Mansur's reign surpassed its benefits. It is true, however, that the material prosperity of the country, which he was practical enough to encourage, reached its highest point under his guidance. The construction of a system of roads is due to him, and, in fact, the government of a great general is usually productive of good in this direction.

Towards the close of Al Mansur's reign dissatisfaction had begun to ferment among almost all classes of the people. In the great capital of Cordova the social problem became critical before its essential nature was properly understood. As usual, individuals were attacked

governors and generals made themselves more and more independent in the provinces and towns, while in Cordova itself monarchs and regents ran in rapid succession, the real governing power being a military despotism of Berber or Slav soldiery, unless the moneyed classes and the patricians of the town gained some decisive advantage for themselves, or the all-powerful mob proceeded to govern the city in its own fashion. The unfortunate Hischam II. disappeared, and could never be discovered, nor has his fate ever been explained.

A supply of pseudo-Hischams was, naturally, at once forthcoming, pretending to be the real caliph returned to resume his feeble authority. The confusion, natur-

ally, increased. At length the aristocracy gained the upper hand in the desolate and ruined city. They abolished the caliphate, and thereby hastened the disruption of a kingdom that had once been so powerful into a number of feudal states and city republics in 1031. The last caliph of the Ommayyad house, Hischam III., died a few years later, forgotten and despised, in Lerida, where he had found a refuge in his need.

**Fall of the
Ommayyad
Dynasty**

The interests of the great towns, Cordova and Seville in particular, had long ceased to coincide with the interests of the rest of the country. It was inevitable that these great centres of commerce and manufacture should eventually drift apart from the provinces, the prosperity of which was based upon agriculture and domestic industries. The fall of the Ommayyad dynasty was perhaps accelerated by the fact that they had united their interests too closely with those of the people of Cordova, for the development of Cordova was bound to result in republicanism, and when they were abandoned by the fickle citizens of the capital they could get no support from the country at large. The kingdom naturally fell into the hands of the military leaders, except where the remnants of the Arab landed nobility recovered strength enough to found independent principalities.

The centre of the Berber power was Malaga; there the family of the Chamudites, who traced their descent from Mahomet's son-in-law, Ali, laid claim to the dignity of the caliphate, though they were unable to enforce their demands. Badis, the ruler of Granada, afterwards came to the head of the Berber party, and brought Malaga under his rule in the year 1055. Badis was thoroughly typical of the North African soldier-prince; a rough, passionate man of very moderate intellectual power.

**Towns
Held by
the Slavs**

Fortunately for him, he found a vizir of unexampled astuteness in the Jew Samuel, and with his help gradually subdued a district nearly coincident in extent with the later kingdom of Granada.

Further northward in Mohammedan Spain, the Berbers, who had immigrated at an earlier period, and were practically Arabs, gained the power—as, for instance, in Toledo and Badajoz. The "Slav" generals had settled in the east, and

Almeira, Denia, and Valencia, were in their hands—the last-named town, however, for only a short period, as one Amiride, a descendant of the great Al Mansur, speedily seized the government of that town.

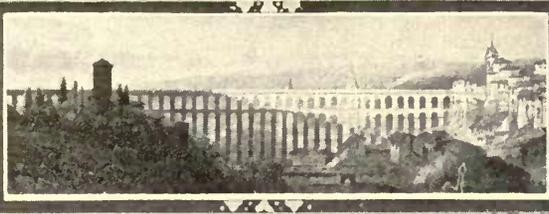
In the south-west, Mohammed, the Cadi of Seville, who carried on the government in the name of a pseudo-Hischam II., became the head of the Arab party. Owing to his efforts, Cordova was outstripped by its sister town, and the Arab population in the regions under Berber rule came over to him. After the death of Mohammed, his son, the refined but utterly unscrupulous Motadhid, utilised the opportunities of his position. He aggrandised the town of Seville to such an extent that even Badis of Granada trembled before his dangerous rival, and planned, upon one occasion, the massacre of all the Arabs of Granada, in view of their natural leanings towards his enemy.

The strong contrast between the rough, unpolished Berber state and the brilliant culture of the kingdom of Seville became still more prominent after Motadhid's death in 1069, when the poetic and pleasure-loving, but energetic, Motamid came to the head of the state. The intellectual centre of Spanish Islam was then, undoubtedly, to be found in Seville. Abroad, the city triumphed over its failing rival, Cordova, the old capital of the caliphate. After once capturing Cordova, Motamid took definite possession of the town in the year 1078, and put an end to the rule of the aristocracy.

And yet this brilliant edifice rested upon a miserably weak foundation. In fact, it survived only through the forbearance of the Christian princes of Castile, who even then were sharpening the sword that was to cut down all its splendour. Alfonso VI. of Castile, who had assumed the proud title of Emperor, finally determined to make an end of the petty Mohammedan states. In helpless despair the threatened princes saw the end approach. The kingdom of Toledo had already fallen into the hands of the Christian monarch with scarcely a show of resistance in 1084, Valencia was in extreme danger, and a Christian army was before the walls of Saragossa. A part of the Moorish population began to contemplate seriously a retreat to Africa, as salvation seemed impossible. But once again their destruction was to be averted, though at heavy cost.

**Threatened
Doom of
the Moors**

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA II

THE RISING CHRISTIAN REALMS AND THE DECAY OF THE MOSLEM POWER

MEANWHILE, among the wild mountains or on the high tablelands now parched with heat, now lashed by icy storms, the Christian warriors had gathered to resist the advance of a foreign nation and an alien faith. A number of states, whose mutual relations were constantly changing, had sprung up on the north coast and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The differences resulting from situation and nationality became apparent at a very early period—differences which have continued beyond the sixteenth century, and have not been wholly obliterated even now.

The flower of the Gothic nobility had betaken itself to the central portion of the northern coast land, to Asturias. Here Pelayo, who is known to the Arabian historians, raised the standard of national resistance and drove out the Arab governor, who had established himself at Gijon. Under Alfonso II., about 800, Oviedo

The Forward Policy of Alfonso I.

became the capital of the new state, to which was united Cantabria on the east, which had also been liberated by the Gothic nobles. The retreat of the Berber settlers, who were driven out by dissension and famine, had given King Alfonso I. the opportunity of pushing southward into the Castilian plains, seizing the country at the foot of the mountains as far as the Douro, and making a desert barrier of the rest of Old Castile. The Christian inhabitants were transported thence to the northern districts, and the Mohammedans were driven southward. Alfonso's successor, Froila I., conquered Galicia, which the Arabs had never entirely subdued.

The new kingdom was a feudal state, with all the advantages and weaknesses of feudalism. It was divided into principalities, the rulers of which were equally ready to take the field against the Saracens with their contingents, to make the king's life a burden to him with their revolts, or to quarrel among themselves.

Differences of nationality were also a source of trouble. The Basques in the eastern province of Alava showed no intention of yielding permanent obedience, and the stubborn inhabitants of the Galician valleys, where the last remnants of the Suevi had fled at the time of the

Leon as the Seat of Government

Gothic invasion, manifested their desire for independence in their restless behaviour. As the territory of the kingdom of Oviedo spread southward, and the plains of Castile and Leon became gradually populated, the centre of gravity naturally shifted to that part of the kingdom. Perhaps the Christian kings of Northern Spain were rather too slow to realise this natural development of affairs; when Ordone II., in the year 955, at last moved the seat of government to Leon, numerous important counties had arisen in Castile.

Alfonso III., the Great (866–910), who did a great deal to assure the existence of the kingdom, and created a strong southern frontier by fortifying the line of the Douro, would have done better to abandon Oviedo with its unfavourable situation. By his division of the kingdom among his sons, this otherwise admirable ruler fostered the seeds of dissension, which must have developed in any case, and made it possible for the Moors, after they had concluded their internal quarrels, to carry on a vigorous frontier policy under Abd ur Rahman III. and Al Mansur.

The polished inhabitants of Andalusia looked with horror and disgust upon the danger which threatened them from the north, upon this kingdom ringing with the clash of arms, the people of which

Andalusia Stricken With Fear

seemed created only for the purposes of war and conflict, and were as little acquainted with the bounteous gifts of Nature as with the enjoyment of a high civilisation. They felt that this enemy was irreconcilable and, in the long run, unconquerable. Though all barriers

between the nations were broken down, one insuperable obstacle remained—religion. In the last resort the sword must decide whether the soil of Spain was to belong to the followers of Mahomet or to the Christian believers. The opposition became only the sharper with the lapse of time. During the first centuries the rough and bold warriors of Leon and Castile faithfully paid their contributions to erect those mighty churches and cathedrals which were the tokens of Christian supremacy; but they were not ashamed, upon occasion, to enter the Moorish service, or by their efforts on the side of the unbelievers to remind princes of their own nation that they owed duties to their feudal nobility. With the same carelessness the smaller Arab princes entered the lists against the mighty power of the caliphate, in union with the kings of Leon or the courts of Castile. Afterwards fanaticism became more fervent upon both sides, and religious hatred took deeper root. Closer relations with Rome turned the Castilians into distinguished supporters of the Catholic religion, who were eventually to thwart the progress of the Reformation. The Moors of Spain displayed the resolution and constancy of martyrs in their misfortunes.

The state which included Galicia, Asturias, Leon and Castile, quickly formed, and no less quickly divided, into separate provinces, was the chief Christian power in North Spain. Scarcely touched by any external influence, shut in between the waves of the Bay of Biscay and its Moorish enemies, it was from the beginning the most Spanish, the most national and independent, of all states, and was therefore destined to leadership and eventually to dominion. But it was not the only power. Near it were the kingdoms which rose in the valleys and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The mountain

The Arabs Overthrown in France

barrier of the Pyrenees had not prevented the Arabs in their first invasion from passing over into Southern France, where they claimed the West Gothic possessions as their inheritance, but were finally defeated by the vigour of the Frankish nation. They did not long hold out upon the north side of the mountains: Narbonne, their strongest fortress, was taken by the Franks in the year 759, and it became speedily apparent that

the Pyrenæan valleys too had never been entirely in the power of the Arabian. The Iberian races, against which Romans and Goths had in vain directed their arms and the resources of their civilisation, the Basques of Navarre and Biscay, had this time, too, made only a show of submission. Further eastward the Gothic nobles held out here and there, and kept up relations, by the mountain passes, with their people in Southern France.

These thin seeds of new states began to sprout when Charlemagne made his expedition across the Pyrenees, formed the district held by Arab governors and petty chieftains into the "Spanish Mark," and organised the small beginnings of Christian states into principalities. The later kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia, the lowly foundations of which were then laid, were thus brought into close relations with the South of France and with Central European civilisation, a connection which persists to-day in language and customs, and sharply differentiates Northern Spain from Castile and its neighbouring districts. The Basques, however, did not submit to

Conquests of the Basque Mountaineers

this influence. They had not resisted the Arabs merely to be ruled by Frankish counts; they felt no reluctance, for once in a way, to enter into alliance with the Mohammedan governors, and to attack the Frankish army in the mountain passes. The half-legendary destruction of Roland and his army, and the more credible overthrow, probably in the year 824, of a division of the Frankish force in the pass of Roncesvalles, are sufficient evidence of the Basque policy. Finally, towards the end of the ninth century, the Basque mountaineers extended their conquests to the Ebro, and the kingdom of Navarre arose.

It appeared at first as if this new state would gain an important share of the tottering Moslem kingdom, for in the tenth century important territories beyond the Ebro were in the possession of Navarre. But the Basques, while almost invincible in their own mountains, have no aptitude for colonisation and no inclination to spread beyond their ancient boundaries.

In the year 1054 Navarre lost its foreign possessions in war with Castile, and remained henceforward confined to its original territory. The kingdom of Aragon, starting from poor beginnings, ran a very different course of development. When

the kingdom of Navarre was formed the principality of Aragon included only the upper valley of the river of that name, which runs deep between the Sierra de la Pena and the chain of the Pyrenees. A wild and barren district, it seems for a long time to have formed a part of the Spanish Mark and to have been governed by counts of Gothic origin; during the ascendancy of Navarre it formed a part of that kingdom.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Navarre, under Sancho the Great, seemed destined to form the nucleus of a mighty kingdom, and Castile was added to it by marriage; but upon Sancho's death, in the year 1035, the kingdom again collapsed. Thereupon Aragon obtained its independence under Sancho's son, Ramiro I. Ramiro found his kingdom very diminutive. Its extension was stopped by Navarre on the west, and on the east by the little Pyrenean state, Sobrarbe, which had fallen to one of his brothers. South of it, in the valley of the Ebro and in the surrounding mountain country, were powerful Arab

Tottering Arab Empire states, the centre of which was Saragossa. An attempt of Ramiro to get possession of Navarre failed. However, after the death of his brother, Gonzalo, he gained Sobrarbe, which comprised the valleys on the southern slope of the Central Pyrenees. He could now venture upon operations against the Arabs, whose empire had begun to fall with the death of Al Mansur.

In the year 1118 the conquest of Saragossa and the valley of the Ebro gave the kingdom of Aragon its natural capital and wider room for expansion. Meanwhile, the principality of Barcelona, the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia, had developed quite independently of Aragon. Frankish influence had been greatest and had continued longest in the north-eastern corner of Spain. Socially and politically this district clung tenaciously to its powerful and energetic neighbour, and was able to turn to excellent advantage the benefits arising from this connection. The principality of Barcelona may have been made a part of the Spanish Mark when that district was conquered; and though Barcelona itself was more than once captured by the Moors, the region successfully resisted all attacks from the south. In the year 865,

the Spanish Mark, which now included little besides the principality of Barcelona, was separated from Septimania—*i.e.*, Languedoc—Barcelona thus taking its first step towards complete independence.

The next period is marked by the fact that a family apparently of Gothic origin becomes the hereditary ruler of Barcelona with the consent of the Frankish king. In the usual feudal manner separate districts, such as the counties of Urgal and Gerona, branched off from this state, or the whole was united in one hand. The port of Barcelona enjoyed great prosperity, owing to its advantageous situation, and was always a most important source of strength to the kingdom of Catalonia. It had, in consequence, a character of its own, enjoying a special freedom of life and manners which reminds us of the Provençal or the Italian spirit.

There was one kingdom which came into being far later than all the rest, the only kingdom in the peninsula which refused submission to the Castilian yoke, and preserved an independent existence and a language of its own—the present-day kingdom of Portugal. All the other states of the peninsula extended their territory in a southerly direction, Asturias being the nucleus of Leon, Old Castile of New Castile, Aragon of Valencia; similarly, the mother province of Portugal was, undoubtedly, Galicia, a wild, mountain district in the north-west corner of the peninsula. In fact, when Portugal appears as a separate state, we find Galicia and Portugal united under the government of Garcias, the son of King Ferdinand of Castile, in 1065. But even then a revolt of the counts of Portugal against Garcias showed that enduring dissensions were now beginning to develop. The important influence of geographical conditions is here apparent. The original Portugal, which takes its name from the

Source of Portugal's Name harbour Porto Calle, the modern Oporto, was the district lying between the Lower Douro and the Minho, a territory which was certainly extended southward at an early period, and included the town of Coimbra by the year 1064. Portugal thus embraces the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. Its climatic conditions are highly favourable, its long seaboard and its river mouths make it an attractive district to the

outside world, and in this respect its only rivals were the Mediterranean states of Catalonia and Valencia. Central Portugal is, moreover, one of the most beautiful portions of the whole peninsula, a land of smiling hills and uplands, which must have produced a population with characteristics of its own, and one widely different from the Castilian of the barren tablelands, or the wild Galician. The power which deemed itself the champion of Christianity against Islam, and finally attempted to bring the whole of Spain under its sway, could not afford to relinquish the guardianship of the bones of St. James, the patron of all true Spaniards. So the early policy of the independent Portuguese kingdom was war with Galicia, which, indeed, remained apart from the kingdom of Castile-Leon only for a short time. The new state succeeded in gaining its independence at the time when Castile, under Alfonso VI., was vigorously attacking the petty Moorish states, and when the growing Castilian power was shaken by the counter-assaults of the African saviours of Islam, the Almoravides.

Long and bloody conflicts occurred between the different parts of the Northern Spanish kingdom, above all between Leon and the rising Castile, before their united strength could be exerted against their religious enemies in the south. These struggles were prolonged by the interference of the neighbouring states of Aragon and Navarre in their internal dissensions. Abd ur Rahman II. and, above all, Al Mansur were able to turn the unhappy disunion of Christian Spain to their own advantage; their brilliant campaigns restored the shattered caliphate to its old splendour, and they were aided by Christian troops, who were not ashamed to serve in the ranks of their country's hereditary foes. The kingdom of Leon was threatened with total destruction. Castile was practically independent.

**Restored
Glory of the
Caliphate** When Sancho the Great of Navarre obtained possession of Castile by hereditary right, in the year 1028, after Aragon and Sobrarbe had already done him homage, the centre of Christian power seemed to be gravitating definitely eastward. But the triumph of the little province of Navarre was more apparent than real. Shortly before his death, Sancho partitioned a kingdom which he had never thoroughly united, and

his second son, Fernando, obtained Castile. No great provocation was required to plunge Fernando into war with Bermudo III., the king of Leon. Eventually Castile prevailed over the more ancient kingdom of Leon. Bermudo fell in battle, and Fernando took possession of his territory by right of conquest and relationship. In the place of the old Gothic royal house of Reccared, a race of Frankish origin appeared as rulers of the ancient Spanish Mark.

The union of Leon and Castile under a Castilian prince was a fact of decisive importance for the future of Spain, although the new kingdom was destined to undergo many a severe shock. Not long afterwards, Navarre lost its conquests on the south of the Ebro to this newly arisen kingdom, and saw itself cut off from all hope of further expansion. The Saracen princes of Toledo and Saragossa hastened to appease their dangerous neighbour as long as possible with payments of tribute. After Ferdinand's death, the kingdom was threatened with disruption; but the civil war ended in the complete victory of Alfonso VI. in 1073. The

**Portuguese
Helped by the
Crusaders** Cid's campaign against Valencia nearly coincides with the date of the First Crusade.

The enthusiastic spirit of battling for the faith, which then swayed the whole of Europe, was also felt in Spain. But in the case of Spain it was not necessary to go to Jerusalem to find the enemies of Christianity: on the contrary, a papal decree especially directed the Spaniards to overcome the foe within their own country. One of the barriers between Spain and the rest of Europe was removed by this fact: many knights, from France in particular, flocked into the country, as in the case of Henry of Burgundy, to fulfil at so convenient a distance from their homes the Crusader's vow they had taken.

The Portuguese owed several decisive successes to the help of German and Dutch Crusaders, who put into Portuguese harbours on the way to Jerusalem. But the lively hope of further conquest, which had been aroused by the fall of Toledo, remained for the moment unfilled: the Spanish Moslems, in the extremity of their danger, had summoned an ally from Africa, which was powerful enough to check the advance of the Christians, though at the same time it made an end of most of the petty Moorish kingdoms.



WANING OF THE MOORISH POWER AND AWAKENING OF THE CHRISTIAN REALMS

THE Spanish Moslems found an African ally in the person of Yusuf, the prince of the Almoravides, or Murabites, in Morocco. The Almoravides were sprung from the wildest nomad tribes of Western Mauretania; they were a sect of religious warriors, and seemed the incarnation of that fanatical energy which had inspired the early period of Islam. In them the strength and violence of nomad life again triumphed over the peaceful forces of agriculture and trade. In the first half of the eleventh century began that movement which overthrew the Zeirites, who were then the dominant power in Morocco, and finally wrested the ancient kingdom of Carthage from the Fatimides. Morocco became the capital of the new kingdom.

An acute and determined leader came to the front in the person of Yusuf, and a crisis of momentous importance arrived for Spain: from the north Alfonso's armed troops swept down upon the fruitful fields of Andalusia; on the other side of the strait was Yusuf's army, ready to lend dubious assistance to the hard-pressed country. The Andalusian princes finally decided to ask Morocco for help; Yusuf was only too glad to grant their request. In the year 1086 he landed in Spain with a powerful army, which was strengthened by the addition of the Andalusian forces; he marched upon Estremadura, which was then extremely hard-pressed by the Castilians. A battle was fought at Zalaca, near Badajoz, and the mailed knights of Castile were defeated by Yusuf's infantry and negro guard.

Alfonso quickly recovered from this blow, and in the next year made ready to meet any attempt on Toledo; but he was obliged to renounce all plans for the conquest of Andalusia. The claws of the Castilian lion, with which he had threatened the followers of Islam, were cut for a long time to come. Yusuf was now able to complete his designs on Andalusia undisturbed. The

Almoravides had not the least intention of giving up the country for which they had fought so fiercely—a country whose riches and hopeless disunion made it at once an attraction and a prey to any energetic conqueror. The emir of

Spanish Islam Saved Saragossa was alone able to maintain his independence through subtle policy and thanks to the favourable situation of his little kingdom. With the support of the Almoravide troops, he repelled three attacks of the Aragon army, and succeeded cleverly in getting rid of his inconvenient guests. Huesca was then, in 1096, definitely lost to Aragon.

Thus Spanish Islam was saved, and its political unity again restored, but at a heavy price. The idyllic life of the small states was at an end. In all the large towns Almoravide garrisons were quartered, and the union of the sword with the Koran crushed all freedom of thought.

So long as Yusuf was alive order was maintained throughout the kingdom, and his son, Ali, who followed him in 1106, was no unworthy successor. Great hopes were aroused by his military ability; in the year 1108 he defeated Sancho, the young son of Alfonso VI., at Ucles; and it seemed as if Toledo would soon be again in Moslem hands. But the victory of Ucles marks the culminating point of the Almoravide power. The princes of Saragossa would not unite with the Almoravide troops to repel their common foe, and in the year

A Blow to Islam's Power 1118 this town fell into the power of Aragon. Its loss was a severe blow to the power of Islam, for the most northerly outpost, which had hitherto checked the advance of Catalonia and Aragon, was thereby lost. The war with the Christians, who, fortunately for the Andalusians, were then involved in internal struggles, resolved itself into a frontier warfare,

entailing heavy loss on both sides and leading to no permanent result. In the year 1125 Alfonso of Aragon replied to the Almoravide incursions by a punitive expedition, organised on a large scale. He received assistance from the Mozarabic Christians, who were still numerous in Granada, and pushed forward into Granada and the neighbourhood of Malaga. It was, however, only a brilliant feat of chivalry, and nothing more.

**The Tyranny
of African
Barbarians**

The pitiful condition of the Almoravides must have finally induced the Andalusians to attempt to realise their hopes of shaking off the tyranny of the African barbarians. They were already preparing with the help of the Christian kings to drive the Almoravides over the sea and to exchange one ruling power for another, when the impending dissolution of the Almoravide kingdom in Africa turned their gaze in another direction.

The sect of reformers known as the Almohads, whose founder, Abdallah, gave himself out to be the Mahdi, had developed, in spite of persecution and occasional defeat, into a formidable political power, in direct opposition to the Almoravides. In the year 1145 the Almoravide monarch, Taschfin, was defeated and slain in battle by the followers of the Mahdi, Abd al Mumen. In the previous year a revolt had broken out in Eastern Andalusia. It was soon followed by others in different provinces.

Spanish Islam was now in a state of indescribable confusion. New kingdoms rose and fell; provinces and cities fought one against the other; and throughout the turmoil the Almoravides, who had, meanwhile, lost the town of Morocco, their last African possession, continued to hold out in individual fortified towns and castles. With the help of Christian troops, they even, in 1147, recovered Cordova, which they had lost. At last an Almohad army landed in Spain. It did not,

**Moorish
Stronghold
Captured**

however, make such rapid progress as might have been expected. The Christian princes, naturally, did not forgo the opportunity of attacking the country while it was thus rent with internal dissension. A powerful army, under the leadership of the King of Castile, marched through Andalusia and Granada, and, with the help of a fleet, provided by Genoa, Pisa, and Catalonia, took the town of Almeria, the stronghold of the Moorish pirates,

and long an object of hatred to all the Christian powers on the Mediterranean. Almost at the same time King Alfonso of Portugal stormed Lisbon; the Count of Barcelona seized Tortosa and the mouth of the Ebro.

Fortune gradually declared in favour of the Almohads. Cordova fell into their hands, and Almeria was retaken by them. Finally, they stormed Granada, the last refuge of the Almoravides in Andalusia. The remnants of that nation once so powerful fled to the Balearic Islands in 1157. Christian Spain had only been temporarily united, and its disruption and the confusion thence resulting gave the Almohads time to establish themselves securely. In general their rule was milder than that of the Almoravides had been. In fact, it was the better portion of the mixed population of North Africa which had gathered round the white Almohad banner to oppose the cruel tyranny of the inhabitants of the plains, and had trampled the black Almoravide standard in the dust.

After the death of Abd al Mumen, in 1163, his son, Yusuf, conquered Valencia and Murcia, where a Mohammedan dynasty had hitherto held out with the help of the Christians. War

**Castilians
Defeated
at Alarcos**

against the Christian states followed with varying results. In the time of Yusuf's successor, Al Mansur, occurred one of those important conflicts which occasionally break the monotonous list of sieges and incursions. Unfortunately for themselves, the Castilians, who could not at that time expect any help from their co-religionists, had made a devastating expedition into Andalusia, and brought down upon themselves the Almohad princes; Al Mansur crossed the straits with an enormous army, and after a bloody conflict in 1195 at Alarcos, utterly defeated the Castilian forces, which had in vain expected reinforcements from Navarre and Leon. Al Mansur's attempt to reconquer Toledo in the next year failed entirely.

The most brilliant successes of the Mohammedans were able to check, but not to avert, impending destruction. The confusion which broke out again in Christian Spain brought no advantage to the Almohads. When, at length, Al Mansur's successor, Mohammed, gathered all his strength for one tremendous blow, union among the Christian princes was restored at the eleventh hour. In the

battle of Navas de Tolosa the fortunes and the power of the Almohads were utterly shattered.

Hardly had Alfonso VI. of Castile been buried, in 1109, when Castile took up arms against Aragon. In the wars and confusion which resulted Castile came off much the worst. Social order and public morality disappeared under the mad rule of Urraca, whereas the king of Aragon was able to bide his time, extend his boundaries, and conquer powerful Saragossa in 1118. The death of Urraca, in the year 1126, dissolved the connection between Aragon and Castile; Alfonso VII. took up the government of his disordered country. The power of the Castilian lion rose again during continual warfare against the Saracens, while Aragon, after the death of Alfonso I., was again divided into its original provinces of Aragon and Navarre, and thereby lost its preponderance. At the same time the principality of Barcelona was united to Provence, and gained considerable power and prestige.

This change of circumstances made Alfonso VII. so pre-eminent that in the year 1135 he had himself proclaimed Emperor of Spain at the Council of Leon, apparently with the consent of the other princes, who were present in person or were represented by envoys. Ferdinand I. and Alfonso VI. had already made a temporary claim to the title of emperor, which in Spain naturally did not bear the same significance as in Italy and Germany. The confusion which broke out shortly after the coronation made it sufficiently plain to Alfonso VII. that the conception of the princes concerning their relations to the emperor did not coincide with his own.

Portugal in particular now made a decisive effort for independence, and was supported by Navarre, the mountaineers of which country were as unconquerable as ever. In the year 1139 Count Alfonso of Portugal took the title of king. In 1147 he wrested Lisbon from the Saracens with the help of German and Dutch troops, and thus gained a capital worthy of his country.

Meanwhile, however, important events were taking place in the east. Ramiro II. of Aragon had abdicated, and left the country to his two-year-old daughter, Petronella, who had been betrothed to Count Raymond Berengar IV. of Catalonia

with the consent of Alfonso VII. The count at once undertook the duties of regent for Ramiro, who retired to the seclusion of a monastery. Thus the kingdoms of Catalonia, or Barcelona, and Aragon were practically united. The results of these events were of immeasurable importance for the whole of Spain. Catalonia was a maritime power; hitherto its policy had been entirely foreign, and its most important interest lay in the Mediterranean. Its close union with Aragon, the most thoroughly Spanish of all states, gave it the advantage of a strong barrier in the rear, but also connected its future indissolubly with that of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. The development in the Iberian peninsula necessarily tended towards union; it at once became manifest that Catalonia was destined to be a Spanish, and not a French, province, and that all the conquests made by the Catalonian sea-power were bound to be the inheritance of the rising power of Castile.

The great Spanish empire of later times was largely founded upon the possessions of Catalonia and Aragon in the west of the Mediterranean. The Catalonians entered upon these conquests shortly after their union with Aragon; their previous attempts upon the Balearic Islands had led to no permanent result. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the influence of the two united kingdoms was considerably extended, until at last the standard of Aragon waved over the largest islands in the Western Mediterranean, including Sicily; even a part of Greece recognised the dominion of Aragon for a short period.

At the same time, the domestic interests of the dual kingdom obliged it to press southward, and so to secure a proportionate share of the Moorish spoils. Thus, in the year 1238, Valencia fell into the hands of Aragon. The advantage in this rivalry remained decisively on the side of Castile, which occupied Murcia in the

year 1243, and thereby entirely cut off from Aragon any possibility of further advance. Side by side with this development of Spanish foreign policy important changes within the kingdoms were taking place, which made the eleventh and twelfth centuries extremely important in the history of the country. Hitherto the Spanish kingdoms, especially Leon and Castile, had lived in self-dependent isolation, in

Rising Power of Castile

Spain in Process of Development

Alfonso VII. Crowned as Emperor

conformity with their geographical position. The unceasing warfare which they had carried on by their own efforts had driven their hereditary enemies from one portion of the ancient Gothic kingdom. Such civilisation as had survived these rough times sprang chiefly from the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom, in which the

Foundations of Church and State

Roman and Gothic elements had been united under the banner of the Athanasian belief.

On these old foundations rested both Church and State; the Gothic liturgy, which was preserved unchanged, and the alphabet of Toledo, were outward tokens of the isolation of the Spanish people, a state which was in such harmony with the very spirit of the race that any internal movement which might open up the country to the influence of Western European civilisation was inconceivable; while, naturally, religious convictions formed an absolute barrier to any possible approach towards the civilisation of the Moors.

There was, however, a power which could not permit the existence of Christian kingdoms in continued isolation from the universal Church—a power which had been working for centuries to subject the civil to the ecclesiastical influence, and to remodel and revive the ancient Roman Empire. This power was the papacy, on which the conviction was at last beginning to dawn that possibly the truest supporters of the papal supremacy might be found among the warriors who were fighting for the faith in Spain.

During the Crusades the Roman Curia had become aware of its powers, and now that Rome was beginning to carry out great schemes of world policy she could not afford to leave Spain out of consideration. First and foremost, the Spanish Church, which had a national character of its own, had to be bound to the Church of Rome; and to that end the Gothic liturgy must be abolished, and fresh blood infused into the

French Monks in Spain

Spanish clergy. The struggle to make the influence of the Church preponderant was largely carried on by the French Bene-

dictine monks, who came to Spain in large numbers towards the end of the eleventh century, and proved themselves the best advocates of the papacy. Their headquarters was the monastery of Sahagun, halfway between Leon and Palencia, to which extraordinary privileges were granted. Sahagun produced the Archbishop

Bernhard of Toledo, in whose vigorous attack upon the Mohammedans in his see we trace the beginnings of that arbitrary spirit which was at that time wholly foreign to the rough but magnanimous Spaniards. It was foreign influence that first inspired this temper into a people naturally noble and kindly, until it eventually broke out, at a later period, in the practices of the Inquisition. At the same time, the French monks were the involuntary means of introducing European civilisation. If Spain now became more open to the influences of the outside world, it is to the activity of these men, in great degree, that this result must be ascribed.

At the same time, the stirring period of the Crusades brought the chivalry of Spain into closer connection with that of neighbouring countries. The Templars entered Aragon and undertook with brilliant success a frontier war against the Saracens. In Castile, during the twelfth century, there was formed, upon the model of the Templars, the knightly orders of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava; in

Knightly Orders Founded

Portugal was formed the order of Aviz. These orders proved a splendid weapon against the Moorish power; but the

stimulus to the movement of political and religious ideas which they provided largely contributed to the formation of that spirit of militant aggression which became a source of temporary strength to Spain, but eventually a cause of permanent weakness.

The most important feature of the thirteenth century in Spain was the rapid and destructive overthrow of the Almohad power in Andalusia, where the kingdom of Granada was the only surviving remnant of the Moorish states. Castile came definitely to the head of the Iberian kingdoms as soon as it had collected its forces and secured for itself the united aid of the other kingdoms of the peninsula; but the journey to this goal had been long and toilsome. The Emperor Alfonso VII. of Castile during his restless life had taken up arms now as the friend of the petty Moslem states, now as the ally of the hard-pressed Almoravides, always keeping one object before himself, the weakening of Spanish Islam and its final overthrow by a vigorous onslaught. The interference of the Almohads in Andalusian affairs entirely thwarted his plans. The last

campaign, in the year 1157, miscarried, and the emperor died in the Muradal pass during his retreat. Unfortunately for Christian Spain, Alfonso had divided his kingdom between his two sons; the one, Sancho III., obtained Castile, while the other, Ferdinand II., received Leon with the adjoining territory. The consequence was a series of wars between the Christian states, which allowed Portugal to secure its complete independence.

Sancho III. was preparing to assume the title of emperor, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of Castile, had not his untimely death left his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII.—or IX.; by Castilian reckoning he was the third of this name—upon the throne. A period of the wildest confusion began. The most distinguished of the noble families of Castile, those of Castro and Lara, attempted to secure the guardianship of the child for themselves. As they looked everywhere for allies, the other Christian rulers and even the Saracens became involved in the struggle. The pernicious power which the feudal nobles had gained now became apparent for the first time in all its fatal force. It was only when the young king became strong enough to seize the reins of the empire that the disorganised kingdom was brought into some kind of order; hitherto it had been protected against the attacks of the Almohads rather by the efforts of the knightly orders than by its own power. But the dissension between the Christian states did not cease then; even the intervention of the Pope, with threats of interdict, did not accelerate the union of the Christian states in the face of the

**The Pope's
Efforts
for Union**

ever-increasing peril of the Almohads. Alfonso the Noble, of Castile, vigorously prosecuted the war against the Almohads so far as his struggles with his Christian neighbours permitted him; but the confusion rose to its highest point when the flower of the Castilian army fell in the battle of Arlarcos in 1195 and when the Almohad army appeared before Toledo in the next year. Necessity, at length, became a spur to greater unity. The Roman

Church, which had hitherto displayed and increased its power chiefly by its insistence on due respect for marriage, now took in hand the difficult task of uniting the Christian states for common action against the Almohads. It seemed, for example, an almost impossible undertaking to bring the sister kingdoms of Castile and Leon to reason, so deep'y had the venom of blind hatred permeated both. The plan formed by Sancho VII.

of Navarre of getting possession of the North of Spain with the help of the Almohads, and as their vassal, shows what was to be expected of the Christian princes. However, in the ensuing turmoil Sancho lost his Basque provinces to Castile. Alfonso the Noble had no sooner succeeded in restoring better relations among the princes than he began a policy that was desperate in appearance, but promised the most brilliant results in the event of success. It was apparently undertaken with the knowledge and concurrence of Pope Innocent III. By making repeated incursions into Andalusia, Alfonso so enraged the Almohad ruler, Mohammed, that the latter at length proclaimed a holy war against the Christians, and brought over an innumerable host from North Africa.

Now was the time to see whether Alfonso's calculations had been correct. If he succeeded in uniting the whole power of Spain for the moment under himself, he might reckon on victory, and Andalusia would fall into the hands of Castile. If his attempt failed, he would lose at least the southern portion of his kingdom, and the leadership of the Christian states would fall definitely to Aragon. Fortune declared on this occasion for Alfonso. The envoys of Rome succeeded in rousing in Spain a fiery Crusading fever, which ultimately no prince could venture to oppose. Warriors anxious to fight for the faith streamed in from France as well. At Navas de Tolosa, near the upper Guadalquivir, the confederate Christian army met the Almohads and overthrew them with dreadful slaughter in 1212.





THE CONQUEST OF THE LAST MOORISH KINGDOM IN SPAIN
Granada was the last unconquered part of the Mohammedan Empire, which for many years had been so great a menace to Spain, and its conquest, undertaken with great enthusiasm by the Spaniards was passionately desired. For a long time it held out and succeeded in maintaining its independence, but in 1492 it was overthrown by Ferdinand the Catholic.
From the painting by Pradilla

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA
IV

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN AND THE LAST DAYS OF THE MOORS

THE fate of Andalusia was now decided, although the conquest of this extensive district occupied ten years, and a remnant of the Moorish power continued to maintain its position in Granada. Immediately upon the death of Alfonso the Noble, in 1241, further progress was stopped by quarrels about the succession. However, Alfonso's immediate successors died, and the throne finally went to Ferdinand the Holy, son of the king of Leon. Upon the death of his father this ruler reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in 1230. The gloomy period of war between the two kingdoms was thereby concluded, and the Castilian kingdom securely founded.

At last it was possible to reap the fruits of the victory of Navas de Tolosa. The Almohads could not recover from their defeat. Their power grew weaker every year, owing to revolts in Andalusia and quarrels concerning the succession. Thus no permanent resistance to the Castilian arms could be even contemplated.

In the year 1236 the old caliph capital, Cordova, fell into Ferdinand's hands, though a vigorous attempt to raise the siege was made by the leader of the Andalusian Moors, Motawakkel, a descendant of Beni Hud of Saragossa. After the death of Motawakkel, the best of the Moors gathered round Mohammed ben Alahmar, the son of a noble Andalusian family. He established himself in the mountains of Granada, and succeeded in founding a kingdom which was destined to endure for some time. Mohammed recognised Ferdinand's suzerainty, and even joined with him in the conquest of Seville; he thus contrived to avert the storm that threatened his embryo state.

Murcia also became tributary to Ferdinand in the year 1243, but was unable to maintain this semi-independent position for any length of time. Populous Seville offered the most stubborn resistance; and was

not conquered till the year 1248. Valencia had been taken by Aragon ten years previously, and the Portuguese had possessed themselves of Algarve, so that of the Mohammedan Empire, which fifty years before had been such a menace to Spain, there remained only Granada, which still, however, displayed surprising vitality, Murcia, and the unimportant state of Niebla. A large part of the Andalusian Moors, especially the inhabitants of Seville and other towns, emigrated, while the country population remained for the time being. The growing Spanish nation speedily repopulated the towns.

As early as the year 1263 the Andalusian towns, at the desire of the Emperor Alfonso, formed a confederacy, a *hermandad*, for mutual protection against Granada, the prince of which state had called in auxiliaries from Morocco, and was attempting to secure his complete independence with the further support of Murcia and Niebla. The Moorish revolt failed; the crafty ruler of Granada succeeded, by timely negotiation, in preserving his relations with Castile; but Murcia and Niebla were now incorporated into the Castilian kingdom. This state of affairs was to continue for two centuries.

At first it seemed as if the victorious career of the Castilian monarchs would carry them even beyond the Straits of Gibraltar: Alfonso X., who succeeded his father, Ferdinand, in the year 1252, made upon several occasions large preparations for an attack upon Morocco. But the unfavourable financial condition of Castile, resulting from the many wars of conquest—Alfonso had tried in vain to improve affairs by depreciating the coinage—barred these ambitious projects. Finally, Alfonso's visionary ideas of making good his claim to the duchy of Swabia, and of gaining the crown of the holy

**Visionary
Ideas of
Alfonso**

Roman emperor, diverted Castilian policy from its natural course. Alfonso attained no real success, and shortly before his death, in 1284, had the mortification of seeing King Peter III, of Aragon take advantage of the revolt of Sicily against Charles of Anjou to seize that rich island. Aragon had already opened the road

**Alfonso's
Great
Projects**

to Italy by its conquest of the Balearic Islands in the year 1229. But even without these great political projects of

Alfonso the period of conquest was bound to come to a temporary close. The time was drawing on for a definite partition of power between the feudal nobles and the king, a crisis through which every rising state in the Middle Ages had to pass.

It was evident that this struggle would not be easy or capable of any speedy termination. The attempt of Alfonso X. to unify the internal administration of his kingdom by issuing a common legal code had met with such determined opposition that he was obliged to abandon the idea. The king at length found a number of his nobles, under the leadership of the Lara, united with the rulers of Granada in open revolt against him.

Fortunately, Alfonso found an earnest friend in King Jaime of Aragon. This ruler knew the nobility; the conflict which was breaking out for the first time in Castile had already been fought out before his time in Aragon. Peter II. of Aragon (1196-1213), in order to secure his heritage, and to break down the influence which the nobles exercised over the choice of a king, had formally received his kingdom as a fief from Pope Innocent III., and by this desperate measure had attained to his end in 1204.

The nobles of Aragon had, naturally, not been pacified by this means. King Jaime's opinion of them is shown by his words to Alfonso X. : " Two orders in the state you must especially cherish and

**The Castilian
Kingdom
in Confusion**

promote: the clergy and the inhabitants of the cities and towns; for these love God more than do the knights,

who are more inclined than any other order to revolt against their lord." At length, even Alfonso's son, Sancho, raised the banner of revolt, so that, upon the death of the king, the Castilian kingdom was in the greatest confusion. Sancho IV. (1284-95) made an unfortunate attempt to play off the Haro family, to which

he showed special favour, against the rest of the nobility; the insatiable greed and the ingratitude of his protégés soon placed him in a most embarrassing position.

This difficulty seemed to be further increased upon Sancho's death, when his son, Ferdinand IV., who was still a minor, came to the throne, and his mother, Maria de Molina, undertook the regency. However, Maria de Molina showed greater insight than Sancho; instead of depending on the feudal nobles, who were invariably false, she turned to the towns of Castile for support. Confederations of towns, the first of which had been founded by Alfonso X., among the towns of Andalusia now came into being in all the provinces. With their help Maria de Molina obtained the recognition of her son's supremacy and of that of her grandson, Alfonso XI., after her son's death, in 1312.

It was only the influence of this extraordinary woman which averted a state of absolute anarchy, as is shown by the fact that after her death, in the year 1321, the kingdom fell into hopeless dissension. Only

**The Bold
Step of the
Young King**

when Alfonso XI., in 1325, at the age of fourteen, seized the reins of government with a strong hand did the grievous

state of affairs begin to improve. An immense army from Morocco crossed the straits in the year 1340, only to be confronted by the united power of the Castilian people at Salado, and to be utterly defeated. After a long siege, Algeciras, a town which had been one of the main gates for African invasion into Spain, fell into the power of Alfonso. During a vain attempt to wrest Gibraltar from the power of Granada the king died in camp of the plague in 1350.

In Peter I., the young son of Alfonso XI., there came to the throne of Castile one of those personalities which destiny raised up in different countries as the special champions of the royal power. Peter, who speedily justified his nickname of the Cruel, was not one of those natures which make their way openly by force of arms. He employed the weapons of craft, and, when needful, of treachery, in his struggle to assert the power of the throne, both against the nobles and also against the towns, which had shown increasing independence since the time of Maria de Molina. Peter did not succeed in finally attaining to his

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

object, as did Louis XI. of France, a man of very similar character, a century later. The sole reason was that Peter was not a man of stern and cold determination; all his cunning plans were hampered or ruined by his irritability and his wild explosions of anger. The flaw in his character was all the more fatal to him, because no less a personage than his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, appeared at the head of the opposition.

Henry was a man who had displayed great tenacity and acuteness in the course of his chequered career, and his strong character assured him the unswerving adherence of his followers. Peter's unhappy marriage with Blanche of Bourbon, his relations with Donna Maria Padilla, whose children he finally legitimised, his malicious and ruthless behaviour towards all whom he mistrusted, gradually alienated every class of the people, and nullified any good effects that absolute government had produced. It was in this contest that Edward the Black Prince intervened, with disastrous effects on the finances of Aquitaine, and consequently on the position of the Plantagenet rulers.

Intervention of the Black Prince

After repeated failures Henry of Trastamare defeated his brother on March 14th, 1369, at Montiel, and during the subsequent negotiations he treacherously slew with his own hand this master in the art of treachery.

As Henry II. the victor could maintain his position (1369-79) only by abolishing a large number of innovations of Peter that had greatly benefited the country, and by liberally dividing the country among his followers. His successor, John I. (1379-90), had to recover the lands which had been distributed, in order to avoid the obvious results of such a policy. He found the task difficult. As the next king, Henry III. (1390-1406), continued this policy, the royal power gradually attained to great eminence and passed triumphantly through a severe crisis on the death of Henry in 1406.

Although his successor, John II., was but two years old, the struggles and confusion which had hitherto been inevitable were now avoided. Unfortunately, the feebleness of John's rule (1406-54) brought this progressive movement to a standstill. Henry IV. (1454-74) was wholly in the hands of his favourites, and well deserved his nickname of Help-

less. Under his rule all the ground which the crown had gained in its struggles against feudalism seemed lost. In the year 1465 civil war broke out. When the young "Infant" Alfonso, who had been set up in opposition to Henry, died in 1468, the eyes of all the discontented turned towards Isabella, the high-spirited

First Step in a Great Union

sister of the king and heiress of the throne. This princess, against her brother's will, gave her hand in marriage to the heir of Aragon, Ferdinand, in the year 1469, and thereby made the first step towards the union of the two most powerful kingdoms of the Pyrenæan peninsula, a step of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. When Henry died, on December 11th, 1474, this union had come within the bounds of possibility.

The history of Aragon from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century offers, in general, a more cheerful picture than that of Castile. The rulers of the country proved able to pursue with great success a far-reaching policy, to which they were impelled by the fortunate position of their country. It is a characteristic fact that in all their more important undertakings the kings could rely upon the Catalonian portion of their dominions, while the nobles and towns of inland Aragon conducted themselves quite in the manner of the Castilian feudal nobles.

We have already related how Peter II. attempted to put a stop to the interference of the different orders in settling the succession by accepting his kingdom as a fief from the Pope. His feudal obligations did not prevent him from appearing as an opponent of the papacy, which had helped him in the war against the Albigenses, in which he lost his life. His successor, Jaime I., concluded the subjugation of Valencia during his long rule. The native population remained, for the most part, in the country, and continued to till the

Attempted Expulsion of the Moors

fruitful Huerta of Valencia as the vassals of the Catalonian nobles, who had taken the chief part in the conquest. Then arose those friendly relations between the great nobles and the industrious Moors which came to be so important later on.

All early attempts to expel the Mohammedans entirely were frustrated by the decisive attitude of the feudal lords who held fiefs in Valencia. Under Peter III. (1276-85), the successor of Jaime, the

transmarine policy of the kingdom assumed great importance, for there remained nothing more to conquer in the Spanish peninsula. The people of Sicily had shaken off the rule of Charles of Anjou, the creature of Rome, in the bloody Vespers of the year 1282; they offered the crown to Peter III. as King Manfred's

The Sea Power of Catalonia

son-in-law, and on his arrival with a strong Aragonese army received him with joy as their liberator and saviour. Upon this occasion also Catalonia alone bore the cost of the war; and we may estimate the strength of its sea-power from the triumphant resistance which Peter III. and his bold admiral, Roger de Lauria, offered to the overpowering numbers of his allied enemies, among whom were the Pope and the King of France.

Aragon, as we have said, took but little share in the trouble or the glory of this war, but continued its regular development as an inland state. The ostensible object of this internal policy was to weaken the evil effects of the feudal system by the union of all peace-loving classes, without having recourse to the dubious means of an absolute monarchy. It is a process worthy of observation, though at times it conflicted with the foreign policy of the kings.

The towns stood at the head of the movement. Their representatives met in *juntas*, which were especially concerned with the maintenance of the public safety, and sent their delegates once every year to Saragossa. At the head of this organisation, which was found to work admirably, stood the justiciar of Aragon, to whose sovereign power even the king had to bow upon occasion. As a matter of fact, this republican state had no real need of a royal chief. Peter III. learned of how small account the king was there in the year 1283, at Tarragona, when he appealed to the classes of the Aragon people for help against the formidable preparations of

Jaime II, Surrenders Sicily

France, and instead of receiving money and troops, met nothing but hostility, threats, and demands for fresh privileges. The evolution of Catalonia into a great maritime power proceeded also for some time without any help from the kings and even against their desires. When Jaime II. gave up Sicily, as the price of a final and lasting peace with the Pope and with France, his brother Frederic kept possession of the island with the help of the

Sicilians and the Aragonese forces on the spot, although Jaime supported his enemy with troops and ships. In return for Sicily Jaime had received Sardinia and Corsica as a fief from the Pope. Although Frederic continued to retain Sicily, Jaime had no scruples about seizing these islands in the year 1322.

The real struggle, in this case, was carried on by Barcelona, which provided most of the munitions of war, against the powerful commercial town of Pisa, which then lost its possessions in Sardinia. The place of this decayed trading town, at the mouth of the Arno, was taken by its old rival, Genoa, which energetically took up the war with Catalonia for the mastery of the Western Mediterranean and for the possession of Sardinia, which that mastery carried with it. The war, in which both sides suffered heavily, was at length closed by a peace of exhaustion, and Catalonia succeeded through the utmost exertions in retaining possession of Sardinia.

Up to this time the affairs of Aragon had run parallel to those of Castile. The Catalonians carried out a far-reaching maritime and commercial policy in close connection with the monarchy; but in Aragon the same struggle between feudalism and absolutism which had ravaged Castile went on, with this difference, that the development of Aragon had been sounder and healthier, as is shown by the fact that the nobles and the towns were generally united against the king.

At the time when Peter the Cruel was fighting against feudalism in Castile, the ruler of Aragon, Peter IV., found himself involved in a struggle with the people of Aragon, who were joined by the people of Valencia, while the Catalonians stood aloof from the turmoil. Just as in Castile, the leadership of the nobles against the king was taken by an Infant of the royal house. Peter IV. was more fortunate than his Castilian namesake; he defeated the barons of Aragon and Valencia in open battle at Epila, and by cleverly utilising this success, he established, in 1348, the predominance of the royal power in Aragon.

Peace, however, was not definitely assured, as was seen under Peter's successors; the continual wars for the possession of Sardinia and of Sicily, which was reunited to Aragon, afforded many an opportunity to the feudal nobility for creating the usual disturbances

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

and defying the power of the throne. The dominion of Aragon over Sardinia had no sooner been firmly established than the ancient family of the counts of Barcelona became extinct upon the death of King Martin in 1411, and quarrels concerning the succession introduced fresh confusion. Fortunately, the different orders in the state soon agreed to raise to the throne the Infant Ferdinand of Castile, a grandson of Pedro IV.

Ferdinand I. made it clear during his short rule (1412-16) that he proposed to increase the power of the crown by every possible means. His successor, Alfonso V. (1416-58), gave, on the contrary, his most assiduous attention to the foreign policy of the country, and after a struggle lasting twenty-two years, obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. The defence of his new acquisitions and the continual wars with Genoa kept the king on active service until his death. The close connection with Italy was not without favourable results for the countries of the Spanish peninsula; a breath of that spirit which was bringing forth the

Renaissance in Italy came over to the Iberian coasts, and was welcomed at the king's court and among the rich citizens of Barcelona. Even under King Martin the effeminacy of the court gave great vexation to the rude nobility.

The citizens of Barcelona had almost the entire maritime traffic of Catalonia in their hands; they really sustained the ambitious foreign policy of the country, and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that they should have lived for centuries on such excellent terms with the royal power. This fact is not only good evidence for the statesmanlike conduct of the rulers, but also shows that the successors of the old counts of Barcelona considered their interests as involved in the good or ill fortune of the city. It was only under John II. (1458-79), the successor of Alfonso V., that Barcelona became hostile to the crown, and the immediate cause of this change of attitude was a series of unhappy events in the royal family. After the old dynasty had become extinct the little kingdom of Navarre had fallen to Carlos, John's eldest son by his first marriage, and heir apparent to the throne of Aragon. But John's second wife, the Castilian Joanna Henrietta, worked with unscrupulous energy to win the kingdoms of Aragon

and Navarre for her own son, Ferdinand. The consequence was civil war, which did not terminate even with the sudden death of Carlos, who was most probably poisoned, in the year 1461. Shortly afterwards, the same fate overtook his sisters, to whom his claims had descended. Barcelona especially prosecuted the war with the

energy of despair, called in foreign princes to its aid, and could not be brought back to its allegiance until the year

1472. It is difficult to say whether the town would have developed into an independent state or not; but the union of Aragon and Castile, which Queen Joanna brought about by the marriage of her son Ferdinand to Isabella of Castile, naturally gave a new turn to Spanish politics, unfavourable to the aims of Barcelona.

Joanna's project of uniting Navarre and Aragon was not immediately successful. The fortunes of the little Pyrenæan state up to the fifteenth century can be sketched in a few words, inasmuch as there is no extensive foreign policy to be traced, and the internal development of the country ran a course parallel to that of the rest of Spain. The advance of the Castilians southward excluded Navarre from any share in the spoils of the Moors; its princes had to satisfy their ambition in little frontier wars or marriage alliances. After the dynasty of Champagne became extinct, Navarre was for some time (1285-1328) united to France, but recovered its independence when the house of Valois came to the French throne.

A remarkable parallel to Peter the Cruel of Castile, or rather a caricature of that unscrupulous and autocratic monarch, is seen in Charles II., the Bad (1349-1387). His successor, Charles the Noble, was fully occupied in undoing the mischief which his predecessor had caused. Charles the Noble was succeeded in 1441 by his daughter Blanche, who had married John of Aragon;

it was their son who came to so unhappy an end in the quarrel about the succession in Aragon. However, Blanche's

mother undertook the government of the kingdom, and left the country to her nephew, from whom it finally passed to the Count of Perigord, Jean d'Albret. Thereupon the ruler of Castile and Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic, made a vigorous attack, and united Upper Navarre to his own kingdom in 1512. The portion of Lower

**Spain's
Effeminate
Court**

**Ferdinand
Enlarges his
Kingdom**

Navarre situated north of the Pyrenees remained in the possession of Jean d'Albret. After the county of Roussillon had passed out of the hands of the kings of Aragon into the power of France the best and most natural frontier for Spain was established; the growing monarchy began steadily to remove the feudal dissensions that divided the country. The foundations for the union of Aragon and Castile had been laid by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1469, but there were difficulties in the way of its completion: complete incorporation was wholly to Ferdinand's interest, but was not desired by the people either of Aragon or of Castile. Isabella was a true Castilian, and well able to maintain the rights of her position against her husband. Herein she found herself vigorously supported by her subjects, who looked with burning jealousy upon any encroachment of Aragon. Gradually, however, better relations came about between the parties, and the union was cemented by common inclination. To this fact, above all others, is due the permanent union of all the Spanish-speaking states.

After the conquest of Andalusia by the Castilians, the existence of the kingdom of Granada depended solely upon the disunion of Spain. So long as several Christian powers existed side by side in the peninsula, and continued to wear one another out by their continual quarrels, so long was there room for the little Moslem state in the mountains of Andalusia, and its alliance was as much desired as its hostility was dreaded. The admirable geographical situation of the last Moorish kingdom favoured the far-sighted policy which its rulers successfully pursued for a long time. The flourishing tract of Granada formed the heart of the kingdom. It is surrounded by precipitous mountain-walls; above it tower the snow-crowned battlements of the Sierra Nevada, and it is well watered by the brooks and streams which flow down from the mountain ranges. On this frontier, dominated by the eminences which bear the castles of the Alhambra and Generalife, rises the fortified city of Granada, before whose proud walls many a hostile army has recoiled. From the southern harbours of the country a glimpse can be caught of the coast of Morocco, the warlike

inhabitants of which were always ready to cross the straits as allies of the kings of Granada, and even manifested a desire at times to conquer the little Spanish kingdom for themselves. In such cases the regular policy of Granada was to buy the help of one of the Christian states by paying tribute, and to play it off against their inconvenient fellow-believers from Africa. Around the fortresses of Gibraltar, Algeçiras, and Tarifa, where invaders from Morocco entered the peninsula, the forces of Castile-Granada and North Africa fought many times in different combinations, while the kingdom of Granada, which nearly corresponds in extent to the modern Spanish province of that name, maintained to the end its natural boundaries.

The state was not, however, a closely organised unity. Feudal tendencies prevailed here, as in Christian Spain, and the governors of individual districts often held independent power. In particular, Malaga, which was divided from the vega of Granada by precipitous mountains, and Guadix, on the east of the capital, constantly and successfully defied their suzerain during the early history of the kingdom. Not, however, through its favourable position alone was Granada able to maintain its independence for so long a time. The kingdom was the most thickly populated and the most highly civilised of all the states of the peninsula. The further south the Christian conquerors forced their way, the more did the flower of the Moorish people retreat into the mountain fastnesses on the south-east, the only refuge that remained open to their religion and their social institutions.

The most skilful representatives of the arts, the sciences, and the trades from the different towns of Andalusia, Valencia and Saragossa, pressed into Granada, and raised town and kingdom to such a height of civilisation and prosperity as it had never attained in times when the Moors had freedom and territory enough and to spare. The husbandmen of Andalusia, who also flocked in a body to the mountains, put forth all their experience and skill to wrest the utmost measure from the land. Thanks to their industry, the over-populated district was never forced to depend upon foreign supplies for its food. The capital was a brilliant and busy manufacturing town, containing

**Union
of Spanish
States**

**Where the
Moors Found
a Refuge**

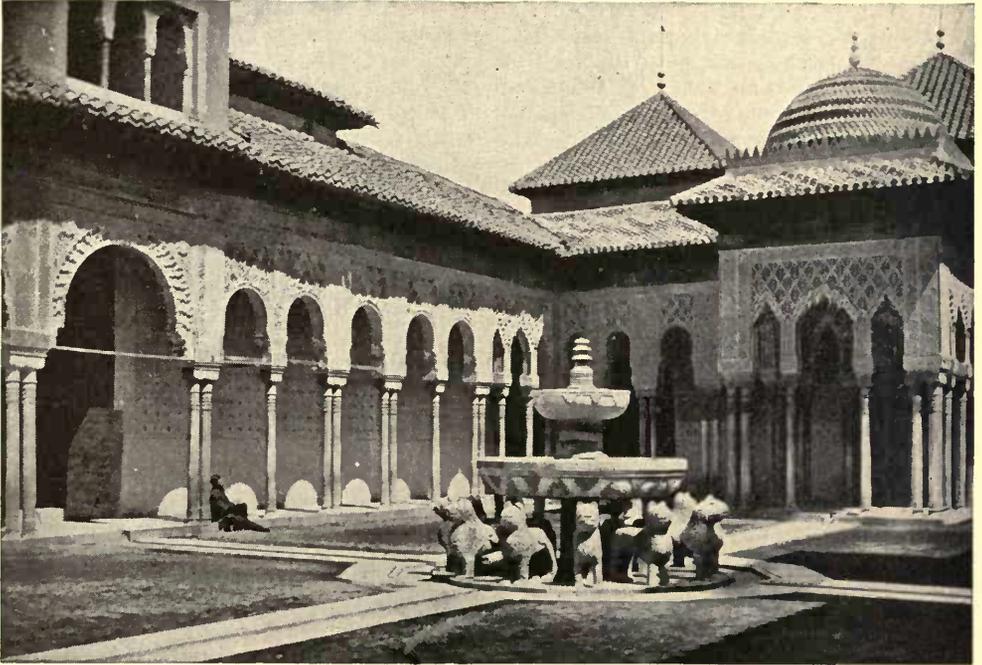
**The Proud
Fortress of
Granada**

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

probably half a million inhabitants at the height of its prosperity; riches of immense value were collected there. The king's revenue was correspondingly great.

Thus, Granada, rich and populous, was a dangerous opponent of the Christian states. The concentration of large numbers in so small a district enabled the rulers to take the field with a considerable army in a short space of time. The overflowing treasury enabled them to equip their troops in the best possible manner, or, if policy so dictated, to buy peace from the needy Christian princes by the payment of large sums. In Castile

Granada upon the fall of the Almohads, maintained itself upon the throne till the disappearance of the kingdom. Mohammed succeeded during his long reign (1232-1272) in protecting his little kingdom from the danger which immediately threatened it. Owing to the dissensions prevailing in Christian Spain, it was easy for his successors not only to preserve their independence but also to come forward frequently as the trusted allies of contending parties and states, and thereby to advance the standing of their country. However, as we have already observed, Granada itself was not free from



THE FAMOUS COURT OF LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA CASTLE AT GRANADA

Frith

especially, every rebel and man with a grievance turned by preference to the king of Granada, who was always ready to devote troops and money towards increasing the confusion of the enemy's kingdom. Still more naturally, the Moors who had remained in Christian districts looked upon the last Moslem ruler as their natural protector. And on their side the people of Granada could count, in times of danger, upon embarrassing their enemies and obliging them to retreat by causing an insurrection of the Moors in their rear. The Nafrid dynasty, which, under Mohammed I., had gained possession of

disputes about the succession. At the outset of the fourteenth century, for instance, the general, Osman, was the real ruler. The country was largely indebted to Yusuf I. (1333-1354) for advancement in civilisation. During the fourteenth century the prosperity of Granada was at its zenith. It seemed as if the decaying Moorish people were determined to show the world what splendid possibilities lay within it, and how honourably it had filled its place in the history of mankind. But even at this eleventh hour there is no trace of any tendency to fusion of the Christian and

Moorish civilisations. In the East the horizon was rosy with the dawn of the Renaissance, while in the far West the noblest star of the Oriental world of thought sank into the darkness, leaving not a trace behind. It is true, to use another metaphor, that the inheritance of Moslem civilisation in Spain was

**Granada's
Political
Decadence**

scattered far and wide, and that here and there a gleam of the old brilliancy reappears. But no one was found to take up that heritage as a whole, and to take it further towards perfection. At the end of the fourteenth century Granada begins to decline from its high political position. Whether the material prosperity of the kingdom also declined is a question that cannot be settled, owing to the lack of information on the subject. Complete destruction threatened when disturbances broke out under the government of Abu Nasr. The king attempted to put a stop to these by crushing the Beni Serradsch, the most powerful family of the feudal nobility. Legend has made use of these occurrences, a fact which shows how deep an impression they must have made upon the people, which ascribed to them most of the blame for the approaching ruin. However, the king by no means destroyed the Beni Serradsch, for they again appear as playing a part in the disputes which followed with the royal power.

Under Abul Hasan (1462-1482) the kingdom was shaken by dissension within the royal family. At the same time the rulers of united Christian Spain were making their preparations for striking a decisive blow at this remnant of the Moorish power. In the beginning of the year 1462 a band of Christians succeeded in taking the important Alhama, which was situated on the southern boundary of the vega of Granada, and commanded the granary of the country. The king made a desperate attempt to reconquer

**Progress
of the
Christians**

the fortress, but at that moment a palace revolution broke out in the capital, and one of the sons of Abul Hasan, the prince Abu Abd Allah, or Boabdil, seized the throne. A civil war thereupon broke out, which Ferdinand I. cleverly turned to his own advantage. Thanks to his activity, the resistance of Granada, though very vigorous in certain quarters, became disorganised and futile, and the Christian arms made great progress. The confusion

continued after Abul Hasan's death until, in the year 1487, the whole of the western half of the kingdom, including Malaga, was in the hands of the Spaniards. At length only the capital held out against the attacks of the Christians, where Abu Abd Allah prepared to resist to the last. Granada did not fall till the beginning of the year 1492. With it collapsed the last remnant of the power of Islam in Spain. Some small portion of the Moors emigrated. The majority remained on the spot, to drain the cup of tribulation to the dregs in after years.

The overthrow of Granada was but the culmination of the admirable domestic policy of the Spanish rulers, who had succeeded in using the advantages of their position for the establishment of the units of Spain and the absolute monarchy. The union of Castile and Aragon had given irresistible power to the crown, while those parties that were hostile to the throne, the feudal nobles in particular, were unable to combine for common action while the struggle of races continued. In Castile, which was now the leading power in

**The Queen's
War with
Feudalism**

Spain, there was a complete and decisive revolution. Queen Isabella, in her struggle against feudalism, availed herself of two allies, the burgher classes and the Church. The latter was strengthened by the spirit of fanaticism which the Moorish wars had aroused, and finally succeeded in pushing so far to the front that, in Spain, Church and State were fused into one indivisible whole, a result which eventually caused incalculable harm to the welfare of the Spanish people.

For the moment, the towns rendered indispensable aid in the struggle against the nobles, whose pride had known no bounds since the time of that feeble king, Henry IV. The natural interests of the citizens brought them, on this occasion, into close union with the crown. According to the ancient Spanish custom, the towns of Castile formed a great confederation, the "sacred hermandad," which provided 2,000 men for police and militia duty, cleared the land of robbers and criminals in a short time, and so intimidated the rapacious nobility that many of the grandees themselves joined the Holy Brotherhood. The government at once profited by this success to introduce a general code of laws, doing away with numerous discordances of the "fueros."

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

The queen, whose efforts were directed to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, did not propose to set the hermandad on a permanent footing. In the year 1498, the confederacy was dissolved, although a part of the police troops provided by the towns continued under arms.

A dangerous instrument in the hands of the feudal nobles were the three knightly orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Their extraordinary wealth made their members, who were recruited from the nobility of the country, men of considerable power. The crown took this weapon from the nobles by permanently vesting the grand mastership in the king. Membership could, consequently, be conferred only by him, so that the vigorous

brought them into close connection with the clergy, whose help they bought by concessions of a most important kind, so that Spain eventually became the centre and stronghold of all the reactionary tendencies of ecclesiasticism. But the cause of this is hardly to be found in the nature or inclination of the Spanish rulers.

If the unity of Spain and of its people—a unity that had been so hardly won, after many failures—was to be preserved, if the discordant elements in the state were to be harmonised, and the irreconcilable elements expelled, it was necessary to unite all Spaniards by some spiritual bond. This bond it was necessary to preserve intact by every possible means. And the only possible unifying force was



THE CHIEF KNIGHTLY ORDERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The first of the knightly orders shown in the above illustrations is that of Calatrava in Spain, which goes back to the year 1158. The order was dissolved in 1872, but one class was restored two years later. A Knight of St. Benedict of Aviz, in Portugal, is represented by the second figure, this order having been founded in 1147 and constituted by Pope Innocent III. in 1214. It is not known when the Order of St. James of the Sword, in Spain, depicted in the third illustration, was founded, but it is known to have been in existence in the year 1030, while the Order of Our Lady of Montesa, in Spain, a knight of which is represented in the last figure, was established in 1316 by Jacob II. of Aragon.

life of the military organisations faded into an empty show of court ceremonial. But it was not only by these circuitous ways that the crown, which now began to reap the fruit of its alliance with the Church, gained advantages for itself. It felt itself strong enough to undertake the revision of the proprietary rights of the nobles, and to demand the return of the alienated possessions of the crown.

In lieu of their property, titles and honours were freely bestowed upon all who had been thus deprived of their land; and the nobility were incited thereby to leave their lonely castles and enter the service of the king and live at his court, where these titles had at least some value. The aims of Isabella and her successors

to be found in the orthodox Church. Spain contained many powerful elements of disruption in the numerous Jews and Moors resident in the country. Hence the monarchy, struggling to make itself absolute, could not permit the Reformation to drive a wedge into the nation which should cleave its religious beliefs asunder, as happened later in the case of Germany. Religious innovations would have inspired the opponents of the monarchy with fresh and irresistible vitality, and the Pyrenæan peninsula would have been threatened with a period of tumult and confusion, such as resulted in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. On the other hand, if success crowned the efforts to maintain unity of

religious belief, it was to be expected that the Spanish nationality would evolve into an organic whole, which would expel from Iberian ground all members of an alien faith—that is to say, every one of foreign race. Then it would be possible, with the help of the nation, to carry out those ambitious schemes of foreign policy which Ferdinand I. was already beginning to contemplate. What importance, in comparison with these considerations, had the cry for light and for intellectual freedom which rose in Spain, where a growing humanitarianism began to dispel the mists of stolid ignorance that had so long shrouded the peninsula? The Inquisition—originally instituted

for the suppression of heresy—was nowhere so gladly received as in Spain, for the Spanish rulers, in advancing the Inquisition, were fighting for their own influence and for the preservation of the purity of the Spanish race. In vain did the feudal republicans of Aragon protest against the introduction of the courts of the Inquisition. Church and State were now united in invincible force against them. In Castile the Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, encouraged the spiritual courts since the year 1483, and during the period that he held office remorselessly consigned countless numbers to the stake; but it was not till later that the Inquisition attained to the widest scope of its activity.

It cannot be doubted that so cold and calculating a man as Ferdinand favoured the Inquisition, because its aims were in harmony with his own foreign policy. This policy now becomes of momentous and fatal import in the history of Spain. This policy it was that brought the kingdom, after a rapid and brilliant rise, to the extreme of degradation and weakness.

For centuries the Spanish people had kept one object before their eyes—an object that had guided them through all the devious windings of their history—

the expulsion of Islam and its adherents from Spanish soil. Other European nations had turned their attentions to new intellectual and economic problems, but no new ideal was possible or desirable for Spain so long as a Moorish banner floated over the battlements of an Iberian fortress. During centuries of warfare the states of the peninsula had worked towards this end. Body and mind had been constantly in action, the whole country had been turned into an armed camp, and thus a spirit of confidence in their cause had been aroused in the people, and a readiness to fight for the faith, a spirit which broke out with irresistible power in internecine quarrels whenever the war against the hereditary foe was interrupted by treaty of peace or armistice.



THE FIRST QUEEN OF SPAIN
Isabella of Spain, the first queen of that country, was the wife of Ferdinand V., whom she married in 1469. Born in 1451, she died in 1504. Columbus found in her a warm friend.

Now their old enemies were utterly cast down. The Spanish nation stood in gleaming array upon the shores of the straits which divide Africa from Europe, with nervous arm uplifted in menace. The decisive moment in the national life was at hand. If the nation declared the time of war to be past and gone, if they turned their united strength and energy to improve their country, which was far behind all others, if they took their part in those great intellectual movements which were passing over Europe, then they might look forward confidently to a prosperous future. But how paltry did this ideal seem compared with the past object of the Spanish national life! The people would not lay aside their shining arms and enter into industrial and commercial rivalry with the rest of the world. The rulers would not renounce those great and ambitious designs which must, indeed, have forced themselves unbidden upon their notice. Feudalism, which had been repressed with such difficulty, now had its revenge. It gave a special colouring to the policy of the nation. While the other nations of Europe were entering upon the modern age of industry, of powder and cannon, Spain, like the last of the knights

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

errant, went out in search of adventures. The journey had a glorious beginning; but, like that of the immortal Don Quixote, it came to a piteous end. If Spain had desired to continue its previous policy, the next move would naturally have been to pursue the enemy across the straits, and to win back North Africa to Christendom. Attempts of this kind were actually made. Among them was the conquest of the town of Oran in the year 1509, and in after years Charles V.'s expedition against Tunis and Algiers. But North Africa was too difficult and uninviting a prey. Easier and more splendid tasks soon diverted the attention of Spain from a definite African policy. And yet Spain's position in the world would have been entirely altered if she had succeeded in bringing the Straits of Gibraltar within her dominions, and thus obtaining secure possession of the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Two other ideals drew the Spanish rulers to a far-reaching foreign policy. First, there was the dowry which Aragon's maritime power had brought to the united empire, the claims to Sicily and Naples. If these were acquired, Spain's position as a European power was assured. King Ferdinand's policy here gained its most brilliant success. Thanks to the military genius of the "gran capitán," Gonsalvo de Cordova, he succeeded in overthrowing the power of France, and in the year 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown. After Ferdinand's death efforts in this direction passed the bounds of discretion when the Spanish monarchy became united to the Hapsburg empire.

The acquisition of Naples was due to Aragon; but, as fate would have it, Isabella of Castile had already taken a step fraught with consequences of immeasurable importance to the realisation of a Spanish foreign policy in the widest sense of the term. When the royal pair were holding their court in the Alhambra, shortly after the fall of Granada, one Christopher Columbus knelt before Isabella's throne, as a bronze statue on the banks of the Genil represents, and implored ships and men to explore the route across the Atlantic Ocean to the

far Indies. In granting this request, Isabella gained a boundless acquisition for her realm, and laid the foundations of a world-wide power. This was the special work of the queen.

Ferdinand's attention was fixed upon the Mediterranean; and he was, therefore, indifferent to an undertaking which must have seemed to him shadowy and chimerical compared with his own European designs. His behaviour towards Columbus after Isabella's death shows that he clung to his prejudices, in spite of the discoverer's success. Possibly Ferdinand, with his cool and calculating mind, formed a more accurate estimate of the real and permanent significance of the discovery and conquest of America than did most of his contemporaries, who were blinded by the dazzling riches of the new country.

It must have been a source of anxiety to him to see the stream of immigration that soon began to pour into the New World at a time when the whole might of Spain was required to carry out the policy imposed upon the country by her position as a European power. At that moment, too, the emigration of a large number of Moors had left room enough for new settlements on the Pyrenæan peninsula, and necessitated the utmost exertions to maintain the civilisation of the regions that had belonged to Islam at a fairly high level.

The treasures of America, which came over the Atlantic in abundance, were but a poor compensation for the strength that had left the country. Those treasures continued to attract fresh emigrants. Those who remained were excited by dreams of sudden wealth, and lost their capacity for hard and monotonous labour. Like an idle spendthrift who feeds upon the vain hope of some rich inheritance, the Spanish people gradually allowed the real sources of their prosperity to dry up, until they were forced to resign their proud position as leaders of Europe, in impotence and beggary.

This course of development did not immediately take place, and it needed the disastrous policy of Philip II. to bring it to full completion; but even in Ferdinand's time the first symptoms of the disease became apparent.



GONSALVO DE CORDOVA
Who overthrew the power of France, and in 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown.

Columbus Appeals to the Queen



KINGS OF PORTUGAL FROM 1139 TILL 1521

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA V

PORTUGAL IN THE MIDDLE AGES HER MARITIME TRIUMPHS & HER PITIFUL DECAY

THERE was a special reason for the support Isabella gave to the undertaking of Columbus. While Castile was pursuing its domestic policy, the little kingdom of Portugal, with persistent energy, had sought new fields for its activity. Its brilliant discoveries on the African coast had attracted universal attention, and, finally, the splendid voyage of Vasco da Gama had opened the sea route to East India. Jealousy and a desire of imitation was thereby aroused in Castile. Afterwards the Netherlands and England followed the example set. Thus far, Portugal was the pioneer of a maritime policy in Europe.

The usual dissensions and quarrels of crown against feudal nobles and clergy went on in Portugal, as they did everywhere else. But the tumult of these internal struggles was ever dominated by the roar of the sea, inviting the dwellers on the coast to plough its waves, and awaking a buoyant spirit of daring in their hearts. The sea is not only the natural frontier of Portugal, it is also the mainstay of the country; by the sea Portugal justified its independent existence and from it gained strength to maintain its independence against the power of the interior states.

Though in the South of Spain the kingdom of Granada held out for a century against all attacks, Portugal subdued that portion of Moorish territory which fell to its share immediately upon the collapse of the Almohad dynasty, at the battle of Navas de Tolosa. By the year 1250 the Portuguese kingdom had reached its present limits. Thus, while Castile was being wasted by internal feuds and wars with the Moors, Portugal was in a position which Spain did not reach till after the fall of Granada. The energy of this bold people then sought opportunities for fresh undertakings beyond the seas.

Extension of the Portuguese Kingdom

Portugal had been a naval power since 1180, when she won the first brilliant naval victory over the Moors; a royal navy was in existence under Sancho II. (1223-1245). The rich fisheries of the Portuguese coast, and, above all, the whaling industry, created a race of hardy seamen. In Portugal, to a much greater extent

than in Spain, circumstances pointed the nation to the true sources of prosperity with unmistakable clearness. The Portuguese had already entered into commercial relations with the countries of Northern Europe, where they found excellent markets for the fish, wine, wax, and oil of their country, receiving woollen and cotton stuffs in exchange. In the fourteenth century the merchant ships of Portugal and Genoa met in the Straits of Gibraltar.

The enterprising merchants of Genoa and Pisa soon began to send their vessels to the mouth of the Tagus, where the advantages resulting from the commercial relations which had been established with the Mediterranean were fully recognised. Portugal was thus a happy, self-sufficing country, inhabited by a numerous population, which, in spite of its commercial occupations, was exceedingly warlike and well able to repel the occasional attacks of its Castilian neighbours. More than once the kings of Castile, when they had accomplished nothing by force of arms, approached their Portuguese cousins with requests for a loan out of that wealth which their flourishing trade brought home in inexhaustible abundance. It was only when the kings of Portugal abandoned their usual policy and attempted to extend their influence in the Pyrenæan peninsula that the country experienced some of those evils which distracted the feudal states of the highlands. Ten years later the man was born who was to turn the eager spirit of the people into the new channel of activity, Prince Henry, who

afterwards received the honourable title of "the Navigator," a son of John I. of Portugal and a daughter of John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the house of Lancaster.

In order to afford the young princes of the royal house an opportunity for the performance of knightly deeds in time of peace, an expedition was made in the year

Portugal's Chivalry to the Front 1415 against the town of Ceuta, which then enjoyed a high measure of prosperity, thanks to its excellent situation, and was also the base of all expeditions from Morocco against the Pyrenæan peninsula. It is highly probable that this was something more than a mere romantic adventure; the object was rather to protect trade passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to bring about the removal of the heavy toll which Ceuta levied on every passing ship. The preparations made for striking this blow ensured its entire success. When the people of Morocco attempted to retake the town, the chivalry of Portugal obtained an opportunity, as the king had desired, for the display of their prowess in arms to the benefit of their nation.

But among the warriors there was one upon whom the mysterious face of the African sphinx, that enigmatic look, which gave promise of new wonders, had made a deep impression, in spite of the uproar of battle. This was Prince Henry. From the day he first set foot on African soil he formed a firm resolution to solve the riddle of this sphinx, and to send forth ship after ship southward towards those legendary countries of which nought but vague rumours had come down from antiquity, and the treasures of which could not but fall to the man who was bold enough first to tread their shores. In the

Portugal in Search of New Lands year 1420 the first expedition which "the Infant" fitted out left the harbour of Lagos. Driven by storms, the mariners discovered far away in the ocean the little island of Porto Santo. Thence they reached Madeira in the same year. The discovery of this lovely island, where flourished the vine and sugar-cane and timber admirably adapted for ship-building, spurred them on to greater efforts. The Canary Islands, which had been

discovered by the Portuguese in 1335, had fallen, meanwhile, into other hands; it was now necessary to sail further southward along the African coast, and especially to round the formidable Cape Bojador, which threatened the seafarer both with real and imaginary terrors. It was twelve years before the adventure succeeded, in 1434.

Henry's death, in the year 1460, checked the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese discoverers for some time. A new impulse was given to discovery under John II. (1481-1495). After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1486, Vasco da Gama sailed round the south of Africa and came to anchor on May 20th, 1498, in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of India. An enormous region was thus opened to Portuguese activity, a region further increased by the discovery of Brazil in the year 1500. A great impulse to commerce and an extraordinary increase of wealth were the immediate results of the discoveries. For the best

The Entry of the Inquisition part of a century the colonial ocean power was shared between Spain and Portugal, with the papal benediction, the Western Hemisphere being for the most part appropriate to Spain, and the Eastern to Portugal. In the long run, however, these enormous possessions proved a doubtful blessing. The pernicious desire to get rich rapidly and without labour seized on the whole people, who were not numerous enough, indeed, to colonise or to defend their new possessions. While the colonies were swarming with adventurers, and Portuguese navies dominated the Indian Ocean, the fertile fields of the mother country sank into desolation. The expulsion of the Moorish population, in the time of Manuel the Fortunate, or the Great (1495-1521), completed the decay of agricultural life which had already begun.

Soon afterwards the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal. Portugal now exhausted itself in the hour of its abundance even more quickly than Spain, which was larger and more capable of endurance. Both kingdoms passed through a common period of pitiful decay.

HENRI SCHURTZ



⚔ The Crusades ⚔

AND WHAT THEY DID FOR EUROPE THE BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

THE Crusades may be regarded as the last throes of that great migratory movement which has modified and transformed Western Europe since the entrance of the Teutons into the clear light of history. The consolidation of the Frankish Empire and the downfall of the Teutonic Mediterranean states may seem to have terminated this process of migration, but the fact is that the period by no means ended with those events.

The invasion of the Arabs, even when the first deadly menace to the growth of Christian civilisation in Europe had been repelled by Leo the Isaurian in the East, and by Charles Martel in the West, introduced a constant element of fermentation into the West, notwithstanding its apparent solidarity.

The ordinary historical manuals are silent upon the fact that Rome was menaced by Saracen raids in 841 and 846, that Genoa was devastated in 935 and 993, that Pisa was captured in 1004 and 1011, that communication across the Alps was paralysed by these invaders for many decades, while they carried fire and sword to the neighbourhood of Lake Constance, and overran Hungary about 1092, starting from the Alps and the Adriatic.

The Yoke of Western Europe The attempts of Western Europe to shake off this paralyzing yoke are to be regarded as introductory to the Crusades, in which they were concentrated at the moment when the East, on which the victory of Leo the Isaurian had produced more permanent effects than that of Charles Martel, saw its mortal foe advancing in the last third of the eleventh century.

On the other hand, a Teutonic people appeared, advancing under the stress of a new migratory impulse. The Northmen again drove large masses of the population to leave their homes and seek new settlements elsewhere; their echeloned advance,

Advance of the Northmen in connection with the western pressure against the Mohammedan barrier, may be regarded as the first territorial impulse

towards a crusading movement; it was the return wave of a migration towards the south-east, by which the eastern empire was carried away in its final attempt to resume the attack against the infidels, a stream which did not spend its force before the middle of the thirteenth century.

A special section has been already devoted to the raids of the Northmen, and the misery which they brought upon all the coasts of North-western and Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries has been already considered. Here, however, it is worth while to mention, for the sake of completeness, the manner in which these Viking voyages brought the furthest shores of the southern sea within the purview of western ambitions. The enormous range of their expeditions, which spread from Vineland to the steppes of Sarmatia and to the shores of the Levant, created a new and extended horizon for the Crusades, infinite in comparison with the narrow outlook of previous centuries; this horizon for the eastern half of the Old World was further extended to the Sunda Islands and to China, through contact with the science and the commerce of the Arabs. This extension of geographical knowledge is the most remarkable result

of the crusading movement, and is in immediate connection with the widening of the intellectual horizon. It was chiefly the voyages of the Northmen which enabled the western world thus to extend its view.

The advance of the Northmen to Palestine can be traced almost contemporaneously with the appearance of the Varangians in Byzantium. The usual road to Constantinople, the "Austrvegr," down the rivers of Russia, which led far to the South through Scandinavian territory, was the obvious road to the Holy Land for pilgrims; they were able to travel in their own vessels to the rapids of the Dnieper, from which point they continued under Byzantine escort. This road was not closed until the Latin conquest of 1204 cut the connection of the Russian principalities with Byzantium. On the other hand, princes and nobles who could fit out large fleets followed the "Vestvegr" through the ocean and between the Pillars of Hercules.

For a long period bands of Vikings occupied points on the western coasts as ports of call to secure this maritime route. Such were the islands at the mouth of the Rio Tinto and off Cadiz, the harbours of Brittany, and even those of Normandy, which was colonised by their kinsmen. The road for the peaceful solitary pilgrim who travelled on foot was the "Sudrvegr," through the Alpine passes and the Apostolic City, which did not join the sea route east or west until the harbours of Italy were reached. This was the main pilgrim route from Central Europe to Jerusalem. It was largely used every year by northern pilgrims, as is shown by a visitors' book of that date from the monastery of Reichenau. This book shows a total of 10,000 names within two and a half years for this one spot, a striking testimony to the extent, in the early Middle Ages, of pilgrim traffic to the South and East.

St. Olaf and His Great Brother From the eleventh century onwards the poetry and legend of the North points more definitely to the Holy Land. To this land legend transfers the death of the missionary Olaf Trygvasson, who fell in the battle of Svoldr in the year 1000. St. Olaf, who twice turned back upon the road to Palestine, is brought by legend to the country, perhaps in recollection of the heroic deeds there actually performed by his brother Harald Hardrada. After

the battle of Stiklastad, where Olaf lost his throne and life, Harald was wounded, and fled, a landless wanderer, to his fellow tribesmen in Russia, then to Apulia, and afterwards became captain of the Varanger guard in Byzantium, where he was unknown. During ten years, at the head of this corps, he visited Sicily, North Africa, Palestine, and Egypt. He then became a son-in-law of Prince Yaroslav in Russia, and eventually ascended the throne of Norway upon the death of his nephew Magnus.

He met his death when he attempted to seize the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, in conjunction with Tostig, the rebel brother of the Saxon king, Harold. Only eighteen days before the victory of William the Conqueror at Hastings, Harald Hardrada fell in the fierce battle of Stamford Bridge. Thus the whole of Europe, from the extreme north and north-west, to the furthest south and south-east, including the coasts of Africa and Asia, had seen the face and felt the arm of this great hero. He may be regarded as personifying that Scandinavian movement which created the horizon of the Crusades. In the meanwhile, the Norman conquest of England had set

Effects of the Norman Conquest

free large populations for the movement to the South-East. Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Frisians found themselves driven from the island kingdom, their former battlefield, and in many cases made their way to Byzantium or Syria, and played their part among the maritime people of the First Crusade. The final and immediate impulse to the crusading movement, if we regard this movement as a territorial expansion, is to be found in the seizure of Lower Italy by the Normans.

The path for this acquisition was prepared by pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre, and the enterprise was completed in the course of the eleventh century. It is no mere coincidence that Pope Urban II. spent years among the Normans in banishment before starting from his recovered territory in the south to the synods of Piacenza and Clermont; or that the legend of Peter the Hermit expressly mentioned Bari as the harbour where the pilgrim returning with the Saviour's message first set foot once more upon western soil. The greatest result of the First Crusade was not the capture of Jerusalem, an acquisition of sentimental rather than practical importance, but the establishment of the Italian Normans in

BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

a Syrian stronghold of the Mediterranean, little more than ten years after their fruitless attempt to conquer the eastern empire, and a short time after the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens. The Crusades began almost at that moment when the Norman impulse to expansion was necessarily turned towards the most westerly possessions of Islam.

At the same moment, after centuries of inactivity, the attack upon Islam was resumed from other quarters. In Italy this movement began at Pisa, which at the beginning of the eleventh century had suffered severely under the raids of the infidels. In the year 1032 the citizens of Pisa made their first retaliatory expedition to North Africa after they had freed Sardinia, in 1016, from the danger of a fresh Moslem occupation. This was followed by numerous enterprises against Sicily and Tunis, until a crushing blow was delivered by the allied forces of Pisa and Genoa, in 1087, under the banner of St. Peter, which had been given them by Pope Victor III. when they attacked the piratical emir of the Tunisian Mahdia; this victory secured freedom of trade for the Italian maritime towns upon these coasts and in this western gulf of the sea. Pope Urban II. was entertained in Pisa before he proceeded to Piacenza; the citizens of Pisa and Genoa supported the First Crusade by sea and turned it to commercial profit.

The conquest of Sicily by the Normans removed the burdensome yoke from commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean, and turned the eyes of the maritime nations to the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Hence the liberation of Apulia and Sicily from the Byzantines and Arabs, and the disclosure of the Greek and Oriental half of the Mediterranean to the eyes of the Latin half; these may be ranked among the most powerful impulses which influenced the coming migratory movement. The expansion of Western Europe against Islam was further stimulated by the advance of the Christian

Spaniards against the Arab conquerors during that same eleventh century. Since the middle of the century the struggles in the Pyrenean peninsula had attracted the neighbouring Catalonians, who were closely related to the Spaniards and the Provençals. Even on the Northern French coasts powerful armies of knights were formed, especially by Norman leaders, to assist their co-religionists in the south-west, when these were once more hard pressed by the Almoravids. "Hispania" and the Saracen territory are equivalent concep-

tions in several of the Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade. Thus it is clear that from this point also the European movement against Islam received an effective impetus.

At the same time that powerful movement towards the east, which for nearly two centuries flowed back, only to return apparently with revived force, could never have been aroused solely by the independent movements of superfluous populations towards the south-east, or by a new tendency, partly national and religious, partly political and economic, to attack Islam; equally insufficient would have been the adventurous impulses of individuals among the settled nations of Europe. The proximate cause of the First Crusade is not to be discovered in the conditions of Western Europe, but was provided by the Greek Empire. On its frontiers a breach was made into which the overflowing waters poured with destructive violence. The desperate position to which the East Roman Empire had

been reduced by the Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert, in 1071, called forth that cry for help which the Emperor Alexius I. sent to Pope Urban II. in 1094.

If we consider the response which greeted this appeal in the West, it becomes clear that the opposition of Christians to Arabs was not in itself sufficiently strong, in spite of the Spanish wars, to produce so violent a struggle between two worlds. After the Arabs had become a civilised power in the East,



NORWAY'S PATRON SAINT
Olaf seized the Norwegian crown in 1016, but was compelled to escape to Russia. Returning from exile, he lost his life at the battle of Stiklastad. He was canonised in 1164.

the devotees of Christianity had secured a comparatively safe and profitable position, which was only occasionally disturbed by such Mohammedan fanatics as the Egyptian caliph Hakim; the oppression of the Christians and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, which he commanded, were but temporary causes of irritation. It was the cruelties of Turkish rule which made the lot of Christian pilgrims and settlers in Palestine intolerable; it was the desperation to which Byzantium was reduced after the Seljuk invasion of its last remaining and most prosperous Asiatic provinces that produced the idea of a general European rising, of an offensive and defensive alliance against the new oppressor.

It was not so much solicitude for Jerusalem as the hope of reconquering Asia and of strengthening the Byzantine minor empire which inspired the great Pope Gregory VII. with the first idea of a Crusade immediately after the Turkish invasion of the year 1074. His preparations for the accomplishment of this idea were at the moment frustrated by the struggle with the empire. So, again, Urban II., a vigorous and clever successor of Gregory, received, if not the most permanent, at any rate the most decisive, impulse to this undertaking from Byzantium. The Emperor Alexius had restored the collapsing European provinces of his empire to tolerable order and peace; but the reconquest of Asia was beyond his powers. He could not possibly suspect that his appeals for western help would initiate a movement extending far beyond this immediate object, and threatening to overwhelm his empire in its mighty flood.

Thus, in accordance with this final impulse, the Crusades, like almost all previous struggles of the West against the East, were directed not so much against Islam as against the threatening Turkish power which had arisen within the Mohammedan empire. The barbaric vitality of the Seljuks reinforced the decadent power of Eastern Islam, even as the expansion of the Normans had revitalised the Christian West; with full justice Ranke compares the Turkish seizure of the decadent caliphate to the alliance which at the same moment identified the interests of the reformed papacy with those of the Italian Normans.

The Hard Lot of the Pilgrims

What the Crusades Aimed at

In each case a spiritual authority acquired new influence by a coalition with a new secular power. The importance of the new alliances became world-wide when they rushed into conflict.

The appeal of the Greek emperor to the West to begin the inevitable conflict with the Seljuks advancing from Central Asia roused a spiritual and intellectual movement, which gave this conflict between East and West a material importance, a territorial extension, and a degree of influence unparalleled in previous history; this result was due to the spirit which pervaded the West at the close of the eleventh century. Owing to this spirit the Crusades long retained the character of religious wars, in which the peoples of Europe fought with high enthusiasm for their most sacred possessions.

We have seen how the repeated interference of the German emperors had raised the Roman Church from the depths of depression and despair; how, again, the Romance spirit, as expressed in the Cluniac reforms, had based a theocratic ideal upon the principle of self-renunciation, and had used for the realisation of this project the vacillations and necessities of the empire during the second half of the eleventh century. To outward appearance Gregory VII., the most powerful champion of this ideal, had succumbed before opposing forces; in reality, he had secured for the Church the spiritual supremacy over every department of secular life, and nothing but the invincible obstinacy with which he maintained his principles had prevented him from securing the victory in person.

Gregory's successor, Urban II., showed a more opportunist temper, and reaped what his forerunner had sowed. Urban's diplomatic skill raised the papacy to a proud position of supremacy over emperors and kings, over souls and bodies. When the Popes had subjugated the whole of the western world to their commands and theories, they could find satisfaction only in vigorous outward expansion under the sign of the Cross. Urban II. possibly regarded the appeal of the Emperor Alexius I. rather as an opportunity of reuniting the Greek Church to Rome than as one of reconquering the Holy Sepulchre. In his momentous address at Clermont on November 26th, 1095, he was able, first of all, to turn the hearts of his

Gregory's Victory for the Church

BIRTH OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

French compatriots towards this object, which had played but a secondary part in Gregory's plans, for the reason that the horrors of the Seljuk invasion had gone home to Christian minds; but at the same time he discovered "a magic word" which unchained the spirit of the age; he was able to realise what Gregory had only projected when he identified "the more powerful current of popular feeling with the hierarchical movement."

It was by no means the Normans alone whose thoughts and desires were directed towards the Holy Sepulchre at that time. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had never ceased from the time of the Roman Empire. Augustine's well-known epigram, "Christ is reached by love and not by sea," remained unintelligible to the youthful minds of the barbaric nations, as it had been to the increasing materialism of the age of decadence. As in the case of relic-worship, so also in that of pilgrimages, no tangible or satisfying symbol could be secured unless it implied a personal grasp of salvation, and provided participation in the promises of the faith through the penance and bodily danger incurred upon a perilous pilgrimage.

Even when the upper classes at least had acquired a more rational conception of religion, older personal theories of the struggle for salvation by no means became extinct. The new personal Christianity continued to employ the weapons of the old corporate Christianity; with the asceticism of the eleventh century was combined the fashion of pilgrimages to St. Mary of

Einsiedeln, to St. James of Compostella, to Rome, and especially, *oultre mer*, as the French said, to the spots "where the feet of the Lord had stood." From the Frankish Empire, from Teutonic territory, and from the British Isles these pilgrimages brought new adherents, and especially the most recent converts, of the Christian faith to Jerusalem. These pilgrimages had been facilitated and organised by Charles the Great—through his relations with Harun al Raschid and by the outlay of large sums

for the building of churches, monasteries, and shelters in the Holy Land—so that the legend credited the emperor himself with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ. During the following centuries the number of pilgrimages was to some extent influenced by the greater or lesser toleration of the Mohammedan rulers of Palestine. With the year 1000, which was expected to bring the end of the world, the eastward wave of pilgrims began to resemble a small migration.

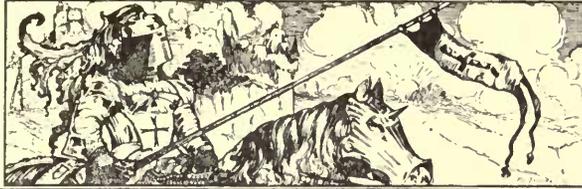


POPE URBAN II. PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE
In 1095, a council was held at Clermont, in Auvergne. Leaving the assembly, Pope Urban II. addressed a great gathering in the market place, eloquently picturing the wrongs suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land and pleading for volunteers to fight the infidels. His enthusiasm was contagious, and the assembly cried "It is the will of God!"

About 1025, at the instance and with the help of the Duke of Normandy, 700 pilgrims started out with the Abbot Richard of St. Vannes at Verdun; Lietbert, the Archbishop of Cambrai, is said to have led out the incredibly large number of 3,000 pilgrims in 1054. The largest of these bands amounted to as many as 7,000 men on the most moderate estimate, and included English, Germans, and French, under the leadership of Archbishop Siegfried I. of Mainz in 1064. This expedition underwent severe struggles in the Holy Land, from which scarcely a third of the pilgrims returned home.



PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE
From the painting by James Archer R. S. A. By permission of the Autotype Co.



THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM

IN the meanwhile the advance of the Turks had cut off the overland route to Palestine through Asia Minor, while the barbarous oppression and persecution of the native immigrant Christians had made approach by sea almost impossible. It is conceivable that the message of the Saviour which Peter the Hermit, according to legend, brought to the Pope with the "letters dismissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem was an actual cry for help from this part of the Mediterranean to the "great brother" in the West.

Urban thus set free an impulse the energy of which had for centuries been hampered in the strictest and most unwelcome manner. The movement coincided with social and economic distress of every kind, which may not have weighed so heavily upon the world as the usual exaggerations of contemporary chroniclers represent, but none the less inspired in thousands the desire

Outcome of the Pope's Enthusiasm

to escape from a distressing situation. The years from 1085 to 1095 are said to have been marked by a disastrous alternation of floods and droughts, and especially by pestilence and famine. The North of France was suffering from a dangerous excess of population, while the West and South of Germany had been perturbed for twenty years by the confusions of the investiture quarrel. It was no wonder that the wild and fervent cry of Clermont, "Deus Vult," with which the fiery eloquence of the Pope was answered, overwhelmed all misgivings and ran through the country like an epidemic, or that the flame of popular enthusiasm, carried from place to place, and fanned by such powerful preachers as Peter the Hermit, seized high and low like a psychical contagion.

Every movement of popular passion was unchained by the new watchword which flew throughout the land. Of the lower classes, the first to be affected were the French, who were ever especially amenable

to such impulses; the movement then passed through Lorraine and the Rhine territories, and burst through all the bounds and forms of organisation under which the appointed leaders strove to bind it. Hence the preaching of the First

Fiery Trail of the Crusade

Crusade produced a strange result, certainly unexpected by Rome. The peasants sacrificed their property and possessions to buy the means for their long journey, and migrated with wife and child as their forefathers had done. Masses came forth from the towns who could sacrifice nothing because they possessed nothing; the lower clergy followed, who had long yearned to take the field for the Church; and these, with undisciplined monks, women, and vagabonds, composed the majority in the crowds which passed in wild excitement, during the spring and summer of 1096, through South Germany and Hungary to the east, led by a few adventurous nobles committing many lawless deeds and acts of riot in the name of their faith, and spreading fire, destruction, and death through the Jewish communities in the Rhine towns—a precedent followed in every subsequent Crusade at every time and place.

The majority of these masses came to a miserable end in Hungary, where the warlike population mercilessly revenged the outrages of the strangers with their swords; others, under similar circumstances, reached Bul-

Where the Crusaders Suffered

garian territory, and were there scattered. One of the largest bands, under Peter the Hermit himself, after a severe struggle, succeeded in reaching Constantinople, the meeting-place appointed by the Pope; their marauding habits and want of discipline infuriated the Greeks, who immediately transported them beyond the Bosphorus. Upon their first advance into Seljuk territory they

were annihilated by the enemy's cavalry. Peter himself had previously taken refuge in flight; he afterwards collected the scanty remnants of his bands in Constantinople, and played a somewhat derogatory part in the great crusading army as the leader of vagabonds of every description. The "Peasant Crusade," upon the most moderate computation, and allowing for the incompetency of that age to form any reasonable numerical estimate, must have depopulated Western Europe by far more than 100,000 men. Its disastrous issue proved that vague national impulses were not in themselves competent to solve the serious problems which the Pope had placed before the Crusade.

We have, then, to ask whether the organisation of the royal armies and bands of knights which followed on the heels of these peasant masses was any more competent to grapple with these tasks. It has already been observed that the only Crusade which ended in any small measure of success—namely, the first—owed its result entirely to the calm foresight and the colonial genius of the Italian Normans, who joined the expedition with largely secular aims and objects and soon became its leaders. Had it not been for them, and especially for their brilliant leader, Bohemond, the splendid armies of knights which started in the summer and autumn of 1096 would probably have failed to reach their goal, and would perhaps have suffered the fate of the peasant hordes. The nobles of France, Lorraine, and Provence, whose troops formed the nucleus of that army, doubtless realised more clearly than the adventurous leaders of the Peasant Crusade the material necessities and actual requirements of an armed pilgrimage; but unbridled want of discipline among some and a mystical

asceticism among others, and in many cases the combination of these defects, often led even their clear knowledge astray.

Probably the most suitable commander-in-chief of the Crusade would have been an experienced Churchman. This position devolved upon Bishop Adhemar of Puy as papal legate, after he had been the first to kneel before the Pope at Clermont and to sew the cross on his right shoulder. Adhemar does not, however, appear to have possessed those qualities of supreme leadership which would have enabled him to co-ordinate the very heterogeneous elements of the crusading army; moreover, fate did not permit him to see the goal of the pilgrimage to which his wise counsel, his knightly spirit, and his well-known piety often proved advantageous.



PETER THE HERMIT BEFORE POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT
The powerful protagonist of the First Crusade presenting "letters dismissory" from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, along with the alleged message of the Saviour.



THE PEASANT CRUSADE: PETER THE HERMIT ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE

The zeal on behalf of the Crusade stirred up by the eloquence of Peter the Hermit affected every class. The misguided Peasant Crusade, disastrous in its issue, drained Western Europe of over 100,000 men, who set out on an adventure without understanding what it involved. In this picture Peter the Hermit is seen appealing in vain to the people who are bent on releasing their fellows who have been imprisoned for pillaging.

Of the secular nobles the best-equipped army was led by Raimond, Count of Toulouse and Viscount of Provence; this force advanced in the autumn of 1096 through Northern Italy, Dalmatia and Macedonia to Constantinople. The military success of the Crusade had been secured by the count's adhesion to the resolutions of Clermont, though this had apparently been prearranged. The

Southern French Crusaders in general, and this leader in particular, were characterised by a strange mixture of burning enthusiasm for all the mysteries of the faith, and of every mundane solicitude for their own profit and advantage. We have no knowledge of the reasons which may have induced the count to leave his magnificent possessions, presumably for ever, and to seek a new dominion abroad,

not even in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre. The next crusading prince of importance was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, equal in power to Raimond, though subordinate in rank. With him went his elder brother Eustace, who subsequently returned to the county of Bou-

Leaders in the Crusades logne, which he inherited after the Crusade had begun, and his younger brother Baldwin, who, like Godfrey, was inspired by religious zeal and desire for action, and hoped to carve out a future for himself. A large army of knights, drawn from Lorraine and the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, gathered under the banners of the duke, and in August marched through Upper Germany, where many other bold champions joined them, advancing south-eastward through Hungary.

The third main portion of the crusading army was formed by the North French, Norman, and Flemish contingents. Count Hugo, of Vermandois, the brother of Philip I. of France, Duke Robert of Normandy, elder brother of William II. and Henry I. of England, and Count Stephen of Blois, brother-in-law of the same monarch, together with Count Robert of Flanders, were the leaders of this contingent, though men of less importance than Raimond and Godfrey; they marched through Italy to Apulia, and took ship thence with the intention of advancing through Greece.

They had been preceded upon this path by Count Bohemond I. of Tarentum, the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, who had intended to advance upon that line as a conqueror ten years previously; he, with his nephew Tancred, now led the Italian-Norman army. Between Christmas of 1096 and Easter of 1097 the larger part of the Crusaders arrived before Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius found himself in a difficult situation; the size of the crusad-

The Emperor Alexius in a Difficulty ing army far exceeded his expectations or desires, and for good or for evil he was obliged to use it in the interests of his empire. In place of the auxiliary troops for which he had asked, he found one-half of Western Europe levied before him, and constituting a force capable of conducting an independent policy or of acting against his empire. Only a short time previously the Italian Normans had brought that empire to the verge of destruction. The

Lorrainers under Godfrey displayed an attitude of hostility upon the march, and when encamped before the capital; armed conflicts were frequent with them and with the other armies. The superior culture and the strict administrative bureaucracy of the East Roman state could never enter upon an equal alliance with these forces of barbarism, licence, and greed.

The Greek emperor adopted a cleverly devised expedient; he availed himself of the forms of western feudalism to turn the crusading movement to his own purpose. Possibly he was inspired by an extravagant imperialism which declined to surrender any antiquated claim or any conceivable hope in favour of his foreign allies; possibly he was merely anxious to bind the crusading princes so closely to his person and his empire as to prevent their adopting any dangerous counter policy.

Between these alternatives we can hardly decide: the fact remains that interminable negotiations were supported by cunning and gentle pressure of every kind, and speedily produced discord among the leaders of the Franks. The friction between the bold

Crusaders and the Spoils of Victory and far-seeing Bohemond and the pettifogging selfish greed of Raimond played into the emperor's hands, so that at Easter, 1097, Alexius obtained the oath of feudal allegiance from the majority of the Frankish soldiers, and from all of them, a short time later, after the conquest of Nicæa.

Various indications induce us to suppose that, notwithstanding the comprehensiveness of his claims, Alexius had made an agreement concerning the division of the booty with the leaders, whose insight was capable of weighing political consideration. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Crusaders, after they had conquered Nicæa for the Greeks and had cut their way at Dorylæum through the approaching Turkish army, should have allowed the wave of Seljuk invasion to close behind them, and should have made no attempt to establish themselves in Philomelium and Iconium. As the procedure followed in Cilicia and Armenia Minor was wholly different, we may perhaps assume that a frontier line roughly denoted by the Taurus Mountains had been drawn between the two spheres of interest, and that beyond this Alexius had contented himself with an imaginary feudal supremacy over such districts as

THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

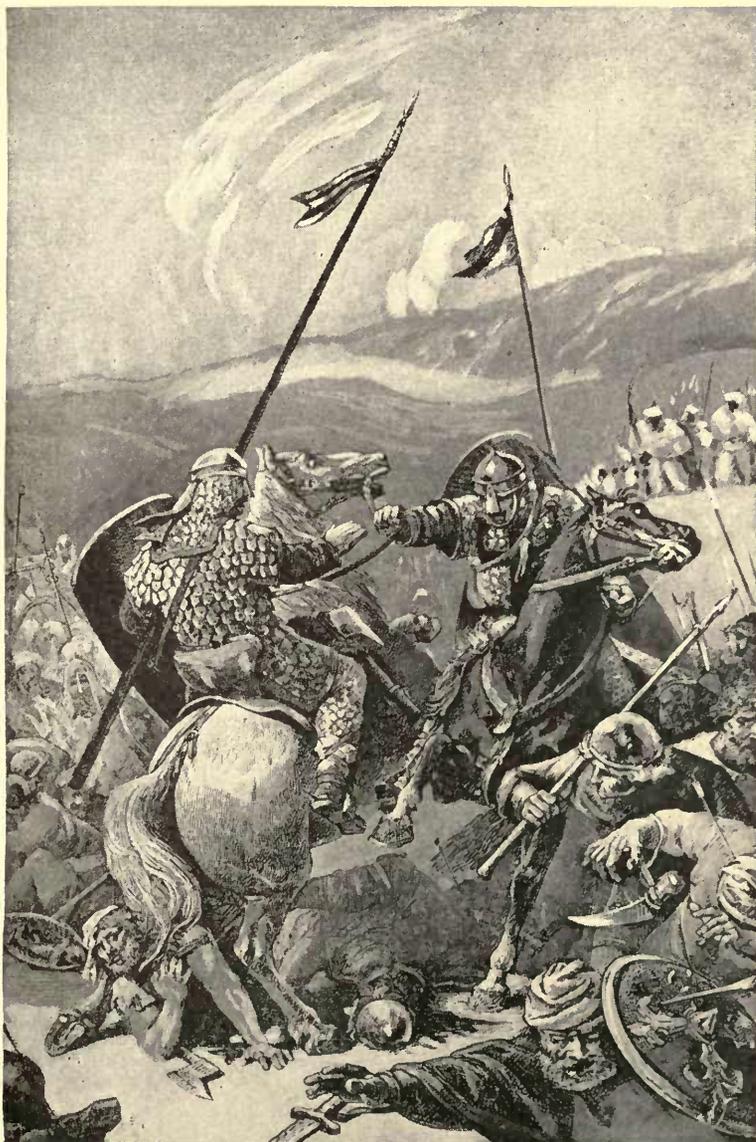
Antioch and Edessa, which but a short time before had belonged to the Greek Empire. It is, moreover, no mere coincidence that these cities of Byzantine origin became centres of Frankish supremacy. Had not Antioch presented itself to the mind of Bohemond as a worthy prize, the crusading army would have passed by this strongly fortified town, as it passed by Aleppo, Tripolis, and Damascus. It seems to have been the intention of Alexius,

upon this theory, to push forward the frontiers of East Rome to the base of the Taurus, and to permit the formation beyond that line of smaller Christian outposts, acting as buffer states between himself and the Mohammedan Empire, and bound to his own state by a loose tie of allegiance.

The most important dates of the expedition through Asia Minor may be again recalled. These were the capture of

Nicæa on June 19th, 1097, after a siege of six weeks, with the help and to the exclusive advantage of the Greeks, when a relieving army from the Emir Kilich Arslan, or Suleiman II., had been defeated; the victory at Dorylæum on July 1st, which was gained by the timely arrival of the second division of the hard-pressed Normans; the march through the peninsula upon the high road, which the enemy had surrendered, through Philomelium. Antiochia Minor, and Iconium, to Heracleia and to the foot of the Taurus.

At this point a strategical diversion took place; the Crusaders had learnt wisdom in the school of the Greeks, and had secured a sufficient insight into the political conditions of the countries through which they were to march. Even in the camp before Nicæa religious enthusiasm had given way to



TANCRED SAVED FROM DEATH BY BOHEMOND

One of the chiefs of the First Crusade, Tancred, a son of Otho the Good, fought at Nicæa, Antioch and Jerusalem, and was awarded the principalities of Tiberias and Edessa. In this picture by M. E. Zier, Bohemond is seen restraining Tancred by main force from going to meet death at the hands of the Saracens, who are pressing the Crusaders back.

prudent tactical considerations ; the Crusaders had learnt of the opposition between the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt and the orthodox caliph in Bagdad under Seljuk supremacy, and had not refused to open diplomatic relations with Cairo by the despatch of ambassadors. They were naturally still more inclined to secure the

The Home of Christian Armenians

help of the Christian Armenians, as being their co-religionists. These people, after the invasion of the Turks, had

found new settlements in the Taurus, in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Northern Syria, and in the Euphrates district ; only a short time previously they had founded the principality of Armenia Minor, which promised well for the future. An embassy was therefore sent to the Armenians, upon whose goodwill depended the use of the road over which the great crusading army passed in a wide detour to the north, through Casarea, Komana, and Cocussus, along the Taurus, and across the mountain range.

The nearer road, through Cilicia, was followed only by small bands of lightly-equipped troops led by Tancred and Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, for the purpose of rousing the local Armenians and Greeks, and capturing the towns already in possession of the Seljuks. The attempt was entirely successful, with the exception that the Norman attempted to establish himself here, probably in view of Bohemond's intentions upon Antioch. Baldwin succeeded in preventing this attempt, though not entirely, as an appeal from the Armenian prince of Edessa summoned him eastwards. After a short meeting with the main army in Marash, the energetic and determined prince, who far surpassed his simpler brother in importance and diplomatic ability, proceeded to enter Mesopotamian territory ; there he speedily made himself so indispensable to the Greek Armenian population in the struggle

Founding of First Latin Principality

with the Seljuks that Thoros of Edessa submitted to his leadership, though probably not wholly of his own free will.

This claim soon became an accomplished fact by reason of a revolution, which was probably not wholly unexpected by Baldwin, and ended with the murder of Thoros.

On March 9th, 1098, the first Latin principality was founded here as an advance outpost. For the main body of the crusading

army the most momentous period of the expedition in respect of exploits and sufferings had now begun. On October 20th, 1097, the army arrived before Antioch, and the siege lasted until the beginning of June, 1098. Only the extraordinary condition of the great Seljuk empire permitted the conquest of Antioch, or indeed the eventual success of the Crusade, of which the most material gain was the capture of this town.

In ages when communication is inadequate, or in lands where it is difficult, every extensive military monarchy is broken up into feudal principalities ; the state of Alp Arslan and Meleksah proved no exception to the rule, and the condition of Syrian affairs made itself felt at this point. At the same time, as so often in the course of the world's history, Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences met in that land which is bounded on the south by the Nile valley and on the north by the valley of the Euphrates. The Shi'ite caliphate of Cairo had secured partisans among the Seljuk princes of Northern Syria, and had used the Assassin sect of Lebanon for its

Palestine Lost to the Turks

further propaganda. Palestine, however, which every Egyptian prince regarded as part of his country, was

wrested from Turkish despotism by the Fatimid Vizir Alafdhah shortly before the arrival of the crusading army.

Under these circumstances the Seljuk emirate of Syria was a prey to continual dissensions, and was constantly at variance with its own members and with the central government, while the continual changes of party grouping contributed to prevent for decades any uniform or enthusiastic co-operation against the forces of the West, even in the moment of deadliest peril. Help, indeed, was offered, but mutual abandonment was equally common, and, upon the whole, only feeble attempts were made to relieve the siege of Antioch, which were defeated with comparative ease by the Crusaders, though their army diminished at an appalling rate under the hardships and suffering of the siege.

The main body of the pilgrims dispersed more and more rapidly over the surrounding territory, in Cilician, Armenian, or Mohammedan dominions. In harbour towns such as Tripolis, which belonged to a Seljuk emir, the Crusaders enjoyed unimpeded powers of exit and entry, and were allowed to celebrate in public their

THE STORY OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

divine service while the struggle was raging before Antioch. Had it not been for this condition of Syria and the Turkish power the Crusade would probably have come to a premature end before Antioch.

A few days after the surrender of Antioch the Crusaders were blockaded in the town by a great relieving army of the Emir Kerbogha of Mosul, which the Seljuk sultan, Barkjarok, had at length sent to the help of his hard-pressed vassals. Even now, though possessed of the town, they were in a position of great difficulty. The Crusaders were forced to maintain the defence both against the besieging army in the plain and against the garrison of the lofty citadel, which they had been unable to capture at the same time as the town; this task proved beyond the powers of the besieged forces, though great heroism, chivalrous courage, and enthusiastic vigour were shown. The general exhaustion produced a feeling of despair, and desertions became more frequent.

Meanwhile a pious fraud was practised upon the starving masses, who had been raised to the highest pitch of credulity and were ready to accept any marvel. It was a deception highly effective at the moment, though afterwards employed for very impious purposes; this was the discovery of the "sacred lance" on June 14th, by which the courage of the Crusaders was revived. The sortie which they made in their supreme distress, when they had nothing more to lose, proved unexpectedly successful. The enemy was scattered, and Kerbogha speedily retreated, a triumph which the Crusaders ascribed partly to their own desperate bravery and partly to the miraculous powers of the sacred lance.

Antioch was—on June 28th, 1098—definitely in the hands of the Christians. The Crusade now came to a standstill for many months; the army was entirely exhausted, and the concentration of its scattered divisions became desirable. These were further diminished by plague; moreover, quarrels among the leaders and the masses now broke out with a violence which endangered all previous and future success. The pious fraud of the "holy lance," which was maintained by extremely doubtful methods against sceptics and mockers, led to a deep dissension between the Provençals, who were by nature enthusiastically credulous before such

reputed miracles, and the Normans, whose early religious enthusiasm rapidly disappeared before the growing secular temper of the Crusade. A more dangerous obstacle was the jealousy between the princes. Raimond found that the success of his efforts was continually thwarted by Bohemond, even during minor enterprises, in

the near or distant neighbourhood of Antioch; he was unable to eject his cleverer and more fortunate rival from the newly won territory, to which he considered that he had a superior claim. In November he was forced to retire by a mutiny of his own troops at Maarra.

Now, however, the purely religious idea of the masses became paramount; they desired, not to conquer the world, but to pray at the liberated tomb of the Saviour. This desire, which was now enthusiastically revived, eventually carried the day. Count Raimond, who was the most influential leader, since Bohemond had remained behind in Antioch, attempted to detain the Crusading army for months before Arka, the citadel of Tripolis, in order to secure this emirate for himself. Once again his own men set fire to their tents and carried their leader southward, notwithstanding his helpless rage. In the case of the coast towns which they passed they were content to enforce mere neutrality upon the Seljuk emirs; it was impossible to restrain the dominant idea that now guided the army. On June 7th, 1099, they at length caught sight of Jerusalem, and beheld with reverential awe the desired goal of nearly three years' wandering. A siege of five weeks then took place, and in this hot and waterless country the pilgrims tasted all the sufferings of deprivation and also the glories of burning enthusiasm and triumphant joy; eventually, on July 15th, the Holy City was wrested from the hands of the infidels after days of fearful slaughter. The attempt of the ecclesiastical party to place the new acquisition under hierarchical government proved a failure; several of the most important leaders, even the ambitious and greedy Raimond, declined the crown of the new state, for reasons that are not very obvious, but are possibly connected with the claim of the Church party. Nine days later, Godfrey of Bouillon became the "protector of the Holy Sepulchre" as the vassal of the Church.

Rivalries Among the Christians

Pious Fraud on the Crusaders

Capture of the Holy City



THE FUNERAL OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON, THE FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM

One of the leaders of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon took an active part in the siege of Jerusalem, and was elected its first king in the year 1099. His death, in 1100, is said to have been due to poison administered by an Arab.



THE GREAT ST. BERNARD FEEDING THE POOR

When the Second Crusade was in contemplation, St. Bernard came forward as the missionary and prophet of God to call the nation to the defence of the Holy Sepulchre. His burning eloquence and fiery zeal stirred all who came within sound of his voice, but, though he stood high in the forefront of the crusading movement, he was entirely without personal ambition, and was perfectly content to return as abbot to the monastery of Clairvaux, in Champagne.

From the painting by A. P. Cole



THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM AND THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

GODFREY justified his election and his title on August 12th, when he defeated the approaching army of the Vizir Alafdhal at Ascalon with the Crusading army, which had fortunately not entirely disbanded. Unluckily, the factiousness of the princes prevented the capture of this strong harbour town; but the danger from Egypt, which the most far-seeing of the leaders had wished to meet by an expedition to Cairo before the siege of Jerusalem, had been obviated for the moment. The bands of pilgrims returned homewards across the sea, or repaired to the more inviting coasts of Northern Syria, and the state of Jerusalem could attempt to stand by its own resources.

This was no easy matter. In the first place, the country was hardly suitable for the foundation of an independent state; it was largely uninhabited and devastated through the struggles of the last years.

The Mohammedan population had been annihilated, or had fled, while the Christian inhabitants were few and poor. The remnant of the French chivalry that had been willing to support Duke Godfrey in the occupation of the country is estimated by a tradition, probably not exaggerated, at the number of two hundred pilgrims; that is to say, about two thousand men, when we allow for the due proportion of infantry. Tancred led forth nearly twice this number when he began an incessant guerrilla warfare for fame and plunder as the "Prince of Galilee." A year afterwards he was summoned as regent to Antioch in consequence of the misfortune by which Bohemond became a prisoner of the Turks. In this principality, however, the utmost efforts were necessary to make head against the infidels, who could threaten the government from the stronghold of Aleppo, and against the Greeks. The Emperor Alexius had broken the convention of 1097 as entirely as the Crusaders, and each side proceeded to

accuse the other of the first breach of faith. Hence, instead of the desired co-operation, a mutual hostility came to pass, which occupied the whole of the first century of the Crusades with but short intermissions. Struggles soon began between the Greeks and the occupants of Antioch,

The Fate of Raimond of Toulouse first for the possession of the harbour of Laodicea, and afterwards for the most part in Cilicia, which remained a bone of contention between the two parties until it became the nucleus of the new kingdom of Armenia Minor; to these differences were added the old feud between the Provençals and the Normans. Raimond of Toulouse joined the Greek opponents of Bohemond and Tancred, but without success; he then perished in the course of an attempt to found an independent government in Tripolis, on February 28th, 1105.

It was not until July 12th, 1109, that his son Bertrand succeeded in capturing the town and then the county of Tripolis; this operation was conducted from the strong fortress which his father had built against the town, the "Pilgrim Castle" on the "Pilgrim Mount," known to the Mohammedans as Sandshil, from Raimond's title of Count St. Gilles. The new county, like Antioch and Edessa, was connected with Jerusalem by some loose and almost imaginary tie of subjection, but afterwards naturally gravitated more and more towards the north, and was eventually united to Antioch.

Thus, through the preoccupations of the other princes, Jerusalem was left entirely to itself, and Godfrey's whole energies were absorbed in resisting the hierarchical claims of the newly-founded patriarchate, and in some practically fruitless attempts to add a few harbour towns to his "empire," as harbours were indispensable to secure his connection with the West. Of any actual state or government there was as yet no question; certainly none of

Jerusalem Without Government

the foundation afterwards ascribed to Godfrey of that carefully organised constitution and judicature which is detailed in the "Assizes of Jerusalem." A year later "the protector of the Holy Sepulchre" died on July 18th, 1100, poisoned, according to rumour, by an Arab emir, and left behind him nothing but the beginning of a state. Godfrey stands out as a noble figure, the best type of knighthood; but the legends which have centred about his personality have exaggerated his statesmanship and exploits in the Holy Land.

The real founders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, in the narrower sense of the word, are the two Lorraine princes, Baldwin I. (1100-1118) and Baldwin II. (1118-1131). Both had been princes of Edessa before beginning their rule in the Holy Land, and in this advanced outpost had received a special training in war with the infidels; both were energetic, clear-sighted, and unscrupulous characters, and, indeed, no others could secure any solid success amid the difficulties of the situation. Godfrey had conceded the claim of the patriarch to feudal supremacy, but this was entirely disregarded by his brother Baldwin I., who secured his coronation in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, on Christmas Day, 1100; this was the birthday of the Frankish state. The capacity of Baldwin I. and of his nephew, who succeeded him in Edessa and afterwards in Jerusalem, discovered the exact ways and means for making this empty title a reality; at the same time the possibility of founding a colonial state of importance in Palestine was provided from abroad by the continued operation of those forces which we have already indicated as the motive powers of the Crusades.

The news of the great exploits and sufferings of the first Crusaders affected Western Europe in a degree which may be judged from the fact that the simple minds of contemporaries regarded the vast movement of this holy war as a miracle. News from the East was passed from city to city, from village to village, from town to town, by the road and from the pulpit, and was sung by minstrels. These reports secured the continuance both of the religious and of the military enthusiasm, and of that desire for adventure, with its strange mixture of piety and materialism,

which drove hundreds of thousands eastward in the year 1096. A steady communication between East and West now began, which lasted for nearly two hundred years, and attained a vigour unexampled before or since. During these two centuries the East has been compared with a stormy sea which never becomes entirely calm, even when the most violent winds are at rest. To regard the workings of the Crusades as entirely confined to the greater expeditions is to take an absolutely wrong view of this age and of its enterprises. There was an incessant coming and going by land and sea, a constant flow of pilgrims and colonists, which was speedily organised by the regular "passages" between the Mediterranean harbours of Europe and Syria which took place at Easter and midsummer.

Immediately after 1100, this movement was naturally only in its beginning; but even then those forces were fully operative which aimed at removing the Frankish dominion in Syria from the restricted sphere of religious interest and military adventure, and making that power an actual and permanent colonial state. The forces in question were precisely those which, from the very outset, had guided the last great expansion of the West in a south-easterly direction.

The military expansion of the Normans had reached its objective with the occupation of Antioch, and seems to have been exhausted by this effort. In the summer of 1103 Bohemond was released from imprisonment and re-entered his principality with great difficulty; he then, in January, 1105, proceeded westward to enlist reinforcements against Islam. His preaching of a secular crusade, which he carried into the depths of France, proved everywhere highly successful; in the autumn of 1107 he found himself at the head of a great fleet and army.

Some remnant of adventurous carelessness then confused the foresight of this most politic among the princes of the First Crusade, and induced him to renew that attempt upon the Greek Empire in which his father, Robert Guiscard, had failed—an attempt which throughout this century was the root of all evil for the Crusaders. Once again the enterprise failed at its very outset, and after a fruitless siege of Durazzo. Bohemond was obliged to conclude a

**Death
of
Godfrey**

**Another
Great
Crusade**

**How the
Holy War was
Regarded**

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

humiliating peace in September, 1108. A few years later he died at home on March 7th, 1111, while making fresh preparations for the East. A year afterwards Tancred also retired from the scene; he had succeeded, notwithstanding the aberrations of chivalry, in maintaining and extending his Syrian dominion against the Seljuks and the Greeks.

The Norman power, as such, thus steadily disappears from this quarter. The kingdom of Antioch, indeed, remained in the hands of the immediate successors of its founder, though in the female line, from 1130, and was the only crusading state which thus preserved its continuity. Bohemond's dynasty in Antioch survived the downfall of the original principality after the Mohammedan triumphs of 1268, and kept possession of Tripolis for some decades, while a collateral branch secured the throne of Cyprus. But after 1136 Constance, the granddaughter of the first Bohemond, married Raimond of Poitou, the son of William of Aquitaine, the "first troubadour." French influence then became preponderant upon the Orontes, and thenceforward absorbed the crusading states after the disappearance of the Lorraine dynasty from Jerusalem. Many English, German, or Norse leaders entered the country with the great expeditions, or with annual reinforcements; representatives of all nations gathered in the harbours of Syria and the capital of the kingdom. But the main stream from the leading classes, and from the circles which held possessions over seas, belonged principally and increasingly to France. France stamped her character at an early date upon the Frankish states. That character they preserved, with one exception, which became of material importance both to the foundation and to the entire future of these states.

The participation of the Italian maritime cities was of paramount importance for the fortunes of the First Crusade. The sieges both of Antioch and Jerusalem received valuable support from the Genoese fleets; at the end of the summer of 1099 a large crusading army from Pisa reached the harbours of Laodicea, which were then held by the Greeks, and supported Bohemond's blockade, which came to nothing on account of the opposition of the other princes. This force afterwards rendered good service in the rebuilding of

Jerusalem and Jaffa, and in the latter place laid the foundation of an afterwards flourishing colony. It soon became obvious that the co-operation of the Italian commercial nations in the construction of vigorous states, and in their maintenance by the Crusaders, was indispensable. The opposition of Byzantine policy, and the growth of dissension between the Crusaders and the Greeks, closed the land route through Asia Minor; and the possession of harbours on the Syrian coast, though at first despised, became a vital condition to the Frankish states, for only so was it possible to secure connection with the West and to guarantee the arrival of troops and supplies.

The mercantile cities of Italy, however, conscious that their fleets were indispensable to the acquisition and maintenance of this valuable possession, steadily used them to support their own interests, the magnitude of which was much increased by the opening up of Syria and of its trade routes. They did not wait for the gratitude of the Frankish princes, but proceeded to formulate their demands. Before the conquest of the several towns, they secured important possessions and privileges as the price of their help. Thus here, as in the Greek kingdom, colonies of Italian citizens arose, which became the most important centres of eastern trade and also of Frankish dominion, though they stood outside the Frankish political system.

But the professional leaders of this system, the nobles and knights, speedily displayed their incapacity. Feudalism was as incompetent to cope with its constitutional tasks in the East as the Crusades which it led were inadequate for their object; the colonising spirit of the Italians, on the other hand, displayed a wholly different fixity of purpose, undisturbed by any religious mysticism, by any extravagant enthusiasm or vague desire for adventure.

In the summer of 1100 the Venetians reached Palestine for the first time with a large fleet, and learnt from the lips of Godfrey that had it not been for their arrival he would have been forced to surrender all his conquests. They recognised that their opportunity had come; they offered their help as auxiliary troops from the festival of St. John to that of the Assumption; in return they were to be granted in every maritime or inland

Dissensions of Greeks & Crusaders

French Influence on the Orontes

Opportune Help of the Venetians

town which the Crusaders possessed, or should hereafter acquire, a church, together with a considerable site for a market, while they were to be given a full third of any towns that they might now conquer in conjunction with the Franks. They further bargained that the town of Tripolis should be given entirely into their

**Venetians
Make Profit
by Crusading**

hands should it be conquered, in return for a small yearly tribute; in addition the Venetians were to enjoy freedom from taxation, and some other privileges, in all the towns of the kingdom. At that moment their successes were confined to the conquest of the small town of Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, with the help of Tancred. The conditions offered to Godfrey remained, however, typical for the future.

A Genoese fleet helped Baldwin I., in May, 1101, to conquer Arsuf and Cæsarea, and carried away from the latter town, among other rich booty, the famous *Sacro Catino*, which was regarded as an emerald and reputed to be the vessel employed at the "Last Supper." It is now preserved in the cathedral of San Lorenzo at Genoa. In the imagination of religious poets in the Christian world this trophy became the *Sangraal* (*sanguis realis*).

In the same year a small Genoese expedition co-operated with Raimond in the capture of Tortosa; and on May 26th, 1104, a large fleet from Genoa, in conjunction with King Baldwin, secured the Christians in possession of the most important harbour on the Syrian coast, the town of Acre. Baldwin then made those extensive concessions which were engraved in golden letters upon a stone behind the high altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were analogous to those which Godfrey had granted to the Venetians. In Arsuf, Cæsarea and Acre the Genoese received quarters amounting to a third of each town, and lands on the

**The Genoese
Dominant in
Jerusalem**

outskirts of the town to the same extent; they were also given quarters in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and the right to a third of any city which might hereafter be conquered with their help. To these privileges were added a third of the harbour dues of Acre, and complete immunity from taxation within the kingdom. The Genoese thus secured an almost dominant position in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and gained the most important share in the county

of Tripolis. On April 28th, 1104, they enabled Raimond to secure Gibellum Minus—Gibelet or Jubail, between Beyrout and Tripolis—as they had secured Tortosa in 1101; in 1109 they enabled his son Bertrand to enter Tripolis itself. Genoa was rewarded with a third of this town and with the whole of Gibelet.

In the previous year the men of Pisa had supported Tancred when Laodicea was finally conquered from the Greeks. Now the Genoese conquered Gibellum Majus for him, and enabled him thus to open connections by land between Antioch and Tripolis. The gap which divided Acre, the most northerly town of the kingdom, from Gibelet, the most southern settlement in the county of Tripolis, was bridged by the capture of Beyrout, on May 13th, 1110, and of Sidon. The Genoese co-operated in the attack upon Beyrout, and the Venetians probably joined the Norwegians before Sidon. Eventually a large Venetian fleet won a brilliant victory by sea over the Egyptians off Ascalon, during the absence of Baldwin II., who had been a Turkish prisoner from September 13th, 1122, and in July,

**Maritime
Triumphs of
Venice**

1124, helped to secure the capture of Tyre, the last remaining harbour unconquered in the north. Apart from the usual third of the towns which they conquered, the Venetians were then given in every town belonging to the king or his barons a whole street, a square, a church, a bath, and a bakehouse, entirely immune from any kind of taxation and implying no measure of dependence. In Jerusalem they demanded a quarter equivalent to the possession of the king in the capital; in Acre they were to be allowed, without interference on the part of the other inhabitants, to bake in their own ovens, grind in their own mill, use their own bath, and enjoy complete immunity from taxation, as in every other locality.

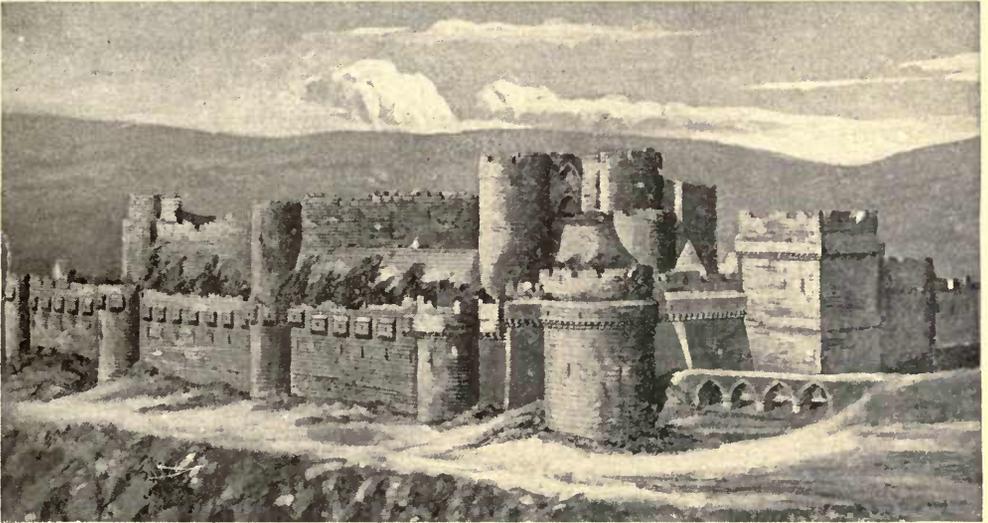
Concession and fulfilment were, however, two very different processes in the Middle Ages; and even if they possessed the power, the Frankish rulers certainly did not always entertain the inclination to hand over the promised privileges to the Italian traders. None the less, Genoa and Venice—Pisa soon fell behind, and Amalfi, Marseilles in the South of France, and other maritime cities, were but secondary powers from the outset—by means of the territory actually surrendered

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

and the privileges conceded, had founded a kind of colonial empire on the Syrian coast, which formed the nucleus and perhaps the connecting bond of the Frankish feudal states, which were by nature more inclined to disruption than to coherence.

From the outset the partial success of the First Crusade, the existence of the Frankish states and their military supremacy, had been secured only by the existence of that disruptive feudalism which broke the Seljuk power, as it tended to divide the Frankish. Whenever a capable leader appeared on the Turkish side, able to concentrate the Seljuk forces in one direction, if but for a moment, the Christians were reduced to great distress or extreme despair, owing to their

were further complicated by the constant necessity of opposition to Byzantine claims and attacks, the state of Jerusalem was able to attain a certain solidarity at an early date, for the reason that the acquisition of the coast line had withdrawn it from the immediate neighbourhood of the Seljuk foe, though the kings were constantly involved in the confusions of the North. The Egyptian danger, which became imminent upon several occasions during the first decades, was successfully repelled, and diminished as the Fatimid Empire entered upon the period of its decay. The neighbourhood of Ascalon was regarded as little more than a disturbing factor, and the conquest of this fortress was not undertaken until 1153; on



THE CRAC DES CHEVALIERS: A FAMOUS STRONGHOLD OF THE HOSPITALLERS

About the middle of the eleventh century there came into being the Order of the Knights Hospitallers with the object of aiding and protecting the Christian pilgrims who visited the Holy Sepulchre. The organisation eventually became of considerable importance, wielding great power and controlling various strongholds. The castle of the order, near Tripolis, shown in the illustration, was vacated by the Hospitallers in 1271, when it fell into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt.

want of any similar combination. They were devoted entirely to their individual interests, turning their weapons against one another, and not despising the help even of the enemies of their faith. The eternal geographical differences within the Syrian territory, the northern part of which is as naturally attracted to the Euphrates and Tigris as the southern to the Nile, proved more effective than any religious difference; the religious struggle as such often, and at a surprisingly early date, disappeared, to the scorn and anger of devoutly minded pilgrims, and gave way to the secular requirements of the individual states in every part of the country. In the midst of these aberrations, which

the other side, Damascus was rather a protection against the attacks from Mesopotamia than a serious menace, though struggles with the power of Damascus were frequent.

Under these circumstances Baldwin I. showed high statesmanship when he devoted his attention to securing his country against Egypt at a time when no serious tasks awaited him upon the coast line, and when Antioch and Edessa were not in need of his help. To his efforts was due the line of strong fortresses which protected the southern frontier, especially towards Ascalon, including Ibelin and the castles of Beit Jibrin, Beit Nuba, and Tell es-safiye, which were built at

the time of Fulk. In particular he it was who built Montreal (Mont Royal), the great desert fortress situated half way between the Dead and Red Seas. This fortress commanded the routes between Egypt, Arabia, and Damascus, and could thus protect communication between these countries in time of peace, or close it

Baldwin's Last Expedition in time of war, as necessity might demand. At a later date this strong outpost was supported by the fortress of Kerak, at the east of the Dead Sea, and that of Wadi Musa further to the south. The far-sighted policy of Baldwin I. in this respect led him to make a bold expedition to the Red Sea in 1116, and eventually to Egypt itself in 1118; there, however, he was overcome by severe illness before he could attempt any further conquests. He died on the homeward march on April 2nd.

His successor was Baldwin II. of Edessa, who was at that moment in Jerusalem. It is not surprising that northern affairs chiefly occupied the attention of this ruler, as for nearly twenty years he had been closely connected with the destinies of Northern Syria. At that moment Antioch had been brought to the verge of destruction by a severe defeat which his knights suffered at the hands of the Emir of Mardin, Ilghazi, and in which the regent, Roger del Principato, fell on June 28th, 1119. Baldwin II., who undertook the regency, was able to hand over the principality undiminished to the young Bohemond II., notwithstanding numerous misfortunes, when the latter ruler received these dominions with the hand of Baldwin's second daughter Alice, in the middle of October, 1126.

Unfortunately the king did not always obtain that sympathetic co-operation which his services to the principality had merited. On one occasion his son-in-law omitted to support one of Baldwin's most hopeful attempts upon Aleppo.

Why Aleppo Was Not Taken The governor of Antioch considered it advisable not to allow the king to become too successful against the enemies of the faith, and Aleppo remained unconquered like Damascus, against which Baldwin also directed vigorous attacks. In the former case he was forced to content himself with the acquisition of a large portion of the territory of Aleppo; and in the latter case with the surrender of Baniyas, the outpost

of the Damascenes on Mount Hermon at the source of the Jordan—a post that the Mohammedans had hitherto used as a base for incessant raids upon the north of Palestine and the coast towns, whence they had supported the resistance of Tyre, the conquest of which was not yet complete. Baniyas was recovered by the infidels in 1132, and again recaptured by the Christians in 1140. At that point was maintained, after 1139, the strong crusading fortress, Kalaat es-Subebe, until, in 1165, the position was finally and definitely seized by Nur ed-din.

Upon the whole the successes of Baldwin II. were somewhat modest, but the Frankish victories easily counteracted the pressure of the Mohammedans. As evidence of the Mohammedan attitude, we may quote the words of one of their chroniclers, who complains, with some exaggeration: "The star of Islam had sunk below the horizon, and the sun of its destinies was hidden behind the clouds. The banners of the infidels waved over the Mohammedan territories, and the victories of the unjust overpowered the faithful.

The Great Empire of the Franks

The empire of the Franks extended from Mardin in Mesopotamia to El-Arish on the Egyptian frontier. In the whole of Syria but few towns remained free from their rule. Even of these, Aleppo was tributary to them, and Damascus was forced to surrender its Christian slaves. In Mesopotamia their armies advanced to Amida and Nisibis, and the Mohammedans of Rakka and Harran found no protection against their cruelty."

During the reign of Baldwin II. arose those associations in which at a later date the spiritual and secular chivalry of the crusading principalities displayed its great brilliancy, but which later became almost states within the state, and one of the most material causes of the downfall of the Frankish Empire. These were the orders of knights. The order of Templars was founded about 1119 under Hugo of Payens, and was originally a simple fraternity connected with the hospital of St. John to protect pilgrims from robbers and highwaymen. The new foundation speedily lost its character as a military brotherhood and became an ecclesiastical order, the members of which pledged themselves to chastity, poverty, and obedience, and gave their oaths to the Patriarch of

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem to fight on behalf of the pilgrims in the holy cities. This conjunction of military service and spiritual exercises proved in complete harmony with the spirit of the times. In January, 1128, it secured the powerful support of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, at the Council of Troyes, and received from him a rule akin to that of the Benedictines; from this date its path was easy.

Extensive privileges gradually withdrew its members from the influence of the local clergy and its houses from the supremacy of the bishops; the order speedily acknowledged no superior but the Pope, and rose to great splendour. Members of the superior nobility applied for reception and brought their possessions with them; princes and lords outbid one another in rich grants of land and people. In a short time the order became one of the largest territorial powers even in the west, and an entirely independent power, on an equal footing with the Syrian petty states. The increase of its wealth gave it an importance equivalent to that of the rising mercantile cities of Italy; it

The Great Order of Templars

became a wholesale merchant and manufacturer, and even a kind of gigantic bank, as no small part of western monetary exchange passed through its hands. It can bear comparison with modern institutions of the kind; it even became the pioneer of new economic forms, which the Teutonic knights of later date afterwards imitated in their own interest.

The Templars derived their name from their first possession, given them by Baldwin II, a part of the king's palace upon the supposed site of the Temple, the so-called Mountain Mosque (Kubbet es-Sachra); the Knights of St. John derived their name from the saint to whom was dedicated a hospital, with a pilgrim's shelter and chapel, founded before the Crusades and in connection with the Amalfitan monastery of Santa Maria Latina, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The connection between the monastery and hospital was broken at the outset of the crusading period by the Provençal, Gerhard, who raised the hospital to high prosperity and wealth; his successor, Raimond du Puy, transformed the brotherhood into a strict monastic association and made the struggle against the infidels one of the tasks of the new order, in imitation of the Templars,

who, as we have observed, probably originated also in this spot. Thus the possibility was thrown open of a course of development, similar to that of the Templar order. The difference was that the Knights of St. John, the Hospitallers, were more strongly conscious than the Templars of their original objects, the care of the sick and poor; the latter, in consequence of their complete liberation from any ecclesiastical control other than that of the Pope, drifted into hostility against the authorities of the Church, and, perhaps, eventually became corrupted by Nihilist and Satanist errors, which they are supposed to have borrowed from their reputed Mohammedan model, the mysterious sect of the Assassins.

The rise of the two first knightly orders falls probably within the reign of King Fulk. He had been Count of Anjou, and through his son Geoffrey, the son-in-law of Henry I, of England and father of Henry II., became the ancestor of the Plantagenets; he had taken the eldest daughter of Baldwin II., Melisende, as his second wife in 1129, and had been designated as Baldwin's successor. Traditions vary as to his character; they represent him at one time as a powerful and well-meaning ruler, at another as a helpless weakling. The fact is that he maintained the empire at that height of power at which he had found it; the consolidation of its basis and the steady increase of its economic prosperity mark his reign as the zenith of Frankish development.

The growing disobedience of the vassals, which threatened to destroy the vitality of the kingdom, was vigorously crushed for the moment. The rebel Count Hugo of Joppa was humbled, Count Pons of Tripolis was reduced to impotence, the intrigues of the ambitious sister-in-law of the king, Alicia of Antioch, were thwarted; she had been anxious to secure

her own rule against the rights of her daughter, Constance, who was still a minor. Northern Syria was protected

against the invasions of the Seljuks and Turkomans, and after one defeat had been suffered at the hands of the Amir of Mossul, Imad ed-din Zenki, on July 11th, 1137, it became possible to secure a firm alliance of the crusading states with Damascus (1133-1140), which protected Syria for the moment from any serious

menace from Mesopotamia. The unchanging geographical conditions had almost precisely reproduced that situation which existed almost two thousand years earlier, when the petty states of Jerusalem and Samaria were in similar relations with the East. On the side of Egypt a line of fortresses was built which cut off any advance from Ascalon, and in the Moabite territory Kerak was erected—not to be confused with the Hospitallers' castle, near Tripolis, called Crac des Chevaliers—which, like Montreal, commanded the routes between Egypt and Syria.

When Trade and Commerce Flourished

Trade and commerce, promoted by the coast settlements of the Italians, now reached their highest prosperity. This development filled the country with the wealth and luxury of a southern colony, and brought the days of greatest brilliancy to the chivalrous splendour of the courts of Jerusalem and Antioch. This was the golden age of the knightly orders, as yet entirely free from any ominous symptoms of demoralisation. The weaknesses inherent in the feudal organisation of the kingdom were less obvious under the first strong rulers. The retention of important privileges affecting military, financial, and legal affairs in the hands of the great vassals, the opposition and separatism of the knightly orders, had not yet become so dangerously pronounced as at a later date. The actual administration of the feudal constitution and its law by no means corresponded with the ideal picture which had been traced in the Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This picture probably dates from the time of Fulk, though its final form belongs to nearly a century later, and it is to be regarded as the programme of the feudal system in opposition to the monarchy, and in particular to the claims of Frederic II. The feudal system had hardly been carried during the times of royal power to so dangerous and logical a stage of development. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the idea of the feudal system, which in itself and with reference to the conditions of previous centuries was a great constitutional achievement, attained to its most perfect form in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to this extent realised the highest possible point of its prosperity; hereafter we shall have to consider why this particular course of development

necessarily entailed the most complete downfall. The prosperity and well-being of the crusading states certainly received the strongest impetus from the flourishing condition of trade and local culture, which was due to the Italian colonists.

The merchants of the west had now secured a footing in Asia in the midst of a kindred nationality and under the most favourable conditions of life, protected by their own privileges and concessions, in settlements under their own magistrates, police, judicial system, and Church. Any chance visitor to these harbours for commercial purposes could find support, information, and counsel from his countrymen and from the colonial officials; indeed the office of consul originated in this quarter.

There was no necessity to travel into the interior, for the Syrian coast could provide the products of almost the entire eastern world. Mercantile communication with the Persian Gulf—by which relations had always been maintained with India and China across the Indian Ocean—and with Nearer Asia and China, by the land route through Persia, Bucharest, Samarkand, Ferghana, and Turkestan, converged upon Bagdad; hence the caravan routes led to the Euphrates, and to Rakka, at which point also the commercial routes from Mossul and Diarbeka reached the river by way of Nisib, Samosata, Edessa, and Harran. From Rakka a northern commercial route passed through Aleppo to the coast at Antioch and Laodicea, and a southern route advanced to Damascus by way of Hamath and Hims, at which point it joined the great roads from Arabia and Egypt. In this way Damascus has become the starting-point of the Syrian Haj, the chief pilgrim caravan to Mecca, and the meeting-point of mercantile routes in Asia Minor. The city received the products of India and China from two directions and the products of Western Asia from the north, with those of Egypt from the south.

To this influx of wares from every part of the world were added the native industries. These were silk-weaving, especially of gold brocade, which had reached high perfection, and the forging of weapons, which had become no less famous than the silk industry. This great centre of Mohammedan trade and commerce now formed the hinterland of the

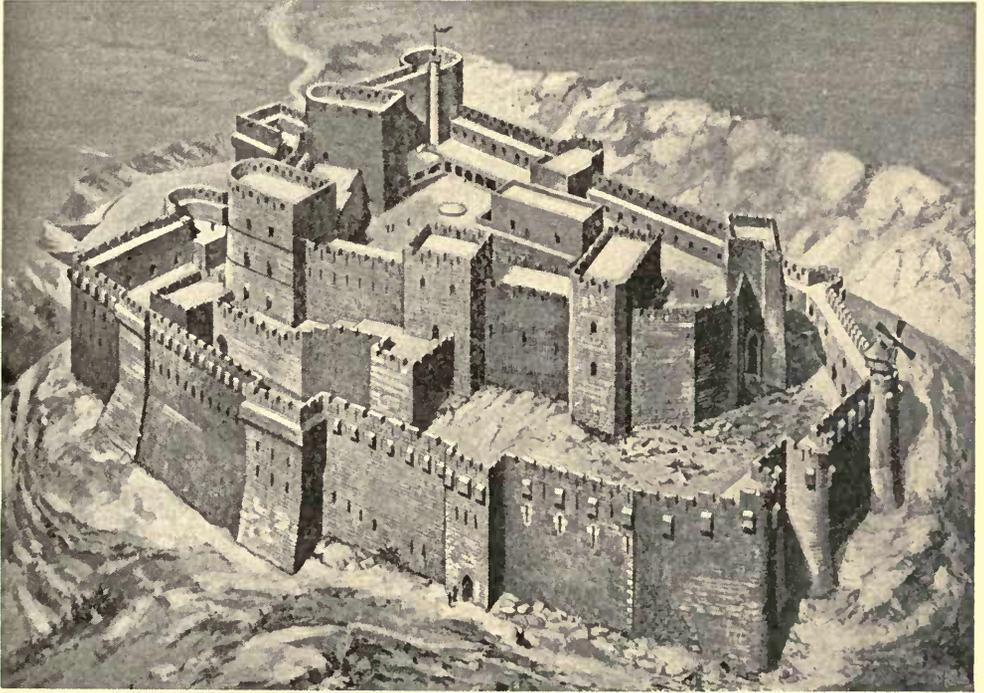
The Height of Feudal Prosperity

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Syrian coast. The not inconsiderable marts of Hamath and Hims sent their wares down to the sea to the harbours of Tortosa and Tripolis; Antioch and Laodicea were in connection with Bagdad, Mossul, and the Far East, by way of Aleppo and Rakka, but Damascus was but a few days' journey from the great commercial centres of Beyrout, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre. In the intervening territory Tiberias, with Haifa as its export harbour, had become an important commercial centre because it lay upon the road from Egypt to Damascus, which traversed the country diagonally; Acre, however, upon the coast,

incense, indigo, Brazil wood, and pearls were on sale. The wholesale traders of the East themselves, the merchants of Mossul, for instance, seem constantly to have brought their wares to these harbours.

Even at that date the seaports displayed that same mixture of Oriental populations which persists at the present day. The inhabitants of Tripolis, for instance, were Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, Jews, and Saracens. To their carrying trade was added a considerable Syrian trade in the products of the Syrian soil and industry. The fertility of the soil had not yet been destroyed by



RECONSTRUCTION OF A STRONGLY FORTIFIED CASTLE OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN SYRIA

possessed the best and widest harbour in Syria, and gradually collected the export trade of the whole East within its walls, as the customs tariffs, which have been preserved, record. From these documents we can see that in Acre were collected rhubarb from East Asia, musk from Thibet, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg—in short, all the spices of India which were so eagerly coveted during those centuries. Thither also came aloe wood from Assam, camphor from the Sunda Islands, Indian and East African ivory, incense and dates from Arabia, and many other products. In Beyrout documents tell us that pepper,

Turkish misgovernment, and the most careful cultivation prevailed in the warm stretches of coast country.

International exchange of an extent and richness hitherto unknown to western civilisation became the source of unprecedented and unexpected wealth. During the early period of the kingdom, a contemporary chronicler, the chaplain of Baldwin I., who had accompanied him upon the First Crusade, writes as follows: "From day to day we are followed by our relations and parents, who without real willingness abandoned all their former possessions. For those who there were

poor were here made rich by God ; those who had but little money now possess countless wealth, and he who had never had a village, here receives a town from God's hand." The acquisition of masterless land and property was easy ; and when to this was added the profits of trade and manufactures, every condition of brilliant colonial prosperity was present. Splendour and immorality, the usual consequences of luxury, were fostered by the southern climate, and speedily became apparent.

Penalties of Luxury

At the moment, indeed, these darker pictures were hidden by the brighter side ; the splendour and brilliancy of western chivalry was conjoined with colonial prosperity and found here the classical soil of its growth, notwithstanding infusions of foreign blood. The incessant struggle against the infidels was an anxiety never entirely overpowered by the inclination to pursue material interests through commercial intercourse ; it was an anxiety which produced the most complete military skill on the part of the knights, which made them perfect in the works of war and peace, and the determining element in the social and intellectual culture of the Middle Ages. The European chivalry of the crusading centuries never denied that it had originated on the plains of Syria. France was its mother country, and gradually became the great centre of the crusading movement, whence it derived its claim to lead civilisation. Through France it passed to the other countries of the West, especially to Germany. As its prosperity belongs to the East, so also does its degeneration, the outcome of contact with the excrescences of a colonial civilisation which was destined to clear the ground for other economic, constitutional, and social forms.

The prosperity, however, of the crusading states—the possibility of their maintaining a firm front against

Foundations of the Latin Kingdom

Islam—was doomed to end whenever the Seljuk power should succeed in concentrating itself. Lack of cohesion among the Turks left the Christians in comparative security ; but their own lack of cohesion could not but bring disaster in the face of united effort. Feudalism and effective cohesion were incompatible ; and, practically speaking, the Latin kingdom was ultra-feudal.

Moreover, it did not rest on the support of an organised Europe, but only on the casual impulse which drove kings, nobles, or knights individually to take the Cross. A wave of crusading sentiment might carry vast armies to the East. In the case of the First Crusade, only the magnitude of the wave had enabled the Crusaders to achieve their object. There was no other wave of the same magnitude, and in the intervals of subsidence the support given to the Eastern Christians was desultory.

While Fulk of Anjou was king of Jerusalem (1131–1144), Imad ed-din Zenki of Mosul was concentrating the Syrian Turkish power in his own hands. The Latins were at odds with the Greek Empire. In 1144 Zenki captured Edena, and the conquest was confirmed in 1146 by his son and successor, Nur ed-din. The energy of the Pope, Eugenius III., and of Bernard of Clairvaux, set in motion the Second Crusade, at the head of which Louis VII. of France and the German Conrad were induced to place themselves. But there

Collapse of the Second Crusade

was no combination. The German expedition was virtually ruined before the French arrived. The Latin kingdom did not wish to bring down upon itself the whole force of the Seljuks, and its leaders deliberately misled their western ally into inevitable failure. The Second Crusade collapsed. Within the Latin kingdom political disintegration and personal demoralisation under the influence of Oriental conditions progressed together during the reign of Baldwin III., who was succeeded in 1162 by his brother, Amalric.

The dissensions of the Fatimid rulers of Egypt caused one faction first to call in the aid of Nur ed-din's general, Shirku, and then to quarrel with him and invite the aid of the Latin kingdom. The details of the contest need not detain us here. Military operations of varying success, coupled with a fast-and-loose diplomatic policy, ended in the ignominious withdrawal of Amalric, and the establishment of Shirku as Egyptian vizir. In 1169 he was followed by his nephew, Ayub Salah ed-din Yusuf, known as Saladin, who, having made himself master of Egypt, was enabled, by the death of Nur ed-din, to establish himself also as the lord of that potentate's dominions in 1183.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
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AGES



WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE IV

SALADIN AND THE CRUSADES THE STRUGGLES FOR THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

THE kingdom of Jerusalem was now thrown into dynastic confusion by the early death of King Amalric, who died on July 11th, 1174, at the age of thirty-eight, and almost at the same moment as Nur ed-din. The change to life in a sub-tropical climate had not only weakened the moral resistance of the Europeans to the temptations of colonial culture, but had also produced physical degeneration. It is a remarkable fact that of the children born to the Frankish nobles in Palestine hardly one reached maturity; the descendants of the Lorraine-Angevin dynasty all died in early youth. During the thirteenth century this fate precluded that dynastic consolidation which might have brought real leaders to the front.

The want of such leaders was especially disastrous during the decade immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. Amalric's heir, his son by Agnes of Edessa—he

The Leprous King

Baldwin IV.

married his second wife, Maria Comnena, in 1167—was Baldwin IV., a man of high capacity, but smitten with leprosy. He gained many successes, including a victory over the great Saladin, at Tell-jezer, on November 25th, 1177. But the increase of his malady, and the constant quarrels of the barons concerning the regency and the succession, counterbalanced any loss inflicted upon this powerful foe. Of the candidates for the regency, an advisable choice seemed to be Count Raimond of Tripolis, a distinguished, though possibly over-cautious, character. He was opposed by Count Guy of Lusignan, who had married Sibylla in the spring of 1180. She was the widowed sister of the king, having lost her husband in 1177.

After the death of Baldwin IV., in 1185, Sibylla's little son, Baldwin V., died at the beginning of 1186. In the resulting outbreak of intrigue the incompetent Guy of Lusignan succeeded in securing the crown against the admirable regent Raimond. In the spring of 1187 Saladin advanced

upon the country with the united forces of Egypt and Syria. His invasion was facilitated by the continuance of dissension between Raimond and Guy. Though the Franks were able to take the field against him with 20,000 men, the chivalry of the kingdom, after displaying its old

Siege and Fall of Jerusalem

bravery, was overwhelmed by the devastating blows of Saladin on July 3rd and 4th, 1187, in the battle of Hattin, to the west of Tiberias, a fierce conflict which continued for two days. Saladin was magnanimous enough to liberate, in June, 1188, King Guy and the other barons who had fallen into his hands, but in the meantime he had secured his mastery of the country. After Tiberias, he reduced Acre, Jaffa, Casarea, and Sidon in July, with a number of fortresses and castles in the interior.

In August he captured Beyrout; in September, Ascalon, Gaza, and the towns between these places and the Holy City; finally Jerusalem itself fell, after a fortnight's siege, notwithstanding the lamentations and prayers of the monks, priests, and nuns, who carried the Holy Cross in procession round the walls. Part of the inhabitants secured their freedom and a safe-conduct to the unconquered harbours at the price of a high poll-tax.

Meanwhile, Mohammedanism celebrated its re-establishment in Jerusalem with great splendour. Only after some weeks did Saladin leave the city to resume in August the siege of Tyre, which had previously failed. Here he again encountered a heroic defence by Conrad

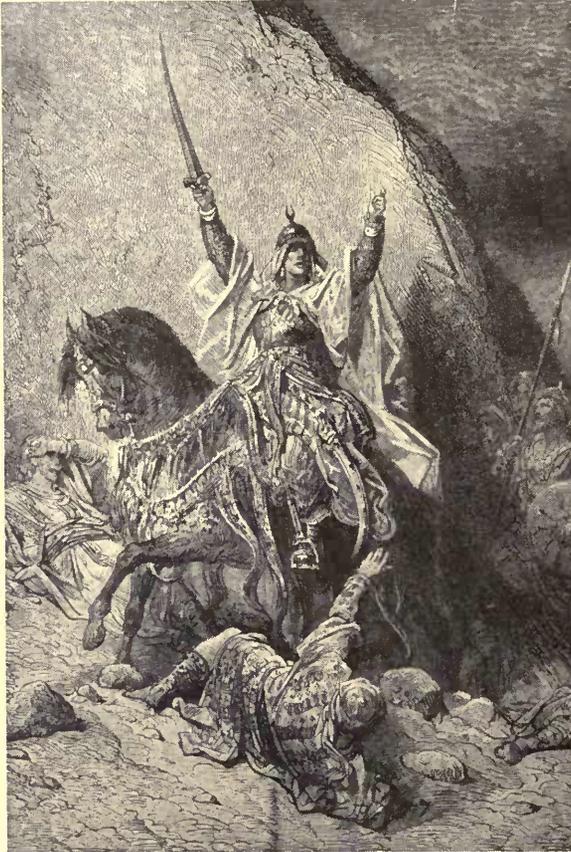
Where Saladin Failed

of Montferrat, the second of those brothers who had reached the Holy Land immediately after the battle of Hattin. After months of fruitless endeavour, Saladin was forced to retire on January 1st, 1188. An attack upon Tripolis in June proved equally unsuccessful. He succeeded, however, in capturing Arka, Tortosa, Gibelet, Laodicea, and a number of

fortresses in Northern Syria, and reduced Antioch to severe straits. At the end of October, Kerak succumbed to repeated assaults. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured on January 5th, 1189, Montreal shortly afterwards, and Belfort (Shakif Arnun) on April 11th, 1190. Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre, and the Johannite fortress of Margat were the only positions remaining in the hands of the Christians.

Only Western help could now save the Frankish rule from annihilation. The failure of the Second Crusade had considerably damped the general enthusiasm on behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. Military reinforcements to Palestine were, comparatively speaking, most scanty during the generation after 1150. The embassies of Amalric and Baldwin IV., informing the western rulers of the needs of the Syrian states, were honourably received, but returned with no tangible results, for the hostilities prevailing between the empire and the papacy, and between France and England, prevented any general co-operation. Now, however, the disastrous news from the East aroused the deepest grief and the fiercest indignation in Europe, and public enthusiasm rose even to a higher pitch than at the time of the First Crusade. The heart of Pope Urban III. was broken by the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and he died on October 20th, 1187. His successor, Gregory VIII., at once made peace with the empire; and upon his death, on December 17th, Clement III.

zealously continued the efforts of Gregory to secure the co-operation of the western powers in a new Crusade. Circular letters were issued to every prince, and instructions for fasting and prayer to all the clergy, while the people were exhorted to purity and simplicity of life. Indulgences and the postponement of creditors' claims were offered to all who might take the cross; all who remained at home, high and low, became liable to the "Saladin tithe."



SALADIN, THE GREAT ENEMY OF THE CRUSADES
The rapid rise to power of this great sultan was largely responsible for the Third Crusade being undertaken. With fierce determination he opposed the crusading forces, but five years of stubborn conflict exhausted him, and he showed a readiness to make concessions. A three years' truce was agreed to, Jerusalem remaining with the infidels.
From the drawing by Gustave Doré

Thus amid passionate excitement Latin Christendom took up arms almost as one man. Once again the fire of enthusiastic devotion, scorning suffering or death, glowed in the hearts of the chosen; once again the unusual privileges granted to Crusaders were regarded by the larger numbers of worldly wise participants as an excellent opportunity to withdraw with honour from troubles at home, and to gain fame, wealth, and an everlasting recompense abroad. If ever a Crusade afforded prospects of complete success, it was surely this which was planned in 1188,

for it was joined in rapid succession by Philip II. Augustus of France, by his opponent, Henry II. of England, by Henry's rebellious son Richard upon his father's death on July 6th, 1189, and finally by the most powerful of western monarchs, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose resolution was taken at the famous "Diet of Christ" at Mainz, on the Sunday called "Lætare Jerusalem"—March 27th, 1188.

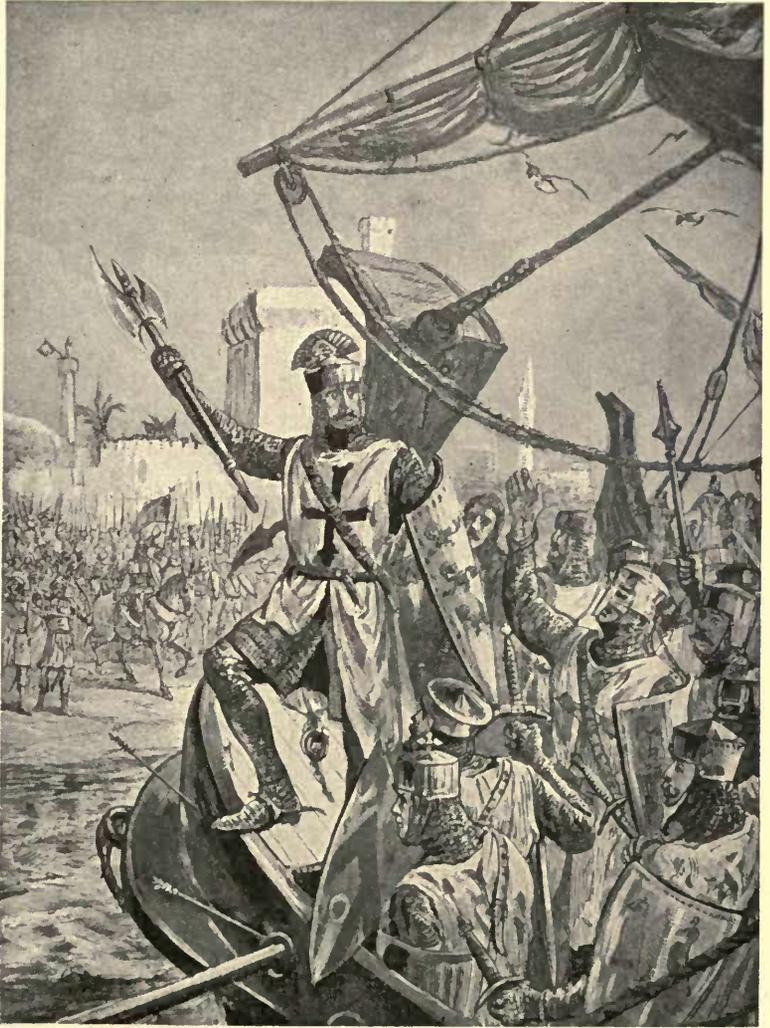
SALADIN AND THE CRUSADES

Once again one of the greatest military and religious enterprises known to history, born amid tumultuous zeal and burning enthusiasm, died away within a few years, and the united western armament was eventually shattered by miserable brawls with friend and foe, utterly unworthy of the movement, though it must be said that the causes of failure to some extent lay deeper than in unfortunate events and the antagonism of the leaders. In particular a calamity, which could not have been anticipated, brought to a miserable end the German Crusade, one of the best and

most capable expeditions which mediæval Germany ever sent forth. The numbers of the army were estimated at one hundred thousand men, including some fifty thousand knights. These figures were doubtless subject to the usual exaggeration, as it is expressly stated that the army was smaller than the German levy of 1147, for the reason that unsuitable participants were excluded by a census (three silver marks), and none but well-equipped and experienced warriors, knights, and trained squires were admitted. This proud host was under the command of the most experienced and successful general of the age, the admiration of East and West, the powerful emperor. Upon the approach of his army, Saladin himself razed the walls of several fortresses in Palestine, that they

might not be used as bases by the Germans; and an Arab Christian afterwards wrote: "Had not the gracious providence of God brought death upon the emperor at the moment when he was about to invade Syria, it would have been said of Syria and Egypt in later days that here the Mohammedans once ruled!"

The German army followed the route of Godfrey of Bouillon, and surmounted such difficulties as they encountered with greater ease than any preceding expedition. Hungary and its king, Bela III., were overawed by the reputation of the



ENGLAND'S CRUSADING KING, RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Filled with zeal for the recovery of Jerusalem from the infidels, Richard I., King of England, sailed for the East in December, 1190, and fought heroically against the Christians' enemies. He was present at the capture of Acre, his military skill and prowess contributing largely to the fall of that stronghold, and at Arsaf he overthrew the Saracens. He failed, however, to reach Jerusalem, and eventually concluded a three years' truce with Saladin.

emperor; Servia and Wallachia offered homage and hospitality. In the Greek Empire the path was more difficult; the dynasty of the Comneni had come to an end in 1185, and the old state of disruption had returned. Beyond the Balkans the German army met with doubtful friendship, which soon became treacherous opposition. Eventually, however, the army succeeded in forcing a passage through Asia Minor and the Seljuk territory, an exploit performed by

upon the completion of a day's march. The aged emperor was carried from the waves of the mountain stream still living; for a whole day the doctors strove to save his life, but in vain. He died on June 10th, 1190, and with him died the spirit of the German Crusade. Contemporary chroniclers represent the crusading army as falling to pieces by a process of disintegration upon the death of Barbarossa. It is certain that after reaching Antioch a number of the Crusaders embarked upon



ISAAC, "EMPEROR OF CYPRUS," BEGGING FOR THE RELEASE OF HIS DAUGHTER
 An interesting episode in the Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion is here illustrated. Wrecked on the coast of Cyprus in a storm, some of the king's followers were plundered and cast into prison by the natives, and Richard at once took measures to punish Isaac, who styled himself "Emperor of Cyprus." He captured the "Emperor's" daughter, who was greatly beloved by her father, and this soon had the effect of reducing Isaac to humble submission.

no Frankish troops since the march of the Crusaders about a century earlier, in 1097.

At length, after unspeakable sufferings, the Crusaders were rewarded by the sight of the Cilician plains, the foreground of Syria; then the crowning misfortune came upon the army and the Crusade in general in Kalykadnos (Salef). Reports differ as to whether Frederic was cut off in crossing or riding through a river to shorten a difficult mountain path, or while bathing

their homeward voyage at the harbour of Korykos, that many bands separated from the main body and were destroyed by the Saracens in the district of Aleppo, and that thousands were swept away by a pestilence at Antioch. The majority of the German Crusaders probably returned home from Northern Syria.

At Tripolis, their leader, Duke Frederic, notwithstanding the competent guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, no longer felt



THE CRUSADERS' FEUDS · FIGHT BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH AT GIZOR

The Crusade planned in 1188 began under the brightest auspices, and it seemed as if success would at last reward the enterprise of the Christian forces. But internal dissensions soon extinguished the enthusiasm. Differences arose between the followers of Philip II. Augustus of France and those of his opponent, Henry II. of England, and in the illustration we see the representatives of the two nations in open warfare. Inside the Castle of Gizor the French fortified themselves, and the English made a determined effort to capture the stronghold. A terrible struggle took place on the bridge, many of the English, who were eventually driven back, being precipitated into the river beneath.

himself strong enough to force the passes between the sea and the mountains on the road to Tyre; he preferred to make the passage by sea, a mode of transport which necessarily limited the number of troops conveyed. Eventually, after a lengthy stay in Tyre, Duke Frederic is said to have reached Acre on October 7th

The End of the German Crusade

with no more than a thousand men. Acre, which saw the end of the German Crusade, became the centre of those struggles in which the other western nations took part during the Third Crusade, apart from the assistance rendered to King Sancho of Portugal against the Arabs in 1189 by numerous Crusaders from the coasts of the North Sea and from the Lower Rhine. We have already related that with the capital towns of North Syria, Tyre alone remained in the hands of the Franks, and had survived two sieges by Saladin, owing to the energy of Conrad of Montferrat, who had arrived from the west at the time of the battle of Hattin.

The famous siege of Acre began at the end of August, 1189, in the course of which the whole remaining strength of Christian Syria and of the West was concentrated about this town. At the moment when the besiegers began operations Saladin appeared with a relieving force, and a titanic struggle began upon two fronts, in the course of which the chivalry of the Christian army displayed powers of heroism and endurance worthy of the great memories of the First Crusade. The assailants were continually harassed both by the garrison and by the relieving army: their position depended entirely upon the maintenance of their communications with the sea, and marvellous bravery and tenacity were evinced in the accomplishment of this difficult task. For nearly two years Acre was surrounded by the iron circles of the Christian besiegers and their Saracen assailants. Not until the spring of 1191

Titanic Struggle at Acre

did Philip II. Augustus of France arrive, followed by Richard I. of England in the summer. These Christian reinforcements secured the surrender of the fortress and the retreat of Saladin on July 12th.

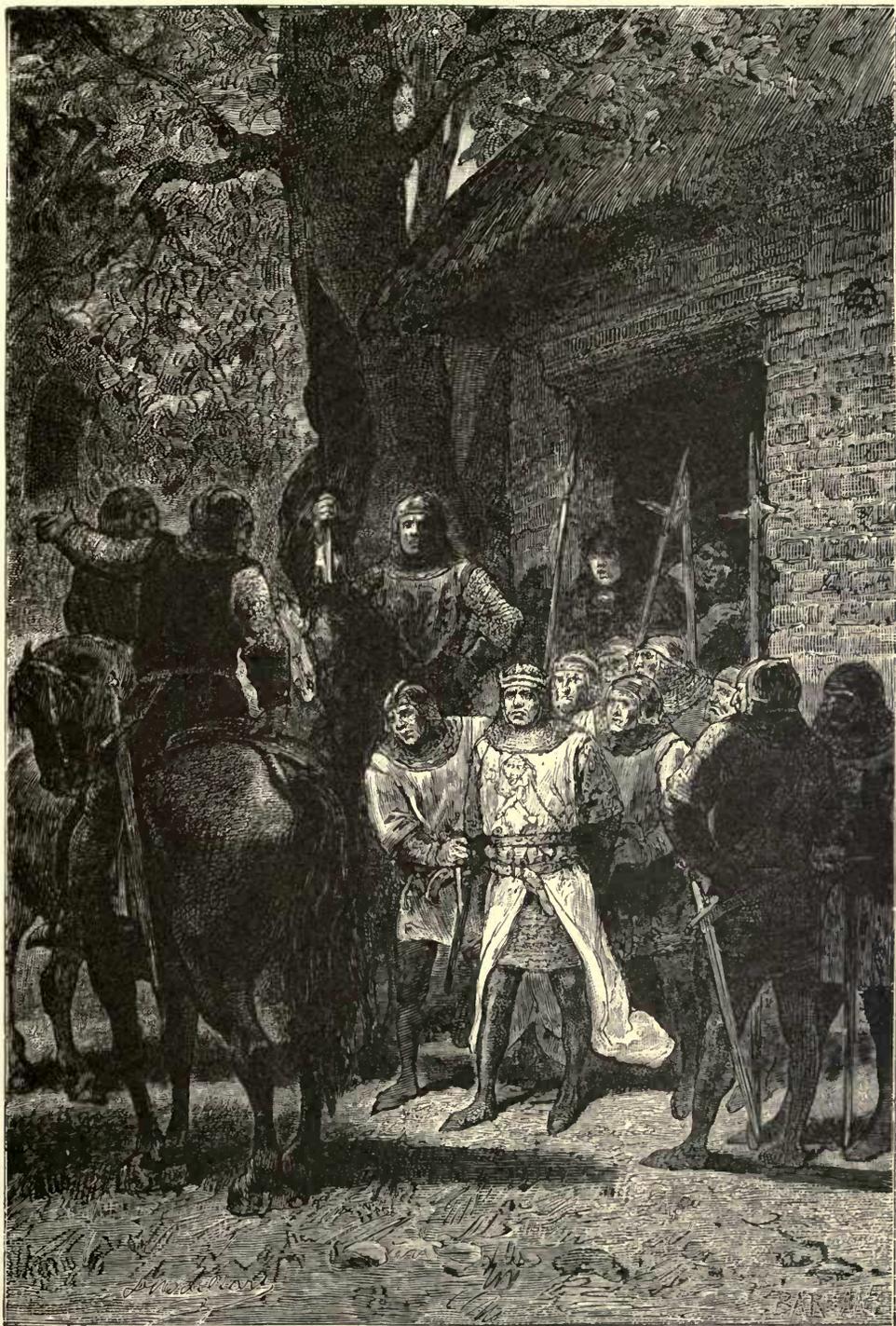
These monarchs should have arrived at a much earlier date, seeing that their expeditions had been arranged and begun as a common enterprise. But the unstable and refractory temperament of Richard "Lionheart" had caused bloody quarrels

in Sicily during October and December, 1190, first with the native population and then with the French knights, and had ended in serious friction between the leaders themselves. Richard had, in consequence, repudiated his betrothal to Alice, a sister of the King of France, and a further cause of dissension and deep mistrust thus separated the two kings and nations who were already upon bad terms. Six precious months were wasted. At length, upon March 30th, 1191, the King of France started; Richard delayed twelve days longer, and was then driven by stress of weather to the island of Cyprus, which fell into his hands from those of the usurper, the "Emperor" Isaac, of the house of the Comneni, by a remarkable conjunction of events. This chance conquest of Cyprus was almost the only permanent achievement of the Third Crusade. After the final loss of Syria, the island became a valuable outpost of western civilisation, and its close commercial relations with the eastern world secured its prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 1571. Acre was captured, in

Cyprus Captured by Richard

spite of angry dissensions between the Christian leaders. Immediately afterwards, Philip found an excuse for returning to France. The fate of Jerusalem was thus left in Richard's hands; and under conditions which imperatively demanded statesmanship, he displayed nothing more than a reckless bravery and an audacious daring, with tales of which Mohammedan mothers used to terrify their children in later years.

He further tarnished his knighthood by his indiscretion in tearing the banner of Duke Leopold of Austria from a tower of Acre, and by his cold-blooded massacre of 3,000 of the bold defenders, for the reason that their appointed ransom did not arrive at the time arranged—August 20th. A year was expended in purposeless marching and countermarching; and though many successes were secured, including the capture of Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon, these towns were soon lost once more. No vigorous attempt could be made upon Jerusalem, though this was the main object of the expedition, and though the army reached the immediate neighbourhood of the Holy City. Negotiations with Saladin were constantly begun and as constantly broken off. Richard's chivalrous imagination extended so far as



THE CAPTURE OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION WHILE RETURNING FROM THE CRUSADE
Returning from his unsuccessful attempt to wrest Jerusalem from the hands of the infidel, England's warrior king, Richard I., was made prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, in 1192. The Emperor Henry VI., to whom Richard was handed over, kept him in confinement for about two years, and he was liberated only on the payment of a large ransom.

to confer knighthood upon Saladin's nephew, afterwards the Sultan Al-Kamil. The wild project was even discussed at the end of 1191 of a marriage between Saladin's brother Aladil and Richard's sister Joanna.

Saladin was exhausted by five years of fierce conflict; he showed a readiness to make concessions, and would probably have gone so far as to sacrifice Jerusalem. But the Arab chroniclers emphasise the difficulty of conducting negotiations with Richard: "Whenever an agreement was arranged with the King of England, he immediately annulled it: he continually made changes in the terms of a convention or raised difficulties in the way: if he gave his word, he took it back again, and was ever the first to break the secrecy which he had required." The end of all this purposeless struggle was a three years' armistice, which began on September 2nd; it secured the Christians in possession of the seaboard from Jaffa to Tyre, and gave them some fortresses in the interior. Jerusalem, however, was left in the hands of the infidels, and Christians were allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre only in small companies and unarmed; since 1187 the Sepulchre had been guarded by Syrian priests, and Christian prisoners had performed their tasks around it under the lash of their tormentors.

The kingdom was named "Jerusalem" as though in mockery; and before returning home Richard of England was obliged, at the urgent wish of the barons, to grant the crown to Conrad of Montferrat, who was shortly afterwards—in April, 1192—murdered by assassins. Conrad's widow, Isabella, was ever ready for a fresh marriage, and her inheritance now passed with her hand to Count Henry of Champagne, a nephew of the King of England. Richard had invested his favourite, Guy, with the kingdom of Cyprus

The Templars Expelled from Cyprus on April 5th, 1192; the Templars, to whom the island had been originally entrusted, had been expelled by a revolt.

Thus began the Cypriot dynasty of Lusignan, which eventually renewed its claim upon Jerusalem, and in which that kingdom was ultimately merged. The great effort had failed. Europe had finally demonstrated its incapacity for corporate action. A so-called kingdom of Jerusalem survived, but its king did not reign

in the Holy City. From the Latin state itself religious fervour had permanently departed; but another century was to elapse before the men of the West ceased to be stirred by the crusading spirit. After that it became a vague dream, which never materialised itself.

But during the hundred years following the Third Crusade a number of expeditions were undertaken, insomuch that historians are not agreed as to which of them are entitled to the dignity of enumeration among the Crusades proper. One was organised by the German Emperor, Henry VI., before the twelfth century closed; but he died without personally taking part in it, and it ended in disaster. The vigour and resolution of the great Pope Innocent III. brought together a great armament for the Fifth Crusade, when the new century began; greed and Venetian diplomacy provided excuses for turning it into an attack on the Byzantine Empire instead of on the Turk, and its outcome was the temporary establishment of a Latin Empire at Constantinople. Other successful efforts followed, and at length, in 1228, the Emperor Frederic II.

Crusades That Failed undertook the long-promised Sixth Crusade. Without a battle, he forced upon the Turks a treaty which surrendered Palestine once more to him as king of Jerusalem; but he was obliged to crown himself with his own hands, because no ecclesiastic would perform the function on behalf of the excommunicate emperor, who returned to Europe to carry on his contest with the papacy. Jerusalem remained in Christian hands for only a brief period.

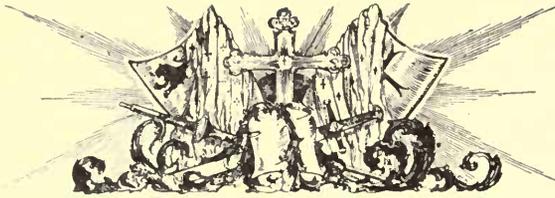
In 1249, Saint Louis led a Crusade, on the hypothesis that the gate of Palestine was in Egypt. Damietta was taken, but dissension and lack of discipline wrought the usual ruin. The Crusaders were trapped and overwhelmed; Louis himself was taken prisoner, and was released only on the payment of a heavy ransom. Once more, in 1270, Louis led a Crusade, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast. For a time the task was carried on by Prince Edward of England; but his father's death and his own accession to the English throne as Edward I. demanded his return to his kingdom, with nothing accomplished beyond the capture of Nazareth. So ended the last serious attempt to recover the Holy Land for Christendom.



ST. LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, SEEKING REFUGE FROM THE SARACENS

Falling under the fascinating spell of the great crusading movement, Louis IX. of France, better known as St. Louis, headed a Crusade in 1249, making for Palestine by way of Egypt. Trapped and overwhelmed by the enemy, the King of France fell into the hands of the Saracens, who demanded a heavy ransom for his release. Undaunted, however, by his ill success on this occasion, he led another Crusade in 1270, but died when the expedition had landed on the African coast.

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WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE V

THE PASSING OF THE CRUSADES AND THEIR LEGACY TO THE MILITARY ORDERS

THE strife on the part of the Christians which had enfeebled their final powers of resistance had assumed enormous proportions in the last centuries. At Acre itself, in the year 1257, war broke out between the Genoese and Venetians,

The Heavy Revenge of the Genoese

in which also the Pisans and the ever-hostile Templars and Hospitallers were involved, first on the side of the Genoese and then on the side of the Venetians. For two years regular battles were fought about Acre and Tyre, which cost the lives of twenty thousand men, occasioned losses of ships and property, and devastated the town of Acre so that it was almost annihilated. This was the beginning of the war between the two naval powers which lasted about one hundred and twenty-five years. In the first period the Genoese avenged themselves for being driven out of Acre by expelling, in their turn, the Venetians and Latins from Constantinople, while later they almost entirely destroyed the power of their weaker opponents, the Pisans.

Under such conditions affairs in the Holy Land were trending to a catastrophe. It seemed at first possible to ward off destruction by the help of unexpected allies. Since the beginning of the century, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan had made inroads into Western Asia, the Christians had cast a hopeful look towards them as a result of the naturally hostile attitude which they had adopted against Islam. The Crusaders had already fallen under the influence of the mysterious legend

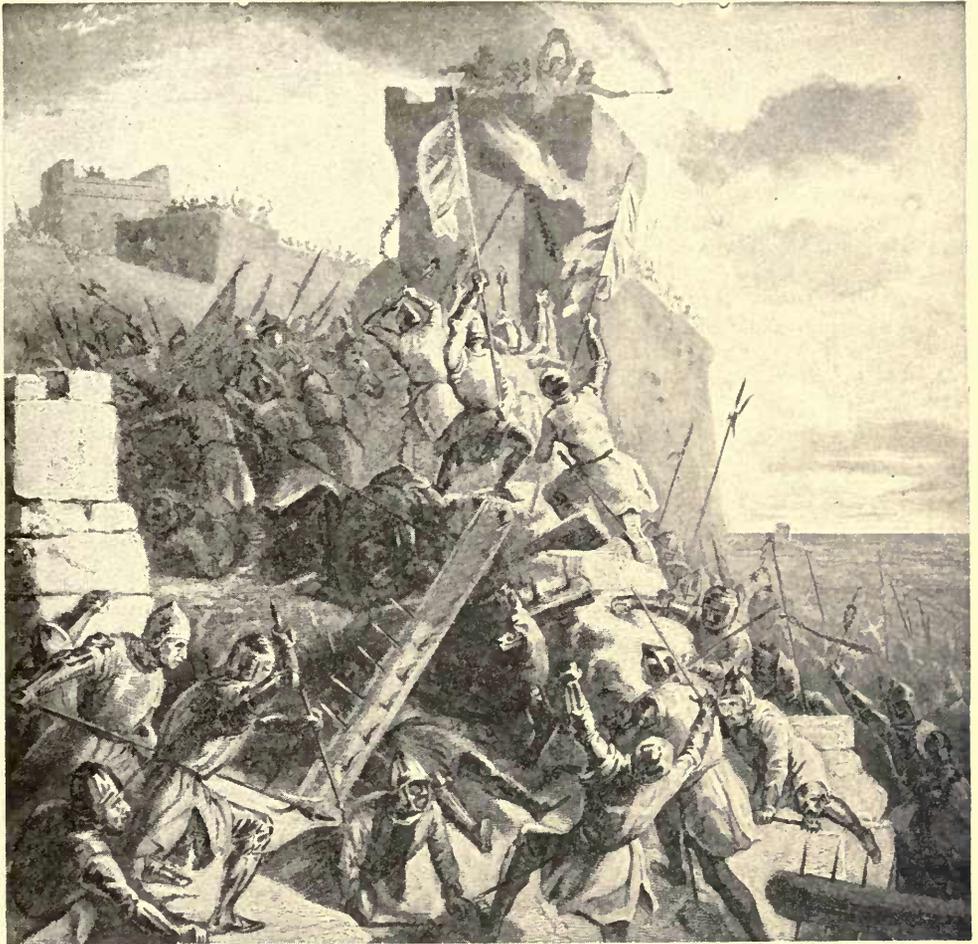
Mongols Favour the Christians

of the Christian Prester John, who was to appear with an army from the far west to help the Crusaders. In time rumours of the friendly feelings entertained by the Mongols for the Christians grew in force. Like his brother and overlord Mangu, Hulagu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, who conquered Bagdad and destroyed the Abbasid caliphate, was entirely

on the side of the Christians. His favourite wife was a Christian, and she was able to procure every advantage for her religion. Her son Abaka received the Holy Communion with the Christians several times, and also again a few days before his death. His brother and successor, Tagudar Ogul, had been baptised as a child, a profession of faith which he afterwards most emphatically disavowed, for immediately on his succession to power he went over to Islam under the name of Ahmed-Sultan.

The policy of the Ilkhans, which was friendly to the Christians, was again adopted by his nephew Argun, the eldest son of Abaka, who dethroned Ahmed after a short rule. From the days of the first Council of Lyons, 1245, until late in the fourteenth century their courts were open to ambassadors of the Popes and of the western princes, particularly to Franciscan friars, while Argun, for his part, sent ambassadors to Rome and France. Thus the hopes that the Mongols would interfere in favour of the Syrian Christians against the power of Islam were justified, and the last council, held at Lyons in 1274, which considered the affair of the Holy Land, was under the influence of the ambassadors of Abaka, who were present, and by their own request received baptism.

Unfortunately, however, this favourable attitude of the Ilkhans to Christianity subsided with the approaching decline of the empire. A defender of Islam appeared in the Sultan Rokn ed-din Bibars I. of Egypt, who resembled Saladin in his statesmanship and powers of organisation, and continued the religious war with, if possible, greater audacity and valour, certainly with more cunning, perfidy, and cruelty. He resisted with such constant success the inroads of the Mongols in Syria, by which they had already conquered Aleppo and Damascus, and pressed forward to Gaza, that the last hopes of the



THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN DEFENDING RHODES AGAINST THE TURKS

Though the days of the Crusades had passed away, the spirit of that great movement remained, and showed itself in the Brothers of St. John of the Hospital. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre was Rhodes. That stronghold was subject to Ottoman attacks, and successfully resisted a great siege by the Turks from May till June, 1480; the knights surrendered only in 1522.

Christians vanished. In the respites granted to him by the Mongols, Bibars proceeded with deliberate plans and aims. He led eight campaigns (1261-1274) against the Christians, during which Cæsarea and Arsuf in 1265, Safed in 1266, Jaffa and Belfort in 1268, and soon afterwards Antioch, fell into his hands, and were terribly devastated. In 1271, after he had conquered a number of strong castles belonging to the military orders, among them the celebrated Castle Kurd belonging to the Knights of the Order of St. John, the remainder of the Frankish possessions fell like ripe fruit into the lap of his third successor, Saif ed-din Kalaun. For some time previously the Christians, having fully realised the impending destruction, had

begun their retrogression to the west and Cyprus. Before setting out, they were hastily selling their goods or bequeathing them to the military orders, and rescuing documents and title deeds. On May 23rd, 1285, the castle of Margat, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and on April 26th, 1289, Tripolis, which had been weakened by civil strife, were both taken by the Egyptian who called himself Malik el-Mansur. Now only Acre, Athlith, Beirut, Haifa, Sidon, Tortosa, and Tyre remained to the Christians, when in April, 1291, Kalaun's son, Malik el-Aschraf Salah ed-din Khalil, advanced to Acre with a powerful army. Once more marvellous deeds of bravery were achieved under the influence of the old crusading spirit, till on May 18th an assault of

extreme force led the infidels to their goal. Only a portion of the defenders escaped by sea; the majority of the inhabitants perished by the sword.

The last heroic resistance of the Templars in their castle was ended, ten days after the conquest of the town, by the undermining of the walls, which in their fall engulfed Christians and Mussulmans alike. That was the end. The last Christian possessions were either forsaken during the succeeding weeks by the inhabitants or given up after a short blockade. Thus the entire work of the Crusades was annihilated.

Even with the complete loss of Syria the crusading spirit by no means entirely disappeared. As it lived in the hearts of the pious, so it occupied the thoughts of politicians, aroused the lust of adventure in the knights, and inspired the phantasy of the poets. The fourteenth century witnessed many a hopeful aspiration to organise armed Crusades, and still more ambitious plans, among which the hope of an alliance with the Mongols, even if their conversion to Christianity was no longer possible, played an important part, while the enemy who had first to be conquered—namely, the Ottoman Turks—came more and more into prominence. But as their advance towards Europe diverted the struggle between West and East into another direction and compelled the West to fall back on a hardly maintained defensive position, so the spirit in which in the fourteenth century Crusades could be considered and planned was essentially transformed.

The papacy, which, immediately before and after the year 1291, under the unwelcome influence of the embassies from the East, had devised and set on foot many a fruitless effort to avert the fate of the kingdom which it had created, soon after realised that it had for ever lost the leading position which it had held when it had called into life and conducted the

wars of the Cross. The œcumenical policy of the Church gives place to the development of national stability and territorial demarcation. While the First Crusade was distinguished by the effacement of natural differences and the unifying influence exercised on men's minds by the thought of the ruling Church, the later Crusades became more and more the enterprises of individual nations. Moreover in the fourteenth century a Crusade could no longer be regarded as an aim in itself, but rather as a means of effecting national and political designs and of expressing the adventurous spirit of in-



CATARINA, QUEEN OF CYPRUS

This picture of Catarina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, is reproduced from the painting by Titian. She was the wife of the last King of Cyprus, James II., and abdicated her kingdom in favour of the Republic of Venice.

dividual classes belonging to the several nations, among which, early and late, the French nobility took a leading part. From its ranks were still drawn the outposts of western civilisation, the Frankish potentates in Greece, the lords of the Cypriote kingdom, and also the noblest members of the military orders; only Genoa and Venice maintained an interest equally strong, even if essentially different in character, in the relations of the West with Islam.

Thus all the plans which had been contrived for future Crusades in succession by Popes, by a Roman emperor, by able men of affairs such as the noble Venetian Marino Sanudo, or by deep thinkers such as the Frenchman Pierre Dubois, served in execution only the purpose of advancing the interests of the Venetian Republic or of the French knighthood. They do not belong to the history of the Crusades in its proper sense if one looks deeper than the name.

Much more does the history of Frankish Cyprus deserve to be treated as a sequel to the Crusades. Its kings, sprung from the house of Lusignan—though after 1267 only in the female line, while on the male side they belonged to the Antioch-Tripolitan princely race of Bohemond, and in reality therefore to the house of

THE PASSING OF THE CRUSADES

Poitou—had, on account of their manifold claims to the inheritance by marriage, worn the crown of Jerusalem or held the regency in Palestine during the greater part of the thirteenth century. When crown and country were ultimately lost, many valuables which lay hidden in the land were brought over to Cyprus. Even before this the island, by constant intercourse with the West and with the Frankish colonies, had been richly sown with the seeds of culture, which now, when Cyprus had become practically the frontier of Catholic Christianity, yielded an abundant harvest.

Commercial towns, like the settlements of the military orders, found in Cyprus a new home. Famagusta became a second Acre. There, thanks to a vigorous inter-

the destruction of the Syrian empire, made its influence felt here also. Genoa took possession of Famagusta in 1373, and her monopoly of the commerce of this great harbour crippled the industrial strength of the island, while the strife which resulted, continuing almost a century, was fatal to the political power of Cyprus. Her last king, James II. (1460-1473), by his marriage with Catarina Cornaro sought the protection of the Venetian Republic. Under its rule the power of Cyprus revived until August 1st, 1571, when, after an eleven months' siege, it fell into the hands of the Ottoman like the whole inheritance of the Crusades.

The fate of Armenia was accomplished much earlier. In the second century of the Crusades the small Cilician state had



VENICE DOING HOMAGE TO CATARINA CORNARO, QUEEN OF CYPRUS

After the painting by Makart in the National Gallery of Berlin

course carried on through the Syrian Christians, the papal prohibition of commerce, issued after the fall of Acre in the west but by no means inviolably kept, remained ineffectual, and the riches of the soil, increased by considerable agricultural industry and by an almost tropical climate, resulted in a very high level of cultivation, which almost exceeded that of the Syrians. Powerful rulers such as Hugo IV. (1324-1359) who helped the Hospitallers to win Smyrna, and Peter I. (1359-1369), who summoned an actual Crusade and from his own resources could provide means for a temporary conquest of Alexandria in 1365, maintained the small state at the height of its power. Decay approached first when the quarrel of the great maritime republics, which had already caused

become, like Cyprus, a kind of offshoot of the crusading movement, although it preserved its national individuality and the proud traditions of its arms and religion.

After the fall of Acre the harbour of Lajazzo—now Ajias, opposite Alexandrette—became for a long time equal to Famagusta as a centre of exchange between the East and the West, chiefly because intercourse with the Orient was unresisted there, and the province of the Mongols on the frontiers of Western Asia touched the shores of the Mediterranean at this spot, so that Lajazzo became the western entrance of an empire which extended over a greater part of the world. Meantime the enmity of the Ilkhans, who at first had been allies of the Ottomans, and especially of the

Mamelukes, quickly annihilated the military power of this small state which had originally been so great. As early as 1347 Lajazzo, which had already been plundered and laid waste more than once, fell a prey to the Egyptians, and the rest of the empire succumbed finally to an attack of the Mamelukes. The last ruler of a

A Prince Without a Country collateral branch of the Cyprian Lusignans, Leo VI., who had escaped from captivity in Cairo, lived till 1393 in Paris as a prince without a country, having assumed the extraordinary title King of Madrid.

It was reserved for the orders of knighthood to carry on the traditions of the Crusades up to the threshold of modern times; or, rather, if one disregards the numerous imitations of the three great orders, especially in the west, this honour was reserved to the only one of them which was able to continue its existence as a kind of civil organisation. By reason of their rich possessions in Syria the orders assumed supreme civil authority, especially the Order of St. John, which already exercised such rights in an almost unlimited measure on its chief castle, Margot, in North Syria. The activity of the Teutonic Order—whose chief castle was Montfort, near Acre—on Syrian ground had always been much more moderate; however, long before the loss of the Holy Land events had occurred which separated the fate of the order from that of Palestine, but made it appear the true heir of the crusading spirit and of the culture developed by the crusading movement.

On the other hand, the Order of Templars did not long survive the loss of Syria. Its capital was fixed till August 14th, 1291, at "The Pilgrim Castle," Athlith, south of Haifa; and at Limasol, on the island of Cyprus, for two decades after the fall of Acre. From here the order made several attacks on the infidels. But its central stronghold lay in the west; here its

Power and Wealth of the Templars members, 20,000 in number, living in the 10,000 "Manors" of the order, led the existence of an all-powerful nobility, exceedingly wealthy in estates and treasures, but hated by clergy and laity alike on account of their arrogance and encroachments. With the disappearance of greater projects in the East their zeal for power made itself of necessity felt in the west. A state in embryo, like France, which was advancing towards greater

consolidation and more modern organisation, and which included the chief possessions of the orders, was constrained to feel their mere existence as a thorn in its own flesh, and made strenuous efforts to extirpate this "imperium in imperio."

The annual revenues of the orders, if calculated according to present value, would amount to fifty million francs, while the French crown demesnes at that time did not bring in more than two million. Philip IV. availed himself of the illness of Pope Clement V. and the widespread belief in the heresy of the Templars, which was strengthened by their lame defence in the course of the papal lawsuit which was carried on from 1307 to 1314 with all the devices and power of the Inquisition, and the abolition of the order was proclaimed on March 22nd, 1312. The burning of the Grand Master, James de Molay, at Paris formed the end. The lands belonging to the order in France and in some other states which followed Philip's example fell for the most part to the crown. The Hospitallers took possession of the remaining part of the property of the

The Sole Heirs of the Crusades Templars, and to them also was transferred everything which had escaped the funeral-pile, the prison, or the cloister.

Thus the "Brothers of St. John of the Hospital" remained sole heirs of the Crusades. Although they resembled the Templars in luxury and selfishness, and had by their constant and often bloody strife assisted in the downfall of the Syrian state, yet they showed at the beginning of the fourteenth century such great martial zeal against the Mamelukes, Seljuks and Ottomans that they escaped the danger of succumbing to the fate of the Templars. On the south-west shores of Asia Minor, principally on the islands off the coast, they created, after 1306, a state of their own, of which the centre, after 1310, was Rhodes. Here, like the Frankish-Italian provinces, they formed on the soil of ancient Hellas and the Cyclades a strong outpost of Christendom against the ever-threatening Ottoman force. They outlived the fall of Constantinople in 1453, victoriously resisted the celebrated siege of Rhodes by the Turks from May till June, 1480, and surrendered to them only on December 21st, 1522. After this, in 1527, they emigrated to Malta, whence they continued the fight against the infidels, in a less extensive way, for centuries.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



WHAT THE
CRUSADES
DID FOR
EUROPE VI

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED EUROPE'S GREAT DEBT TO THE HOLY WARS

THE task of the Crusades remains unaccomplished to the present day; any modern attempt would from similar reasons be as ineffectual. The plan of the united countries of Europe, which Pierre Dubois, a bold innovator and clever thinker, whose flight of ideas was far ahead of the political line of thought of his time, called into existence for the deliverance of Jerusalem did not come any nearer realisation than those of former times; and although it would be easy at the present time to take the birthplace of Christianity from the hands of the Turks, the mutual jealousy of the western states would make it difficult to establish a vigorous state there.

Men have puzzled and striven over the reasons why the Crusades failed, without earnestly considering if their aim could be achieved at the present time. But the difficulties with which a modern Christian state of Jerusalem would find itself

Crusaders' Strifes and Difficulties

confronted were present to a greater degree during those centuries. Men confine themselves to superficialities when they place the moral responsibility for the downfall of Christian Syria upon the strife between papacy and empire, between Greeks and Latins, Normans and Provençals, French and English, between the individual crusading states, Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese, and Venetians, or when they impute the whole blame to the selfishness and immorality of the Franks, and to their cynicism and lack of discipline. All these were facts which accompanied or resulted from the Crusades, and which could not be separated from the plan or accomplishment of the enterprise, just like the secularisation of the Holy Wars and their issues.

It is just as superficial to argue that on account of the tremendous number of men sacrificed in the Crusades no permanent occupation of Syria from the West could take place. The solution of the problem is rather to be sought in the rivalry between

the lofty religious ideals and enthusiasm of the West and the trivial interests of the Syrian miniature states. Just as the ardent religious emotions of the Crusaders themselves were often transformed in the Syrian harbours to worldly ambitions and sordid desires, so the crusading fever was ultimately extinguished among the dwellers in Palestine, to whom, as they enjoyed the wealth and luxury of a colonial culture, it seemed futile to undermine the foundation of this culture by continual strife and bloodshed with their nearest neighbours.

How thoroughly Frankish and Moslem ideas were fused in Syria is shown even in the twelfth-century records of the Arabs, whose higher culture quickened their insight for such things—*e.g.*, the instructive memoirs of the Emir of Schaisar, Usama ibn-Mumkidh. In the thirteenth century also we find further proof in the works of such Christian writers as James de Vitry, William of Tripolis, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and several others, who make more direct allusions to the relations with Islam. In daily life, however, these relations are more distinctly marked than in literary productions, which are always somewhat restricted to the official view of things. That might be said to be true of the narrow sphere in which people lived. Moreover, the hope, which was embodied in the great idea of the Crusades, of expanding the narrow boundaries and developing a fuller, freer life had vanished within a few decades, perhaps with the appearance of Genghis; and two generations after Bohemond and Godfrey restrictions were still further increased through the growing military and political consolidation of Islam.

Thus the warlike spirit, which had always been highly valued and cherished, together with chivalry and knighthood, were fettered in their powers of action, and even if these had become free they could not

have succeeded here, where combination and unity were all-important, owing to the tendency of the mediæval world towards dismemberment. While at home the feudal system had arisen naturally from the existing social and economic conditions, it was established abroad on a soil totally unsuited to it with such an exact-

The Holy Wars only Tragi-Comedies

ness and completeness that it weakened the central power as soon as the first strong impulses of the movement had somewhat relaxed. Thanks, not to the exertions of the West, but to the weakness of the East, this moribund condition lasted a whole century. For lasting services either in war or to the state, it showed itself unfit, and the efforts of the West to help its more and more endangered outposts came to naught.

From the Second Crusade onwards—the first expedition had achieved some results, although not proportionate to the effort expended—all the Holy Wars were nothing but great tragi-comedies, played on the stage of universal history. But the noblest emotions of the soul of the mediæval age, the utmost exertions of its energy and of its heroism, the radiant glories of chivalry, and the bright religious enthusiasm were nothing but brilliant fireworks, useless for the desired end. The time was not yet ripe for the solution of such problems.

But here is the essential point : that age was indeed capable of great aims and of inspired feelings, of heroic deeds also, if feelings and aims were enough to achieve these. And the equality of the masses, the uniformity of conditions, the want of individuality, made the expression of such feelings and aims on the part of the people as a whole more original, more impressive, more irresistible, than would be the case to-day. But what was wanting, and necessarily wanting to those times, was the well-thought-out combination and direction of the whole civilised world on a single aim. That the Middle Ages were a period of small states has been said in another connection; the forces of those centuries were confined and restricted. Where not arising out of the needs and sensibilities of the time, but transmitted as tradition from a richer and more all-embracing culture, higher ideas did indeed survive and act as guides to the aim of a world religion and a world monarchy; but apart from those offices which served as

What the Crusades Lacked

the bearers and preservers of such traditions—the papacy and the empire—there was wanting every effective inducement, if not for the comprehension, at least for the accomplishment of such great general tasks.

The Crusades exemplify the unfailing characteristic of mediæval Europe; there were no combined political or military enterprises which were planned on a large scale, or which produced any lasting results. Such results were, as it were, only in passing, in the achievements of lucky adventurers, won half by good fortune. The seizure of Italian territory by the Normans and their conquest of England form an example. On the other hand, the German emperors, even under favourable circumstances and by the expenditure of great forces, were as little able to cope with Italy as with the internal problems of their own nation. The fate of the Crusades was that of the imperial expeditions to Rome; the plan on which they were based belonged to the recognised horizon of the *Orbis Romanus*, of the universal state, while, on

Failure of the Crusades Explained

the other hand, the means on which they depended for success belonged to a very much narrower conception. The reason for the failure of the Crusades is expressed in these words. A project, which pre-supposed the idea of a world state, and which could be carried out only by an absolute military monarchy, men wished to accomplish by means of an organisation which had dismembered the state and diminished its powers; they wished to lay hold of the political, social, and economic forces of the East, which rested on the foundations of an ancient civilisation by means of the Feudal system, which had its roots in much more simple economic and social conditions.

That the First Crusade, almost alone of all, had any success, although a pitiable one, in view of the enormous external demonstration of power with which Europe began it, was simply owing to the fact that the predominant military power of the East, at that time the Seljuk monarchy, had been, like the West, disintegrated by feudalism. That was perfectly recognised on the Moslem side; when Imad ed-din Zenki began again to combine the forces of Islam, and with this aim immediately created a kind of standing army, he forbade his

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

soldiers to acquire landed possessions; that is, he put a bar to the decay of military monarchy in great and small fiefs. Thus the powerful kingdom of the Atabegs was created, and only its re-dismemberment under Saladin's successors, the Ayubites, gave to the moderate momentary success of the Third Crusade an influence which lasted for another century. When an irresistible opponent to the Christians of Syria arose in the Mameluke state, then their end had indeed come. Unity was arrayed against disintegration, the state against the nobility. The work of the first Crusades was shattered through this contrast of the opposing outer forces, just as through the contrast of opposing cultures political and moral decay set in. That which remained over from the ferment of this period was the sole, but still a most important, contribution of the Crusades to the welfare of mankind.

In the domain of everyday and domestic life lie the most important points of contact of the two spheres of civilisation, hitherto sharply divided, which by means of the Crusades have had a beneficial influence on the West. But here it is necessary to make a limitation. The diffusion of Moslem, above all of Arabic, culture in European life has been produced by contact in other spheres than that of the Syrian coast-line, and has been there able to work more quietly, but more continuously, and therefore perhaps more permanently.

The role of mediation on the part of the Byzantine Empire has been already indicated, but quite apart from this, the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy—established on a Saracen basis, with the state of Frederic II. immediately succeeding it on the one hand, the Iberian Peninsula, with its interpretation of Arabic and Christian Roman ideas, extending over nearly 800 years, on the other—had even before the Crusades produced a mixed civilisation, which was continued to a certain extent for some time after their decay. Whether the Arabic civilising influence perceptible in the West came in any individual instance through Spain, Italy, Byzantium, or Syria, it is extremely difficult to prove, and in the review of the Oriental sources of our mediæval civilisation special care is therefore required on this very point of evidence of origin. In doubtful cases the Crusades have the pre-

sumption in their favour, because the points of contact were everywhere else very limited, and in any extension beyond these bounds could show but a limited effect—while the "Orient" of the Crusades for practically two centuries had exercised an almost unbounded influence over the West. Within these limitations,

Arabic Words in Modern Languages the European languages themselves show, by the unusual abundance of Oriental loan-words, what a mass of culture the West has received in these centuries from the Mohammedans. Only to mention a few, the words cotton, muslin, damask, baldachin (canopy), sofa, mattress, alcove, carafe (decanter), bazaar, barracks, magazine, arsenal, admiral, amulet, elixir, douane (customs), tariff, zechin, are cases of such Arabic loan-words. In the Romance languages they are particularly conspicuous.

To give another illustration, the Crusades have brought over to the West a knowledge of the Eastern animal world, and still more of many cultivated plants. The cultivation of the sugar cane, together with its name, and that of syrup, became known to the majority of Crusaders only on Syrian soil. And from the same source come the sesame lily, the carob tree (*Johannis brotbaum*), and saffron. Pistachio nuts and lemons still bear their Arabic names. Apricots were for a long time called "Plums of Damascus"; damsons are Damascenes; the little shallot onion is really the "ascalonette," the onion of Ascalon. And in the watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*; also called "Arbuse"), used to-day in Europe as an article of common food, came to Europe, if not from Syria, at all events through the Crusades; the Arabic name "pastèque" has reached France, the Greek name "anguria" is used in Italy.

Of plants which are of industrial importance, cotton, the name of which is in French "coton," in German **The West's Debt to the East** "kattun," has an Arabic origin. It first came into more extensive use in Europe through Syrian commerce, and brought with it the Arabic invention of cotton paper, in place of the less convenient parchment. Of other clothing materials, atlas (satin) and samite (velvet) bear at least Byzantine names, brought over with the objects themselves at the time of the Crusades. We learned then for the first time to

value and imitate the arts of carpet-weaving and embroidery. A knowledge of dyes and of dyeing materials came mostly from the East. Crimson and lilac are Arabic terms, as also azure and other shades of colour used in the escutcheons of the Crusaders. Very extensive were the changes in costume and clothing, the result

The East as Teacher of the West

of trade intercourse, and the necessity of adaptation to other climatic conditions. To confine oneself to philology, camelot, kaftan, burnous, even the old Bavarian "joppe," are Arabic words and objects.

Besides many a new weapon and warlike ornament (target, chainmail, bow) we have also to thank the more luxurious East for the name and use of the slipper (pantoffel, pantoufle). From the East and Byzantium came, during the age of the Crusades, elegant fashions for ladies, objects for toilet use, and means for beautifying, such as rouge. Glass mirrors, instead of polished metal plates, were first known and valued in the East, and the use of vapour baths was first introduced from there. Such a striking innovation as the revived fashion of wearing the beard is the result of contact with the bearded sons of Mahomet. It was principally the sphere of luxury in which the closer intercourse with the East, and the increasing participation in its wealth, had permanent effect. A complete change in domestic and social life passed over the nobility and clergy, to be taken up soon afterwards by the most successful members of the new moneyed class—the citizens of the town.

Mention must also be made of the technical and industrial inventions which the youthful civilisation of Europe derived from old Asia, of the already mentioned changes in weapons of attack and defence, and with them of tactics, and of the enormous acquisitions to architecture, of plainer ecclesiastical buildings and more ambitious civil monuments. If we pass

Effects of Eastern Luxury

from such greater changes, which do not merely mark turning-points in the history of art, to the trivial and

external, we shall hardly recognise customs which are everywhere in use to-day, such as the lighting of houses to express public joy, as borrowed from the Saracens, which they undoubtedly are. Ecclesiastical life itself bears witness to such enrichment from the East; the common use of the rose wreath in the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries originates in an Oriental custom. Oriental myths found their way into literature, as in the "Squieres Tale" of Chaucer.

The two crusading centuries coincide with the period in which the papacy, although often violently opposed, still, judged by the claims of the Gregorian system, in the main victorious, stands at the head of the western world. The Church of Rome as leader of the Holy Wars had at this time reached the summit of her power and of her universal supremacy, and while she subjected the minds of men to herself, she exercised at the same time an influence in temporal matters never seen before or since; the levying of the Crusade tithes is a very palpable proof of this influence.

Meanwhile, we have already seen, in our first review of the impressions made by the Crusaders on the West, why a secularist reaction of necessity immediately followed the overstraining of the Church's share in the Crusade idea. That lay primarily in the inner nature of things, in the necessity of moving purely worldly forces

Oriental Myths in Literature

for the attainment of a sacred aim. The rest—also already estimated—was the result of closer contact with Islam and

its confessors. In the twelfth century this contact had already been sufficiently close, as long as the forces on both sides were equally balanced. In the thirteenth century there resulted from it the permanent influence of a superior culture which had demonstrated its efficiency by political success.

It finally came to this, that a missionary like Ricoldo da Monte Croce held up the Mohammedans to his own fellow-Christians as models worthy of imitation with respect to moral seriousness and austerity of manners, religious faith, zeal for knowledge, sociability with strangers, and harmony among themselves; and so there remained but little of the zeal for warfare which was characteristic of the preaching of the crusading period.

Moreover, the accompanying alienation from a system which has made every spiritual emotion subject to the ecclesiastical conception, produced out of the gloomy fanaticism of the ascetic the spirit of a healthy secularism, which re-awakened or re-created chivalry, homage to women, joy of life, and love of song. Quite in the

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

midst of a movement which the Church had created out of the spirit of religious repression, renunciation of the world, and the exercise of penance, there were forced on the minds of the Crusaders, through the mere extension of their intellectual horizon, the hitherto unsuspected greatness, wealth, and beauty of the wide world.

Half-way in this development from the self-tormenting renunciation of the world to the most decided acceptance of it there stands the spirit of chivalry born of the union of inspired ecstasy with the new secularism, a peculiar blending of fanatical devotion, of enthusiastic bravery, and of passionate love—all features which can be traced directly to the influences and impressions of the Crusades—to their ecclesiastical guiding ideas, as well as to their Virgin worship, a blending of enthusiasm and refined sensuousness, to the love of battle with its growing worldly impulses, and, not least, to the vision of a strange world of wonders.

On the soil of the Crusades chivalry became the formative influence of the later centuries of the Middle Ages. It created a whole system of social regulations, of courtly customs, and of refined culture, in the centre of which stand, alongside the tournament, the love of romancing, and a hitherto unknown graceful homage to women. Not by chance is the first troubadour, Count William of Poitou, also the first Crusader poet who is known by name to us; the age has dawned when the theme of chivalric love rules the poetry of Provence as well as that of Germany, and, like the "Minnelied," the popular and court epic shows at every step traces of the East. But in this new social edifice which the Crusades erected as the consummation of mediæval culture there came forth unmistakably the special tendency of this period of perfection and transition to destroy its own creations. With unexpected rapidity the beautiful world of tournaments and love and song sank into decay.

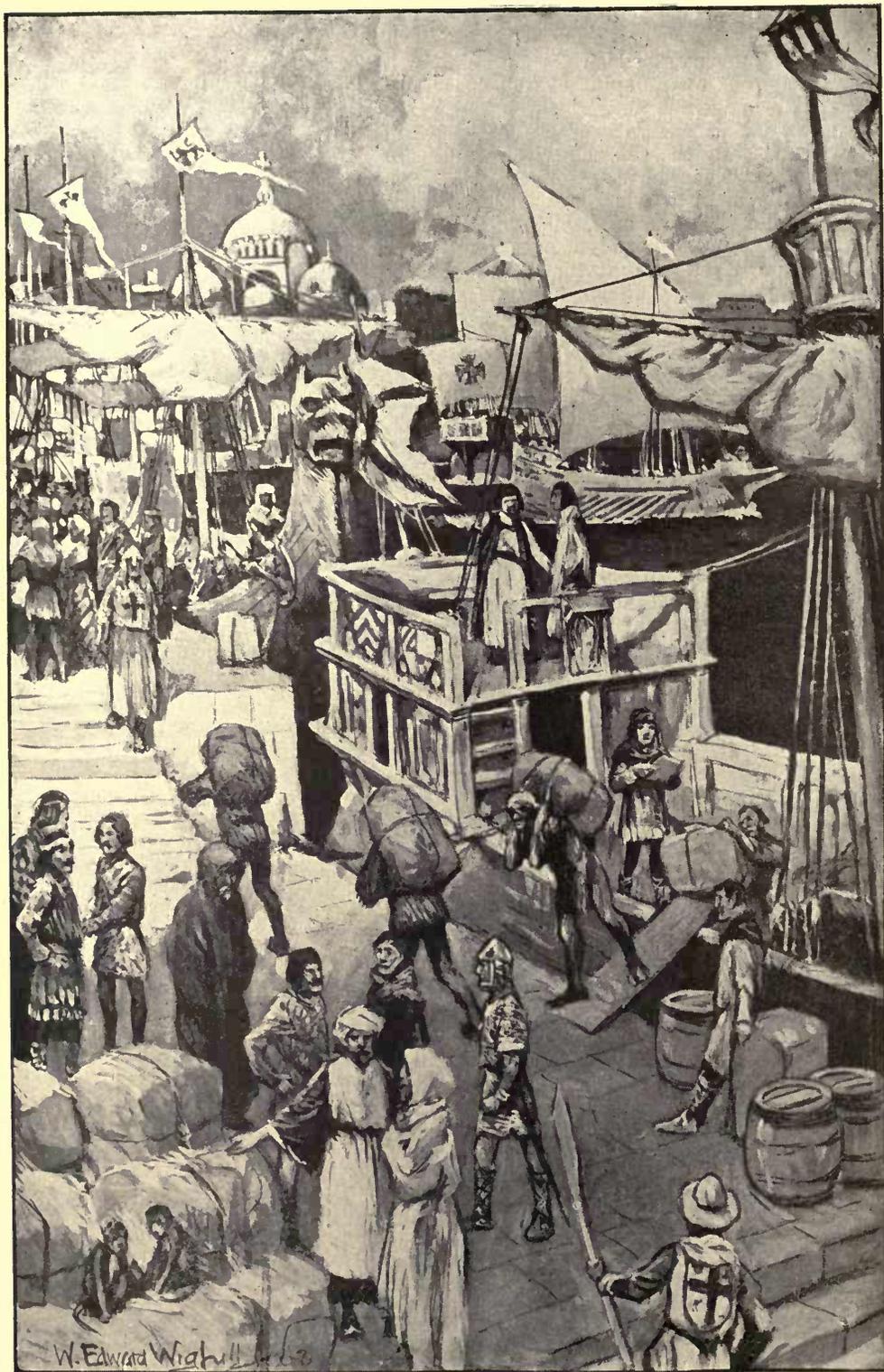
It would lead us too far to examine in detail the causes of its decay; there can, however, be no doubt of this, that the keen morning air, descending from the fields of action of the Crusades, blew so cuttingly on the dreamland of the Middle Ages, with its chivalric ideas, that it faded away and vanished for ever. New and far more permanent, conditions

of life in the Western world were created by the economic movement of the Crusades, which in its course elevated the hitherto lower ranks of labour, trade and commerce—in short, the middle class. When Europe entered on the Crusades, she stood for the greater part still in the agricultural stage, in that of

An Age of Limited Culture the so-called natural economy, with its separate self-sufficing social units, devoting themselves to the production of all the necessities of life, without desire for interchange with other communities. In this primitive condition, which does not recognise labour and trade as distinct callings, and which had hardly need of commerce, the possession of land was the only source of power; its favoured possessors, the nobility and clergy, were the only cultured classes, and feudalism was the most suitable, if not the only possible form of government. This form of government was indeed brought from Syria, but the state which had been erected there on quite other foundations of a richer culture had also necessarily to fall to ruin. So much the more did the economic forms which we meet with on this old field of civilisation take root and thrive. Remains of the old financial system had been everywhere preserved in the West together with the original forms of barbaric culture, and the transition from the lower to the higher economic stage would have been also completed in the course of inner European development.

In Italy, the country most nearly affected, which had, even before the Crusades proper, experienced the blessing of international intercourse, this new spirit was first awakened, nourished from those springs which flowed towards it through the activity of the Syrian ports; Venice and Genoa, into whose lands Eastern trade, after driving back much Italian, French, and Spanish competition, gradually gathered itself, were the first to feel it, and soon became its pioneers across the as yet inhospitable Alpine passes, into the land of the Germanic barbarians. Then dawned the golden days of Augsburg, Nürnberg, Bourges, and Lübeck; the golden age of Upper German trade presupposes the changed routes of the Crusade period, just as Crusaders showed the way to Flemish and Hanseatic navigation.

CLEMENS KLEIN



THE PORT OF BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull



(THE TRADE of THE MIDDLE AGES)

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT THE EFFECT OF THE CRUSADES ON COMMERCE

SINCE the beginnings of authentic history, since the times of the Phœnicians, Hellenes, Carthaginians and Italians, the Mediterranean Sea has been the scene of intercourse between races and of commercial activity more important and far-reaching in their effects than—at least in ancient times—have been witnessed by any other portion of the earth. Finally, the Romans united all the countries of the Mediterranean coast under their dominion; and when the economic and political downfall of the western empire took place, together with the development of a new Europe as a result of the migration of nations, the eastern empire still remained firm, maintaining both its dependencies and its civilisation,

**Where the
Mohammedans
Conquered**

and renounced neither its commercial nor, theoretically, its political supremacy over the whole Mediterranean region. During the seventh century Mohammedanism forced its victorious way to the Mediterranean, and within a surprisingly short time gained dominion over the half of its coasts.

Thus three great spheres, of civilisation came into contact on the shores of the sea which washes three continents: the Western Christian, or Latin, the Eastern Christian, or Byzantine, and the Mohammedan. Consequently a struggle for political and economic supremacy between the three great spheres of civilisation followed as a historical necessity. The victory was won by the Western Europeans, who of all competitors had the poorest outlook at the beginning of the contest. Before the Arabian conquests—that is

to say, during the first half of the seventh century—the trade of the Mediterranean region still continued in the hands of the Eastern Romans. The Balkan peninsula as far north as the Danube, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, the northern coast

**The Great
Centres of
Commerce**

of Africa to Mauretania, parts of Italy, and, until the year 631, a large portion of Spain, were all under the dominion of the Byzantine Empire. Trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by Greeks, Syrians, and Jews. Constantinople and Alexandria were the two great centres of commerce, although the cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Thessalonica, and Carthage continued to maintain a commercial activity that had been carried on from the earliest times.

Merchandise from India and China was brought to Byzantium via the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and various overland routes that passed through the interior of Asia. Byzantium was thus a centre of the carrying trade between east and west, the possession of which has ever been a token of control of the world's traffic. Another branch of Byzantine commerce was the domestic industry of silk-weaving. The Byzantine gold coinage, the gold "solidus" of Constantine—worth a little more than three dollars, in later times called the "byzantine," or bezant—became almost a universal standard of value; even Byzantine silver currency was accepted by foreign merchants so long as it maintained its face value. The commercial supremacy of the Eastern Romans passed away with the Arab conquests. Egypt and Syria,

commercially the most active of all the Byzantine provinces, were the first to fall into the power of the caliphate; the coast lands of Northern Africa followed somewhat later—Carthage, rebuilt by the Romans, being again destroyed, and Tunis taking its place—and the more important islands of the Eastern Medi-

Blows to the Roman Empire

terranæan. In the year 827 the Saracens occupied Sicily and Southern Italy, and this also was at the cost of the Roman Empire. It is true that the attacks of the Arabs upon Constantinople were met by a stout resistance on the part of the Byzantines; the capital and the continued control of the Mediterranean trade were rescued by the use of Greek fire; but the empire, hard pressed by Slavs and Bulgarians, and at the same time constantly diminishing in extent in Europe as well as in Asia, lost its position as the leading power of the world during this period of uninterrupted affliction and embarrassment.

The caliphate, however, which first had to carry on devastating wars against united Europe in arms and later became organised as a power, did not gain the supremacy which Byzantium lost, for the new European nations gradually absorbed eastern wealth and power. Since the ninth century there had been an increasing number of foreign commercial depots in Constantinople and settlements of merchants, attracted or kept by the trade of the Golden Horn. As the Byzantines no longer journeyed to foreign lands the foreigners came to them. The active trade of Constantinople became a passive one; its entire life was derived from foreigners.

There was even a Mohammedan immigration to Byzantium, where finally a mosque was built for them; here, as in Alexandria and in Antioch, the spirit of trade was more powerful than religious differences. The Red Sea having lost its importance

Commercial Route to India

for the Indian trade, to which the choking up of the old canal of Rameses may have in part contributed, the most important commercial route from India to the west was by the Persian Gulf and overland through the domains of the caliphate; even the Central Asian commercial routes passed through Mohammedan territory before they reached their goal at the Caspian and Black Seas. Since Constantinople was now the centre for traffic

in the spices and other merchandise of South-eastern Asia, the peoples of Western Europe were compelled to journey thither, for they did not care to dispense with these products, and at that time trade with the Levant could be more conveniently carried on through Constantinople than by any other route.

Thus a period of maritime and commercial expansion dawned for the peoples of Europe when Byzantium lost its former spirit of enterprise under the pressure of unfavourable circumstances. The tendency of this earliest commercial development of the young nations of Western Europe was towards the east—the same direction as that taken by the colonising expeditions of the Teutonic race from the time of the Carlovigian dynasty.

The first cities to enter into trade with the Eastern Roman seaports were the Italian towns which at least nominally recognised the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor. Indeed, almost all communities that were neither under the rule of the Lombards nor of the Saracens stood in a like relation of partial dependence to the Eastern Roman Empire.

When Pisa Rose in Power

Besides Bari, Brindisi, Taranto, Salerno, Naples, and Gaeta, Amalfi and Venice belonged especially to this class. Amalfi, which at least as early as the tenth century maintained relations with the Mohammedan countries of the East, with Egypt and Syria, imported Greek wares, and was even able to maintain its economic position after its conquest in 1073 by the Normans under Robert Guiscard, the sworn enemy of the Byzantines. Its fall as a commercial power was brought about by the rivalry of Pisa, which in 1135-1137 attacked and conquered it.

More fortunate than Amalfi, Venice soon rose to the position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce. The city on the lagoons also recognised the suzerainty of the Eastern emperor, and consequently obtained for her citizens the right to settle in Constantinople. In spite of religious differences, ever since the ninth century Venice also had been engaged in active trade with the cities of Egypt and Syria. The prosperity of Venice was due primarily to her favourable geographical situation, and this advantage remained to her so long as the Mediterranean continued to be the centre of the world's commerce. The Venice of the Middle Ages

COMMERCIAL RIVALRY IN THE LEVANT

controlled an exceptionally extensive sphere of distribution. Situated at the northern end of the Adriatic Sea, the city was within a short journey of the Alpine passes; the rich plain of the Po lay behind it, the western coast of the Balkan peninsula and the approaches to the lands of the Save and the Danube before it. The two political parties of the city, the Byzantine and the Italian, represented two complementary commercial interests—the importation of commodities from the

the Venetians also, and they had defeated Robert Guiscard at Durazzo in Albania; the Emperor Alexius I. (Comnenus) granted them the right of commerce, duty free, with the whole of the eastern empire in 1082. In former days the Venetians had been compelled to pay two solidi on the entrance of every ship into port, and fifteen on its departure. From this time forth their position in regard to commercial trading with the East was the more enviable one of the “most-favoured nation.”



PERSIAN AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE DOGE AND THE COUNCIL OF VENICE

The Venice of the Middle Ages rose to the proud position of mistress of Mediterranean commerce and controlled an extensive sphere of distribution. Both the eastern and the western empires courted her favour, and in the above illustration we see Persian ambassadors and merchants discussing matters of business with the Doge and the Council.

From the painting by Caliari Veronese

East and the exportation of merchandise into the various neighbouring regions of consumption. Moreover, both the eastern and the western empire courted the favour of Venice, which adroitly balanced between them; and thus at an early age the Venetians obtained the right of unrestricted trade with both.

When the Byzantines lost Southern Italy to the Normans they showered favours upon Venice, nominally subject but practically independent, in order to win her alliance. In fact, the constant grasping for territory of the Normans threatened

By the time when Venice gained this predominance at the Golden Horn, Pisa and Genoa had reached a commanding position in the western end of the Mediterranean; inasmuch as the decline of the caliphate at Bagdad had caused a general weakening of Islam, the seaports of Western Italy had been able not only to clear Sardinia of the Saracens, but also to extend their power over several strongholds on the northern coast of Africa. Just as the Venetians in Greece, the citizens of Pisa obtained freedom from all customs duties in the empire of the Zeirites. In the

meanwhile, the Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily had begun. The Pisans and Genoese also took part in this struggle, for it was clearly to their interest that the way to the East should be rendered open and secure. As Wilhelm Heyd says in his history of Levantine commerce, "The maritime traffic between Spain,

Effect of the Crusades on Commerce

Southern France, and Western Italy on the one hand, the Levant and Northern Africa on the other, equally affected Sicily midway between . . . where the letters patent of the Norman kings promised a cordial reception to merchants, and consuls of their own nation, or, at least, fellow-countrymen settled there, gave them every assistance." Thus Pisans and Genoese journeyed to Egypt and Syria even before the time of the Crusades, and also convoyed pilgrims to the Holy Land, which had become very difficult of access ever since the rise of the Seljuk dynasty.

The Crusades led to a complete transformation in the commercial relations with the Levant. Of the tremendous, and for the most part wasted, power expended by the nations of Western Europe in order to become and to remain masters of the Holy Land, at least a certain portion profited the maritime provinces, whose centre of gravity had for centuries been inclined toward the east. After the establishment of the first crusading states, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with its dependent principalities of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripolis (1097-1100), a new field of activity was opened up to Italians, Provençals, and Catalanians. Above all, an opportunity was offered them for crossing the boundaries of Asia, under the protection of western laws and institutions.

There was also the possibility of winning new privileges, for the Franks or Latins required a constant traffic with the East, and, therefore, could not dispense with the services of the navigators of Southern Europe,

The Good Fortune of Europeans

whom they employed in transporting not only merchandise but men. Soon they acquired the possession of entire streets and quarters in the cities of the Crusaders, and also of land, upon which the Syrian peasants were compelled to labour as serfs. These Southern Europeans were also free from taxes—indeed, they often obtained for themselves a portion of the duties collected. The local authorities were not appointed by the king, but

by the mother city. Trade was not difficult, for the coveted luxuries and spices of the tropics were transported by the Arabs to the western extremity of Asia viâ the old commercial routes, without the assistance of Europeans. Nor would it have been advisable for Christian merchants to set foot on the desert trails or the pilgrim roads of Mohammedan Asia. The dangers of traffic by sea between South-western Europe and the Levant were lessened by the use of convoys, which twice a year brought cargoes of European merchandise of metal and wood, arms and cloth, returning with a freight of silk, glass, cotton, sugar, and spices from the East.

When the kingdom of Jerusalem fell, in 1187, to rise again nominally in 1229, the Western Europeans lost their Syrian possessions, together with all the feudal rights appertaining to them. However, a few seaports remained in their hands until the end of the thirteenth century, and more than this was not needed by the Frankish merchants in order to maintain their commercial connections. Even after the evacuation of Acre, in 1291, and of

The Greek Empire in Danger

Tyre and Sidon in 1295, direct traffic between Europe and Syria was not entirely suspended. In the meanwhile, Western Europe was amply compensated elsewhere for what had been lost in Syria. After the arrival of the first army of Crusaders in Constantinople, in 1096, the policy of the Greeks had become unfavourable to the western nations. In fact, the sword of destruction was suspended over the Greek Empire. Each Crusade that passed through its territory threatened its existence, and the Normans of Southern Italy were still busied with their old schemes of conquest.

In order to divide their enemies, the Byzantines continued to shower privileges upon the Italians, granting to all the same favoured position that up to this time had been enjoyed by the Venetians alone. However, this action of the Eastern Roman Government was not at all in harmony with the spirit of hostility to foreigners shown by the populace. They had just cause of complaint against the Latins, and especially against the Venetians, who had robbed them not only of their foreign trade, but of a considerable part of their domestic traffic, who paid no customs duties, and who showed plainly enough the pride of mastery felt by a rising, active race towards



GENOA HARBOUR, WITH THE TOWN RISING IN THE BACKGROUND



VIEW OF THE HARBOUR, SHOWING THE SPLENDID ANCHORAGE FOR VESSELS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN AND PORT. WITH THE RAILWAY STATION

VIEWS OF THE GREAT COMMERCIAL PORT OF GENOA

a decaying people that would not attribute the results of its inactivity to itself but to the influence of the foreigners. The reaction against the ascendancy of the hated intruders made itself felt in a treacherous manner. In 1171 the Greek emperor, Manuel I., was compelled by the pressure of public opinion to issue a secret order in accordance with which all the Venetians in the empire were imprisoned, and their possessions seized. Venice answered this demonstration of hostility by entering into an alliance with the Normans, with the result that the Byzantines immediately endeavoured to make peace again.

Soon, however, a still heavier blow was dealt, this time not only to the Venetians but to all the Latins. It was an act of national revenge similar to that once executed by the oppressed Asiatics upon the Romans in the days of Mithradates the Great. In consequence of a mandate issued by the Emperor Andronicus I. in 1182, all the Latins in the empire were suddenly attacked and either massacred or sold as slaves. Nothing could now save the Byzantines from the vengeance of Western Europe, although, after the overthrow of Andronicus, the Emperor Isaac Angelus indemnified the Pisans and Venetians so far as was possible, and restored to them their former rights and privileges. None of the weak Byzantine governments were in a position to offer any surety that atrocities such as those of 1171 and 1182 would not be repeated. However, common action against the Greeks was prevented by the rivalry of the Italian maritime states; single cities were powerless to deal out any effectual punishment to the great and still financially powerful eastern empire.

When, owing to the sudden death of the brilliant Hohenstauffen emperor, Henry VI., in 1197, the danger that had long threatened the Eastern Roman Empire from Southern Italy was averted, the Venetians, and they alone, had an opportunity both for revenge and for the attainment of future security. Doge Enrico Dandolo, powerfully aided by fortune, succeeded in directing the Fourth Crusade, in 1202, against Constantinople. Almost the entire Byzantine Empire fell a prey to

the victorious Latins, and Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault ascended the throne of the "Latin Empire," which existed from 1204 to 1261. At the division of the Greek Empire three-eighths fell to the share of the Venetians, an amount equal to that granted to the new emperor. They retained possession of their share even after the fall of the "Latin Empire." The land consisted of strips of coast and islands, widely separated from one another, it is true, but capable of yielding great profit. Now for the first time the Venetians established themselves in the lands about the Black Sea and absorbed them all into their economic sphere of influence. The mediæval expansion of the Western Europeans over the Levant attained to its greatest extent when the Greek Empire was re-established with the assistance of the Genoese in 1261. The rivalry between the Ligurian and Adriatic capitals led to a healthy competition which was by no means detrimental to the policy of self-preservation pursued by the Byzantines.

During the second half of the thirteenth century the Genoese penetrated farther into Asia than any Western European merchants before them. A region of colonies such as had existed in Hellenic times arose about the Black Sea, of which the chief towns were, Kaffa, or Feodosia, and Tana, or Azov. From this district the Black-Sea-China commercial highway extended through Turkestan and Dzoungaria to the Pacific coast. Missionaries and merchants brought to the West fabulous stories of the wonders of Nature and the civilisation of the Farthest East. As a rule, however, these tales had no effect except upon western imagination; fully another century and a half were to pass before imagination became transformed into action, and the apparently fruitless undertakings of casual adventurers were to awaken once more in the glorious discoveries of the Age of Conquest.

The journeys of Marco Polo (1271—1295), who may be taken as a representative Asiatic explorer of the time, would not have been practicable had it not been for the existence of one of the greatest kingdoms of conquest known to history—the

Terrible Fate of the Latins



MARCO POLO

He was only fifteen when he set out from Venice to walk to China with his father and uncle; he grew up at the court of Kublai Khan, and rose to honour and wealth.

Discoveries of the Age of Conquest

Mongolian Empire, founded by Genghis Khan in the first half of the thirteenth century, about 1220. During the years 1240—1242 hordes of Mongolians encroached on the borders of the Western European sphere of civilisation, and for two centuries a large portion of Russia was ruled by Asiatic conquerors. Although during early times the East had repeatedly advanced against the West, such attacks had always had their origin in the power of expansion of races related to the Mediterranean peoples, Semites or Eastern Aryans. But with the advance of the Huns a period of repeated invasions of Mongolian races—Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Seljuks, and Ottomans—began, which threatened and indeed narrowed the territories of the stationary Indo-Germanic peoples quite as much as the great Arabic-Berber invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries had done to the southern or Mediterranean region.

When, in 1368, the native Ming dynasty again closed China—which had just been freed from the Mongols—to western immigration, the Ottoman Turks had already crossed the Hellespont and taken possession of Gallipolis in 1357. This was the turning-point in the history of Southern European dominion and commerce in the Levant. Each square mile of ground conquered and occupied by the Turks was from all points of view irrevocably lost to the Christian nations of the West. However, Constantinople and the Black Sea region still remained to them. The Mongolians again advanced, destroyed the army of the Turks, and thus procured a respite of half a century for the Eastern Roman Empire. After the second Mongol storm had abated, in 1405, the Turks returned, reconquered the Balkan countries, and finally turned their arms against Constantinople. The fall of this city in 1453 marks not only the end of the Byzantine Empire, but also that of Western European dominion in the Levant. The Genoese abandoned their colonies on the Black Sea in 1475. After this date Italian merchants were still to be seen in the Turkish Levant, but they became more and more isolated and unprotected and possessed of fewer rights. The Ottoman Turk locked up the Bosphorus and put the key into his pocket.

After the fall of the eastern empire the Venetians still possessed considerable remains of the plunder they had secured at

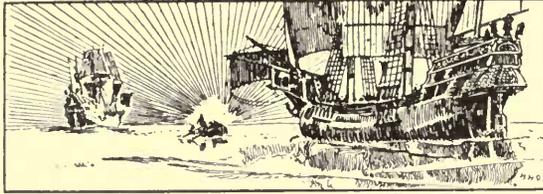
the time of the Crusade of 1204. Many years were yet to pass before the Turkish sultans succeeded in wresting from them all their islands and strips of coast; even after the Morea was taken from Venice at the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718 she still retained the Ionian Islands and the Dalmatian-Istrian coast.

New Ocean Route to the East Indies After the Crusades, Alexandria had once more become the chief centre of Indo-European commerce; Cairo also, with its dense population and bazaars, offered many inducements to European merchants. However much they had to suffer from the fanatical hatred of the Mohammedans for foreigners, as well as from the thieving government of pashas, their gains in trade acted as balm to all the ill-usage they received. They defied the papal prohibition to furnish munitions of war to the unbelievers, and soothed their consciences by the purchase of indulgences. But even before the Turks came to Egypt another event of note in the world's history had already begun to cast its shadow over the commerce of the Levant. This was the discovery by the Portuguese of an ocean route to the East Indies in 1498. The spice trade of Venice decreased with ominous rapidity; indeed, it had never been anything better than traffic at second or third hand. Lisbon now received merchandise directly from the places of production and became the first spice market of Europe.

At about the same time that the Portuguese depleted the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo fell into the hands of the Ottoman sultan (1517–1518)—a concurrence of events that ruined the commerce of Egypt, and greatly injured Mediterranean trade in general. The Mediterranean became more and more a rather dangerous cul de sac, with a considerable coasting trade, it is true, but one that lacked continental importance; in fact, the former

The Pirates of the Mediterranean centre of the maritime commerce of the world became transformed into a permanent theatre of war, where Mohammedan East and Christian West were constantly fighting their battles. Just as it had been during the heyday of mismanagement by the Roman Republic, the Mediterranean now became once more a scene of uninterrupted piracy; nor did this state of affairs cease until the conquest of Algiers by the French in 1830.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
NATIONS II

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE AND ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS

THE inland seas of Northern Europe are separated from the Mediterranean by the entire width of the continent, gradually diminishing in extent toward the West. Just as in the pre-Christian period, so in the following thirteen centuries communication and traffic were carried on between the northern and southern coasts of Europe chiefly by means of overland routes. The way by sea around Spain—dreaded alike by Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans—was still avoided. Not until the year 1317 did Venetian and Genoese mariners begin to make regular voyages to the coasts of England and Holland, and even then they occasioned no injury to the traffic of the overland routes.

Already at that time a sharply defined intermediate zone of commerce and communication had come into existence, consisting of the central countries of Western Europe at a distance from the Mediterranean: Upper Germany, the Rhenish provinces, what is now Belgium (Flanders and Brabant), and North-eastern France. These central regions, with their large resources, their dense populations, already divided on an orderly social system, and their far-reaching lines of communication, held the commerce of Europe fast to its old continental routes and stations.

If the commercial position of Italy was founded upon the idea of world commerce—that is to say, the importation of the natural products of the tropics—into lands of a more temperate zone, her supreme position in the European markets was also due to her own subtropical products, and even more so to her industrial activity, which rested upon Byzantine-Oriental foundations. To a still greater extent the economic importance and prosperity of the central countries of Europe depended on manufacture

and exchange rather than on the production of raw materials. On the other hand, the region surrounding the inland seas of Northern Europe was of the greatest importance to the trade in natural products obtained from all countries whose rivers flowed into the North Sea and the Baltic.

Moreover, by reason of its inferior culture, this region formed a natural area of consumption for wares manufactured by the more developed peoples of the south, and for the luxuries of other zones which passed through so many hands on their journey to the north. Such countries, rich in natural resources but poor in civilisation, require a commercial guardianship until they have attained their economic majority. Geographical situation and an advanced state of development in municipal affairs caused the Low

German Traders No Heroes Germans of Germany proper and of the colonial regions to the east of the Elbe to take upon their shoulders the economic guardianship of the Germanic, Letto-Slavic, or Finnic, races of the north and east of Europe as an unavoidable historical necessity. The fact that these isolated, loosely united city communities, left by the emperor and the empire to their own devices, and torn by the feuds of the nobility, were able to undertake such a task was due to the influence of the German Hansa. Nevertheless, the story of the Hanseatic League seldom furnishes us with a cause for indulging in that enthusiasm which, according to Goethe, is the best thing we get from history.

Certain bourgeois romanticists with republican tendencies have not only enveloped the Hansa in a deceptive lustre, but have applied to it terms that, like the set phrases of epics, have been repeated over and over again in works intended to popularise history. Some of these regularly recurrent expressions, such as

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

“grand” and “noble,” are, perhaps, the least applicable that could be found in the whole language, if the general policy and activity of the Hansa are to be characterised by them.

The connected history of the northern seas, and, in part, that of the lands whose shores are washed by their waters, begins with the expeditions of the Vikings, about 750–1050. It is well known that the Scandinavian freebooters were also discoverers, colonisers, and founders of empires. Their uncontrollable activity and their dread of the feudal service, which the rising monarchy sought to impose upon them, led them to venture into seas unknown to the average mariner of the Middle Ages. They occupied the Faroe Islands and Iceland, discovered and colonised Greenland, where their settlements remained until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and finally sailed along the eastern coast of North America as far south as Florida, without, however, establishing any permanent settlements. In the northern home of the Vikings, practically unknown to Europe until modern

times, Old Icelandic, the language of the Eddas, developed from the primitive Norse tongue. The Old Norwegian spread from Norway over the Feroes, Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland Islands and the North of Scotland, extending as far as the Isle of Man and Ireland, where it was preserved until the fourteenth century, and on the Orkney and Shetland Islands even as late as the close of the eighteenth century.

The Danish, on the other hand, which had been introduced into Eastern and Southern England during the ninth century, had already disappeared in the eleventh; and the native speech of the Normans who settled on the Lower Seine had been replaced entirely by French about the year 1000. In like manner, Old Swedish, introduced into Russia at the end of the ninth century, continued its existence there only until the beginning of the eleventh. That the Scandinavians, relatively few in number, should, together with their language and customs, be absorbed into the more powerful and highly civilised stationary populations of the wide areas of northern colonisation, was of itself a proof that reinforcements were ceasing to arrive from the mother country, and that the migration of the Northmen was gradually coming to an end.

In the economically undeveloped countries from which the Normans had once emigrated, or in which they had settled, commercial representatives of distant nations of higher culture discovered a sphere of trade the possession of which could not be disputed, at least with any prospect of success, by the native inhabitants.

The regions into which the Vikings had penetrated and the thinly populated lands of the Scandinavians were destined for centuries to commercial subjection. This condition applied to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and to a certain extent to the British Isles. That the Low Germans were to swing the staff of Mercury as a sceptre over the North of Europe was a matter that during the critical period—that is, in the eleventh century, at the end of the Viking Age—still hung in the balance. The deciding factors through which mercantile leadership was assured to Germany first made their appearance in the twelfth century; during the eleventh the only point in favour of the Germans was the fact that no other European nation was as yet sufficiently mature to undertake the position of leader in the northern sphere of commerce.

England was the first northern country of Europe with which the Germans entered into an over-sea mercantile relationship. A statute of the reign of Ethelred the Unready enumerated the taxes paid by German merchants in return for the privilege of participating in the London market. Documentary evidence of the existence of an association of Cologne merchants in London has come down to us from the twelfth century. King Henry II. took these traders under his protection, nor did it matter in what part of the country they settled; in other documents their wine trade is spoken of on the same footing with the French, and their London house is mentioned. Richard I., on his

return to England by way of Cologne after his imprisonment, granted freedom from customs and taxes, as well as

the privilege of trading in English markets, to the Cologne merchants. Whether other Rhenish and Westphalian towns shared the rights of the Cologne Hansa, and to what extent, is not known to a certainty. At all events the merchants of Cologne, in later times, when a joint association of German tradesmen had been formed in

Where the Vikings Sailed to

The Germans as Leaders of Commerce

Cologne Merchants in London

England, had their peculiar rights and privileges confirmed by the English kings ; the special aims and endeavours of Cologne made their appearance again and again, even after it had become a member of the common German Hansa.

The policy of the Plantagenet kings was favourable to foreign merchants. Inasmuch as the one point of view from which rulers of the Middle Ages looked upon commerce was that of their own profit, it was quite natural that the English Henrys and Edwards should make use of foreign traders as objects of taxation and sources of revenue ; and during the fourteenth century alien merchants were useful to the kings as money-lenders.

The English barons and large landed proprietors, who were the only possessors of power in addition to the then practically unlimited monarchy, also showed a decided preference for foreign as opposed to native merchants. If the policy of the English towns, in which, as on the Continent, the government was in the hands of mercantile corporations of the guild type, had for its aim the exclusion of foreigners, indispensable as they were to both import and export trade, from domestic commerce, or, in other words, to prevent the loss of their monopoly of the inland trade in England, the English nobility were of the opinion that the domestic middleman paid them too little for the products of their estates and charged them too much for foreign luxuries. In order, therefore, that they might sell dearer and buy cheaper without the intervention of the middleman, the landed proprietors favoured the granting of full commercial rights to foreigners within the kingdom.

The granting of privileges to groups of foreign merchants—usually called by the names of their native cities—became more and more frequent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ; and of these privileges the most valued was permission to trade in all parts of the kingdom with whomsoever one desired. Even before commercial relationships had been established between England and the north-east of Germany, the foreign merchant in England was already possessed of rights and privileges that in the course of time had come to be looked upon as indisputable. The Cologne Hansa, with its limited or local character, was during the thirteenth

London's League of Merchants

century outstripped by a commercial association that later became of great importance to the Germans as a model ; this was the London Hansa of Flemish and Northern French towns. These were the same cities that had also appeared as a chartered association at the fairs of Champagne and Brie, the greatest markets existing at the time ; there was, in fact, no difference whatever between the London Hansa and the " Hansa of the Seventeen Cities " known to the French fairs. The London League was by no means a mere association of Flemish merchants who traded in England ; that is, it was no guild, or Hansa, in the limited sense of the term, but a union of cities whose merchants carried on trade in foreign countries.

The cities of Flanders and Northern France were dependent chiefly upon the manufacture and sale of cloth. For many years—since the tenth and eleventh centuries—they had obtained a large portion of their raw material from England, whose green valleys were eminently suitable for the raising of livestock, and sheep in particular, and whose damp climate brought the wool to an unusual degree of fineness. Wool had long been the chief article of export from England, and was certainly of far greater importance to the Flemings than the British copper, lead, and tin sought by the ancients and possessing an interest also for the German metal industries. The manufactured wool was exported by the Flemish-French towns back to England and elsewhere in the shape of finely dyed and finished cloth ; England could produce little more than rough homespun during the Middle Ages, nor did she attain complete independence in this branch of manufacture until the sixteenth century, under the Tudors. Common interests of such importance soon caused the cities of France and Flanders engaged in the wool and cloth trade to set aside their rivalries and to form an association for mutual protection.

However, this association pursued other objects characteristic of its purely mercantile and undemocratic nature. In accordance with mutual agreements, the true producers of the cloth, the craftsmen, were excluded from the right of purchasing wool as well as from that of selling the finished product ; thus the merchants were to retain all the profit, not only from the

England's Chief Export

England's Chief Export

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

domestic but also from the foreign industries. The capitalists naturally looked with contempt upon the man who lived by the labour of his dye-stained hands. Only such men as had ceased to ply their trade as craftsmen for the space of a year and a day were eligible to the position of magistrate in their native villages, and later to the right of purchasing a membership in the Hansa. The purchase-money amounted to nearly seven and a quarter dollars; on the other hand, the son of a member of the league had to pay but one and a quarter dollars. The Flemish Hansa in London, which flourished during the thirteenth century, was not so much injured in after years by the German Hansa, modelled after it, as by the English Staple Guild and the Company of Merchant Adventurers that sought to make the trade in cloth and wool national and to wrest it from the hands of the foreigners.

Another type of mercantile association, which as early as the twelfth century had begun to extend its influence over the central and northern nations of the continent, developed in the South of Europe.

Germany's Exclusion From Commerce Ever since the time of the Crusades the stream of Indian, Levantine, and Italian commodities that flowed from South to North had been growing wider and wider. Before the time of the Crusades a byway of the Oriental trade had passed through Russia to the Baltic Sea, and extended west as far as England. Moreover, during these earlier times products of foreign zones also reached the North from Southern France. Germany was then practically untouched by the routes of the world's commerce, for this was the period of a quadrangle of routes—unfortunate for Germany—the Mediterranean, French, Baltic-North Sea, and Russian. Germany suffered severely because of her unfavourable situation in respect to the routes of the world's commerce until well into the twelfth century.

There can be no doubt that it is right to ascribe the economic backwardness of Germany, her long continuance as a country of agriculture and raw products, and her late transition to modern trade conditions to the fact that she was so long excluded from a share in the world's commerce. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a rapid change set in. The products of the south that had been accumulating in the Italian markets sought

the shortest and least dangerous route to the markets of Central and Northern Europe, and found it in the overland route through Germany. Once more there was an accumulation of goods in the Flemish towns and at the French fairs, and not till then was there an unrestricted and general distribution. Like the

Where the Italians Led Europe ancient world, the world of the Middle Ages paid the balance of its account with the merchants of the tropics in gold. It was due to the ingenuity of the Italians that this balance diminished in ratio to the total of exchange until in the fifteenth century the produce of European, and after the sixteenth century that of American, mines rendered the flowing of precious metals into the tropics, whence there was no return, almost imperceptible. In their transactions with eastern countries, with the Byzantine Empire and the Mohammedan states, all of which had either an unsatisfactory gold standard or a double standard of gold and silver, the Italians, Provençals, and Catalonians rapidly developed their methods of trade and their knowledge of financial affairs far in advance of the rest of Europe.

Thus, when the Italians journeyed to the North, bearing with them the products of the South, they carried a superior commercial system wherever they went—at first as a personal possession, a secret of trade, for the exercise of which the northern peoples were not yet sufficiently mature. As early as the twelfth century two forms of mercantile association had developed in Italy: the "Commenda," the original form of the later "silent company," as well as of all forms of commission trade, and the "open company"; to these the stock company, which arose from the various shipping societies and associations of state creditors, was added in the fourteenth century. Such companies were

Trade Customs of the Middle Ages established not only in Italy but also in foreign lands, where some of the largest houses were already represented by factors or agents; in general, however, during the Middle Ages the personal presence of the merchant himself was required.

The Italians established their consulates in Northern Europe as they had in the East; they occupied their own quarters and met together at certain fixed places

in the foreign city, just as on the Rialto, or in the *loggias* of their own guild halls. The beginnings of the modern stock exchange may be perceived in these assemblies, in which business concerning money and bills of exchange was usually transacted.

It is certain that the Italians, or Lombards as they were generally called, would have been able to remain in foreign countries undisturbed and without being exposed to the hatred of the various native populations had they not ventured into the doubtful region of money-lending and taking interest. This was the boundary line that separated Christian from non-Christian, the barrier set by an age of natural economy, thoughtful of the defence of the weak and of the consuming masses against the advancing age of money, capitalism, and international trade. So strong was the instinct of self-preservation in the social organism based on natural economy that religion itself was called upon for protection; the Church sought to enforce its prohibition against taking interest on loans of money by threatening the severest penalties. Still, at the time when the Southern Europeans came to the North, lending money at interest, or, as it was indifferently called, usury, was already in full operation. Forbidden to the Christians, it became a field for the commercial activities of the Jews, who were also active in mercantile pursuits.

In fact, at the very time that the commerce of Southern Europe was in the act of expanding over the central and north-western portions of the continent, the financial dominion of the Jews was beginning to break down under the burden of a detestation which had arisen not only from religious but also from economic motives. Thus the Lombards came forward in place of the Jews. With their superior capital they succeeded almost immediately in controlling the money markets of countries poor in gold; but they were unable to resist the temptation of succeeding and even outdoing the Jews in the profitable business of money-lending. For the latter a painful period began, during which the nobles protected them from extremities and even furthered their trade, in order to render them

The Jews Oppressed in England

the more fit for a systematic extortion on the part of the state, and for various other plunderings exercised at times of special need, until they were finally driven away and banned for all time. The Jews were especially unfortunate in England, where they were forced to submit to all manner of indignities from the power which was supposed to protect them during the reigns of the early Plantagenet kings; their final expulsion followed in 1290 under Edward I.

But long before this, Christian usurers also had become objects of hatred to the English people; the Cahorsins, notorious throughout the whole of Europe, but whom not only natives of Cahors, but also Southern Europeans in general, are to be understood, finally gave their name to usurers of all nationalities. As W. J. Ashley says in his "English Economic History and Theory," the Caorsini first came to England in the year 1235 as "papal merchants"—that is to say, as individuals ready to offer a helping hand in the collection of papal revenues, and also to assist in sending them to Rome. For this reason it was difficult to attack the Cahorsins; nevertheless, they, and particularly the Sieneze—a proof of the wide application of the term even at that early time—were exiled from England by King Henry III. in 1240. However, the edict proved futile; they remained in the country, acquired property, and successfully pursued a business identical with that of the Jewish usurers.

Not until the foundation of the great Lombard houses in the fourteenth century—by the name Lombards, Italians in general, and particularly Florentines, are to be understood—were the earlier Cahorsin usurers driven into the background. The new banking-houses of the Bardi, Peruzzi, Frescobaldi, etc., when Edward III. was no longer able to fulfil his obligations in 1339, made to the crown the loan which was destined to have such an influence on their own fortunes, as well as on those of their native city on the Arno.

In addition to merchants from Cologne, France, Flanders, Italy, Spain, and Scandinavia, the "Easterlings," from the German coasts of the Baltic, also went to England during the first decades of the thirteenth century. If the word "sterling" is derived from Easterling, it follows that the latter term must have been introduced

A Royal Edict that Failed

BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN COMMERCE

into the English language at a still earlier period. The monetary significance of the term stands in close connection with the memorable reform in the currency that took place during the reign of Henry II.

That the English sovereigns of early times possessed great power is shown by the fact that England alone of all the nations of Western Europe had a uniformly regulated coinage during the Middle Ages. While in other countries the right to stamp coins was shared by various spiritual or temporal lords and cities, in England the crown was able to guard its exclusive privilege of issuing currency. A systematic coinage facilitated both domestic and foreign trade, even if it was to the disadvantage of the money-changers, whom the foreigners needed to change the money they took with them into English coin. since foreign money was excluded from the kingdom. On the other hand, it was forbidden to carry English money out of the country, and thus English merchants about to go abroad were required to exchange it for foreign before sailing. Under Henry II., about 1180, the English

Money Standard in England

standard returned to the full-weight Carolingian pound; the silver penny, the single current coin, was struck, not according to the previously accepted West Frankish or French standard of lighter weight (*livre Tournois*), but according to the heavier East Frankish or German standard, which had been retained in Germany since the time of Charlemagne: 240 pence to the pound, the penny having the weight of 32 grains of wheat (22½ grains). Compared to the standard penny, pound, mark and shilling were mere units of reckoning until the time of the Tudors. This heavy penny of East Frankish standard was called the "sterling penny."

But at the end of the twelfth century the Easterlings themselves, the inhabitants of the German colonial lands which had developed on the shores of the Baltic, began to visit England. They must have risen to power within a very few years, for the old-established and privileged Cologne Hansa, the "Guild hall," opposed them with such violence that the burghers of Lübeck appealed for help to the Emperor Frederic II., who reprimanded the Cologne association, giving them to understand that the new arrivals had the same right to be in England

as they had themselves. The Plantagenets soon began to grant privileges not only to single German cities, such as Cologne or Brunswick, but incidentally to all merchants subject to the "Emperor of Alemannia and the Duke of Saxony."

Foreign nations gradually became more and more familiar with the conception—important enough for them—of the "associated German merchants," which summed up a large number of rights and served as a basis for common interests.

In the meanwhile commercial relationships were opened between the cities of the North Sea, Bremen, Emden, Hamburg, Lübeck, etc., and England. On paying certain taxes the merchants of Hamburg acquired in 1266 the right to form a special Hansa, and in the following year the merchants of Lübeck received the same privilege, inasmuch as the closer alliance which had joined together Lübeck and Hamburg on account of their home interests also made them allies in foreign countries; and further, owing to the fact that Cologne had become weakened by domestic disturbances, and consequently was no longer able to offer opposition to the common German policy of the Baltic capitals, the three leagues were incorporated into one league and the three depots into one depot in 1282.

From this time forth the meeting-place of German merchants in London and England in general was the "Steelyard" on the Thames, a collection of storehouses and offices which the successors of the Hansa, known even in modern times as the Hanse towns, did not abandon until 1853. The Steelyard was surrounded by high walls, in which the heavy gates were kept carefully locked for fear of attacks. The side facing the Thames was open; a flight of steps led down to the river; a wharf with a crane aided in the unloading of goods that

Where the Germans Met in London

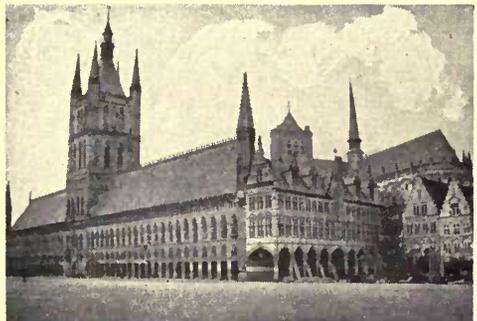
were brought directly to the depot on sea-going vessels. Magazines, cellars, offices, and dwelling-houses lay within the peaceful cloister-like enclosure; a monastic discipline ruled as well among temporary visitors as among the officials, who were bound to remain at their posts unmarried for ten years. It was only in the great hall, the common dining-room, and in the "Rhenish wine-house" that signs of a more joyful life were to be seen.



Hotel de Ville at Oudenarde



Hotel de Ville at Brussels



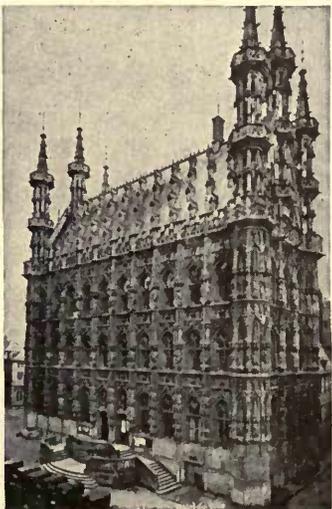
The "Cloth Hall" at Ypres



Hotel de Ville at Courtrai



Hotel de Ville at Bruges



Louvain Hotel de Ville

MEDI/VAL GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS



THE COMMERCE OF THE NORTH AND ACTIVITIES OF THE GERMAN TRADERS

THE organisation of associated communities of merchants made more progress in the east than in the west. From the twelfth century German warriors, priests, and merchants had been steadily advancing in the Slavonic and Finnic countries, semi-civilised and difficult of access, where, far more than in well-regulated England, they were thrown back upon self-protection or such aids as treaties and agreements might bring. Climate, race, and religion in these lands were new and strange to them, but their energy and daring made way against all hindrances.

The most celebrated settlement of these German pioneers of trade was that of Wisby, the capital of the Swedish island of Gotland. Mainly, this settlement was of Westphalian origin, and to this day the ruins of Wisby attest the influence of the Westphalian style of architecture. Looking from the steep cliffs, one sees the old city enclosed by its great wall facing

Wisby in the Middle Ages

the sea, while ruins of the forty-eight towers and eighteen churches, and the lofty old Marien Kirche rising high above the surrounding houses, and St. Nicholas's with its rose-windows and its lighthouse-gable, show us what Wisby in the Middle Ages must have been—a miniature presentment of Europe organised on the bases of religion, trade, and war.

The population of Wisby was composed of Swedes and Germans. Here, unlike elsewhere, the Germans had no separate civic establishment, no depot, no guild-hall, no Steelyard. But difference of race and creed made an impassable barrier between them and the native Gotlanders. They had to maintain themselves by active and ceaseless vigilance, for the Gotlanders were no mean commercial rivals. Long before the Germans came to Wisby these daring seamen had coasted into every creek and cranny of the Baltic, had opened up internal trade with Russia, had visited German markets, and had made Wisby the emporium through which

Novgorod and Kiev traded with Lübeck and Cologne. Now, with Germans settled in Wisby this trade grew rapidly in volume and importance, and at the close of the twelfth century the Baltic route had practically superseded the uncertain and perilous

Russians' Dislike of the Sea communication by land over restless and unsettled Poland. Many things contributed to the success of German colonisation

the Baltic islands. Both Germans and Gotlanders were fearless mariners. Then as now the Russians of pure Slavonic descent disliked the sea. And although Viking adventurers had founded a Russian dynasty, the rulers, so far from leading their new subjects into maritime activity, were rapidly absorbed into Russian ways of life. Feeble attempts were made now and then to create a Russian sea trade. But they all failed. By the end of the twelfth century itinerant German and Gotlandic merchants made their way direct to Novgorod from Wisby, and in many Russian towns settlements of Germans and Gotlanders founded markets, built churches, and established merchant courts.

Great Novgorod was known to the Germans as Naugarden and to the Gotlanders as Holmgard. As Lübeck was to Germany, so was this strange mart to Russia. With its vast suburbs it was a republic rather than a city. It was the common meeting ground for all who journeyed by the great waterways which opened up internal Russia to commerce. The German colony clustered round St. Peter's Church, the native merchants met at the Church of St. John the Baptist. At

When Great Novgorod Flourished the head of this incongruous community stood elective princes, subject, however, to the control of the Vetsche, or

popular body, in all affairs of moment. The great fairs were flocked to from all sides. The city was the emporium of East and West. Every winter and every summer the crowd of foreign traders filled the streets, and from the babel of tongues

a rude jargon of business was evolved. In Greek orthodox countries all Western Europeans were called "Latins," and Latin churches and buildings, not only in Novgorod but also in Riga, Vitebsk, and Smolensk, show that along all the great rivers and their watersheds merchants from Lübeck and Wisby had made their way.

Russia's Trade Monopoly The German and Gotland merchants who established themselves east of the Baltic region did not obtain free rights of settlement as in England, for the Russian merchants, organised into associations, and assured of the support of the native population, which was hostile to foreigners, never lost their grasp of the monopoly of domestic trade. The native retail dealers, and even the Prince of Novgorod himself, were compelled to avail themselves of the services of Russian middlemen in their transactions with foreign merchants. Only the Church traded directly with the foreigners.

Nowhere else did the Germans encounter such a difficult task from the very beginning as in Novgorod. The constant dangers to which they were exposed demanded of them the closest of union and the strictest of discipline. The oldest list of the house-rules of the German yard, the often enlarged and altered Novgorod "Skra," was drawn up in the fourteenth century. At first the superintendents of the St. Peter's depot, the two "aldermen," were elected from the winter or summer voyagers to Novgorod, irrespective of the city from which they came.

The profits of the depot were sent to the St. Peter's chest of St. Mary's Church in Wisby, and in all doubtful points of law appeal was made to the council of Germans in Gotland. During the course of the thirteenth century the city of Lübeck won a signal victory over her rival in acquiring the management of the Novgorod depot. From this time forth the

Lübeck's Days of Prosperity posts of aldermen were alternately held by merchants of Lübeck and Wisby. The officials elected were responsible to their mother cities only, although the chief aldermen had power over life and death. The profits of the association were sent to Lübeck, and the high court of the league at this city, the authority of which was supreme over the entire Baltic colonial region, became the final court of appeal for the Novgorod depot also.

Lübeck did not succeed in accomplishing her designs without opposition, nor did she henceforth remain undisturbed in her supreme position; Riga, the ambitious head of the cities of Livonia, also strove to obtain the leading place.

During the thirteenth century the relations between the German merchants and the Russians repeatedly became so strained that the cities of Germany were compelled to exercise the sharpest coercive measure at their disposal, the interdiction of trade—that is to say, the suspension of all business with the penalised country. This took place, for example, in 1268—1269. Inasmuch as the Russians finally yielded to the demands of the Germans, the voyages to Novgorod were resumed in 1270. Lübeck first obtained the leadership, to which it now laid claim in all regions, in the eastern sphere of German commercial activity. After the embargo on trade with Russia was renewed, in 1278, Lübeck contracted an alliance with the Germans of Gotland and the merchants of Riga against all countries that were in a position to injure the traffic from the Trade to Novgorod, one of the numerous

Germans in Sweden leagues formed by cities of various regions, and dissolved and renewed at intervals, until in the fourteenth century they assumed a more settled character. In general, even in later times the lesser alliances were more important and effectual than the great league of all cities engaged in the German northern trade, called by preference the Hanseatic League, and always more theoretical than real.

Lübeck and Baltic North Germany did not long remain content with their successes in Wisby and Novgorod alone. In the thirteenth century relations with the Scandinavian kingdoms had become of the greatest importance.

Commercial development progressed far more smoothly in Sweden than in other countries. Some time after the Germans had first set foot in Gotland and Oeland they settled in Sweden itself, and obtained for themselves in the new cities, just then beginning to develop, a position of complete equality with the native population. Stockholm, the new capital, founded in the twelfth century, was decidedly German in character. German merchants supplied the Swedes with luxuries from the south, worked the mines of Atvida and Falun on their own account, and bought

THE COMMERCE OF THE NORTH

up the iron of the forest smithies. By the end of the thirteenth century they possessed important privileges, such as exemption from taxes, rights of settlement, protection against the rights of wreckage and against piracy. But the land was poor, and trade was consequently very slight. Relations with Denmark, which never

Commercial Ambitions of Lübeck

ceased its endeavours to obtain dominion over the Baltic, were of far greater importance, although more subject to disturbances. Denmark's claim to commercial power was supported chiefly by her geographical situation and extension. Inasmuch as the Danes were in possession of the provinces of Schonen and Halland, in Southern Sweden, they dominated the waterways leading from the North Sea to the Baltic. They were able to open and close the straits to the dwellers on the North Sea who desired to exclude Lübeck and the other Baltic ports from the North Sea, and in like manner they could either bar or unlock the Sound and the Great Belt to the Easterlings. Hence it became one of the earliest endeavours of Lübeck—an endeavour never abandoned and never achieved, except for a few brief intervals—to obtain possession of the straits in order to keep the western races out of the Baltic, and the Gotlanders, and, if possible, the merchants of all German-Baltic seaports, out of the North Sea. Lübeck desired to monopolise the entire trade between the two seas, to be the one centre of all commerce carried on between the east and west of Northern Europe.

Since the straits between the North Sea and the Baltic were not seldom impassable, Lübeck fell back on her favourable geographical location, and rendered the moderately long overland road through Holstein accessible; in fact, a considerable portion of the trade between East and West passed over this commercial route. In consequence of the construction of the

The Danish Kings Favour the Germans

Stecknitz Canal in the fourteenth century, an uninterrupted waterway, quite large enough to accommodate the moderate-sized vessels used in the Middle Ages, stood at the disposal of commerce.

In the course of the thirteenth century the Danish kings granted, at first to single cities, and later to merchants from all parts of the German Empire, exemption from wreckage rights, tolls, and taxes. Thus the idea that members of German

commercial associations were to be looked upon as privileged individuals became firmly rooted in that country also. Although trade in Denmark itself was of but little importance, the right to settle in Schonen, a Danish dependency in Southern Sweden, was of the very greatest value to the merchant. The southern coast of Sweden was the centre of the herring fishery carried on by Lübeck and its Baltic neighbours, as well as by Bremen, Hamburg, and the seaports of the Low Countries. Smoked or salt fish formed the chief article of the inland trade of these cities. Moreover, the Baltic herring was a valuable commodity even in foreign markets in those days of strict ecclesiastical fasting regulations. The great fishing settlements were situated in the neighbourhood of Skanör and Falsterbo, then flourishing trading places, although now almost unknown. Gustav Freytag has described the life at the fishing towns as follows:

There, on the shore between the castles of Skanör and Falsterbo the Germans had marked off the land over which their rights extended, and where the banners of their cities waved, from Danish territory by a moated rampart and

Life at the Fishing Towns

palisade. Each city or company had its own station, or "vitte," measured out to it in rods on the valuable ground, and each station was in turn surrounded by poles bearing the coat of arms of its owners. Within each vitte stood the stone houses in which the herrings were smoked and salted, the piles of wooden casks, and the huts for fishermen and labourers; and each was governed according to the law of its own city, administered by a merchant of standing, appointed annually. The superintendence of the whole was in the hands of the Prefect of Lübeck, except that capital cases were reserved to the representative of the King of Denmark. All details were regulated according to a certain standard, the size of the casks, the length of the fish; the quality of the wares was under the supervision of inspectors. The shore was deserted for the greater part of the year; only the armed watchmen and their dogs were then to be seen. But during the fishing season, between St. James's Day and Martinmas, the fleets of the North Sea and Baltic companies came like endless flocks of swans; the strand echoed with the bustle of busy workmen; thousands of fishing-boats lay with their nets in the sea day and night, and for the night haul torches blazed along the entire coast. On the shore, rope-makers and coopers laboured, and the merchant stored away his goods in the wooden huts. There, between mountains of fish, in the midst of salt and smoke, the most costly wares of the Continent—silks and wines of the South, cloth of the Low Countries, and spices of the Orient—were sold as at a great fair. The hastily freighted vessels made three trips each season to the mainland and back; at the beginning of each October the shores were again deserted.

In Norway, the classic home of the Vikings, the stormy impulses of bygone centuries were gradually disappearing at the time of the development of the German Hansa. Foreigners—Englishmen, Frisians, and Low Germans—brought to Norway, as poor in population as in products, the petty wares for which its inhabitants could afford to pay. The fisheries also enticed foreigners into Norwegian waters. The fish trade, especially traffic in dried codfish, was concentrated in Bergen.

Germans, chiefly merchants of Lübeck and Hamburg, acquired at first only the most general privileges—freedom from wreckage law, unimpeded trade with both natives and foreigners, rights of residence and settlement, equality with the domestic population in the courts. Although the beginnings of the settlement of German merchants in Bergen took place as early as the thirteenth century, the Norwegian trade did not reach the zenith of its development until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The point at which the sharply defined and limited trade of the North of Europe, especially that of the Low Germans, came

The Great Market Town of Bruges

into contact with the world's commerce was at Bruges, the great international market that had arisen in the very focus of the Central European sphere of communication. Here were stored the valuable products of Western and Southern European industry, as well as the merchandise of the Levant. Bruges, like Ghent and Ypres—and, in fact, almost all the towns of Flanders, Brabant, and Northern France—was a manufacturing city, the chief industries being the various branches of cloth-making.

The population of this industrial region was so dense that in Flanders and Brabant (Old Belgium) it had been found necessary to import foodstuffs ever since the thirteenth century. The institution of guilds was in full sway. Even to-day the guild and cloth-halls with their towering belfries bear witness to the prosperity and organization of the Low Country burghers. In the thirteenth century the industrial guilds struggled for representation in the magistrates' courts and city governments. The patrician merchants, the "Poortus," united with the French out of hatred for the industrial classes; Flanders finally became a portion of the Burgundian provinces of the kingdom of the Valois. The trade of foreign merchants in

Bruges was frequently seriously disturbed by conflicts of the different social classes of the city, and by feuds with both domestic and foreign rulers.

Bruges was indebted to the relative proximity of the sea for its commercial prosperity. It was connected with Sluys as well as with Damme by waterways.

Bruges' Debt to the Sea

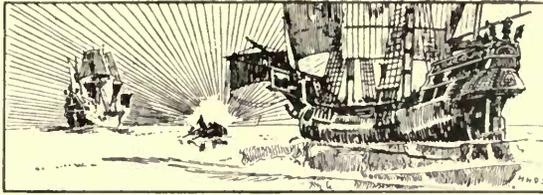
The harbour of Sluys was shallow and choked with sandbars; on the other hand, the Zwin, an arm of the sea extending inland and navigable as far as Bruges, was widened in order to form the future basin of the harbour of Damme. Vast dykes, built from 1180 on, protected Bruges from the floods of which we hear frequent mention in the history of the Netherlands of the Middle Ages. The bulk of the merchandise sent to Bruges by sea had always to be reloaded on smaller vessels before it reached its destination.

Until later than the thirteenth century, products of the Levant were transported overland from the Rhine or from the French markets. It is true that occasionally Italian vessels made their way to Flanders, but not until the year 1317 was there any regular traffic between Italy and the Low Countries by sea. From time immemorial ships of Western France, Spain, and Portugal, laden with wine, had landed at the Flemish coasts. Traffic with the German cities of the Rhine was also of unknown antiquity, certainly of earlier date than the appearance of Upper German merchants and Low German seafarers in Flanders. The Easterlings finally came during the thirteenth century, and were granted the same privileges as other foreigners, but no special rights. Margaret of Flanders conferred the usual privileges of trade in 1252 upon "all merchants of the Roman Empire who visit Gotland"; and thereafter, in Bruges also, the Easterlings occupied a position of complete equality with their West German predecessors.

German Methods of Coercion

Nevertheless, the claims of the associated German merchants were disregarded and resented in Bruges, and it became necessary for them to retaliate in 1280, temporarily removing their magazines from Bruges to Ardenburg—a means of coercion frequently employed in later days. In 1283 the Germans returned to Bruges, and wrested rights upon rights with unrelenting persistence until they became a practically privileged class.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
NATIONS IV

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE TRADE TRIUMPHS OF THE UNITED CITIES

As we have already seen, at the end of the thirteenth century German commercial depots, in which not only the nearest German cities, but often towns situated a long distance off, had a share, were established in all the nations of Northern Europe. In all countries the merchants of single cities first received rights and privileges, until, finally, the total of these

**Merchants
and Their
Privileges**

special rights was transferred to the great companies of German traders. The necessity for preserving their privileges, and also for settling all disputes among themselves without invoking the aid of foreign powers, led to a closer union of the merchants whose homes were in the "Empire of the Alemanni," but who lived abroad temporarily, and to the formation of self-governing associations, which remained fixed, in contrast to the constant changes that took place among their members. All these companies, yards, and offices retained their independence in respect to the mother city as long as they were able. They had the power of refusing entrance to whom they chose; there was yet no union of all the towns engaged in foreign trade.

In spite of this, however, in the thirteenth century common interests developed between the mercantile settlements in foreign lands and the cities from which they came. Indeed, the privileges were never granted by foreign rulers to individual merchants, but to the mercantile inhabitants or corporations of their native cities. Moreover, appeal was made to the courts at home on all difficult points of law, and it was not seldom that the mother cities, whose co-operation was indispensable, especially in laying embargoes on trade and in bringing about temporary removals of depots, were called upon for assistance. However displeasing it may have been to the self-governing unions of merchants in foreign lands, the fact was

**Where the
Trader had
Security**

that the true security of the trader lay in the hands of his native city, which, therefore, acquired the superintendence of all foreign depots. The common interests by which the cities of the mother country and, the depots were bound together finally united all the towns of Germany that were engaged in trade in the north and had common commercial privileges to defend.

Before the end of the thirteenth century leagues of German cities whose merchants were engaged in foreign trade had been formed. The history of this century was characterised by a strong tendency towards federation. The decay of imperial power under the later Hohenstauffens compelled many cities threatened by warlike nobles to join together for the protection of their political rights and economic interests. The majority of the leagues were limited in area or time,

**A Check to
Denmark's
Advance**

although easily renewed whenever necessary. Since the fall of Henry the Lion there had been no ruler in North Germany capable of offering opposition to a foreign enemy. The empire left the North to its fate when Waldemar the Great extended his power over the Baltic and the new colonial regions. This advance of Denmark was checked by a league of which Lübeck also was a member; the battle of Bornhöved secured room for development to the German Baltic regions for many years.

During the following years of peace the towns and principalities of Northern Germany rapidly increased in strength; the "Dominium maris Baltici" and supremacy in Northern European commerce was transferred to the Germans. Now began the long list of leagues and compacts entered into by cities bound together by common interests, and whole groups of communities closely united by common interests were established. As early as 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg had entered



C.G. Hellquist. 1892.

WAR ON THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE: A SCENE IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WALDEMAR IV., KING OF DENMARK, AND THE ALLIED TOWNS
From the painting by C. G. Hellquist

into a treaty, pledging each other to protect the entrance to the Elbe and other rivers from pirates. As allies, they waged war in 1259 and cleared the coasts of the sea-robbers. Other cities had at times made similar alliances. But each city went its way, and often at critical moments would adopt a policy different from that of its allies. This was sometimes due to compulsion; for all the towns were not free cities of the empire, but were under some reigning house, and at best were only semi-independent. The Pomeranian towns were under the dukes, Rostock belonged to the house of Schwerin, Hamburg to the counts of Holstein, and so with many others.

Then there were the great ecclesiastical cities governed by bishops or archbishops. No general bond was possible in such circumstances. The cities were involved in the wars and quarrels of their rulers. They struggled for a position of direct relation to the empire, and in time under this constitutional demand they won many privileges and immunities, but until the Treaty of Westphalia their place in

**The Great
Cologne
Union**

the imperial economy was ill-defined and uncertain. Many city groups were formed for common undertakings. There were groups of Westphalian cities, of Zuyder Zee cities, of Pomeranian, Prussian, and Saxon cities, of cities which were bishoprics and of cities which were mere markets; but all these groups were separate and self-dependent, in no way forming parts of a common league.

After the great Cologne Union of 1367 a general league seemed for a time possible. Aspirations for such a league were felt everywhere. The cities, separated as they had been by rivalries and feuds, saw that commercial interests pointed to common action in many ways. The security of the seas, the settlement of disputes, the protection of traders in foreign lands, were all matters of common concern. But no serious attempt to give shape and body to these purposes was made by any city except Lübeck. Again and again Lübeck had invited the other cities to form a real league. Her own interests coincided with the general interests of all. And from the Cologne Union onwards Lübeck laboured incessantly to bring about this desired result. By strict terms of compact in Hanse arrangements, by convoking general

assemblies, by inscribing names of members in a common roll, by statutes, ordinances, and bylaws, she gradually attained this ideal; but in spite of the glamour that can be exercised by a name or a conception, even by a dream, there was no Hanseatic assembly that can be proved to have been attended by all the cities, no resolution by which all the towns usually considered Hanseatic were bound, no membership roll in accordance with which regular contributions flowed in from all sides, no universally recognised statute, no common policy of defence, and no war in which all the members were engaged.

**Misconception
of Modern
Historians**

In short, the so-called Hanseatic League was a union of cities, similar in every respect to the union of German states called the Holy Roman Empire. The same tendency to the grand style was shown not only in the artistic, but also in the political and economic, models of this age. The misconception into which the majority of modern historians have fallen arises from the fact that they all attempt to measure the mediæval Hansa, which was completely in harmony with the spirit of its age, according to the standard of modern ideas of confederations. They imagine that the old towns took the field at the suggestion of Lübeck quite as unanimously as the various divisions of the army of the confederate German states advanced against the French in 1870.

Lübeck was no Athens, and the Hansa was not a Delian League. An attempt to introduce the Greek idea of hegemony and alliance in war into a description of Hanseatic affairs would result in a mere caricature. Had Lübeck been as powerful as Athens of the fifth century B.C., perhaps then she would have been able to enforce the coercive measures without which it is impossible to create a community of political individuals.

**Why
the League
Fell**

However, the coercive powers of the Hansa never attained to complete development, and the league fell because of their inadequacy. Nevertheless, the cities of the league were by no means unwarlike. All were constantly obliged to defend themselves against foreign princes and their own feudal superiors, against pillage by land and piracy by sea, against their sister cities; and the spirit of war was continually

aroused by internal dissensions. For all that, they were always weak from a military point of view ; and the only reason why it was possible for them to accomplish anything of a warlike nature was because at that time things were not much better with the forces of their ruling houses, even the large kingdoms. Since

Lübeck's Inability to Lead

Lübeck possessed little more than the average of military power and ability, it is quite evident that an energetic leadership, such as once had been exercised by Athens, Sparta, or Rome, was out of the question for her. Lübeck as a free imperial city was superior to her confederates only from a diplomatic point of view, for the reason that she was not exposed to the hampering paternal interference of a reigning prince. This circumstance heightened the reputation of the city on the Trave even in foreign lands.

The Hansa cannot be likened to a Hellenic League, not merely because of the weakness of the leading power, but by reason of the dependence of the individual cities of the union. The Greek federations were alliances of cities which were independent states ; the city leagues of the Middle Ages, especially the Hansa, were associations of towns, all subject to an emperor, and, with but few exceptions, to an immediate lord as well ; thus they were never in a position to act independently except when the power of the ruling prince had been overthrown.

The Prussian towns, for example, were in the iron grasp of the Teutonic Knights for a century and a half, and had no opportunity for self-dependent action until the fall of the order as a power. Membership in the Hansa was of no benefit either to a town or to its confederates, in case the policy and interests of a feudal superior imposed upon it a definite and unalterable attitude in regard to political affairs. When asked what were the character-

Features of the Hansa Towns

istic features by which a Hanse town was to be recognised, we cannot well name more than the one given by Dietrich Schaefer—participation in the rights of German merchants in foreign countries. If one were to enumerate all the cities that at least some time during their histories have been looked upon as members of the Hansa—in later times, when a permanent membership roll was required, it was found expedient to draw up lists—

the result would be the respectable total of ninety. The geographical region over which the various members of the league were scattered was also very extensive. The northern boundary is formed by the North Sea and the Baltic, although Gotland, Oeland, and Kalmar were also included. The continental southern boundary extended from Dinan, through Andernach, Göttingen, and Halle, and curved downward into the regions of the Oder and Vistula to Breslau and Cracow. The farthest point to the West was marked by the towns of Zealand ; to the East, by Reval and Narva.

Although the territorial groups of cities held their convocations with or without inviting neighbour groups, Lübeck endeavoured to convert the assemblies of the Lusatian towns into meetings of all the confederated cities taking part in foreign trade, and to transform these Hanseatic conventions, or "Hansetage," into periodically recurrent administrative and legislative bodies of the league. Many such conventions were held, not only in Lübeck, but in other cities. Lübeck issued the

How the Hansa Applied the Boycott

invitations, presided over the sittings of delegates, and preserved the minutes as well as the other records of the federation. In very few cases, however, were all the invitations accepted ; and very few assemblies were attended by a sufficient number of delegates to deserve the name of Hansetage. Full attendance was impossible, owing to the fluctuating character of the federation ; in short, the meetings of the league were in every respect counterparts to the imperial diets of the Middle Ages.

The only means at the disposal of the Hansa for the purpose of coercing refractory members was the boycott, or "Verhansung"—the suspension, nay, the prevention, of all traffic with the city in question, the seizure of its ships, cargoes, and other possessions, and the exclusion of its inhabitants from the common rights enjoyed by all merchants of the league in foreign countries ; in other words, non-admission to the depots and offices of the association from Bruges to Novgorod. It was a very uncertain means of coercion, and, moreover, one that cut both ways. The coercive measures adopted against foreign powers—suspension of commerce, removal of markets, and war—were also of the nature of a two-edged sword. It is

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

no wonder that the sober merchants of the Middle Ages infinitely preferred the most interminable negotiations to action, which as a rule led to nothing but their own damage. The Hanseatic politicians always displayed remarkable dexterity and tenacity in their negotiations. Woe to the opponent when the Hansa possessed any written evidence against him! With a document in their hands, and with all their chartered rights behind them, they wearied their enemies into submission. The Hanseatic envoys were indebted for not the least part of their diplomatic successes to the advantage which results from a narrow line of thought, and persistency in always returning to the point of departure.

That the Hanse leagues made such headway during the fourteenth century, and that any practical results were attained, was due entirely to their enemies. They were drawn into the affairs of the Scandinavian kingdoms against their will, and war alone assisted them to the degree of unity of which they were capable. It may be said to their credit that they pos-

Tradesmen in the School of War

essed at least a little heroism as an offset to their bourgeois narrow-mindedness. So long as a merchant was compelled to breathe the sea air and face the dangers of long voyages, he could not grow altogether blind and stupid in the semi-darkness of retail shops and herring magazines. Robbers and pirates forced him to be constantly on his guard, and the hostile inhabitants of foreign cities caused him to spring to arms whenever their ill-will against the privileged strangers burst into flame—an event which the unscrupulous and overbearing conduct of the Hanseatics made by no means rare. In short, the mediæval tradesman had not much holiday from the school of war.

The halt in the development of Denmark which followed the defeat of Waldemar the Great at Bornhoved in 1227, and which proved to be of such advantage to the Baltic colonies of Germany, came to an end during the times of King Eric Menved (1285-1319). Not only did Denmark resume her earlier plans of expansion, but the counts of Holstein and the margraves of Brandenburg also aspired to a share in the "Dominium maris Baltici." For five hundred years dominion over the Baltic was contested from two different points of view; from the mercantile—

as in the case of the Hanseatic League—and from the financial-political. To occupy the harbours, coasts, and seaports, to open them to commerce or to close them, as expediency demanded, and to be paid for doing it, were the objects held in view by all princes, great and small, who dwelt on the Baltic or who were

Denmark's Rule on the Baltic

endeavouring to advance towards its shores. It was with such an end in mind that Count Gerhard of Plön built a tower at the mouth of the Trave in defiance of Lübeck, just as Waldemar II had already done; Count Gerhard also occupied the region of commercial roads between Hamburg and Lübeck in 1306, in order to rob the merchants by compelling them to pay him for the escorts which he forced upon them.

During the same period the Ascanian line of Brandenburg once more, as in 1283, advanced against the Lusatian cities and the Pomeranian princes, who immediately looked to Denmark for help. The lords of Mecklenburg and Pomerania could not do otherwise than acknowledge the suzerainty of Denmark; Rostock, Greifswald, and Stralsund became as good as Danish cities. And when in 1307 Lübeck also became subject to the protectorate of King Eric for ten years, and even arranged an annual tribute, it looked very much as if the Baltic states were to become entirely alienated from the Holy Roman Empire.

But Eric was a very incapable ruler, and unable to retain his new territories. The Baltic towns freed themselves from the dominion of Denmark, and got a high price for their return to their former lords. After the death of Eric the whole of Denmark was under German influence. The new king, Christopher II., was expelled from the country, and Count Gerhard von Rendsburg of Holstein, called by his countrymen "de grote Ghert," and by the Danes "the bald-pated count," became regent in the minority

Denmark the Prize of Germany

of his ward Waldemar III. At that time Southern Jütland, or Schleswig, was already united to Holstein. When Christopher II. attempted to regain his kingdom, and was once more repulsed, Gerhard the Great called to his aid the nobility of North Germany, who thereupon took possession of Denmark as a welcome prize. The Danish entanglements, however, were not favoured by the Hanse towns. When Magnus, King

of Sweden and Norway, who had ill-treated them in Bergen, occupied Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen, adjacent to Denmark, they feared that the fishing-stations would be rendered inaccessible to them; nevertheless both Easterlings and Westerlings received a confirmation of their old rights and privileges in the towns

**Lubeck's
Star again
Shining**

and fishing-villages of Southern Sweden in 1336. Lübeck, whose star had in 1310 seemed about to set, was again, a decade later, playing the leading part in all negotiations with the northern rulers and the German lords.

"De grote Ghert" was murdered at Randers in 1340 when at the height of his power; and to this day the Danes sing the praises of his assassin, Niels Ebbenson, as the avenger of their nation and their deliverer from the ignominy of foreign rule. Christopher's youngest son, Waldemar IV., Atterdag, now took possession of the kingdom, supported by the Lusatian group, which also aided him in expelling the Holstein nobility and in forcing the counts of Schauenburg back across the Eider. Waldemar regained possession of Zealand and Fünen, and successfully withstood the Emperor Charles IV. when, after conquering Brandenburg, he revived the Baltic schemes of the Ascanian margraves.

The princes of Mecklenburg were once more compelled to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of Denmark, in spite of the fact that the emperor had made them dukes and looked upon them as vassals of the empire. Only the distant province of Esthonia was, on payment of a sum of money, resigned by Waldemar to the Teutonic Knights. No further prospects were open to the Danes on the continental side of the Baltic; it would have been difficult to gain any ground against the power of the emperor and the Teutonic Order. On the other hand, opportunities for reconquest and for the acquisition of new territories

**The Restored
Kingdom
of Waldemar**

were offered to the Danes on the breaking out of dissensions in the realm of King Magnus of Sweden and Norway. Leagued with North German princes, Waldemar regained Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen in 1360. The kingdom of Gorm the Old and Waldemar the Great was again restored to its former power. To the horror of the Lusatian towns, who had shortly before concluded a treaty with

Waldemar Atterdag, the king turned against Oeland in 1361, conquered Bornholm, set sail for Gotland, and before any steps could be taken in its defence captured this most important island.

Defeated before their city by his fierce knights, the citizens of Wisby opened the gates to the victor; Waldemar, however, preferred to consider the city as taken by storm, and refused to enter it except through a breach knocked in the wall by his retainers, that so he might have the right to exact enforced contributions from the burghers. As for the fabulous wealth of Wisby, an old song has it that the Gotlanders measured gold by the hundredweight, that precious stones were playthings, that the women span with golden distaffs, and that the pigs were given to drink out of silver troughs. The last especially seem to have fired the imaginations of the Danish ironsides who followed Waldemar on his plundering expedition. The king of the Danes and Wends henceforth styled himself king of the Goths or Gotlanders also. But the prosperity of Gotland had vanished, never

**Vanished
Prosperity of
Gotland**

to return. However, it is quite certain that Wisby could not have continued to maintain itself as a centre of trade even under more favourable circumstances, for the towns of Livonia—Riga, for example—had already begun to show far greater powers of development.

The conquest of Schonen and Gotland was a severe blow to the Easterlings, and by no means a matter of indifference to many a western city. Envoys from the various Lusatian and Prussian towns assembled at Greifswald resolved on a trade embargo against Denmark, and agreed to the raising of a war tax. In addition to the cities, the kings and princes of the countries of the Baltic coast were also roused to action by the conquests of Waldemar. Thus, six weeks after the capture of Wisby an alliance was entered into by the majority of the German towns, by the kings of Sweden and Norway, and the counts of Holstein, in order "to re-establish the balance of power between the Baltic nations, and to strengthen the position of the Hanse towns in Schonen. In order to allow for the possibilities of conquest, they pledged the entire southern coast of Sweden, together with the castles of Helsingborg, Skanör, and Falsterbo, to the kings." The Hanseatic fleet first

RISE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

turned toward Helsingborg. In the summer of 1362 it put to sea alone, before the allied princes had completed their preparations, and suffered a crushing defeat. The burgomaster of Lübeck, John Wittenborg, who had been in command, atoned for his ill-fortune on the scaffold. Soon the kings came to an understanding among themselves. Waldemar's daughter Margaret married Haakon of Norway, and thus the first step was taken towards the union of the northern kingdoms; even the cities of the Low Countries entered into a special treaty with Waldemar. The defeated and isolated Easterlings were obliged to agree to an unfavourable armistice and conditions of peace. The league was practically

sentatives of Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Kulm, Thorn, Elbing, Kampen, Elborg, Hardwick, Amsterdam, and Briel instituted the celebrated Cologne Confederation of November 11th, 1367, in the name of the Lusatian, Prussian, Livonian, Zuyder Zee, and Dutch cities. No mention of the participation of Rhenish-Westphalian, Frisian, Lower Saxon, or Brandenburg towns has come down to us. At the Cologne assembly a military expedition was arranged for the next year, the size of contingents as well as the amounts of contributions to the cost of the war were determined, and every city agreed to the imposition of a war tax. In February, 1368, the Lusatian cities concluded a two



THE HELSINGBORG CASTLE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

The great combination of towns, chiefly for the purposes of trade, known as the Hanseatic League, found in Denmark a serious rival on the sea, and eventually war broke out between that country and the league. Victory rested with the traders, and by the Treaty of Stralsund, in 1370, Denmark was brought into subjection to the league, and the important Castle of Helsingborg was one of the strongholds which then passed into its possession.

dissolved on the Peace of Helsingborg, in 1365; each city wished to procure some special advantage for itself, yet none received any definite promises from Waldemar, not to speak of tangible concessions.

The impulse towards a fresh alliance against Denmark arose in the Prussian towns, which could not dispense with the passage through the Sound, and had a close community of interest with the cities of the Zuyder Zee region, of which the centre was Kampen in Oberyssel. The allied cities of Prussia and the Netherlands now entered into negotiations with the Lusatian group. A general convention was arranged to take place in Cologne in the late autumn of 1367. Here the repre-

years' alliance with the princes of Sweden, Mecklenburg, and Holstein, who were opponents of Waldemar, and also a league for one year with the cities of Prussia and the Netherlands.

In the year 1368 the allies captured Copenhagen and the strongholds of Jütland and Schonen, with the exception of Helsingborg, which held out against them until the autumn of 1369. A blockade, through which the English and Flemings also were excluded from Norway, compelled Haakon to negotiate for peace; and since the movement against Mecklenburg planned by Waldemar had also failed to attain its hoped-for result, the Danish Council of State entered into negotiations with the

confederation in 1369, Lübeck representing the cities. Peace was declared in 1370, at a convention in Stralsund. This consisted of two series of agreements—one economic and commercial, and the other political. "In respect to the first, the Hansa obtained practically all the demands that had constantly been made, now by one city, now by

Conditions of the Peace of Stralsund

another, during the last half-century"—free-trade throughout the whole of Denmark, freedom from strand law, their own jurisdiction over the fishing-depots, and reductions in duties. To the political changes that resulted from the Peace of Stralsund belong the pledging to the league of the most important castles of Schonen and those situated on the Sound—Falsterbo, Skanör, Malmö, and Helsingborg—together with the payment of two-thirds of the revenues accruing to them during a period of fifteen years. Waldemar was to recognise the peace as binding until Michaelmas, 1371, by affixing his great seal. In case of his abdication or death, no king was to succeed to the throne of Denmark without the approval of the Hansa.

Although the princes allied with the Hansa were not satisfied with the terms of peace arranged by the towns on their own responsibility, they were unable to continue the war unassisted, and so they too came to terms with Denmark at Stockholm in 1371. Waldemar IV. delayed the ratification of the Stralsund negotiations to the last moment, and finally sealed the treaty only with the small seal, obtaining further concessions in addition. The management of the pledged castles in Schonen was a source of many difficulties to the league, the division of the revenues especially causing many disputes. When Waldemar died, in 1385, and was succeeded by his grandson Olaf, son of his younger daughter Margaret and Haakon of Norway, who was crowned without the formal assent of the Hansa, a final settlement of Hanseatic affairs seemed probable. However, Olaf refused to confirm the Stralsund peace with the great seal until the Hansa had relinquished their claims to the right of ratifying the Danish succession. Negotiations of a like nature to those of Korsör took place in Kallundborg. Haakon of Norway confirmed all the privileges which had ever been granted in his kingdom to the Hansa, and, in addition, granted all Hanseatic vessels the right to

Waldemar's Grandson on the Throne

enter the ports of Norway flying their own flags, which they were not required to lower until landing.

The Treaties of Stralsund and Korsör secured the rights of the Hanse towns in Denmark for many generations, and, with the exception of the pledging of the castles on the Sound, which was only for fifteen years, were on the whole faithfully preserved until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The negotiations at Kallundborg had also ended in satisfactory terms with Norway, and now for the first time the depot at Bergen began to prosper. The foundations of the rights of the Hansa were now so firmly fixed that the league tried to procure monopolies for its members in accordance with the general aims and purposes of all privileged classes and places in the Middle Ages, who looked upon the acquisition of monopolies as the final object at which they ought to aim. So long as the Leaguers held the castles on the Sound this policy was feasible; but when the castles were restored, monopoly was no longer possible. Still the Hansa by the application of

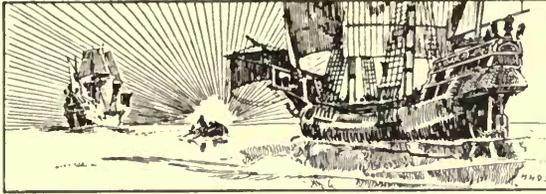
vigorous effort won in open competition the predominant position in the Baltic trade.

Union of Norway and Sweden

All the Hansa cities had not joined in the Cologne Confederation, but only those whose trading interests were involved. The Peace of Stralsund in appearance confirmed the rights of the leaguers. But of the two pledges given for securing these rights, one, the right of the Hansa to ratify succession to the Danish throne, was only once exercised, and the other, the occupation of the castles, proved of no value, as the cost of upkeep and of policing the sea absorbed all the revenues available from the occupation.

As the league did not oppose Olaf's succession, his able mother Margaret confirmed the Danish privileges of the Hansa. But when Olaf succeeded Haakon of Norway, in 1380, and united both crowns, he declined to confirm the privileges of the Hansa in Norway. Five years later, when the castles reverted to Denmark, the Hansa was reduced to its former position as a purely commercial association, and although negotiations went on for years, the Hansa failed to better its status or to augment its rights. At Olaf's death, in 1387, Margaret played with the cities, cajoling and promising, but doing nothing to renew their privileges.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
NATIONS
V

ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY TO THE DECLINE OF THE GERMAN SEAPORTS

In Bruges from an early date German merchants had settled and opened factories. These factories obeyed the mother cities from which they had sprung. From 1360 to 1380 disputes arose, but the supremacy of the mother cities was finally admitted in Bruges as elsewhere. The rights of the Hansa remained in full force and effect up to 1560, when the markets of Bruges were removed to Antwerp. The success of the Hansa was due to strong measures adopted in 1358, and continued for a couple of years. An embargo was laid on trade and the markets were temporarily removed to Dordrecht. This drastic policy secured for the Hanseatic traders the right of free settlement in all Flanders. Slight differences arose again in 1388, and finally, in 1392, the Germans in Bruges were firmly placed in possession of all the trading rights for which they had contended, and all subjects of the empire were made participators in these rights when settled in Flanders for purposes of trade.

England's Kings Friendly to the Hansa In England also, the position of the Hansa at the end of the fourteenth century was becoming increasingly difficult; but here, too, the German cities succeeded in warding off all dangers. The three Edwards were friendly to foreigners, and granted them complete freedom in both wholesale and retail trade throughout the entire kingdom, even in the wool and metal industries. Richard II. also confirmed the rights and privileges of the Hansa shortly after his accession. But during the reign of this weak sovereign the national hostility to the commercial dominion of foreigners, which until that time had been held in abeyance, arose in full force. The House of Commons, as the representative of the people, induced the king to suspend all the privileges of the Hansa until the latter had cleared itself of various charges preferred against it. This was the beginning of a long struggle, frequently interrupted, but

invariably resumed in order, on the part of the rising native trade, to free itself from the commercial ascendancy of foreigners, especially members of the Hanseatic League. Although at first a battle for the markets of England, it soon became

Great Trade a Victory for England a struggle for admission to all the Northern European markets, a privilege that the Hanseatics would gladly enough have kept to themselves alone. The English first demanded entrance to the Norwegian and Danish centres of trade, and then to the Hanse towns themselves. The struggle lasted until nearly the end of the Elizabethan Age, and closed about 1600 with the complete victory of England.

During the reign of Richard II. a protracted dispute arose on account of the position taken by the Hansa in respect to all foreigners in Norway and Schonen after the conclusion of the Peace of Stralsund. The English merchants did not submit like the other non-German peoples. Now, as before, they sailed boldly into the Baltic and obtained whatever goods they required without the assistance of the Hanseatic, especially the Lübeck, middlemen. The hostile attitude of the Baltic towns was answered by the already mentioned temporary suspension of Hanseatic privileges in England. In addition, the English demanded an equality of rights in all towns and districts of the Hansa. The Germans received the usual confirmation of their privileges towards the end of the year 1380, without having granted full reciprocity to the English. The dispute

Free Trade with Baltic Seaports that followed, made all the more acute through seizures and embargoes, lasted until 1388. From this time forth the

English enjoyed free trade with the Baltic seaports. Their merchants organised according to Hanseatic models, and elected an alderman whose duty was to adjust differences and to represent the interests of his countrymen in all their dealings

with foreigners. Although bickering still continued between Englishmen and Germans, even after the agreement of 1388, the position of the latter in England remained unaltered. The first of the Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., confirmed the charters of the Hanseatics on their agreeing to an increase in certain customs duties, a

The Growing Sea-power of England

procedure indispensable to the well-being of the government. The chief feature of Hanseatic-English relations did not lie in

the recognition of former privileges, but in the fact that the league was compelled to grant free play to the growing sea-power of England, even while the latter was only beginning to develop.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Baltic was finally freed from the plague of pirates brought down upon it by the war of the Swedish succession. Long after Albert had been set free and Stockholm handed over to the Hansa as a pledge, the "Vitalienbrüder" had continued their marauding expeditions, still remaining in the service of the House of Mecklenburg, which had not yet abandoned all hopes of regaining possession of the Swedish crown. However, the Vitalienbrüder removed their headquarters to Wisby, although the greater part of Gotland continued under the dominion of Margaret. They also found places of refuge in the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, and even on the coast of Pomerania, but Rostock and Wismar closed their harbours to them. They were of the greatest injury to the associated German merchants. The situation suddenly became altered when the Teutonic Order brought Wisby and the rest of Gotland under its jurisdiction in 1398. Inasmuch as the Lusatian cities had just then completed their preparations for attacking the freebooters, and had agreed on the raising of a war tax, and since the queen of the three northern kingdoms had also taken steps against them, the Vitalienbrüder left their Baltic hiding-place for the North Sea, which they now made the scene of an activity that had absolutely no political motives whatever behind it.

The North Sea had always pirates of its own, who were chiefly of Frisian origin. During the Hundred Years War robberies perpetrated by French and English buccaneers frequently gave the Hansa grounds for complaint. But now the Vitalienbrüder,

in addition, disturbed the sphere of Western European maritime commerce from their new headquarters in Friesland. Once more the Hansa was obliged to unite its merchant vessels bound for the Netherlands into fleets of about twenty ships each, accompanied by convoy boats. Although the league vainly endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the cities of Flanders, a squadron despatched from Lübeck and Hamburg proved strong enough to defeat the Vitalienbrüder in the Ems, in April, 1400. Some of the freebooters fled to Norway, others sought refuge with the counts of Holland; but Hamburg continued her campaign against the pirates until, finally, the chief of the buccaneers, Klaus Störtebeker, was captured and executed—an often-sung event that has long been retained in the memory of a people otherwise forgetful enough in regard to historical occurrences.

Nevertheless, piracy on the North Sea continued, and also the name of the Vitalienbrüder, who for many years enjoyed a second period of prosperity under the self-chosen designation *Likendeeler*, or "equal-sharers."

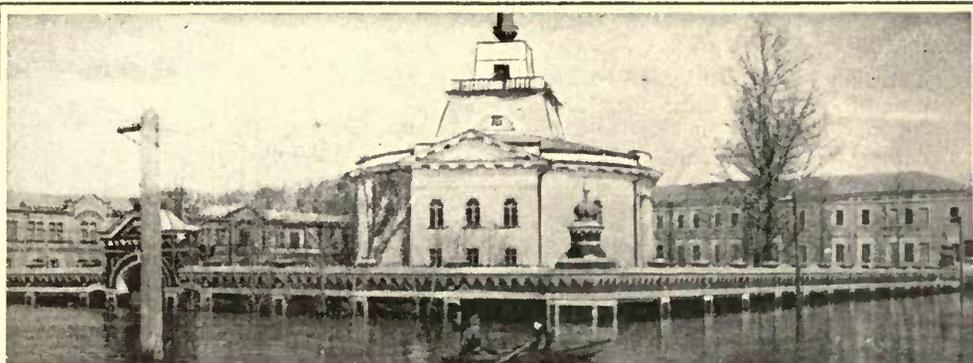
Aims of the Teutonic Order

The occupation of Gotland by the Teutonic Order was a source of great anxiety to the Hansa, for the order—

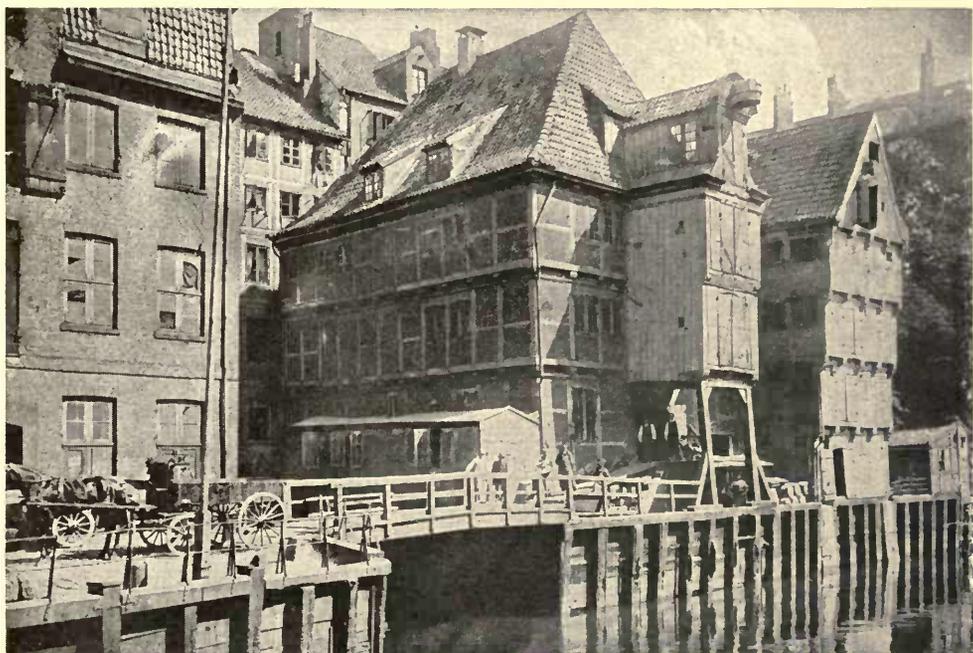
with which the non-Prussian cities of the Baltic sought to stand upon as good terms as possible for the sake of their common interests—pursued its own special aims, and was a very untrustworthy ally; moreover, it opposed the union of the three northern kingdoms, and challenged Margaret of Denmark to battle for the political supremacy of the Baltic.

This caused the Hanse towns, hitherto neutral, considerable embarrassment. Should they take part in the struggle between the two powers, or should they, as formerly, let events take their course, in order to be in a position to offer their services as mediators when the right moment arrived? The Teutonic Order would not be turned from its design of occupying Gotland, and its commercial policy immediately proved dangerous to the Hansa.

The Prussian, and especially the Livonian, towns had always striven in vain for equal rights with Wisby and Lübeck in Novgorod. Now, as a result of an agreement with Lithuania, an independent commercial region previously open to the Prussian group alone of the Hanse cities was suddenly closed to them also; the



HANSEATIC WAREHOUSES AT NOVGOROD IN RUSSIA



THE LEAGUE IN GERMANY: SOME OF ITS OLD WAREHOUSES AT HAMBURG



HANSEATIC BUILDINGS IN THE ONCE FAMOUS COMMERCIAL CITY OF BRUGES
DEPOTS OF THE POWERFUL TRADE COMBINATION, THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

founding of a depot in Kovno resulted in a competition which threatened to injure the trade of Novgorod and Pskoff, and in fact did so. The treaty concluded by the Grand Master of the Order and Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, on the Sallinwerder in 1398 ended the tedious struggles which for a long time had kept both powers in check. This treaty, so favourable to the Teutonic Order, was made by Lithuania because it was necessary for the latter to protect its rear in view of the impending struggle with Russia; and Prussia was quite willing to come to terms now that Lithuania had ceased to be a heathen land and the scene of uninterrupted religious wars.

Although the relations of the two powers soon became strained again, a fresh struggle culminating in the fall of the order, this had no lasting effects either on the independent trade carried on by the Prussian towns in Lithuania and Poland, or on the depot at Kovno. When the old connection between the Prussian Order and its cities was destroyed by the dissolution of the former, the latter did not seek for new relations with the other Baltic towns, but pursued their own course, which was entirely out of harmony with the Lusatian and general Hanseatic interests. The development of the federal character of the Hansa was over. The system of territorial groups of cities corresponding to the general development of the German nation proved fatal to the beginnings of a common league of German towns.

At the very time that the antagonism between the far-seeing commercial policy of the Teutonic Order and the narrower trade interests of the towns subject to it was in process of widening into a gulf that could not be bridged over, a new competitor for the "Dominium," or, rather, the Condominium, of the Baltic appeared, a pretender that barred the way of the Order-state to the sea—Poland-Lithuania, finally united in 1401. This union was a greater source of danger to the Teutonic Order than was that of the three northern kingdoms. It was impossible for it to live with foes on both sides, so it made peace with the North, ceding the island of Gotland, which it had retained for nine years, to Eric, King of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, in return for a small sum

of money, in 1407. Previously, however, the order had obtained, in 1402, the "New Mark" of Brandenburg from Sigismund of Luxemburg in the form of a pledge, in order completely to bar the way of the Poles to the sea. Further events, such as the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, so ruinous to the order, have but little bearing on the present subject. The advance of the Western Slavs, who so often succeeded in bringing the eastern expansion of the Teutonic races to a halt—and, indeed, frequently regained extensive tracts of land from the latter—was also a constant source of injury to the Hanseatic League. Owing to their helplessness the cities were even unable to think of attacking Poland; but, on the other hand, they looked upon the catastrophe of Tannenberg as having been a desirable check to the ambitions of the order.

The ancient Greeks have told us with a shudder of sympathetic awe about the children of fortune who, lifted up by fate and tempted to evil by success, suddenly found themselves cast down into the depths of misery from the very zenith of prosperity. To these self-destroying creatures, maddened by happiness, victims of the blind powers of chance, the German Hansa certainly did not belong. The gods did not abruptly thrust it into the abyss after the manner in which they treated the Teutonic Order; but they did not permit the league to expand or to attain to greatness—they hindered its progress systematically, as it were, and with a most conscientious attention to detail. Fate never permitted the Germans of the lowlands to develop their commercial activity beyond a certain point, either in respect to privileges or to area controlled.

Even Nature herself seems to have taken part in this general conspiracy against them: through an unlooked-for caprice she inflicted an injury on their trade from which the mercantile politicians of the Baltic towns, for all their wisdom, were never able to recover. The herrings, which, together with the codfish, are admirable types of the most stupid of gregarious animals, were, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, unfaithful to the regions which since the very earliest times they had been accustomed to visit for the purpose of spawning. Why the herrings temporarily deserted the basin of the

**Lithuania
Abandons
Heathenism**

**Fate's Hand
on the
Germans**

**The Teutonic
Order
in Danger**

THE ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY

Baltic Sea at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to return again and again—usually in “fish-periods,” lasting sixty years—is a question for which history has no answer. Although, in spite of its wanderings into other seas, the herring still remained a fish accustomed to spawn on the coasts, to be caught in nets, and to be salted, smoked, and dried, completely unconcerned as to the nationality of the fishermen, this was by no means a matter of indifference to the Easterlings, who were joined by competitors at the fisheries in the shape of the dwellers on the North Sea coasts, now that the herrings had turned to the waters of England, Scotland and Norway.

In addition to the fisheries, there were so many different interests to be guarded that during the fifteenth century the Hanse towns, either singly or in groups, frequently found themselves involved in the most difficult of conflicts. As a foundation for closer union, especially between neighbouring cities, there existed a common necessity for protecting the privileges of the municipalities and the welfare of the league against the ill-will and deeds of violence of the ruling princes.

Secessions from Hanseatic League

During the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the majority of the cities of North Germany, in addition to losing many of their rights of self-government, were compelled by their territorial sovereigns to renounce all participation in the Hanseatic League. The fate of complete dependence on the power of a reigning prince was first visited on the Brandenburg group under the house of Hohenzollern. But the Burgundian, Rhenish-Westphalian, Low Saxon, Pomeranian, and Prussian cities were also gradually subjected to the power of the rulers of their respective states. The latter were supported by the fundamental idea of solidarity, the victorious advance of which could not be withstood by the weakly organised political formations of the Middle Ages.

The attacks made by the ruling princes on municipal liberties were furthered not a little by dissensions which arose within the towns themselves. These conflicts were more serious in North Germany than elsewhere. Central and Southern Germany had already passed through the most dangerous phases of the crisis caused by the struggles of the guilds, when the same

troubles arose in the Hanse cities. Not only in respect to commerce and culture, but politically, the northern and southern portions of the Holy Roman Empire stood in sharp contrast to one another.

As in the rest of Europe, a patrician class had also developed in the North German cities, an oligarchy of the rich, who held municipal government fast in their own hands, and laid claim to an inherited, exclusive right to the management of all public affairs. As time went on, the upper class became more and more isolated from the lower ranks of the community. It transmitted its privileges by granting equal rights to its descendants; in other words, it became a distinct and separate estate. Members of this class were called “Junkers,” and exclusive assemblies and banquets were held in their residences, or “Junkerhöfen.” The patrician class of the Hanse towns had arisen from the families of wholesale dealers, and many of them still continued to carry on trade on a great scale. It was not the fact of their being merchants, however, that gave them social standing, but the possession of freehold property, or of fiefs, from which they took the name of “Rentner,” or capitalists. The ordinary merchants, who were accustomed to make annual journeys, often remaining abroad for years, formed a middle class that had no share in municipal offices, and exerted no influence on the general affairs of the city. The more wealthy of the craftsmen, the brewers, and the retail dealers in cloth, were also in the same position. The chief endeavour of this middle class was to obtain the right to take part in civil government. It was not difficult for them to stir up the masses, and to use the proletariat as a battering-ram in their struggles with the patricians.

The usual course taken by events in a Hanse town during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that, as a result of rebellions on the part of the middle and lower classes, the councillors or aldermen were turned out of office, and various changes were introduced in the municipal constitution. Patrician reactions almost invariably followed, and the earlier form of government was then re-established, perhaps with some alterations. At the period of the Reformation the city democracies once more began to struggle for

The Patricians of the Hanse Towns

Democracy's Struggle for the Mastery

the mastery, yet without being able to retain it for any length of time, for the Lutheran clergy were no less anti-democratic and reactionary than their Catholic predecessors. The old class antagonisms in the towns gradually ceased under the increasing pressure of the ruling princes and of the legislation established by them.

Horrors of Class Quarrels

which now included all municipal affairs within its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century troubles between the different classes continued to lead to very serious results. Hate, barbarity, and treachery, with their attendant murder, execution, mutilation, arson, robbery, and pillage, were the chief characteristics of the town life of the period.

Together with the desire for the protection of foreign trade, the tie that prevented the Hansa from falling to pieces until the second half of the sixteenth century was the endeavour of the patrician classes of the various cities to uphold constitutions favourable to their interests. Even Bremen, intractable as she had been, more than once expelled from the league, sought help from her sister cities when the patricians were banished in 1365. The Hansetag, or convention of 1366, decided that sentences passed in one town should be valid for all members of the league. Cologne, Brunswick, Stralsund, Anklam, and Dortmund were all visited by democratic revolutions during the fourteenth century; in Brunswick the guilds obtained the upper hand, in spite of temporary expulsion from the Hansa and trade embargoes. Also Lübeck, the chief city of the league, was compelled to employ force in suppressing a movement among the guilds in 1380.

As a rule, the guilds were supported by the reigning houses in all cities governed by hereditary princes. Tyranny, Cæsarism, and legitimate unlimited monarchy are, in

Guilds Supported by Princes

reality, democratic forces that assist in the destruction of privileged classes and professions. If the monarchical forms of government of the last few centuries have established themselves upon aristocracy of birth and the possession of landed property, it has been only in order that these qualities might be put to use, not because of any real necessity for them. Hanseatic policy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries centred in the

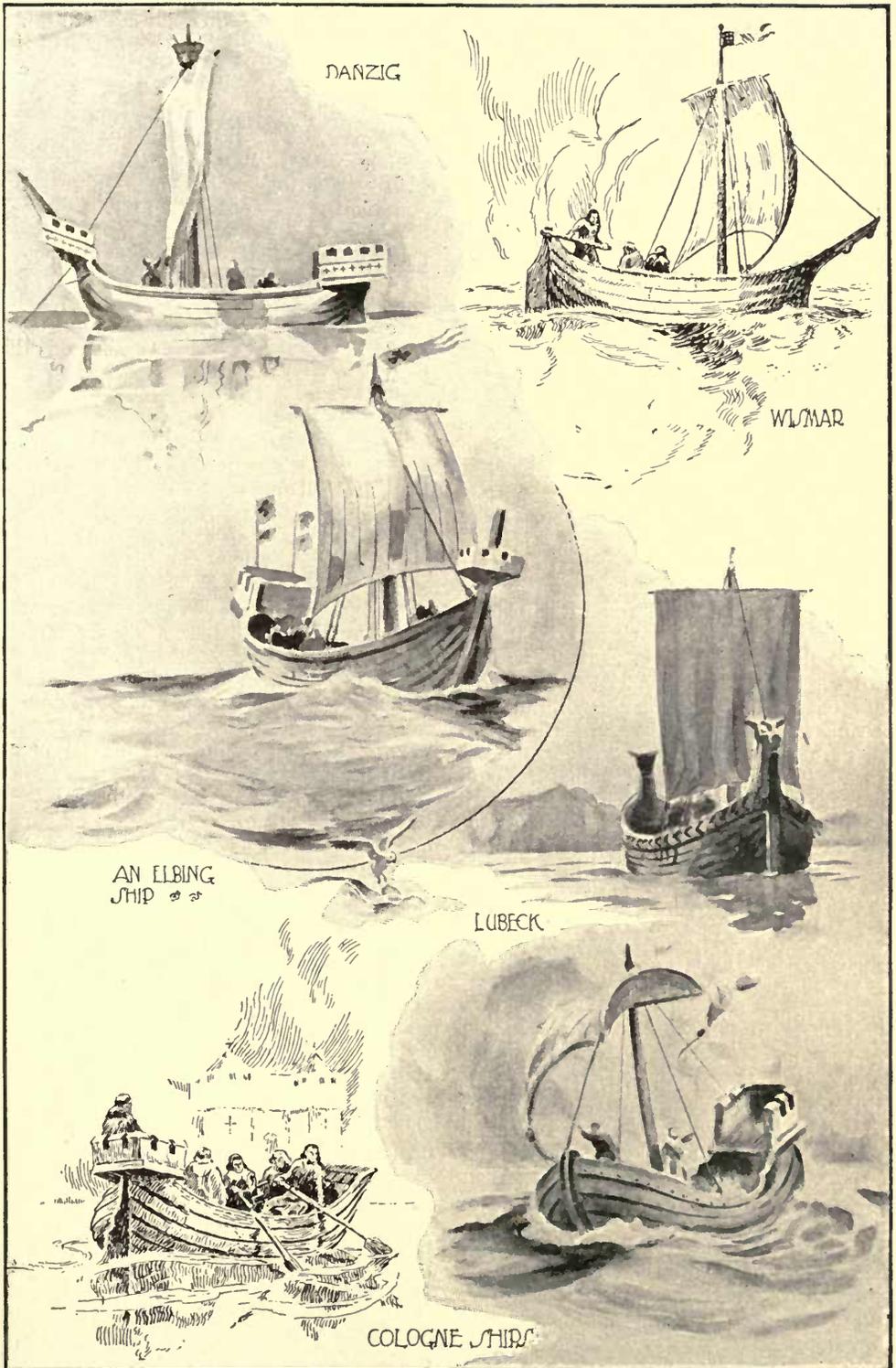
relations of the league with the Scandinavian kingdoms. In this case neutrality was of no service—the adoption of a definite position alone could secure protection and extension of commercial privileges; in fact, it did not lie beyond the bounds of possibility for the Hansa to determine the course of events through an active interference in political affairs.

Both in the Slavie east and in the Romano-Germanic west the league was for the most part forced to permit great political events to run their course. Its position was one of toleration; by actively interfering it would merely have vainly exhausted its insufficient powers of coercion. The attack of King Eric on Schleswig and on the dukes of Schauenburg compelled the citizens of Hamburg to take up arms in defence of their Holstein neighbours. The strange spectacle was presented of Hamburg and the Vitalienbrüder—who had been persuaded to join their forces against Denmark—fighting on the same side. Lübeck avoided the struggle from the very first, and finally was successful in bringing about peace. At

The Hansa's Policy of Defence

this time the Hansa again took up the policy of union which it had adopted during the wars of Waldemar; the Lübeck Confederation of 1418 was the first since that of Cologne in 1367. A large number of cities, in all forty-seven, became members of the new association. Inland towns were strongly represented, and many cities of the Netherlands also participated. A definite proportion was laid down for the provision of men and money, and it was decided that if any town of the confederation were attacked, it should receive assistance, first, from the four nearest cities of the association, later, from the eight nearest, and finally, if necessary, from the entire league. The confederation also introduced rules of arbitration, in case of disputes between members. These measures were directed chiefly against such princes as were hostile to the towns.

The confederation also adopted a very firm position against the democratic revolutionists. Agreements were also made as to commercial affairs; for example, the exportation of grain not purchased in Hanseatic ports was forbidden. This was a demonstration against the Dutch, who sought out unfrequented harbours and endeavoured to dispense with the intermediate carrying trade of the Hansa.



HANSE SHIPS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Affairs in the North kept the Hanse towns, especially the Lusatian group, constantly occupied. Lübeck was at first allied with King Eric VII., against whom Hamburg was already in arms. Then, through the obvious favour shown to the Hollanders, to whom he opened the Sound, Eric succeeded in alienating his former friends.

Favourites of Denmark

Lübeck made war on him from 1426 until the Peace of Word- ingbord in 1435. Schleswig, the bone of contention, remained with the dukes of Schauenburg; Lübeck was enabled to lock up in her strong chest a new confirmation of the hundred years' old Hanseatic privileges. The relations of the Hansa to the Scandinavian kingdoms underwent no change when Eric was deposed in 1439 and succeeded by Christopher of Bavaria, but complaints of the favours bestowed upon the Westerlings by Denmark became more and more frequent.

After Christopher's death, in 1448, Christian I. of Oldenburg, the forefather of the present house of Denmark, ascended the Danish-Norwegian throne with the approval of the Hansa. Although Sweden had separated from the Union, and was now engaged in a seven years' war with the other two kingdoms, the Hansa took no part in the struggle, content with a fresh confirmation of their valuable rights and privileges. Nor did they interfere when, after the main line of Schauenburg had become extinct in 1460, Christian I. was invested with the title of Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein.

From this memorable year date the sufferings of the provinces beyond the Elbe, whose destinies were now united with those of Denmark. Although the Danish-Norwegian king showed no open hostility to the Hansa, Lübeck and Hamburg were at least sufficiently on their guard to increase the height of their walls and to strengthen their towers. In

English Hostility to the Hansa

England, also, the league preserved its settlements and privileges during the fifteenth century, although relations frequently became strained, once, indeed, to the point of open war. The English merchants continued their endeavour to nationalise export and maritime trade, and to wrest it from the hands of foreigners; they founded a wool market at Calais, and their mariners appeared in waters over which the Hansa claimed to have

exclusive control. Scarcely able to make any headway in Norway, the lands of the Baltic—though the Wendish cities were practically inaccessible—offered them an asylum—also visited by the Hollanders—in Danzig. The metropolis of Prussian commerce had advanced in prosperity with the decline of the oppressive dominion of the Teutonic Order. Without breaking with Lübeck, the merchants of Danzig took their own course in regard to trade with Poland-Lithuania, Holland, and England. English merchants founded a depot on Hanseatic lines at Danzig in 1428, their rights being based on the treaties of reciprocity between England and the league. Nevertheless Lübeck, always ready to appeal to the law when her interests were threatened, was greatly displeased with the advance of the English into the Baltic regions, although she had little to fear from competition.

The commerce of England was not yet sufficiently developed for that. In fact, owing to the struggle with France and to the Wars of the Roses, England was in no condition to look after her commercial interests with any great care; the civil war gave the Hansa a welcome opportunity of mediating between the two parties, as well as of receiving payment from both for apparent services. During these days of king-making Lübeck boldly ventured to seize and to lay an embargo on English ships in the Sound.

A proceeding of this nature gave the English government occasion to take violent reprisals on the Easterlings dwelling in Great Britain in 1468. Thereupon one of the weakest points of the Hanseatic League came to light; the merchants of Cologne, who had always looked upon themselves as the rightful owners of the London depot and as having been deposed by the Easterlings, deserted their associates, established themselves as the sole owners of the Steelyard, and obtained documents attributing to them exclusive rights over the German guild hall in London.

In the meantime the Hansa had decided to expel Cologne from the league and to boycott English commerce. Since not only Henry VI. but Edward IV., on recovering the throne, confirmed the possession of the Steelyard to Cologne, the suspension from the league and the trade embargo continued in force; in fact, a systematic naval war

THE ERA OF HANSEATIC ASCENDANCY

such as the Hansa had never before waged against England, though it had against Denmark, began in 1472. In February, 1474, the Peace of Utrecht was concluded between the English king and the league. The negotiations were conducted by the municipal dignitaries of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Dortmund, Münster, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Danzig, Deventer, and Nimeguen. The league regained possession of the Steelyard and of the depots in Boston and Lynn, and their privileges again came into force. Cologne, abandoned by Edward IV., was readmitted to the league under humiliating conditions four years after the Peace of Utrecht.

Free trade with all the Hanseatic cities, "as it had been the custom one hundred years before," was granted to England; but for yet another hundred years complete reciprocity remained an open question that each Hanse town answered according to its own interests. It was not finally settled until the Tudor kingdom gained new strength, and then in a way that proved fatal to German active trade.

The Rich Prizes of War The exasperation felt by Lübeck ever since the time of King Eric outlived the Peace of Worthingbord, in 1435; and shortly after, in the year 1437, war broke out between the Easterlings and Westerlings. Each side captured the mercantile fleet of the other, but the Easterlings suffered the greatest injury, for their ships were the larger and their cargoes the more valuable. In 1441 Duke Philip the Good negotiated a truce, although the chief questions at issue remained undecided.

Even if war did not break out again, the connection between Easterlings and Westerlings was severed; moreover, the Hollanders, although no longer members of the league, could not be driven away from Baltic waters. The Hanse towns maintained their privileges in Flanders, especially in Bruges, during the fifteenth century; they employed their old means of coercion—threatening to remove their markets elsewhere—and always with success, against the merchants of Bruges, who were quite as desirous of obtaining a monopoly as they were themselves.

By the second half of the fifteenth century the city of Bruges was in a pronounced state of decline. Its harbours and canals became more and more choked up with sand; the city was already in-

capable of serving as the chief market for the trade between the Northern and Southern European spheres of commerce. The people of Bruges might have overcome their misfortunes to a certain degree by their own exertions; but nothing was done, owing to the political quarrels in which Bruges, accustomed to leadership, insisted on having a part. It occupied the most prominent position in the war that raged through the hereditary dominions of the house of Burgundy after the death of Charles the Bold, in 1477.

Bruges Falls from Power The foreign merchants, from whose presence Bruges derived its greatness, emigrated in large numbers to Antwerp, a more favourably situated and quieter town. In spite of the horrors of war and pillage the Easterlings continued at their decaying depots in Bruges. They remained long after the other foreigners had gone; indeed, they were still at their offices when Antwerp surpassed Bruges as a commercial centre, and when the trade of Europe underwent a revolution such as it had never experienced before or since. For two generations the Hanseatics continued obdurate, singing the while the litany of their inalienable rights, until, finally, they also emigrated to Antwerp, and, naturally enough, arrived too late. The history of the Hansa when at the summit of its power, from the second half of the fourteenth until the end of the fifteenth century, is cheerless and dull, and worthy of but little consideration. Nevertheless, the league prospered, remained in possession of its foreign rights and privileges, and at home continued to be a power in political and economic life.

Other cities and groups of cities showed themselves to be no less tenacious than Lübeck and its following of Lusatian towns in holding fast to their traditional claims and pretensions. Indeed, they still maintained the supremacy in northern commerce, and possessed great influence in the northern kingdoms. But with the fundamental change in political affairs that took place within the Hanseatic sphere of influence during the fifteenth century, and produced still greater effects during the sixteenth, the German seaports, whether single or united, were no longer able to preserve their commercial supremacy.

RICHARD MAYR

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
<p>A.D. 510 520 534 563 577 588 597</p>	<p>Clovis sole king of the Franks Scots from Ireland establish kingdom of Alban in Argyle Burgundy absorbed by Franks St. Columba at Iona. Spread of Celtic Chris- tianity West Saxon victory at Deorham Kingdom of Northumbria formed Augustine introduces Roman Christianity in Kent</p>	<p>A.D. 500 527 537 541-8 552-87 568 580</p>	<p>Theoderic the Ostrogoth king of Italy Justinian emperor at Byzantium Belisarius, Justinian's general, in Italy Conflicts between Belisarius and Totila the Goth Narses recovers Italy for the empire Conquest of N. Italy by Lombards Gregory I. (the Great) Pope. Conversion of Lombards from Arianism</p>
<p>817 830 833 855 867</p>	<p>Edwin king of Northumbria Pippin the Elder, Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, dominates Merovingian monarchy Penda of Mercia champion of Paganism Penda overthrown by Oswy of Northumbria Pippin of Heristal ruler of Franks</p>	<p>804 838 843 862 869</p>	<p>Death of Gregory the Great Rothari king of Lombards. Extension of Lom- bard dominion Lombard legal code Grimwald king of Lombards Frisians subjugated by Pippin of Heristal</p>
<p>701 710 711 717 732 735 747 752 758 768 778 789 800</p>	<p>Rise of Wessex under Ine Saracens invade Spain Saracens overthrow Goths in Spain Charles Martel head of Franks Charles defeats Saracens at Poitiers (Tours) Death of Venerable Bede Charles succeeded by Pippin "le Bref" Pippin king of the Franks; Carolingian dynasty Offa king of Mercia Charlemagne king of the Franks Charlemagne in Spain. Roncesvalles First viking raid on England. Constantine I. king of the Picts (N. & E. Scotland) Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome</p>	<p>718 726 727 731 753 754 753 774 775-9 788 796 800</p>	<p>Repulse of Saracens before Byzantium by Em- peror Leo the Isaurian "Iconoclastic" decrees of Leo Pope Gregory II. resists Iconoclasm Gregory III. Pope: the last whose consecration received Eastern emperor's sanction Lombards attack the papacy Pope Stephen appeals to King Pippin Pippin defeats the Lombards Charlemagne conquers and annexes Lombard kingdom Conquest of Saxony by Charlemagne Conquest of Bavaria by Charlemagne Conquest of Avars by Charlemagne Beginning of Western or Holy Roman Empire</p>
<p>802 820 828 839 843 844 845 855 871 875 878 879 885 888 888 898</p>	<p>Egbert king of Wessex Northmen in Ireland Egbert over-lord of all England Ethelwulf succeeds Egbert. Increase of Danish raids Charles the Bald king of West Franks. Begin- ning of French kingdom Pictish and Scottish kingdoms united under Kenneth McAlpin Northmen penetrate to Paris Danes winter in England for first time Alfred the Great king of Wessex Charles the Bald crowned emperor Alfred defeats Danes at Ethandune. Treaty of Wedmore Louis III. French king Charles the Fat elected king of West Franks Al Mondhir emir of Cordova Odo, Count of Paris, king of France Charles the Simple king of France</p>	<p>814 827 840 843 848 855-75 860 869 878 878 880 880 887 891 898</p>	<p>Louis the Pious succeeds Charlemagne Saracens in Sicily Partition of Carolingian Empire between sons of Louis the Pious. Lothair emperor Treaty of Verdun. Lothair emperor, with central kingdom including Italy; Lewis the German takes the east; Charles, France Saracens in S. Italy Lewis II., son of Lothair, emperor Pope Nicholas I. publishes forged decretals Council of Constantinople Lewis the German's kingdom divided among his sons, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles the Fat Saracens complete conquest of Sicily Lewis and Charles divide Carloman's kingdom Charles the Fat becomes emperor Charles deposed by Arnulf, son of Carloman Saracen invasion of Italy Arnulf crowned emperor at Rome</p>
<p>901 911 921 925 936 937 959 966 979 985 986 987 991</p>	<p>Edward the Elder king of Wessex Cession of Normandy to Rollo the Northman Extension of Moorish conquests under Abdur Rahman III. Edward king of all England Louis IV. (d'Outremer) king of France. Ascend- ancy of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris Aethelstane's victory at Brunanburh Edgar the Peaceful king of England. Ascend- ancy of Dunstan Edgar grants Lothian to king of Scots as fief Ethelred the Redeless king of England Extension of Moorish power under Almanzar Louis V. last Carolingian king of French Hugh Capet elected king of France. Capet dynasty Danes renew invasions of England</p>	<p>911 919 926 933 936 951 955 961 962 973 982 983 996 999</p>	<p>Death of Lewis the Child, last Carolingian king in Germany. Conrad of Franconia king Henry I. (the Fowler) of Saxony king of Germany Hugh of Provence king of Italy Henry the Fowler overthrows Hungarians Otto I. (the Great) succeeds Henry I. Otto makes himself king of Lombardy Final overthrow of Hungarians by Otto Otto's second invasion of Italy Otto I. crowned emperor by Pope John XII. Otto II. king of Germany and Roman emperor Otto II. in Italy Otto III. king of Germany Gregory V. (Bruno) Pope. Otto III. crowned emperor Sylvester II. (Gerbert) Pope</p>
<p>1013 1014 1018 1035 1042 1058 1066</p>	<p>Sweyn of Denmark conquers England Canute the Great king of England and Denmark. Defeat of Northmen by Brian Boru at Clontarf Cession of Lothian to king of Scots Death of Sancho the Great of Navarre Edward the Confessor recalled to English throne Malcolm III. (Canmore) recovers Scottish throne Harold Godwinson king of England. Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings. William the Conqueror king of England</p>	<p>1002 1014 1024 1027 1032 1039 1040 1058 1061</p>	<p>Henry II. of Bavaria king of Germany Henry II. crowned emperor at Rome. Canute king of Denmark and England Conrad II. king of Germany; Franconian dynasty Conrad II. crowned emperor at Rome Burgundy united to empire Henry III. king of Germany Normans in Apulia Henry IV. king of Germany Alexander II. Pope. Ascendancy of Hildebrand</p>

GREAT DATES IN WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—II

THE PAPAL ASCENDANCY & THE CRUSADING ERA

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
A.D.		A.D.	
1072	Malcolm III. of Scotland does homage to William	1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) Pope
1075	Rebellion of Norman earls in England	1075	Beginning of investitures quarrel between Pope and Emperor
1085	Rise of Castile under Alfonso VI.	1077	Henry IV. " goes to Canossa "
1086	Domesday Book	1080	Election of imperial anti-Pope Clement
1087	William II. (Rufus) king of England	1084	Robert Guiscard sacks Rome
1090	Conquest of Andalusia by Almoravides	1088	Urban II. Pope
1093	Anselm archbishop; quarrel with William II.	1095	Council of Clermont
1094	The Cid Ruy Diaz in Valencia	1097-9	First Crusade
1100	Henry I. king of England		
1107	Alexander I. king of Scotland. Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm come to terms	1108	Henry V. succeeds Henry IV.
1108	Louis VI. (le Gros) king of France	1107	Renewal of investitures dispute with papacy
1124	David I. king of Scotland	1111	Henry V. crowned emperor; forces papal submission
1129	Geoffrey of Anjou marries Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. of England	1115	German revolt against Henry V.
1135	Stephen of Blois king of England	1122	War of investitures ended by Diet of Worms
1137	Louis VII. king of France; acquires Aquitaine.	1125	Lothair III. emperor
1138	Battle of the Standard (Northallerton)	1127	Roger of Sicily in South Italy
1139	Portugal wins her independence	1130	Rival Popes elected. Papal schism
1145	Almohades overthrow Almoravides	1138	Conrad III. German king (Hohenstauffen)
1150	Union of Aragon and Catalonia	1139	Roger of Sicily king of Apulia
1152	Henry of Anjou marries Eleanor of Aquitaine	1142	Henry the Lion duke of Saxony
1154	Henry II. (Plantagenet) king of England	1147	Second Crusade. Bernard of Clairvaux
1159	War between Henry II. and Louis VII. Institution of Scutage in England	1152	Frederic I. (Barbarossa) German king
1164	Constitutions of Clarendon	1155	Frederic crowned emperor by Hadrian IV.
1165	William the Lion king of Scotland	1158	Frederic's war with Lombard cities begins
1170	Murder of Becket. Strongbow in Ireland	1159	Alexander III. Pope
1174	William captured at Alnwick. Treaty of Falaise.	1167	Lombard League formed
1180	Philip II. (Augustus) king of France	1178	Lombards defeat Frederic I. at Legnano
1189	Richard I. king of England. Treaty of Falaise abrogated	1181	Frederic overthrows Henry the Lion
1191	Richard in Palestine	1187	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin
1194-9	Hubert Walter justiciar in England. Wars between Richard I. and Philip II.	1189	Third Crusade. Death of Frederic; Henry VI. emperor
1199	John king of England	1194	End of Norman kingdom of Sicily
		1197	Bohemia erected into a kingdom
		1198	Death of Henry VI. Rivalry of Guelf (Saxon) and Ghibelline (Hohenstauffen) factions. Innocent III. becomes Pope
1204	John loses Angevin provinces to Philip II.	1201	Innocent supports Otto IV. (Guelf)
1212	Moors defeated at Navas de Toloso	1209	Albigensian Crusade
1213	John submits to Innocent III.	1215	Frederic II. of Sicily (Hohenstauffen) crowned German king
1214	Alexander II. king of Scotland	1220	Frederic crowned Roman emperor
1215	Magna Charta	1227	Waldemar of Denmark defeated at Bornhovede. Frederic excommunicated
1218	Henry III. king of England	1229	Reconciliation of Frederic and Gregory IX.
1219	Hubert de Burgh justiciar in England	1230	Gregory again excommunicates Frederic
1228	(Saint) Louis IX. king of France; regency	1242	Alliance of Hamburg and Lubeck initiates Hanseatic League. Mongol invasion checked at Leignitz
1230	Union of Castile and Leon	1241	Death of Frederic II. Rival German kings, Conrad and William of Holland
1242	Unsuccessful expedition of Henry III. to Poitou	1250	German interregnum for 17 years
1248	First Crusading expedition of Louis IX.	1259	Long war between Venice and Genoa begins
1249	Alexander III. king of Scotland	1265	Charles of Anjou crowned king of Sicily. Birth of Dante
1252	Alfonso the Wise king of Castile	1268	Conradin, last Hohenstauffen, overthrown
1258	Provisions of Oxford	1273	Rudolf of Hapsburg German king
1283	Alexander III. defeats Norwegians at Largs	1282	Sicilian Vespers. Peter of Aragon proclaimed king of Sicily. Charles retains Naples
1285	Simon de Montfort's parliament. Fall of Simon at Evesham	1291	Confederation of the Forest Cantons
1270	Philip III. king of France	1292	Adolf of Nassau German king
1272	Edward I. (on Crusade) king of England	1294	Boniface VIII. Pope
1275	Beginning of legislation of Edward I.	1296	Boniface publishes Bull " Clericis Laicos "; opposed in England and France. Continued war between the " Two Sicilies "
1284	Conquest of Wales	1298	Albert I. of Austria (Hapsburg) crowned German king
1285	Philip IV. (the Fair) king of France	1300	Boniface claims Scotland as papal fief
1288	The Maid of Norway succeeds Alexander III.		
1292	John Balliol made king of Scotland at conference of Norham; does homage to Edward	1301	End of war of the two Sicilies. Pope issues Bull " Unam Sanctam "
1294	Edward I. at war with Philip IV.	1303	Captivity and death of Boniface VIII.
1295	Model parliament meets in England	1305	Clement V. Pope. Papacy transferred from Rome to Avignon. Babylonish captivity begins
1296	Revolt and annexation of Scotland		
1297	Wallace heads Scottish revolt. Confirmatio Cartarum.		
1299	Scotland incorporated with England. Peace with France		
1301	England rejects papal claim on Scotland		
1304	Scotland again subjugated		
1305	Wallace executed		
1308	Robert I. (Bruce) crowned king of Scotland		
1307	Edward I. marches against Bruce, but dies		

THE DECLINE OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

FRANCE, THE SPANISH PENINSULA, AND THE BRITISH ISLES		SCANDINAVIA, ITALY, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE EAST	
A. D.		A. D.	
1307	Edward II. king of England	1307	Henry VII. of Luxemburg German king
1311	Lords Ordainers in England	1309	Teutonic Knights established at Marienburg
1312	Suppression of Order of Templars	1310	Charles Robert of Naples king of Hungary
1314	Independence of Scotland won at Bannockburn	1311	Venetian Council of Ten established
1315	Edward Bruce in Ireland	1313	German crown contested for eight years between Lewis IV. of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria
1327	Edward II. deposed; Edward III. king of England	1315	Swiss defeat Austrians at Morgarten
1328	Independence of Scotland confirmed by Treaty of Northampton. Accession of the house of Valois in France: Philip VI. king	1316	John XXII. Pope
1329	David I. succeeds Robert Bruce	1322	Lewis IV. overcomes Frederic at Mühldorf
1333	Edward Balliol claims Scottish crown. Battle of Halidon Hill	1324	New contest between empire and papacy
1337	Edward III. claims French crown. Beginning of Hundred Years' War	1328	Lewis IV. in Italy
1338	Flemings, under James van Arteveld, league with Edward	1330	John of Bohemia in Italy
1340	French Fleet defeated at Sluys	1334	Benedict XII. Pope
1341	David I. restored in Scotland	1338	German Electors declare their independence of papal authority
1346	Battles of Crecy and Neville's Cross	1341	Struggle between Florence and Pisa
1347	Capture of Calais	1342	Clement VI. Pope
1348	Black Death	1347	Charles IV. of Luxemburg and Bohemia becomes German king. Rienzi's revolution at Rome. Lewis of Hungary at Naples
1350	John king of France	1348	Fall of Rienzi
1356	Battle of Poitiers	1352	Innocent VI. Pope
1358	Rising of Jacquerie	1354	End of war between Venice and Genoa
1360	Treaty of Breigny	1355	Charles IV. crowned in Rome
1364	Charles V. king of France	1356	The Golden Bull
1368	Statute of Kilkenny	1362	Urban V. Pope
1367	Pedro the Cruel obtains crown of Castile by aid of Black Prince	1369	Charles IV. withdraws from Italy
1369	Henry of Trastamare king of Castile	1371	Gregory XI. Pope
1371	Robert II. (Stewart) king of Scotland	1376	Wenzel king of the Romans. League of Swabian towns
1373	Disastrous march of John of Gaunt through France	1377	Gregory XI. at Rome. Babylonish Captivity ends. War of the Cities (Swabian League)
1375	English lose Aquitaine	1378	Wenzel German king. Election of rival Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., begins the Great Schism
1377	Wycliffe supported by John of Gaunt. Richard II. king of England	1385	Gian Galeazzo Visconti master of Lombardy
1380	Charles VI. king of France	1386	Swiss defeat Austrians at Sempach
1381	Peasant revolt in England; Wat Tyler	1389	Diet forbids leagues of cities
1382	Revolt of Philip van Arteveld	1397	Scandinavian kingdoms united under Erik by Union of Calmar. Margaret of Denmark regent
1384	Flanders joined to Dukedom of Burgundy	1400	Rupert Count Palatine elected king of Romans in opposition to Wenzel
1390	Robert III. king of Scotland		
1396	Anglo-French truce		
1399	Henry IV. deposes Richard II.		
1400	Factions of Burgundy and Orleans in France begin		
1406	Regency of Albany in Scotland	1409	Council of Pisa elects a third Pope, Alexander V. Rival Popes refuse to resign
1411	Donald of the Isles overthrown at Harlaw	1410	John XXIII. succeeds Alexander V.
1413	Henry V. king of England	1411	Sigismund king of Romans
1415	Agincourt	1414	Council of Constance
1420	Treaty of Troyes	1415	Martyrdom of Huss
1422	Henry VI. king of England. Bedford regent in France: Charles VII. claims French throne	1417	Martin V. Pope. Great Schism ends
1424	James I., released from England, reigns in Scotland	1419	Bohemian war begins, lasting 17 years
1429	Joan of Arc raises siege of Orleans	1431	Eugenius IV. Pope
1435	Bedford dies; Anglo-Burgundian alliance ends	1434	Cosmo de Medici at Florence
1437	James II. king of Scotland	1438	Albert II. (Hapsburg) king of Romans. Henceforth empire remains with Hapsburgs
1440	Henry "the Navigator" in Portugal	1440	Frederic III. king of Romans
1453	English expelled from France, except Calais	1442	Gutenberg's printing press
1455	First battle of War of the Roses (St. Albans)	1447	Inheritance of Visconti in permanent dispute between Orleans and Sicily. Nicholas V. Pope
1460	James III. king of Scotland	1453	Fall of Constantinople
1461	Edward IV. of York king of England. Towton. Louis XI. king of France	1458	Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) Pope
1467	Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy	1469	Lorenzo de Medici at Florence
1469	Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand of Aragon	1471	Sixtus IV. Pope
1471	Lancastrians crushed at Barnet and Tewkesbury	1477	Maximilian of Hapsburg marries Mary of Burgundy
1475	Treaty of Pecquigny	1479	Lodovico Sforza (il Moro) at Milan
1476	Caxton's printing press	1480	Turks capture Otranto
1477	Charles the Bold overthrown at Nancy	1485	Saxony divided between Ernestine and Albertine lines
1483	Charles VIII. king of France; Richard III. king of England: Inquisition under Torquemada in Spain	1489	Savonarola preaches at Florence
1485	Henry VII. Tudor king of England	1491	Maximilian invades Hungary
1488	James IV. king of Scotland	1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia) Pope
1492	Fall of Granada	1493	Maximilian succeeds Frederic III.
1493	Voyage of Columbus	1496	Philip of Burgundy (heir of Maximilian) marries Joanna of Castile
1495	Poyning's Law. Charles VIII. in Italy	1498	Savonarola put to death
1498	Louis XII. of Orleans king of France. Vasco da Gama reaches India		
1503	James IV. marries Margaret Tudor	1503	Julius II. Pope
1509	Henry VIII., king of England, marries Katharine of Aragon	1508	League of Cambrai against Venice



THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIÆVAL WORLD

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FEUDALISM

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

VIRGIL described that man as happy who is able to understand the causes of things. And certainly, unless the study of human history is to be the mere idle inspection of a panorama, we are required to make an effort to understand, at least in part, the mass of historical causes which lie behind the mass of historical effects. Social and political institutions did not shoot up in a night. If we wish to trace their genesis we are frequently compelled to look far beyond the particular geographical limits within which they seem to have first appeared. And our search for their origins is made more difficult by the fact that certain institutions, at least in their rudimentary forms, were the result of natural and spontaneous growth among communities which had never been in contact. Thus, for example, in numerous tribes which had never heard of each other we find the existence of the kingship and of slavery.

Human Society Alike in all Ages

Although, therefore, a conquering people may impose its institutions upon a conquered people, the latter may have already reached independently the same stage of social development. Such a fact means that when human beings came together for the purposes of peaceful intercourse, or when they met in the collision of war, the same kind of problems arose everywhere and received the same kind of solution. There has, indeed, been a remarkable uniformity in the structure of human society in all ages and among all peoples, and we find even in savage tribes the rude plan of a later and more elaborate building.

We are apt to suppose, for instance, that feudalism, which was the form into which society fell in Europe during the Middle Ages, was a purely European invention. Although, however, its maximum development did certainly occur in Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the germs of the system were already active, not only on European soil, long before the fall of the Roman Empire, but within the Asiatic

Feudalism an Ancient System

empires of Babylon and Assyria, and even among uncivilised tribes in all the continents. We may accept as a rough definition of feudalism in its agrarian aspect the statement that it was a system of land tenure, whereby individuals were compelled to exploit the land for the benefit of their overlords, and were themselves exploited in the process. But this system, which became complicated and elaborated to an extraordinary degree in mediæval Europe, was already practised by the conquering peoples of antiquity, both in the West and in the Orient.

The basis of feudalism was serfdom. But the main source of serfdom, like the main source of slavery, lay in conquest, and those two forms of hereditary subjection existed simultaneously in ancient states, and even in communities which could not be called states at all. It was natural for a people who had subdued and annexed a neighbouring territory to annex as well the labour of the original inhabitants, who were thus allowed to remain upon the land on condition of surrendering the greater part of their produce. Both in Fiji and in the Sandwich Islands serfdom was

discovered to be an ancient institution. In Babylon and in Assyria there existed a great vassal population of agriculturalists who were sold with the soil, like the *glebæ adscripti* of Rome. The Babylonian temples, like the mediæval monasteries of Europe, owned serfs who tilled the lands dedicated to the gods, and in both cases the subjection was hereditary.

The Ancient Basis of Feudalism

We may even go so far as to say that in Assyria the feudal tenure of land was fully developed, since ownership or tenancy was accompanied by the obligation of military service. A number of bowmen were furnished according to the size of the estate, and when the estate was sold the same obligation was imposed upon the new proprietor. And, as in Europe, the serfs were never detached from an estate, since they were the implements of its exploitation.

Moreover, it was mainly upon the agricultural serfs that the state laid claims for forced labour. The same system was introduced among European communities in antiquity. When the Dorians seized Laconia they compelled the *Perioeci*, who had probably been their forerunners in conquest, to till the domains of Sparta, the ruling city. In Messenia they reduced the Messenians to the condition of helots, who, while permitted to remain on the soil, were required to pay one half of the produce by way of tribute. A similar policy was carried out in all the colonies of the Roman Empire, and, indeed, "*coloni*" means rural slaves who were fixed to the domain: "*servi terræ glebæ inhærentes.*" Thus, the agrarian basis of feudalism was laid centuries before the word feudalism was known.

Serfdom, indeed, was established on an immense scale throughout the Roman Empire. In the Codes of Justinian and Theodosius there are numerous statutes which regulate the social condition and ordain the punishments of the serfs in places so remote from each other as Northern Africa, Thrace, and Palestine.

Serfdom in the Roman Empire

Thus, in the *Codex Justinianus* (xi. 48, 15) it is enacted by the emperor that serfs are to be regarded as integral parts of the domain which they cultivate, and that they are not to be removed from it "even for an instant"; "*quos (i.e., colonos) ita glebis inhærerere præcipimus, ut ne puncto quidem temporis amoveri.*"

In another passage it is expressly forbidden to sell the labourers apart from the land or the land apart from the labourers: "*quemadmodum originarios absque terra ita rusticos censitosque servos vendi omnifariam non licet*" (xi. 48, 7). Sales whereby the purchaser of a portion of land agreed to abandon his right over the serfs who had been working upon it are declared to be fraudulent.

In all such statutes we see already in operation the agricultural system which afterwards reigned in Europe during a thousand years, and was still flourishing in Russia in the nineteenth century. In the Code of Theodosius fugitive serfs are declared to be liable to the treatment of fugitive slaves: "*ipsos etiam colonos qui fugam meditantur in servilem condicionem ferro ligari conveniet*" (v. 17, 1). And, again, in the Code of Justinian provincial governors are warned that part of their duty consists in assisting landowners to recover the fugitive serfs of both sexes.

The future condition of the European peasantry of the Middle Ages is thus foreshadowed by the legislation of the Christian emperors of Rome. And yet in the eye of Roman law the serfs were not slaves. They owned property, although, indeed, it is true that without their master's consent they were forbidden to alienate it. Whereas there was no legal marriage between slaves, the marriage of serfs was countenanced by the state. Moreover, serfs received protection against the exactions of their masters, who, if guilty of criminal assault, were liable to be arraigned before a judge. If an estate were partitioned and sold it was declared illegal to separate the members of a single household of serfs.

And it is worth observing that this humane provision of later Roman law contrasts very favourably with the treatment of the negroes by their American masters, for in the case of modern Colonial slavery and serfdom, husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were frequently separated, to be sold in different markets. Nevertheless, Roman serfdom entailed great misery upon its victims. Although it involved a social status superior to that of slavery, in the opinion of Savigny its results were often even more disastrous for the well-being of the individual. Manumission was infrequent, and generations of serfs were

Serfs who Owned Property

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kept chained to the soil. It was only if the serf had remained unclaimed by his master during thirty years that he could consider himself at last a freeman. On the other hand, he who had been a serf for thirty years without having petitioned for his liberty, was doomed to serfdom during the rest of his life. Although, too, the annual dues payable to the master were a fixed quantity regulated by statute, the dues payable indirectly to the state varied according to the state's needs.

The crushing weight of the imperial burden was, indeed, most severely felt by the agricultural population in their condition of semi-liberty and semi-servitude. The serf-owner was held responsible for the payment of the capitation tax on each of his men, and his exactions were often the result of pressure from the powers above him. But within his own boundaries the proprietor of a Roman villa exercised an authority no more despotic than that of the seigneur of a mediæval domain.

Now this colonial system, with serfdom as its basis, was fully developed by the Romans in Gaul during the 400 years which followed the victories of Cæsar. A

land which had been a wilderness, sparsely inhabited by wild Keltic clans, was gradually transformed by incessant labour into a fertile province, in which cities like Narbonne and Lyons arose. Municipal government was perfected on the Roman model, and by means of the great roads there was maintained an uninterrupted communication with the capital of the empire and the imperial court. Moreover, to this civilising influence of Roman administration the Church lent her aid. Missionaries who were afterwards canonised as saints were early at work evangelising Gaul. Paganism waned as the new faith waxed in power, and about the middle of the second century of our era there were bishops at Lyons, and, later, at Paris and Tours. Churches were built in the towns, and the bishops and their clergy did not stand aloof from civic life, but frequently filled the office of magistrates.

But this combined agency of secular and ecclesiastical authority was unconsciously preparing the province for other masters. For as Rome was falling, new nations were rising, and were already knocking at her gates. While the power was withering at the centre, the European frontiers of the empire were feeling

the pressure of those German tribes—Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Salian Franks, and Burgundians—whose appearance on the scene meant a new era not only for Europe, but for the world. Ancient Germany, from which the invaders came, comprised, besides the territory of the modern German Empire,

Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Finland, and a great part of Russia. But the tribes did not form a single people. Rather they were fragments of a single race, and though the groups shared the same original blood, and spoke dialects of the same language, they were frequently at war with each other. Besides, they were at different levels of culture. Their earlier intrusions on Roman ground do not concern us. But the seizure of Gaul in the fifth century A.D. by Burgundians, Visigoths and Franks marked not merely the final ruin of the Western Empire, but the founding of mediæval and feudalistic France. Raids had been followed by settlements on a great scale, and we discern among those formidable enemies of Rome a growing sense of the value of land.

Much had happened since Cæsar wrote about the Germans. Numerous successful winter expeditions across the frozen Rhine had brought them into closer contact with the power which they were to destroy, and they had had many a tempting glimpse of the fertile and smiling lands which lay south of their own dark forests. In Cæsar's age the Germans were acquainted with only the most primitive system of agriculture, and their wealth was measured not in terms of land, but in cattle. Some of the tribes were still nomadic. According to Cæsar and to Tacitus, however, among those tribes which were more or less settled on the soil there was an annual division of the land, and this fact indicates the continuance of a rude and simple form of tribal organisation.

Tacitus, who was writing 150 years after Cæsar, tells us that the Germans of his own age had no cities, and that they abhorred contiguous dwellings. Their domestic architecture was of the meanest kind. Their houses, or, rather, their huts, were built of wattle or wood and clay, and were low roofed. Sometimes even such buildings as these were an impossible luxury, and the people chose caves for their homes. Certain of the tribes

**Founding of
Mediæval
France**

**Germans
as Described
by Tacitus**

on the Danube and the Rhine still clothed themselves in the skins of the wild beasts which fell to them in following the chase.

But rumours not only of the wealth but of the increasing weakness of Rome had reached these wild and virile nations. Their incursions had become bolder, and at length a feeble policy permitted

Rome's Power on the Ebb permanent settlements of the strangers within imperial territory. That policy was dangerous, and finally it was fatal. But during the slow ebbing of the strength of Rome some of the barbarians, like the Visigoths in 412 A.D., became her allies. They actually helped to fight her battles, and in 450 A.D. the Visigoths joined forces with the legions, and overthrew Attila and his hordes at Chalons-sur-Marne. Conscious of their own military importance the newcomers began to annex unhindered more and more of Gallic territory. The Burgundians arrived between 406 A.D. and 413 A.D., and made their headquarters at Lyons. Between 412 A.D. and 450 A.D. the Visigoths spread themselves along the banks of the Rhine and the Loire, and founded their capital at Toulouse.

More formidable than either of those peoples were the Franks, who, between 481 A.D. and 500 A.D., conquered Northern Gaul. Paris became their centre, and in 486 A.D. their king, Clovis, defeated the last remnant of Roman power at Soissons. The Middle Ages had begun. But early in the sixth century the invaders were fighting against each other, and first the Burgundians, then the Visigoths fell before the victorious Franks, who mastered the whole territory of France—with the exception of Brittany—and gave it its modern name. Here and there the towns, with the bishops at their head, retained their ancient municipal government, and the Church began to convert the barbarians to Christianity, and to teach them some

The Church Converting the Barbarians of the secrets of the imperial rule. But in the country districts the Roman organisation of Gaul was destroyed. Out of the debris, and as a result of a slow fusion between the social systems of the victors and the vanquished, feudalism arose.

It is to some of the main features of feudalism that we shall give our attention in the following pages, because feudalism was the great social fact of the Middle Ages. And it is especially the feudalism

of France that we shall choose to study, because it was there that the system received the highest development.

At the outset it is well to grasp two important facts: (1) that what we might call the upper structure of feudalism—that is to say, the hierarchy of lords and overlords, vassals and under-vassals—was the creation of the Teutonic invaders of France; and (2) that what we might call the under-structure had already been firmly fixed on Gallic soil by the hands of the Romans, and even of the Gauls. We have already seen that in all the Roman provinces serfdom formed the basis of the agrarian system. But in Gaul itself the Romans had inherited the serfs and slaves who already existed in the country.

It is more than probable that the successive waves of conquest which swept over ancient Gaul made little change in the condition of the agricultural population. Kelts, Romans, and Teutons exploited in turn the mass of men who had been driven by conquest and by various economic causes to sell not only their labour, but their persons, to their superiors. At the moment of the departure of Roman power

Germans who Sold Themselves from Gaul, Gallic society had assumed the form into which every other ancient society fell.

Although there were different grades among the freemen, and different grades among the bondmen, the variations may, in the one case, all be unified under the idea of liberty, and in the other under the ideas of slavery and serfdom. And it was the people at the bottom who felt most severely the violence and pillage of the invasions.

Not that the invaders were unacquainted with a servile class among their own ranks. Tacitus tells us that even free Germans sometimes sold themselves into slavery, and in his twenty-fifth chapter he allows us to see that serfdom was fully developed among them. The serfs, who, as we know from other sources, were called *lidi*, or *liti*, were an inseparable part of their lord's domain. "And," says Tacitus, "the owner requires from his slave, as from a serf, a certain amount of grain, cattle, and clothing." When we turn to the codes of law of such peoples as the ancient Saxons, the Salian Franks, the Ripuarians, and the Burgundians, we find various enactments dealing with this servile class. In their present form those laws were doubtless drawn up after the

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

conquest of Gaul. The laws of the Burgundians, for example, belong to the period between 448 A.D. and 530 A.D. Some of the codes even betray borrowings from the law of Rome. But all of them are, at least in part, a retention of immemorial custom among the various groups of the German tribes, and in this rude jurisprudence the position of the slaves is made clear. They are the absolute property of their masters. Thus in the *Lex Saxonum*, x. 1, it is stated that the owner is to be held responsible for whatever act his slave or his serf has committed if that act has been done by the master's order (*jubente domino*). The same enactment appears in the Thuringian law.

In the Riparian code we see that already a great gulf was fixed between the freeman and the serf, for whereas in the case of the murder of a serf the compensation was only 36 *solidi*, in the case of the murder of a freeman the compensation amounted to 200. Again, in the Burgundian laws provision is made for the case of fugitive slaves, and penalties are fixed for those persons who assist them

to escape. These passages are sufficient to prove, therefore, that when the Teutonic invaders at last became masters of Gaul

they found nothing unfamiliar in the subjection of the agricultural population. It is true that their serfs appear to have enjoyed greater freedom than the corresponding class among the Gauls, and that sometimes they were recognised as genuine members of the community. And, according to one ancient Frankish authority, the servile class among the Saxons possessed as early as the eighth century a share of political power. But the serf remained a bondsman in relation to his lord, and he cultivated land which he could never own.

The problem which faced the conquerors was how to adjust their political institutions to the conditions which existed in Gaul, and, as we shall see, it was because a perfect adjustment was impossible that the feudal system gradually came into being. The Saxons had no kings until after the migration to England; but in tribes like the Franks there existed from ancient times a kingship which was both hereditary and elective in the sense that the nation chose the king from the members of a single family. They possessed also an aristocracy surrounding the king,

and in their public assemblies, as in the Homeric *Agora*, the freemen were called together to deliberate on the nation's affairs. "They choose their kings for reasons of birth," says Tacitus; "their generals for reasons of merit." The founder of the royal house had been a successful warrior. Military valour thus brought rank and privilege in its train, for the time came when, as Tacitus tells us, "land was divided according to rank."

This means that the old tribal equality had disappeared, and there was already a sharp division of the classes. Among the Saxons, for instance, marriage was forbidden by law between the free and the serf, and violation of this statute was punishable by death. The early communism had given way before a caste system, in which marriage was permissible only between persons of the same rank.

According to Tacitus the chiefs received a contribution or present, which became a means of regular income. A privileged class was thus gradually evolved, and only a successful conquest on a large scale was needed in order to transform its members into great territorial sovereigns. In the earlier time the chief had rewarded his followers by presents of "war horses and the blood-stained lance of victory," and by feasts and entertainments, for there was as yet no land to divide. But in the *comitatus*, or groups of "braves" who attached themselves to every prominent leader, we see the forerunners of those mediæval vassals who lived upon their lord's domain and obeyed his summons to war.

Again, in the criminal jurisprudence of ancient Germany some of the feudal methods are likewise foreshadowed, for, as prescribed by Teutonic custom, half of the fine by means of which certain crimes were expiated was paid to the king, who, like the later mediæval seigneur, thus enjoyed a revenue from the ad-

ministration of justice. We have seen that according to Tacitus the ancient Germans had no towns, and this fact is important in the history of feudalism. For when they found themselves on Gallic soil the Franks instinctively turned from the Gallo-Roman cities. The centre of gravity was shifted from the towns to the country districts, and it was in the latter that the feudal régime was at first consolidated. In the

former the bishops continued to control municipal affairs, and in some cases the ancient civic organisations appear to have survived the conquest. No doubt the towns and villages formed part of the seigniorial lands, and later there arose important problems concerning the relations which existed between the inhabitants of the communes and the lords of the domain. But whereas during the Roman occupation of Gaul the towns had played a predominant part, during the mediæval period they became subordinate to a powerful territorial nobility. Entire towns with all their inhabitants, in fact, could form part of a fief. The origin of this territorial sovereignty is to be sought both in the grants of land which the king gave to his immediate followers and in the seizure of Gallic estates by those of his warriors who were strong enough to secure their own interests. Hence, two kinds of property in land came into existence.

An estate was either a *beneficium* (later a *feodum*)—that is to say, a portion of land presented by the king to a retainer in return for certain services—or it was an *alodium* or *alod*—that is to say, a freehold property held independently and claimed by right of prescription. The development of feudalism is marked by the tendency of the *alod* to become a *feodum*. In order, for instance, to secure the protection of a more powerful neighbour and to prevent his aggressions, the owner of a freehold was frequently compelled to become a vassal and to do homage. This act was termed “*commendation*.” Although he retained his ancient rights over his property, the original freeholder was now an inferior and took the oath of fealty to his superior. The conquered territory became thus split up into great areas which fell under the jurisdiction of separate sovereigns.

Divisions of the Frankish Kingdom The principle of partition was applied even to the entire kingdom, as if it had been a royal estate. Both in 511 A.D., at the death of Clovis, and in 561, at the death of Lothair, the Frankish kingdom was divided into four parts. During the Merovingian period, especially when the strong hand of Clovis was withdrawn, the conditions of land tenure were no doubt more or less chaotic. Estates frequently changed hands, and sometimes they were

granted by the crown only during the life of the recipient. Such gifts were called temporary *benefices*, or “*precaria*,” and they were recoverable by the crown. But all estates tended to become hereditary. The personal relation of the vassal to his lord was expressed and merged in the property, and that relation was continued between their respective heirs.

The word *feodum* or *fief* is not found before the ninth century (884 A.D.), but according to Du Cange it was synonymous with “*beneficium*.” Both words indicated the hereditary usufruct of an estate on condition of the faithful services of the vassal: “*ut ille et sui hæredes fideliter domino serviant*” (Du Cange *voc. Feodum*). And Du Cange tells us that at first fiefs were bestowed only upon families of noble blood. The word is supposed to be of Teutonic origin, and the old derivation from the Latin “*fides*” (fidelity) has been discarded. *Feodum*, or *fief*, is based on the Gothic “*faihu*,” Anglo-Saxon “*feoh*,” and means goods and property—originally property in cattle (*vieh*), and at last in land. We observe, therefore, that feudalism originated in a great struggle for the soil. He who was landless was impotent. If he enjoyed neither absolute ownership nor usufruct he sank to a condition of servile dependence. On the other hand, the greater the estate, the greater the power of the owner, for he was lord not only of it but of all the men and women born upon it. When attacked by neighbours, his own immediate vassals and *their* vassals and serfs were compelled to flock to his aid.

The feudal system thus contained within itself all the elements of disruption, and, indeed, it involved a kind of veiled anarchy. It was the most pronounced and most successful form of militant individualism which the world has seen. As long as the central power was strong, as it was in the hands of Clovis or Charlemagne, the tendencies towards disintegration were restrained. The freemen still sat in the local assemblies, or “*mals*,” and administered the law. Provincial governors, called *Grafs*, were placed at the head of the jurisdiction of great districts, and were responsible to the crown.

Charlemagne, in order to identify the administration of justice with the throne, sent throughout his empire at regular

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

periods his magistrates, "scabini" or "échevins," to superintend the procedure of the local courts. He convoked at regular intervals those general assemblies, or "placita generalia," in which, by his deliberations with his viceregents and agents he legislated as an emperor conscious of imperial needs. And he thereby created a sense of imperial unity. Moreover, in order to recover complete sovereignty he enjoined an oath of fidelity to himself as emperor on the part of layman as well as of ecclesiastic. But in the Capitulary of the year 805 A.D. we already discover signs of that coming collision between feudalism and the monarchy which took place in the reigns of his feeble successors. "Let no one," says Charlemagne, "swear fidelity to any person except to us and to his lord for our behoof and for his lord's behoof."

Sooner or later a conflict for the allegiance of the vassals was inevitable, since men were thus called upon to serve two masters. And the attempt to extricate the throne from the growing entanglement of the feudal relations was successful only so long as Charlemagne remained its occupant.

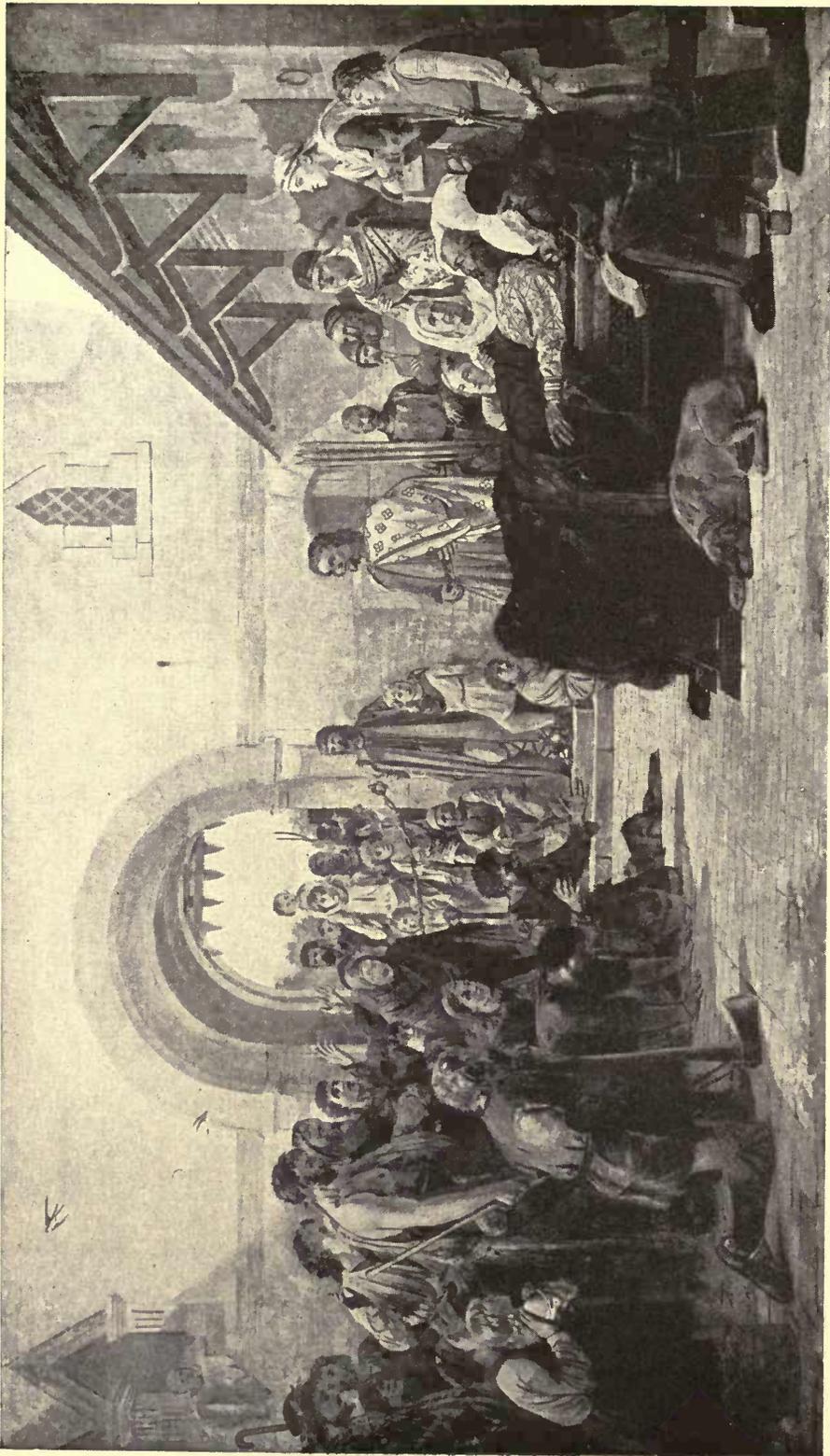
The Success of Charlemagne In the reign of his successors the movement of decentralisation took place and was irresistible. The feudal seigniors became again independent, the crown became merely a shadow and an effigy, and the crown domain merely another great fief. The national unity had perished. There was no state, and its place was filled by a conglomeration of minor and rival sovereignties. In the words of Stubbs: "The disruption was due more to the abeyance of central attraction than to any centrifugal force existing in the provinces. But the result was the same; feudal government, a gradual system of jurisdiction based on land tenure in which every lord judged, taxed and commanded the class next below him, in which abject slavery formed the lowest and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade, in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of the imperial institution of government."

The view that the rise of the feudal sovereignties was due merely to the failure of the central power is perhaps exaggerated by Stubbs, who seems to neglect the fact that the centrifugal tendency was active from the beginning, and was never wholly curbed. Even in

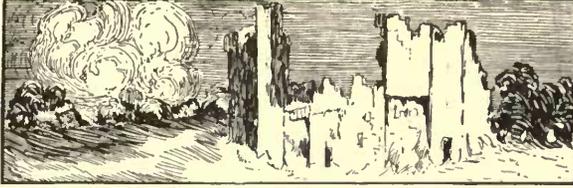
ancient Germany, when there was still maintained a genuine co-operation between the tribe and its leaders, the restlessness and independence of the warriors found vent in perpetual expeditions. "If," says Tacitus, "their native state sinks into the stagnation of peace, many of the noble youths offer their services to other tribes which happen to be waging war because inaction is hateful to the race, and because renown is more easily won in the thick of danger, and because a great following is best maintained when war is afoot."

Tacitus on the "Stagnation of Peace" The nomadic and more restless stage was now over, and the leader was settled upon his domain, was building his castle, was founding a family, and was arming himself against his neighbour. Nothing less than a revolution had taken place. Whereas during Roman times each particular subject was, by means of the complex machinery of administration, brought into contact with the central authority, now that authority was wholly dispersed. The coinage of the state had ceased, and the lord of the domain struck his own currency, framed his own laws, and judged his own men. In a word, the characteristic of feudalism was the fusion of property and sovereignty. It was a double triumph of aristocracy, for it meant that, on the one hand, the people had been crushed, and, on the other, that the authority of the crown had been eclipsed and overthrown. Again, no genuine coalition was possible between the lords of the domain. Temporary confederations did take place, but they were soon dissolved.

The lands of Gaul were already partitioned during the Roman times among the great nobles, who were called *senatores* because their rank entitled them to membership of the Roman Senate. But the Teutonic conquerors had seized those great estates, together with the slaves and the serfs who were at work upon them. In some cases the domains were voluntarily shared between the strangers and the old proprietors; and in the laws of the Burgundians, for instance, the Roman and the Burgundian nobles are mentioned as forming a single class. Out of a fusion of the great families of the victors and the vanquished there arose the feudal aristocracy of mediæval France.



EMANCIPATION OF SERFS: A BARON ON HIS DEATHBED GRANTING FREEDOM TO HIS SERFS
From the painting by E. Armitage, F.A. By permission of the Corporation of Liverpool



THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE RELATIONSHIPS OF LORDS AND VASSALS

WE shall now make an attempt to watch feudalism at work, and to seize some of the main features of the most intricate and bewildering social system which has ever been devised. But before we examine its vast understructure of serfdom, it will be well to consider the artificial fabric which was raised upon that basis. The origin of the contract which created a fief was purely personal and military. The Germanic invaders brought their own habits with them, and, as we have now seen, it was an ancient custom among them for a chief to make presents to his followers. At first each prominent leader was surrounded by a band of soldiers, who lived with him on the estates which he had seized, and he began to bestow upon these men the usufruct of certain portions of the domain. Doubtless the gradual increase of the numbers of such followers made it inconvenient to have them in continual personal attendance, and separate establishments were allotted to them. In this fact lay the origin of the feudal tenure of land.

The fief was essentially the gift of a superior in return for certain services, and that gift was retained only as long as the services were rendered. But those gifts of land were not of equal value, and the obligations of service likewise differed. The more important men received a greater share, and were called upon to contribute military aid on a corresponding scale. Hence, at the beginning there were created inequalities among the possessors of fiefs. One vassal might enjoy the usufruct of an amount of land twenty times larger than that which fell to the share of another.

In the case of war, however, the former was required to summon a far greater number of men to his seigneur's aid. The difficulty of the study of feudalism consists in the multitude of relations which sprang up between superiors and

inferiors, and especially in the principle of sub-infeudation, which caused the usufruct of a given area of land to be held by various men at one and the same time.

A vassal could have vassals of his own. Moreover, the lord of a particular vassal might even be the vassal of his vassal. That is to say, the vassal might own land outside the jurisdiction of his lord's domain, and the lord might become the vassal's tenant. In the one case the superior bestowed a fief on his inferior, in the other the inferior bestowed a fief upon his superior. When the feudal system had reached its maximum development every seigneur had a seigneur above him and every vassal a vassal below him.

In France the lower vassal was called *arrière-vassal*, and sometimes those holders of fiefs within fiefs were, owing to the complications of the system, ignorant of their real obligations. Here, for example, is a brief extract from a late feudal contract made in Burgundy, which displays the results of this multiple ownership: "Item, Hugote, sister of the said Isabel, holds from the said Isabel forty-six *livrées* of land at Lusigny; the said Isabel holds them from the said William of Beligny; the said William holds them from the said Odet of Vanly, and the said Odet holds them from Mon-seigneur the Duke."

And let us remember that it was not merely land which could be thus held in fief, but every form of property, including men, women and children, taxes, and the right to hold an assize. When entering into any new obligations a vassal was always careful to reserve that portion of his services which could already be commanded by another overlord.

Here, for instance, is a declaration made in the thirteenth century, and cited by Seignobos: "Estevenius of Coligny . . .

**Origin of
Feudal Land
Tenure**

**Feudalism
and its
Complications**

**Women
and Children
in Fief**

has entered into the service of the said duke, and has done homage. But he reserves the fealty by which he is already bound to the Lord of Coligny, the Abbot of Saint Oyan, the Count of Savoy, the Lord of Baugié, the Count of Auxerre, Regnard of Burgundy, and Henry of Paigné." Now this attempt to serve so

**Light from
the "Assizes of
Jerusalem"**

many masters often created a serious conflict of duties. If, for instance, the lords of a single vassal were at war, what was the vassal to do? If he assisted the one against the other, he became entangled in the quarrel, and might suffer reprisals at the hands of the seigneur whom he disavowed.

The jurists of the Middle Ages had considered the case, and had made provision for it. If we turn to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which forms one of the most important of mediæval documents, we find a statute which is framed for the purpose of enlightening the perplexed vassal. "Se un home a plusiors seignors il peut sans meprendre de sa foi aider son premier seignor à qui il a fait homage devant les autres en toutes choses et en tous manières contre tous ses autres seignors, pour ce que il est devenu home des autres sauve sa loyauté et aici peut il aider à chascun des autres, san le premier et sauf cens à qui il a fait homage avant que à celui à qui il vodra aider, car à moi semble que se un seignor eust un home on plusiors qui fust on fussent homes d'autre seignor devant lui et li eust semons de li venir aider à defendre sa terre contre ses ennemis mortels qui viennent pour lui devaster . . . celui home pour foi garder de mesprendre de sa foi devoit venir devant son seignor quant il seroit venus en champ et dire li en la presence des ses homes." (Assises. Ed. Thaumassiere. Ch. ccxxii.) The meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that the vassal could promise different kinds

**Distinctions
in Feudal
Service**

of aid to different seigneurs, and that "loyalty" might in one case, although not in another, imply military service.

And yet such a fact appears to be in contradiction with the strictest and most primitive form of feudal tenure. Brussel points out that there was a distinction between *foi* and *homage*, and that the one could exist without the other. It was possible, for instance, to hold a fief from a suzerain without having been born his

subject. And, conversely, although a man might be born within the domain of the suzerain, he might not hold a fief in that domain. In the latter case the subject did not owe either homage or the services which homage implied, but merely the oath of fidelity. The conflict of obligations, however, was often serious, especially during war, when every seigneur became anxious to press into his service as many men as possible. The "premier seignor" mentioned in the "Assizes of Jerusalem" is the one to whom homage had first been made, and his claims to the vassal's service were held to be predominant. In some cases it was specially stipulated that if war broke out the vassal should deliver up his fortress or castle to his superior.

If the vassal remained in the fortress, he was considered to be guilty of a hostile act. But if he quitted the fortress, he was not considered to be implicated in the war. "Se il demoure en la forterresse," says the ancient custom of Burgundy, "il est de la guerre." All such provisions imply that originally the feudal compact was a compact between a military superior and his soldier, and in the earlier period the relations between the two were simple, and strictly personal. Owing,

**The Price
of Feudal
Allegiance**

however, to the principle of sub-infeudation, and to the principle of heredity, the territorial organisation of feudalism became gradually more complicated. The instinct of property had become powerfully developed. Whereas in ancient Germany it had been easy for a young warrior to withdraw his allegiance from a particular chief, it was now more difficult for the vassal to transfer his fealty from one lord to another. For the price of the exchange was the forfeiture of his fief. If the vassal renounced his service, he and his heirs lost everything. This fact proves that the fief originated in a close personal relation between the grantor and the grantee. When the grantee died, his heir before entering upon the inheritance was required to take the same oath of fealty.

An elaborate ceremony preceded the bestowal of every fief. First of all, the vassal did homage to his lord, and the word "homage" is deeply significant. For homagium is derived from the Latin homo, and it meant that the vassal had become his lord's "man." The act of homage was performed in the

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

presence of witnesses. The vassal, with head uncovered, came before his lord, to whom he swore fidelity and loyalty. Having removed his sword-belt and his sword, he made the following declaration on bended knee: "From this day henceforward, I become your liege man in life and limb, and promise my loyalty in return for the lands which I receive from you." Then came the oath of fidelity. The vassal, having placed his right hand upon a book, said: "My lord, I will be loyal and faithful to you on account of the lands which I hold, and will fulfil the obligations and the services which I owe on the terms assigned. So help me God and the saints!"

Du Cange, from whom we take these words, tells us in his exposition under the word "fidelitas" that when taking the oath of fidelity the vassal did not kneel, and was not required to make so humble a reverence as in the act of homage. Whereas, too, homage was done to the lord in person, the declaration of fealty might be made to the lord's proxy, a steward or a bailiff. The symbol

of possession, a piece of turf or the branch of a tree, was then handed to the vassal, and the investiture was complete. Thus we see that the old personal relation which bound the Teutonic soldier to his chief persisted, at least in theory, throughout the feudal age. And even when the vassal enjoyed high rank, even if he were a prince or a king, the act of homage was no less compulsory. Thus Edward II. of England as Duke of Aquitaine did homage in 1329 to Philip of Valois, and became liege man (*homme-liege*) of the King of France.

An important part of the investiture consisted in the *aveu*, or statement, of the inventory of the fief. It was necessary for the seigneur to know exactly what he was giving, and for the vassal to know what he was receiving. Any attempt on the part of the latter to deny that he had received this or that portion of the fief was considered to be a crime, which was punished by forfeiture of the entire domain, for, says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, no greater disloyalty is possible (*que plus grand desleauté ne peut estre*). The vassal was forbidden to alter or to diminish his fief in any way, or to alienate it, except on payment of an indemnity to the seigneur.

The following may be taken as a typical inventory of a fief of the fourteenth century in France, and the case is especially interesting because the fief in question was originally not a fief at all, but a freehold which had been formally surrendered by the proprietor to the Duke of Burgundy, and had then been recovered in

A Typical Inventory of a Fief

order to be held under the ducal suzerainty: "Philip of Loiges, Knight, hereby makes known to all whom it may concern that henceforward he holds as liege man of the Duke all the property hereinafter mentioned which forms his own heritage, and was hitherto freehold and not fief nor liable to service of any kind: to wit, the tower, the house, the enclosure, and the fortress of La Palu, the trenches, and all the enclosure round about. Item, all the men, their allotments and their houses in the towns of La Palu and Croisey, all the said men being subject to the villein tax and to the jurisdiction which fixes the greater and the smaller fines and to mortmain, each of the said men paying eighteen livres tournois (*i.e.*, the livre containing twenty sous) of rent. . . . Item, the jurisdiction high and low over the town: and all over the above-mentioned property, to wit, all the woods and arable land. Item, the ponds, the mill, and dove-cot of the said house of La Palu together with all rights and appurtenances thereof. . . ." It was by such instruments that the rights of property, including the right of disposing of the lives and fortunes of villeins and serfs were secured throughout the Middle Ages.

A formidable array of duties faced the man who had accepted a fief and had become a liege. And, although to-day we may not have much sympathy with the feudal spirit, we ought to recognise that it often expressed itself in many chivalrous ways, and that it evoked some of the best qualities of human nature. In the

What was Expected of the Vassal

"Assizes of Jerusalem" the sternest demand is made upon the devotion of the vassal to his protecting lord. He is expected to be unwearied in the service, and to be willing at any moment to sacrifice, not only his personal comfort, but his life in fulfilment of his duty. He is to offer himself as hostage, to go to prison, and to face death on his seigneur's behalf. If in battle the seigneur's horse has been killed under him, the vassal is required to

surrender his own horse and to fight on foot. The duration of the military service in a particular war varied according to the extent and value of the fief. In some cases it was sixty, in others forty, and in others twenty days. Sometimes the vassal served alone, but oftener he was compelled to bring along with him a contingent of his own sub-vassals to swell his lord's ranks. The retention of the fief was conditional upon the fulfilment of these military obligations, and just as the villein paid rent in taxes and in produce, so the vassal liquidated his debt to his lord by service in the field.

The Vassal's Debt to his Lord

Seignobos even suggests that at least in two points the vassal and the villein resembled each other. For each enjoyed, not the absolute ownership of the land, but only its tenancy, and in both cases service was the price of the usufruct. Whereas, however, the villein exploited the land in the interests of the seigneur, the vassal defended it. The latter, in fact, was, in the strict meaning of the feudal relation, a soldier and companion-in-arms. But his duties were not confined to war. He was obliged to attend his suzerain's court, and to offer advice on matters of policy and the execution of justice. Lastly, the vassal was frequently expected to offer material aid, *auxilia*, to his seigneur. Some of these aids were voluntary, but others were specified on the bestowal of the fief, and comprised (1) a ransom when the sovereign had been captured in war; (2) a contribution when the seigneur's eldest son was received into the order of chivalry; and (3) a gift towards the dowry of the seigneur's eldest daughter.

It will thus be seen that the possession of a fief was no mere sinecure, and, indeed, the vassals suffered frequently from the exactions of their overlords. As we shall see later, the real weight of the entire system pressed most heavily on the villeins and serfs, but it would be wrong to minimise the serious obligations of the holders of fiefs. Sovereigns within their own domain, they had sovereigns above them, whose authority was likewise arbitrary. The threat of forfeiture (*forisfactura*) was often made a means of oppression. The suzerain was tempted to multiply the cases for which forfeiture was the penalty, and generally to extend the sources of his revenue. When a vassal

died his heir paid a kind of entrance fee (*relevium*), which was a tax on the entry into possession, and the amount varied according to the suzerain's demands. It is true that in most of the provinces of France the tax was waived when the succession to the fief fell directly from father to son. In such cases, according to Brussel, the heir owed nothing except the formal declaration of allegiance and the military duties which that declaration implied (*le fils succédant au fief du père n'y doit que la bouche et les mains*). But when the heir belonged to a collateral issue the tax was payable, and it was heavy. Again, the suzerain possessed the right of choosing a husband for the heiress of any fief. In the event of a refusal on the woman's part, she was compelled to pay a fine to the seigneur, while in the event of acceptance an equal amount was paid by the husband.

The reason for such a regulation is easily understood when we remember that the usufruct of every fief implied military service. Since a woman was incapable of rendering that service, it was in the seigneur's interest to provide her with a

Marriage Customs under Feudalism

husband who could undertake the duty. According to the "Assizes of Jerusalem," the lady of the fief was offered her choice of one of three barons. One other important source of income for the seigneur remains to be mentioned. If the heir to a fief was a minor, the seigneur became his guardian, administered the fief during the ward's minority, and disposed of the revenue. We may add that the reasons for sub-infeudation and for the great multiplication of fiefs were both military and economic.

It was obviously to the advantage of the seigneur to have as many fiefs as possible, since every fief brought money as well as men. This process of sub-infeudation really weakened the feudal system from within since the alienation of the usufruct of the land involved the alienation of the rights which the land carried with it. When the real danger of the policy began to be perceived, many of the seigneurs attempted to attract vassals to their banners by paying them not in land, but in money; and thus they created mercenary troops.

But this device was a later invention, and was foreign to the ancient spirit of feudalism. Brussel tells us that there were three classes of vassals, which he enumerates

THE CHAOS OF THE FEUDAL AGE

under the following heads: (1) *Homo*; (2) *planum hominem*; and (3) *ligius*. In the first case vassalage involved the three great kinds of feudal service, which we have already mentioned—that is to say, service in the host (*servitium*); counsel in the court of the seigneur (*fiducia*); and assistance in the administration of the law of the domain (*justitia*). The expression “*planum hominem*” implied that the vassal was not bound to undertake any particular service, military or civil, but that in case of war he was bound to remain neutral. The vassal-*liege*, on the other hand, was

need of securing continued service during a prolonged war, for an army composed of men who could withdraw after forty days' service in the field was obviously a weak and dangerous instrument. We may take the following as a typical feudal summons to battle by a seigneur to his vassal: “Hugo, Seigneur of Genley, to his friend and vassal, William Bandot, greeting. I hereby command you with all my authority to be present on Friday, eight days after Easter, at Chalon, and to be on horseback, well mounted, and well-apparelled in order to aid me in the



THE CEREMONY OF CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

required to serve at his own expense in any war in which his seigneur took part, whereas the ordinary vassal was not bound to fight after the fortieth day from the date of the assembling of the army. In some cases the vassal might be represented by proxy in the fighting line, but generally only when the war was one in which the seigneur was indirectly involved.

About the end of the thirteenth century the seigneurs began to transform their vassals into *hommes lieges* by attaching special gifts to the fiefs (*in augmentum feodi*). This policy was dictated by the

greatest struggle which I have yet faced, and so conduct yourself as to win my goodwill. I commend you to God. Given under my seal at Genley this Easter Day.” The date is 1325 A.D. The seigneur, however, was not always certain of obtaining his men, and in the present case the vassal was absent in Flanders. Sometimes the vassals suffered great losses in their seigneur's wars, and in certain cases they were indemnified. One, Guy de Rochefort, for instance, in the service of the French king was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 A.D., and he

received (pour mes dommaiges de la bataille de Poitiers ou je fus pris) 600 florins. But the men who followed their seigneurs to the wars were not always vassals in the strict sense. For a feudal castle attracted needy adventurers, who were willing, in return for maintenance, to place their services at the disposal of rich and

Knights in Voluntary Bondage powerful leaders. Men who had lost their inheritance, or whose fief had been forfeited, became retainers, and entered into relations with the feudal nobles somewhat similar to those in which the ancient Roman client stood to his patron. Simonet, for instance, cites the following case from the archives of Burgundy: In 1368 a certain Jehans d'Arc, a knight, surrendered his heritage to another knight, Hugo de Pontailler. The latter promised to lodge and to board the said Jehans, to clothe him, to provide him with a horse and a servant, and generally to minister to his needs. In return, Jehans d'Arc for himself and for his heirs assigns his property of whatever kind, both present and future, to Hugo de Pontailler. This kind of contract was either the result of bankruptcy or of *force majeure*, and although apparently it might be annulled, the vassal was generally too deeply mortgaged to be able to extricate himself.

Other documents belonging to the same period prove that powerful suzerains often succeeded in compelling weaker vassals to lend support beyond the limit fixed by the feudal contract. In an era when war formed the chief pastime of the governing classes, a seigneur could command the services of his followers in the prosecution of the most unjust aggressions on the territory of his neighbours. Frequently the extortion of a ransom was the motive which lay behind feudal pillage, and private war was kindled merely for the purpose of filling the coffers of a needy seigneur. The efforts of Saint Louis and other French

French Nobles Who Defied Their Kings

kings, such as Philip the Fair, to abolish these raids were attended with little success. The nobles of Burgundy, for example, protested against the royal interference, and maintained their right to declare war whenever it pleased them. So that even as late as 1315 and 1367 the kings of France found themselves impotent to restrain a custom which formed both the strength and the weakness of the feudal system. And if the kings were

unable to prevent the outbreak of war among the nobles, neither were the nobles always capable of keeping the peace between their vassals.

In the fourteenth century it was still possible for one petty seigneur to imprison another and liberate him only on the payment of an enormous ransom. A certain Simon Buguet, in the year 1364, seized the person of one Jean de Rougemont, seigneur of Thil-Châtel, in Burgundy, and threw him first into one dungeon and then into another. Deliverance was promised on a payment of a ransom equivalent to 40,000 francs of modern French currency. The conditions were that in default of payment the prisoner should surrender himself at the fortress of Chifferne. The protocol informs us, however, that, owing to the dangers of the roads, which swarmed with armed robbers, Jean de Rougement decided to pay the money at an intermediate station, and to abandon the journey to Chifferne.

Such a document presents a vivid picture of the daily perils encountered under the feudal regime. If justice existed, it was wild justice, and might was right. If a vassal became too powerful it was in the interest of his suzerain not to thwart, but to conciliate him. And not only individuals, but also entire communities were in danger at the hands of roving bandits. Whole villages were required to ransom themselves in order to escape being burned.

In November, 1435, the inhabitants of the village of Etalante, in Châtillon, were required to deliver up to some armed men who had come from Langres a silver pyx belonging to a church at Dijon in order to save the village from being set in flames (pour racheter le feu que les ennemies de Langres voulaient bouter en ladite ville). Such were the conditions of life in the feudal period, when society had ceased to form any genuine unity, when the central authority was impotent, and when power was in the hands of a few irresponsible territorial sovereigns.

According to one of the most important monuments of mediæval jurisprudence, St. Louis of France even acquiesced in the legality of a system which involved treason to the throne. In his "Etablissements" there is a striking passage, in which is admitted the right of a seigneur to summon his vassal to fight against the

king, and on the refusal of the vassal his fief is declared to be justly forfeited. Such a passage indicates that the feudal system involved permanent sedition and a prolonged usurpation of the power of the crown.

It is true that modern research is inclined to deny that the code known as the "Etablissements of St. Louis" was drawn up by that king. Montesquieu called it "an amphibious code," meaning that it was a mixture of French jurisprudence and Roman law. Parts of it, according to Viollet, are based on the customs of Anjou, and other parts on the customs of Orléans and Paris. But no one denies that it gathers up the theory and practice of the thirteenth century; and in the passages in which the king, while forbidding private war between his own vassals and within his own domain, is made to recognise the seigneur's right of resistance even towards the crown, we catch a glimpse of the chaos of the feudal age.

It is important to remember that it was not only on account of a gift of land that a vassal owed service to his lord. For fiefs were of various kinds, and sometimes they consisted even of immaterial things, such as the right of dispensing justice within a given area. Du Cange defines a fief as a thing given to one person by another in such a way that the property of the thing remains with the giver, and that the usufruct passes to the receiver and his heirs. Before the eleventh century the conception of that form of tenure had become widely extended, and, as Du Cange says, everything was given in fief, "saeculis xi et xii omnia in feudum concedebantur." Among other things, he enumerates the administration of justice in the forests, which was termed "gruerie," the right of hunting, of conducting merchants to and from the markets, of collecting tolls and customs dues, of weaving, of changing money at the fairs, of grinding corn, gathering honey and making wine. In a word, industry and justice themselves had become fiefs, and we may add that human beings were included in the same category.

We can understand the complications of mediæval life when we hear that not only a domain, but the men and women upon it, might belong to two or more proprietors. In a Burgundian protocol of the year 1378 we read that one seigneur sold and ceded

to another the ownership of "half a serf," and that the price was forty francs in gold. Thus men might hold joint property in the labour of a single serf. Again, the revenue from the administration of justice within a particular area was frequently shared by two or more persons who co-owned it in fief. A struggle sometimes took place for the possession of the person accused of crime, and the adjustment of the shares in the fine became a new source of dispute. We shall not be wrong if we say that the dominant characteristic of the feudal administration was the destruction of social unity and harmony for the sake of individual and egoistic interests.

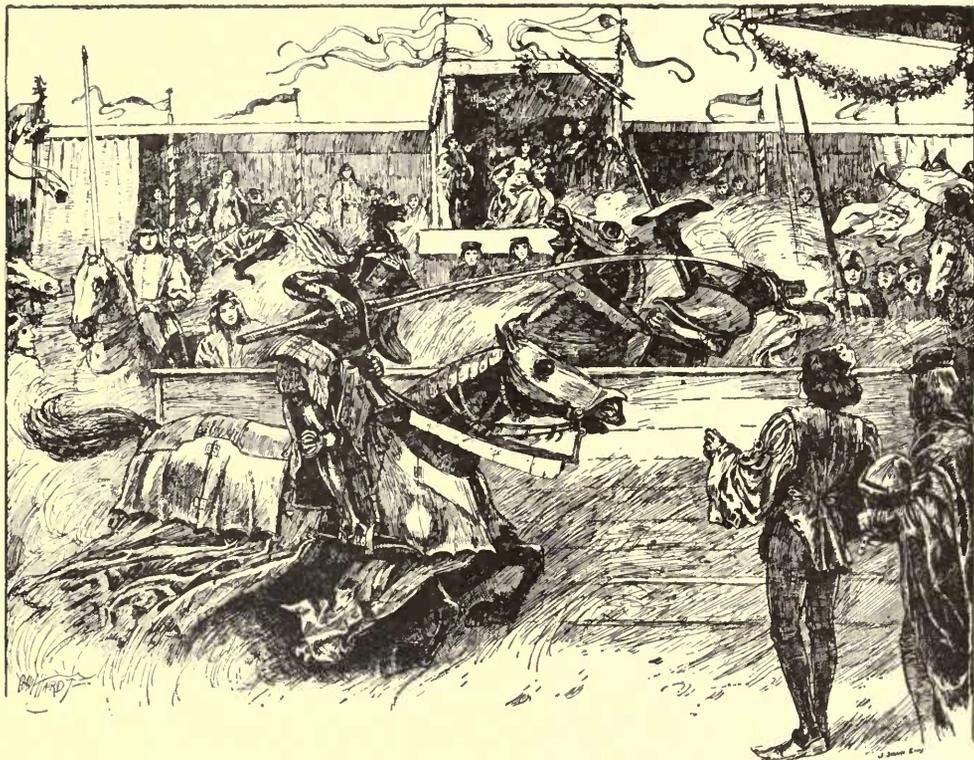
Let us now ask, what guarantee feudalism offered even to the seigneur and the vassal for the maintenance of their respective rights? Vassalage was so minutely subdivided that we may well wonder to whom a vassal in the sixth degree, for instance, could appeal when his rights were invaded either by an equal or by a superior. Guizot points out that the word "compatriot" did not exist in the Middle Ages, and the fact is significant. For the word compatriot implies the idea of a social order, in the maintenance of which all the members are interested. The vassals were called "pares," from which our word peers is derived; but there was no genuine co-operation among those co-vassals. The social equilibrium which was maintained within a given domain was highly unstable. The vassals did not co-operate in order to carry out any genuine social purpose, and again the seigneurs did not co-operate in order to maintain any genuine balance of power among themselves.

A fundamental antagonism lay hidden amid all the feudal relations. The seigneur was often as suspicious of the vassal's fidelity as the vassal was of the seigneur's claims and arrogated power. The real character of feudalism is expressed in this isolation of the various members of the feudal hierarchy. And it was an isolation which provoked suspicion, quarrels and reprisals. How did the seigneur maintain order within his own territory? In the modern world the public peace is guaranteed by the action of an executive which in the punishment of crime expresses the will

Complications of Mediæval Life

Vassals and their Rights

Feudalism's Real Character



THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND—A JOUST

of the nation. But feudalism did not create nations at all. It created only groups of arbitrary sovereignties, and in each case the will of the territorial sovereign was the nominal fountain of justice. It was the sovereign who appointed his baillis, or bailiffs, for the trial of causes within his own domain.

But along with the institution of bailiffs there existed throughout the feudal regime a judicial system both more ancient and more in accordance with the feudal spirit. We have said that the vassals were *peers*, or equals. When, therefore, a dispute occurred between any two of them the seigneur was petitioned to convoke all his other vassals in his court in order that they might pronounce their decision upon the case. For equals could be judged and sentenced only by equals. Numerous mediæval documents prove that, for instance, a count was judged only by men of his own class. Even in cases where the bailiff presided as representative of the suzerain, he was only the mouthpiece of the majority. In the event of a dispute between a seigneur and his vassal regard-

ing some matter connected with the fief which the latter held from the former, the case was heard in the seigneur's court in presence of the vassal's equals. If, on the other hand, the dispute had no reference to the fief the vassal was entitled to have his claims heard not in the seigneur's court but in the court of the seigneur's seigneur. Hence, in a duchy like Burgundy, a case of this kind might be carried from court to court until it arrived before the Duke as supreme suzerain. Beaumanoir, who was the greatest jurist of the Middle Ages, tells us that the appeal was required to be made in such a way that no intermediate court was passed over, otherwise the case was vitiated in point of law (*il apel doivent estre fet en montant de degré en degré, sans nul seigneur trespasser*).

It often happened that in the litigation between vassals of equal rank the claimant or the defendant, although tried by his peers, refused to accept the judgment. Sometimes the refusal was justified, for the majority in the court might be made up of the vassal's personal enemies, while his own friends might be absent. Recourse



AN ENGLISH TOURNAMENT IN THE PALMY DAYS OF FEUDALISM

was had, therefore, to a more summary method of bringing the dispute to an end. What is known as the judicial combat was simply the feudal private war reduced to a duel, and it was deeply characteristic of an age in which there existed no central administration of justice. The disputants took the law into their own hands. Right was declared to be on the side of the victor, and the vanquished paid a fine to the seigneur of the domain.

In Beaumanoir we find many details of the formal and legal procedure necessary in arranging a judicial combat. He gives the formula in which an appellant should demand satisfaction for the murder of a kinsman. In the event of denial on the part of the accused the claimant undertook to prove the truth either by hazarding his own life in a duel (*prouver mon cors contre le sien*) or by sending a proxy for the same purpose (*ou par homme qui fere le puist et doie pour moi*). The accused was required to say, before he had left the seigneur's presence, whether he intended to answer the summons. Permission to fight by proxy was granted for various reasons, such as ill-health or advanced age. When the combatants

were well born (*gentils hommes* or *chevaliers*) the duel was fought on horseback, and those weapons which were allowed or disallowed were carefully specified. Men of lowly birth (*hommes de poustè*) fought on foot. In the arrangements for a duel between a man of rank and a man of base condition it is interesting to notice a touch of chivalry. If, says Beaumanoir, a knight calls out a villein, who, of course, did not own a horse, the knight was compelled to fight likewise on foot; for, adds the great jurist, it would be a cruel thing if in such a case the man of birth had the advantage of a horse and of armour. On the other hand, if a villein summoned a knight to a duel the affair was different. The knight, who had not sought the quarrel, retained the privilege of his rank, and fought on horseback.

The penetrating influence and the complete triumph of feudalism are made strikingly manifest by the fact that even the Gallic Church was gradually drawn within its orbit. We have already mentioned that the Church possessed considerable power in Gaul long before the date of the Teutonic invasions. Each bishop was supreme in his diocese. His authority

over his clergy actually foreshadowed the authority of the feudal lord, and, indeed, it would not be too much to say that the Church was tending towards a kind of feudalism of her own. At any rate, it was by an easy gradation that the bishops transformed themselves into territorial sovereigns on the feudal model.

Militant Days of the Church

The transition had even become imperative, for during the chaos which followed the death of Charlemagne the Church found it necessary to protect herself in the midst of an aggressive and militant society. It was only by fighting the world with the world's own weapons that the bishops, canons, and abbots were able to take their place in the ranks of the feudal nobles. Great gifts in land had been bestowed upon the Church by the Christian emperors and by the Christianised barbarian kings, and the Church knew how to guard jealously those donations. Often the territory over which a bishop ruled was so extensive that it formed a small state. The domains of a single abbey sometimes included entire towns.

It is profoundly interesting to notice that at first the Church was content to fight her feudal enemies only with spiritual weapons. It was by means of excommunication that she sought to terrorise those who attempted to invade her territory or to pillage her sacred

buildings. But already, in the ninth century she began to arm herself with the temporal sword, and she paid special defenders, *advocati*, to fight her battles. In other words, she summoned mercenary troops to her aid, and sometimes powerful seigneurs were

in her pay. But the bishop was likewise a seigneur. Long before the tenth century he had vassals of his own, and he began to increase their number, and gradually imposed upon them the

customary feudal obligation of military service. Like a lay sovereign he administered justice within his own domain, and frequently he even in person led his vassals to war.

Moreover, in the exploitation of her own fiefs, the Church imitated and reproduced the entire feudal system. The villeins and the serfs enjoyed as little liberty within ecclesiastical territory as within the lands of the feudal seigneur. According to a decree of a council held at Orléans in the seventh century, all the lands, vineyards, and slaves of each diocese were the property of the bishop *ex officio*. By another council, held at Seville, the serfs who belonged to the Church were, like the serfs who belonged to the lay proprietor, forbidden to leave the place in which they had been born. And many documents prove that in the exercise of their authority the bishops, no less than the secular sovereigns, were guilty of oppression.

The Church Captured by the World

Numerous were the complaints against flagrant exactions. The Council of Toledo in 633 denounced a tyranny whereby even the monks were, at the commands of the bishops, reduced to abject slavery. Episcopal avarice had ruined the parishes; villeins and serfs were overwhelmed by arbitrary taxation; and in having put on the armour of feudalism the Church put off the armour of God. A great historian says that even as early as the eighth

century the disorder which raged in lay society raged also in ecclesiastical society. And as the bishops became more deeply entangled in feudalism it was difficult to distinguish them from their secular rivals. This loss of the spiritual hege-

mony of the Church is perhaps the most tragic fact in feudal history. She who had set out to capture the world had failed in her great mission, and had, instead, been captured by the world.



THE MEDIÆVAL CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE FLEET

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD



AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM III
W. R.
PATERSON

THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM AND ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE SYSTEM

LET us now turn to consider the fortunes of the class whose labour formed the economic basis of the ecclesiastical as well as of the secular power, and was indispensable for the maintenance of the entire fabric of feudalism. For if villein and serf had not been at work upon the soil during many generations, all the great and dazzling enterprises of the feudal age, its chivalry, its Crusades, its jousts and tournaments, and even its architecture never would have existed. Although mediæval wealth was also expressed in certain manufactures carried on in the towns, nevertheless the main economic source of the period lay in the cultivation of the soil by a class who, strictly speaking, did not enter into the feudal relation at all. The feudal relation which bound a vassal to his lord was the result of a contract between them, but there was no contract between a vassal and his serf. In the latter case the relation

The Origin of Serfdom

was expressed merely, on the one hand, by power, and, on the other, by subjection. Those writers, therefore, are correct who point out that serfdom was not the creation of European feudalism. Its origin was far older, and, as we saw, it may be traced to the domainal rights enjoyed by all ancient landowners. Serfdom formed only the natural and convenient basis upon which the feudal superstructure was reared. The basis itself was immemorial. Even though feudalism had never developed its own peculiar character, the agricultural population of Europe would have been composed of serfs during many centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire.

So far as the Frankish kingdom was concerned, the condition of its industrial class remained essentially what it had been during the Roman occupation of Gaul. But if we look beyond mediæval France, if we look at mediæval England, for instance, we shall find the same system at work. The Saxons took with them to England serfs and slaves. Among the Angles the

wergild, or atonement in money for the murder of a slave, was only one-twentieth of that for the *adaling*, or well-born. Long before the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxon social system in England had been developed along feudal lines. The community was divided into men who possessed land and men who possessed none, and the landless were outside the pale of the law. Thus it was necessary for the man who had no land to seek the protection of some more powerful person who could represent him in the law courts. The price of that protection was servitude.

Feudalism Before the Conquest

Since it was the possession of land that bought the privilege of membership of the community, even a man of noble blood, if landless, was required to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of another lord. The laws of Athelstan, like the Capitularies of Carolingian kings, agree in reducing the landless to a state of absolute dependence. Minute social subdivisions existed among the Anglo-Saxons, and there was even a hierarchy among the landless. But the lowest level was occupied by the *thæow*, or slave, whether of British or of German origin.

Again, in ancient England as in ancient Rome the debtor was reduced to slavery, and was never liberated until the debt had been paid. Moreover, slavery and serfdom were hereditary. The earliest English laws make it clear that slave and serf were like cattle, the absolute property of their masters. Their master was responsible for their offences just as he was responsible for the damage done by his cattle. The British serf had no social status, no legal rights. His services might be claimed and left unrewarded, and his emancipation depended wholly upon his master's will. The serf might be bought and sold and pawned like any other common chattel, and the master's right of possession in him was a right not only of use but of abuse.

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British Serfs Bought and Sold

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Now, feudalism never reached in England the proportions which it reached in France, and yet the condition of the early English serf seems to have been worse than that of the mediæval serf of France. In other words, although feudalism could not have existed without serfdom, serfdom might have existed, and did exist, apart from an elaborate feudalism. The word **Who were the Villeins?** "villein," which we use as a generic term for the feudal and mediæval peasant, was neither mediæval nor feudal in its origin. Villein is only the corrupt form of the Latin *villanus*, the serf who was attached to and undetachable from the Roman *villa*—a word which meant not a house in our modern sense, but a landed property. It was the Roman villa which became in France the unit of feudalism as an agrarian system, and the scene of a prolonged exploitation of servile agricultural labour. The word villein began to be applied before the end of the tenth century to the entire peasant population.

Beaumanoir, who wrote in the thirteenth century, when feudalism had reached its most complex development, tells us that serfdom ("servitudes de cors," as he calls it) had a manifold origin. We have already glanced at its general causes, but to these Beaumanoir adds some special causes which lay at the root of the system as it appeared in France. If, for example, the subject of a territorial lord disobeyed without good cause his summons to military service, the punishment was serfdom, and it was a punishment which was visited on the children as well as on the fathers.

When the feudal lords were warring against the tottering Carolingian monarchy, they were in need of soldiers; and if the feudal tie, which at that era was only beginning to be strong, was found insufficient to create a following, the lords by compulsion pressed new men into their service. In the second place, Beaumanoir declares that serfdom often originated in the piety and devotion of the serf. Sometimes voluntarily, sometimes involuntarily, and as a result either of suggestion or of pressure, a man was constrained to deliver himself and his heirs and his property to the Church.

An act, therefore, which in certain cases had its motive in religious feeling, was responsible for the servitude of whole generations. A third origin of serfdom was traced

to poverty and bankruptcy. A freeman who had lost his estate came to a seigneur, and said: "If you support me with the necessaries of life, I will become your serf" (*vostres homs de cors*). In some cases this demand for protection was the result of oppression by another seigneur. A still more striking cause of serfdom, and one which indicates the extraordinary difference between modern and mediæval modes of thought and life, is to be found in the fact that a man who was not free by birth became the serf of a lord if it could be proved that he had resided within the lord's territory for a year and a day.

Any person, male or female, who was unable to trace his or her free descent became the serf of the seigneur in whose domain he or she had chosen to dwell. There were some exceptions to this rule—as, for example, in Clermont. But the custom was widespread, and was very characteristic of feudalism. If within a year and a day the lord reclaimed his serf, the latter was surrendered. But if the lord neglected to assert his right, the serf became the property of the seigneur into whose domain he had passed. It was possible for a serf, with his master's consent, to purchase freedom by the performance of some special labour or the payment in produce or otherwise of some special tax. If, however, the seigneur immediately above the seigneur of the serf refused to agree to the proposal, the emancipation could not take place. On the other hand, if a serf who had won freedom both for himself and his family passed back into serfdom, his children remained free. The word "free," however, is in this case ambiguous. The villein was free only in the sense that whereas the serf proper never knew how much would be required of him, the villein paid, either in labour or in produce, a tax definitely stipulated.

While it was possible for the serf to raise himself in the social scale, the conditions were frequently harsh and the obstacles were often insurmountable. If, indeed, a female serf purchased her franchise, the children born after that event were likewise free. Those, however, who were born while their mother was still a serf remained in servitude. Even in the case of the villein the ties which bound him to his lord could be broken only by death (*car li eritage qui sont tenu en vilenage, si comme a ostises, a cens a rentes ou a champars ne se puent*

desavouer). In the event of disavowal on the part of the vassal, the penalty was confiscation. There can be no doubt, however, that the condition of the agricultural population was far from uniform. There were, in fact, as Beaumanoir tells us, many different kinds of serfs with as many different kinds of fortune. In some cases the authority of the owner was so arbitrary that he had the power of life and death; he could imprison his serf whenever it pleased him, and he was responsible to no one. But in other cases the serf enjoyed greater independence, and was treated more humanely (*plus de bonnement*). As long as he paid his rent in labour and taxes, the seigneur could make no further demands upon him.

If a serf disavowed his seigneur, the latter had the right to prosecute him in the court of the new seigneur whose protection the serf had sought. When the serf was able to give satisfactory proofs of free descent, the seigneur prosecuting him lost the case. If, for instance, the alleged serf could prove that his mother was a free woman, he won his claim, for the status of the mother regulated the whole question. Even though the mother and the grandmother had been serfs, but had been manumitted by anyone legally capable of bestowing manumission, the offspring could thereby establish the claim to freedom. On the other hand, the son of a knight and a female serf remained in the same social condition as his mother.

There was a curious exception, however, in the case of bastards. If a man could prove that he was born before the marriage of his mother (who had been a serf) to a baron, the alleged serf was then quit of servitude. Lastly, if a man who was being pursued by his former owner as a fugitive serf could make good his declaration that he had been in holy orders during ten years without any attempt on his master's part to reclaim him, the case for the master was held to be disproved. In all instances, however, in which serfs became free villeins it was necessary, as we have already seen, to obtain the consent not merely of their immediate owner, but also of the seigneur from whom that owner held them in fief. According to feudal custom a vassal was forbidden to diminish his fief. But since the fief consisted of human beings as well as of the land upon which they worked, to grant freedom to a

serf was to alienate part of the property of the seigneur. Hence his consent was required before any proposed change of status of the serfs could be made. Let us not suppose that it was always, or even frequently, a humanitarian motive which lay behind the somewhat paltry amelioration of the serf's fortunes which such changes involved. The serf purchased the permission to enter the ranks of the free villeins. In other words, he who had been arbitrarily exploited was required to buy the privilege of being exploited in a less arbitrary way. We may feel sure that the men who at the end of the fourteenth century figure as *hommes francs* were the descendants of men who had been serfs. The change was due to the fact that some of their forefathers had slowly and painfully purchased an entrance into those higher ranks of villeinage which, however, still remained far below the ranks of freedom.

We can afford to make only brief mention of some of the methods of the mediæval exploitation of the peasantry. The rights of the villein tenant were limited to a part of the produce of the soil which he cultivated, and it was the best part of that produce which was reserved for the seigneur. If the villein ceases to deliver the yearly dues, the tenancy ceases, and the land goes back to the owner. The right of the usufruct, however, is transmissible from the villein to his heirs, and remains permanent in a single family as long as the obligations are fulfilled. Nay, the villein is even legally entitled to sell the usufruct against the proprietor's will.

From a business point of view, it mattered little to the proprietor whether this or that tenant was at work on the soil so long as the harvest was forthcoming. What feudal law and custom assured to the seigneur was a perpetual income from the land, and the serfs were only his agricultural implements. Some of the villeins paid revenue only on account of the land, but, in addition, the majority were subjected to a capitation tax, which was a guarantee against the arbitrary assessment by which the serfs proper were afflicted.

The capitation tax was invariable in its amount in a given district, and it was payable either individually or collectively. Sometimes entire villages

Rights of the Villein Tenant

The Devious Path to Liberty

The Villeins' Burden of Taxation

and towns were laid under contribution. Whenever we find a case in which the taxation of the individual varied according to the arbitrary demands of the seigneur, we may conclude that the individual in question was a serf of the lowest and most helpless class. "Messire le Duc," says the Ancient Custom of Burgundy, "s'il volait les porrait tailler ou faire tailler moins et plus haut et bas à sa volonté." Every serf was thus assessed at the will of the suzerain. And there were some special vexations to which the majority of the serfs were exposed. Among these, mention should be made of "mainmorte" and "formariage." The serf who was subjected to mortmain was legally incapable of making a testament. If he died childless, his property, which consisted mainly in his right to cultivate a certain portion of land, returned to the seigneur.

Still more formidable was the custom termed "formariage," whereby a serf was forbidden to marry a woman belonging to another domain. The ancient code of custom in Burgundy, for instance, declares that the penalty for such a marriage was the forfeiture of all that the serf possessed. An alternative was, indeed, offered; but it was of the most repulsive kind.

There is evidence that the serfs made great efforts to extricate themselves from these indignities. The chief desire of their lives was to obtain a charter of freedom, which, however, was never a genuine charter, since it did not deliver them from taxation, which, although less arbitrary, was still oppressive. Often high prices were paid before the serf won immunity from the seigneur's right of "formariage." And yet after the immunity had been gained, the villein was by no means free. The seigneur's agents met him at every point, and revenue of other kinds continued to be extracted from his labour. It is important to remember that the fortunes of the villein were not merely the result of heredity. By birth he might be immune from mortmain and formariage, but if he settled on a domain in which those customs were in vigour, he immediately became subject to them. Originally, indeed, it was impossible for the villein to change domicile. The seigneur had the right to recovery (*droit de poursuite*). Later the fugitive villein, if

unclaimed within a year and a day, could offer his service to another lord, supposing he was fortunate enough to find one. Since, however, he thereby lost all that he had possessed under his former seigneur, it must have been an intolerable tyranny which compelled him to take to flight.

As Seignobos points out, the real strength of the seigneur's position lay in the fact that the villein was helpless apart from the field which he and his forefathers had cultivated. To be a vagabond was to be in danger of being seized as a criminal. There was no certainty of obtaining the right to cultivate a piece of land in another domain, since all the domains were already parcelled out. Hence it was not necessary to chain the mediæval serf to the soil, or to place him under surveillance. Serfdom was better than famine, and it was because these were his sole alternatives that the serf, with rare exceptions, chose the former both for himself and for his children. Among the archives of Burgundy there are documents which prove that sometimes a serf after long wanderings returned in despair to the place from which despair had driven him.

Serfdom Preferred to Famine The administration of a feudal domain involved both labour and anxiety on the part of the steward or agent who was set over it. For it was seldom that the seigneur came into direct contact with his villeins or serfs.

In each of the three great economic divisions of feudalism in France—the *châtellenie*, the *poté*, and the *prévôté*, the revenues were collected by men appointed for that purpose by the seigneur. The *châtellenie* comprised all the lands grouped round a château, and in time of danger the inhabitants took shelter within the seigneur's fortified walls. The *poté* (Latin: "potestas") was a domain belonging to a church, and sometimes it implied an entire district, which, inclusive of towns, acknowledged the suzerainty of a bishop. The *prévôté* embraced the territory—generally a city which was administered by a *prévôt* (Latin: "præpositus"); that is to say, an agent to whom the proprietor of the city had delegated his authority. These formed the great social groups of the feudal age until the fourteenth century, and the condition of the serfs was uniform in all three. In each of them the methods of exploiting the land and its tillers were the same. The

A System of Intolerable Tyranny

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THE FLOURISHING OF FEUDALISM

change from imperial to feudal rule had indeed brought some amelioration of the fortunes of the subject class, and yet, if we look deeply enough, we are struck not by the fact of progress but rather by the fact of stagnation. When, for example, we read the formulæ of Marculf for the sale of male and female serfs we seem to be witnessing transactions in the slave markets of Greece and Rome.

In mediæval practice as well as in mediæval theory, the peasants were mere accessories of the domain, and were subjected to detailed exploitation. Had Aristotle and Varro seen these men at work, they would have called them "animated implements." The Roman "villicus" who drilled his master's slaves was represented by the mediæval major, who taxed and over-taxed his master's serfs and villeins. Often this superintendent belonged to the same class as the men over whom he ruled, and his position was far from enviable. For he was personally responsible for the regular payment of dues, which, owing to destitution and to bad harvests, sometimes could not be paid at all. Simmonet even suggests that the burdens which pressed upon the seigneur's steward were heavier than those which pressed upon the serfs, for the revenues which he could not extract from the tenants were extracted from himself.

In spite of all such facts it would be idle to deny the impressiveness of some of the aspects of feudal life, and it is not surprising that the human imagination has been fascinated, for instance, by the great portcullised castles which were built in that dim, troubled era. For those castles with their broad moats, their donjons, their prisons and their embattled towers, were structures whose significance lay in the strange anarchy in the midst of which they arose. When the seigneur's domain was attacked, it was the château which became the storm centre. Within its walls men and women and children with their cattle took refuge, and the villeins were called upon to mount guard (*faire le guet*).

The inferior nobles, if they did not possess châteaux, nevertheless built for themselves fortified houses often capable of withstanding a prolonged siege. Even the Church guarded her property by imitating the defensive methods of feudal war, and she built fortifications to ensure the safety

of her own domains. And in times of peace the château and the church and the embattled tower played a part of no less importance, since each was the visible centre of the life which had grown up within its shadow.

The great innovation which feudalism introduced in the cultivation of the soil consisted in the allotment of usufructs in the domain. In the Gallo-Roman Empire the proprietor of a villa housed and fed his slaves on his own land, and used for his own purposes the produce which their labour had wrung from the earth. But the feudal lord subdivided his land. The portion which he reserved for himself surrounded the château, and in extent it was comparatively small. The usufruct of the remainder was parcelled out among the serfs and villeins. Hence the mediæval landowner was relieved of the necessity of exploiting all his land. His policy was far shrewder. Although his domain suffered a kind of partition which was unknown in the Roman villa, this dismemberment really involved a financial gain. It was not the land, but only its usufruct which the seigneur alienated. He no longer needed to feed, clothe, and house his serfs, and yet he enjoyed a perpetual income from their labour and from special sources of taxation which feudalism invented.

What, then, were the sources of income of the feudal seigneur? We have already seen that when a fief was sold by one vassal to another, or when it passed from father to son, an indemnity was claimed by the overlord. Whereas, however, such gains were intermittent, the labour of the villeins and serfs of the domain brought a revenue which remained constant. That revenue may be divided into three parts, corresponding to the different sources: (1) rent, (2) monopolies, (3) fines. In the earlier period, when money was scarce, rent

was paid in produce, such as wheat and hay, wine, wax, poultry, pigs, oxen, and sheep. When, too, the seigneur visited any outlying portion of his estate, his horses and dogs, and sometimes even his followers, were billeted upon the villeins. Again, rent was paid by *corvées*, that is to say, by forced labour on the land immediately surrounding the castle. And *corvées* were of various kinds. Sometimes the villein was required to work in his

What the Seigneurs Claimed

The Great Castles of the Feudal Age

Sources of the Seigneur's Income

lord's fields or vineyards during a fixed number of days; in other cases the demand upon his services terminated only when the work had been completed. Besides, the seigneur could commandeer the villein's beasts of burden, carts, and agricultural implements. Rents payable in money were called "cens"—the feudal quit-rents—but these were paid, not by the serfs, but by the free villeins. We have already mentioned the capitation tax, or *taille*, which was of two kinds, arbitrary and fixed. But it had remained arbitrary at least until the end of the eleventh century. In some cases it had probably replaced the old dues which used to be paid in produce. When a peasant paid a tax which was invariable, it was a sign that he had risen in the social scale, for it meant that his assessment was the result of a contract between him and his superior. In certain rare instances the villein was able to purchase his redemption from the *corvées* and other obligations by payment of an amount equivalent to the value of his allotment.

In the second place, an important source of the seigneur's income consisted in monopolies in certain industries. The feudal theory was that not only the land, but everything that was upon it belonged to the seigneur. Any profits, therefore, whether direct or indirect, which accrued from the various enterprises carried on within his domain belonged to him. Hence the mills for grinding wheat and corn, the ovens for baking the bread, the market place, and the wine-press, were the property of the lord of the domain. Private mills, private ovens, private wine-presses were prohibited. If a villein wished to have his loaves fired, he was compelled to carry them to the seigneur's bakehouse, and to pay a tax for the firing of them. Simmonet has published some documents of the fifteenth century which prove that

A Reproach Against Feudalism at a place called Mailley, in Burgundy, certain men were punished for having cooked Christmas cakes in a private oven. It can be easily understood, therefore, that in an extensive and populated domain, in which mills, ovens, and wine-presses were in constant use, the seigneur enjoyed a considerable revenue. Moreover, the weights and measures set up in the market place likewise belonged to him, and he levied a tax each time they were

employed for the exchange of commodities. The rights of fishing, of hewing wood, and of drawing water, were also the seigneur's, and their hire formed part of his income.

Lastly, the administration of justice within the domain formed a prolific source of revenue. One of the greatest reproaches which the historian may legitimately make against feudalism is that under its régime the judicial administration ceased to be disinterested. In this respect mediævalism marked a serious retrogression. Whereas within the bounds of the Roman Empire, of which France had been a province, the execution of the law formed part of the public service, and was the guarantee of social order, within the feudal domain the administration of justice became a matter of private speculation. The actual word "justice" became degraded, for it meant merely the right to collect rents and to institute fines. No central authority interfered within a domain for the purpose of drawing up a list of crimes or devising a scale of penalties. For even although a central authority

Profits from Public Disorder had existed, it could not have abolished the seigneur's right to judge his men any more than it could have abolished his right to tax them. Both of these privileges had become immemorial, and they were conceived to be natural. At any rate, they were of the essence of feudalism.

There are documents which show that sometimes a seigneur possessed a third or a fourth part of the judicature of a particular village or town—that is to say, he shared to that amount in the profits of the administration. Those profits arose out of the fines, and hence the interests of those administrators and lessees of justice lay, not in public order, but in public disorder. The tendency was to increase the number of cases in which penalties might be inflicted.

There was a graduated scale of fines which corresponded to the three kinds of justice—*basse*, *moyenne*, and *haute*. In other words, the results of judicial administration were reckoned according to their economic value. The "highest justice" (*la haute justice*) was so called because the judge fixed the amount of the penalty, not according to custom, but according to his own will. The greater the crime, the greater the fine, and the greater the seigneur's advantage.

THE SOCIAL
FABRIC
OF THE
MEDIÆVAL
WORLD



AN
HISTORICAL
SURVEY OF
FEUDALISM IV
W.R.PATERSON

THE CLOSE OF THE FEUDAL AGE AND THE TRIUMPH OF MONARCHAL POWER

THE pressure of feudal taxation was felt not merely by individuals but by communities. When a town was included within the domain of a seigneur or within the diocese of a bishop, its inhabitants discharged the feudal dues collectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was in the towns that combined action towards relief from the more oppressive forms of seigneurial domination first took place. In the country districts the serfs were isolated and were as helpless and as incapable of combination as the slaves of antiquity. And yet even in the thirteenth century certain villages had already won concessions, whereby the villagers began to enjoy corporate privileges. The growth of the communes, however, was neither uniform nor rapid. It is true that the ordinances of the French kings from Louis the Stout to Charles the Fair are frequently concerned with the regulation of matters relating to communes. But the royal power, even if it had been willing, was too often powerless to effect reforms in towns which owed allegiance to suzerains of their own.

A Mediæval Rebellion that Failed

Corporate action was discouraged throughout the Middle Ages. In 1368 the inhabitants of Antilly in Burgundy united in opposition to their seigneur. They took an oath upon the New Testament "to help one another against all the world and to share a common purse." What happened? The seigneur put his forces in motion, the conspiracy failed, and the conspirators were compelled to pay an immense fine. If such things took place at the end of the fourteenth century, we can understand the difficulties of corporate action when, as in the preceding centuries, feudalism had thrown its entanglement closely round human society. It is true that the memory of the great Roman municipalities had not died out in France. Many of those municipalities, like Narbonne, Arles and Toulouse, were still in

existence between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. A fact, however, which from our present view is of still greater importance, is that communities which were wholly new and had never shared the tradition of the Gallo-Roman cities slowly struggled into life, and although born of feudalism, were at last able to throw off the feudal bonds.

The Seigneur's Methods of Money-making

Let us not mislead ourselves regarding the origin of all such movements. When we examine the charters granted to the village and the towns we find that the motive was invariably economic. Each commune paid an annual fine or "prestation" in return for its charter of liberties.

The seigneur granted privileges to the communes for reasons of good policy and not out of humanitarian motives. In many cases he reserved tolls and market dues, so that he owned a share in the commercial progress of the town. In the second charter granted to Dijon by Hugo, third Duke of Burgundy, in 1187, the yearly fine in return for certain concessions to the inhabitants amounted to 500 silver marks. According to Garnier's computation this sum was equivalent to 168,000 francs of the modern French currency.

Such transactions prove that the rate of social progress in mediæval times depended upon the needs of the governing class. Just as in antiquity the slave-master often found it more profitable to liberate his slave and live upon the new freedman's industry, so in the feudal age it was found that by easing the burdens which pressed upon individuals and communities alike there actually took place an increase of the seigneur's revenue.

Serfs, under Intolerable Oppression

Some of the charters naively declare in their preambles that the motive which urged the grantor was merely one of self-interest. The oppression had become so intolerable that many of the serfs in

despair abandoned the domain to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Thus, a certain Marguerite de Saligny in 1379 offered concessions to her people on the ground that "our land has become depopulated and our revenues almost extinguished," because "many of our men and women have quitted our estate either by direct

Ravages of War and Plunder disavowal of their servitude or by marriage and have betaken themselves to other domains in which there is greater freedom."

Social amelioration, therefore, had to wait on economic ruin, and it was not until the feudal policy had been found to be disastrous that any attempt was made to lighten the burden of the serfs. Numerous documents prove that whole estates had become bankrupt. Fiefs which had once been flourishing were at last deserted by villeins, unable to withstand the exactions and tyrannies inseparable from the feudal administration. For when here and there a village or a town obtained relief, it acted as a centre of attraction for men fleeing from mortmain, formariage, and other arbitrary exactions.

Garnier in "La Recherche des Feux en Bourgogne" and Simmonet in "La Féodalité et le Servage en Bourgogne" have published archives from which we learn that entire districts had been devastated and the inhabitants decimated by war and plunder. In 1431 the inhabitants of Selongey and Sarry, in Avallon, addressed to the suzerain of Burgundy a petition which is a vivid picture of the miseries which had been accumulating during the long night of feudalism. The homesteads of Selongey had been reduced to the number of six, and this extinction of families was due chiefly to the tax on marriage, which had caused the young men to leave the domain in order to find wives elsewhere. Besides, a private war had been raging during three years in the neighbourhood, many of the men had been taken prisoners, and the payment of a high ransom had completed their ruin. The cattle had been driven off, even the goods which had been stored in the church as in an inviolable sanctuary had been seized, and in despair the owners had emigrated.

This is not an abnormal but only a normal picture of what was taking place throughout the feudal domains. And

when we find seigneurs crying aloud about the depopulation of their lands we know that the social misery had reached its most violent form. For we cannot believe that it was for any trivial vexation that the villeins abandoned homesteads which had been the possession of a single family during many generations.

In the opinion of Michelet, the strange and dark beliefs which grew up around Satanism and sorcery in the Middle Ages were the outcome of the social terrors of the time. The epidemics of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were probably in large measure due to the inhuman conditions of human life, to the hunger and anæmia of generations which had been steadily starved from father to son. Both in its political, its social and its moral results feudalism ended in failure.

Although in their experiments in self-government the communes were in the end unsuccessful, their creation is one of the most important facts of European history. It was not merely that those cities played a great part in breaking the power of feudalism. They fostered industry and commerce, they educated their citizens in corporate activity, and they foreshadowed the liberties which modern democratic communities enjoy. The mere fact of incorporation constituted a triumph in the midst of feudal conditions, even in those cases in which the charter of liberties was incomplete. For it meant that a new kind of contract had been invented, a contract in which the contracting parties shared equal rights.

Each member of the commune took the oath of fidelity to its constitution, and whoever refused the oath was expelled. So intense became the desire for strong union that in some cases, as, for instance, in Verdun, he who was absent from the town beyond a year and a day forfeited his property. On the other hand, strangers were encouraged to take up their abode in the communes, and having sworn the oath they became entitled to all the privileges of membership. The basis of that oath was mutual aid, for all rights were accompanied by duties. The greater communes possessed their own militia, were permitted to fortify their walls, and to hold meetings for the discussion of public business. The



FREEDOM FOR THE CITIZENS OF PARIS

From the painting of Louis VI. granting the first charter to the citizens of Paris by J. S. Laurens

still remained the chattel of his master, the member of a commune was governed by laws which he had helped to make. It was thus only in the communes that political life survived during the Middle Ages. By means of their representatives the members signed treaties and declared war and issued their own coinage, and this collective activity brings them into relation with modern methods of government. Many historians have pointed out that no sooner were the communes established than they became the scene of internal dissensions. What happened to some of the cities of ancient Greece happened also to the mediæval towns. Mayors, jurymen, and magistrates, who had enjoyed power, were unwilling to surrender their offices, and sometimes the towns became the victims of an oligarchy. The

Greek History Repeated

ferment of the Italian republics troubled also many of the communes of France. Moreover, the overthrow or the restriction of the feudal suzerainty had not solved those great social and economic problems which reappear in every community, no matter by what name it is known. The members of the commune took the oath of mutual support, but that fact did not prevent the rich remaining rich, and the poor remaining poor. The result was that some cities offered scenes of anarchy and pillage which rivalled

commune, in fact, was a resurrection of the old tribal system of equality, although it was not founded on blood relationship. The assembly was composed only of the citizens, and he who did not attend it when summoned by the town bell was liable to a fine. Mayors, magistrates and jurymen were elected by the people. In some towns, however, which had not obtained a full franchise the nominal head of the community was the prévôt, who still represented the seigneur. But to have abolished the seigneur's monopolies in mills, wine-presses and ovens, and to have secured a reduction in the feudal dues, and the right of being judged by one's fellow citizens, constituted a great victory over the feudal system.

Even in towns in which the seigneur continued to be represented by a prévôt, the scheme of taxation was devised by the people's elected officers. In a word, whereas the serf in the country districts

even the licence of feudal maladministration. Political liberty perished, and a reign of terror ensued. But such disorder only invited attack by those powers which had always been jealous of the wealth and activity of the communes. The town of Laon, for instance, had suffered under the tyranny of the bishop, its titular head.

The Fall of the Communes

After a period of struggle, which lasted almost twenty years, a charter was obtained from Louis the Stout in 1128.

By that charter some of the worst of the feudal exactions had been abolished, and the government of the city had been revolutionised in the interests of liberty.

But Laon was not yet ripe for even a modified form of self-government. Its sedition was taken advantage of by its bishop, who in 1190, by a transaction with the French king, Philip Augustus, succeeded in destroying the commune. In the following year, by a new arrangement with the king, the citizens regained their liberties, and kept them for about a hundred years. In 1294, however, the commune was again abolished, only to be re-established later. This alternation continued until far into the fourteenth century, and the history of the town, beset from within and from without, enables us to see how precarious were municipal liberties in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most disheartening fact of all is that sometimes the towns themselves, owing to the misgovernment under which they laboured, petitioned for the suppression of their charters. Such a fact, however, by no means justifies the feudal administration. The fall of the communes towards the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century was not followed by a feudal reconstruction, for feudalism itself was falling before the rising power of the crown. If the communes failed it was not because feudalism had succeeded. And, indeed, the fact which should interest and surprise us is that

Nobles Stronger than the King

men who had been so long misgoverned, and who had almost forgotten the sound of the word liberty, were nevertheless able, in the face of immense odds, to improvise a form of government whose fundamental principles were sound.

The close of the feudal age is marked by a recovery of the central control, which had been in abeyance since the death of Charlemagne. That recovery

was slow and gradual, but it was none the less steady. No doubt the heirs of Hugh Capet were as weak as the heirs of the great Charles; but Hugh Capet, although the founder of the new monarchy, was in reality only the head of the French barons. He founded a royal house, but during the reigns of his immediate successors the dukes of Normandy and of Aquitaine were far more powerful than the occupant of the throne.

The feudal system had so firmly established itself that, as we have already stated, the royal domain was likewise a fief, which required constant protection against powerful nobles. It was not until the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223) that by help of a vigorous policy the crown domain was not merely protected but enlarged. Henceforward, the monarchy was not content with a mere attitude of negation and defence, but, partly by war, partly by treaty, fresh territory was won, and with the increase of territory came increase of prestige. Philip Augustus, like England's Norman kings, set himself to ruin the great vassals. He did not scruple to attack his own uncle, the Count of Flanders, from whom he took Picardy. Besides Normandy, Brittany, Languedoc and Champagne were compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. Whereas, too, in former reigns the king had deigned in obedience to feudal usage to do homage on account of any fief which he held from an inferior, Philip Augustus refused to perform that act. There could be no surer sign that the crown had already recaptured part of its ancient hegemony.

In the reign of Louis IX. (1226-1270) the royal authority was still further increased. Normandy was ceded by England, and towns like Chartres and Blois, Macon and Arles, were added to the kingdom. This process continued until the royal suzerainty was acknowledged throughout French territory. Just as in the great territorial divisions the seigneurs acknowledged a comte or duc as their suzerain, so those local suzerains one by one began to acknowledge the supreme sovereignty of the crown.

Thus the monarchy was one of the great enemies of feudalism in France as well as in England. The great difference in the two cases, however, is that whereas in England the triumph of the

monarchy over feudalism came early, in France it came late. Before the absolutism of Louis XIV. was attained the throne had passed through a prolonged and often a humiliating struggle with the great feudal potentates.

But in England the evolution of events was different. It was owing to the action of the crown after the Norman Conquest that the growth of feudalism was checked. If, after the death of Charlemagne, France had possessed kings like William the Conqueror, Henry I., and Henry II., it is probable that in that country also feudalism, if not wholly arrested in its development, would have been at least controlled. In England there never took place after the Conquest that dismemberment of the land and of the central authority which characterised the feudal régime. This fact is all the more remarkable since before the Conquest the system of land tenure in England was, as we have already stated, likewise approximating towards the feudal type. In Saxon England the right of judicature accompanied territorial possession, and the man who had land sat in judgment on the man who had none. Even the old public courts, called "Hundred Courts," became private assizes in which a local proprietor passed sentence on the people of the district.

Moreover, there is evidence in Domesday Book that in England, as on the Continent, owners of land—that is to say, occupiers of a freehold—were compelled either by poverty or by force majeure to place themselves under the protection of superior lords. In some form, therefore, vassalage had already been developed in England before the eleventh century, and the obligation of military service completed the feudal character of the relations between the greater and the smaller landed proprietors. The system was feudalism except in name. Hence, when the Conqueror and his followers arrived in England the English method of land tenure seemed by no means unfamiliar to them. But whereas in France the central power had perished, and feudalism had risen on the ruins, in England the king was still the lord of the national land. In his seizure of the kingship William determined to maintain the English tradition. That determination on the part of the

Conqueror and of his successors was not carried out except by means of a long struggle against the Norman barons. The royal policy consisted in pitting the force of nationalism against the force of feudalism, and in playing skilfully with both.

But the sufferings of the nation which the struggle involved were not in vain, for the king sided with the people, and a national, not a feudal, monarchy was founded. If we examine the coronation oaths of William the Conqueror and of Henry I. we shall find that both of those kings ascended the throne as kings of the whole nation. William declares that he will rule the entire people (cunctum populum) justly. Henry I. re-established the old provincial courts or shiremoots, which William had also favoured, and he confiscated the great baronial estates. By these and by many other acts forces which were hostile to feudalism were early brought into play, and thus caused the mediæval history of England to be widely divergent from the mediæval history of France.

The English king was not a feudal potentate struggling against his equals. The allegiance to a particular lord was not allowed to override or to diminish allegiance to the throne, and England was not an assemblage of independent fiefs, but a nation whose national self-consciousness was already in process of development. No doubt, in the end the French, like the English, monarchy was able to crush the minor feudal sovereignties and to take back into its own hands the reins and bridle of government. But the process was far slower, and the consummation came later by many centuries. Not that the English did not endure manifold miseries of their own, for the disruptive feudal tendencies frequently broke loose. But those miseries would have been still multiplied and magnified if, like France, England had become the scene of a fully developed system of feudal misgovernment. In the preceding paragraphs we have endeavoured to present only in very rude outline some of the main aspects of a social system which, during a long period, profoundly influenced European life. We have mentioned that the reappearance of the monarchy was a chief cause of the disappearance of French feudalism. The

unity of the kingdom which had been broken in fragments was reconstituted. But it is not merely in the action of external factors upon societies that the student of social progress is chiefly concerned. When he has appraised the relative importance of the monarchy and the communes as destructive agents working

France's Restored Monarchy

against feudalism, it remains for him to ask whether also the system did not contain within itself the reasons of its own failure.

Human societies are highly complex organisms, and they are no sooner formed than they become the prey of many contradictory elements. The battles which they fight against each other are often less momentous than the struggles of all of them with moral and economic forces of their own creation. The accumulation of those forces is often secret and slow, and it is not until the end of a period that we are able to discover the extent and meaning of their activity.

In the foregoing sketch we have perhaps gathered together some facts sufficient in number and in character to enable us to understand why feudalism was incapable of creating a permanent form of human society. No man would dream of reviving it to-day. From a philosophic standpoint we should doubtless be prepared to say that, given the conditions of France from the fifth till the fifteenth century, feudalism was inevitable. But as we examine its internal organisation in the cold light of modern inquiry we are struck less by the system's virtues than by its vices. Boulainvilliers, who was writing in the seven-

Virtues and Vices of Feudalism

teenth century as a defender of feudalism, attributes its decline mainly to the administrative incapacity of the seigneurs and holders of fiefs. He points out that they were guilty of ignorance of their own feudal customs and laws. And he especially condemns them for having delegated to professional jurists the administration of justice in their territories. The people began to regard the lawyers as the chief depositories of authority, and to

consider as authentic and final legal decisions which were incompatible with the old feudal usage. But no one can accept to-day so superficial a diagnosis, for the causes of failure lay far deeper. Feudalism resulted in economic sterility and social paralysis, because the social and economic principles upon which it was based were unsound. No mere tinkering at its machinery could have saved it. Human society is an organism, but the vitality of an organism depends upon the harmonious co-operation of all its parts. If some members are nourished at the expense of others, the ultimate result will be the ruin of the whole body. And this fact is likewise true of the body politic. The process of exploitation can continue only so long as the material lasts. If the material happens to be human life, it, too, becomes at length exhausted.

We have seen that the great method of mediæval exploitation was serfdom. But serfdom, like ancient slavery, did not pay its expenses. It has been shown that the fiefs became depopulated owing to the severity of feudal exactions. And the bankruptcy of the peasant was followed by the bankruptcy of the governing class. Numerous documents prove that impoverished nobles were compelled to mortgage their property. What is more interesting is that when the agrarian exploitation had ceased to be remunerative, the nobles, in defiance of feudal custom, which forbade them to engage in commerce, began to have transactions with the merchant class of those communes whose development feudalism had frustrated. This fact meant that the aristocracy had made wretched use of their immense opportunities on the land. They had strangled agriculture, and they had attempted to strangle commerce. There can be no wonder if this prolonged sapping of its own economic foundations brought about at last the collapse of a structure which even in its upper storeys was artificially built.

W. ROMAINE PATERSON





THE RENAISSANCE

ITS GREAT MEN AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS

BEING AN EPILOGUE TO THE STORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ITALY had already enjoyed a long period of development in culture at the time when the countries north of the Alps first became the scene of events bearing on the history of the world. The system of latifundia, or estate farming, under the later empire, had depopulated wide tracts and caused such general retrogression in civilisation that the Germanic invaders of the fifth and following centuries found almost primitive economic conditions prevailing there. The past was forgotten under the supremacy of the youthful Germanic nations. The old civilisation broke up. The remains of the ancient buildings were either wilfully demolished or fell to ruin from neglect. It was only after some centuries that, as the product of a great blending of nationalities, a new nation was formed, which, aided by a favourable economic development, was able to exhibit admirable results in the sphere of intellectual life.

In a country where the city of Rome, more than ever the intellectual centre of the whole world, daily recalled to men's minds the great past of more than fifteen hundred years, a past of which the mediæval mind formed a quite peculiar and inaccurate conception, the newly aroused intellectual interest could hardly occupy itself with any other object than the literary productions of the ancients. The most gifted intellects tried to understand

the ancients, to breathe fresh life into them, and to emulate the old masters in their lives as well as in their writings. They did not, indeed, go much further than the attempt. Our later age must pass this verdict even on those intellectual heroes who thought themselves Romans in every respect. The laws of Justinian had in the last thirty years of the eleventh century been

intelligently readapted for practical purposes in Pavia. After the founding of the University of Bologna, in 1088, this town became the home of jurisprudence on the basis of the abstract law of Roman imperial times. The importance which

was attached both there and in Milan to the Corpus Juris is clearly shown by the fact that the law enacted about 1152

by Frederic I. for the peace of the empire, as well as two books on feudalism (*libri feudorum*) from the time of Hugolinus de Presbyteris, were actually regarded as supplements to the Corpus Juris Civilis.

It seemed to the men of that time that such an idea would do more to ensure the observance of those modern laws than the mere proclamation, which otherwise must have sufficed. The scientific treatment of the Roman legal monuments was due to a directly felt practical need, the want of legal standards, which should correspond to the altered economic conditions consequent on more frequent means of communication, and which were actually supplied by the law of the Roman emperors. On the other hand, the eager study of the ancient Roman literature, which began with the end of the thirteenth century, is closely connected with political events.

The new conception of the state is an important factor in that intellectual movement which we are accustomed to designate "Renaissance." The romantic attempt of Rienzi to transform Rome into a republic after the ancient model, and to place himself at its head as tribune on May 20th, 1347, is only the fantastic realisation of the ancient conception of the state which he had found in the works of Livy and Cicero. The relations of the revived classical learning to politics are clearly shown by the fact that the enthusiastic

**Intellectual
Heroes
of Rome**

admirers of antiquity wrote history in a new and conspicuously different form from their mediæval predecessors. Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), when he wrote the history of his time, no longer started with the beginning of the world like a mediæval chronicler, but treated the political events of his century like a man who had himself taken part in political life and had a distinct prejudice in favour of the Emperor Henry VII. He evidently follows the style of the old Roman models, and their influence is still more apparent in his poems, particularly in his tragedies.

Even before Mussato, Brunetto Latini, a shrewd politician, familiar with the Latin writers, especially Ovid, had designated politics as absolutely the noblest and highest science, and thus proved that he had in a very marked degree risen above the Middle Ages. His practical grasp of political history is attested by a comparison which he drew up between England and France; but notwithstanding his familiarity with the ancients he wrote his own encyclopædic works in French, in order to be universally intelligible. He probably would have been forgotten by now had he not been the teacher of Dante (1265-1321), the man who first so absorbed the learning of antiquity that he created in his spirit works artistically complete and yet modern. These, being written in Italian,

not only made the ancient world accessible to the widest circles, but also, by the employment of the national language, contributed largely to the awakening of a national feeling. His guide through the pagan world was Virgil, the Roman who, in the development of his ideas, came nearest to Christianity.

Dante's general philosophic ideas, as contained in the Divine Comedy, are therefore Christian as a whole, however much they may be in direct opposition to the prevailing theology of his day. He confronted the papal ambitions of Boniface VIII., and in his treatise in Latin, "De Monarchia," he insisted on the independent position of the Roman emperor by the side of the Pope. Although a republican by birth—Florence was his home—he advocated a powerful world sovereignty, with Italy naturally as centre. The personality of the Emperor Henry VII. may have been of considerable influence in thus shaping his thoughts. Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) possessed less political talent than



TITIAN'S GREAT PAINTING OF THE ASSUMPTION
Titian, who was born in 1477 and died in 1576, was the most famous painter of his age in Venice, and received commissions from the most distant parts of Europe. He lived a princely life, and vastly enriched the city with his art. He painted many "Assumptions," but although so much of his work was devoted to sacred subjects it is curiously lacking in soul, even when perfect in detail of colour and workmanship.

Dante. A member of a Florentine family, he had spent his youth in Avignon, and on April 8th, 1341, had been crowned as poet at Rome by King Robert of Naples. His Latin poems alone won him this distinction; but his writings, partly historical, partly philosophical—among others one on the best administration of the state, the



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY PAUL VERONESE

Paul Veronese, as his name implies, was a native of Verona, but most of his life was passed in Venice during the flourishing of its great school of painting. His work, which abounds in the public buildings of the famous city, is singularly pure while instinct with life and character. Some of his masterpieces are to be seen on the ceilings and frescoes of the buildings of his time, notably his "Triumph of Venice," which is probably unrivalled as a ceiling painting.

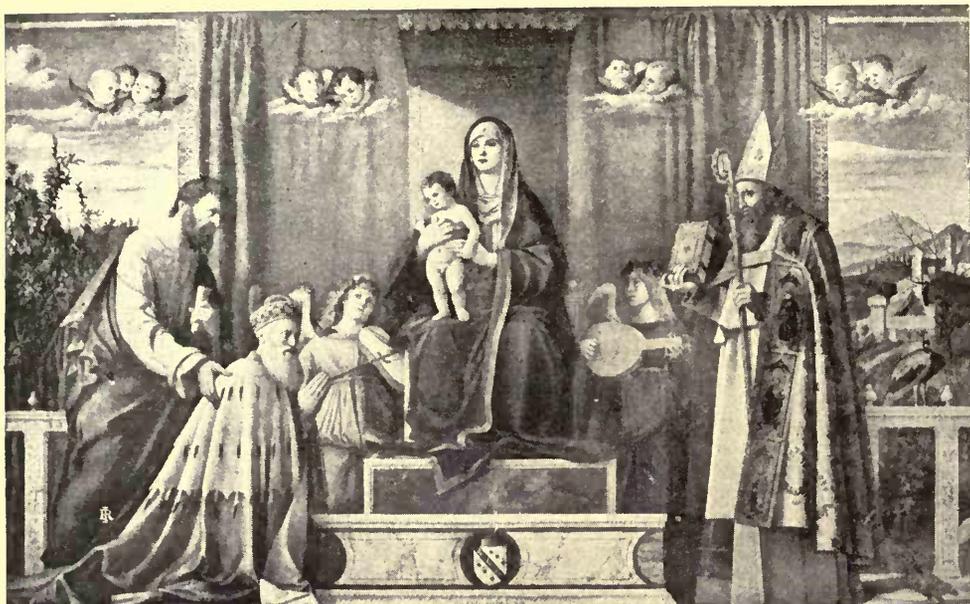
"Liber de Republica optime administranda"—are still more steeped in poetic feeling and display some slight knowledge of politics. As an admirer of Rome and the Latin language he was no petty imitator of the ancients, but a writer in Latin with a style of his own. In some respects he shows a distinct advance as compared with Dante. He stands out as a truly modern man in the midst of a still mediæval environment from the manner in which he, almost alone at that time, regards astrology as a fanciful illusion, and by the

form of his ideal attachment to Laura, whom he extols in his Italian poems.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), the biographer of Dante and the friend of Petrarch, gives prominence far more than they do to a quite different idea, which is part of the literary property of the age. He remorselessly attacks the Church and the clergy, notwithstanding outward piety and submission to the Pope. Some alleged acts of the priests are attacked by him in his "Decameron," which consequently caused him to be reproached with



'THE MARRIAGE AT CANA': A PAINTING BY PAUL VERONESE, NOW IN THE LOUVRE



THE HOMAGE OF THE DOGE: BY THE GREAT VENETIAN, GIOVANNI BELLINI

Of the two Bellinis, Gentile and Giovanni, the younger was the greater artist, and his work is unexcelled by any painter of the Venetian school. The most perfect decorative art of the Renaissance is to be studied in Giovanni's pictures, which were chiefly painted as altar-pieces for the gorgeous churches of Venice. That reproduced above is to be seen in the Church of St. Peter Martyr at Murano, the ancient neighbour of Venice across the lagoon. Gentile Bellini travelled to the East, and resided for a time in Constantinople at the court of the Sultan, whose portrait he painted.

irreligion. He lacked the deeper political ability requisite to attack the secular position of the Pope, although, being often sent on diplomatic missions, he was certainly familiar with the politics of the day.

All sides of an individual intellectual life are embodied in these three men, who went in advance of their age, and yet were influenced by it. They themselves were imbued with the idea that a new era was opening, even if their environment had slowly and laboriously to arrive at a similar knowledge. The number of those who understood the Latin of the ancients was still comparatively

small. But this was soon changed. Colucio Salutati (1331-1406), chancellor of the Florentine Republic, introduced the language of Cicero into the state documents, and the

Augustinian monk Luigi Marsili (1342-1394), filled with deep reverence for antiquity, was able to combine with his spiritual position, vehement attacks on the papacy. Numerous scholars joined him, and Florence became the seat of the ancient learning in a new form. The writings of the Latins were still almost exclusively the subjects of study. Petrarch himself, with all his reverence for the Greek world, did



A MASTERPIECE BY GIOTTO OF FLORENCE

Giotto was one of the Florentine masters who made the fame of their city great throughout Europe. His influence on his contemporaries was even more marked than the beauty of his own work. In architecture his greatest achievement was the magnificent campanile, which stands close by the beautiful Cathedral of Florence.

THE RENAISSANCE

not master the Greek language. Boccaccio was one of the first who thoroughly understood it, and throughout the whole fourteenth century it was very difficult in Italy to obtain instruction in Greek. It was, therefore, an event when, in 1393, in order to escape the dangers which the siege of Constantinople by Bajazet brought with it, two Greek men of letters, Demetrius Cydonicus and Manuel Chrysoloras, came to Venice. Young Florentines were to be taught by them, and in 1396 Chrysoloras was summoned to the

University of Florence as public teacher of Greek grammar and literature. He soon afterwards taught the new language in Pavia, Venice, and Rome. Then, in 1439, at the invitation of the Florentine council, the aged Gemisthus Plethon appeared in Italy, lectured first in public on the doctrines of Plato, and by so doing created a counterpoise to Aristotle, whose philosophy then dominated the schools. Platonic academies sprang up at Florence and Rome, and in both towns translators began to show a feverish energy. Polybius, Aristotle, Plutarch, Epicetus, Strabo, among others,

were translated into Latin. Homer alone was as yet left untranslated. Latin and Greek towards the middle of the century stood as equals side by side, and were

equally favoured by the two centres, Florence and Rome. Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464) was the son of a Florentine

merchant. From 1429 onward he stood at the head of his native town, and after 1434 guided its fortunes permanently. An enthusiastic patron of all learning, with ample means at his disposal, he developed great energy in building. At the same time, being himself deeply erudite, and possessing a refined knowledge of the authors of ancient Rome, he formed, by means of transcribers and translators,

an absolutely unique library of manuscripts. Roberto di Rossi translated Aristotle, Lapo da Castiglionchio Plutarch. A complete circle of scholars assembled round Cosimo; the best known among them is Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). Cosimo's

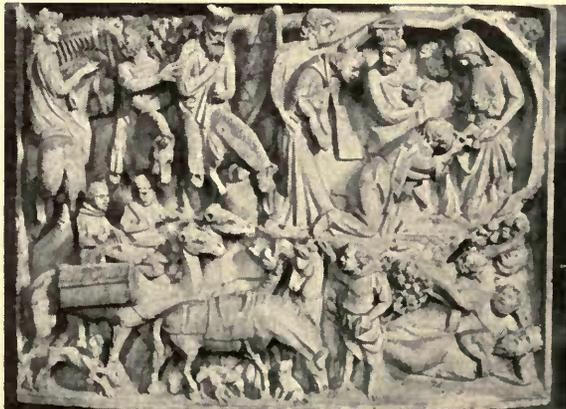
grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492, was, like his grandfather, a patron of art. Of artistic and poetic nature himself, he became the Mæcenas to the artists and poets of his time. The library was further enlarged by him according to the plan of Cosimo; architecture, painting, sculpture, working in bronze, and even

music, flourished anew under his rule.

The Archbishop of Bologna, Thomas Pasentucelli, was elected Pope on March 18th, 1447, and took the title of Nicholas V.



VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, BY BOTTICELLI
A painter of scriptural and allegorical subjects, Botticelli displayed great inventive genius, and all his work shows the minutest care. His colouring is noted for its brilliancy, and is often enriched with gold.



A BEAUTIFUL BAS-RELIEF BY GIOVANNI PISANO
A son of the famous Niccolò Pisano, Italian sculptor and architect, Giovanni Pisano, born at Pisa in 1240, was distinguished for his beautiful bas-relief work, an example of which is here shown. He built the first and most beautiful campo santo—cemetery—in Italy.

He had lived at Florence in the circle of Cosimo, and now, on his accession to the pontificate, he founded a similar scientific centre by the formation of a second library of manuscripts. He sent out collectors to travel and search for manuscripts of ancient writers, and raised his collection of books under the care of the librarian Giovanni Tortello to 5,000 volumes, of which Greek works formed no small part. Among the scholars whom Nicholas V. collected round him, Lorenzo Valla, who died in 1457, incon-

testably takes the first place. In the domain of historical criticism he stands supreme. Besides him, Maffeo Vegio, who died in 1458, an Augustinian monk well acquainted with antiquity, and Flavio Biondo (1388-1463), the author of a mediæval universal history from the capture of Rome by the Goths to his own time, are worthy of record. This work shows great progress in method. Almost for the first time the events of the thousand years which were afterward called the Middle Ages are recorded by the side of ancient history. The efforts of Pope Nicholas were not appreciated by his successors. Calixtus III. (1455-1458) dispersed the library which had been collected with such pains. Pius II. (1458-1464), before his pontificate known as Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, was himself familiar with the classics, and was also a spirited and vigorous writer, but he had nothing to spare for other scholars. Paul II. (1464-1471) absolutely hated all science, and persecuted the Humanists, although he showed a wish to preserve old buildings. Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) was no

scholar; but under him the library and the archives were transferred to new and larger rooms, and placed under the competent direction of Bartolommeo Sacchi ("Platina"). Art found once more a vigorous patron in Julius II. (1503-1513), and literature in Leo X. (1513-1521).

Zeal for learning was not so prominent in the other states of Italy as in Florence, and intermittently at Rome. Even in Venice, where, owing to the general rich development, much might fairly have been expected, very little was done. Only spas-

modic efforts were made, and these often failed. Nevertheless, towards the end of the fifteenth century Aldus Manutius, the liberally educated printer and publisher, acquired his world-wide reputation there. Artistic life, on the contrary, was more flourishing in Venice than in any other city excepting Florence. At first, indeed, it was almost entirely carried on by the people of Murano in the pay of Venice, but soon, under Paduan influence, art flourished at Venice with almost unparalleled luxuriance. The Bellinis in rich

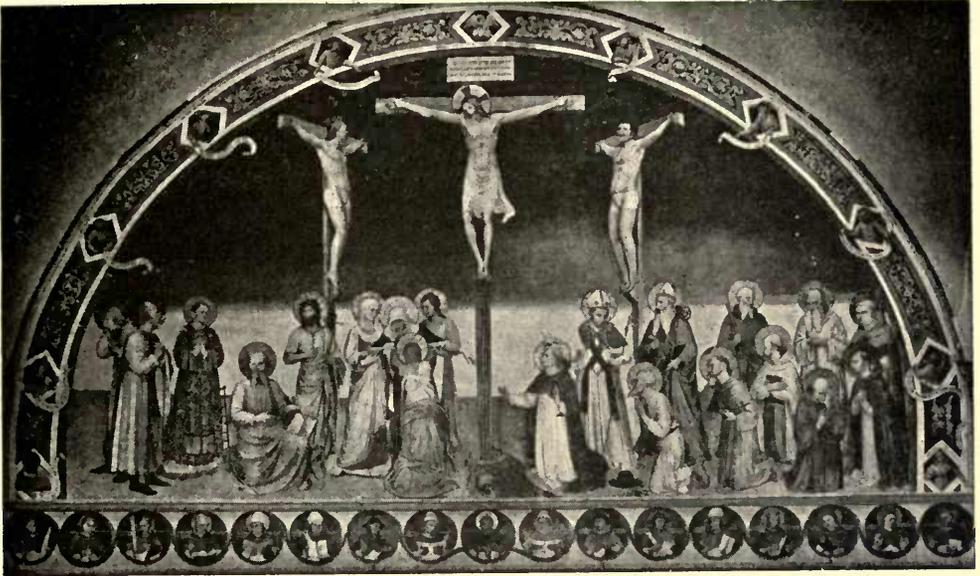


THE MARBLE CATHEDRAL OF FLORENCE

Set in a city of many splendours, the Cathedral of Florence stands out as the chief architectural feature. Built between 1296 and 1436, it is one of the largest churches in Italy, and its interior is adorned with sculptures by Michelangelo and other great Florentines. Giotto's campanile is also shown in the picture.

and skilful colouring found still more splendid successors in Giorgione, who died in 1510, in Titian (1477-1576), and in Paul Veronese, who died in 1588. At the court of Ferrara lived Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), the poet of the "Orlando Furioso"; and at Naples Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), an eager patron of mathematics and astronomy.

By "Renaissance" we understand primarily what the word literally signifies, the "new birth," that is, of the antique. The antique was the great model



"THE CRUCIFIXION": A NOTABLE PAINTING BY THE ARTIST MONK, FRA ANGELICO
 Fra Angelico was one of the most attractive characters in renaissance Florence. A monk of St. Mark's in the days when Savonarola was the head of the monastery, he devoted his life to painting, and few sights in Florence are more interesting than the series of beautiful paintings in the cells of St. Mark's from the brush of the gentle artist brother. He was known as Angelico because of his love for painting angels, and all his pictures, though weak in detail and draughtsmanship, and conforming to the oldest notions of design, have a rare and gentle beauty in colouring and in the features of his figures which gives to them a somewhat ethereal feeling that is peculiar to this artist.

which the supporters of the newly-awakened intellectual life followed, or zealously tried to follow; for in truth, to the observer who looks back the classical model seems to recede far into the distance as compared with the newly-discovered independence which forms the chief feature of all this age of culture. Thus the new conception kept the name "Renaissance," but the idea implied something quite different. The Renaissance owes to the antique an infinite abundance of incentives. Ancient works of art were collected, excavations were begun, ancient architecture was sketched and copied. The results of this continuous activity were applied to the new creations, but these were themselves of a quite different style from their models. It is not so important a fact that Niccolo Pisano, who died in 1280, adopted figures, and even groups of figures, from the remains of sculpture which existed at Pisa, giving them a



AN ANGEL BY ANGELICO

new and Christian meaning, as it is that he drew his love of the beautiful from the contemplation and study of the antique. The style of his reliefs is quite different from the art of the Roman sarcophagi, and on the whole he owes what is great and new in his work far more to himself and the newly-awakened feeling for the life around him than to any model. The slight connection that this new art has with the antique schools is seen best in the productions of his son, Giovanni, to whom the storm and stress around him and within him was everything and antique art was nothing.

Within certain limits Giotto (1266-1337) represents a similar stage of development in painting. If the art of the two Pisanos had been already spread throughout all Italy by pupils and fellow-craftsmen, this was still more the case with Giotto's art. The Italian painting of the fourteenth century may without exaggeration be termed

Giottesque; and the overpowering impression produced by this new art is due to its vigour, till then unprecedented, its inner truthfulness, which aims at the essential—in a word, its realism. The painting of the fourteenth century derived nothing from antiquity, because there were no remains of ancient pictures. To architecture, on the other hand, the Roman soil, although then much still lay buried, offered, in particular cases at any rate, a supply of good models. But even here the influence of the antique was far less than was once supposed. The problems had become quite different, and they were differently solved. Brunellesci (1377-1446), the builder of the dome of the cathedral at Florence, who is called the first great architect of the Renaissance, has borrowed from the antique little more than the ornamentation and the shaping of the pillars and the entablature, certainly an important part of the edifice.

It is noteworthy that it was not in Rome, with her world of ancient relics, but in Florence, that the early Renaissance was chiefly developed. It is true that very many artists from the Tuscan capital came to Rome in order to copy the Roman remains, and a great Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), who worked far more outside his native city than in it, tried to excel the antique in ornamentation, especially in the shape of façades. But Padua, still more than Florence, became the chief centre of that revival of ancient art. Squarcione (1394-1474) had founded there an atelier, in which copies were made of originals collected from all sources, even, it is said, from Greece itself. This fact explains

the stiff sculpturesque style of the art of his pupil, the painter and etcher, Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), who has also become known by his representations of ancient subjects, especially by his "Triumph of Cæsar." [See pages 2670 and 2671.] He carried his art from Padua to Mantua and Rome, while in Venice the Paduan spirit was seen in many works of Jacopo Bellini and his sons, who surpassed him in importance, Gentile and Giovanni. The remains of antique architecture,



THE ART OF LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA

In the great days of Florentine art, when the fame of the city as an art centre had spread throughout Europe, Lucca della Robbia invented a process of modelling in clay and hard-glazing, the work, chiefly in white and blue, which had a finished effect, resembling porcelain. He and his family carried on for many years a brisk business in this pure and beautiful art, the secret of which was long preserved.

which in many places lay buried under ruins, were not only studied by artists, but preserved. Indeed, they were often formed into collections of antiquities, while, strange to relate, a quite barbarian delight in destruction often simultaneously showed itself. Nicholas V., the enthusiastic patron of art and science, actually used for his new erections stones from the ruins of Roman architectural monuments, and commanded the Temple of Probus to be destroyed; yet under him the enlargement of the Capitol was begun, and much care was devoted to the preservation of old pavements and early Christian tombs. Pius II. took more decided steps for the preservation of Roman buildings. Even before his pontificate he cautioned persons against burning the ancient marble to obtain lime, and, as Pope, he issued—although, indeed, without much success—a rescript which threatened the most severe penalties for the further destruction of old buildings. Even Pope Paul II., the enemy of the Humanists (1464-1471), not only showed a refined appreciation for the ancient works of art, but was an indefatigably keen collector, who made his museum of Roman

antiquities noteworthy even by the side of that of the Medici. A rich native of Treviso had as early as 1335 founded in Venice a collection of medals, coins, bronzes, cut stones, and manuscripts. In the next century the town preserved her reputation and became the chief repository of ancient works of art.

The great personality with whom the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins is Masaccio (1401-1428). The feature which distinguishes his most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, from all earlier productions of painting is its absolute truthfulness. The realism already budding in Giotto had completely ripened in Masaccio. His thorough anatomical knowledge, his better developed perspective, the breadth of his compositions, and his distribution of masses, raised his art far beyond that of the previous century. The art of painting flourished in similar luxuriance throughout the whole fifteenth century. A contemporary of Masaccio is the Dominican Fra Giovanni Angelico (1387-1455), who, from the feeling manifest in his works, is almost more Gothic than a follower of the Renaissance, but nevertheless is in this sense typical of a whole group of artists. After him come Lippo Lippi, Lippino, Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the group of the painter-sculptors Pollajuoli, Verrochio, and Lorenzo di Credi, who decorated with their skill the altars and the great surfaces of the walls in the churches of Tuscany.

At the same time, however, amid the great tasks which architecture presented, plastic art had developed a luxuriance to which it had attained only in ancient Greece.

Ghiberti's Early Triumph

The century opens with the competition for the bronze door of the baptistery. Lorenzo Ghiberti is the victor, but Donatello is the foremost plastic artist of the century. He is thoroughly original in every respect. Only in his very earliest works can any connection

with the older masters be traced. Then he cast aside all that was non-individual, and gave play only to his uncompromisingly realistic nature, which did not shrink even from what was ugly. He worked for different patrons in wood, clay, stone, and brass. He created for Padua the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, completed in 1453 [see page 3965]. After more than a thousand years a technically difficult task had once more been set, and had been performed artistically on the grandest scale.

An abundant stream of art flowed in the fifteenth century through every part of Italy. Towards the end of the century the foremost artists from Florence and Umbria were summoned to Rome to decorate the Sistine Chapel. In Florence itself all art culminated in the three names Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo Buonarroti, and Raphael. Leonardo, who died in 1519, was a "universal man," like Goethe, a marvellously gifted nature — architect, sculptor, painter, engineer, physicist, and anatomist, a founder and discoverer in every department, and yet in every other respect a perfect human being, immensely strong, beautiful till extreme old age, famous as a musician and composer. In 1505 the Florentine Michelangelo (1475-1564) became his

rival. He too was painter, sculptor, and architect, and in addition a thoughtful philosophic poet. The chief scene of his activity was Rome, where the Popes of the time, being lovers of art, gave his creative imagination the right opportunities. In Raphael of Urbino, who died in 1520, the whole purpose was at last fulfilled which the painting of the fifteenth century had prepared. All the tones ring out full and true in his art.

The direction of all these efforts towards the revival of the classical antiquity implies for the men of that time an immense increase of knowledge and extension of the field of view within a comparatively short time. But scanned from the standpoint



A PAINTING BY MASACCIO
It is with Masaccio that the history of Italian painting in the fifteenth century begins. His most important work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Brancacci, is distinguished for its absolute truthfulness, while his broad genius raised his art far beyond that of the preceding century.

of the later development the value of the whole movement consists less in the knowledge actually transmitted than in the stimulus to intellectual freedom, in the promotion of individual thought, which should inevitably lead to a struggle against the spirit of scholasticism. By the side of Christian authority embodied in the papacy there appeared the completely different system of antiquity, and by the side of Aristotle stood Plato.

Features of the New Era

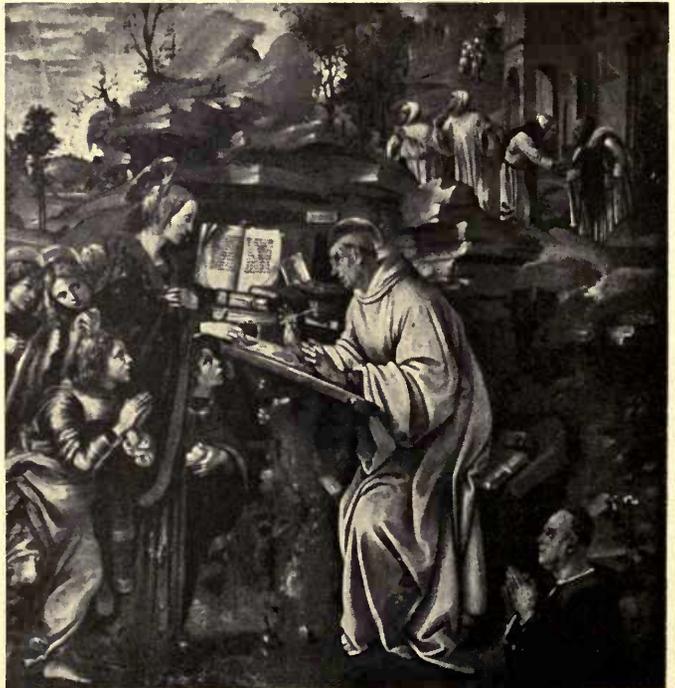
The question was how to reconcile two authorities which were completely opposed one to the other. From this resulted a struggle against authority generally, out of which individualism emerged in renewed strength. The restoration of the rights of the individual is the essential feature of the new era, which in the sixteenth century saw the religious revolution, in 1517, and the regeneration of the Catholic Church at Trent, in 1563.

Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) had waged a bitter war with the French kingdom for the secular supremacy, and King Philip IV. (1285-1314), who was fortunate in his struggle for absolutism, had proved victorious, even if he could not carry the successor of St. Peter a captive into France. The brief reign of Benedict XI. (1303-1304) was not able to weaken the opposition, and at the new election, on June 5th, 1305, a Frenchman, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand of Got, was raised to the papal throne as Clement V. Being entirely submissive to the influence of the French court, he removed the papal residence to French soil. For seventy years from 1306 Avignon, a town on the Rhone, was the permanent abode of the Vicar of Christ. This event was due entirely to political circumstances, but became of great importance for the civilisation of France and countries beyond. Up to Louis VIII (1223-1226), who, in consequence of the war with the Albi-

genses, acquired the Burgundian lands of Raymond VI. of Toulouse, France had been divided politically into two parts, which showed for centuries marked differences in the development of civilisation. In the south the idea of the Crusades had found from the very first a more favourable soil. The Provençal poetry, mostly lyrical, had flourished there, and had developed highly a language which was intelligible in the whole Romance world.

Southern France was the first country of the western world to have a literature of its own in the language of the people. Down to the days of Dante verse and prose even in Italy itself were subject entirely to this Provençal influence; even Brunetto Latini still employed the French language. Although the poetry of Southern France had fallen into decay after the Albigensian wars, which inflicted deep wounds on the land, yet an attempt was made in the fourteenth century—at Toulouse, in 1324, to inspire new life into it artificially by founding a prize for poets.

Meantime the epic of chivalry, at first in the Latin tongue, had been developed in Northern France, but after the time



THE APPEARANCE OF THE VIRGIN TO ST. BERNARD
 Filippino Lippi, of whose work the above is very characteristic, was the son of the famous artist, Fra Filippo Lippi, and was born at Florence in 1457, dying in 1504. He painted many frescoes, notably those in the Strozzi Chapel, Florence.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, BY GHIRLANDAJO

In the days of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Dominic Ghirlandajo was one of the foremost artists of Florence, noted for his powers as a teacher no less than for the mastery over composition and detail which such works as the "Adoration of the Magi" displayed. This beautiful example of decorative art is preserved in the Children's Hospital at Florence, for which it was originally painted.

of Philip II. (1180-1223) the national language seemed here also to have acquired the flexibility requisite for poetical productions. This stage, accordingly, was reached considerably earlier here than in Italy. In the South of France the relations with antiquity had never been lost to the same extent as on the other side of the Alps. Thus there could not be a violent awakening of ancient life such as was seen in the neighbouring country.

The awakening was peaceful and calm. The national literature soon produced admirable results, which were not so completely overshadowed by Virgil and Ovid. A more advanced national feeling hindered the outbreak of such fervid enthusiasm for a foreign culture. Even the political conditions there were not on the whole so confused that a republic on the model of antiquity was necessarily considered the ideal constitution. Politically, indeed, France was untouched by classic influences.

While Italy, even in the eleventh century, had possessed a seminary for science in the University of Bologna, and another in the twelfth century, in Salerno, and in the thirteenth century had added four others—Naples, Padua, Rome, and Ferrara—France could not indeed present an equal number, but possessed instead the recognised foremost theological faculty of the world in the University of Paris, dating from 1200. This, rather than any of the Italian universities, became the model for all future foundations of the sort in the West. Parisian teachers left their chairs in 1378 on account of the schism, and were instrumental in founding German universities in Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt, while two other teaching bodies after the Paris model had already arisen—at Prague, in 1348, and at Vienna, in 1365. The movement in England had found expression in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

In the South of France the University of Toulouse was founded in 1228, and that at Montpellier in 1289. The latter began to contest with the Italian Salerno the reputation of being the most prominent school of medicine. The University at Lyons followed in 1300.

Such was the intellectual life of the environment into which the papacy was removed when it prepared to establish itself at Avignon, at a time when Rome, of all the more important towns of Italy, was perhaps the least affected by the spirit of the Florentines. During these momentous seventy years of constant intercourse between Rome and Avignon was maintained. Several of the most enthusiastic admirers of antiquity, above all Petrarch, came to Avignon, but an independent literary renaissance was not developed at the papal court. Even the University of Paris appeared to be the citadel of

The Popes at Avignon



"THE GATES OF PARADISE": DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. JOHN AT FLORENCE

It would be difficult to tell any story which would so strikingly illustrate the devotion of the Florentines to their ideals of art as that of the making of the world-famous bronze gates of the Baptistery of St. John. Of course only the barest summary of the story can here be told. After a remarkable competition, the order for the making of these gates was given to the youthful Lorenzo Ghiberti, and just half a century was required for carrying out the entire work. During most of the time when the modelling had been sufficiently advanced for beginning the process of casting, Ghiberti had to work far into the night, and as in those days the streets of Florence were practically deserted after dark, the nobles keeping within their stout castle walls and the common folk being prevented from trafficking at night, Ghiberti and his workmen, by special licence, were allowed to carry their lanterns through the streets and to continue with their work on the gates, in which they never suffered any molestation, although the times were so unrestful. Michelangelo is said to have summed up his admiration of Ghiberti's work by exclaiming that the doors were fit to be the gates of Paradise.



LEONARDO DA VINCI'S FAMOUS PAINTING OF THE LAST SUPPER

The genius of Leonardo da Vinci did not run in one direction only, and while famous as a painter he busied himself in many other directions. Born at the castle of Vinci, near Empoli, in the Val d'Arno, about the year 1450, he gave evidence of extraordinary skill at a very early age, and he was sent as a pupil to Andrea Verrocchio. He died in 1519.

scholasticism, and too long opposed the efforts of the Humanists. Yet it was there that the beginnings of a renaissance had shown themselves even before Dante and Petrarch. But after the middle of the fourteenth century these efforts died away without having had any results comparable to those accomplished in Italy.

In art, however, Avignon, and Southern France as a whole, could seriously challenge comparison with Upper Italy. And the artistic development stands, at least partially, in indirect connection with the study of the monuments of antiquity, which in this region are peculiarly numerous and imposing. This also, like the literary activity in the South, was the result of a more ample accumulation of wealth, which provided the

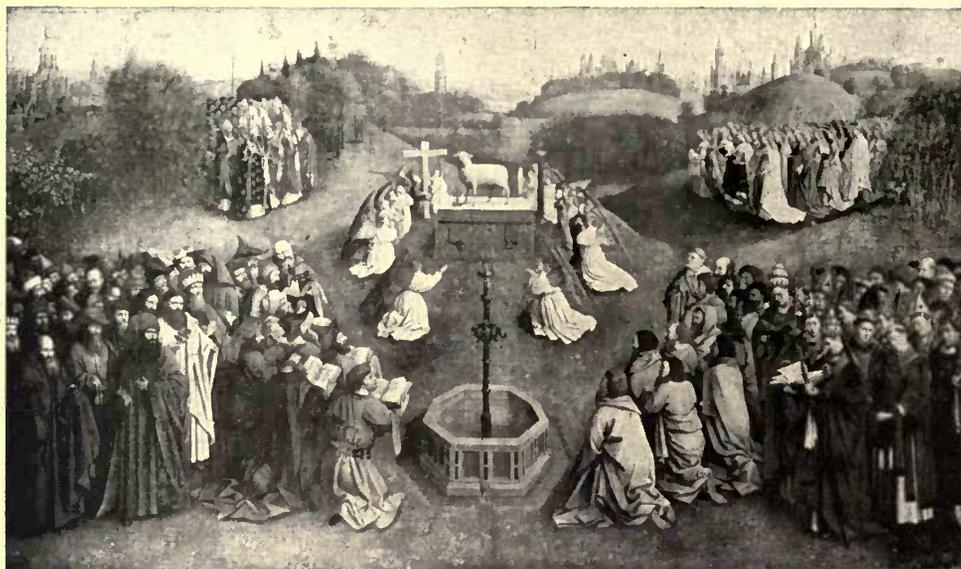
means of livelihood for many men who were not directly producers. Ecclesiastical and secular powers early vied in the construction of splendid buildings, and Gothic art developed here by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries its finest fruits. In the fourteenth century a decadence in the development of the style had already set

in. Its full decorative richness was, however, first developed in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The church of the Madeleine at Troyes, the cathedrals at Albi, Narbonne, and Toulouse, are buildings in this style, which is represented by numerous examples, especially in the southern district. At the same time castles and town fortifications, town halls, and private houses sprang up in motley variety.



A BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE OF RAPHAEL'S ART

This celebrated picture is a fine illustration of Raphael's mastery of composition. Contemporary with giants in art, Raphael occupied a unique place among them, and rapidly rose to fame and fortune. A native of Urbino, a town in the Apennines, where he was born in 1483, he settled in Florence in 1504, and died on his birthday, April 6th, 1520.



JAN VAN EYCK'S MASTERPIECE: THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB

Standing out prominently among the great artists of the fifteenth century, the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck reflect in their paintings a wider circle of life than is to be found in the compositions of their predecessors. Jan, the younger and abler of the brothers, showed wonderful skill in fathoming and reproducing character. The crown of all his creations is the altar-piece at Ghent, which, not merely relatively, presents a masterpiece of painting for all times.

The Louvre, which Philip Augustus had built in the year 1204 outside the former boundaries of the city of Paris, was reconstructed by Charles V. on a more complete and splendid scale; the castle gradually gave way to the château.

At the same time there arose as the royal palace proper the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, an enormous pile, intended especially for holding festivities, which unfortunately, like the old Louvre, was destroyed in the sixteenth century. A splendid ecclesiastical counterpart to these products of secular art is the palace of the Popes at Avignon. The episcopal palaces at Beauvais, Angers, Auxerre, Narbonne and Albi had gradually taken on the appearance of fortresses as a consequence of wars and feuds. But the papal palace, whose pile still fills the spectator with wonder, was from the first constructed as a fortress, so that it has with justice been described as the edifice which unites to the most conspicuous

extent beautiful outlines with strong defensive capabilities. When Clement V. (1305-1314) selected Avignon as his abode a spacious dwelling was first erected on a high rock rising above the Rhone; but Benedict XII. (1334-1342) had it pulled down, and began in 1336 the building of the colossal fortress-like palace after the plans of Pierre Obrier. The northern part of the castle with four towers was finished under him; Clement VI. (1342-1352) built the main block, and his arms even now adorn a gateway. Innocent VI. (1352-1362) added another tower, Urban V. (1362-1370) the eastern façade and a seventh tower (the Angel's Tower); and under Benedict XIII., after 1394, the palace had to endure a siege. This gigantic pile, of eighteen thousand square yards,



MICHELANGELO'S "MOSES"

Michelangelo, the great Florentine, was the giant figure of his time in the world of art. His versatility was remarkable, for he excelled in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The decoration of the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican is his most notable achievement in painting.

was completed in less than sixty years, although at the same time the town fortifications, nearly three and a half miles long, had been constructed under

Clement VI., Innocent VI., and Urban V. Only French architects worked at it in the service of French Popes, and produced a work of genuinely French genius which has no parallel in the build-ings of the fifteenth century.

Before the begin-ning of the fourteenth century, art was flourishing in the Netherlands coincidently with the re-vival of the prosperity of the towns and town industries. The wealth of artistic pro-duction even in the first third of the century is proved not only by such scanty relics of that age as are preserved, but more clearly by the circumstance that as early as 1337 the

painters and sculptors in Ghent had formed them-selves into a guild, the first of the kind. Tour-nai, Bruges, Lou-vain soon fol-lowed the ex-ample set to them. The re-presentatives of other semi-artistic crafts, as goldsmiths and carpet - weavers, joined the asso-ciation of the painters and sculptors. In the last third of the century the artistic individu-ality of some masters stood prominently out, and their works



A MADONNA BY HOLBEIN

Famous throughout most of the countries of Europe for the exquisite finish and beauty of his paintings, Hans Holbein was in great request as a painter of portraits. He was born at Basle in 1498 and died in the year 1554.



TWO FAMOUS STATUES: DAVID AND ST. GEORGE
The first of these beautiful statues is the product of the wonderful genius of Michelangelo, while the other, St. George, is the work of Donatello, the most productive sculptor of the Renaissance. Everything of his, in marble or in bronze, is informed with life, character and movement.

showed many per-sonal characteristics which forced their way through the restraints of medi-ævalism.

Modern art in the Netherlands really begins with the fifteenth century, and is illuminated by the brilliant names of the brothers Hubert, who died in 1426, and Jan van Eyck, who died in 1440. The inven-tion of oil painting was formerly attri-buted to them, but incorrectly, as has been proved. But even if they had not only brought oil painting to very great perfection, as they actually did, but had really invented it, this would only constitute their smaller title to fame. Their greater claim rests on the fact

that they em-ployed in their art every ele-ment of know-ledge that was available to them, that their works are modern. An in-finitely wider circle of life is reflected in them than in the compositions of their predeces-sors. The life around the me-dieval painter was non-existent to him, or existed in a very limited sense. But the Van Eycks de-rived from it the most stirring impulses; they looked lovingly at every flower,

every piece of household furniture or clothing, every beam of sunlight, and reproduced with their brush all they saw. The landscape for them—and this point differentiates them from earlier artists—is no strange thing, no isolated phenomenon, but something which necessarily belongs to the general combination. The idea of aerial perspective was for the first time grasped by them; and Jan, the younger and more able of the two brothers, knew also how to disclose by his art the inner personality of a man. His portraits testify to this skill in fathoming and reproducing character.

Plastic art attained a high development in the Netherlands even earlier than painting. The masterpiece, the Moses Fountain, which, like the altar-piece at Ghent, far surpassed any previous results, was the work of a Flemish artist, Claus Sluter. It was built, not on the soil of the Netherlands, but in Dijon, where the dukes of Burgundy had their court, about 1399, and still forms one of the chief sights in the town. It stands almost isolated in the vividness of its conception and its impressive individuality, and shows quite clearly how that which is already artistically possible can remain for long years without imitation.

The art of the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is in its inmost nature German, and corresponds to the most advanced intellectual life which the age knows. For this reason hardly any noteworthy influence of the Renaissance on German art-life can be observed before 1500. The first considerable Renaissance building, the "Kiliansturm"

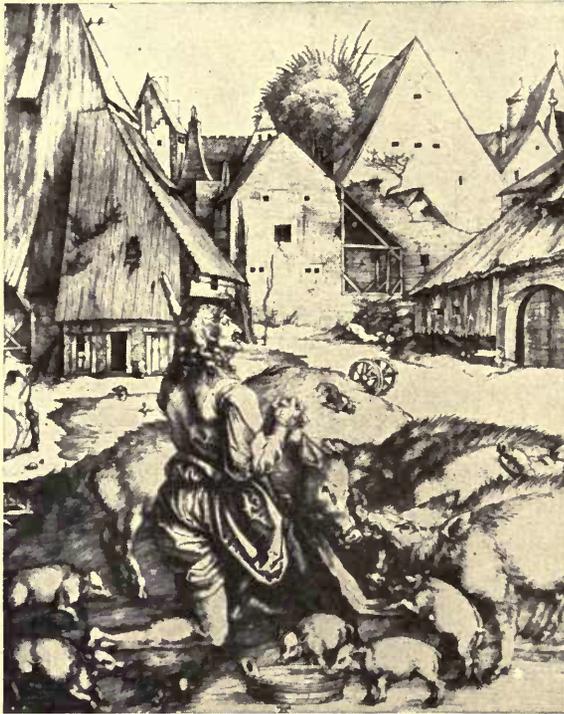
at Weinsberg, was begun only in 1513 and completed in 1519. Distinct traces of Italian influence in painting are first to be found in the elder Hans Holbein at Augsburg. They were first noticeable in North Germany shortly before 1550. Upper Germany, like the Netherlands, had created, unaided, an artist of its own in Martin Schongauer, who died in 1491, both painter and engraver and a forerunner of Dürer.

Albert Dürer (1471-1528) is the man in whom, as in a well-defined personality, a

great portion of the intellectual culture of the time is reflected. He had been educated to humanism, and was on very intimate terms with Willibald Pirckheimer. He had seen Italy, and received artistic impressions there, which influenced at least one period of his work.

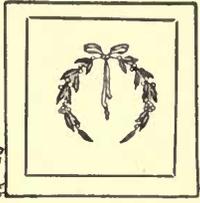
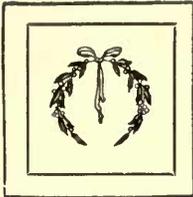
The development in plastic art took a similar direction. Veit Stoss, who died in 1533, tried chiefly to represent his artistic ideal in wood, Adam Krafft, who died in 1507, in stone, and Peter Vischer, who died in 1529, who is

sometimes compared with Dürer but perhaps may be described as his counterpart, worked in brass. Vischer's most splendid creation is the monument of St. Sebaldus at Nürnberg. It was completed after thirteen years' work, in which five sons of Vischer shared. The empty tomb of the Emperor Maximilian in the royal church at Innsbruck [see page 3690], designed after the monarch's own ideas, occupied the foremost German brassfounders. The work was begun in 1509, but not completed until 1583. ARMIN TILLE



THE ART OF ALBERT DÜRER

Albert Dürer, known as the "Raphael of Germany," was born at Nuremberg in 1471. As an artist he practised engraving both on wood and copper. The great series of woodcuts, illustrating the Apocalypse, printed complete in 1498, was his first large production. "The Four Apostles," in 1526, formed the absolute end of his work.



EUROPE
FOURTH DIVISION
WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE REFORMATION TO
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When our second division of Western European history opens, most of the modern nations have already come into being. The Scandinavian states are one clearly defined group; the Britannic states are another, and are already on their way to unification. Spain is practically, and France actually, a unity. The Austrian House is just completing that congeries of dominions which still forms what we call the Austrian Empire. Germany, however, continues to be a loose confederation, recognising a common sovereign only in the vaguest manner, and Italy continues to be parcelled out into appanages of greater Powers. For nearly two hundred years the ruler of Spain, as well as of Austria, is a Hapsburg; for nearly another hundred he is a Bourbon—of the dynasty of the kings of France. One of the keys to the various complications is to be found in the rivalry of these two great Houses. For half our period, another key is in the rivalry of the two types of religion brought into being by the Reformation; for the second half another is in the rivalry of the colonising nations for commercial and colonial supremacy. Throughout, the political and social fabric is going through a process of reconstruction, intended to replace the disintegrating forces of feudalism, but itself requiring a complete renovation, the way to which is about to be prepared by the cataclysm of the French Revolution. With that epoch our era closes.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By **Arthur D. Innes, M.A.**

THE REFORMATION AND AFTER

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

THE ENDING OF THE OLD ORDER

SPAIN—By **Martin Hume, M.A., Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, Dr. Armin Tille, and others**

THE BRITISH ISLES—By **Martin Hume, M.A., A. D. Innes, M.A., and H. W. C. Davis, M.A.**

FRANCE—By **Dr. Armin Tille, A. D. Innes, M.A., and other writers**

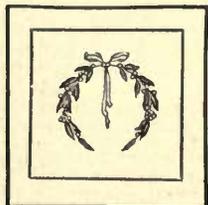
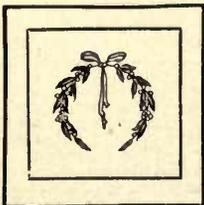
GERMANY—By **Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, Dr. Armin Tille, and other writers**

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HOLLAND AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—By **Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst**

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

By **Professor Richard Mayr**



WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE



REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE PASSING OF MEDIÆVALISM AND THE NEW ERA

THE division of history into periods, labelled ancient, mediæval, and modern, is of necessity arbitrary. There was a time, which we commonly call pre-historic, when the European peoples kept no written records of their civilisation. Then some of them, already in many respects highly organised, preserved their records, and ancient European history began. When did it end? We take the line of demarcation at the epoch or moment of time when the old civilised races ceased to dominate the known world, the world which preserved its records, and found themselves dominated in turn by new barbaric races—races, that is, which were on a lower intellectual level and were politically in a less advanced state of organisation; a moment which we identify with the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

Thenceforth European history is mainly that of the progress of these races from that barbaric condition to the highly elaborate organisation which they have attained at the present day. How, then, in the course of this continuous process—still proceeding—are we to draw

**Between the
Ancient and
the Modern**

a line anywhere saying that on one side of it is transition —mediævalism—on the other modernity? There is reason

in the view which takes the close of the eighteenth century as the dividing line, on the double ground that the French Revolution politically rang the knell of absolutist and aristocratic systems of government, and that socially the industrial revolution, which, by the development of machinery, made manu-

facturing possible on an enormous scale, introduced the most essential characteristics of the modern community. On the other hand, there is reason also in the view which finds the starting point of progress, the emergence from barbarism, in the intellectual and æsthetic revival which began in Italy before the thirteenth cen-

**The Passing
of
Mediævalism**

tury was well ended. There is less reason in the purely picturesque popular distinction which undoubtedly realises the "Middle Ages" as the time when battles were fought by mail-clad knights, and modern times as the period in which gunpowder had made the coat of mail absurd.

Nevertheless, this popular distinction does happen, in point of time, to coincide with a line of demarcation which seems on the whole to have a stronger claim to acceptance on general grounds than either the French Revolution or the beginning of the Renaissance. Between 1440 and 1520 so many events took place—beginning with the invention of the printing-press and ending with the Diet of Worms—any one of which may from certain points of view be claimed as "epoch-making." There are so many fields in which at some moment during those years one era may be said to end and another to begin that collectively they may be regarded as the passing from mediævalism to modernity.

The first of these events is the invention of printing, of which the full effects did not immediately make themselves felt, but which meant that information and knowledge could soon be communicated *urbi et orbi*; no group of persons could



MARTIN LUTHER PREACHING DURING HIS DETENTION IN THE WARTBURG AT EISENACH IN GERMANY

From the painting by Hugo Vogel, by permission of the Bertin Photographic Co.

THE PASSING OF MEDIÆVALISM AND THE NEW ERA

claim to be the sole guardians of the arcana of accumulated wisdom. The general public slowly acquired the data for inquiry and criticism. The second is the fall of Constantinople. Byzantium had carried on the Græco-Roman tradition. With its fall, the south-east of Europe became, not a link between East and West,

Four Epoch-making Events

and between the old and the new, but definitely Oriental and Mohammedan; neo-oriental, that is, with its past dating from the Hegira. The East had definitely become the aggressor against the West. Third is the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus and of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, which made the ocean the great highway of the nations, and fleets the instrument of commercial success and the guarantee of expansion beyond the limits of Europe. Fourth is the challenge to the papacy flung down by Martin Luther—epoch-making, not as being the first of such challenges, but as being the first which resulted in a permanent reconstruction of the religious basis of European society, and in extensive political changes attendant thereon.

As distinguished from these events, certain tendencies may be remarked as reaching a climax or a decisive stage at this period. In Italy the æsthetic Renaissance reached its culminating point in the fields of painting and sculpture; the intellectual impulse, no longer concentrated in the south, was being communicated to the northern peoples. Politically, the tendency to form large homogeneous states with a strong central government was overcoming the tendency to disintegration inherent in feudalism.

In England, it is true, the principle had triumphed long before—it was only a reaction which was countered by the establishment of the Tudor monarchy. Now, however, France, under Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Spain, under

Revolution in the Art of War

Ferdinand and Isabella, had been added to the list of clearly defined states, and the new conception expressed in the phrase "the balance of power" assumed a dominant value in international politics. Finally, a place, though not the first place, must be given to the revolution in the art of war effected by gunpowder, which had now, become an assured if not an actually accomplished fact. In England, it may be added, the selected line of demarcation is

peculiarly convenient, because it coincides with a landmark in the history of the country—the establishment of a particularly vigorous and notable dynasty. Modern England is introduced under the auspices of the House of Tudor, which supplied it with five monarchs, of whom three at least were of unusual capacity.

"Mediæval" history, then, ends, and "modern" history begins—at least, so far as concerns Western Europe—with the opening years of the sixteenth century. And modern history itself finds a point of definite division in the epoch of the French Revolution. The years from the Reformation—Luther's defiance of the papacy—to the French Revolution form a clearly-marked period, in which the consequences of the great events above enumerated develop.

The effects of the increased facilities for communicating knowledge, criticism, and ideas, ramified into every department of human endeavour. After centuries of stagnation, even of retrogression, science—in the sense of knowledge of natural laws—progressed enormously. The 200 years

The Rapid March of Science

which begin with Copernicus and end with Isaac Newton, whose middle period is associated with the names of Galileo, Kepler, and Francis Bacon, saw physics revolutionised, and astrology displaced by astronomy, and the search for the Philosopher's Stone by a practical chemistry; while the eighteenth century witnessed the invention of machinery, which completely changed the conditions of labour, the first practical application of steam-power, and almost the first investigations of the nature of electricity.

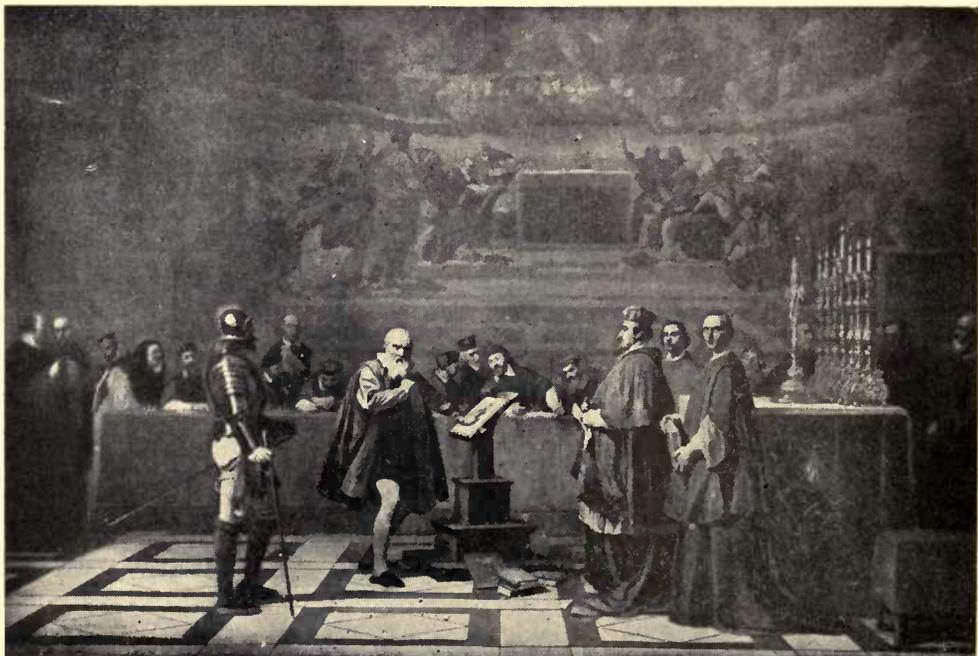
With the exception of Italian literature, which, like Italian art, had already attained its zenith, all the great literatures of Europe came into being—though the Middle Ages had produced precursors such as Chaucer in England—and achieved a splendour which remained unsurpassed, if not altogether unmatched, even in the period of the French Revolution or in the nineteenth century. The one exception was Germany, where, at the close of the period, Goethe had indeed risen above the horizon; but "Faust" was still unwritten, and Lessing's was almost the only name of consequence in pure literature. The sixteenth century produced the Portuguese Camoens, Ronsard and the Pléiade and Montaigne in France, Cervantes in Spain,

Tasso in Italy, and in England the tremendous group of "Elizabethans," whose work extends roughly over the forty years from 1580 to 1620. To the next century belong Calderon in Spain, Milton and Dryden with Bunyan and Defoe in England, and in France the three great dramatists—Corneille, Molière, and Racine—as well as the school of critics, headed by Boileau, who dominated European literature for nearly a hundred years afterwards. Under this last influence intellectuality triumphed over passion, spontaneity was depressed by artificial rules; it is curious to remark that in England the term "artificial" was complimentary. Hence the victorious romantic reaction which followed this period makes the present-day critic inclined to deny that the pre-Revolution poets of the eighteenth century were poets at all. Through most of the eighteenth century classicism held the field, the drama ceased to be dramatic, satire and epigram flourished, but the lyric was at a discount; it was an age of essayists in prose or verse, though the tender emotions still found occasional expression.

Neither in the field of prose literature nor in that of natural science would these developments have been possible—at least

in their fulness—but for the invention of the printing press; the same is true of developments in a third field which has affinities both with science and literature—the field which is vaguely and generally termed "philosophy." The "scholasticism" of the Middle Ages was not, indeed, so utterly sterile as is sometimes represented. In conjunction with the Reformation, which liberated thinkers from the necessity of compelling at least their publicly expressed conclusions to conform with the authorised dogmas of the Church, the printing press helped both to record the data for formulating new ideas and to popularise new conclusions. In the sixteenth century the great theological contest absorbed attention; but the seventeenth produced the great names of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz; the eighteenth, Berkeley, David Hume, and Kant.

Metaphysics, however, with mental and moral science, exercise a direct influence only on the few; of more practically recognisable effect was the revived study of political theory, which may be said to have started with the publication of Machiavelli's "Prince" shortly after that statesman's death in 1527. That work is a handbook of monarchism divorced from



WHEN CONSERVATISM TRIUMPHED OVER SCIENCE: GALILEO BEFORE THE PAPAL TRIBUNAL
A Scientist far in advance of his time, Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition and compelled to restate his doctrine that the earth revolves round the sun. It is said that after his recantation, he muttered sotto voce, "And yet it does move."

From the painting in the Luxembourg by J. N. Robert Fleury



THE FIVE GREATEST SCIENTISTS OF TWO CENTURIES

ethics ; but it is an analysis of method rather than an examination of principles. The truth that the establishment of a strong central government was a manifest political necessity for every state which wished to hold its own accounts for the fact that the theorists from Machiavelli through Jean Bodin to Hobbes were always advocates of monarchism, though Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," implies something like the ultimate sovereignty of the people. The philosophical thesis, however, was assuming by the middle of the seventeenth century the character of a political propaganda ; constitutionalists, as well as absolutists, were in search of a

theoretic warrant for their practical demands. The embodiment of the principles of the "glorious revolution" of 1688 in the constitutional gospel of John Locke, in spite of prolixity and of a certain haziness, not only satisfied the Whig demands, but influenced thinkers abroad. Montesquieu, analysing the functions of the state on the basis of what may be called comparative history and comparative law, pointed to British constitutionalism as the highest actual achievement in the art of government ; the Encyclopædists undermined the logical defences of the "Ancien Régime" ; Rousseau's "Contrat Social" captured the popular imagination, and

became a mighty agent in producing the revolution itself. In practical manner the pen was revealed as no less mighty than the sword.

The fall of Constantinople was an event exceedingly striking to the imagination, but one of which the effect on the western world may be exaggerated. The spirit which had flung the chivalry of the West against the East, the spirit of the Crusades, had all but spent itself 200 years before. The Austrian Hapsburgs, essentially a western power, were to find their western policy for two and a half centuries continually hampered by the pressure of the Ottomans on the east. When the Ottoman power began to decline, the other western states began also to interest themselves in an Eastern question, which did not, however, become acute, as far as they were concerned, till the nineteenth century. On the other hand, during the period of Turkish aggression they did not greatly embroil themselves in the struggle which the barrier states were obliged to maintain.

Byzantium itself had long ceased to exercise any fascination or any marked influence over the Teutonic or Latin

peoples; and the substitution of an aggressive Mohammedan power for a decaying Christian power in the Balkan peninsula was to all, except the barrier states, a matter of importance potential rather than actual. Moreover, the associated commercial problems, which otherwise might have forced themselves upon the West, were largely modified by the development of the Atlantic as a commercial highway. Again, it is probable that too much has often been made of the effect of the fall of Constantinople on the intellectual movement of the West. The dispersion of Greek scholarship and Greek manuscripts which ensued did, no doubt, give an additional impulse to the study of the Greek tongue and the Greek authors of antiquity. But the classical revival had already begun in Italy; the demand for scholars and manuscripts had already been created, and the supply would have followed, though more gradually, even if the Turk had been driven over the Bosphorus.

Of our third great event, or pair of events, however, it would be difficult to over-estimate the significance and the



THE POET TASSO RECITING HIS MASTERPIECES AT THE COURT OF FERRARA

From the painting by Eduard Ender

COMMANDING FIGURES IN LITERATURE BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



DE CAMOENS, 1524-80



MONTAIGNE, 1533-92



TASSO, 1544-95



CERVANTES, 1547-1616



CORNEILLE, 1606-84



MOLIÈRE, 1622-73



RACINE, 1639-99

importance of their development. In ancient times Greeks and Romans had indeed colonised Western Asia and the Mediterranean coast of North Africa. But the eastward movement had soon found its limit, had ceased, and had been revived only in very inefficient form by the Crusades, to perish again, submerged by the Turkish wave. It seemed that the peoples of Western Europe would be confined within the geographical limits of the continent. Now, however, the pathless ocean was converted into a highway to new regions, offering space to expand in, which might be called boundless, and infinite opportunities of commercial exploitation.

At first, indeed, the gold and silver of the West and the spices of the East seemed to be the chief prizes, and the monopoly thereof seemed to have fallen respectively to the Spaniards and the Portuguese. But then the monopoly was challenged

by the two states which developed a maritime power greater than that of the monopolists; Dutch and English displaced the Portuguese in Indian waters, and the English found in North America a possession which they turned to better account than did the Spaniards theirs in the Southern continent. Then the French entered upon a rivalry with the English in India and in North America. The issue between the rival colonists in the West and the rival traders in the East involved them, and with them the parent states, in contests which meant in both regions the effacement of the one and the establishment of the other as monopolist. In both regions the British triumph was complete, owing primarily to the fact that the British concentrated their efforts on establishing naval supremacy, thus maintaining their own communications and cutting off those of their rivals; whereas the

French, not realising this essential condition of a successful contest, allowed their energies to be simultaneously distracted by wars on the European continent. The victory of the British race took a new development when the race itself bifurcated into two nations as the result of a quarrel between the American colonists and the mother country; but that development was only in its initial stage at the close of our period.

The fourth crucial event was Luther's challenge to the authority of the papacy. This authority was both political and dogmatic. Politically it had attained its effective maximum in the thirteenth century, and had been weakened but not destroyed by the Babylonish captivity of Avignon and the Great Schism. Dogmatically it had been assailed by Wycliffites and Hussites, but the assault had apparently been repulsed. Now, however, the renewed attack by Luther developed into the revolt against Rome, both political and dogmatic, of approximately the northern half of Western Christendom. In the southern states, Rome retained dogmatic domination by accepting the political alliance, in place of the subjection, of the secular Governments.

Dogmatically, Protestantism rests on the individual's duty to obey his own conscience, and his right to follow his own reason, even when counter to the dictates of authority. The Protestants

claimed the right and asserted the duty for themselves, but were not for a long time generally disposed to recognise either the duty or the right in the case of persons whose conscience and reason led to conclusions differing from their own. In other words, Protestantism did not realise that toleration was its logical corollary. It divided into camps, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Anglican, which were too antagonistic among themselves for the nations which adopted them to oppose a combined front to the attack of the papal powers—a disunion which more than once brought the whole cause of Protestantism into serious jeopardy.

In many countries, religious profession became so intimately connected with dynastic partisanship that "heresy," or "papisty" as the case might be, became treason in the eyes of rulers; and in England and Scotland a similar relation arose between Prelatists, or Episcopalians, on the one hand, and Puritans, or Covenanters, on the other, until mutual toleration was reluctantly accepted by both as the only security against the restoration of Catholicism. This point was reached at the moment when the religious question was ceasing to be a leading factor in international politics, and Catholic and Protestant Powers were uniting to resist the aggression of France. The storm of theological antagonisms was becoming exhausted among the educated classes, to be



THE LAST HOURS OF THE AUTHOR OF "DON QUIXOTE."

From the painting by E. Oliva



FAMOUS PHILOSOPHERS FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

replaced by a respectable indifferentism, an apathy which extended into the moral and political spheres. Hence, the wars of the eighteenth century were not religious but ostensibly dynastic in origin, though in the middle of the century the fundamental national antagonisms must be recognised as, in the main colonial.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious convictions had been marked by intensity, even when moral standards were low and distorted. In the eighteenth, if moral standards were a shade more refined, religious convictions had given place to a tolerant scepticism which professed Deism and called it Christianity. Nevertheless, the instinctive demand for religious emotion found notable expression in England in the movement which bears the name of the Wesleys, which was but one form of the revolt of idealism against the self-satisfied materialism which threatened to devalue Europe.

In the sixteenth century, the Western world was stirred, as it were, by a fresh access of youth, a spontaneous vitality, a superabundant energy. It was an age of

heroic adventure, of young enthusiasms, of dramatic incident—tragic and otherwise—of supremely picturesque personalities; the age which is summed up in Shakespeare. This flow of youth does not pervade the century which follows—an age in which the enthusiasms are sterner, the great personalities more grim. Its striking and characteristic figures are not Luther or Loyola, Henry, Elizabeth, Drake or Marlowe, but Gustavus, Wallenstein, Cromwell, Richelieu, Milton; finally Louis XIV. and Dutch William. But when we pass on to the eighteenth the youthfulness, the "heroicalness," have vanished; barbaric energy and Puritan grimness give way to a pervading artificiality, polished scepticism, commercial materialism; there are very few figures that can be called noble. Among its most prominent figures, save perhaps Chatham and Washington, Frederic stands among the men who may fairly be called great; Walpole is more characteristic. The first century gave us spring; the second, summer and autumn; the third, winter. But another spring was to come, though with more in it of March than of May.



VANDALS OF THE REFORMATION: THE SACKING OF A MONASTERY

A consequence of the Reformation movement was the suppression of monasteries, which had lost, in some cases, their original purpose, and in connection with which many abuses were alleged. In Scotland, particularly, the indignation of the populace with the Roman Catholic Church found expression in attacks upon those places of retreat. When John Knox preached in St. Andrews, public feeling ran high; the churches were stripped of their ornaments, and the monasteries were pulled down. In other places also, where the reformed worship was set up, the unrestrained zeal of the people dealt roughly with the beautiful old buildings, and scenes such as that represented in the above picture were not at all uncommon.

From the painting by G. Gaupp, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



GENERAL SURVEY
OF THE PERIOD II
BY
A. D. INNES

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

IN giving our preliminary sketch of the period it is convenient to take familiar points in English history as our landmarks, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because they are handy guides. The first decade, however, of the reign of Henry VIII. provides a starting-point which is of more than insular utility. In 1509 Henry VIII. became King of England. In 1513 Flodden checked the development of Scotland. In 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. In 1516 the young Hapsburg Charles became King of Spain on the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and his death was followed by the election of the King of Spain—who was grandson of Maximilian as well as of Ferdinand—to the imperial throne as Charles V. In 1517 Martin Luther had thrown down the gauntlet to Rome by attacking the granting of indulgences. Thus, at the close of this decade,

Four Great Protagonists of the Era

1509–1519, the three kings and the religious reformer, whose personalities were to dominate Europe for thirty years—Luther died in 1546, Francis and Henry in 1547, though Charles survived them—had all taken their places on the stage. Among them those four during those thirty years laid down the lines of the national divisions of Europe, saw the Europeans masters of South America and on the Indian seas, and marked out the course which was to be taken by the religious Reformation.

All four were still living when Ignatius Loyola, on the Roman, and John Calvin on the Protestant, side established the specific types of the Jesuit and the Puritan.

Another decade of English history, the decade of the Great Rebellion—or perhaps we should say the two decades of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth—marks a division of our whole period into two. The Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I. were all but contemporaneous, falling precisely midway

between the accession of Henry VIII. and the summoning of the States-General. From one point of view, we may regard the first period as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Hapsburgs, and the second as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Bourbons. From another point of view, the first is the period when religious antagonisms are dominant, while in the second those are over-ridden by the claims of rival commercial interests issuing in a great struggle for colonial dominion.

The Struggle for Colonial Dominion

From a third point of view, the first period witnesses the passing of feudalism into absolutism, and the second the decay of the bases on which absolutism was established. In England itself, politically far in advance of other states, the first period saw both the development and the fall of absolutism, while the second established constitutionalism. Thus the chronological division provides a natural partition for our survey. At the opening, then, we find Spain, the Burgundian heritage including the Low Countries, the Central European heritage of the Austrian house, and the Imperial dignity, all under one sceptre, though the Austrian dominions were very soon transferred to the emperor's brother, Ferdinand.

The theory of a balance of power among European states would have been stifled at birth but for the fact that the emperor's realms were a heterogeneous assortment of unsympathetic nationalities, very inconveniently situated for united action, whereas the realm of the other great Continental power, France, was homogeneous and compact. The rivalry of the

The Theory of a Balance of Power

two princes, Charles and Francis, and their counter claims to sundry Burgundian and Italian territories, were the fundamental facts in the international situation. England, standing outside, her policy guided—at least in the judgment of the world—

by the minister Cardinal Wolsey, sought to hold the balance between the two, to preserve the general peace, and to reap the advantages of her position as arbiter. Failing to keep the peace, she threw her weight—though by no means vigorously—into the scale on the emperor's side; and only after the overthrow of Francis at

**Luther's
Challenge to
the Papacy**

Pavia in 1525 was an attempt made to restore the balance by a return to the French alliance.

But by this time, the new act was making itself actively felt. Martin Luther had challenged the papal pretensions in 1517 at Wittenberg. In 1520 he metaphorically burned his boats when he literally burned the papal Bull which condemned him as a heretic. By challenging the pecuniary and political as well as the theological claims of the papacy, he secured the support of a number of secular princes, while the religious enthusiasm of the masses over half of Germany was aroused by his bold declaration against any authority which pretended to override the Scriptures. "Here stand I. God help me. I cannot do otherwise."

The fire was fairly kindled. Politically speaking, German unity had become impossible until the sword which Luther had brought instead of peace should be sheathed. The princes, who supported Luther, demanded religious freedom on the general principle later formulated in the phrase *cujus regio ejus religio*—"for each ruler's realm, the ruler's religion." The Lutherans united at Speier in the protest against imperial restrictions which gave to their movement, and ultimately to the whole anti-papal Reformation, the name of Protestantism.

The new teaching progressed in spite of the serious set-back which it received from the social propaganda of some of its votaries—emphatically condemned by Luther himself—which brought about the horrors of the great German peasant

**League of
Protestant
Princes**

revolt of 1525. The league of Protestant princes became a permanent menace to an imperial authority which definitely ranged itself on the side of the old teaching and was at the same time endeavouring to tighten its control in secular affairs.

Under such conditions an effective Anglo-French alliance would have presented a very grave danger to the Hapsburg monarchy; but the King of England elected to follow a course of his

own in which he could be actively associated with neither of the two rivals. While priding himself on his orthodoxy, Henry found conscientious reasons for disclaiming obedience to an ecclesiastical authority which could not be persuaded to declare his marriage with Catharine of Aragon void. Conscience also compelled him to suppress the monastic establishments in England and to appropriate their endowments.

At the same time the monarch, who had been honoured with the title of "Defender of the Faith" by Leo X., was not *persona grata* with the Lutherans; and the total outcome was that from the hour when Henry began to seek for the so-called divorce from his wife, England ceased materially to influence the policy of either Charles or Francis, while her king was making himself supreme over the State, and the State supreme over the Church. Theological changes, however logically they might follow as corollaries to the revised relations between Church and State, were reserved for the next reign.

In Germany contests between Protestantism and Imperial Catholicism continued to alternate with periods of doubtful compromises and suspicious truces. The apparent triumph of the orthodox emperor over the Lutheran League of Schmalkald in 1547 was followed by a complete reversal of the position, accomplished in 1552 by Maurice of Saxony; and before the death of Charles a *modus vivendi* was established between the two parties which remained effective for more than half a century. But the attempt to centralise power in the hands of the emperor had failed, and the intimate connection of the empire with Spain was terminated. A Hapsburg was King of Spain, retaining the Netherlands, and another wore the imperial crown; but the Hapsburg dominion was permanently divided.

While Charles still ruled, Montezuma and Atahualpa had met the fate with which Macaulay's schoolboy was so familiar; Cortez and Pizarro had conquered Mexico and Peru; the Spaniards were established on the Spanish Main, and the Plate fleets were beginning to pour their cargoes into the Spanish treasury. Also John Calvin had founded his theocratic system at Geneva on a rigid predestinarian basis; the Order of Jesuits had been recognised at Rome, and was



THE HUGENOT LOVERS

This famous painting illustrates the anxiety of a Huguenot maiden for her lover's safety. On the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew the intimation was secretly conveyed to the Roman Catholics that they were to wear a badge on their arms to distinguish them from the Protestants, against whom the attack was to be made. Hearing in some way of the impending massacre, the young woman has tied the badge about her lover's arm and is entreating him to wear it, but he is gently seeking to remove the symbol of the craven.

From the painting by Sir J. E. Millais, in the Tate Gallery

developing the powers generated by the union of a consummate education with unqualified obedience; and the Council of Trent, in which the adherents of the papacy alone found recognition, was preparing the conclusive dogmatic definitions which were permanently to distinguish Roman Catholics from all others, and to

Philip the Champion of the Papacy

lead to the popular appropriation of the name of Catholic to the Romanists—an abuse of terminology which is excusable only because the opposition of the terms Protestant and Catholic is, on the whole, less misleading than any practicable alternative which has been suggested.

In Germany there was a religious truce. In England the explosive Protestantism of Edward VI.'s reign was followed by the still more acute reaction of Mary Tudor's government; and that again by the comprehensive but still limited Anglican settlement of Elizabeth. In France, the orthodoxy of the court was qualified by the Huguenot leanings of powerful families. It remained for Philip of Spain to adopt the rôle of champion of the papacy and hammer of the heretics. Between 1556 and 1560, Spain, France, England, and the Empire, each came under a new ruler, who in the case of the first three guided its destinies for thirty years or more.

In France the sons of Catharine de Medici were kings, but it was she who controlled them. To retain her own ascendancy she played off the Guises against the Huguenots and the Huguenots against the Guises. Even the terrible St. Bartholomew massacres of 1572, which she planned probably in a moment of jealous panic, failed to suppress the party of the victims, who won the day for their indubitably legitimate candidate, Henry of Navarre, in the struggle for the succession which followed the death of Henry III., and of Catharine herself in 1589, but only

Why Queen Elizabeth was Protestant

when Henry paid the Catholics their price, holding that a crown was worth a Mass.

In England, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, born out of wedlock in the eyes of every believer in the papal authority, was wholly dependent on the loyalty of her Protestant subjects, whose hopes were no less bound up in her, since, even if her legitimacy were admitted, the legitimate heir presumptive was the Catholic Queen of Scots, who was half a

Guise. Elizabeth's domestic administration was consequently emphatically Protestant; the more so when a singularly injudicious papal Bull in 1570 formally invited English Catholics to profess loyalty but to compass treason. Nevertheless, it was her business to avoid challenging the direct onslaught of the papal champion until the outcome of a struggle could be anticipated with confidence.

Hence for nearly thirty years she played persistently a double game, wounding Spain whenever the chance appeared of doing so unofficially, or dangling before France the prospect of a matrimonial alliance, but refusing to commit herself to open support either of the Huguenots in France or of the Protestant Netherlanders in their struggle to free themselves from the Spanish yoke. But sooner or later the battle with Spain was inevitable, apart from the religious question.

For the spirit of adventure had taken hold of the seafaring population of England. The Italian Cabots—John and Sebastian—had made their voyages to North America in command of English

The Great Sailors of the Seas

ships, Willoughby and Chancellor had "discovered" Muscovy when in search of a "North-east passage," old William Hawkins had made the Guinea voyage and visited the Brazils before Elizabeth was on the throne; and many captains were soon emulating their exploits, most notable among them being John Hawkins, who kidnapped negroes or bought captives from the native chiefs on the Guinea coast, finding a profitable market for the same among the Spaniards in America. But Spain was by no means disposed to let foreigners work their way into sharing her American monopoly, and strict trade regulations were laid down.

These regulations the English seamen ignored—partly as being in contravention of treaty rights, partly as having no better warrant than the old Bull of Pope Alexander VI., who had made a present to Portuguese and Spaniards of the New World, which was not his to give. In plain terms, international law was far too vague, and its sanctions far too insubstantial, to control the proceedings of mariners and adventurers on the other side of the ocean. If the Spaniards had a right to the monopoly, the English were no better than pirates; if they had not, the

English were within their rights ; and the debate could be decided only by the effective, if illogical, method of fighting it out. Therefore, while Elizabeth and Philip were theoretically at peace, their subjects on the high seas and on the Spanish Main were practically at open war.

The whole situation favoured Elizabeth's policy of deferring the collision as long as possible. A large proportion of her subjects, and one at least of her ablest ministers, Francis Walsingham, were eager to join issue with Spain long before the queen or her most trusted counsellor, William Cecil, best known as Lord Burleigh, were willing, partly because they were zealous for England to stand out openly as the champion of Protestantism, partly because the mariners were confident of the outcome of a naval struggle.

But Protestantism appealed to Elizabeth merely as a political necessity in her own realms ; she cared nothing about maintaining it abroad except as a check upon the capacities of Catholic governments for aggression. She would have preferred friendly relations with Spain on terms of

The Shadow of a War with Spain

mutual accommodation, wishing to keep that power as a balance to France. The ruin of either France or Spain would, in

her view, have rendered the other too powerful. So long as Philip found enough to occupy him in the Low Countries, the prospect of an Anglo-French alliance was a useful diplomatic card in reserve, but a dangerous one to play. In like manner, so long as Mary Stuart lived, it was doubtful whether Philip could reap much advantage from Elizabeth's fall, since Mary's accession might bring about an Anglo-French alliance. But when the marriage of Elizabeth to a French prince had finally become impossible, and the tragedy of Fotheringay had been completed, Elizabeth knew that the fateful grapple with Spain could no longer be averted.

Spain herself was a colossus far less powerful in fact than in appearance. Philip's father had been a Burgundian rather than a German or a Spaniard ; Philip himself was a Spaniard without qualification. Lord of Spain, and of the wealth of the Spanish "Indies," he was lord also of the Low Countries ; but the efficient maintenance of communications between Spain and the Low Countries demanded control of the sea. To all appearance, Spain was incomparably the

greatest sea-power, but when she was challenged by England, the appearance proved to be fallacious, though this did not occur till Philip's reign was far advanced. Yet, even before that time, it was no easy matter to maintain a large force in the Netherlands ; so long as this was necessary, Spain was grievously hampered

Prince of Orange Heads a Revolt

in other fields of activity, and practically it was necessary almost from Philip's accession.

The Spanish king was determined to exercise despotic authority and to crush heresy throughout his dominions. The Netherlands, where the nobles and the cities possessed traditional liberties, had no mind to submit to the despotism of an absentee exercised through alien agents and supported by foreign troops.

Moreover, the northern provinces which had adopted Calvinistic doctrines were prepared to do battle for their religion at all costs. The organisation of a constitutional opposition to an alien administration and to religious persecution was met by the arrest of two of the leaders, Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva, whom Philip had sent to replace his own more diplomatic sister, Margaret of Parma. The arrest was answered by a revolt, headed by William Prince of Orange and his brother, Lewis of Nassau. Egmont and Horn were executed, and the revolt was mercilessly crushed under the iron heel of Alva. There followed a tyranny brutal both in its intentional cruelty and its unintentional financial stupidity.

In 1572 the revolt was renewed, and was obstinately maintained, sometimes by the whole of the Netherlands, sometimes by the northern Protestant provinces alone, with assistance more or less surreptitious but tolerably constant from England, and less consistently from France, which of old had claimed suzerainty over Flanders and Brabant. While the struggle was going on, the audacity of the English seamen reached

Drake's Spanish Treasure

its climax in Drake's voyage of circumnavigation and his return to England in the "Pelican" or "Golden Hind"

with Spanish treasure aboard worth considerably over a million. Incidentally, however, Spain at the same time acquired additional power by the annexation of Portugal on the demise of her king, Henry, on the plea that Philip was the legitimate heir through his mother. For more than half a century Portugal remained an

appanage of the Spanish Crown; till the house of Braganza succeeded in giving effect to its own claims, of which the legal superiority was indubitable.

The assassination of William "the Silent" in 1584 failed to break down the stubborn resistance of the Protestant Netherlands to Spain. Anglo-Spanish antagonisms became so acute that Elizabeth was unable longer to resist the popular demand for an open support of the Hollanders. England and Spain being openly at war, a live Mary Stuart was no longer a workable political asset. The Queen of Scots was beheaded; Philip resolved to crush Elizabeth and claim the English crown in virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt, and thus simplify the difficult process of crushing the Netherlands. The Armada sailed. In its progress up channel the superiority of the English fleet was definitely manifested; the Armada itself was finally broken up in the decisive engagement off Gravelines, and its destruction was completed by winds and waves in the course of its flight round Scotland.

The naval war continued for another decade, but the naval supremacy of Spain had vanished for ever. Philip defiantly fitted out one fleet after another, but all met with disaster; and, reduced though his resources were, he threw himself into a French war instead of strengthening Parma in the Netherlands. When Parma died there was little doubt that the Hollanders would secure their independence, which they did practically some ten years and formally some fifty years afterwards.

In France the war of the succession was terminated by the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of the quondam Huguenot Henry IV., and toleration was secured by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598. In the same year Philip died, to be followed to the grave five years later by his great English antagonist. The succession of the Scots king, James VI., as James I. of England, united England and Scotland under one crown, though the two countries retained separate legislatures and administrations. For nearly half a century to come, the intervention of England in European politics was spasmodic and ineffective, almost disregarded by foreign powers, and of importance chiefly as producing, both

directly and indirectly collisions between the crown and parliament. In Germany the recognition of the principle that each ruler should decide the religion of his own state had brought peace; the German Hapsburgs, unlike the Spanish branch, remained Catholic, but maintained the attitude of compromise.

On the other hand, the Protestant states became divided into Lutheran and Calvinist, the two camps being in hot opposition to each other. But the time arrived when the heir to the Hapsburg succession and to the empire was recognised in the Archduke Ferdinand, who was a bigoted Catholic. The ruling emperor, Matthias, was king of Protestant Bohemia, where the crown was elective. The Bohemian diet was surprised into nominating Ferdinand as successor to Matthias, but an attempt was made to upset the election, reject Ferdinand, and substitute Frederic, the Calvinist Elector Palatine; and thus, in 1618, the Thirty Years' War began.

In effect, the war was one for the recovery of Catholic ascendancy in Germany.

The European championship of the Catholic cause had been taken over from the Spanish by the German Hapsburg.

On one side was ranged the German League of Catholic princes, of whom the moving spirit was Maximilian of Bavaria, supported by Spain from the Spanish Netherlands and North Italy. On the other side were the German Calvinists, from whom the Lutherans of Saxony and Brandenburg stood aloof. Victory at first lay with the Catholics; by 1623 it looked as if German Protestantism would be crushed, and the allied Hapsburgs would be able completely to dominate Europe.

The possibility of such a prospect in 1610 had caused Henry IV. of France to prepare an anti-Hapsburg combination just before he fell under the dagger of an assassin. Now Richelieu had acquired a preponderant influence in France. For him, the enemy was not Protestantism, but the Hapsburgs, though within France the Huguenots were in some degree repressed. Richelieu now intervened, striking at the Hapsburgs in Italy. Although a Huguenot revolt in France compelled him to withdraw again, he had given a lead to the Protestant powers; Denmark and Hungary were drawn into the German struggle on the Protestant side.

The Queen of Scots Beheaded

Union of England and Scotland

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

At this stage—in 1626—Wallenstein appears, to restore the now threatened Imperial fortunes, but with a modified policy. He is the champion primarily of Imperialism, with the aim of making the emperor master of the empire; playing, *mutatis mutandis*, a rôle analogous to that of Strafford in England or of Richelieu in France. But if the Catholic princes of the empire were willing to be led by their nominal suzerain to the overthrow of Protestantism, they were by no means willing to be ruled autocratically

leadership of his armies. When the two great commanders were pitted against each other, Gustavus lost his life in the hour of victory at Lützen in 1632. Wallenstein, now incomparably the mightiest figure on the stage, meant to follow out his own policy, in which religious compromise was now a leading feature, while his own aggrandisement was not less prominent in it than his imperialism. But Wallenstein's schemes were ended by the hands of assassins in 1634. In effect, the war now assumed the somewhat



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY: THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT PARIS DURING THE MASSACRE
From the painting by P. H. Calderon, R.A.

by an emperor whose power rested on an army controlled by a Bohemian upstart. At the moment of Wallenstein's success Ferdinand found himself compelled to choose between him and the league. He chose the league. But again Richelieu had become active, at least diplomatically; and the effect of his diplomacy was to bring the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, into the field. The victorious advance of the "Lion of the North" forced Ferdinand to recall Wallenstein to the

unexpected character of a struggle for French supremacy on the Rhine, and for Swedish supremacy on the Baltic. We need not follow its course here. Ferdinand died in 1637, and Richelieu in 1642; but France maintained the same policy under Mazarin, and her armies acquired an unprecedented ascendancy under the leadership of Condé and Turenne.

The war was finally brought to an end by the treaties known jointly as the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It left Sweden

secure in the supremacy of the Baltic, and France in possession of most of the Western Rhine provinces. Switzerland and Holland were formally declared independent of the empire and of Spain respectively. As between Spain and France the contest was not terminated till ten years later. In Germany the prolonged

**Germany
Depopulated
by War**

devastation of a war, particularly hideous in the brutality by which it was distinguished, left the land seriously impoverished and gravely depopulated. The Protestantism of North Germany had survived the attack, and the wars of religion were ended. But the Catholics had foiled the attempt to establish imperial supremacy at the price of their failure to establish Catholic domination. The Hapsburg was *primus inter pares*, but nothing more. The congeries of German states was as far as ever from combining into a single German nation.

In all these events, England had played practically no part. From 1618 to 1628, the administration of James I. and Charles I. was practically in the hands of the incompetent favourite Buckingham, whose policy was guided exclusively by personal piques and ambitions. Everything he did was equally reckless in conception and disastrous in execution. Expeditions to help the Elector Palatine, to strike at Spain, or to help the Huguenots at Rochelle, were all fiascoes of the worst kind; but English intervention was ended altogether when the duke was stabbed by an aggrieved and crazy fanatic.

Under the Tudors, the crown had obtained complete control of administration, with the general acquiescence of Parliament; while its policy was popular, it had been allowed to wrest the law to its own purposes. The Stuarts endeavoured to exercise in addition an effective control of taxation, and to override the law in carrying out a policy which was thoroughly unpopular, with the natural result that Parliament challenged the crown's administrative prerogatives.

**Civil War
in
England**

The outcome was a civil war which made the victorious army of the Parliament master of the situation. Parliament had played Frankenstein. The army would trust neither the king nor the Parliament; it beheaded the one, ejected the other, and established a Cæsar in the person of Oliver Cromwell. The military protectorate was

an abnormal expedient for dealing with abnormal conditions; utterly opposed to all English tradition; triumphant, but intolerable. It was doomed to pass away with its mighty creator. Absolutism was to make one more brief effort. But it was, in fact, a lost cause; the ascendancy of Parliament was won. But while the Commonwealth lasted, Europe awoke to the fact that even Van Tromp and De Ruyter were no more than a match for Robert Blake, and that Cromwell's Ironsides under Turenne, as under Cromwell himself, were more than a match for the best soldiery in Europe.

Absolutism was rejected by England. During the first half of the seventeenth century it was most decisively established in France. Henry IV. built up a popular despotism, but it was Richelieu who did for France what Strafford tried to do for England and Wallenstein for the empire. In England and France, however, absolutism had different foes. In England it was the traditional rights of gentry and burghers that were at stake; in France it was the claims of a feudal noblesse. In France,

**Cromwell and
the Defence of
Protestants**

absolutism was the condition of a strong central government; in England it was to be proved that the ascendancy of Parliament did not weaken the central authority. Richelieu's task was not completed; in the wars of the Fronde, with which his successor Mazarin had to cope, the aristocracy had to be brought to submission, and the Paris *parlement*—not, like the English parliament, a representative assembly, but a body of lawyers—made an unsuccessful bid for constitutional powers. But the policy of the cardinals prevailed, and when Mazarin died, young Louis XIV. was already the most absolute monarch in Europe.

Cromwell, in 1656, had accepted the French proposals for alliance against Spain in the hope of promoting a Protestant League for the defence of all Protestants. If he had foreseen that, when he was dead, England would lose sight of his purpose in the alliance with France and that France would be able to use the fruits of that alliance and the defeat of Spain for her own ends, we may presume that his policy would have been different; it is hardly safe to condemn the designs of a statesman because his successors were incapable of giving them effect. The establishment of a pensionary of King Louis on the throne of England did not fall within the scope of the Protector's calculations.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



GENERAL SURVEY
OF THE
PERIOD III
BY
A. D. INNES

ASCENDANCY AND DECLINE OF THE BOURBONS

THE age of Louis XIV., which forms the first subsection of our next period, coincides with a marked period of our own history. The personal rule of Louis began immediately before the restoration of Charles II.; it ended immediately after the accession of the Elector of Hanover. The "glorious Revolution" divides it into two almost exactly equal halves, during the first of which, consciously or unconsciously, the English Government habitually played into the hands of the Grand Monarque, whereas during the second William III. and Marlborough were the protagonists in the resistance to his aggression. Charles II. and James II. were the French king's first enemies; both—the one secretly and the other openly—were adherents of Catholicism, and aggressive Catholicism, though with an element of antagonism to the papacy, was a part of Louis' programme, and the Stuarts were quite willing to purchase freedom from parliamentary control at the price of subservience to France.

The War of the Spanish Succession

In England, people and parliament were in ignorance of these fundamental facts; the French alliance and wars with the Dutch were both features of the Commonwealth policy, which in foreign affairs was generally popular. Consequently, people and parliament acquiesced in an apparent continuity which was an actual reversal.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes revealed the designs of the French king; the English Revolution necessitated the association of English and Dutch, while the exiled king relied on French protection and support. England, it is true, was not enthusiastic in support of William III.'s wars against Louis, but apathy was converted into fury when Louis recognised the son of James II. as king of England, and the country flung itself into the war of the Spanish succession with ardour, though its direct interest in the actual issue was small. The fruits of victory which fell to Great Britain at the end seemed inadequate; but she had suffered infinitely less

than any of the other belligerents, and ever since La Hogue, in 1692, her naval pre-eminence had been becoming more and more decisively established. Incidentally, also, the threat of complete separation from Scotland in the middle of a great war had

Merging of England and Scotland

forced England to assent instead to an all but complete union. The two countries ceased to be internationally distinct, and were merged in Great Britain—a fact of vital importance in the next stage of international rivalries.

Although Catholic aggression, or suppression of Protestantism, was part of the plans of Louis, this was not distinctively the case during the first half of his reign; nor was there even in the latter period any pretence that Louis was at the head of the Catholic states of Europe. On the contrary, the papacy was in direct opposition. The primary objects which the French king had in view were the magnification of the monarchy in France, and the magnification of France in Europe. For the second purpose, the great end to be attained was the annexation to France of roughly the whole of the old heritage of Burgundy, of which a great part was still attached to Spain. He had this end in view when he married the eldest Spanish princess, whose half-brother shortly afterwards succeeded to the Spanish throne, while her younger half-sister was married to the Emperor Leopold, the head of the German Hapsburgs.

The accession of Charles II. in Spain permitted Louis to claim the Burgundian provinces for his wife, on the basis of a law which gave the female children of a

A Great Triple Alliance

first marriage priority over even the male children of a second marriage. These claims Louis in part made good by the campaigns of 1667-8. He could afford to pay little regard to the formation of the triple alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which was the outcome of the alarm caused by his aggression, since he knew that the King of England was clever

THE PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE



The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was accompanied and followed by severe persecution. These drawings of the French artist, Beyer, though imaginary, are based on certain incidents, and show the violence used by the Government against the Protestants of France. In one district young Huguenot women were taken to Catholic convents and there whipped. The Revocation was condemned by the Pope.



Groups of soldiers were detailed to occupy the houses of the Protestants by force, and were there allowed to conduct themselves as they pleased, provided they made the life of the occupants unbearable. There was no indignity and ill-usage, short of actual murder, at which they stopped, and a favourite amusement was to bind the master of the house to a chair, which was forced, with its occupant, over a blazing fire, the priest standing by urging him to recant, while his Protestant Bible was thrown into the flames on which he himself was being tortured.

AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES



The homes of the Protestants were indeed turned into fields of battle between the brutal soldiers and the helpless inmates. One of the most ingenious systems of torture invented during the "Dragonnades" was to wear out the resistance of their victims by the soldiers taking turns at the beating of drums in the bedrooms, where a Protestant mother might be nursing her child, and so, by their noise, to prevent her for nights on end from falling asleep.



In the above picture we have a scene which recalls, in almost every detail, the Covenanting days in Scotland. The Protestant pastors in France were threatened with being sent to the galleys if they conducted religious services, and meetings could only be held in the lonely places of the mountains or in the depths of the forests. When such meetings were surprised by the soldiers' mercy was seldom shown to the persecuted Protestants, and the order to fire came swift to the tongue of the commander. Such an incident is depicted in the above picture.

enough to circumvent his Ministers for a substantial consideration, and that Sweden also might be diplomatically detached. Holland itself was the next object of his aggression, with the additional motive that the Dutch Republic stood in the way of the development of his plans for suppressing the Huguenot religion in France.

The House of Orange Restored

The attack was opened in association with England, during a convenient prorogation of Parliament, in 1672. Holland, however, resisted with her traditional resolution. The fall of the Republican Government and the restoration of the House of Orange in the person of young William III. to the office of Stadtholder provided a leader of unsurpassed tenacity and shrewdness, and completely changed the relations of Holland and England, William being the nephew of Charles.

England withdrew, and at the same time the powers took alarm, Catholic as well as Protestant. Louis found himself facing the prospect of a European combination. Turenne conducted a series of campaigns of extraordinary brilliancy, but his career was ended in 1675 by a stray bullet. Next year the extraordinary development of the French navy by Colbert was demonstrated. Conscious of the strain on his resources, however, Louis was ready for a peace on favourable terms, which were obtained at the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678.

But Nimeguen did not satisfy Louis. The audacity with which he proceeded to interpret treaties in his own favour could hardly be tolerated by the Hapsburgs, German or Spanish, and the diplomacy which had held Protestant states neutral in the late wars was nullified in 1685 by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which also drove a large part of the best of the French industrial population into exile in England, Holland, and Germany. The Pope himself condemned the Revocation, and Louis was consciously and

Revolution in England

confidently preparing a single-handed attack on the European combination which was on the verge of completion, when the revolution in England decisively united the naval powers. For this Louis had himself to blame, since he made his first move by invading the Palatinate, thereby leaving the ruler of Holland free to go to assist in the expulsion of King James from England. By the time that Louis was in a position to turn upon Holland,

the English crown was firmly set on the head of the Dutch Stadtholder, and the great navy which had inflicted a disastrous defeat on the English fleet off Beachy Head was shattered at the battle of La Hogue in 1692. The allies, however, were sufficiently diverse in their aims to enable Louis, after holding his own but no more, to negotiate terms with them separately, which were embodied in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

Louis was still further from having achieved his ends than he had been after Nimeguen. But fresh opportunities were presented by the now acute question of the Spanish succession. The Spanish king was dying without issue: the children of his two sisters were also the children of Louis and of the Emperor Leopold respectively. The acquisition of the whole Spanish dominion by either power was manifestly destructive of the balance, while there had been formal renunciations on the part of both the princesses. A partition was the obvious course. An agreement between the interested parties had bestowed the main inheritance on a grandson of the

The Brilliant Strategy of Marlborough

emperor, the electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was outside the Austrian succession itself; but in 1699 the prince died. King Charles of Spain followed suit, after naming Philip, a grandson of Louis, as his heir, though the powers had agreed upon a fresh partition. Louis repudiated the partition and accepted the will; Austria prepared to assert her own claims; the action of Holland would be largely dependent on England, and the action of England was decided by Louis' recognition of James Edward Stuart as king of England, at the deathbed of James II. Once more, Europe was in alliance to check the aggrandisement of Louis. The death of William III. placed Marlborough at the head of the combined English and Dutch forces.

Louis sought to bring the allies to their knees by striking straight at Vienna; but the attempt was completely wrecked by Marlborough's brilliant strategy, which united his own forces with those of Prince Eugene and shattered the French and the Bavarians, whose prince had joined Louis, at Blenheim. Year by year, in a series of skilful campaigns, the French king's conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were wrested from him; but a turn in domestic politics placed the Tory peace party in power in England.



THE GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

It was the desire of Louis XIV. of France to see James II. seated once more on the throne of England. In order to bring this about, the French fleet, at that time more powerful in comparison with the British than ever before or since, challenged the combined English and Dutch Navies. The result was that on May 10th, 1692, the French admiral was completely defeated. At La Hogue, three days later, the largest of the French warships were destroyed, and thus the English victory was completed amid national rejoicing

From the painting by Benjamin West

Twice in the course of the war Louis had been ready to make peace on terms which would have fully satisfied even William of Orange, had he been alive. But those terms had been rejected, and now the practical defection of England secured him very much more favourable conditions, under the Treaty of Utrecht in

France after the Wars 1713. The Spanish Netherlands were transferred to Austria, but a Bourbon sat on the Spanish throne, and Italy was roughly divided between Hapsburgs and Bourbons. To Britain the most material gain was that Louis was unable to intervene on behalf of the Stuarts when Queen Anne died, and a coup d'état secured the Hanoverian succession.

In spite of the disasters of the War of the Spanish succession, Louis left France with her borders greatly extended, her frontier strengthened, and dynastically in close association with Spain, which was now definitely severed from the Hapsburg connection. Moreover, the power of the crown was practically unchecked. On the other hand, the tremendous series of wars had exhausted the resources of France, and her industrial population had been depleted by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The bourgeoisie was excluded from all share in the government; the peasantry, crushed by taxation, were at the mercy of the lords of the soil, and the lords of the soil themselves were undergoing a process of rapid degeneration, which was hastened under the regency which followed the death of the old king, whose heir was a sickly child.

The possibility that the King of Spain might after all claim the succession to the French throne, which he had renounced, threw the French government into temporary alliance with the British government for the maintenance in both countries of the succession as laid down in the Treaty

The Disturbing Factor in European Politics

of Utrecht. For a time the disturbing factor in Europe was to be found in the jealousies of Austria and Spain under her new dynasty, and in the ambitions of the Spanish queen-consort, the Italian Elizabeth Farnese, for the advancement of her own children, whose succession to the Spanish throne was blocked by the offspring of Philip's first wife. The prospect of a disputed French succession waned with the marriage of

young Louis XV., and thus cleared the way for a "family compact" between the Bourbon dynasties for the aggrandisement of the Bourbons and the humiliation of the Hapsburgs and of Great Britain.

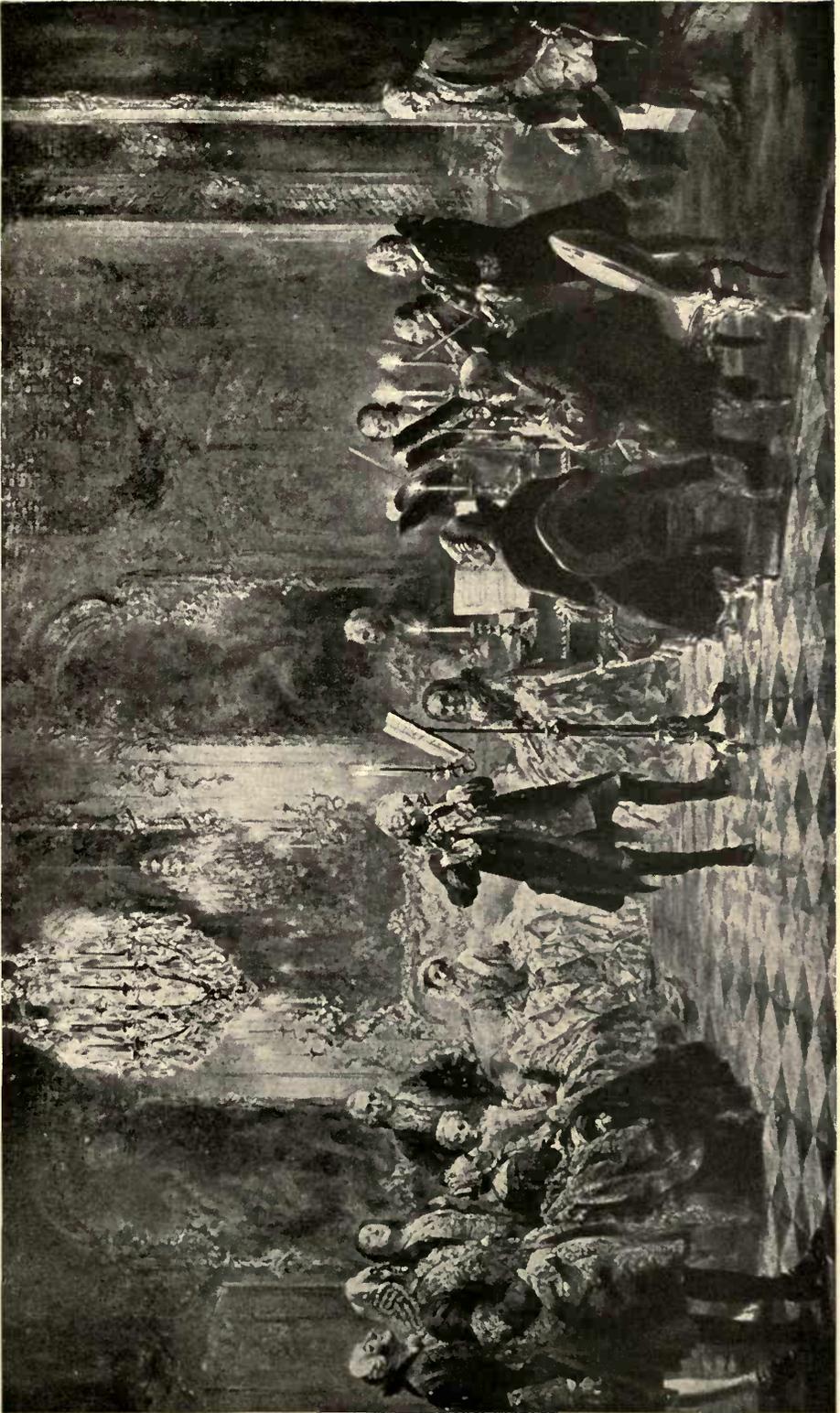
The compact, which was a secret one, made in 1733, did not precipitate war; for the French Minister, Fleury, was quite aware that much recuperation was necessary for France before she could plunge into a great war with Spain for her ally. The English Minister, Walpole, was equally anxious to avoid the arbitrament of arms, though he had information of the hostile designs. Both sides meant to achieve their respective ends by diplomatic methods. But the control was taken out of the hands of Fleury and Walpole by events which proved too strong for them. Commercial friction in the Spanish-American seas was exasperating popular feeling in both Spain and England, while the approach of a question of succession was exposing Austria to attack at the hands of any power which saw a prospect of profiting by her dismemberment. Charles VI., emperor and head of the Hapsburgs, ruled over a group of states which did not recognise a single

War Between Spain and Britain

common law of succession; in some cases the title of his daughter Maria Theresa was good, in others it was at best doubtful. Charles obtained from most of the powers a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, or decree declaring Maria Theresa heir to the whole; but such promises usually provide loopholes of escape which a diplomatic conscience finds quite large enough.

Thus, in 1739, Walpole's hand was forced by a nation infuriated by tales of the high-handed doings of the Spaniards, and war was declared between Spain and Great Britain. Immediately afterwards Charles VI. died; the Bavarian Elector put forward claims against Maria Theresa; Frederic of Prussia started a general conflagration by occupying Silesia with an army. Every power found itself with something at stake, or hoped to snatch something out of the turmoil, and all Western Europe was very soon involved in the War of the Austrian Succession.

The factor on which the world had not reckoned was Prussia. In the past, the Elector of Brandenburg had stood on a par with other princes of the empire. In the Thirty Years War, Brandenburg had done its best to remain neutral, and had



A CONCERT AT THE COURT OF FREDERIC THE GREAT
From the painting by A. von Menzel, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

never assumed anything approaching a leading position. In the second half of the century, however, the "Great Elector"—an astute politician and skilful soldier—had played his part with a consistent determination to strengthen the Electorate, making and breaking alliances, fighting or refusing to fight, with most advantageous

Prussia as a First-Class Power

results to himself and little regard for moral considerations. His successor did little beyond achieving the status of King of Prussia; but Frederic William, who followed him, devoted himself to the organisation of his state and its army in a fashion which excited some derision; which derision his son, Frederic II., the Great, promptly showed on his accession in 1740 to have been very much misplaced.

The War of the Austrian Succession, which ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, established the position of Prussia as a first-class power, while it confirmed the descent of Spain into the second class. Holland and Sweden had almost ceased to count. It left Maria Theresa in undisputed possession of her Hapsburg heritage except for the cession of Silesia to Frederic. It also left her husband, Francis of Lorraine, emperor; in effect the Hapsburgs were, relatively to the Bourbons, stronger at the end than at the beginning. Great Britain had lost nothing and gained nothing, except, incidentally, freedom from the alarm of Jacobitism, which had been finally broken on the fields of Culloden. But the rise of Prussia had decisively changed the whole favourite diplomatic problem of the balance of power; an Austrian domination of Central Europe was less to be feared than the activities of the Prussian king, who had moreover succeeded in making himself personally obnoxious to Maria Theresa, to the Russian Tsarina, and to the French king's mistress, Mme. de Pompadour. In the next European war, the rivalry of Bourbons and Hapsburgs, which had been an unfailling factor in every combination for a century and a half, disappeared altogether.

Prussia's Circle of Foes

Before the Seven Years War broke out, in 1756, the one definite certainty was that France and Great Britain would fight, and that Austria and Prussia would fight. How the antagonists would pair off was uncertain till the last moment. That war in fact resolved itself into a desperate struggle for life on the part of Prussia

against a circle of foes, and a struggle for trans-oceanic empire between France and Great Britain. It was almost an accident that Great Britain and Prussia were ranged on the same side. Some British and Hanoverian troops and large British subsidies enabled Frederic to hold his own in a contest numerically most unequal on land, and left Great Britain free to devote the whole of her real energies to the naval and colonial struggle, in which she was completely triumphant. France, wholly misapprehending the conditions, wasted blood and treasure on the Rhine and the Weser, while her fleet was wiped off the seas and her effective foothold in America and India was finally cut away.

For a century and a half England had been developing colonies along the seaboard of North America from Florida to Acadia. For a somewhat shorter period France had been developing colonies on the north and on the south of the British. British expansion would necessarily work westwards; French expansion would necessarily work south from Canada and north from Louisiana, blocking British expansion altogether. No compromise was possible. The future manifestly lay with the power whose maritime supremacy should enable her best to maintain communications with her colonies.

The Future with the Greatest Naval Power

Similarly for a century and a half an English company had been developing trade with India, and for half the time a French company had been doing likewise. In India, as in America, a stage had been reached in which the virtual elimination of either English or French had become inevitable.

In 1744 Duplex had begun the attempt to eliminate the British. Checked by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contest had taken a new character, the rival companies taking the field as supporters of rival native dynasties, while in America the rival colonists were in collision. In India, as in America, naval supremacy was the condition of success. The insular position of England had necessitated the continuous development of her fleets; the continental position of France had absorbed her mainly in the development of armies. Colbert alone of French statesmen had turned his eyes to the ocean rather than to the Rhine. Hence when the struggle came it was France that was eliminated. In India the British were left without European rivals to complicate their

ASCENDANCY AND DECLINE OF THE BOURBONS

relations with native powers; in North America they held the field, though the outcome of the victory was to be a cleavage of the race.

The security of Prussia and the expansion of Britain were established by the Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg in 1763. Spain had gained nothing by a belated intervention when the war was drawing to a close. After the peace, the German

Britain's Difficulties in America

sovereigns were engaged mainly on the organisation of their own states; their foreign policy was concerned with the East rather than the West, with Russia, Poland and Turkey, rather than with France and Great Britain. The western powers looked on at the partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia, and Russia in 1772. Great Britain embroiled herself in a dispute with her American colonies, upon whom she made demands, which were in themselves justifiable both technically and morally, in a manner which was peculiarly irritating and which set at naught more than one of the fundamental doctrines on which the constitution rested.

The result was first acute friction, then unsuccessful attempts at coercion, then point-blank defiance and open hostilities. The colonies which had hitherto studiously professed loyalty soon changed their attitude and fought avowedly for complete independence. France found the opportunity of revenge for which she had been waiting fifteen years. She had awakened to the fact that the disasters of the Seven Years War were due to the maritime superiority of the British; she had been resolutely reconstructing her navy, and her intervention

on behalf of the colonies showed that Great Britain was no longer the irresistible mistress of the seas.

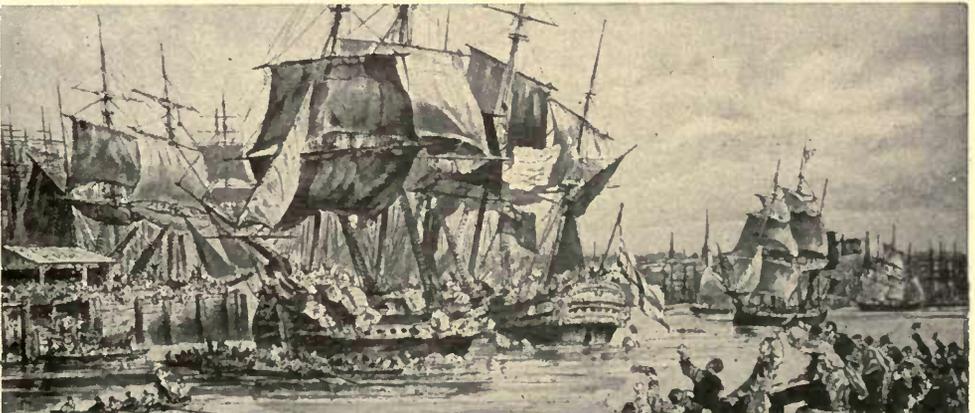
But although the old family compact reappeared, and Spain joined in, and the French fleets secured the American victory, the effect was to concentrate British energies on the renewed struggle with the Bourbons; the tottering naval supremacy of the islanders asserted itself once more. The Peace of Versailles, which closed the war in 1763, left Britain shorn of half her empire, but it had passed not to the Bourbons but to an independent nation of British race, and Britain was still the Queen of the Seas. Meanwhile the territorial dominion which Clive had won in Bengal while the Seven Years War was raging, was confirmed by the able administration of Warren Hastings.

Great Britain had become definitely one of the powers in India, and it was soon to become evident that she must either cease to be so altogether or compel her position to be recognised as paramount. But in France the cataclysm was approaching. The system of govern-

Emergence of the French Republic

ment was rotten. To the world France displayed a brilliant and extravagant court and a noblesse incomparably the most polished in the world. Below there was a populace savage with oppression, gaunt with starvation. The stage had been passed when the situation might have been saved by level-headed moderation and relief of the ghastly burden of taxation. The flood-gates were opened; the deluge swept over France, whirling down the crown and the noblesse, and the Republic emerged.

ARTHUR D. INNES



AMERICA'S PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN'S TAX: THROWING TEA INTO BOSTON HARBOUR, 1774

FOUNDING of ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE first step towards the expansion of England overseas originated from a desire to share in the rich trade of the East. For centuries the Genoese, and later the Venetians, had jealously guarded the Levant trade by which the gems and spices and rich stuffs of Persia and India reached Europe. Across the gate of Asia stood the Moslem, and at the age when the western world was growing rich and refined it had to pay two sets of greedy middlemen heavy toll upon all its luxuries.

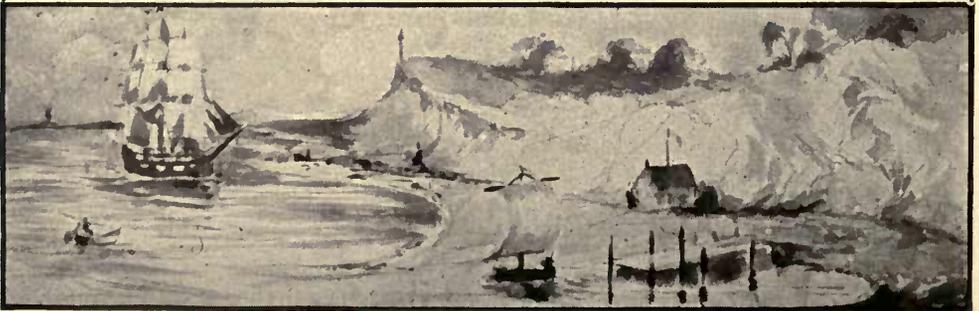
It was fitting that the first attempt to break the Mediterranean monopoly should come from an Atlantic people, because it heralded the permanent shifting of the centre of empire and commerce from the inland sea, that had been its seat for thousands of years, to the Atlantic and the northern channels. Vessels depending mainly upon oar propulsion had sufficed for the Mediterranean. The Portuguese Prince Henry, early in the fifteenth century, saw the need of another type of craft if the Atlantic peoples were to have their share of the world's wealth. For many years all the skill of Europe was at his command, and the invention of the caravel, a sailing boat of long sea duration and good carrying capacity, made the dream of far ocean travel realisable.

Thenceforward for forty years barely a year passed that did not carry the Portuguese further and further down the African coast, groping their way to India, until Vasco da Gama triumphed in 1498, and the traffic of the East gradually changed its centre of gravity from the Levant to Lisbon. Another

dreamer, still greater than Prince Henry, groped for Asia by sailing west, and accidentally endowed Spain with her great colonial empire in South America.

The English West Countrymen, accustomed to rude seas, had themselves evolved a staunch ocean-going boat, and bettered it from the Portuguese lessons; and so, in 1497, the Cabots sailed from Bristol to give England a share, as they hoped, of the wealth of Asia by the western route. Nothing much came of it, but Henry VIII., having shaken off the yoke of Rome, was as earnest as the Portuguese prince had been in improving the type of sea-going boats. Under his care, the English ships assumed a form whose stability, capacity, speed and handiness enabled the sea dogs of Devon to laugh to scorn all the mariners that sailed the seas, and, when the time came, to establish under Elizabeth their supremacy upon the main, which was the first necessity for colonial expansion.

The new sense of national potency fostered by Elizabeth rebelled against the claims of Spain to monopolise American trade. Englishmen were burning with a new patriotism; new wants were growing up in all classes, and money was needful to an extent that it had never been before, while the abandonment of the fasts of the Roman Church had thrown many bold fishermen out of employment. So, with their lives in their hands, and knowing the risk they ran, Hawkins first in 1562, and afterwards Drake and a host of others, began trading in America, and ended by sack, pillage, and piracy, which nearly harried Spanish shipping off the seas. In



AN HISTORICAL CAMEO by MARTIN HUME MA

the process the English sailors gained the knowledge that no other craft afloat could cope with theirs, and that from Spaniards they had nought to fear.

Drake's pretence of colonisation was of the slightest; but there were other merchant seamen in England who yearned for legitimate trade, and the aim of these men was still to reach the golden East by sailing north-west. The quest for gold had to be held out as a bait to the adventurers, but when Humphrey Gilbert, always with the north-west passage in view, in 1574 petitioned for a charter from Elizabeth to discover new lands it was avowedly for the purpose of founding a half-way colony on "sundry rich and unknown lands fatally, and it seemeth by God's providence, reserved for England." In 1578 the charter was granted, and when, in 1583, the expedition sailed, it was with an elaborate plan of government, devised to establish on the American coast another England, where Catholics and Protestants might dwell together in amity.

Upon Newfoundland the colony was proclaimed, but all went awry. The climate was bad, the men lost heart, and gallant Gilbert was drowned in his tiny ten-ton boat. His dream of finding the north-west passage to Asia was taken up by his brother Adrian, by Frobisher, by Hudson, and a host of others; but to Raleigh must be given the glory of having conceived a colonial Britain, to be founded in America, apart from any dreams of tapping the trade of the East by way of the western continent.

In 1584, Raleigh obtained his charter to "discover and enjoy for ever

barbarous lands to be held by homage from the sovereign of England, the inhabitants to be ruled by English law and to enjoy the privileges of free Englishmen." The new colony was intended, we are told, not only to extend and enrich English commerce, but to "find employment for those needy people who trouble the Commonwealth at home." It was to be an agricultural colony, and on the island of Wokoken, in June, 1585, the English possession of Virginia was formally established. Failure again attended the experiment. Again and again Raleigh tried to establish his colony of Virginia, while occupied with his dream of finding and making English the land of El Dorado on the Orinoco.

Sometimes success seemed to promise in Virginia, but disaster came at last: the settlers, 89 men and 17 women, who were left by Governor White on the colony in 1587, were all lost, and the colony apparently died. "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," prophesied Raleigh, when his own star was on the wane. And he was right, though he was ruined and in prison when Elizabeth's unworthy successor gave, in 1606, a new charter to others for the Virginia colony. On the James River the new settlement arose; the colonists were mostly idlers and wastrels, and disaster again seemed imminent when Captain John Smith emerged, and with an iron hand made men work, "while his stout heart inspired them with cheer and hope. From that day there was no turning back. The vast continent became English in tongue and tradition, and the colonial empire of Britain was established.





THE REFORMER MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE EPOCH-MAKING DIET OF WORMS IN THE YEAR 1521



WOLSEY'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH KING HENRY VIII.



THE REFORMATION & AFTER

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE EMPIRE AND EUROPE

AND THE HOUR OF THE REFORMATION

HOWEVER cheerless was the form of the political and national life of western continental Europe in the fifteenth century, however miserable the condition of the people, and however hopeless the future seemed, still it is incontestable that during that century a number of phenomena can be traced which we may regard as the first steps toward what we call modern progress. The progress of that century of growth cannot be comprehended as a unity; it is twofold, and shows often by the side of the old rural conditions, which were not only non-progressive but became daily more and more intolerable, an active civic life which strives to meet in every respect the demands of the age.

The picture of a West German town between 1400 and 1500—apart from the maritime districts on the Baltic—embodies all the achievements of progress at that time, although from a modern standpoint much seems wanting. We have seen the political importance, since the fourteenth century, of the towns with a few thousand inhabitants. But inside the city walls,

Germany in the Fifteenth Century

and in their immediate vicinity, the buildings and other constructions exhibited, as it were, the reflected image of the external power—that firm foundation for a political existence, a vigorous community with rich sources of wealth. The streets, it is true, were mostly narrow and irregularly built, the houses chiefly of wood, while almost every burgher kept his cattle in the house, and the herd of swine which was driven every morning

by the town herdsmen to the pasture-ground formed an inevitable part of city life. In Frankfort-on-Main it was unlawful after 1481 to keep swine in the Altstadt, but in the Neustadt and in Sachsenhausen this custom remained as a matter of course. It was only in 1654, after a corresponding attempt in 1556

The Homes of the Rich Germans

had failed, that the swine-pens in the inner town were pulled down at Leipzig. The rich burghers, who occasionally took part in the great trading companies, were conspicuously wealthy landowners, and had their extensive courtyards with large barns inside the town walls. The most opulent of them owned those splendid patrician houses which we admire even to-day.

But even in the older towns most houses of the fifteenth century have disappeared; only here and there a building with open timber-work and overhanging storeys, as in Bacharach or Miltenburg, reminds us of the style of architecture then customary in the houses of burghers. The great bulk of the inferior population, who lived on mendicancy or got a livelihood by the exercise of the inferior industries, usually inhabited squalid hovels in the Neustadt; the town wall was often the only support for these wretched buildings. The internal fittings of the houses, even among the wealthy population, were very defective according to modern ideas; especially since Gothic was as little suitable for the petty details of objects of luxury, as it was splendidly adapted for the building of churches and town halls. It

was the influence of the Renaissance which added so much to the comfort of the house. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the building of those Gothic town churches and town halls which have often served their original purposes even to the present day. The power and prosperity of the towns find their best expression in them and in the fortifications with their strong towers and gateways. Every picture of a town of the sixteenth or later century, which illustrates the conclusion of the outward development, shows conspicuously these erections for the protection and honour of the town. The town did many things which in our time are done by the state. Social problems were taken up by town administration or the corresponding municipal organisation. The regulation of trade was the concern of the guilds in agreement with the council, the care of the poor belonged to the Church, while the council looked after the protection of the town walls and the regular system of fire brigades; but that department was organised according to guilds and trades.

The council, mindful of its social duties, superintended the filling of the municipal granaries, in order to have supplies to draw upon in years of scarcity. Such storehouses were erected in almost every town during the fifteenth century. On the other side, there were tariffs for the sale of all wares, high enough to enable every artisan to make a good livelihood, and to give the purchaser a guarantee for the quality of the wares. Natural competition was diligently discouraged since, except at market times, goods from foreign spheres could be imported and sold only under onerous conditions.

The town was also the greatest capitalist; as a seller of annuities on lives and inheritances it was a banker, and enjoyed unlimited credit. Thus, it obtained in return means for the construction of fortifications or for the acquisition of sovereign rights from the hand of an impecunious prince. Since the municipal offices were mostly honorary, the government cost little; for this reason, too, the direct taxes were very moderate, since the taxes on commodities were profitable, especially the excise, which the princes allowed the town councillors to levy, first for a limited period and then permanently.

A Period of Moderate Taxation

Except a low hearth tax, which was payable by every householder, the proper subject of taxation was thought to be the excess which the individual had beyond what was required for a decent livelihood. Therefore, it was only about 1500 that an income tax was decided upon; while always up to that time, and often later, a property tax to suit different cases was usual.

The development of the towns followed these paths even in the first half of the sixteenth century. But soon after 1550 the previously flourishing towns felt the consequences of the great economic revolution which the discovery of the sea route to India caused. After the towns by their attitude in the Schmalcaldic war had incurred the disfavour of the emperor as well as of the princes, their political importance was ended. Both facts worked together and produced first a cessation and then a clear retrogression in the power of the towns. It was finally an event of no importance when in the Peace of Westphalia all the imperial towns were given the full rights of imperial states, a privilege which had not been disputed since 1489. The

Political Influence of the Princes

German princes, at the end of the Middle Ages, were the embodiment of the second economically and socially effective power; it was the person of the prince, with his court ceremony, his courtiers, and princely servants, who was the supporter of this power, and not the territory.

His relations to the district were based entirely on private rights; any co-operation of the states, who were in no way representatives of the country, but merely protectors of their own interests, was only reluctantly granted, and, as soon as conditions allowed, was restricted and in many cases finally put aside. Politically, the princes gained in influence the more the towns sank into the background; economically, they strengthened themselves by the conquest of towns here and there and by the greater use made of those towns already subject to them.

The secularisation of Church property, as a consequence of the Reformation in Central and Eastern Germany, considerably increased the extent of the property held by the territorial lords. In this connection indistinct conceptions of the property of the state and the possessions of the prince made a separation of the two impossible. Not before the second half of

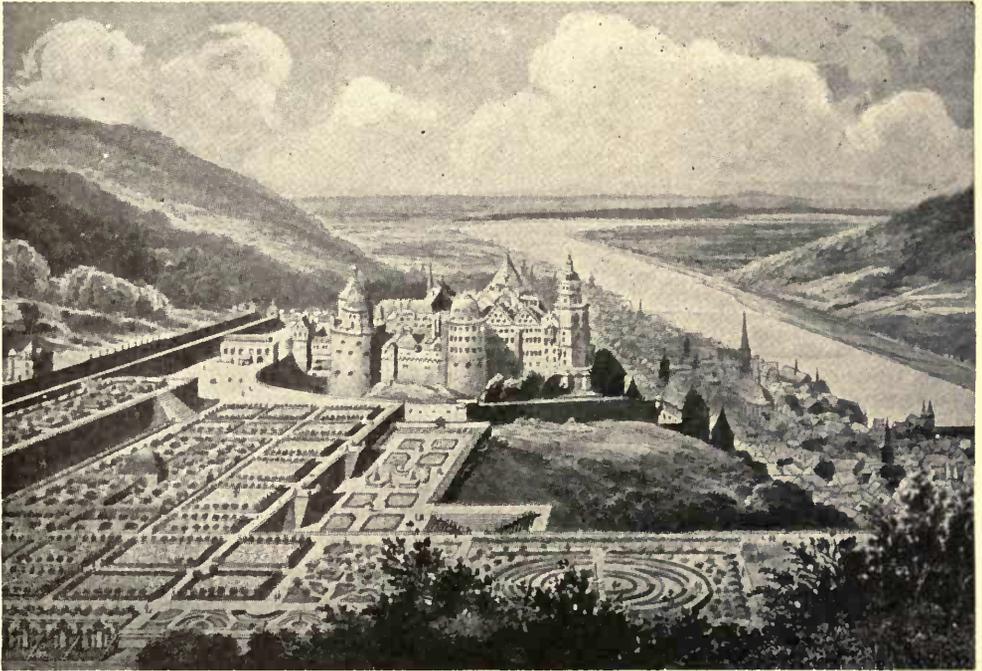
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE EMPIRE AND EUROPE

the sixteenth century did the constitutional idea of the relations between the prince on the one side, and the territory and the subjects on the other, gain any ground. The last stage in the development was thus reached, so that the German monarchy became constitutionally obsolete; and in the Peace of Westphalia it was possible to proclaim the sovereignty of the princes, although "without prejudice to the empire."

Even in the age of the Reformation the princes constituted no separate power. In place of the old rivalry between princes and towns there came the new

private ends, has been fruitful for the whole nation. The universities were primarily private institutions established by them for the extension of scientific activity. The faculty of jurisprudence served them for the training of their officials, and only gradually was formed the modern provincial university in which merely the highest honorary post under various titles is reserved for the ruling prince.

The numerous castles, dating from the Middle Ages, which at the present day as state property afford quarters for judicial and administrative authorities,



THE MAGNIFICENT HEIDELBERG CASTLE AS IT WAS IN 1620

Among the numerous castles of the Renaissance that of Heidelberg was the most magnificent, occupying a commanding position above the town of that name. Although it was afterwards destroyed by fire, much of its grandeur still remains.

opposition between Catholic and Protestant princes—the opposition from which political questions were now treated, and which, in certain cases, drove individual princes into alliances with foreign powers of the same creed. The power of the princes grew in spite of all confusion and distress; they became conscious of their duties, and in happier times after the great war lived for the people, so as to raise their economic position. It is through them that the modern state has become what it is. All that the individual princes did in the cause of progress, although primarily for their own

were founded or acquired by princes, and many gems of secular architecture are due to them. The most magnificent pile among the castles of the Renaissance was that of Heidelberg before its destruction. But the palace of the Elector Maximilian at Munich, with its Italian style, and the castle of the Dukes of Würtemberg at Stuttgart vie in artistic beauty with the gigantic building on the Neckar. Such structures imply an advance in technique and an increasing number of able master workmen, as well as the accumulation of large capital in the hands of the reigning prince. It gradually became possible for

the princes to live permanently in one place, to create for themselves a royal residence, and, as the next step, to adorn this place artistically. But even this preliminary condition required considerable wealth and a strict organisation, which had to furnish the means for keeping up a court, and for the first time was able to supply the residence with all that was required. Money becomes, for the first time in the development of Germany, the all-important power in the towns during the fifteenth century, and in the hands of the princes during the sixteenth.

Money's Place in National Development

Capital produces economic independence, and under the influence of its power the social life is freed from the narrow fetters of tradition. The consciousness of economic freedom is the necessary postulate for every deeper intellectual movement, but in the beginning it leads to the greatest conceivable recklessness, which would seem little fitted to spiritualise existence. And yet that consciousness of outward freedom which is stamped on it is the first step towards the individualism which characterises the age of the Reformation. It helps to prepare the soil for the reception of the peculiarly individualist teaching of the Renaissance.

It is no accident that Luther's teaching found its most intelligent hearers among the burghers of the towns and the princes in their own persons together with their court, while the peasant, without any knowledge of what economic freedom might be, misunderstood the monk and formed for himself a picture of liberty which closely resembled lawlessness. Even before the Renaissance was felt on German soil, the awakening naturalism, which represents the artistic individualism, had shown itself in Flanders, where the towns earliest attained an economic prosperity, first in the plastic arts, and then

Effect of the Renaissance in Germany

in painting. After the third decade of the fifteenth century splendid easel pictures were produced by the painters Hubert and Jan van Eyck. In scientific thought scholasticism still served as the only means of mastering knowledge. The Renaissance indeed increased the materials for knowledge, and gave science itself an independent existence in Germany by the side of art. But in the realm of thought scholasticism asserted itself until

far into the seventeenth century, when it was replaced, somewhat belated, by the empirico-scientific method of judging the outer world by a mode of thought which corresponded to the artistic naturalism and was as unsatisfactory as the system which it so proudly displaced.

In Germany was discovered that art which more than any other provides the means for communicating to every member of a nation a certain measure of intellectual culture—the art of printing. This art first rendered possible the distribution of literary productions in a hitherto inconceivable abundance and variety, as well as the development of a comprehensive system of instruction. Its home was on the Rhine, the German high road of civilisation, where the Main divides the district of the Upper Rhine from the lands of the Middle Rhine, at Mainz. For although Gutenberg, driven from his home, made his first successful attempts between 1440 and 1450 at Strasburg, yet the first employers of the great invention, Fust and Schöffer, were settled at Mainz. The preliminary

Discovery of the Art of Printing

stage to printing was the graphic process of multiplying copies of woodcuts and engravings, which, although long known, had been employed on a large scale only since the beginning of the fifteenth century; the first dated woodcut is from the year 1423.

Gutenberg's important discovery consisted in the movability of the letters, which could be used in any combination. But wood, which, on the analogy of the woodcut, was at first used for the types, did not meet the requirements of printing any more than soft lead. Gutenberg, therefore, having returned to his native town, associated himself with Johann Fust, whose partner, Peter Schöffer, discovered a metallic mixture which wore well as material for types. This Fust, often confounded in story with Dr. Faust, the professor of the black arts, was for more than 300 years considered to be the original inventor of printing, until gradually the name of Gutenberg has regained its honourable place.

The new art was used for the first time to influence the masses in the dispute for the bishopric of Mainz between Diether of Isenburg and Adolphus of Nassau. Innumerable fly-sheets served the same purpose before and during the Reformation on all more important issues. The first

printed book, a complete Latin Bible, appeared about 1455. The shape of the letters directly depended on the types used at that time in neatly written copies of books. The old prints, called "incunabula," show almost throughout red ornamentations by the side of the black letters. The initials are usually most artistically designed and not infrequently adorned with pictorial representations like the old manuscripts. The two alphabets, the Latin and the German, or black-letter, have been developed side by side out of those letters by continual change of shape.

The new industry had been at first carried on secretly, but after the capture of Mainz by Adolphus of Nassau in 1462 the workshop was broken up, and the workmen were dispersed over the world and their art disseminated. As early as 1472 the rector of the Paris University, William Fichet, praised in eloquent words the discoverer of printing as the promoter of knowledge, and the Humanist, Conrad Celtis, placed this invention above all the achievements of the ancients. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over every country, a proof that the discovery supplied an urgently felt want. It is hardly to be assumed that we possess information as to the establishment of printing-presses everywhere. It is certain that the art was introduced into the Italian convent of Subiaco in 1464, into Rome in 1467, into Venice and Milan in 1469. Paris followed in 1470, Louvain, Utrecht, and Lyon in 1473, and in 1474, Basle, which afterwards took a prominent position as a home of printing; Valencia, Barcelona, and London in 1474, Stockholm in 1483, and Moscow not before 1563. In Italy Andrea de' Bussi did good service before 1475 in advancing the art; he introduced the prints of the Germans Pannartz and Schweinheim, while he composed letters of dedication to the Pope. But it was

the Germans who, almost everywhere, appeared as the first printers. Johann von Speier was the first printer in Venice, where soon a fifth of all the printing-presses were to be found. It was quite natural that in Italy, a country so enriched by capital, printing should be eagerly taken up, and there, indeed, no time was lost in printing the classics, while in Germany the national literature had the preference at first.

The new products, the "books," which were bound and made ready for use in the printing-press itself, were issued and dispersed by a multitude of travelling booksellers, or "colporteurs," through every land. Such a "colporteur" is proved to have visited remote Hermannstadt in Transylvania as early as 1506. All printed matter was as free as the air; there was no idea of the rights of intellectual ownership. A book that held out any promise of profitable returns was reprinted by every printer who chose. Many a publisher and author who had devoted the labour of years to a work was thus defrauded of their property, until, at the opening of the sixteenth century, it became more usual for emperors and princes to bestow privileges in books.



GUTENBERG, THE INVENTOR OF PRINTING
 To Johannes Gutenberg, born at Mainz about 1400, belongs the honour of inventing the art of printing, and thus becoming one of the great benefactors of the human race.

A slight improvement was thus introduced, in so far as unauthorised reprints of such privileged books were not permitted to be sold at the most important book-marts, especially at Frankfort, and afterwards at Leipzig. But for a long time after, and, in fact, until late in the nineteenth century, publishers and authors have had to complain bitterly of literary piracy. Luther was, in fact, benefited by this copying, for his writings were thus frequently reprinted and circulated in countless volumes, though often in very defective editions.

But what suited the age of Luther scarcely suited the age of Goethe. Incidentally, however important the

technical invention was for the multifold reproduction of writing by printing, we must not ignore the fact that the rapid spread and growth of the industry became possible only through the accumulation of capital in the towns. With the art of printing the fundamental economic-technical idea of a wholesale manufacture, for which considerable capital is essential, was for the first time revealed to the world. It was the working capital that first rendered possible printing, which is in its nature no handicraft, but a business.

The same progress is noticeable during the fifteenth century in quite a different field of human activity—namely, in the conduct of war. The influence of capital is felt here also, through the more general employment of firearms. It is hard to say how far this is the cause of the introduction of paid armies, and how far social causes, such as the existence to hand of an urban and rural proletariat and the decreasing effectiveness of the nobility, led to this result. But the new arm, at any rate, favoured the progress. It is certainly the most striking phenomenon in the revolution of the military profession.

There is no talk of an "invention" of gunpowder as of printing. In 1324 the town of Metz employed cannons, and the English used them in the battle of Crecy, in 1346. But the Arabs of Spain had known them still earlier. Berthold Schwarz, who studied alchemy in the fourteenth century, and is expressly designated as the inventor of powder by Sebastian Frank, the historian and cosmographer of the sixteenth century, may perhaps have newly discovered its manufacture or have perfected it; we have no details on the subject. The new arm has no importance in the warfare of the fourteenth century. Not until the second half of the fifteenth century, especially under Maximilian, who interested himself much in artillery, can firearms be said to

have been introduced into the army, while their use for sporting and target shooting was not general until much later, clearly on account of the great cost for individuals.

Maximilian was, on the whole, unfortunate as a general, but his ill success was due more to his wavering policy and his unstable nature than to mistakes in strategy. Indeed, he distinctly improved the art of war, chiefly by organising the

artillery in connection with the older arms of the service. After the army of knights had fallen at Sempach before the spears of the peasants, and the social foundations of the feudal army disappeared more and more with the impoverishment of the nobles, some compensation had to be obtained, and this consisted in an infantry serving for pay. The cavalry still carried great weight, but the lighter armour introduced by Maximilian enabled them to take part in fighting on foot without sacrificing their greater mobility. All fighting men under Maximilian served for pay, which amounted to ten florins monthly for the cavalymen and four for the foot-soldier, out of which he had to feed himself. The king's aim was directed towards the formation of a German infantry, while the Swiss were already organised in a similar fashion. The contrast to the latter was to be expressed in the name.

The work of military organisation was in its main features completed even before 1490, when we hear of the name and tactics of the Landsknechte. They were distinguished by their uniform armament. The shield was given up, and every man carried as his chief weapon a long spear; together with this, halberds and muskets were used in a certain proportion. To the company of 400 men were usually reckoned twenty-five musketeers. Maximilian's chief attention was directed towards the cannons. He had thoroughly mastered the technical details of their construction and use. Siege-guns and field-pieces were supplied on the system that to an army of 10,000 men 200 waggons were reckoned, of which some fifty were intended for cannons and the rest for missiles of stone or iron.

The tremendous revolution which these innovations in warfare must have produced, their democratic tendency, and the greater importance attaching to them in consequence, are easily comprehended. Money became more and more a necessity. This was almost always wanting under Maximilian; the troops were often insufficiently paid, and successes were never forthcoming. Nevertheless, under Maximilian larger sums of money had been available for military purposes than at any other period. Capital, the new power which began to rule all manifestations of life, was able to make its influence felt in this also. One further point deserves

**Elements
in German
Progress**

**The Great
Change in
Militarism**

**Maximilian's
Failure
as a General**

notice in the growing use of firearms—that Germans particularly interested themselves in them, and that the universal employment of them started with Germany. Everywhere German gunners were to be found, and even in Morea a traveller met some of them.

The discovery of the New World had many direct effects on European countries. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hanseatic League was in undisputed possession of the commercial supremacy in the north of Germany; and in the south the towns of Basle, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Vienna had, each for its own district, a similar position, inasmuch as important Alpine routes terminated there. The Hanseatic trade ruled Russia, Scandinavia, and England; and the towns of Southern Germany entered into such close relations with Italy, the seat of the trade in the Levant, that the trading-house of the Germans at Venice enjoyed an unexpected prosperity. Germany now for the first time took part in universal commerce. The prosperity of its towns, which were forced to find in material wealth a

Italy's Commercial Prosperity compensation for the vanished hope of political supremacy, is a consequence of these events; for the wealthy townsfolk, with their more luxurious way of living, were the chief consumers of the costly stuffs and spices which the traders imported. Although Italy, the centre from which the wares of the East circulated through Europe, drew the chief profits from it, and obtained the foundation for a most magnificent development of power, Germany herself did not come off badly. It was always the land through which the North was reached, and its trading companies did business everywhere in the world.

The unmistakable prosperity of Italy prompted men to attempt to get communication with India by another way, in order if possible to bring its wares to Europe by the sea route. In Portugal especially the possibility of reaching India by ship was discussed soon after the middle of the fifteenth century. A few decades after, Europeans were living on the western and southern coasts of Africa and in the newly discovered America.

Even before the end of the century, in 1498, Vasco da Gama solved the riddle of the day when he ultimately reached India by sea. These events were of unexpected importance for the destinies of Europe. The

result was a complete shifting in the relative power of the European states. Italy and Germany soon lost their position, while Spain, with Portugal, England and Holland, came forward boldly as colonisers and masters of the world trade. Lisbon now became one of the economic centres of the world; the sea became the

The Sea as the High Road of Commerce universal high-road of commerce and the ship began to replace the trade caravan. Henceforth the countries on the Mediterranean were no longer the most favoured, but those whose shores were washed by the open sea. Numbers, indeed, of enterprising Germans took part in these long voyages, and tried to win a share in the new acquisitions.

By the fifteenth century a German colony existed in Lisbon; the German geographer, Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, was in the Portuguese service; and the Augsburg merchant family of the Fuggers, which had been quite important since about 1460, formed in 1505, in combination with the merchants Welser and Höchstetter, one of the trading companies such as were usually formed in those days to attain a certain definite object, in order to obtain several cargoes of Indian spices by the newly discovered sea route. The Germans had been allowed, in 1503, to found trading factories in Lisbon, and from that centre the Welsers, and then, outstripping them, the Fuggers, carried on the spice trade with extraordinary profits.

But in spite of these successes of individual German merchant lords, who won for themselves unexpectedly great fortunes, the German trade supremacy was doomed. Contemporaries themselves had a confused conception of the state of things, and expressed their dissatisfaction in accusations, unjustifiable in themselves, that these merchant princes robbed the people by usuriously raising the price of the most necessary commodities. The

Trade Profits Regarded as Immoral charge, brought especially by Lutheran preachers, rested on the prevalent conception which found immorality in all

profits derived from trade. The "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," the programme of social reform with the fundamental thought of Christian communism, had been repeatedly printed since 1480, especially in the agitated times after 1520. Men perceived then for the first time that the economic outlook of Germany was

changed, that the masses were far more discontented than in the old days. The blame for all this—and the simple-minded observer had the answer pat—must lie with the great traders, who made such incredible profits, possessed virtual monopolies, and by the splendour of their households outshone the mighty Emperor Charles V. The

Spain's Trade on the Decline

Fuggers continued to play a part in Spain during the whole sixteenth century, but at the beginning of the seventeenth the decay of the "common Spanish trade" began at a time when in the heart of Germany the calamitous consequences of the overthrow of culture made themselves acutely felt.

The sovereignty of Charles V., who ruled over Spain and Germany, had concealed the beginning of this disaster; but the change which had set in showed itself all the clearer in the further course of events. The commerce with Italy lost more and more in importance, and no compensation for this could be found. The Netherlands, the northerly part of which, owing to its favourable position on the Atlantic, became, with Amsterdam at its head, the commercial centre of North Europe, no longer formed an integral part of the empire; indeed, they offered economically the sharpest opposition to Central Germany. The Dutch seaports soon outstripped the trading places on the Baltic, so that the Hanse towns themselves in the north were deposed from their supremacy in trade. Hamburg alone at that time gained in importance, for, thanks to its more favourable position for development, it undertook the part of middleman for the import of Dutch wares into Germany, and, with a view to large profits in the future, allowed Englishmen to settle within its walls.

The effect of these events, the shifting of all centres of gravity, was soon felt by the people in the heart of the country; for while trade and industries produced incomparably smaller profits, the circulation of money was checked, and a marked rise in the prices of commodities and an increasing depreciation in the value of money were noticeable. The result is again a general retrogression of the nation from the stage of international intercourse to that of mere domestic economy—a return to economic conditions which had been long since left behind in the West and the

South. The situation was different in the districts east of the Elbe. They were still backward in industrial progress. Magdeburg was almost the largest town eastward; the towns were everywhere thinly distributed, and a peasant life prevailed, less degraded, however, than that of the west. These eastern districts were less affected by the general turn of events. Indeed, the territorial lords developed a firm government, especially in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Silesia. They knew how to check the states; and they advanced further into the political foreground, especially since the new opposition between Protestant and Catholic princes forced the eastern territories, the principal support of Protestantism, to assume, more than before, a political position.

The revolution in prices was felt most acutely in the East by the country nobility, which had already played a very modest political part. Some of its members, indeed, appeared regularly at Court as officials in the princes' service; but the mass of them had retired to their country seats, which more and more lost their character as

The Hard Lot of the Peasant

centres of territorial dominions and assumed the features of manor-houses. The manorial estate was managed with a view to agriculture on a large scale, a system now first found on German soil; and the hereditary villeinage, also called serfdom, represents the peculiar status of labour in this new undertaking.

The development of the country in the south and west of Germany had produced quite different economic and social forms. The continuous parcelling out of landed estates and the frequently increased burdens had placed the peasant, after the cultivation of the land was ended, in a position which made him appear the most harassed person of the times. The same conditions prevailed which in France, aggravated by a strong despotic rule, produced the state of society directly preceding the Revolution in 1789. Such a state of things must arise where the natural overflow of population does not find a suitable opportunity to emigrate, or new opportunities for work through the introduction of fresh branches of industry.

And besides this, the peasant was excluded from every higher intellectual employment. He was politically powerless, and the decline of the old system of the lord's court had much lowered the old

position of the "socman" in the supreme court. But no power, whether the territorial lord or the imperial legislature, contemplated doing anything to raise the condition of the peasant, and even if the thought had been entertained, there were no means available for carrying it into execution.

The urban proletariat was in no enviable position, and in many towns since about 1450, often in conjunction with the peasants of the district, had revolted against the council, and tried by violence to realise its communistic ideal. But the mad fury, capable of any deeds, which we see in the peasant revolts, never showed itself even remotely in these attempts.

After the rising of Pauker of Niklas-hausen, in 1476, who felt himself called by God as a reformer of church and society, the insurrections in the Alpine districts and in Friesland, in Franconia and Thuringia, on the Upper Rhine and in Swabia, did not cease. At the same time a movement against the secular privileges of the clergy, especially against their exercise of trades which injured the taxpayer, and against the immunity from taxation enjoyed by clerical property, was noticeable even before Luther's appearance, and explains the reception of his writings in 1520. There was an equal feeling against the authorities both in town and country.

Revolt Against the Clergy The movement against the immunity from taxation enjoyed by clerical property, was noticeable even before Luther's appearance, and explains the reception of his writings in 1520. There was an equal feeling against the authorities both in town and country.

At the beginning of the period from 1520-1530 the land was again in a ferment. The revolt this time had been carefully planned, and its object was to carry out Luther's teaching by force. But the outbreak was delayed for some time. However, in 1524, the Landgraviate Stühlingen on the Upper Rhine revolted, and the town of Waldshut was drawn into the rising; at the same time an open revolution broke out in the territory of the town of Zürich in close connection with the proposals for ecclesiastical reform. Soon the movement spread to all Upper Germany; its object was to realise the socialist programme which had long been in the air, and seemed to the peasants synonymous with the "justice" of Luther and the "freedom of a Christian man."

By the middle of March, 1525, the demands had been formulated in the "Twelve Articles of the Peasantry." In other places, especially in Alsace and Austria, the most sweeping political demands were attached to those complaints against the manorial lords which must be reckoned as fair charges. In the Austrian dominions, especially in Tyrol, the rising in the autumn of 1525 was suppressed without much difficulty by concessions. But in Franconia open revolt and hideous outrages followed. In Swabia the "Swabian League" successfully prosecuted the war against the insurgents, and the town strongholds of the peasants, Rotenburg and Würzburg, were captured. The movement spread farther to the north, and there were outbreaks in Thuringia. Here the Anabaptist movement was mixed up with the social demands. Thomas Münzer himself led the forces into battle; but he and his companions had to yield to the armies of the princes at Frankenhäusen, and some six thousand peasants were killed there.

The great peasant revolt was a disastrous failure, so far as concerned the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. The social revolution on the continent was still in the remote future. But the conditions which produced the social revolt tended also to make a religious revolution popular. On the other hand, it had an effect not unlike that produced by the excesses of the French Revolution outside of France; it frightened the conservative element among the intellectual progressives as well as the vested interests of property, bringing about that reaction which was incarnated in England at this time in Sir Thomas More and at the later epoch in Edmund Burke.

Luther's Part in the Revolution Although Luther took up his parable against the revolution, his doctrine was held responsible for the anarchism which he condemned. At both periods culture and philosophy shrank back appalled when the genial irrigation which they had designed threatened to turn itself into a devastating flood.





BENEFACTORS OF THE REFORMER: MARTIN LUTHER AS A BOY IN THE HOUSE OF FRAU COTTA AT EISNACH

From the painting by G. Spangenberg, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION LUTHER'S GREAT WORK FOR PROTESTANTISM

MARTIN LUTHER, descended from a Thuringian peasant family which originally was settled at Möhra, was born at Eisleben on November 10th, 1483. His father, notwithstanding his small means, sent the boy to school, at first to the village school of the place, and in 1497 to Magdeburg, to the school of "The Brothers of the Common Life." After a year the boy, aged fifteen years, went to attend the Latin school at Erfurt, and there first came into contact with teachers who had studied "the Humanities." His circumstances were very straitened, since he was forced to beg his bread by singing, until a friendly reception was given him in the house of the merchant Cotta. During the summer term of 1501 Luther entered the famous University of Erfurt, where philosophers and Humanists worked harmoniously side by side, and was advanced to the degree of Master of Arts in 1505. His father would have been glad if he had chosen the career of a jurist, with its rich prospects, and the son had agreed to the suggestion, for great honours could be won in that way.

Luther's Life in a Convent

But before the young student had begun his intended professional studies something occurred which led him into other paths. Not indeed so much the often-quoted buffets of fortune, the death of a friend, and the deadly risk he ran through a flash of lightning, as the deep inwardly religious spirit, the conviction that the profession of a lawyer did not offer scope to his zeal, drove him to enter a convent. This step was taken in July, 1505, and Luther chose the settlement of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, belonging to the Saxon congregation of the order, which was conspicuous for its strictness. The Bible was studied diligently there, and strict asceticism and self-examination were obligatory on the members.

The year of the novitiate, which demanded the performance of the lowest duties, was passed, and the dress of the

order assumed in 1506; and with the ordination to priesthood on May 2nd, 1507, the title of Father was bestowed on him, as well as the power to celebrate Mass. Luther had fulfilled his duties in the convent with unwearied zeal, and had studied diligently. He had there seen the Bible for the first time in his life, and had begun to read it without, indeed, understanding it at first. When he finally abandoned the ancient ideas of theology learned at school, he began to have an inkling of what he afterwards laid down in weighty propositions.

Where Luther First Saw the Bible

While still at Erfurt, the young monk had attracted the attention of his superior in the order, the Vicar-General von Staupitz, who intelligently sympathised with his spiritual nature. It was he who transferred Luther after ordination as priest to the convent of the order at Wittenberg, in order to give him at the same time a post as teacher in the philosophical faculties at the university there. His lectures were entirely confined to the well-trodden paths of the academical teaching in philosophy, while metaphysical thoughts were exercising his mind, and he studied the "German Theology" of Tauler, the fourteenth century mystic.

The journey to Rome in the year 1511 on the affairs of the order may well have been of supreme importance for the widening of his range of observation, and the recollections of the life at that time in secularised Rome may have influenced his attacks on the papacy. But immediately after his return home any fundamental opposition to the Church and her institutions was far from his thoughts. An event of greater significance for the future of the young man of twenty-nine was the attainment in 1512 of the title of a Doctor in Divinity at the instance of his old friend Staupitz. The subject of his professorial teaching was

Luther as a Theological Teacher

now theology, not philosophy. His inner religious convictions were thus opened to the circle of his pupils, while he himself was more and more engrossed with the problem of faith. The exposition of the Bible itself was now his task. Both in form and matter he tried to explain it differently from his predecessors and contemporaries in the professorate, since, while still always taking the text of the Vulgate as his basis, he not only gave the allegorical explanations of the Scripture, but put before his hearers the doctrine of the Apostle Paul himself. His interest in Augustine increased visibly, and he was sincerely pleased that the latter was now supplanting Aristotle in the university.

In addition to his lectureship, he was soon given the post of preacher in the convent church, and in 1515 he had, as deputy, to undertake the duties of a town clergyman. During this ministry for the care of souls he first came into contact with the granting of indulgences. Some of his congregation had obtained indulgence papers from the Dominican monk Johann

Tetzel, who was preaching at Jüterbogk, in the territory of Magdeburg—the Elector of Saxony had forbidden the preaching of indulgences in his dominions—and had shown them to him. Luther had already, in 1516, openly attacked this in his sermons. It was asserted that because money was required at Rome to build the church of St. Peter, indulgence was now granted for money without the pious deeds formerly required. The

religious conviction of Luther that justification by faith was an essential postulate, could not possibly allow such encroachments on the rights of the minister to pass unnoticed. He wished at any rate to open a discussion on the indulgence question in order to establish his view of the matter, which was clearly not understood, many thinking it was a mere squabble between monks. He therefore chose the form in which the professors under such circumstances usually invited discussion—that is to say, he published

theses composed in Latin, which were nailed up on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. They were ninety-five in number—probably as an answer to the numerous instructions given by Archbishop Albert of Mainz to his vendors of indulgences—and the 31st of October, 1517, was chosen, as being the eve of the dedication festival of the Church of All Saints. These propositions went in fulness far beyond what was usually contained in the statements of any one inviting discussion.

They not only put questions, but also gave concise

answers for anyone who could read them, condemned the abuse, and even went the length of attacking the sacrament of penance itself.

This was the first act of Luther the reformer. But he himself was by no means clear as to its scope, for no thought lay further from him than separation from the Catholic Church. The stone, however, was set rolling, and continued to roll, without any special effort on the part of the man who first set it in movement.



MARTIN LUTHER

But for Martin Luther the Reformation would have taken different lines. Born at Eisleben, in 1483, he studied for the Church, but could not continue to remain in it, and he became the leader of the far-reaching Reformation movement. This portrait is from the original picture by Holbein, now in Windsor Castle, England.

THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION

Luther himself sent his theses to the ecclesiastical authorities, notably to Archbishop Albert of Mainz, under whose instructions the indulgence vendors worked. He was conscious of his disinterested motives, and declared himself astonished that no one came forward to the verbal contest, although in a few weeks all Germany was familiar with the contents of the theses, and trumpeted the name of the composer, who even before was not entirely unknown. The immediate object of the attack, the Dominican Tetzl, made

a literary rejoinder to the theses, and opposed to them one hundred and six propositions based completely on Thomas Aquinas. Tetzl won the title of a Doctor in Divinity from the university at Frankfurt-on-Oder; and since it was a Dominican who confronted the Augustinian monk, there is no reason to be surprised that at Rome no further importance was attached to the matter, which was regarded as a quarrel arising from jealousy between the two orders. A writing of Johann Eck, a professor at

Ingolstadt, was really more serious for Luther. In this it was clearly stated that many contemporaries saw a heretical action in the publication of the theses, and drew an unmistakable comparison with the Bohemian Huss. Luther did not let himself be frightened by these attacks, but worked out his ideas further in a "Sermon on Indulgence and Pardon," using for this the vernacular; thus the dispute among the learned became a matter for the people. This was a very marked step for the shaping of the future.

There was no wish at Rome to enter into a discussion of the disputed questions in the way that Luther naturally took for granted, but by the spring of 1518 a trial for heresy was suspended over him. When he was summoned before the court of two bishops in Italy, he applied to his territorial lord, the Elector Frederic of Saxony, who had long been friendly towards him, and asked that he should be given a hearing in Germany. The elector was staying just then in Augsburg, where Maximilian was holding

his last imperial diet, and where, on account of the Turks' tithe, a papal embassy was also present. He consequently exercised his influence with the emperor, who was in urgent need of his support for the desired election of his grandson, Charles, that a decree should be passed enacting that the monk of Wittenberg should have a hearing before the papal embassy at Augsburg. The cardinal, Thomas de Via of Gaeta, usually called Cajetan, offered no objection, and was ready to try the monk for his audacity; and at the close of the diet, in October, Luther, who in



LUTHER IN LATER LIFE

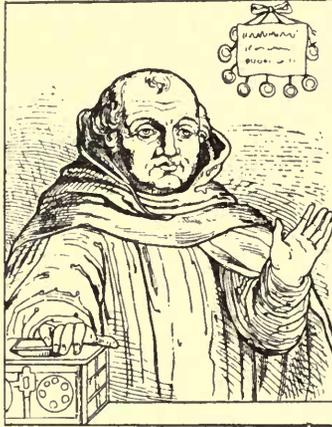
The painting from which this portrait is taken is now in the Tower Church at Weimar. It was begun in 1552 by Lucas Cranach, the Elder, and completed three years later by his son.

April, at a meeting of the order at Heidelberg, had in the circle of his brother monks already defended his views with vigour and courage, now, armed with a safe-conduct from the emperor, appeared humbly before the cardinal. The discussions, although they extended to the real matter at issue, led to nothing. This was inevitable, for Luther did not think of any renunciation of his errors, or of any promise to avoid them for the future. He left the cardinal, and so appealed, as the Church required, "from the badly instructed Pope to one

who was to be better instructed." In the end he secretly quitted Augsburg. The news soon reached him at Wittenberg that the Pope demanded his banishment by the elector, and he was ready, if occasion arose, to leave the country. Nevertheless, he took the last step which was still open to him—he appealed to a general council at the end of November, 1518.

The papal chamberlain, Carl von Miltitz, who, belonging to a Saxon noble family, possessed a greater comprehension of the conditions of the country than an Italian, now appeared as papal legate at the court of the elector in order to induce him to take vigorous measures against Luther. He became convinced of the ferment existing among the people, which made him see that the sympathies of the masses were for the monk, and therefore

tried to influence him by conciliatory measures. At a personal interview in Altenburg, Luther finally promised to keep silence on condition that his opponents would do the same; but since they did not agree to this, he did not feel himself bound to silence. The long-contemplated discussion between Eck and Luther's colleague, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von Carlstadt, was fixed for June, 1519, at Leipsic, and, in spite of a protest from the Bishop of Merseburg, it actually took place. Luther was once more the real object of the attack, as appeared from Eck's theses. These were principally occupied with the question of the papal primacy, upon which Luther had hardly touched. Luther himself did not appear at the discussion until the dispute between Carlstadt and Eck had already lasted



THE MONK TETZEL

When the papal indulgences in Germany were given out by the Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was selected for the office of preaching the indulgences.



TETZEL'S PROCESSION FOR THE GRANTING OF INDULGENCES

Offering indulgences to those who were willing to pay for them, Tetzel travelled throughout Germany, and with all the "eloquence of a mountebank" painted in the richest colours the value of the indulgences. Tetzel himself, as shown in the illustration, carried in the procession as it passed from place to place the great red cross on which were suspended the arms of the Pope, while on a velvet cushion, in front of the marching company, was carried the Pontiff's Bull of grace. Mules laden with pardons brought up the rear of the strange procession.



LUTHER'S PROTEST: NAILING HIS THESES TO THE DOOR OF THE WITTENBERG CHURCH
 The granting of indulgences, given so freely and with so much effrontery by Tetzels, found in Luther an uncompromising enemy. When the city of Wittenberg was crowded with people on the occasion of the Festival of all Saints, in 1517, Luther, at the noonday hour, boldly walked up to the castle church and nailed his theses, consisting of ninety-five propositions on the doctrine of indulgences, on its door, thus launching a movement that was to revolutionise the world.

several days. Eck drew from him not only the repeated assertion that an acknowledgment of the papal primacy was not necessary for salvation, but also the avowal that even the councils themselves might err, and that only God's word could be accounted infallible. Eck thus won the day, for he had proved Luther's heresy. The latter himself must have felt at that moment for the first time a conviction that he no longer stood within the Church and must have said to himself that the papal ban would inevitably strike him.

At this stage there was a division of opinion. Men took sides for and against Luther; everyone in public life had to adopt some definite standpoint. The greater part of the Humanists stood by the reformer, and in the forefront the teacher of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, Philip Schwarzerd, called Melancthon, who, perhaps, grasped the questions involved better than all his contemporaries. Luther himself did not rest; he now produced a programme in which he combined all that possessed his soul. In August, 1520, his treatise, "To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Chris-

tian State," appeared in print. The relations with Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, into which he had shortly before entered, had distinctly influenced this pamphlet; for, passing over the power of the princes, he placed his hopes on the emperor and the nobility during the impending attempt which was to restore the right relations between secular and spiritual powers. By this train of thought the author met the Humanists, who had for a long time been weary of the ecclesiastical tutelage in intellectual concerns. But Luther taught more emphatically than they did that the opposition between priests and laymen as it existed in the Church was unbiblical. At the same time a programme of secular reform was unfolded, which pronounced against the capitalists, in support of the knights, and lashed the money-seeking temporal policy of the papacy. In fact, a warning was issued to all temporal authorities that they should no longer allow the export of money to Rome in any form.

It is easy to understand the rapid circulation of this treatise, which in an unprecedented manner comprised all that thousands had long felt, even though as the fruit of

quite different trains of thought. Even before the thoughts thus developed had been further expanded from the dogmatic side, especially with reference to the sacraments, in the "Prelude to the Babylonish Captivity of the Church"—he wrote this time in Latin—the news came to Germany of the papal Bull issued on June

The Pope's Challenge to Luther

16th, which condemned forty-one propositions of Luther, and required him to recant his teaching within sixty days.

His deadly enemy, Eck, had co-operated in the preparation of this threatening Bull, and also brought it to Germany, where it was published on September 27th. But the most important point, the execution of the Bull, which the papal legates at Cologne imperiously demanded in November from the Elector Frederic, was omitted, since the territorial ruler at the advice of Erasmus absolutely refused their request. The Bull entirely failed in its effect in Saxony; the University of Wittenberg refused to publish it. In the universities of Erfurt and Leipzig, and even in Vienna, open sympathy was expressed with Luther, who himself on December 10th, in front of the gates of Wittenberg, publicly burnt the decretals and the papal Bull, just as his writings had been burnt at Cologne, Mainz, Louvain, and other places.

Before the year 1520 drew to a close, yet a third manifesto appeared from Luther's pen, in which, differing from the criticism hitherto employed, he proceeded to construct a doctrinal edifice of his own. It was the treatise, once more written in German, "Of the Freedom of the Christian Man." It distinguishes between the spiritual and corporeal man. The spiritual man is free through belief in God, the corporeal is in bondage through his fear of his neighbour. The effect of this treatise almost exceeded that of the preceding ones. His words were everywhere read and understood, for what he propounded he said in the language of the people. Personally he gave up monastic practices in the winter of 1521-1522, even though he still wore the cowl. Since after

four months, the allotted period, Luther's recantation did not reach Rome, Pope Leo X. hurled the ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and suspended the interdict over all places where they should remain.

At first the party round the young Emperor Charles openly entertained the plan of using the religious movement in Germany to exercise pressure on the Curia in political questions. On the other hand, the imperial court, however unwillingly, had to pay regard to Luther, if it did not wish to fall out with the Elector of Saxony. One thing was, at any rate, certain—the diet, which met at the beginning of the year at Worms, must occupy itself with the question which was agitating all leading spirits. The imperial

programme of work had not, indeed, touched the religious question; but the states demanded its discussion. The states would assent to an imperial decree against the heretic, which would have meant the ban, only on the condition that he was tried before the assembly of the empire, and had declared with his own lips that he would not recant.



MELANCTHON THE SCHOLAR
Philip Melancthon was a prominent figure in the early band of bold Reformers, and his enthusiasm in the movement contributed largely to its success. This portrait is from an engraving by Dürer.

Luther came to Worms with an imperial safe-conduct on April 16th, and on the very next day the hearing began before the emperor and the states. When the emperor put the question

to him whether he acknowledged his books, and whether he would recant or not, he asked for time to reflect, and then, on April 18th, answered to the now more precise question that he could think of recantation only if he was confuted out of the Scripture or by logical arguments. The effect of his words

The Defiant Reformer at Worms

on the Germans was thoroughly favourable, while the Romanists, and with them the emperor, showed themselves little edified. The result was an imperial proclamation to the states, which confirmed the safe-conduct as far as Wittenberg, but at the same time prohibited the continuance of the preaching, and announced the treatment of Luther as a convicted heretic. On the way from Worms to Wittenberg,

THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION

Luther, who certainly knew of the plans of the friendly elector, was surrounded in the vicinity of Waltershausen in Thuringia by Saxon horsemen and conducted to the Wartburg, while his friends in Germany supposed him to be dead. The emperor now formally proclaimed from Worms the ban of the empire over the heretic, and ordered the confiscation of the property of all who adhered to him, and the destruction of his writings; indeed, to avoid further harm, the introduction of a general censorship of books was demanded.

From the beginning of May, 1521, Luther lived in the Wartburg; only a very few initiated, above all Spalatin, knew of his abode, which at first was not even revealed to the elector. "Squire George," as the theologian was called there, employed his solitude in studying the New Testament in the original, and beginning his translation. In September, 1522, the whole New Testament, but without Luther's name, was printed in German. This was by no means the first German edition of the Bible. During the quiet work in the Wartburg, the reformer, who hitherto had advanced alone into the foreground, lost the reins from his hand, and other men, who thought they were working on his lines, were the spokesmen. At Wittenberg, professors and students began to translate Luther's ideas into action, and Carlstadt especially drew his conclusion from the doctrine that there was no separate spiritual class when he demanded the marriage of priests. The Lord's Supper in both forms was administered at Wittenberg in the autumn of 1521 to Melancthon, among others. The wild excesses of the Hussites began to spread in the winter. Altars and pictures were cast out of the

churches, and laymen began to preach to the people. At Zwickau especially, where the clothmaker Nicolas Storch and the priest Thomas Münzer tried to kindle the revolt, the image-breakers won adherents, although the council repressed the movement and banished Münzer, who now sought safety in Bohemia, without indeed being able to accomplish much.

Luther had appeared once in December, 1521, for a short time at Wittenberg, in order to express his opinion as to the condition of things in the town, but soon afterwards returned to the Wartburg. At the beginning of March he no longer maintained the reserve which was required of him, but left his place of refuge, contrary to the will of the elector, and entered Wittenberg in order to preach daily to the people, and to warn them against further blind excess of zeal. One note rang clearly in these exhortations—that the Master attached weight to faith alone, and in comparison cared little for the externals of religion. His words had a marvellous effect. The development, in the same form as at Wittenberg, spread to the places round, both far and near. In South-west Germany particularly, where the social differences were sharper than elsewhere, the teaching of the monk of Wittenberg found a friendly reception from citizen and peasant, and a flood of printed pamphlets helped to disseminate it.

The princes, indeed, had shown little favour to the ecclesiastical innovations; even Luther's patron, the Elector Frederic, had not openly severed himself from the Church. But nowhere

was there any intention of seriously executing the Edict of Worms, and the year 1522 showed how far popular opinion, a hitherto



A FAMOUS HUMANIST

Ulrich von Hutten, who was born in 1488 and died in 1523, was a famous German poet and humanist, and warmly supported the cause of the Reformation.

—that the Master attached weight to faith alone, and in comparison cared little for the externals of religion. His words had a marvellous effect. The development, in the same form as at Wittenberg, spread to the places round, both far and near. In South-west Germany particularly, where the social differences were sharper than elsewhere, the teaching of the monk of Wittenberg found a friendly reception from citizen and peasant, and a flood of printed pamphlets helped to disseminate it.



GERMAN LEADER OF REFORM

This celebrated German knight, Franz von Sickingen, lent his great influence to the Reformation movement, and led a league which sought to introduce it by force. He died from wounds in 1523.

almost unknown power, influenced the states. In answer to the papal demand that the decrees of Worms should be carried out, the Council of Regency declared that it was unwilling to employ measures of force—but that a council in a German town with an equal number of clerics and laymen should immediately deliberate upon the questions. Although the

Papal Conference at Nuremberg papal nuncio Chieregati protested against this answer, the matter remained so. It was proposed once more to discuss at a council the question which had really long ago been legally decided. Indeed, it was not so much a sincere conviction that forced the states to this view as the fear of a sanguinary rising of the people.

The German council and the preliminary council, which had already been summoned to Speier for November, 1524, did not meet. But the representatives of the papal party assembled in the summer of 1524 at Nuremberg and resolved, in addition to complete condemnation of Luther, to aim at an improvement in some unimportant points—the papal exaction of money and the morality of the clergy. This was the condition

of Germany when all parties were equally affected by the outbreak of the Peasant Revolt. Former adherents of Luther, as Thomas Münzer and Carlstadt, fanned the flames and supported the fanatical movement and its communistic scheme of economy. Luther in two treatises, "Exhortation to Peace upon the Twelve Articles" (April, 1525) and "Against the Murderous and Marauding Hordes of Peasants," attempted not only to clear himself from the taunt that he was connected with the revolt, but at the same time called for the forcible suppression of the rebels, should timely warning be fruitless.

The result of the Peasant War is well-known. It affected the Reformation in the Church in two ways. On the one side the princes of Central Germany had heard from Luther's lips the exhortation to use severity, and the reformer now appeared to them as an advocate of the power of the princes; they could make him useful for their purposes. On the other side, in great districts of Germany many still entertained the opinion that at bottom Luther alone was to blame for the whole revolt, and therefore they had good



LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL AT WITTENBERG ON DECEMBER 10th, 1520

It was not to be expected that the bold action of Luther in nailing his theses to the church doors at Wittenberg would pass unnoticed by the Church authorities. A papal Bull condemning forty-one propositions of Luther and requiring him to recant his teaching within sixty days was published; the Reformer's dramatic reply is shown in this picture.



POPE LEO X. EXCOMMUNICATING LUTHER AS A HERETIC

Luther was not the man to yield even under papal pressure, and when he failed to recant, Pope Leo X. hurled his ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and published the interdict in all places where they should remain. In the above picture, the Pope is seen seated on the balcony of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Rome, surrounded by priests with lighted torches, while beneath him are crowds of people on bended knee, as he pronounces his terrible ban.

reason to be hostile to the Reformation generally. In these circles an energetic interference of the emperor, who had just come out victoriously from the first French war, was partly advocated, partly dreaded, while the princes of Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, with the town of Magdeburg, united themselves in the "League of Torgau," in order from this time, as guardians of the Reformation, to oppose under certain circumstances even the emperor himself.

The imperial diet of Speier in 1526 was already subject to this impression. The emperor was again asked to call a German council, and there was no attempt, as regards the Edict of Worms, to put binding demands to the separate states. Each prince was to act as he should be able to answer to God and the emperor. This implied for the members of the League of Torgau an establishment of evangelical national Churches, which from this time furnished, in the so-called "Church ordinances," guides for the direction of divine service and schools—in this latter respect Luther had already, in 1524, exhorted the towns to energetic measures—as well as

of alms-giving and church discipline. The now generally adopted principle of the marriage of priests was of the greatest importance, after Luther himself in 1525 had married a former nun, Catherine von Bora. The position of the priests as a class apart was thus terminated, and at the same time a condition of things was established in the Lutheran manses which was suitable to the founding of a Lutheran tradition.

While the peculiar position of the territorial lords as bishops of their own national Churches was being developed, and in the reorganisation of the schools in the country the attempt was being made to raise the peasant intellectually, and to educate him to be a worthy member of the community, the communistic and revolutionary efforts, which we have noticed at Zwickau, did not die away. In every part of Germany in the second half of the third decade there appeared representatives of this movement, who mostly designated themselves as "Anabaptists," and were opposed by the adherents of the old religion as much as by the followers of the Lutheran views. In Zürich the

**Anabaptists
in
Germany**

Anabaptist Manz had been drowned in 1527, and at Münster, where in 1534 the Netherlanders Jan Matthys of Haarlem and Jan Beuckelszoon of Leyden wished to found a Christian kingdom on a communistic basis, the Protestant movement was completely suppressed in 1535. Political and religious aims were mixed up in the affairs at Münster. Similarly at Lübeck, where, under the leadership of Jürgen Wullenweber in 1534 the democratic elements conquered the aristocratic council and partly drove its members from the town. Here also the religious and the political revolutionary spirit met, to which later strict Lutheranism was an uncompromising opponent. But the ecclesiastical zeal of the democratic leader was here distinctly inferior to his political ardour, although he was finally executed in 1537 by the Duke of Brunswick as an Anabaptist.

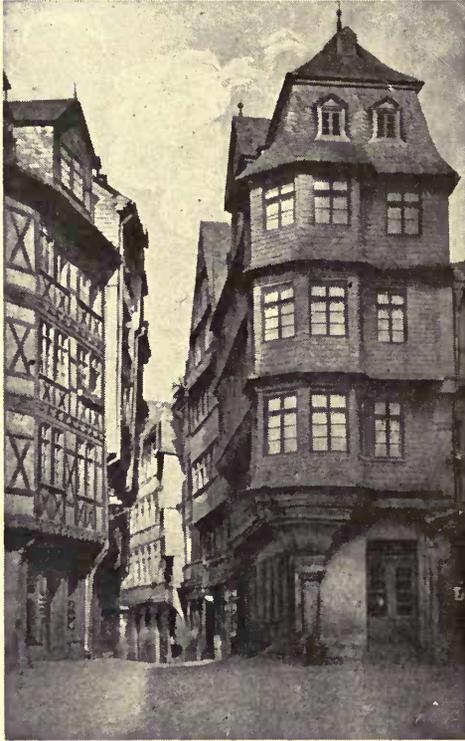
The diet of Speier in 1526 had created an intermediate religious position which was equally insecure for the old and the new faiths, for each party had to fear a vigorous onslaught from the other. It did not therefore cause wonder when the Chancellor of Duke George of Saxony, Otto von Pack, told

the Lutheran princes about a strong Catholic league. Philip of Hesse, in excess of zeal, immediately armed against his presumed foes, at whose head naturally the emperor would stand; but his position was seriously weakened by the discovery that Pack's documents, on whose evidence he had relied for justification, were entirely fictitious.

A new imperial diet met under the pressure of these events in the spring of 1529 at Speier. The imperial proposition read at the opening held out the prospect of a council, but also disputed the

validity of the resolutions passed at Speier in 1526, with respect to the Edict of Worms. A committee, it is true, somewhat modified the form of the imperial demand; nevertheless the princes of electoral Saxony, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Franconian Brandenburg, as well as the towns, opposed it, and contested the right of the assembly by a resolution of the majority to abolish suddenly the imperial recess of 1526. However, the view which was vigorously supported by Archduke Ferdinand gained the day—namely, that the majority must in all cases be respected.

There remained nothing for the disaffected princes but to protest against the proclaimed right, a proceeding which gained them the name "Protestants." It is to be carefully noticed that in this protest no religious, but merely a constitutional, question was discussed—that is to say, whether a unanimously passed decree can be abrogated by a majority. Nevertheless, a uniform religious conviction spoke in the protest, which, struggling against authority, assumed the right for every estate in the realm to decide these questions by its own power. There was still the inclination to submit to a council.



LUTHER'S HOUSE AT FRANKFORT ^{Frith}

The immediate result of this protest was the secret league, concluded in April, 1529, between electoral Saxony and Hesse, as well as the towns of Strasburg, Ulm, and Nüremberg, for the common protection of their religious convictions, even against the empire, while the Swabian League began to consider itself the champion of Catholicism. The separation between a Germany of the old faith and a Germany of the new faith was thus complete. On each side princes and towns stood united, for the diet of Speier had broken up the hitherto common

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principles of the towns, and no council was in the position once more to heal the breach. The soul of the Protestant League was Philip of Hesse. He had high political aims, and wished to effect a union of all who had separated themselves from the Church. His attention was, therefore, necessarily directed toward the Swiss reform movement, which ran parallel with that of Wittenberg, and was maintained in closer dependence on the humanism of Zwingli. A reconciliation of the dogmatic differences between Luther and Zwingli was the dearest wish of the landgrave, and he hoped to accomplish this by a religious conference, which met in October at Marburg.

Great as was the pleasure with which Zwingli and his Humanist friends, Hedio and Oecolampadius, accepted the invitation, it was with heavy heart that Luther appeared at the conference. It was impossible for him to depart in the slightest particular from his standpoint on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which presented the most important subject of dogmatic controversy. The conference, as might be expected,

was absolutely barren in results. Luther tried vainly to conceal this fact even from contemporaries by a pamphlet, which epitomised in fifteen articles the points common to the doctrines of the two reformers, as opposed to the fundamental point of difference. The distress in the empire was, as a whole, very great, owing to the Turkish danger. Nevertheless, the imperial diet, which sat in June, 1530, under the emperor's presidency at Augsburg, was strongly influenced by the religious, or rather theological, controversies, for the papal legate and the Protestants were agreed that this was the first matter to be treated. The Protestants, in conformity with the request of the emperor, had briefly drawn up their doctrinal views in the "Confession of Augsburg," a work of Melancthon, which offered as mild a resistance as possible to the papal opponents, and emphatically repudiated only the admission that Luther's doctrine was heretical, and asserted that, on the contrary, it coincided with the teaching of Augustine. Luther, outlawed and excommunicated, did not venture, since the elector disapproved,



LUTHER AT HOME AMIDST HIS HAPPY FAMILY CIRCLE

This peaceful picture presents a striking contrast to some of those on the preceding pages. In the heart of his own family the reformer could put aside his distractions and give himself up to the enjoyment of perfect rest and peace.



THE RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE AT MARBURG: LUTHER AND ZWINGLI DISCUSSING THEIR THEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES
From the painting by A. Noack, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION

to represent his own cause in Augsburg. Melancthon took his place, but showed by his yielding disposition that he would not have been the right man to conduct the real struggle. He still hoped for an ecclesiastical peace, and would be content with the concession of the marriage of priests, of the chalice for the laity, and of a reform in the Mass, and therefore found support among the Catholic princes, but not at Rome. A Catholic rejoinder to the "Confession," called its "Refutation," expressed, to the benefit of the Protestant movement, an uncompromising opposition to any concession. The emperor saw in that the complete victory of his old Church, and the Protestant princes perceived at last that the breach could no longer be healed.

Landgrave Philip had already left Augsburg when the emperor wished to declare in the recess that the Protestants had been refuted out of the Bible. The latter naturally contested this point, especially by the "Apologia," composed by Melancthon against the "Confutatio." The emperor did not accept this "Apologia." But the Protestant states, with the towns of Augsburg and Memmingen at their head, refused on their side to acknowledge the recess; they also did not wish to take part in raising the "Turkish aid."

After the diet of Augsburg it must have been clear to the Protestant states that it would now be impossible to support the innovation in religion, as Luther demanded, and yet continue in allegiance to the emperor. He was no longer an impartial ruler, as men had fondly imagined, but a strong partisan of the papacy. A closer union among the Protestants had become necessary. Under the influence of the election of Archduke Ferdinand as king of Rome, the alliance was formed in February, 1531, at Schmalcalden in Thuringia. The rulers of electoral Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and

Mansfeld, as well as the towns of Magdeburg and Bremen, united for "the maintenance of Christian truth and peace, and for the repression of unlawful powers," while other princes and towns still hesitated to join. There was no immediate prospect of confederates in South Germany. On the other hand, relations had already been established with King Frederic I. of Denmark and King Gustavus of Sweden; even in England a new page was opened, since King Henry VIII., completely hostile to the Emperor Charles, was in his own way effecting a reformation within the Church.

These events, coupled with the fear that all South Germans would join the Schmalcaldic League, the impossibility of inducing the Pope to convene a council, and, above all, the increasing danger from the Turks, finally decided the emperor to abandon the execution of the recess of Augsburg and to conclude a preliminary peace with the Protestants on July 23rd, 1532, the so-called Religious Peace of Nüremberg. By the conditions of this the states were to maintain peace among themselves on questions of belief until the council met: under certain circumstances a diet was to be substituted for the council. In any case, all trials on religious points impending in the Supreme Court were to be discontinued for the time. The emperor by this peace formally recognised the league as a political power.

The policy of the empire had been permanently under the influence of the religious movement since 1521, and was even more so now. The development of dogma and cult became gradually an esoteric theological concern, and was no longer the chief factor in determining political action. The princes, provisionally united with a part of the towns in the Schmalcaldic League, were from this time the representatives of Protestantism, in place of the professors of Wittenberg. The religious and social age of the new doctrine was ended in order to make room for the political age.



PHILIP OF HESSE

Inspired by high political ideals, Philip of Hesse has been described as "the soul of the Protestant League." He aimed at effecting a union of all who had broken away from communion with the Church.



LUTHER BEFORE THE IMPERIAL DIET OF SPEIER IN THE YEAR 1529

From the painting by G. Cattermole in the South Kensington Museum

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
III

THE PROBLEM OF THE REFORMATION LAUNCHING OF THE NEW CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY has at no time faced so dangerous a storm as at the dawn of the "New Era." The religious feeling of the mediæval Church rested on the two pillars of due submission to authority and conviction that the spiritual was antagonistic to the temporal. But doubts had been raised for centuries as to the justification for these conceptions. Humanism had made the opposite ideas the common property of educated men. There was a quickened consciousness of what the inalienable nature of man required, the consciousness that man is a personality whose impulse is towards liberty, self-determination, and unhindered development, as well as the consciousness of the position which man has to take with regard to the world around him, the wish for work in the world not less than enjoyment of the world. The child who felt himself happy under the constant care of his parents, and still dreaded the wide world outside, became a youth who wished to decide for himself and to take a place in the world by his works and by his enjoyment.

The Steady Policy of the Church

The Church, however, did not recognise the justification for this effort, nor did she educate all her subjects to religious freedom and independence, as well as to moral activity in the world and moral joy in existence. No, she rigidly held to her old ideas and would gladly have seen every one hold them. She trusted still to the efficiency of her means of discipline, as if the time never comes when the son scoffs at the rod of the father.

And yet there was no other Christianity than that which was characterised by those mediæval fundamental conceptions. It was clear that the new notions were irreconcilable with the old faith. Men must either believe and live once more according to those old ideals and sacrifice the new ones, or they must hold fast to the new doctrines and abandon the old. Countless numbers had already chosen

the latter alternative; they could not stand against the overpowering current of the age. But then they threw all faith away from them, since there was no other than that which was steeped in those old ideas. Custom indeed is a potent factor even in the sphere of religion. Most still preserved the religion in externals for a while; but sooner or later the need of some uniform conception of life prevailed over custom, at any rate among those who were distinguished as spiritual leaders. But alas! for that religion to which men adhere only in consequence of the law of inertia. It is true that at the dawn of the new era the number of those who, from sincere piety, wished to uphold Christianity, was still very large, especially in Germany. But the Church could no longer satisfy their religious needs, since the desire for subduing all Nature to the service of man had already begun to colour religious life, and since even in this domain mere submission and retirement from the world were felt to be an outrage on the nature of man.

Whence was religion to find safety? To take the place of the old, a new form of Christianity must be given to the world, a Christianity which would not suppress man's nature, but would rather develop and indulge it, a Christianity which recognised the impulse towards religious liberty and man's dominion of Nature and tried to guide it into the right paths. It is true that the effort of the

Church to crush all religious freethinking instead of inspiring a spirit of freedom unfits those who break away from her to become themselves safe guides. Religious freedom is abused in the saddest fashion, but those who thirst for truth are at any rate offered the opportunity of quenching their religious craving. Christianity may revive in them under a strange, new form. It was not mere chance that this reshaping of Christianity was effected in Germany.

Change of Creed in Germany

Even in the Middle Ages all those efforts to divest the faith, which had been transmitted from the Græco-Roman world, of its legal character, and to make it the personal concern of the individual, had originated among Teutonic peoples. The peculiarly characteristic Teutonic sense of reality which hates mere show, the depth of

**Religion
Welcomed by
the Germans**

purpose which cannot be satisfied with outward piety, the inquiring spirit which is not contented with any reassurance

from human authorities—these caused this intensifying and deepening of religious life to spring up in Germany, the heart of Europe, and to find there an enthusiastic welcome.

Martin Luther grew up among mediæval conceptions. He held by the Church and he obeyed the Church. A reverential awe seized the boy of fourteen when he saw that Prince of Anhalt in the Franciscan cowl walking through the streets of Magdeburg, bent double under the heavy beggar's wallet: "Whoever saw him must in devotion kiss him and blush for his own worldly state." But he was consumed with an ardent longing for religious independence, and therefore for a personal conviction that he stood in the right relations to God. He was a man of such astonishing inward sturdiness that it was absolutely impossible for him to flatter or delude himself in any way as to his own state. In order to win God's grace he did not shrink from the most extreme steps which the Church prescribed for that end. He renounced all that was valuable to him on earth, he entered the Augustinian monastery and undermined his health by services which he considered meritorious.

But Luther, like thousands before his time, could not rest satisfied with the idea that he had nothing more to do. For he felt, in his unflinching self-examination, more and more clearly that all his pious deeds were insufficient in the eyes of God; that all was done only from fear—in fact, in his

**Luther's
Strivings After
Godliness**

case, with a secret indignation against God, who, in spite of everything, withheld His grace. He only sighed more

loudly. "When shall I finally become pious and do enough to obtain a gracious God?" Despair threatened to master him, as he had now, as he thought, learned from experience that we cannot get for ourselves the one thing on which all depends, the real love of God: we cannot, therefore, win for ourselves God's favour. "I was

destined to sink into hell," he wailed. Then the general of his order, the holy Staupitz, pointed out another goal for his efforts. It is impossible for us to earn God's grace by our piety. But Christ is our refuge from despair: Christ does not frighten us, but consoles us. Through Christ we can obtain forgiveness for not being what we ought to be—forgiveness, and with it God's grace. Instead of the unanswerable question: "When shall I finally become pious?" we must put the other question: "When shall I obtain forgiveness?" And the answer runs, "Only through Christ, through faith in Him"—that is, through personal trust in Him Who brings God's grace to us.

Luther now read the Bible in quite a new light. "The just shall live by faith"; the saying became great and excellent to him. Faith alone justifies, and brings life. The more he learnt in the long struggle to leave the old way, which the teaching of the Church had pointed out, and to walk in the new way of trust in God's grace, the more he found that this path was the right one. His conscience

**The Great
Discovery
of Luther**

was calmed. He felt that he now had actually found a gracious God. Thus from his own mental state he convinced

himself that he had found the way to salvation, and that the Holy Scriptures are the sole spiritual truth.

The new Christianity which he found was nothing more than his conception of the old, old words: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." Luther thus attained independent faith; no human being, no Church had now any authority in his eyes. And yet this faith did not arise from his own liking. On the contrary, the objective fact, the grace of God, which was objectively present, became his subjective possession.

The terrible danger which lay in the awakening of the impulse towards independence in the domain of religion, the danger that each individual constructs some faith for himself, and is therewith contented, was to be averted. This faith was to be independent, but not arbitrary; completely subjective, and yet based on that which was present outside him; completely free and yet completely fettered: authorised by the only privileged authority, the living God. How feeble compared with that is the

THE PROBLEM OF THE REFORMATION

authority of men, the Fathers of the Church, the Popes, the Councils! How dimly shine the beacon-lights on which the sinner, trembling before God, rests his hopes—the saints with their services and their mediation, those helpers in time of need, the pitying queen of heaven, men's penances and good works, indulgences, the sacrifice of the Mass! Whoever stands in actual communion with God needs such things no more. All that is to be retained of such observances—preaching, baptism, absolution, the Lord's Supper—is to serve only for strengthening the sanctifying trust in the grace and love of God.

How splendid a new morality might grow on such a new soil of faith! "A Christian is the free lord of all things, and subject to no one." No sort of compulsion can produce really good works, but as the good tree bears of itself good fruits, so the faith which inspires the man brings forth, as it were involuntarily, actions which are well pleasing to God. The new conditions lead to new conduct. Morality is to be quite unconcerned, whether a Church strictly enforces her decrees or not, whether she even tramples them underfoot; conduct is above all commands and prohibitions, all standards of social example. There remains, indeed, in the heart a tendency towards evil; but faith cannot palter with it, cannot gloss it over with sham work of holiness. For faith, so truly as it loves God, hates evil, and therefore fights unwearingly against it.

Just as the claim and essence of this morality took a modern form, so, too, did its application. The Middle Ages held that man's highest act of piety was to leave the world, and to devote himself to religious works. But whoever, in the station in which God had placed him, had attained actual communion with God knew that he had in this station to show his new spiritual attitude, that it was not *what* he did that made the difference, but *how* he did it, whether he did it from love of God, because God had called him to this work, and so in the way which was pleasing to God. What folly to consider impure

the pure earthly vocations—family life, marriage, civic life! Even the most conspicuous religious work such as prayer, the founding of churches, monasticism, could be impure, while the most inconspicuous secular work is sanctified by faith

Luther's Influence on the New Era

and love "even were it only to lift a blade of straw." Was worldly joy to be impure in itself? Whoever has the grace

of God, receives with thankful joy from the hand of God all the good that God's goodness gives; this thankfulness keeps him from misusing it. The terrible danger lying in the awakening of the sense which is directed towards the world, lest the man disregard the Creator and Lord of the world in worldly work and worldly enjoyment, and employ both only for his selfish



AN OPPONENT OF LUTHER
This eminent German theologian, Dr. Eck, was one of the disputants at Leipzig in 1519, and afterwards proceeded to Rome to stir up Pope Leo X. against the reformer.

ends, and bring only destruction on himself and on his fellow-men—this danger is surmounted. Christianity has thus won a modern form. It no longer contradicts the ideals of the new era: it wishes and is able rather to keep them from degenerating. However strongly the current of freedom and subjection of Nature may flow at that new era, Luther's new gospel lends its aid so that man need not be swept away by the flood. Christianity becomes Protestant, passing from the old era to the new. Luther himself did

not suspect the epoch-making importance of his religious discovery. The respect for the Church which he had imbibed from earliest infancy did not allow him to contemplate any deviation from her teaching. In order to oppose a mere abuse he nailed his ninety-five theses on indulgences to the castle-church at Wittenberg. But though their language was temperate, though they expressed little of his new revolutionising thoughts, they kindled like a flash of lightning.

When Dr. Eck had read them, he cried out: "Ha! he will do it. He is the man for whom we have so long waited." It was felt that a personality was speaking there which had an ardent longing alike for objective truth and subjective certainty. The supporters of the old order did him good service when by their opposition they

Mediæval View of Piety

disclosed the yawning gulf between their conceptions and his. Many of the Humanists, hitherto indifferent to it, were fired for this struggle by the disputation at Leipzig between Luther and the great Roman theologian, Dr. Eck in July, 1519. The movement became a matter of interest to the German people through his treatise "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," in which he championed with fiery words the complaints against the papal chair and the yearning desire for a really reformatory council.

Rome, regardless of results, passed her verdict. The papacy, with the Bull which condemned Luther, his teaching and his followers, stood as an obstacle in the path of the new intellectual movement. When it at length succeeded in drawing the emperor over to the same side, and the Pope's decision was recognised by the suspension of the imperial ban over the innovators, one of two alternatives alone was possible—either the mighty religious revolt must be crushed by force, or Rome must bow before it. But Rome remained firm, and yet political conditions made it impossible for the emperor to carry out the part he had undertaken in accordance with the judgment of the papal legate, that of being "the obedient executor of the Roman chair."

Thus the Reformation movement, which had incorporated various component parts, found the time to become, as it were, clear about itself and to renounce all that did not agree with its real nature. Whoever wished merely for the abolition of some crying abuses, or in blind submission to the Church expected help from her alone, left Luther so soon as it was apparent that the Church persisted in her condemnatory judgment. Others thought that they ought to go further than Luther, while, in fact, they had not yet passed the slough of the Middle Ages. This sect of mystics and fanatics once more saw a contrast between the Spirit of God and that of the creature. These Protestants demanded an outward renunciation of all that is earthly; they wished that the Spirit of God should speak directly in man, and despised all natural mediation and all historical development. They railed at Luther because he found a pleasure even in earthly things; they pretended that their maddest fancies were revelations of the

divine spirit; they repudiated science and study, and wished to abolish everything in the Church which did not date from the apostolic age.

When Luther was forced to live in the Wartburg, this storm broke in Wittenberg. Professor Carlstadt wished to cease lecturing; the schoolmaster refused to teach any more. All that was the growth of time, especially the images, was to be removed by force. Luther, in spite of the prohibition of the elector, left his secure hiding-place, and preached every day for a week against these fanatics, until he had completely calmed the seething waters. In other places, it is true, especially where the Roman antagonists forced their own spiritual instruction upon the people to the exclusion of the new teaching, the sole watchword on which the disaffected were agreed was the rejection of infant baptism. But the movement of Luther was now distinctly separated from this troubled and turbulent wave.

It had to repel from itself a third party, those who complained, above all, of social evils and did not shun the path of revolution in order to abolish them. This discontent, which had existed long before Luther's appearance, was destined to burst into flames now that the Roman Church refused to concede the religious liberty demanded, and attempted to suppress all such efforts with bans and excommunication. Luther represented their legitimate grievances with fervour, but still emphasised the point that it is unbecoming in a Christian to use violence against a superior. "Let him who receives my teaching raise no disturbance." When, therefore, the "peasants" began to murder and to burn, and the "lords" became despondent from consciousness of the blame attaching to them for the rebellion, Luther, with the greatest determination, reminded the authorities of their duty to crush remorselessly the sanguinary revolution. Thus he lost the support of all who, in the last instance, merely wished for social, not religious freedom.

Many of the Humanists, owing to Luther, had become absorbed in their struggle against the ecclesiastical wrongs, and had completely devoted themselves to his teaching. The "king of the Humanists," however, the great scholar, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, still remained a Roman Catholic, and with

him many others. He might write against the "fat paunches of the monks" and against the extravagantly exalted "triple crown of the Pope." But he attached more weight to peace and concord than to violence. "Even truth displeases me if disorder is caused by it." He was wanting in Luther's marked religious fervour. He was finally, in 1524, persuaded to write against Luther. The doctrine of free-will served him as a pretext to assert in contradiction to Luther's certainty of faith resting on experience, that in the sphere of religion there are only views, but no personal certainties. Even Holy Scripture is not clear enough to give us conviction; at most, some certainty is to be obtained, since it is probable that scholars, popes, and councils have found what is right. Generally speaking, less depends on faith than on morality and concord, and, in order to produce these, reliance cannot always be reposed in reasoned truth, for such truth may easily cause harm.

Thus the breach between Luther and Erasmus had become visible. Erasmus, since he had not found the religious conviction which the deepest and most religious spirits of that age desired, contented himself with a vague tolerant probability, so that Luther answered him: "The Holy Spirit is no sceptic; He has not inscribed on our hearts a vague delusion, but a potent and great certainty which does not allow us to waver, but makes us, thanks be to God, feel as certain as we are that two and three make five."

The Creeds of Erasmus and Luther

While Luther wished for a moral code which, based on confidence in God, sought only to please God, Erasmus wished for "morality," which, if necessary, was to be attained even by unproved assumptions, subject to one provision only—that it did not disturb the peace of the citizens. Thus the claim of a religious feeling springing from God, and directed towards

God, on which the whole Lutheran system is based, was rejected by Erasmus. The Humanists, who did not wish for more than Erasmus could offer, now severed themselves definitely from the Reformation. The supporters of the old order exulted at

all the losses which the anti-Roman movement outwardly sustained. But their hopes of seeing it crushed were continually defeated, for its loyal adherents attained by their efforts in these years of schism only a still greater conviction, and in spite of all hostility won an increasing number of followers. Luther, while still in the Wartburg, began his



THE "KING OF THE HUMANISTS"
Desiderius Erasmus, the great scholar of the Humanists, was lacking in religious fervour, and while he rejoiced in the war against the "fat paunches of the monks," he also wrote in opposition to the leader of the Reformation.

translation of the Bible. The New Testament appeared in September, 1522, and in the next twelve years went through at least sixty-eight editions. The separate parts of the Old Testament followed, until in the year 1534, the whole Bible was completed. Luther's great enemy, Cochläus, thus testifies to the effect of this work: "Tailors and shoemakers, even women and other simple folk, read Luther's New Testament with the greatest avidity as being a source of all truth. They were not ashamed to dispute about the faith and the gospel with priests and monks, masters and

doctors of divinity."

Equally great success was attained by the spiritual songs set to new vigorous melodies in which Luther and some of his disciples, following his example, made the newly discovered faith resound through the world; above all by the hymns, which have soared beyond the Kyrie Eleison, so characteristic of mediæval Christianity, to the proud joy felt by the child of God sure of the Grace of God: "Nun freuet euch, liebe Christengemein', denn ich bin dein, und du bist mein, uns soll der Tod nicht scheiden"; "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott—das Reich muss uns noch bleiben." The people sang these songs not

only in divine service, but also at their work and on the road. The divine worship hitherto held in Latin was performed in the German tongue. The first regulation of the reformed public worship that is extant, dates from the year 1522, drawn up by Caspar Kanz in Nördlingen. Luther did not follow with his German Mass until 1526, since he was reluctant to propose external innovations so long as the people were not ripe for them.

In consequence of the resolutions of the imperial diet of Speier of 1526, the Lutheran states undertook to regulate the ecclesiastical system in their own provinces on the new basis, and the visitations organised for

had to be introduced for Church matters. Most of the bishops, however, resolutely opposed the new religion. Who was, then, to perform the services, which could no longer be required from them, in the separate provinces? Only the territorial lord possessed the requisite authority and power for such outward church government.

It was not a complete novelty when Luther, in his treatise "To the Christian Nobility," stated the proposition that, if the need arose, *every* member of the Church must help her, so far as possible, and when he now called on his sovereign not to refuse to help the Church of his territory in her hour of trial. On the



THE GREAT SCHOLAR ERASMUS AS TUTOR TO THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES V.

the purpose revealed the pitiable conditions which had been produced through the neglect of the people of all religion, and the disorganisation of the Church through the uncertainty of recent years. Luther then gave Christianity his two Catechisms, of which the Lesser Catechism especially, a masterpiece, brought the new doctrine home to the people.

But who was to attend to ecclesiastical affairs in the Lutheran districts? Visitations had to be arranged and the parsonages filled up; the monastic property, now derelict, had to be managed and turned to other uses; a definite organisation

contrary, a return had already been made in the fifteenth century to the idea prevailing in the empire of the Franks before 800, that the lord of the country had rights and duties in the Church of his territory; and the Pope himself had conceded many such privileges to the territorial lords. The princes had often done such services to the Church. If ever the corruption of the monasteries made reform imperatively necessary—the bishops having failed in this their duty—then the territorial lords had taken the reform in hand; or if heresies had broken out, they had considered it their duty to guard their subjects

from this poison, just as they protected their sovereign from hostile attacks. Luther certainly, following the text "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," once more clearly separated the spiritual and the secular power, and thus declared that the submission of the secular power to the Church and the thralldom of the conscience under some external power were alike wrong. But yet he assuredly did not wish that the secular princes should exercise a spiritual authority, or should extend their government to the very heart of the Church and subject men's consciences to compulsion.

All the same in this distinctly critical time they ought clearly to recognise their duty of attending to the outward welfare of the Church. She ought to follow her own ordinances and laws. But the requisite ordinances and superintendence ought to be provided for her by the princes,

Princes Helping the Church

who must take the welfare of their subjects to heart, and who, from their prominent position in the nation, are alone in the position to do so. They certainly are able to abuse the influence that is thereby assigned to them, but no form of Church government is imaginable which is not exposed to this contingency. The Church in the Middle Ages flourished however, when princes, with the feeling that they were members of the Church, attended to her outward organisation; and she was on the very brink of destruction when she was secured from all interference of the secular power. The spirit that guides her is the all-important point. Starting with this conviction, Luther entrusted to the territorial lords the direction of their churches in external matters.

These princes rendered good service to the cause of the Reformation. It was they who in the imperial diet at Speier in 1529 "protested" that the resolution of the majority should not be published as "passed, with their good-will, knowledge, and counsel"—a resolution which had laid down that those who had hitherto endeavoured to

root out the Lutheran doctrine should persist in their efforts, that no one should be allowed to protect those who were prosecuted for religious opinions, and that in the Lutheran districts all the existing remnants of Catholicism were to be preserved. To assent to this, they declared,

Perfidy of Duke Maurice

meant "nothing else than openly to deny Christ and His word." It was they who in the diet at Augsburg in 1530 solemnly, in the presence of emperor and states, professed the faith which the highest powers in Christendom had banned and proscribed; it was they who closely banded together in the Schmalcaldic League in 1531 for the protection of the Protestant faith.

The selfish policy of Duke Maurice of Saxony certainly enabled the emperor in the Schmalcaldic war to defeat and take prisoner the heads of the Protestant League in 1546. But when Maurice, in order to undo the consequences of his perfidy, turned against the emperor, the Religious Peace of Augsburg was finally, in 1555, able to make into a principle of jurisprudence the right of religious freedom and political equality for the followers of the different creeds. This applied, indeed, at first only to the authorities. They received the privilege of free choice between the old and the new faith; for the thought that every individual subject should have full liberty in the exercise of his religion was at that time still inconceivable. The feud between the parties in the Church was still too fresh and accompanied by remembrances too bitter to allow the idea to be entertained that the different confessions could live peaceably side by side in the same district.

Results of the Peace of Augsburg

But mediæval conceptions had been so completely shattered that, after this peace, no one was to be punished on account of difference of faith; subjects who held another religion were to leave the country without incurring any loss of honours or goods. It is small wonder that the Emperor Charles V. could not bring himself to co-operate in the conclusion of such a peace.

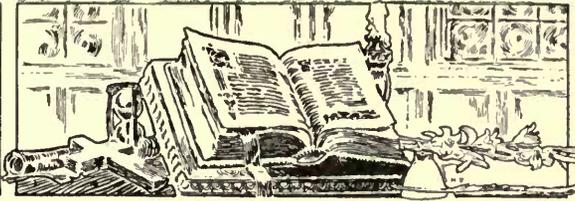
ARMIN TILLE





REFORMERS IN CONFERENCE: JOHN CALVIN PRESIDING AT THE COUNCIL OF GENEVA IN THE YEAR 1549
From the painting by F. A. Labouchere

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
IV

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM AND THE CLEAVAGE IN ITS RANKS

LUTHER'S appearance on the scene had produced the greatest effect even on those who would not for any consideration desert the papacy. So vigorous was the note sounded in his writings, that many within the Catholic Church began to feel ashamed of the immoral life that prevailed among the clergy and laity in various places, and of the thoughtless manner in which men had made light of their sins, and, like Luther, they clamoured for a reformation. On the other hand, many good Catholics could not conceal from themselves that all the doctrines and arrangements which had been established in the Church were not unassailable.

Thus a dangerous uncertainty crept in. Even in the year 1485 Archbishop Berthold of Mainz had instituted a censorship of books in order to suppress the German Bibles, of which there had been many editions, and accordingly men like

**The Bible
in the German
Language**

Sebastian Brant and Geiler of Kaisersberg had declared it "a wicked thing to print the Bible in German." But now

the preparation of a German Bible was advocated by Catholics in the imperial diet at Speier in 1526, and loyal members of the Church caused such translations of the Bible to be prepared and circulated.

Even the chief doctrine of Lutheranism, the proposition "By faith alone we are justified," was acknowledged by the Catholic party at the religious conference of Regensburg in 1541, accepted in connection with a protocol by the imperial councillor Granvelle, and sent to Rome for approval by the papal legate Contarini. The Pope indeed rejected this tenet in that crude form and the agreement fell through. But Luther's appearance must have exercised immense influence on those who still remained loyal to the Roman chair when such proposals were possible. It was high time that the Church clearly defined the boundary between herself and the

Lutherans, and made it impossible for any of her members to cross it. This was done at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). "Extermination of heresies and improvement of morals" was the programme. The development, therefore, of the primitive

**The Church
as the Interpreter
of Scripture**

Christianity charged by Luther, which, he said, had gradually crept into the Church in early centuries,

but of which very different ideas had been permitted, were now declared to be the official teaching of the Church, and so perpetuated; by this all attempts to come to terms with Protestantism, and to be once more united, were finally excluded. It was thus distinctly declared that the tradition of the Church was to be honoured with the same reverence as the Holy Scriptures.

Bishop Brentano, when asked what traditions were meant by this, declared: "We accept those which satisfy us; we emphatically reject those which clash with our belief." It is the province of the Church alone to decide what "the true meaning" of Holy Scripture may be. Thus the Church is made the authorised exponent of Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of justification by faith as proved by personal experience alone is condemned; the Church, moreover, holds the means for winning the redemption brought by Christ to man. Salvation comes through her, and the seven sacraments work as instruments of grace in all the faithful.

On the other hand, the disgraceful excesses, which had given special cause for "railing against the Church," were cut

**Reformation
Within the
the Church**

away, partly by general religious means, partly by direct prohibitions. The council resolved on various measures

for the removal of all non-Roman practices, but left their execution to the Pope. A confession of faith was established which had to be sworn by the holders of any ecclesiastical office and by all teachers at the university. In this, loyal obedience

was sworn to the Pope, "the representative of Jesus Christ," and a pledge on oath had to be made that "the Catholic faith, without which none could be holy, should be supported by all subjects." The "Roman Catechism" was drawn up as a counterblast to Luther's Catechism. The "Index of forbidden books" was

Errors in the Vulgate

introduced for the suppression of poisonous food for the mind. The Council of Trent finally declared the text of the Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, to be "authentic," and orders were given "that no one should venture to reject it on any plea whatever." But since the text of the previous editions showed many differences, it was not clear which translation might not be rejected.

Pope Sixtus V. in 1590 prepared a "completely faultless edition," and, appealing to the guidance promised to the apostle Peter, forbade the faithful to "alter, add to, or omit the smallest particle in it." His second successor, Clement VIII., however, found so many faults in this edition that he ordered all extant copies to be brought up and destroyed, and prepared a new edition, which altered more than 12,000 passages, and included some books that were not to be found in the original. Verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, still less of translations, has not, of course, been claimed at any time by Catholics.

The Catholic Church by these declarations of doctrine definitely opposed Protestantism, and had declared a bitter war against the new era which had dawned. But afterwards a stupendous reaction set in. Once more there appeared enthusiasm for the Catholic cause, a joy of battle, a delight in conquest, a spirit of self-sacrifice. The contest with Protestantism was now changed. The Catholic writers, with astonishing diligence and acuteness, set about the task of reviving a science of theology which, while adopting

New Life in the Roman Church

the ideas of the new era sanctioned by Luther, sought to show that these contained the germs of the gravest dangers, unless associated with explicit obedience to the Roman Church and her teaching. Others boldly ventured on the domain of history.

The catacombs of Rome were there to attest the high antiquity of the Roman teaching and the customs of the Church. What would now have become of the

Catholic Church in Germany if it had not at last been roused to a vigorous struggle? Even in those countries where, according to the injunction of Duke William of Bavaria that "he who recanted shall be beheaded, he who does not recant shall be burnt," the anti-Roman movement had been most mercilessly crushed, as, for example, in Austria and Bavaria, Protestantism had nevertheless gained much ground. For example, in 1556 the states of Lower Austria would grant aid against the Turks only on condition that free exercise of religion was conceded them. The Emperor Ferdinand was obliged to grant them at least the communion in both kinds. A few years afterwards, even the prelates declared to the emperor that his whole land would fall away from the Catholic faith if the marriage of the clergy and the communion in both kinds were not conceded.

The situation became even worse in 1564, on the accession of Maximilian II., who had been brought up in the Lutheran faith. Only consideration for Spain and the Catholic princes of the empire deterred

Protestant Triumph in Germany

him from formally going over to the Protestant Church. He granted free exercise of religion to his states. A large part of the nobility introduced the Reformation for themselves and their subjects. A Venetian reported as the result of his observations in Germany that only one person in ten was still Catholic. In a short time the Catholic Church in Germany must have disappeared.

But a well-equipped army, ready for battle, was now prepared to reconquer for the Papal Church all that had been lost. We read in the official history of the Jesuit order, "God in His eternal wisdom has placed Ignatius Loyola to confront Luther, the scandal of humanity and bane of Europe, that hog from Epicurus's sty, that child of evil, whom God and men detest." All the orders created by the mediæval Church had shown themselves incapable of resisting the Reformation.

These monks had either themselves joined the Reformation or they had opposed it in a way which caused the world to laugh at them, for they fought with the weapons of a bygone age, with an antiquated conception of life. The intentions of the ex-soldier, the Spaniard Ignatius, were something so new that the Inquisition, when men and women, filled with

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM

enthusiasm, joined him in his home, became suspicious and arrested him. In fact, he, the saviour of the Church, narrowly escaped condemnation. At Rome he wished to place himself and his army, "the Company of Jesus," at the orders of the Pope. But there, also, he met with universal distrust. Only his consummate skill in estimating and entering into the peculiar nature of his opponent won over the Pope. "Here is the spirit of God," cried the latter as he read the following sentence in the constitution of the order which lay in front of him; "this company and all individuals discharge the warlike services of God in true obedience to our most sacred lord, the Pope." The order was confirmed by the Pope on September 27th, 1540.

What was its importance for the history of religion? It sought to adapt Catholic Christianity to an era dominated by new ideas, and to offer to Christianity, in place of the new doctrine which Luther discovered and praised, a substitute which was to be found and used equally in the Catholic Church. No impression could be made any longer on the new era with the mediæval ideal of retirement from the world. This new order, therefore, was not intended to retreat from the world and consume its strength in asceticism, but to work in the world and on the world. Nor does it wish to withdraw its converts from the world. They may remain in the world, if only they remain subject to the Church in spite of secular enjoyments, and are useful to the Church with their secular work. Even due submission, the other ideal of mediæval piety,

Ideal of Mediæval Piety

grew dim, to many at least, before the impulse to win independence and to possess a personal sense of religion. Ignatius showed one way to content this aspiration. The means which Luther desired for the purpose and declared to be attainable—namely, that the individual man should acquire personal communion

with God through faith, and thus become a new man, subduing his sinful inclinations—were said to be folly and to contain the greatest of all dangers, since the individual would feel himself at liberty to disregard the

Self-Dependence in the Realm of Religion

Church. The soldier Ignatius knew another way. Just as the strength of the body is so built up by military training that its full powers are at the service of the will, so the strength of the soul must be developed by "spiritual training" until all unregulated impulses submit to the control of the reason. If the man is thus properly trained, he can himself regulate his emotions and has the inspiring consciousness of personal development. The eagerness for self-dependence that

marked the new era found a full satisfaction in the domain of religion. Luther promised the happy condition of religious self-dependence only to an inner conversion such as God alone can effect. Ignatius did this more surely; even that sovereignty of reason over the other powers of the soul, which the man can create for himself by exercise, fills him with elevating self-trust. By this very sovereignty over himself the man wins an immense power over others who are not yet become so independent.

Just as control over one's own strength was represented by Ignatius as the highest consummation, so sovereignty over others was to be the ultimate object of all efforts. Ambition, that deeply rooted defect of ecclesiastical Catholicism, will flourish in this order, and will more and more destroy the nobler and divine components which ecclesiasticism had retained from the primitive Christianity. In what field especially were these warriors to display their activity? Oral confession, which by Protestants was despised, must once more be revived, for whoever submitted to it showed his willingness to allow himself to be ruled. Nothing else afforded so favourable an opportunity to regulate men's consciences. At a time, then, when worldliness was omnipotent and the



FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS

Ignatius Loyola, who belonged to a noble family in the Spanish province of Guipuzcoa, resigned the career of arms for the service of religion. He founded the Society of Jesus.

disinclination for confession and penance widespread, the masses could not become once more accustomed to confession unless "the yoke of Christ was lightened," as the Jesuits termed it.

They therefore applied their greatest ingenuity to a revision of the moral code, the precepts of which were to be followed in confession, and tried to establish such elastic principles that consciences must have become dulled; but the task of confession was made far more simple. Sin, it was said, consists merely in the wrongful act, which is committed not from ignorance or passion, but deliberately. It is not always necessary for a man to do what he himself considers right: he may, contrary to his conscience, obey that which an authority has declared to be permissible. "A woman, for instance, has murdered her husband in order to marry her paramour and has afterward sinned with him. Must she, then, run the risk of death and shame by revealing this circumstance in confession?"

Since one authority, Henriquez, answers in the affirmative, and another, Lessius, in the negative, according to this "probable" view it is permissible for a man to be silent on the point even against his own conscience. Therefore in an act the intention has always to be considered. "It is allowable for a son to desire most earnestly the death of his father, yet not so as to wish any harm to the father, but so as to wish some good for himself—namely, the rich inheritance which will then come to him." Again, it is permissible to deceive others by the choice of words which they are bound to understand in a wrong meaning. Similarly, a man may think of something more than is said. If "someone who has killed a 'Pater' is questioned on the matter, he may reply that he has not killed the 'Pater,' since he is thinking of another of the same name." Such

conduct is justifiable in a man whenever it is a question of "preserving his person, his life, or his honour, protecting his property or exercising any virtue." As a confessor might mitigate the penance for sinful love, so he might do also with unbelief. Whereas in earlier centuries a mere assent to that which the Church taught was sufficient, it was now declared to be enough if the faith was not actually disputed. "A man is capable of receiving

absolution," so the doctrine is laid down, "even if he cannot define the dogmas of the faith." It became possible in this way to bring those who were devoid of all theological training to a formal but honest submission to the Church, which showed itself in confession.

A complete series of other orders or unions owed their rise to the anti-Protestant movement in the Catholic Church. Their ideal was no longer abandonment of the world, but activity in the world. The old irrevocable vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience kept many devout Catholics from joining religious orders, and the need was felt for a new expedient to meet the times. The institutions of Vincent de Paul (1576-1660) became most successful, especially the Society of the Sisters of Mercy, founded in Paris in 1634. These took their vows only for one year. In addition to the nun who is withdrawn from all mankind, the universal sister comes forward. The cloister is no longer their secluded world, but the home which offers them training and rest. What was their final aim? Vincent explained to the

sisters: "It has never been God's will when He founded your community that you should minister to the body only, for there would never be lack of persons for that. The intention of the Lord is rather that you help the souls of the poor to find entrance into paradise." Thus the conversion of the heretics is a primary duty of his missionaries and sisters, and the rejoicing is great when in this or that hospital some score of "unbelievers" are brought back to the fold of the Church.

Catholicism, thus strengthened and flushed with victory, could set about the recovery of what had been lost. First some compensation was looked for in foreign countries. After 1542 the Jesuits worked in East India, Japan, and China. Since their results did not seem sufficiently rich, it is said that they so far adapted themselves to circumstances that they preached Christianity as a Chinese philosophy, and prostrated themselves in devotion before images. Nobili came forward after 1606 as a Brahman, and allowed the baptised to remain in their heathen customs. When other Catholic missionaries came there, a hot dispute raged over this question; but the results obtained by the Jesuits with such

**The Jesuits
Revise the
Moral Code**

**Tricks
of
Casuistry**

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM

"clemency" were so immense that even the prohibition by the Pope of a method of conversion which roused such ill-feeling could not induce them to abandon this procedure. In Japan they were able to baptise many hundred thousand people, until in their lust for power they meddled with politics and thus called forth a terrible persecution, which ended in the country being completely barred to all Christians. In Paraguay, however, they were able to found an independent state according to their wishes, a model state which consisted of young Indians ruled by them. Pope Gregory XV., in order to give unity, combination, and permanence to the Catholic missions, founded the "Propaganda" at Rome in the year 1622.

Catholicism sought to counteract the movements of the Reformation wherever they showed themselves in Europe, partly by Jesuitical subtlety, partly by actual violence. In Scandinavia, however, Lutheranism remained victorious. But the Inquisition raged mercilessly in the Netherlands after 1555. Yet the people did not allow themselves to be brought back

The Terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew

to the Catholic Church, and the northern provinces, after the most prolonged and sanguinary struggle obtained in 1648 religious and political liberty. Since in France, notwithstanding every persecution, the number of Protestants increased, the penalty of death was pronounced in the year 1557 on all who did not adhere to the national religion. Blood flowed in streams.

The shameful massacre of the Protestants assembled for divine worship at Vassy gave the signal for civil war. After religious liberty and civil equality had been reluctantly conceded to the Huguenots by the Peace of St. Germain in 1570, the Catholic court party employed the most terrible treachery imaginable. The massacre of the Protestant malcontents in Paris began on St. Bartholomew's Night in 1572, and swift messengers carried the order to murder throughout the land. Henry IV., by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, assured to the Protestants their religious and political rights; he fell beneath the dagger of the monk Ravallac.

Richelieu, indeed, broke the political power of the Huguenots, who prosecuted Catholics in turn, but he also confirmed their ecclesiastical privileges in the "Edict of Grace" of Nîmes in 1629.

The often-attempted destruction of the French Protestant Church was completed only some decades later.

The Reformation found supporters in Italy and even in Spain. But there the Church had a free hand, so that in a short time, through severe coercion, the last trace of anti-papal movements was obliterated. In 1570 both countries were "purified" in a Catholic sense. Even in England, under the Catholic Mary (1553-1558) Parliament agreed to restore the papal supremacy. More than a hundred Protestants went into exile, and those who openly continued in what was defined by law as "heresy" and maintained their Protestantism were burnt at the stake or beheaded.

During Elizabeth's reign the tables were turned, and Catholics were hanged for refusing to conform to the established religion of the Church of England. Then certain of the Catholics plotted to depose Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic, on the throne.

The plot was detected, but it was said that Jesuits instigated the conspiracy, and from that time forward, and right on to the twentieth century, the Jesuits have not been given any legal permission to reside in England.

In Germany the Jesuits, in their chief centres, Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt, undertook the extermination of Protestantism. All evangelical preachers were driven from Bavaria after 1564, the Protestant nobles were excluded from the diets, and all Protestant subjects who would not be converted were forced to emigrate. The spiritual princes followed this example. Ferdinand II. of Austria, educated by Jesuits, before he mounted the throne took a solemn vow in front of the miraculous image of the Virgin at Loretto that he would at all cost put an end to

heresy in his hereditary dominions. Yet in many parts of his realm there were hardly any Catholics left; at Graz, the capital of Styria, only three were to be found. Ferdinand did not rest until he had brought back all his subjects to the fold of the Church, or had expelled them from his land. The action of the Jesuits became bolder and bolder. It was soon openly stated in print that the Religious Peace of Augsburg could no longer be

Protestantism in England

Ferdinand's Zeal for the Church

kept; then, that it was an easy thing completely to stamp out the plague of heretics in Germany, since there was no leader among the Protestants who was formidable in a war; and, besides that, they were divided among themselves, for the Lutherans and Calvinists did not hold together. This observation corresponded only too closely to the reality. In Switzerland, by the side of the movement which Luther had inaugurated, a somewhat altered form of the opposition to Rome had been developed by Zwingli independently.

Ulrich Zwingli, born on January 1, 1484, and thus of almost the same age as Luther, enjoyed a conspicuously Humanist education, studied under Conrad Celtes in Vienna, and devoted himself especially to the theology of Erasmus.

In 1506 he was curate at Glarus, and as such expounded the Bible and studied Origen. But after his expulsion by the French party, who hated him for his sermons against the mercenary system, he went as secular priest to the pilgrimage resort of Maria-Einsiedeln, and began in 1516, actually before Luther, to preach in favour of reformation, but without visibly leaving the Church. Here, and still more at Zürich, where he lived after 1519, he adopted a gradually more independent style of explanatory writing and took up

an anti-French attitude in politics. In 1522 his opinions as to such institutions of the Church as fasting and celibacy became accentuated; he called for a moral reform as the result of "justification by faith."

In the next year, in a discussion at Zürich, which had been started in consequence of a complaint brought by the Bishop of Constance before the council as to the religious innovations, Zwingli rejected everything which did not precisely conform to the ordinances of the Scripture; he was thus far more radical in his proposals than Luther, and met with the approval of the people of Zürich. He married in 1524 Anna Meyer, née Reinhard, a widow aged forty-three, and administered the communion in both kinds.

From Zürich the ecclesiastical reform of the sovereign congregation spread to the other Confederates; in Appenzell the Mass was abolished in 1552. But immediately an opposition was raised among the "five places," Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, which, as favouring the French mercenary system, had been dissatisfied with Zwingli's protest. The reformer now, in 1525, demanded war against the five cantons. But the danger was averted this time; Zürich actually gained the triumph of not being excluded from the federation, notwithstanding the antagonistic demands of the original cantons, and of finding a comrade in the faith in the canton of Berne. After the democratic municipal government had been introduced into Berne in

1528, the cantons of St. Gallen, Glarus, Schaffhausen, and Basle adopted the Reformation according to Zwingli's ideas. At the same time, fortunately, more friends were won for it in South Germany. In the towns of Constance, Mühlhausen, Nüremberg, and others there was lively sympathy with the Reformation at Zürich, which was based on civic independence; and Zwingli might fairly dream of a larger league of followers when Philip of Hesse invited him to the religious discussion at Marburg. We know how his hopes were deceived. And now the



A GREAT SWISS REFORMER
The Reformation movement in Switzerland owed much to the zeal of Ulrich Zwingli. When, instigated by Rome, the five papal cantons went to war with the two reformed cantons, in the year 1531, Zwingli was slain in the struggle.

Five Places were ready to defend their old faith by the sword. They allied themselves with Austria, but received no assistance from that quarter, and were obliged, in the summer of 1529, to conclude the first Peace of Cappel, which established the equal rights within the federation of the cantons of both religions. Zwingli had thus

obtained a great success, and was by no means conciliatory when, on the part of the Schmalcaldic League, the question was put to him, whether he was willing to attach himself and his followers to the union; he still hoped for a great South German League with the towns predominant. A political organisation would bring him nearer this

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM

end. Zürich and Berne were, according to his wish, to obtain, constitutionally, the foremost place in the federation. Zwingli wished, therefore, to proceed with the utmost rigour against the five cantons who professed the old religion; but he did not find any support from Basle or Berne. The attempt was now made to isolate the five cantons by a blockade of provisions; but they quickly rose against Zürich, and won a complete victory on October 11th, 1531, at Cappel. Zwingli himself was slain and his body was quartered. After a second defeat sustained by the citizens of Zürich, the second Peace of Cappel was made in November, which

Luther claimed that he reached by personal experience the certainty that God is absolute Love. This idea, he said, had filled him with rapture and given him rest. Zwingli, on the contrary, the more independent he became by freeing himself from the influence of Luther, looked on God as the Highest Being, as the Omnipotent. If he called God 'the highest good' he did not include in that expression that which makes God our highest good, but that which tends to make Him in Himself and for Himself the highest. Luther and Zwingli both insisted on God's honour, but in different directions. Luther wished to preach trust in the love of God; for, accord-



THE GENEVANS AFFIRMING THEIR RENUNCIATION OF CATHOLICISM

assured to the Catholic as well as the reformed states their own confession, but demanded from both the dissolution of their treaties with foreign powers. The Reformers were conquered, and the old religion recovered lost ground. The South Germans, who adhered to the new faith, having nothing more now to hope for from the Swiss, attached themselves more closely to the towns of Central Germany which were members of the Schmalcaldic League.

The distinction between the Lutheran and the Swiss parties may perhaps be traced to the different conceptions of the Deity emphasised by their founders.

ing to him, God's highest honour, in contradistinction to that on which the selfish man rests his honour, consists in condescension, in giving and blessing. But since man can be saved only on the path of completely free choice, Luther would not hear of any sort of compulsion. He rejoiced if only some individuals attained the true faith; persecution of the truth did not cause him any astonishment. Zwingli, on the other hand, wished that the majesty of God should be maintained at all cost. He therefore wished to create a Christian community, in which God's law must be followed by all; he would, therefore,

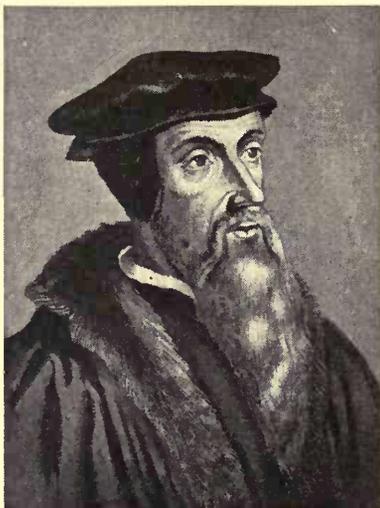
make persecution of the truth impossible, and would, on the other hand, repress all error, so that he did not despise political undertakings for the attainment of his objects.

The contrast was visible in the different positions adopted towards the sacraments. Luther regarded them as proofs of God's love, which wishes to give us heavenly gifts; Zwingli, as proofs of our obedience to God. Luther adored the condescension of the Lord, who in the Holy Communion unites himself with His believers; according to Zwingli's view the exalted divinity cannot so unite himself with what is earthly. Not the body and blood of Christ at all, but bread and wine only, are received. Zwingli declared as early as 1525 that his Lutheran opponents were "impelled by another spirit"; and in the religious conference at Marburg in 1529, where Zwingli, full of his political plans, tried to effect a union with the Wittenberg party, Luther could not refrain from the expression: "You have a different spirit from ours." Although little suspecting the real tendency of this whole discussion, he hoped for a settlement of the dispute in the future.

This Swiss movement, in a slightly altered form, spread far beyond its home. Five years after the death of Zwingli, in the year 1536, Calvin set himself the task at Geneva of founding a community in which everything bowed before the law of God. Every individual citizen was obliged to bind himself by oath to a confession of faith. All members of the congregation were subject to a constant supervision by lay elders. He at last put his ideal into practice after terrible struggles and the unwearying application of the strictest measures. What had at first to be extorted by the severest penalties became gradually public custom. No traces of ungodliness or of religious indifference were now visible. The prescribed Church ordinances and legal rules of life governed everything. Calvin thought by this to have estab-

lished the supremacy of God. He gave the reformed Christianity its permanent stamp. The party which was started by Zwingli was almost entirely disregarded by him, as he placed Luther, on account of his greater depth of character, far higher than Zwingli; and by his extensive correspondence and his numerous writings he acquired great influence far beyond the borders of Switzerland. Geneva afforded a refuge to the French, English and Scottish exiles who had been driven from their homes for their religion's sake, and when quieter years came they returned to their country filled with the spirit of Calvin. He founded in his native Geneva a university which provided the foreign reformed congregations with preachers and inspired them with the strict Calvinistic spirit.

Thus Protestantism parted into two streams. The true Lutheran spirit laid no stress upon the point whether a man subjected himself in externals only to the commands of God, but feared that such conformity to the law might hinder a man from recognising his inward alienation from God and from seeking and finding fellowship with God. The reformed spirit, on the other hand, emphasised the point that God was the only and the absolute Lord, and it wished to bring about the execution of this Lord's



JOHN CALVIN

He was born at Noyon in Picardy, and joining the Reformers he became one of the great figures of the movement. He did a lasting work for Geneva, where his system of ecclesiastical discipline was established.

will. Even if all cannot be led to salvation, yet all can be forced to outward obedience. Calvinism had, therefore, a strict legal character; but it was able far more than Lutheranism to persist in outward works, to produce a universal adherence to the Church and observation of morality, to create national churches and to maintain them in discipline and order. Again, there was an inclination to fight, on behalf of the honour of God, with purely secular means when spiritual means were insufficient. In Geneva, which contained some 20,000 inhabitants, during the five years of Calvin's rule no fewer than fifty-eight sentences of death and seventy-six decrees of exile were pronounced. In France, the

THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM

Netherlands, and Scotland the Calvinists were able to combine into a political party and to take up arms repeatedly in defence of their faith. But, on the other hand, this zeal awoke a noble spirit of sacrifice and a great impulse toward action. Hence it followed that while Luther wished to work only where his calling made it his duty, the Calvinists wished to spread the honour of God in every part.

Calvin, for this reason, was not long satisfied with the results that he had attained in Geneva. Just as he gradually supplanted the teaching of Zwingli throughout Switzerland, so he wished to conquer the Lutheran districts of Germany. About 1551 he seemed, in fact, to be near the realisation of this plan. All evangelical communities of Europe had come under his influence. Only North-east Germany held fast to Lutheranism. And the man on whom, after Luther's death, the leadership of the Lutherans had fallen, Melancthon, was himself no longer loyal to the teaching of the German reformer. The Hamburg preacher, Westphal, first warned men of the danger that Calvinism was

Disputes Among the Protestants

threatening to absorb all Protestantism. Bitter struggles ensued, which opened the eyes of the supporters of Lutheranism to the fact that they, as the heirs of what their fathers won, would have to fight desperately for the maintenance of this inheritance. Even in Electoral Saxony the friends of Calvin's teaching were able to win the supremacy. When, in 1574, it was finally clear to the elector, who held sound Lutheran views, what their intentions were, he threw their leaders into prison and deprived of their offices all preachers who refused to assent to the Lutheran doctrine.

The individual Reformed Churches had already drawn up confessions of their own in the period between 1559 and 1566. But when Arminius at Leyden came forward against the doctrine of Calvin that God has predestined some to damnation, others to salvation, and found numerous followers, the Synod at Dordrecht (1618 to 1619) tried to draw up a confession which would hold good for all Protestants and which declared that the doctrine of predestination was right, but mitigated its too repellent severity. It is true that all the Reformed Churches did not accept the resolutions of Dordrecht. But still an attempt was made by both

Protestant Church communities to prevent the continual unrest of the congregations by fixing definite limits. At the same time, another form of Protestantism was established. Elizabeth of England hoped finally to secure tranquillity for her country by, considering, as far as possible, the wishes of those who were favourable to

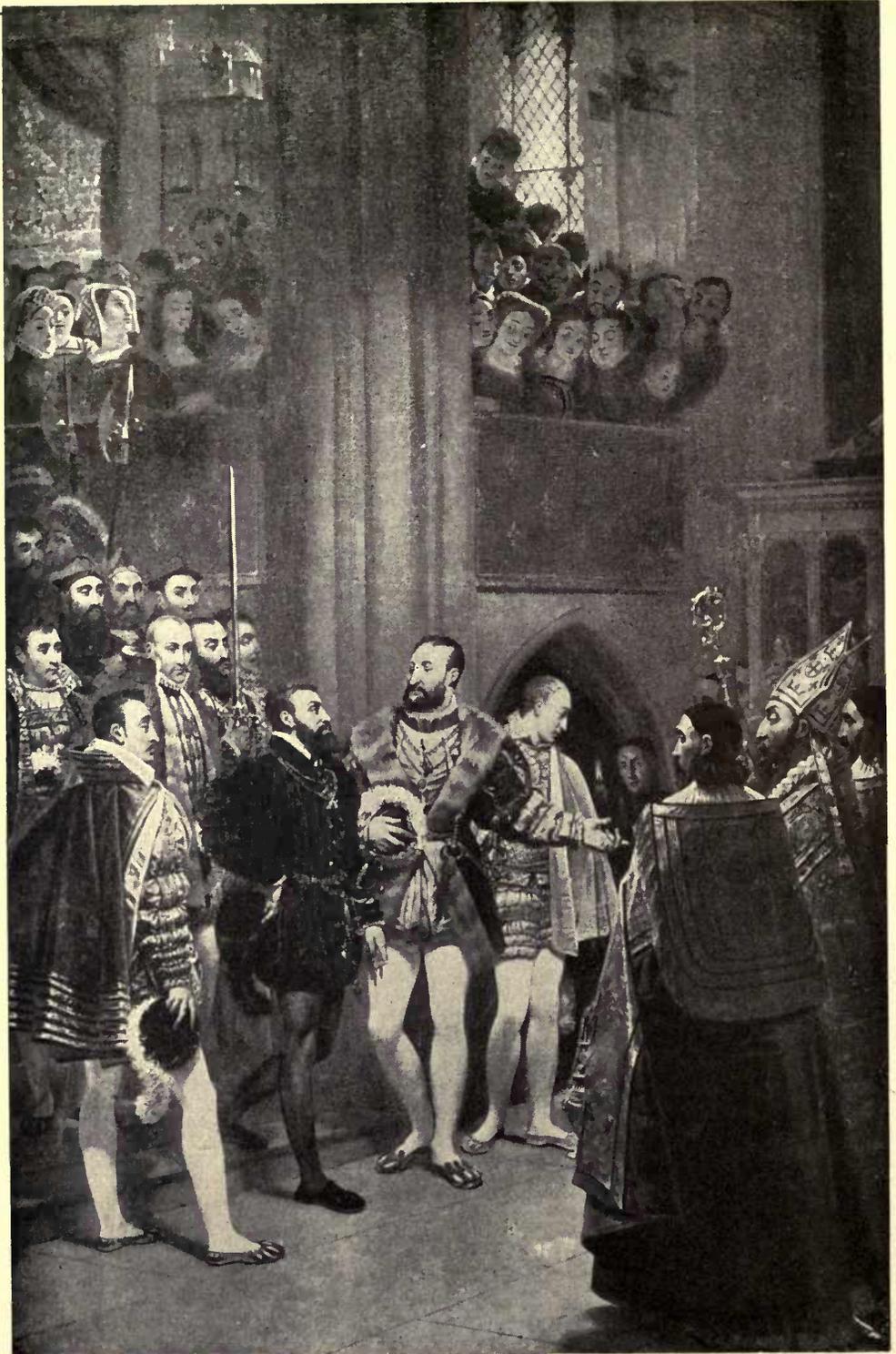
The Divisions of Western Christianity

Rome. With this object the Thirty-nine Articles, which were drawn up and determined the special character of the English national Church, a peculiar mixture of the reformed and the Catholic spirit. Thus, Western Christianity was divided into four specific Churches. In connection with these events the succession of the Lutheran elector, John Sigismund of Brandenburg, to the Reformed Church in 1613 was of great importance. Indeed, the excitement in the country at this change of confession was so great that he thought it prudent not to yield to the promptings of his Calvinistic surroundings, but rather to issue a declaration that he would not force on any congregation a preacher whom they suspected. But still many ways lay open to the elector by which he could restrict Lutheranism.

The consequence of all these occurrences in the domain of religion was the Thirty Years' War. The Protestant Churches in Germany, and as a result the Reformation generally, would have been annihilated had not Gustavus Adolphus, influenced alike by political and religious motives, interfered in the war of religion. The end of this terrible period was the complete exhaustion of both sides. The Catholic party could no longer conceal the knowledge that it was now impossible to destroy Protestantism—that it must be recognised as an independent power. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, established the equality of the religious parties, ending not merely a thirty years' war, but rather

Protestant Independence Established

one that had lasted one hundred and thirty years. It recognised the claim to existence, which the mediæval Church denied, of those who represented the ideas of the new era in the field of religion. If the Catholic Church wished, however, once more to extirpate those ideas, she could not again, in Germany at least, attempt the destruction of their representatives. The independence of Protestantism was definitely established.



FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE & CHARLES V. OF GERMANY VISITING THE TOMB OF ST. DENIS
From the painting in the Louvre by Baron Gros

WESTERNEUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
V

THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES V. THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM

EVEN during the lifetime of the Emperor Maximilian his grandson Charles had been ruler in the Netherlands, and at the beginning of 1516, after the death of his other grandfather, Ferdinand, had also become king of Spain as Charles I. But he had at first no independence and was entirely in the power of his councillors, while no very friendly feeling towards him prevailed in the Netherlands owing to the pressure of taxation, and open insurrection broke out in Spain. In 1519 he was elected Emperor in succession to Maximilian, and the youth of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, saw himself, apart from the internal difficulties in all three lands, opposed to the rivalry of the two most important political powers of the time, the Pope and the French king. All prospects pointed to a stormy future.

Charles, immediately after the election in Frankfort on June 28th, 1519, was forced to make important concessions to the princes in a capitulation; and he did it by his Spanish plenipotentiary, who could not, any more than himself, fail to see the wide-reaching consequences of these promises. It was not until October, 1520, that the "Roman emperor elect" put foot on German soil and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. One of the first acts of his reign was to summon a diet to Worms for the beginning of the year 1521. The new emperor was eagerly expected in Germany, and not least among the friends of the Reformation; for much, if not everything, depended upon his attitude. He also had good reason to be interested in the personality of Luther. In the first place, he might, under certain conditions, be used as a weapon against Rome; and, secondly, it was important to conciliate, or at any rate not to incense, his patron the powerful Elector of Saxony.

But we know the course taken by the discussion of the religious question at Worms. The emperor had indeed other

subjects much more at heart. He wished to discuss the administration of the peace of the empire, the appointment of a council of regency to represent him, the expedition to Rome, and the recovery of the territory alienated from the empire. But however much he exerted himself, he could not succeed until he had conciliated

The Real Rulers of the Empire

the states by the discussion of the religious question, which was demanded on all sides.

Finally, indeed, some isolated points in the political domain were settled. The succession in the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs was assured to Archduke Ferdinand, Charles's younger brother; as regards the government of the empire, it was agreed that it should be mainly in the hands of the states, but that no alliances with foreign powers should be made without the sanction of the emperor. The Supreme Court was revived and an imperial defence system established, since a central fund, with a *pro rata* division among the states, was created.

The arrangement of these matters was most important for Charles. But it was no end in itself, but merely a necessary preliminary for him, since he did not wish to be disturbed for the moment in his international plans. On his accession he had taken over the quarrel with Francis I. of France both on account of Burgundy and also of Naples; and the fear of Charles's superiority in Italy, in case he should

Emperor and Pope in Treaty

lay claim to Milan, drew Pope Leo X. towards France. An armed collision was inevitable.

The attitude taken up by the Pope was the most important question for Charles, for he could do nothing against France without him. The clever diplomacy of the legate Hieronymus Alexander solved the problem, since, weighing against each other according to their importance the political and ecclesiastical position of the Pope, he recognised the latter as the

most weighty. By means of the treaty which Emperor and Pope made on May 1st, 1521, he compelled Charles to adopt a fundamentally hostile attitude towards the reform movement, while the alliance of the Pope with King Francis, which appeared appropriate on purely political grounds, was now dissolved. France, on

England
Favourable to
Charles

the other hand, gained an ally in Ferrara, and secured for herself, in spite of the already mentioned protest of the citizens of Zürich, the right to enlist troops in the Swiss cantons. The sympathies of the English inclined more toward Charles, so that the greater power seemed to rest on his side, especially since the Swiss, faithless to their compact, went over to the papal side in the autumn of 1521.

The imperial army, under the leadership of Prospero Colonna, conquered in the course of the year 1521 the larger part of Milan without encountering serious difficulties, since the hated French governor, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec, lacked the money to pay his soldiers. At the end of the year, only Genoa, Cremona, and the Castle of Milan were still French. A renewed attempt of the French arms in the next year to expel the invaders failed completely; in fact, Lautrec, defeated on April 27th, 1522, at Bicocca by Colonna and the German Landsknechte under George von Frundsberg, was compelled to evacuate Italy altogether.

Henry VIII. of England openly declared war and sent an army into France. Charles was now master of Italy. In August, 1523, there was a renewal of the alliance between him, his brother Ferdinand, Henry VIII., Pope Hadrian VI., the Duke of Milan, and the small Italian republics for the common protection of Italy against Francis, who was preparing a new expedition to Italy for 1524. Francis wished to place himself at the head of the army, and was already on the way when he heard of the

English
Army in
France

plan of his ambitious cousin Charles, Duke of Bourbon, to go over to the emperor. He therefore remained behind himself and sent only his general, Bonnivet; who achieved some small successes. Meantime the English invaded the North of France once more, and a German army ravaged Burgundy. On April 14th, 1524, the combined French and Milanese army of Bonnivet was completely vanquished by the German marksmen at Gatinara on

the Sesia, where the Chevalier Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach," heroically met his death.

Charles of Bourbon, together with the Spaniard Pescara, the husband of the poetess Vittoria Colonna, had commanded the army in this campaign. Now, when the power of France in Milan was completely broken, and Francesco Sforza was again installed as duke, he induced Charles himself to invade France; but Marseilles could not be taken, and Pescara was obliged to withdraw to Italy. King Francis now pressed close after him into Milan and sat down before Pavia, while the German army, without any supplies, was seeking a refuge in the mountains.

These successes of the French arms at once detached allies from the emperor. Venice went over to Francis, and the Pope and Florence entered into a treaty of neutrality. The German Landsknechte, so soon as their claims for pay were satisfied, reassembled, and, strengthened by a reinforcement of fifteen thousand Germans, invaded Milan territory, where King Francis during the winter of 1524 to 1525 had

King Francis
Defeated and
Imprisoned

carried on a wearisome investment of Pavia. The Germans advanced in February, and the Landsknechte were eager for a battle. It was fought on February 24th, 1525; the Imperialists, under the Constable of Bourbon and Pescara, won a complete victory. King Francis was severely wounded and taken prisoner; his army was annihilated, Bonnivet slain, and the artillery lost. The emperor was proud of this victory. He wished to make a wise and full use of it, but failed to do so, and wasted time in long negotiations, while at the same time he demanded too many humiliations from the French crown. England concluded peace with France in August; Pope Clement VII. had already taken the French side. The other states of Italy had now to fear the supreme power of Charles as much as formerly that of the French king.

In liberated Milan voices were now heard against the imperial liberator. A peace between Charles and Francis was finally concluded in January, 1526, at Madrid, which would have meant the complete overthrow of France if it had been Francis's will to keep it. Nothing less than the cession of Burgundy and the abandonment of all claims on Naples, Milan, and Genoa was demanded of him. But Francis, before

he actually swore to the treaty, had determined to break it, and expressed this intention in a proclamation to his councillors, denouncing the treaty as having been procured by constraint.

Only a few months elapsed before the Emperor Charles saw himself faced by another hostile combination. In May the Pope, King Francis, the Duke of Milan, and Venice, concluded the Holy League in order to expel from Italy the imperial troops which still held the Milanese territory, and to restrain King Francis from carrying out the treaty into which he had entered. The Pope at once released him from his oath. Burgundy, notwithstanding the energetic protests of the emperor, was not ceded; even pressure on Francis's ally, the Pope, by a warlike demonstration of Colonna against the Medici in September, 1526, had no effect. The Constable of Bourbon had meantime the power in his hands at Milan, but could offer resistance to the league only after a reinforcement by twelve thousand Landsknechte, which Frundsberg brought him at his own cost. The general found himself forced by want of money to lead his army into the hostile states of the Church in February, 1527; nevertheless, a mutiny broke out on March 16th at Bologna among the Landsknechte, which was with difficulty suppressed. The deeply mortified commander was prostrated by a fit of apoplexy—to which he succumbed at his home in Mindelheim on August 20th, 1528.

Bourbon's resolve to march on Rome itself was now fixed. He rejected an armistice, which the Pope wished to buy with a large sum, and stood by the beginning of May before the walls of Rome. In the storming of the city, which began on

Pillage and Murder at Siege of Rome

the very day after his arrival, May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain. His Landsknechte avenged his death; took the city, and began a terrible scene of pillage and murder. The Pope remained a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and the league brought him no help; he was compelled, therefore, to submit to an agreement by which 400,000 ducats and some strongholds were given to the army.

The Emperor Charles had taken no share at all in this expedition, but lost his power over the Landsknechte. At the same time England allied herself closely with France; and the emperor had been deprived of all his conquests of 1525. The French army found a friendly reception everywhere in Italy, and in the autumn of 1527, with the help of Genoa, besieged the imperial city of Naples. Fortunately

Misfortunes of the French Army

for Charles, pestilence raged in the French army, and Marshal Lautrec himself finally—August 15th, 1528—succumbed to it; and the Genoese leader Doria, who felt himself slighted by the French, placed his ships at the service of the emperor in 1528. Further French operations failed, until at last, in accordance with the heartfelt wishes of both sides, the "Ladies' Peace," mediated by Louise, mother of Francis, and Margaret, aunt of Charles, was concluded on August 5th, 1529, at Cambray; France by it renounced all pretensions to Italy and the feudal lordship over Flanders and Artois. Charles, reserving his claims, left Burgundy in the hands of the French, and set at liberty for a ransom of two million crowns the sons of Francis, who were still remaining in power. Francis, who was to marry a sister of Charles, undertook the duty of reinstating the



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. Charles V. became, at the age of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, having been ruler in the Netherlands and king of Spain before his election as German Emperor.

followers of Bourbon in their possessions. During his progress through Italy, which Charles began immediately after the signing of peace, a treaty was negotiated with Venice and the Duke of Milan. The emperor received from both considerable sums of money, of which he was able to make good use. The Pope crowned him at the beginning of 1530 as emperor at Bologna.

After a ten years' war Charles, now a man of thirty, appeared finally as the bringer of peace to Italy, and the conqueror of the French rule. Yet his position, apart from the religious dissension in the empire, which then began to influence all political life, was by no means favourable, for the West was continually threatened by the growing danger from the East, the victorious army of the infidel Turks.

We have already traced the growth of the Turkish power up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sultan Selim I., who died in 1520, had made conquests mostly on Asiatic soil and had subdued Egypt. But his son, Suleiman II., surnamed the Magnificent, once more attacked the European powers, conquered Belgrade in 1521, and

**The Knights
Driven
From Rhodes**

drove out in 1522 the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes, since their Grand Master, Philip Villiers de l'Isle

Adam (1521-1534), appealed to the Christian powers in vain for help. The Knights defended themselves heroically, and at last, on New Year's Night, 1522-1523, they left the island unmolested under the command of Villiers. The Emperor Charles assigned to them on March 24th, 1530, the island of Malta, with Gozzo, Comino, and Tripolis as a home, and thus once more pledged them to wage war against Turks and pirates.

When, on August 29th, 1521, Belgrade fell before the Turks, Lewis II., who had mounted the throne in 1516 at the age of ten, was king of Hungary. The Turks came once more, in 1526, with an enormous army against Hungary. The king advanced to meet them with an inadequate force, and was defeated and slain on

August 29th, near Mohacz, while the victors without difficulty took the capital and marched onward, devastating the country with fire and sword. As King Lewis was dead, the old pretensions of the house of Hapsburg were revived. Archduke Ferdinand found, however, an opponent in the voivode of Transylvania, John Zapolya, who allied himself with France and the Sultan, and was elected king by a section of the people on November 10th, 1526.

Nevertheless, the representative of the Hapsburgs was elected on December 16th, 1526, by another section, in a diet at Pressburg, under the influence of the queen-widow, Mary of Austria, and on his advance in the summer of 1527, Zapolya was forced to retreat to Transylvania. Ferdinand was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg in November, and so linked Hungary permanently to the house of Hapsburg, just as at the beginning of the year he had connected Bohemia with it. Thus the Austrian monarchy was founded.

At the same time the Turkish danger became an imperial danger in a more real sense than before, for the imperial hereditary lands were the first objects threatened by the attack of the unbelievers. Suleiman came forward as the avenger of Zapolya in 1529, conquered Ofen on September 8th,



INCIDENT IN THE SACK OF ROME: THE DEFENCE OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO
In the storming of Rome, which began on May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain, and avenging his death, his Landsknechte took the city amid scenes of pillage and murder. In the castle of St. Angelo, which Benvenuto Cellini is here seen defending, the Pope was for some time kept a prisoner. Cellini, by his own account, was the hero of the fight.



THE CROWNING OF CHARLES V. AS EMPEROR BY POPE CLEMENT VII. AT BOLOGNA, 1530
 From the picture in the Palace of the Doges at Venice

and caused his protégé to be proclaimed king. On September 27th he actually appeared with 120,000 men before Vienna and began the siege. All Europe trembled at this event; but the heroic defence of the garrison so far saved the situation that the Sultan was induced, by the murmurs of his troops and the threatened lack of provisions, to withdraw on October 14th, 1529, after he had destroyed the churches and devastated the country far and wide.

The Council of Regency, which had been established on the basis of the resolutions at Worms in 1521, had no longer the character of a board representing the states, but that of an official body, and therefore possessed little reputation in the empire. It had hardly gained any influence on Protestantism and its development. The emperor himself was, as we know, entangled in great international schemes, and could not, therefore, directly have any part in it, so that the imperial diets of the third decade had very little significance for the constitution and administration of the empire. On the other hand, within the territories, in connection with the Church reform, important

alterations were effected, which resulted in the development of the absolutism of the princes and in the suppression of the states.

The diet of Augsburg in the summer of 1530 was the first at which the emperor, having been absent for nine years, was once more present after having at length achieved a victory. There was work enough to do, for, in addition to the aid against the Turks urgently needed by the empire, it was essential to deliberate over a great number of imperial laws, among others over the criminal code, the so-called *Lex Carolina*. But the religious question, the solution of which was

required by the Protestants before they would consent to aid against the Turks, gradually by its importance supplanted all other subjects of deliberation. It was only after the Religious Peace of Nuremberg, in 1532, that the emperor found himself in a position to carry out the long-cherished plan and to put an imperial army into the field against the Turks. During the summer more than 70,000 men advanced to the East. Nearly two-thirds of them were

troops from the emperor's patrimonial dominions; but still it was an imposing army that marched out against the enemy.

Suleiman had little good fortune in his campaigns of 1532. He besieged in vain the small Hungarian town of Güns, which was bravely defended by Nicholas Jurischitsch. At Gran also the siege was unsuccessful, and the fleet of Genoa won some decided victories at sea. It would have been easy to win back the whole of Hungary by force of arms. But Charles left the army for Italy, in order to come to an understanding with the Pope about the Council, while the licence of the troops became the pest of the country. No great battle was fought, and the capture of some Turkish standards by the Palsgrave

encroachments of the Hapsburgs. In 1531 some towns, among others Frankfort, Hamburg, and Lübeck, had joined the league, and other towns of Upper Germany had followed them; only Nuremberg held aloof. The members of the league had created a military organisation for themselves similar to that which had been formed by the nearly extinct Swabian League.

In 1535 the alliance was renewed for ten years. Philip of Hesse undoubtedly took the lead in political questions, while electoral Saxony, under John Frederic, sank more into the background. Philip understood how to turn to the advantage of the league all interests hostile to the Hapsburgs both at home and abroad. His greatest



THE TROOPS OF KING FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE

In this old print, representing the troops of King Francis of France, the various types of which his army was composed are illustrated. The different types here shown are thus indicated: (a) arquebusier, (b) gendarme, (c, d) drummer and piper, (e) captain of infantry, (f, g) pikemen and halberdiers, (h) Swiss captain and sub-lieutenant.

Frederic was of little moment. During the protracted negotiations which emperor and Pope carried on at Bologna the advantages gained through the Peace of Cambrai in 1529 were lost, for the Pope and all other Italian powers gradually inclined more and more towards the French side, without Charles being quite clear on the point himself. Charles left Italy for Spain before any result had been obtained, and from that country undertook an expedition to Tunis against the robber Moors, and was afterwards involved in a new war (1536-1538) with King Francis.

The German princes had meanwhile been left to themselves, and formed in the League of Schmalcald not only a political representation of evangelical interests, but at the same time a union against the

success was the restoration to his duchy in 1534 of Duke Ulrich, who had been expelled from Württemberg in 1519. This was tantamount to ousting the Hapsburg Ferdinand from his position in South Germany.

Württemberg now adopted the Lutheran doctrine and became a member of the Schmalcaldic League, although Ulrich himself showed little gratitude to the landgrave. King Ferdinand was compelled, in a treaty at Kaaden on June 29th, 1534, to consent to the new state of things, and was unable to prevent Protestantism continually gaining ground in all parts of Germany and even in the crown lands of Eastern Austria. Besides Pomerania and Anhalt, the duchy of Saxony and the powerful Brandenburg joined the league in 1539, and the course of the Reformation

THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES V.

in England and the northern kingdoms resulted in a political union of the rulers in those parts with the league.

While the new faith made such progress, Pope Clement VII. died. His successor, Paul III. (1534-1549), was from the outset willing to yield to the imperial request for a council, and on June 2nd, 1536, consented to summon it to Mantua for the end of May, 1537. He invited the Lutherans to it. Their leader had really nothing to say against it, but composed for this purpose the so-called "Schmaldedic Articles," the contents of which, however, demonstrated the impossibility of taking part in the meeting. A national German council would in any case have been acceptable, but no one in

but first the German Protestants were to be brought back again to the universal Church by peaceful methods, according to the emperor's wish.

The Protestants, by the widening of their league, had plainly infringed the conditions of the Religious Peace of Nuremberg. It was therefore thoroughly opportune that the Catholics in Nuremberg united themselves, on June 10th, 1538, in a counter league, organised on the model of the Schmaldedic League, with the object of protecting the Peace of Nuremberg while excluding foreign powers. Duke Henry the Younger of Brunswick was the leader of the union. The summons to fight was welcomed by the members of the Schmaldedic League, for the Elector of Saxony,



COMMON FOOT SOLDIERS ADVANCING TO THE ASSAULT

The foot soldiers attached to the army of Francis I. are represented in this illustration, the divisions being—(i) musketeer, (k) standard-bearer, (l) captain, (m) colonel, (n) halberdier, (o, p) drummer and piper, (q) arquebusier.

the circle of the Protestants would consent to the meeting of a general council.

Since 1536 the emperor had again been involved in a war with France, for Francis would not yet consent to renounce his claims in Italy. Charles now invaded Southern France and ravaged it mercilessly. Although the French arms were supported by a simultaneous movement of the Turks which was aimed against the republic of Venice, and by the help of the Protestants, yet the success of the war was trifling, and the exhaustion of the two antagonists led to a truce for ten years from July 18th, 1538; the Pope negotiated it, and it was conducted at Nice. The reconciliation of the two sovereigns seemed so complete that they were able to plan a common war against the Turks;

in the event of a favourable result to the war, could make good his claims to the Lower Rhenish Duchy of Cleves against the emperor. But Charles was now inclined for peace. He tried, when the possibility of a council disappeared, to bring about an agreement by similar contrivances on a small scale—a proof that even yet he was not aware of the opposition between the old and the new faith.

The "Grace of Frankfort" had already led, on April 19th, 1539, to a compact between both religious parties, from which indeed neither side expected much. The emperor had quietly brought about a mutual understanding between Catholic and Protestant theologians in June at Hagenau, and in November, 1540, at Worms; and on the occasion of the Diet of Regensburg,

in April, 1541, he wished to crown the work. The antagonists, among them Eck and Melancthon, actually agreed before long on the most important points of the faith; once again the attempts at union were rejected in Wittenberg and Rome. The most essential result of the arrangements at Regensburg was that a spiritual prince,

Victories of the New Doctrine the Archbishop of Cologne, Count Hermann of Wied, began on this basis to introduce the Reformation in the archbishopric, and thus to prepare for the secularisation of a spiritual principality.

There were then all along the line conspicuous successes of the new doctrine and the Schmalcaldic party, especially since at this very time Francis I. also was ready once more for an alliance against Charles. The struggle between the Catholic and the Protestant league might have begun, and on the whole the latter seemed to have the advantage. But the latter was now no longer compact, and openly split up when the bigamous marriage of Philip of Hesse, concluded with the assent of the reformers of Wittenberg, was known, and John Frederic was deeply affronted by the insult to the Saxon princess, Philip's lawful wife. Hesse and Saxony were separated, and the previous leader of the Protestants planned an alliance with the emperor, in fact, actually entered into it, on June 13th, 1541, although with some provisions as regards the League of Schmalcalde.

The League itself was now shattered, had no longer any suitable leader, and could not seize its opportunity when, in 1542, King Francis, supported by Sweden and Denmark, once more began open war against the emperor, while Suleiman took possession of all Hungary. The leaders of the league remained inactive. They never once supported the Duke of Juliers against the emperor, but, on the contrary, used the opportunity to secularise the bishoprics and seize the confiscated spoils. On March 24th,

Henry VIII. in Alliance with Charles 1543, Duke William of Juliers had won a victory through his general, Martin von Rossem, with French help, over an imperial army at Sittard. But Charles now obtained Henry VIII. of England as an ally, and in the summer appeared on the Lower Rhine with a splendid army of 40,000 men. Düren was soon won, and the whole district was in Charles's hands; the duke, in virtue of his submission made at Venlo

on September 6th, 1543, ceded Zütphen and Guelders to the Netherlands, and was forced to promise to break off all relations with France and to restore Catholicism in his dominions. The princes of the league may now have been prepared for an attack of the emperor on their weakened alliance. But the diet of Speier in 1544 produced an acknowledgment from the emperor that he was willing to abandon the idea of the general council and to settle amicably religious troubles within the empire.

The princes, after this victory, joined with their forces in the war against France, which led to a peace on September 18th, 1544, at Crépy-en-Laonnais, where it was arranged that king and emperor should join in common cause against the heretics. Francis also agreed to share in the war against the infidels. But a truce with Suleiman, who indeed held the greater part of Hungary, temporarily averted the Turkish peril in the autumn of 1545.

At the beginning of the year 1546 the emperor seemed free to subdue the heretics by force of arms, especially since the Pope, at the council which was eventually held at Trent towards the end of 1545, made a vigorous attack on the

The Pope's Attack on Protestantism Protestant teaching, and promised his support with troops and money in the event of a war against the Schmalcaldic League. A formal treaty was made between Pope and emperor in June, 1546. William of Bavaria joined Charles, and so did some Protestant lords; the Hohenzollern margraves, Hans and Albert, and Duke Eric of Brunswick, entered into the service of the emperor. But the young Duke Maurice of Saxony became gradually more important than these princes.

He had withdrawn from the League of Schmalcalde in 1541, and, together with Philip of Hesse, whom he joined in opposition to electoral Saxony, had made overtures to the emperor. He was devoid of religious enthusiasm, but was brave and politic. An alliance with the emperor held out brilliant prospects, and he was therefore not reluctant to accede to this in the diet of Regensburg in June, although he did not break off every connection that joined him with the League.

The emperor and the Pope were now concerned chiefly with the preparations for a religious war. But such a declaration could not be bluntly made in Germany,

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if the support of the towns and the knights was to be assured, since they were averse only to the princes, not to the Lutheran doctrines. The fact that Protestant princes were allied with the emperor seemed indeed to argue that the war would not be for religion, but the co-operation of the Pope pointed the other way. The emperor had cleverly begun to work with both means; but it must have been doubtful whether he could succeed in keeping his word to both parties. The Protestants were long unwilling to believe that the preparations were made against them, although Philip, who now once more adhered to the league, warned them of their danger. The

states were assembled for the diet of Regensburg. It was certainly felt that warlike movements were impending; but there was a reluctance to question the emperor until the Protestants ventured to do so, and received the answer that the imminent business was the punishment of some refractory princes. This only suggested the Landgrave Philip, who had not come to the diet. The emperor wished by his

declaration to separate Hesse and electoral Saxony, but this he did not succeed in doing. Contrary to expectation, the league now held together, and even the towns stood loyally by it.

The campaign was opened towards the end of June, 1546. But the man who had always recoiled in horror from a religious war, although in his later years obedience to the emperor did not seem to him so essentially a Christian duty as before, did not live to see this war. Martin Luther died on February 18th, 1546, at Eisleben. But his marvellous personality influenced, although often in a way which

history must condemn, the moulding of ecclesiastical matters in Germany for many years after the Reformer had passed away.

At the beginning of the war the emperor was still holding a diet at Regensburg, and remained there until the first days of August, although he had only a small body-guard with him. His troops were still in foreign countries, while the league had more than 50,000 men in the field. Had they advanced directly on Regensburg they must have succeeded; but instead of this, they split up their forces, took Donauwörth on July 20th, and, when at last they came into conflict with the imperial army before Ingolstadt, were unable to

gain any victory. Meanwhile reinforcements to the extent of 20,000 men joined Charles's army, and by the end of autumn the position became hopeless, when Maurice declared open hostility to his cousin, the elector, on October 27th, after he himself had been invested with the title of Elector of Saxony in the place of the proscribed prince. In conjunction with King Ferdinand he occupied the electorate, and by this movement compelled

the forces of the league stationed in Swabia to withdraw at once to Central Germany. The emperor had thus become master of the south, for the towns surrendered to him, and Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg was forced to abandon his resistance.

At the beginning of 1547 the Catholic creed was completely restored in the Archbishopric of Cologne. Hermann von Wied resigned on February 25th, and was forced to make way for his former coadjutor, Adolf von Schaumberg, while the army of the league broke up in Central Germany. John Frederic's one aim was the



THE POPE PAUL III. AND HIS TWO NEPHEWS
From the painting by Titian

reconquest of his dominions. But while he attempted this, Charles returned unmolested from Bohemia to Saxony, and surprised him on April 24th, 1547, at Mühlberg on the Elbe. Ferdinand and Maurice were with the emperor; the Saxons deserted their strong position in the town, and were defeated in the pursuit by Duke Alva,

Death of King Francis

The imperial commander-in-chief, on the moors of Lochau. The Saxons were completely routed, John Frederic was wounded and captured, and soon afterwards Wittenberg fell into the hands of the emperor. In North Germany only Hesse, Bremen, and Oldenburg remained unsubdued. Philip did not wish to commit himself to an uncertain struggle, and accepted the mediation of the Elector Maurice, who made an agreement with the emperor to the effect that the landgrave, if he submitted, should not be further punished.

Philip of Hesse came, but, contrary to the spirit of the agreement, though according to the letter of it, which excluded only perpetual imprisonment, was thrown into prison on June 19th. Thus the two princes, formerly the most powerful in Protestant Germany, languished in prison, while Charles was freed by the death of King Francis on March 31st, 1547, from his dangerous rival, and on June 19th bought a truce for five years from the Turks at the price of a yearly tribute.

The hope entertained by the Pope of a yielding on the part of the Protestants was not fulfilled; on the contrary, the emperor had to grant them complete liberty in the exercise of their religion, while his representatives at Trent did not show any special friendship towards papal pretensions, and were, above all, resolutely opposed to any removal of the council to Italy. Paul III., however, took that step; on March 11th, 1547, he removed to Bologna, ostensibly from fear of the plague. A schism in the old Church now threatened, for in Bologna Charles did not wish to cooperate in the reform of the Church, and since the Pope refused, he was compelled to take it in hand himself—at any rate, so far as Germany was concerned.

Proposals of the Diet of Augsburg

Charles did not wish to cooperate in the reform of the Church, and since the Pope refused, he was compelled to take it in hand himself—at any rate, so far as Germany was concerned.

The diet of Augsburg in the autumn of 1547 produced a scheme, the Interim of Augsburg, in which King Ferdinand had a considerable part. The religious system

in Germany was to be re-established in conformity with this until a universally valid decree of the Church council should be passed. This system of faith was formulated by the middle of March, 1548. It sufficiently expressed the conquest of the Protestants. Its main requirement was a reversion to the old Church, and it conceded only two points, the communion in two kinds and the marriage of the clergy; for the rest, an attempt was made to evade the real dispute by expressions which admitted of various interpretations.

But no unity was produced even on this basis, which was supported by the assent of the Catholics. The Interim was to be binding only on the Protestants, while the members of the old faith refused to comply with it. The emperor's well-meant scheme accordingly came to nothing. He succeeded better in strengthening his absolute power as emperor, for the towns, treated with equal unfriendliness by sovereign and princes, now lost their political influence.

Charles now filled the Imperial Chamber with councillors appointed only by himself, and the Netherlands were united with the

Charles's Ambitions for His Son

empire as "a Burgundian circle" on June 26th, 1548, but were at the same time declared independent of the Imperial Chamber. The protection of the empire only was contemplated, without any prejudice to the independence of the disturbed territories. Although the Interim was hated by the whole nation on account of its unreasonable demands, and found only here and there a formal recognition, Charles attempted, in connection with the diet of Augsburg, to win support for the election of his son Philip. This time, however, he found opposition, not only from his brother Ferdinand, who had an earlier claim in consequence of his election as king of the Romans, but also from the whole body of princes. Their experience of Charles deterred them from accepting an unmitigated Spaniard like his son; national safety demanded a definite refusal.

On March 9th, 1551, after Philip had already been invested in 1550 with the Netherlands, an agreement was made between the emperor and the king that Ferdinand should be emperor after Charles's death, but should be succeeded by Philip, who would become meanwhile king of the Romans, while Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, was eventually to succeed Philip. Thus nothing was definitely decided

as to the all-important position of the electors; in fact, the arrangement was to be regarded as a compulsory one so far as the younger line of the Hapsburgs was concerned. It was a scheme to fix the empire in one dynastic family.

The diet at Augsburg of 1550-1551 was thinly attended. Much ill-feeling was aroused by the high-handed policy of Charles and his followers towards Germany, especially since Charles, in spite of the urgent requests of the princes, did not consent to dismiss the Spaniards, who were unconstitutionally kept under arms. In addition to this, there was the peculiarly severe imprisonment of the Landgrave Philip, which had been felt by all princes as a degradation of their order generally.

Briefly, there was a general tendency towards rebellion against the emperor, and the power to do so seemed ready to hand. Efforts had already been made in 1548 to form a new alliance in the north-east of the empire, and hopes had been raised of French help, and of the co-operation of Protestant Denmark. Dukes Albert of Prussia and John Albert of Mecklenburg, as well as Margrave Hans of Küstrin, formed a league in February, 1550. And when Maurice of Saxony, who felt himself deeply injured by the emperor, made overtures to the

members of the Northern League, a secret treaty was formed in May, 1551, at Torgau to protect the liberty of the princes against the emperor. Maurice, by virtue of the powers vested in him as imperial agent, had previously enrolled an army without attracting notice, in order to enforce against Magdeburg the long-postponed ban of the empire, and continued at the head of these troops. The Ernestines were induced to become neutral; and while it was resolved to spare King Ferdinand as much as possible, negotiations with France were set on foot, which, being successfully conducted in the winter of 1551-1552, were brought to a conclusion on February 14th, 1552, at Friedewald in Hesse.

Henry II. promised his help in the war against the emperor, in return for which he was allowed to hold, as "Vicar of the Empire," the towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambrai. These proceedings did not remain unnoticed; but the emperor did not himself attach any credence to the reports which reached him at Innsbruck, where he lay sick. He was therefore greatly astonished when the storm burst on him in March. King Henry invaded Lorraine with 35,000 men, and the princes advanced into South Germany as far as Augsburg. Charles was still unwilling to believe in the complicity of Maurice, especially since Maurice had just joined Ferdinand in order by his aid to bring about



FREDERIC THE MAGNANIMOUS
John Frederic, known as the Magnanimous, favoured the Reformation movement and introduced Lutheranism into Saxony, of which country he was elector. The above portrait is from the painting by Titian, at Vienna.

an agreement between emperor and princes. The town of Magdeburg surrendered to the victors on April 4th. The emperor had no resources at his disposal, and was obliged to win time by negotiations. Ferdinand and Maurice met at Linz on April 18th. A larger meeting was summoned for May 26th at Passau, to prosecute the negotiations, but Maurice did not countenance any lull in hostilities. He wished to cut off the emperor completely, and actually forced him by an advance to the Alps to fly into Carinthia, whither he was accompanied by John Frederic of Saxony, now released from captivity. Maurice took Innsbruck shortly before the beginning of the negotiations at Passau, and the members of the council assembled at Trent fled in order not to fall into the hands of the elector.

Shortly after the appointed day the deliberations of the states began at Passau. The emperor and even his brother were refused access to it; nor was French influence to govern the assembly this time. The demands of Maurice were, in Church matters religious toleration, and in politics the regency of the princes and the destruction of the imperial supremacy. His princely colleagues were easily induced to assent.

Charles was no longer the acknowledged master. When, at the end of 1552, he marched against King Henry, and invested Metz, Maurice had already followed King Ferdinand to the war against the Turks. In Central Germany the licentious Hohenzollern Margrave Albert, at any rate not hindered by the emperor, began a wild career of lawlessness and rapine. The princes of South Germany formed a league against him, and the Elector Maurice finally conquered him on July 9th, at Sievershausen. Unhappily the elector was wounded in the battle, and died on July 11th. Albert was again defeated on June 13th, 1554, near Schwarzach, in Lower Franconia, and fled to France.

Without the help of the emperor the princes had restored peace and order in the empire in 1554. But Charles was weary of his sovereignty and began to withdraw from public life. That very year he transferred all sovereign rights in Germany to his brother Ferdinand; his son Philip became, in October, 1555, ruler of the Netherlands and of the Spanish possessions in Italy, with the title of King of Naples; in

January, 1556, he similarly received the Spanish crown. The emperor retired in September, 1556, to San Geronimo de Yuste, and died there on September 21st, 1558.

It now rested with Ferdinand to arrange the affairs of Germany and to convene the diet promised in the Treaty of Passau. It met on February 5th, 1555, at Augsburg. The Protestants demanded a religious peace with recognition of the confessions, taking into account the actual conditions existing at the time of the Treaty of Passau. This recognition was, however, to apply only to the states and not to the subjects, whose confession was still to be dependent on that of the territorial lord. Ferdinand was forced to submit to these demands. The following points were agreed upon: the peace had no limits of time; it was valid for all

estates of the empire, to which the right attached of changing the religion of their district; but this referred only to the confession of the Catholics and to that of the adherents to the confession of Augsburg, not to that of the followers of Zwingli. From this time the empire took the Lutherans legally under its protection, and the princely power of the Catholic princes was at the same time greatly strengthened, since they henceforth superintended the property of the Church. The death penalty for heresy was abolished, and all were to have free right to leave the country. It was, however, settled at the same time that a spiritual prince might indeed personally go over from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, but in this case his district or his spiritual office must remain Catholic; he therefore must be separated

from it. This last proviso was called "the Ecclesiastical Reservation." The Protestants laid a formal protest against it, but they took care not to hazard the whole work by a too obstinate insistence on an untenable point. So, on September 25th, 1555, the Religious Peace was established

by the recess, and remained in force up to the Peace of Westphalia.

With the religious question the constitution of the empire was necessarily modified, and the government by the states took over, in every important point, the still existing imperial powers; thus the new organisation of the Imperial Chamber put the nomination to the posts and the examination of procedure into the hands of the states. And the new system of circles, intended to facilitate the judgments of the Imperial Chamber, produced the result that the last royal privilege, the maintenance of the Public Peace, became the right of the several states. Even the law of the empire recognised by this the fact that the territory of the prince had assumed the character of a complete political organisation. **WILHELM WALTHER**

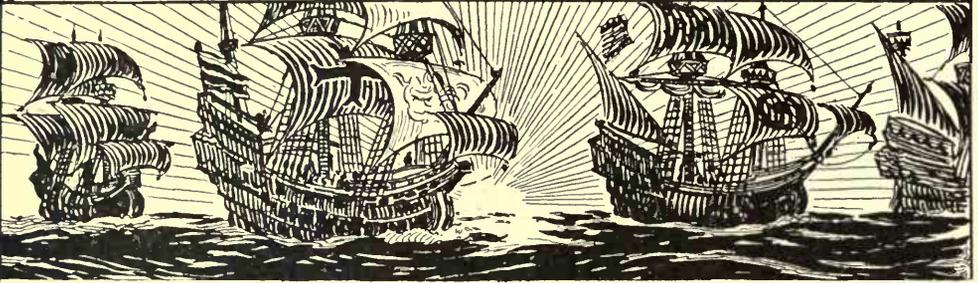


MAURICE OF SAXONY AND THE MARGRAVE ALBERT
Maurice of Saxony was a supporter of Charles, but when his opportunity came he forced the emperor into granting favourable conditions to the Protestants. He conquered the lawless Margrave Albert when the princes of South Germany formed a league against him.



THE ENTRY OF CHARLES V. INTO ANTWERP
From the painting by Hans Makart

RISE & CHARACTER of SPANISH POWER



BY MARTIN HUME, MA.



THE struggle of the Christians to reconquer Spain from the Moslem hardly ceased for eight centuries. Often beaten back, the hosts of the Cross steadily gained ground from age to age, and out of the reconquest, pushed as it was from various points on the north, not one great Christian power, but several smaller kingdoms grew, with separate traditions and institutions, and different racial populations. When the last Moslem state, Granada, fell, in 1492, the two principal Christian realms had between them absorbed all the smaller kingdoms except Portugal. Castile, by far the more extensive of the two, had incorporated all Spain but Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, which together formed the dominions of the king of Aragon. For ages this latter kingdom, possessing some of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, had looked with yearning eyes towards the East as the seat of its future influence. Already it owned the Balearic Isles, Sicily, and Naples; and, although the dream of its greatest king in the thirteenth century of a powerful Aragonese empire, extending from Genoa to Valencia, and dominating the Mediterranean, had been frustrated by the advance of the French southward, Italy and the Levant still beckoned the Aragonese onward, and when the wicked,

crafty old King John of Aragon promoted the secret marriage in 1469 of his young son Ferdinand with Isabella, the heiress of Castile, his hope was that the realms thus unified, and the kings of Aragon wielding the added strength of Castile, might overcome the French resistance to the Aragonese advance.

But fate makes cruel sport of worldly schemes. What was intended to secure the predominance of Aragon led to the accidental exaltation of a great Spain, of which Castile was the principal member and Aragon a secondary and unimportant state. Castilians were proud and jealous, and their queen was as able as her Aragonese husband. Castilian ambitions looked towards Moslem Africa rather than to the East; and Ferdinand found it necessary to serve Castilian ends before he set about compassing his own. First, Granada had to be conquered and the Castilian realms conciliated, while Spaniards generally had to be welded into a solid instrument by which the King of Aragon might use them all for his own purpose. The realms were all jealous and dissimilar, and the cohesive power adopted by Ferdinand to bind them together was the common bigotry and spiritual pride aroused by the persecution of religious minorities, Jews, Moslems, and Christian backsliders. The fires of the



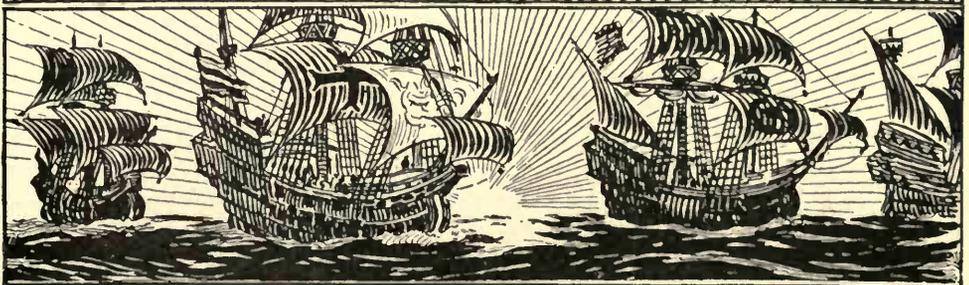


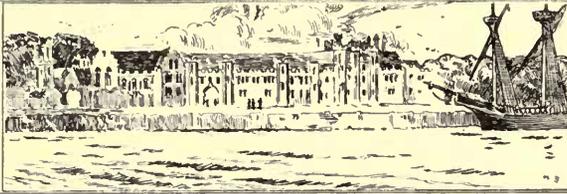
Inquisition deliberately lit by Ferdinand and Isabella for a political object answered their purpose, and made Spaniards of all the realms exalted fanatics, convinced of their spiritual superiority and divine selection to fight God's battle upon earth—fit weapons now for Ferdinand's hand.

But, in spite of Ferdinand's consummate cunning, all his plotting went awry. His only son was married to the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, and his second daughter married to the emperor's only son, Philip, sovereign in right of his mother of Flanders, Holland, Luxemburg, and the vast domains of the house of Burgundy; while his youngest daughter was married to the heir of England, and his eldest daughter became Queen-Consort of Portugal. With, as he thought, all the strings of European policy in his expert hands, Ferdinand saw in prophetic vision France enclosed in a ring of enemies, impotent to stay the forward march of Aragonese ambitions in Italy and the East. But death stepped in, and other men with ambitions as strong as those of Ferdinand renounced his selfish tutelage. One after the other his children died, until he found that the heir of the joint crowns of Castile and Aragon was his mad daughter Joanna, and, after her, her elder Flemish-Austrian son Charles, who would inherit an empire extending over Central Europe from the North Sea to the Danube, with Spain and part of Italy, as well as the vast undefined territories which the Genoese Columbus had discovered for Isabella, little to Ferdinand's delight, as the drain of men for America drew from Castile the

strength he needed for his own ends. Ferdinand, before he died, foresaw the disaster to Aragon that the merging of her crown into that of a world-wide empire would produce, and he tried his best to defraud his elder grandson of the Aragonese realms in favour of the younger brother Ferdinand, who was as Spanish as Charles was Flemish.

But fate and Cardinal Ximenez stood in the way; and in 1516 the sallow foreign boy, Charles, with a greedy gang of Flemings, came to Spain to enter into his inheritance. Though few thought it at the time, Charles was a genius, and he soon saw that Spain must be the centre of his great empire. When once he had crushed, at Villalar in 1520, the Castilian demand for Parliamentary financial control, Castile alone of all his realms was powerless to resist his demands. Castilians were haughty and bigoted, and the policy of the emperor, like that of his grandfather, was to inflame their pride to the utmost. Materially, Spain was poor, and she ruined herself utterly, but her men-at-arms trampled over Europe and America triumphant, the sword in one hand, the cross in the other. To the world Spain was a symbol of potency and wealth inexhaustible, but the policy upon which she squandered her blood and treasure abroad was not her own. She was spent in crushing heterodoxy in Germany and Flanders, in holding back the Turk from Hungary, and in ousting France from Italy; and Spain benefited nothing. The hollow fame was hers, the apparent power, but in the day of her glory she ruined herself for an idea at the bidding of her king and the prompting of her pride.





SPAIN AND FRANCE IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

OF the great tasks Spain set itself after the fall of Granada, the colonisation of America was but one, and, for the moment, not the most important. Ferdinand the Catholic devoted his chief energies to making Spain the dominant power in Europe, and he looked upon the riches of America only as means to this end. He had given the heiress presumptive to the throne, his daughter Joanna, in marriage to Philip the Fair of Burgundy and Austria, and thereby made quite possible a Spanish-Hapsburg empire. After Philip's premature death there opened up before his eldest son, Charles, the prospect of a world-embracing, irresistible empire.

However, when Isabella of Castile died, Aragon and Castile, which had been united with such difficulty, seemed only too likely to separate. But the fact that Philip the Fair survived his mother-in-law for only a short time, and that Joanna was mentally incapacitated from governing, made it possible for Ferdinand to act as regent of Castile until his death in 1516. Cardinal Ximenes was able to preserve quiet for a short time longer, and the peaceful and prosperous development of Spain at that time was largely due to him. He was a typical exponent of Spanish policy, which made for absolutism in close alliance with the Church.

Never was a prince, in entering upon his government, confronted with such a number of momentous questions and problems as was Charles I. of Spain, afterwards Charles V., Emperor of Germany. A tremendous movement was shaking the nations of Europe. The movements of the Renaissance and the revival of learning, originating in Italy, had reached the Germanic peoples in the north, and had there prepared the ground for the rise of a national civilisation, which was also under the influence

of Christianity. At the same time, the movements broke down some barriers between the nations of Europe. It was before the eyes of all civilised Europe that the great events of the time were brought to completion, and the convulsive

Charles V. Ruler of Two Nations struggles of the waking spiritual life were felt, like the heave of an earthquake, in the remotest corners of the continent. Thus it was a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that Charles V. should have united under his rule two nations whose aims and ideas were entirely opposed. On the one hand was Spain, a country roused to the height of religious fanaticism by its conflict with the Moors, and in closest connection with the papacy; on the other hand was Germany, struggling for intellectual and religious freedom. No middle course was possible; the ruler was bound to rely on one or other of the two nations. It is not surprising that Spain gained the preference.

A people united under an absolute monarchy, well versed in the arts of war, promised to be a much more valuable instrument in the hands of an ambitious ruler than Germany, divided into a number of petty states, struggling for intellectual independence. The future of each nation was then definitely decided. Spain threw in its lot with the Roman Church once and for all, and by its opposition to the Reformation gained a short period of splendour which was followed by intellectual and material stagnation. Germany preserved its independence of thought after a desperate and costly struggle, suffered for centuries under the wounds which it received, and never succeeded in wholly driving out the influence of Rome.

However, for the moment, other questions demanded instant solution. Upon the death of Ferdinand I. absolutism was by no means firmly rooted in Spanish

soil. Its lack of popularity with the industrial portion of the population was sufficiently obvious. The towns had readily come forward to help to crush the nobility, but they were by no means disposed to sacrifice their own rights to the Moloch of absolute monarchy; and the short-sighted policy of the youthful

king, who brought his Flemish friends to Spain, and bestowed upon them the highest dignities in the land, gave the towns the opportunity for resistance which they desired. In reality, a far larger question had to be settled than the question of the privileges of the towns, many of which were antiquated and void. The point in dispute was whether a wide-reaching foreign policy, which could be carried out only by an absolute monarchy, was henceforward to take precedence, or whether this should give way to a sound domestic policy for the purpose of advancing material prosperity, which the industrial and manufacturing classes could carry out in conjunction with the crown.

At the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1518, the representatives of the towns assumed a bold position, while the nobility, who had not yet recovered from their crushing overthrow by the previous king, remained in the background. In Aragon, also, and Catalonia, as in Castile, Charles had to listen to many bitter truths before the usual oaths of allegiance were taken and money-grants made. Charles had, meanwhile, been elected Emperor of Germany, and before starting for that country he made an attempt to procure the necessary supplies in an irregular way.

Thereupon disturbances began to break out, and after the emperor's departure there came a formidable revolt of the *comuneros*—the Castilian towns. Toledo, the ancient capital, headed the movement; the inhabitants of Segovia manifested no less zeal for freedom.

Juan de Padilla undertook the leadership of the revolt, and succeeded in driving out the regency which Charles had established in Valladolid, and winning over most of the Castilian towns to the confederacy. Among the demands of the town were several which show that the revolt was occasioned not merely by economic causes, but that the citizens raised their voices as the representatives of a broader enlightenment. They asked,

for instance, that the nobles be taxed as the citizens were; that the natives of America should not be treated as slaves, should not be transported to the mines as labourers. To give an appearance of loyalty to their movement, the towns opposed the emperor in the name of his mother, the mad Joanna.

Unfortunately there was no unity among the rebels. The nobles, as a whole, stood aloof from the movement, or supported the crown, which had more in common with them than the citizens had. The regents therefore found time to oppose a small, but well-trained, force to the army of the people. On April 21st, 1521, a battle was fought at Villalar, which resulted in the complete defeat of the citizens and the capture of their chief leaders. In a short time the revolt was at an end; the leaders paid for their presumption with their lives, and the towns with the loss of their rights. Spain was henceforward a ready instrument in the hand of an absolute monarch; and the foreign policy of the emperor, with all the glory it was to bring, could now break forth

in full splendour. A rising of the lower classes and labour guilds in Valencia, socialistic in nature and having nothing to do with the revolt of the Castilian towns, was also suppressed in the course of a few years. The guilds had availed themselves of the universal right to bear arms, which had been instituted as a protection against the attacks of the Algerian pirates, to form *germanias*, or brotherhoods, of their own; they then turned upon the powerful feudal nobles, who found a support in the Moriscos, the Moors who had remained in the country.

The situation enabled the government to take measures of great importance. It crushed the *germanias* with cruel violence, and thereby shattered the growing presumption of the citizens. At the same time, the intervention of the Moriscos in the quarrel gave it an excuse for grinding down this industrious class in the nation by restrictive measures, and for obliging a part of them to emigrate, to the great loss of the country and especially of the land-holding nobility. Christianity was then made obligatory upon all inhabitants, and the Inquisition was set to watch the zeal of the new converts with argus eyes. The old popular assembly of the Spanish kingdom, the Cortes, was naturally out of

**Honours for
the King's
Favourites**

**Feudal Nobles
Supported
by the Moors**

**Castilian
Towns in
Revolt**

place in the new absolute government. The Cortes of Castile were convoked for the last time in full session at Toledo in the year 1538. Once again the nobles ventured to oppose the financial policy of the crown, and were successful. Henceforward only particular orders, chiefly the procurators of the towns, were summoned to the assembly to vote supplies.

Shattered Dreams of Charles

There were no further protests of any importance against the burden of taxation, which increased rapidly under Charles V. Charles V.'s dreams of a universal monarchy were shattered by the hostility of France and the religious movement in Germany, notwithstanding the great sacrifices which Spain had made in money and men. For the moment, the country succeeded in bearing up under the heavy burdens which Charles had laid upon it. Here and there were traces of the decay of economic prosperity; but, thanks to the Moors who had remained in the country, industry, on the whole, thrived. Where the old Christian population was still in existence, Isabella, more than all others, had succeeded in planting new industries and ensuring their success, occasionally by artificial means. Under Charles V., Spain was still progressing, and those best foundations of national prosperity, agriculture and cattle-breeding, were still actively carried on.

The districts inhabited by the Moriscos, such as Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, were similarly in a most flourishing condition, whereas in the old Christian provinces the lust for adventure and the drain of men in the continual wars had made deep gaps in the peasant population. In the Moorish provinces the nobles, to whom most of the land belonged, had a particular interest in furthering the development of agriculture. Upon the high plateaus of the interior a grave change was going



FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC & HIS QUEEN ISABELLA
It was the ambition of Ferdinand to make Spain the dominant power in Europe, and all his energies were bent in that direction. During his reign Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, was conquered. Christopher Columbus found a warm friend in Isabella, when he sought assistance for his enterprises, but Ferdinand was not so sympathetic.

on, similar to the experiences of other countries, especially England, a change which worked most disastrously for the labouring portion of the population. Sheep-raising made great strides—Spanish wool had a wide reputation for excellence—and was taken up by the nobles and extended as far as possible. The price of corn was kept down by law; the peasants found themselves unable to live by agriculture, and were bought out of, or expelled from, their holdings. Where thousands of peasants had once tilled their fields, boundless pastures extended, trodden by millions of sheep and by the few herdsmen who attended them. But when the peasants were once driven from their land, when the elaborate system of irrigation had fallen into ruin and the villages were deserted, it was impossible for a long period to bring the land again under cultivation. Thus Spanish prosperity was largely dependent upon the Moorish population; but the national instinct, which made for purity of race, was irresistible when strengthened by the authority of the Church. It forced the crown and the nobles to choke up the sources of the nation's wealth. Such suicidal action was not complete under Charles V., or else its disastrous effects were counteracted by good fortune on other sides; but under his successor, Philip II., Spain shot up to a dazzling height of apparent strength and power and plunged with unutterable rapidity into ruin. Louis XII. died on the first day of the year 1515, and Francis of Angoulême succeeded him on the throne. The chivalrous king wished to win back Milan for his crown, crossed the Alps in summer, and defeated in the sanguinary battle of Marignano the Swiss of the Duke of Milan. The Pope now wished to be on friendly terms with the victorious king, and the Swiss confederation preferred to make a treaty of peace with him. The position

The Great Battle of Marignano

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of the French in Italy grew stronger and stronger, especially since, after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, on January 23rd, 1516, a friendly treaty was effected at Noyon between Ferdinand's grandson, the future Emperor Charles, and Francis, by which the daughter of Francis was betrothed to Charles, and the French claims on Naples were promised her as a marriage portion. A treaty with the Swiss was concluded in the autumn of 1516, by which a yearly sum was guaranteed to every canton; that is the treaty, by virtue of which the Confederates so long served under French pay, the same which incurred the bitter criticism of the patriotic reformer Zwingli. We know how the Emperor Maximilian in his latter years concluded peace alike with King Francis and with Venice, and how then, under the Emperor Charles, the fortune of war and diplomatic skill brought great results and still greater hopes now to one side, now to the other, until the Peace of Crépy shattered Francis's expectations of an extension of his dominions.

The king, during the period of his reign (1515-1547) was under the influence first of his ambitious mother, Louise of Savoy, and then of his chancellor, Antoine Duprat. His extravagances brought such uncertainty into all his actions as sovereign that his reign was in many respects very unprofitable for France. The Concordat of Bologna settled afresh the relations with the supreme head of the Church in 1516; the Pragmatic Sanction was put aside, and the right of the crown to appoint bishops and abbots was admitted, while the Pope recovered his right to the annates. The country was dissatisfied with this innovation, since the clerical posts were now given away merely by personal interest. The Parlement for a long time withheld its consent, but was obliged finally to yield to the wishes of the despotic king. The perpetual emptiness of the royal treasury, which was

**An Empty
Royal
Treasury**

inconsistent with the sums lavished on favourites, was partially remedied by the most unworthy transactions, while the king himself sacrificed his oath and his honour in political treaties without any thought of keeping his promises. Francis, and still more his mother, behaved with the same faithlessness to the Constable Charles of Bourbon as to the emperor, since the former was deprived of the inheritance of his wife, and was finally driven by this treatment into the enemy's camp. Nothing perhaps damaged the king more in the eyes of his contemporaries than the fact that he repeatedly entered into negotiations with the Infidels, the bitterest foes of Christianity, just as, though a good Catholic and keen opponent of heresy, he did not shrink from allying himself with the Protestant princes; and all from enmity to the intolerable power of the Emperor Charles. The old position towards England continued under Francis, and we know how Henry VIII. temporarily came to an agreement with the emperor in France. A year before the death of Francis, on June 7th, 1546, a peace was at length effected with England, as well as with the empire. While the vicissitudes of the war kept France continually in unrest, the material welfare of the people had

been promoted to some extent by the king; the silk industry was introduced at Lyons in his reign. He created a national fleet, and thus gave opportunity for voyages of discovery in the New World and the foundation of French settlements in Canada. He perfected the apparatus of war, especially artillery. He liberally supported scholars and artists. Leonardo da Vinci was brought by him into the country; Raphael is said to have been his court painter.

At his court for the first time accomplished ladies played a prominent part, but at the same time a licence in manners was introduced which was hitherto unknown. The new teaching of the Gospel had soon spread on French soil. But its followers

**The Faithless
Francis
of France**



FRANCIS I., KING OF FRANCE
He succeeded his father-in-law and uncle, Louis XII., on the throne of France in 1515, and during his reign the Reformation broke out. Francis has been described as "Protestant abroad" while "Catholic at home."

At his court for the first time accomplished ladies played a prominent part, but at the same time a licence in manners was introduced which was hitherto unknown. The new teaching of the Gospel had soon spread on French soil. But its followers

were immediately subjected to the bitterest persecution, in which the king, departing from precedent, assigned their persecution and punishment to the temporal courts. The king himself clung obstinately to the old faith, although he suggested the opposite to the Schmalcaldic princes, and invited Melanchthon to his court for the discussion of religious questions. In January, 1535, he ordered six Protestants to be burnt at the stake, and in 1545 he mercilessly massacred the remnants of the Waldensian community in Provence.

Lutheranism had, during the first twenty years of the century, found friends everywhere, and in all classes, including the king's sister, Margaret of Navarre, and the court poet, Clément Marot. But persecution, as well as the German origin of the doctrine of justification, may have hindered the growth of a sect and any dissemination of the teaching among the masses until the Church reform in France received a real head in John Calvin, who, leaning more on Zwingli than on Luther, began a work which was in many respects conducted along independent lines. His religious system at Geneva acquired

the more importance since it found considerable support in France, although Francis's son, Henry II. (1547-1559), persecuted the heretics no less violently than his father, from whose system of government he otherwise deviated in many respects.

The chief power at the court of Henry was his mistress, Diana of Poitiers—after 1548 Duchess of Valentinois—a reckless opponent of the new Church, which, definitely formulated in Calvinism, had a stronger basis than before, when individuals rather than dogmas were involved in it. And at the same time court intrigue readily availed itself of the new confession as a pretext for getting rid of objectionable persons, since an edict of 1551 made it the duty of the judges to search out heretics wherever they might be. Henry's foreign policy resulted in the recovery of Calais, which England had held for 200 years; but otherwise his reign is important mainly as the time when the seeds of the religious discoveries which distracted France for the next half century were sown.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE



LADIES OF SIENA ASSISTING IN DEFENCE OF THE TOWN AGAINST CHARLES V. IN 1553



ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII. CHANGES IN SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL LIFE

WIDELY different from his father's was the spirit in which Henry VIII. approached the problems of home and foreign policy. He began his reign by sacrificing his father's Ministers, Empson and Dudley, to the popular outcry against these too faithful agents. Aspiring, versatile, accomplished in the new learning, the friend and patron of scholars, capable of making heavy sacrifices for a whim or a generous impulse, Henry VIII. was the antithesis of his father. He threw himself into the religious controversies which Luther had aroused, and earned by his pen the title of "Fidei Defensor"; he trifled with extensive plans of foreign wars and conquests, dreamed of subduing France, and offered himself as a candidate for the empire.

Yet for many years he allowed his government to be controlled by a statesman who had imbibed the main principles of the old Henry's policy. Thomas Wolsey, at first the king's almoner, afterwards Archbishop of York and cardinal, aimed at gratifying his master's ambition by skilful mediation between the continental powers.

Of necessity the cardinal embarked at times in enterprises for which England had adequate resources. After he had, in 1511, brought England into the Holy League which had been formed by Spain, the Venetians, and the emperor to expel the French from Italy, Wolsey was compelled to find troops and money for useless attacks on the French frontiers (1512—1513), in which his master reaped some trifling laurels by the Battle of the Spurs (Guinegate) and the capture of Therouanne and Tournay.

The most brilliant success of the war was won upon English soil in the absence of the king. James IV. of Scotland, invading England in the interests of France, was defeated and slain at Flodden Field in August, 1513, rather through his own rashness than from any remarkable skill on the opposing side. Wolsey was fortunate in being able to wind up the war by advantageous

treaties both with France and Scotland. His abilities were better displayed in the course of the fierce rivalry between the houses of Hapsburg and Valois, which began when Francis I. was defeated by Charles V. in the imperial election of 1519. It has been supposed that Wolsey's dealings with Francis and the emperor were inspired by the ambition of procuring the papal dignity for himself. He was certainly tempted with this bribe on more than one occasion by Charles V., and would doubtless have accepted the tiara if it had been offered in good earnest.

But the main object of his tortuous intrigues was to aggrandise his master. He succeeded in convincing Charles and Francis that the attitude of England must decide the issue of their quarrel. He bargained alternately with each, and in 1520 was formally accepted as a mediator. His hope was to maintain the equilibrium of France and the empire. When war broke out he took the side of Charles as that most acceptable to the king, who never ceased to dream of emulating Henry V.; but, after the defeat and capture of Francis at Pavia in 1525, all the weight of English influence was used to save the French kingdom from dismemberment.

But the principle of maintaining the balance of power began to weary Henry VIII.; and Wolsey without his master's confidence was powerless. At home the cardinal was unpopular; he had concerned himself little with domestic questions, although some have discovered in

one of his measures the germs of a new and fruitful reform. To improve the intellectual standard of the clergy he began at Ipswich and Oxford to build and endow great colleges, the funds for which were provided by the suppression of small and depopulated monasteries. He may have hoped to forestall those attacks upon the Church which there were the best reasons for expecting. But his best

**The Power
of the Great
Wolsey**

**Wolsey's
Tortuous
Intrigues**

**Improving
the Standard
of the Clergy**



KING HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND

From 1509 till his death in 1547 Henry VIII. occupied the throne of England, and, in spite of his many failings and cruelties, held a warm place in the affections of his people. The King's relations with his wives, whose portraits appear on the opposite page, were anything but happy, and the whole story of his domestic vagaries reflects very little credit on him. With but scant sympathy, if any, for the Reformers, Henry made use of the Reformation for his own ends, but little imagined that his personal policy would have such a far-reaching effect on the destinies of the nation.

From the painting by Hans Holbein

energies were given to diplomacy, and it was currently supposed that he thought of England merely as a treasure house, to be despoiled for the benefit of his master and himself. He made heavy demands upon the Commons, which provoked unfavourable comparison between his administration and that of Henry VII.;

nor did he improve matters by attempting to browbeat recalcitrant members, and to raise benevolences when the liberality of Parliament proved insufficient.

Like all his house, Henry VIII. was sensitive to popular discontent. Now, as more than once in later years, he resolved to make a scapegoat of his Minister; and his

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII.

plan was brought to a head when Wolsey pressed him to cement an alliance with France against the empire, by repudiating Catharine of Aragon and marrying a French princess. The king caught at the first half of the plan. He was weary of Catharine, and mortified that she had borne him no male heir to make the future of the dynasty secure. But he had fallen under the spell of Anne Boleyn; a lady of considerable attractions and doubtful reputation, who appeared at his court about 1522. Wolsey was instructed to obtain from Rome a declaration that the marriage with Catharine had been null and void *ab initio*, and he was soon allowed to see that his French policy must give way to the wishes of Anne Boleyn.

The course which Henry desired the Pope to take was repugnant both to ecclesiastical law and to the conscience of the age. The marriage with Katharine had been contracted under a dispensation from the Pope, the validity of which Henry had never seriously questioned during eighteen years of married life. The plea that the legitimacy of Catharine's daughter, the only offspring of the mar-

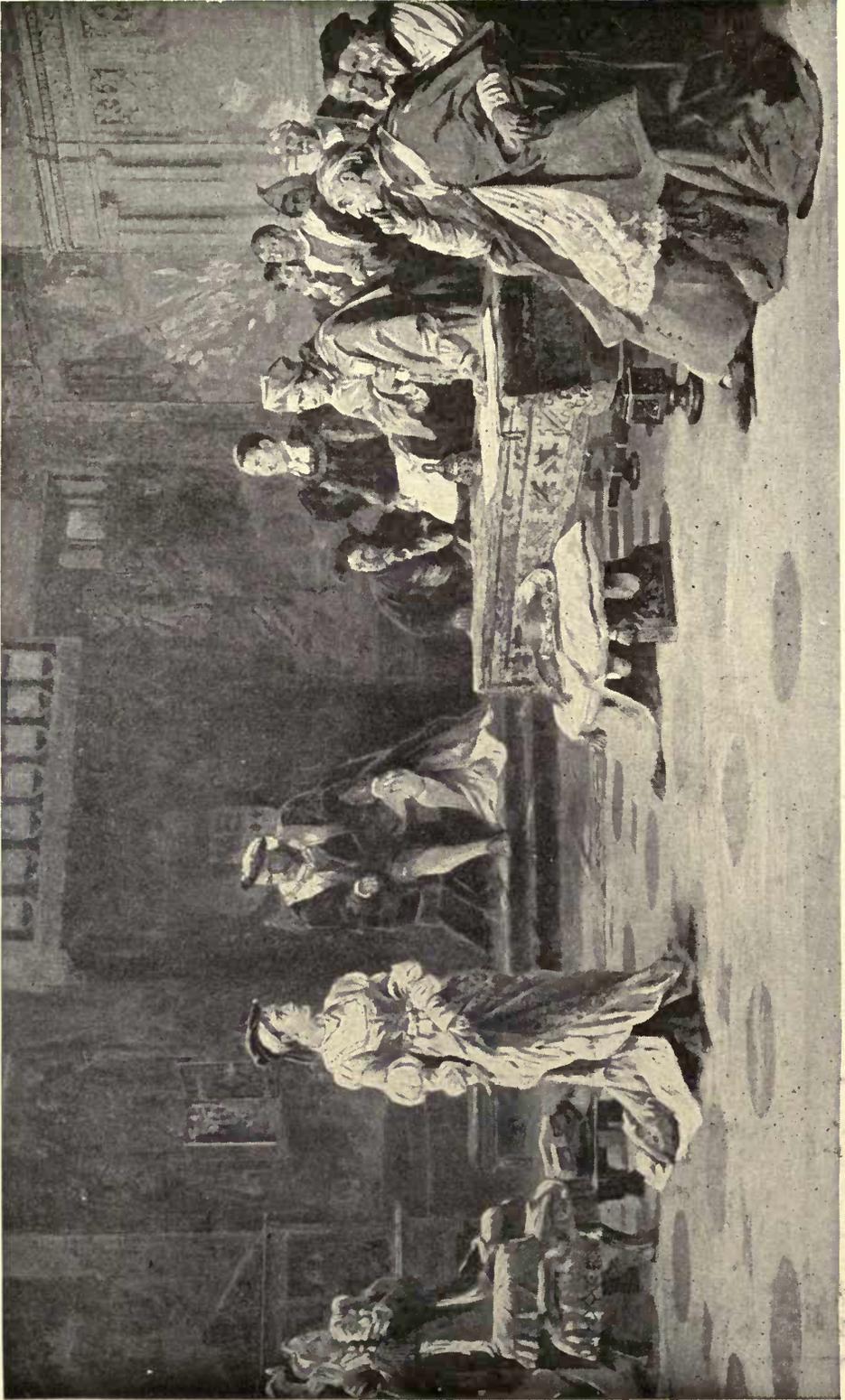
riage, had been questioned by a French ambassador was a convenient fiction. The divorce was demanded neither by dynastic considerations nor by the foreign policy of the king. It threatened, in fact, to estrange a large proportion of his subjects, and to irritate Charles V. without leading to a closer connection with Francis.

Yet Wolsey, rather than forfeit his position, undertook to press the king's suit at Rome. Possibly the cardinal counted on the Pope's refusal to set aside the dispensation of his predecessor; and Clement VII. did, after much hesitation, insist upon reserving the case for his own decision with the full intention of deciding against the king. But the Pope's firmness proved the ruin of Wolsey, who incurred the suspicion of having opposed in private the concession for which he pressed in public.

The cardinal was suddenly stripped of all his honours and the greater part of his wealth. Permitted to retain the archbishopric of York, he lived for a time in seclusion; but he was at length accused of treason and summoned to stand his trial. He died of a broken heart in 1530 on his way to answer a charge to which



THE SIX WIVES OF KING HENRY VIII.



THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHARINE AT BLACKFRIARS IN THE YEAR 1529

King Henry VIII, was only eighteen years of age when he married Catharine of Aragon, and after nearly twenty years of wedded life he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, and sought a divorce from his queen. When the trial opened at Blackfriars on May 31st, 1529, Catharine threw herself at Henry's feet in sight of all the court, and made a pathetic appeal to him. After a long delay, the marriage was annulled, and Anne Boleyn, to whom in the meantime the king had been secretly married, was publicly crowned and recognised as queen.



HOLBEIN'S PICTURE OF KING HENRY VIII. EMBARKING AT DOVER

In 1520 Henry VIII. sailed for France to have an interview with Francis I. Accompanied by Queen Catharine and his entire court, the king embarked at Dover and was escorted across the Channel by a great fleet of warships.

his whole career gave the lie, and his death removed from the scene the last and most skilful exponent of the foreign policy devised by the king's father. The idea of maintaining the balance lay dormant, until the religious struggle on which Germany had already entered and England was entering had divided Europe into two hostile camps, and dynastic ambitions had become inextricably confused with dogmatic controversies.

Before 1530 England was distinguished from her continental neighbours partly by the possession of a constitution in

which a unique importance was assigned to popular representatives, partly by a social system in which there existed no sharp and impassable frontiers between class and class. But the whole of the national life was overshadowed, at the close of the Middle Ages, by an ecclesiastical system which was framed on a model common to all the nations of the West ; and in matters of the faith England, like all other catholic communities, accepted the authority of Popes and general councils. The Reformation intensified the insularity of English life and



THE MEETING-PLACE OF KINGS: "THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD"

This is a companion picture to that appearing at the top of the page. The meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. occurred on English territory, in fields between the towns of Guisnes and Ardes, and was attended by great magnificence. So grand, in fact, was the display made by the nobility of both England and France that the spot where the meeting took place was named "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," there being no fewer than two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them covered with silk and cloth of gold, pitched on the surrounding plain.

national character, for the nation left the Catholic communion without entering either of those two Protestant Churches which rose, in the sixteenth century, to a position of international importance. Although highly conservative in tendency, the Anglican communion bears little resemblance to any other. The principle of subordination to the state, which its leaders accepted from the first, gave it stability as a national Church, but incapacitated it for any wider sphere of action. Even Scotland after some hesitation refused to accept Anglicanism and threw in her lot with Calvin of Geneva.

This peculiar character of Anglicanism is due to the circumstances under which the English Reformation took place. There were Lutherans and other Protestants in England when Henry VIII., unable to procure a divorce from the Pope, decided to deny the authority of Rome. But the English Protestants were then a mere fraction of the nation, and they were not invited to advise the government in the work of destroying and

remodelling ecclesiastical institutions. Henry VIII. intended that there should be no changes of dogma, or only changes of the slightest kind. His object was to bring the courts, the revenues, the patronage of the Church entirely under his own control, to make what confiscations

seemed convenient, to allow such alterations in the forms of service as were imperatively demanded by his subjects. The first effects of the Reformation were, therefore, constitutional and legal. The growth of a strong Protestant party, attaching paramount importance to certain dogmas and certain forms of Church government, was a gradual process. The earliest changes effected by Henry VIII. were indeed sanctioned by Parliament. But Parliament did little more than register edicts which it did not care, perhaps did not dare, to resist. The body which should have been the chief guardian of liberty became the most reliable instrument of despotism.

It must not be supposed that the impulse towards ecclesiastical reform was



CARDINAL WOLSEY
Originally the son of a small farmer, the crafty Wolsey established himself in the good graces of Henry VIII., rising in 1515 to be Lord Chancellor of England and cardinal. He was disappointed at not being elected Pope.



THE PROUD CARDINAL WOLSEY ON HIS WAY TO WESTMINSTER HALL

Preceded by a person of rank bearing his cardinal's hat, Cardinal Wolsey is here represented as going in procession to Westminster Hall. According to Cavendish, the biographer of the cardinal, Wolsey would issue forth "apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal, with a tippet of sables about his neck, holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out and filled up again with part of a sponge wherein was vinegar or other confections against the pestilent airs the which he commonly smelt when passing among the press."

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery



WOLSEY AFTER HIS FALL SEEKING REFUGE IN LEICESTER ABBEY

Wolsey's star, so long in the ascendant, waned at last, and the proud cardinal, incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, was driven from office, all his wealth and estates being confiscated. On his way from York to London to answer a charge of treason, the fallen churchman, broken in body and spirit, sought refuge in Leicester Abbey, and it was there, shortly before his death, on November 29th, 1530, that he gave utterance to the memorable words, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in South Kensington Museum

wholly wanting in the nation. The claims of the papacy to rights of patronage, jurisdiction, and taxation had been long resented. Even in the fourteenth century those of the first class were attacked by the statute of Provisors in 1351, those of the second and third by that of Præmunire in 1353; and both measures were renewed with increased severity by the parliament of Richard II. Wycliffe's attacks upon the abuses of the Curia were the most popular and best-remembered aspects of his teaching. Under the Lancastrians England had taken some interest in the conciliatory movement, of which the ultimate object was to reform the government of the Roman Church. And under the Tudors we can distinguish two parties of different composition which were profoundly anxious to raise the tone of popular religion.

The Renaissance in England, as in Germany, was coloured by devotional feeling; the great Oxford scholars were also religious reformers. Nowhere were the satires of Erasmus on the Church more eagerly read and discussed than in the cultured circles of which Warham, More, and Colet were the leading spirits. Lutheranism secured an English following

between 1520 and 1530; and the sect, though chiefly composed of obscure and humble enthusiasts, had caused anxiety to Wolsey before his overthrow. But in parliament the Lutherans and the scholars were practically unrepresented, and the latter were, almost without exception, repelled into extreme conservatism by the feeling that the king, acting under purely selfish motives, was likely to overwhelm the true and false elements of the national faith in a common ruin.

Among the Lords and Commons Henry depended for support partly upon those who were irritated by the arbitrary methods of the Church courts, by the excessive fees of ordinaries, by the moral censorship of many ecclesiastics; partly upon those who looked for a share of the Church's wealth; but chiefly on the timid and inexperienced, who believed that the divorce was essential to save the dynasty, and the ecclesiastical revolution, to put the legality of the divorce beyond all possibility of question.

For seven years Parliament was engaged in the work of reforming the Church. Legislation moved slowly at first, while there was still a hope of intimidating the

Pope; nor, when this hope failed, could the king secure all that he desired at once. Each new step raised new fears of resistance, and the momentous work was interrupted by a serious rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536-1537). The



WILLIAM WARHAM AND THOMAS CROMWELL
William Warham, born in 1450, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1504, and from 1506 till his death, in 1532, he was Chancellor of Oxford University. Thomas Cromwell was associated with Wolsey, and was created Earl of Essex in 1540. But his days of honour were soon over, and in July of that year he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

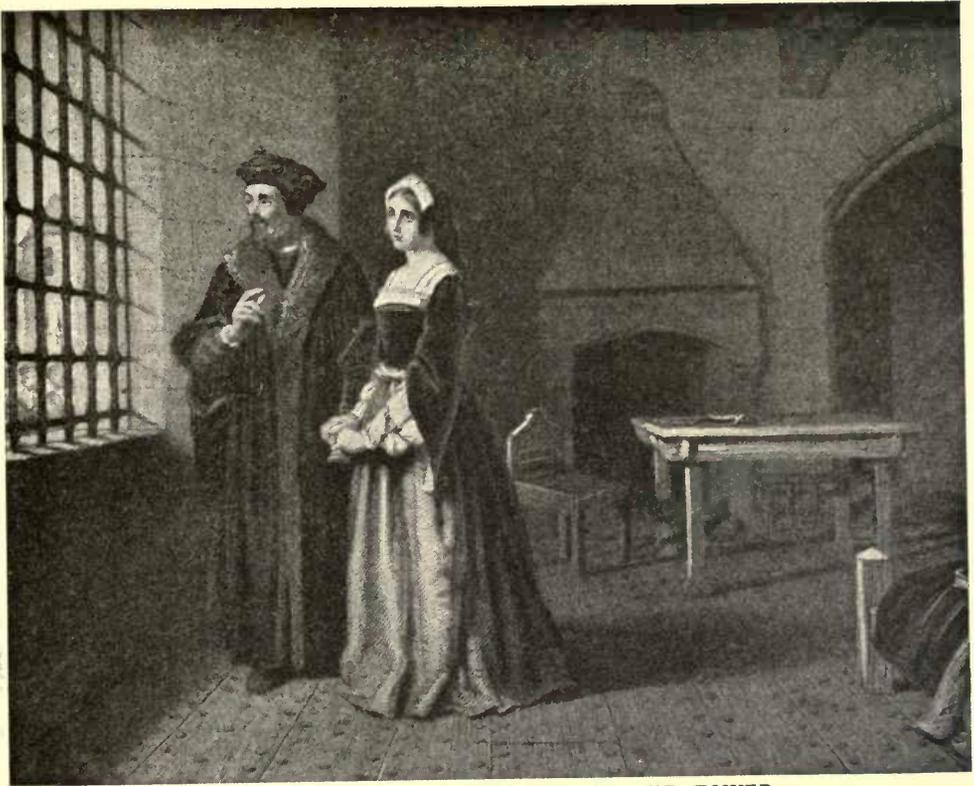
chief measures aimed against the Church were as follows. In 1529 popular sympathy was conciliated by legislation against pluralities, excessive fees, non-residence, and clerical trading. In 1531 the clergy were compelled, by the threat of a *præmunire*, to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the Church, besides paying an immense fine. In 1532 benefit of clergy was restricted, and the payment of first-fruits to Rome was abolished. In 1533 it was forbidden to bring appeals before the Roman Curia, and an act for submission of the clergy provided that no convocation should meet or pass any canons without the royal licence. In 1534 the king received the power of nominating to all archbishoprics and bishoprics—by the *congé d'élire*; and the Act of Supremacy made it treason to deny the king's power in matters ecclesiastical. In 1536 the work of spoliation was begun by the suppression of the smaller monasteries; and in spite of the rebellion to which this measure gave occasion, the greater monasteries shared the same fate within the course of a few years (1537-1540). The enormous spoils, both land and movables, were squandered chiefly upon courtiers, or used as bribes to secure the loyalty of the great families. A few new bishoprics were founded and endowed with monastic lands, but this measure, though loudly advertised, does not account for a tithe of the confiscations.

The moving spirit in the councils of the king, the man who shaped his legislation and intimidated Parliament to pass it, was the base-born Thomas Cromwell, one of Wolsey's servants, who had not only escaped the shipwreck of his master's fortunes, but had afterwards wormed himself into the favour of the king. Imbued with the lessons of the Florentine Machiavelli, this upstart made it his first object to establish an autocracy. He was of no religion, he had no scruples, and though free from the vice of wanton cruelty, he persecuted, without distinction of creed or class or merit, all who criticised the revolution. He burnt Anabaptists to vindicate his master's orthodoxy; he beheaded More, the leader of the Humanists, and Fisher, the most revered of the bishops, for objecting to the royal supremacy. He pacified the rebels of 1536-1537 by lying promises, and removed the fear of future risings by indiscriminate executions. His spy system was perfect; he knew everything, and forgave nothing. But he fell at length a victim to the despotism which he had created. He attempted, in his fear of a Hapsburg ascendancy, to bind Henry VIII. inextricably to the cause of the German Protestants. The king followed his Minister's advice so far as to issue the Ten Articles in 1536 and to marry the sister of the Duke of Cleves. Then he drew back, for he had no mind to be a heretic in dogma or

in foreign policy. The Six Articles, enacted by Parliament in 1539, announced the adherence of the English Church to the real presence, the communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession. In 1540, Cromwell was attainted and



SIR THOMAS MORE
When Wolsey fell from place and power, Sir Thomas More, against his own desire, was appointed Lord Chancellor. He was beheaded in 1535.



SIR THOMAS MORE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER

There is here represented an episode in the closing days of Sir Thomas More. Looking one day from his prison window in the Tower, he saw four monks on their way to execution, and he called the attention of his daughter Margaret to those "blessed fathers who were going as cheerfully to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage."

From the painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A., in the National Gallery

sent to execution. His place at the king's ear was taken by reactionaries, who atoned for their assent to the royal supremacy by the severity with which they persecuted heterodox opinions. Still the party of moderate reform gained ground at court and in the nation. It was represented by

the Primate, Cranmer, a pliant but well-meaning theologian, who drifted by imperceptible stages towards the Protestant position and exercised no little influence on the king. An English version of the Bible, prepared by Coverdale upon the basis of Tyndale's rendering, the English Litany, and a

primer of English prayers, were the great services of Cranmer to the national Church. Though opposed and denounced by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the chief of the reactionaries, Cranmer retained to the last his influence over Henry.

The Reformation began with a violent change in foreign policy. Yet the king reverted at the earliest opportunity to the leading ideas of his first Minister, in so far as he aimed at preserving the attitude of a neutral and a mediator. But he could no longer venture on officious intervention such as that of Wolsey. It was Henry's good fortune that



THE REFORMERS CRANMER AND COVERDALE

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the Protestant cause and was burned at the stake in 1556. In Miles Coverdale the Reformation movement had a loyal friend. His translation of the Bible appeared in 1535 with a dedication to Henry VIII.; he died in 1568.

the English Reformation coincided with a crisis in the relations of Hapsburg and Valois, and that the crucial years which followed his destructive legislation were those in which the Protestants of Germany engrossed the mind of Charles V. England was thus able to dispense with serious alliances, dynastic or religious. What attention the king could spare from domestic affairs was concentrated chiefly upon the Scottish question. In Scotland also there were two parties hostile to the Church—the one Lutheran, rapidly becoming Calvinistic by conviction, the other consisting of greedy nobles who coveted the lands of bishoprics and conventual establishments. Henry entertained some hopes of luring his nephew James V. to embark upon the same course as himself ; failing in this, he

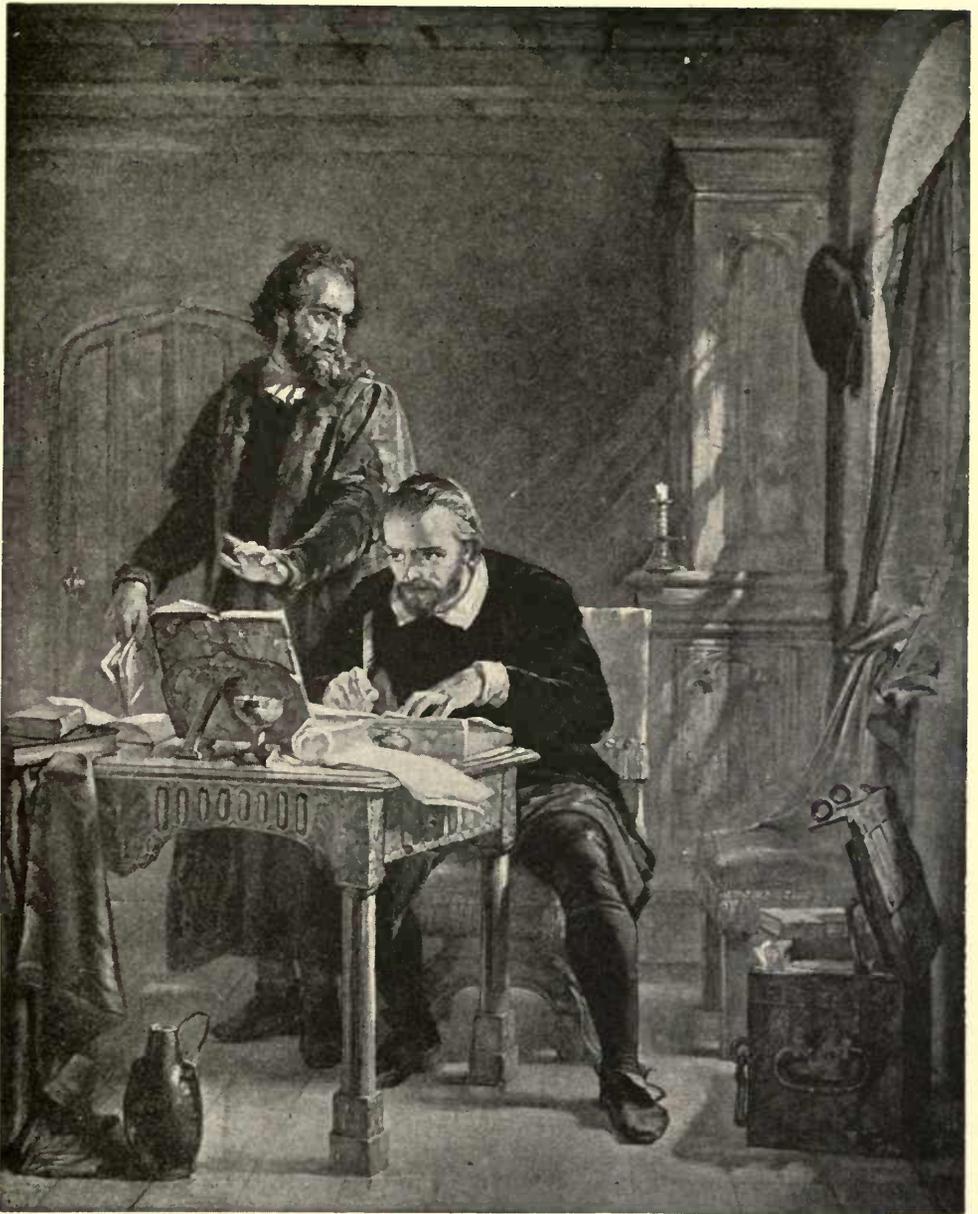
neglected no opportunity to foster an English party in the northern kingdom. James retaliated by reviving the French alliance, which he cemented by his marriage with Mary of Guise, and this step led to the outbreak of hostilities. A Scottish army prepared for the invasion of England, in response to an English raid into Scottish territory. At the battle of Solway Moss that army met with an overthrow disastrous and complete, the news of which came as a death blow to the Scottish monarch.

On the death of James, in 1542, the crown of Scotland passed to a minor, Mary Stuart. Her mother, who shared the duties of the regency with Cardinal Beaton, had work enough to cope with heretics at home, and would gladly have concluded peace with England ; but



"THE AMBASSADORS:" A NOTABLE PAINTING BY HANS HOLBEIN

Hans Holbein, the famous Dutch painter, went to England during the reign of Henry VIII., and painted numerous pictures of court life and prominent personages. "The Ambassadors" is one of the most famous paintings of the artist.



TYNDALE TRANSLATING THE SCRIPTURES

The devoted scholar and reformer, William Tyndale, was born in Gloucestershire in 1484, and with other Reformers fled to Antwerp when their enemies were seeking their destruction. There they wrote books in English in condemnation of the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was welcomed in England, but it was considered imperfect and inaccurate, and many copies of the work were publicly burned in London. In 1535, Tyndale was arrested, and, after being kept in confinement for sixteen months, was put to death.

From the painting by Alexander Johnston

Henry pressed his advantage, harried the Scottish border, and encouraged the Scottish Protestants to murder Beaton in 1546. The English king hoped by this policy to secure the complete control of Scotland, and to unite the crowns by a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart.

But he did not live to realise the folly of thus provoking a high-spirited and patriotic nation. He died early in 1547, leaving his own inheritance to a minor, and his death was the signal for English troubles not less acute than those he had fostered so unscrupulously in Scotland.



ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD & MARY AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION

A CHURCH of ambiguous complexion, a despotism newly established and dependent upon popular support, a bitter feud between reactionaries and radicals, such were the legacies of Henry VIII. to the nation. His numerous marriages, divorces, and settlements of the succession had introduced another element of confusion into politics. By Catharine he left a daughter, Mary; by Anne Boleyn, whom he married in 1533 and beheaded in 1536, a daughter, Elizabeth; by his third wife, Jane Seymour, who died in 1537, a son, Edward VI. The crown had been settled on Elizabeth before her mother's fall. It had again been settled on the children of Jane Seymour in 1536, Mary and Elizabeth being declared illegitimate. A third Act of 1544 settled it on Edward VI. and his issue, with remainders to Mary and Elizabeth. Finally, the king, in a will authorised by Parliament, provided that, on failure of his children and their issue, the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should succeed in preference to those of Margaret of Scotland.

More than one rebellion, and a fatal struggle between a Stuart and a Tudor queen, were the outcome of the hopes aroused or disappointed by these dispositions. It availed the king's children but little that he had diligently persecuted and proscribed the families of Yorkist or Lancastrian descent. The heirs whom he recognised were sufficient to provide posterity with war and strife. Under the will of Henry VIII. the government,

England Under a Council of Regency

during his son's minority, was to be vested in a council of which he had fixed the composition. The members were chosen apparently with reference to their religious opinions. Most were committed to Protestant principles, and Gardiner's name did not figure on the list. In his later years Henry had shown himself all but convinced that the

Reformation, if it was to be permanent, must be carried further. It would seem that he deliberately left to his executors the fulfilment of a policy which, however essential, was absolutely opposed to his earlier declarations. So at least the Council of Regency interpreted their mandate, and they selected as protector of the realm that one of their number who was most inclined to an extreme reformation. This was the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he soon became with the goodwill of his colleagues, the Duke of Somerset.

The duke was an idealist, though not untainted with the sordid materialism of his age. Economic reforms floated confusedly before his mind, and his one difficulty was where to begin in remodelling a world which indeed called urgently for many changes. His first step was to relax the tyranny of the dead king.

A Parliament which met in 1547 was allowed to repeal all persecuting statutes enacted since the time of Richard II., and most of the new treasons which had been created since 1352. The cancellation of the Six Articles gave relief to Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist alike. A statute was also repealed by which the late king had been empowered, under certain restrictions, to give his proclamations the force of law. So much the long-suffering Commons imperatively demanded, and Somerset, if he did not approve all these concessions, saw no possibility of denying them.

It was with greater zeal that he lent himself to the religious policy of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and the foreign preachers who flocked to England on the news of Henry's death. Already, in 1547, the Regency sanctioned a book of homilies and a set of injunctions to the clergy by which war was declared on images, the worship of the saints, and pilgrimages, while a new statute of confiscation handed over to the government the endowments

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD VI. AND MARY

of chantries, and also those of guild and other corporations so far as they had been appropriated to religious purposes. A Lutheran communion ritual, issued in 1548, proved but a halfway house to an English Book of Common Prayer in 1549; the universities were subjected to a drastic visitation, in consequence of which the adherents of the Henrician settlement were for the most part expelled to make room for Calvinist divines and teachers.

In religion the Protector, though moving fast and renouncing all pretence of compromise, was cordially supported by Cranmer, by a majority of the bishops, and by a large minority of laymen. The conservative majority were stunned by the suddenness of the attack, and the innovators found it unnecessary to apply the severer forms of persecution. Several members of the Regency, many of the rising class of gentry, amassed enormous fortunes by the new confiscations. But there was more difficulty when the Protector turned his attention to the social evils of the day. Here it was scarcely possible to suggest any remedies acceptable to the landowning interest, which ruled supreme in both houses of the legislature, and yet it seemed impossible to neglect complaints and protests which were only too well founded.

From the beginning of the Tudor period there had been signs of an impending social revolution. They were early made the subject of remedial legislation; they are vividly described in the preface to the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More; they furnished Latimer with copious material for homilies against the self-seeking of the upper classes. The oldest and most extensive cause of suffering was the substitution of sheep-farming for tillage. To create extensive pastures the landlords appropriated common lands and did their best to destroy the old system of manorial husbandry to which the country owed the boasted yeoman class, the back-

bone of every English army. The great profits of sheep-farming naturally produced a rise of rents, which told heavily against the tenant farmer. The demand for agricultural labour decreased; and the government did everything in its power to prevent the rate of wages from rising above the standard which had been fixed by legislation at a time when prices were much lower than they had now become. The suppression of the monasteries intensified these evils by bringing in a new race of landlords who treated their lands

as a commercial speculation, and presented, both in their methods of farming and in their relations with tenants, a sharp contrast to the conservative and easy-going policy of the evicted monks. It is no wonder that the sturdy vagrant became a familiar feature of the highways and a terror to substantial men, or that the problem of the aged and impotent poor caused the government profound perplexity.

Legislation of terrible severity was initiated against the former class by an act of 1531. The latter were at first, in 1531, ordered to beg their bread under protection of a royal licence, and afterwards, in 1536, made a charge upon the alms collected by the churchwardens of their respective parishes. But the causes producing both the one class and the other continued to operate with increasing force. Pauperism throve chiefly in the open

country, but the towns also were suffering from the plague-sore. Changed conditions of trade and the restrictive policy of the guilds had reduced many once thriving communities to destitution. The debasement of the coinage, begun by Henry VIII. and continued under the Protectorate, contributed in some degree to the ruin of doubtful credit and precarious speculations. There was a vague but angry feeling that the economic depression was an outcome of the recent changes in religion. Of those who felt



THE YOUNG KING EDWARD VI. He was only nine years of age when his father, Henry VIII., died, and, succeeding to the throne, a Council of Regency was formed. Before his death, in 1552, he settled the crown on Lady Jane Grey



THE BOY KING EDWARD VI. AND THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A.

themselves aggrieved, some desired reaction, others preferred to demand that the rights of property should be revised no less summarily than the government and the doctrine of the Church.

Somerset failed to understand the complicated nature of the economic situation. He thought a few simple measures would suffice, and in 1548 appointed land commissioners with orders to enforce the old laws against enclosures. The commissioners reported that it would be well to legislate against large holdings, absentee landlords, and the practice of farming for commercial gain. These wild proposals were rejected by Parliament, to the intense disappointment of those who had expected that the land commission would bring back the Golden Age; and Somerset committed the mistake of encouraging the popular outcry against the landed classes, and of publicly condoning the destruction of enclosures.

An unsuccessful war with Scotland still further aggravated his unpopularity. The French connections of the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, sympathy

for the Scottish reformers whom she had begun to reduce with the aid of French troops, and the hope of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his nephew and Mary Stuart, all these were plausible reasons for interfering in the north. In conception the policy of the Protector had obvious merits, in execution it

proved a humiliating failure. The English victory at Pinkie Cleugh, in 1547, had worse consequences than a defeat; they were realised in 1548 when Mary Stuart was sent to France to be educated in the Catholic faith and as the future bride of the dauphin Francis. The indignation of Scotland at English interference gave Mary of Guise increased facilities for the employment of French troops; the Protestant cause declined in Scotland, and there was a danger that the country might be used in future by the

Catholic powers as a base for the reduction of England. Close on the Scottish failure followed the risings of the peasants in Devonshire and Cornwall against the new Prayer Book; in Norfolk, under Robert Ket, against enclosures, in 1549. The Council of Regency, though easily



THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
The Earl of Hertford, on the death of King Henry VIII., became the chief figure in the Council of Regency and was made Duke of Somerset; he was executed in 1552.

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD VI. AND MARY

victorious over both rebellions, was thoroughly alarmed. In 1549 Somerset was removed from his office and imprisoned in the Tower. With his fall disappeared the title of Protector. The office of regent was put into commission, being vested in the Council as a whole. But the moving spirit, the protector in all but name, was Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, a coarse and self-seeking adventurer, who enriched himself and his colleagues with a total disregard of public interests. From purely selfish motives he threw in his lot with the more fanatical reformers, and carried to extremes the policy of Somerset. The immigration of foreign Protestants, chiefly refugees from Germany, was encouraged; and pro-

fessional chairs were founded at Oxford and Cambridge for Peter Martyr and for Bucer. In 1552, a second Prayer Book, adopting the Zwinglian theory as to the Eucharist and other controversial questions, was substituted for the comparatively moderate book of 1549. Forty-two Articles, the first Anglican confession of faith, were issued in 1553, ostensibly with the approval of convocation, but in reality upon the sole authority of the Council, and subscription was required from all the clergy. Iconoclasm, the disuse of vestments, the denunciation of all forms and ceremonies, were warmly encouraged; under cover of the excitement produced by the official preachers the government proceeded with the confiscation of endowments and church plate.



A QUEEN FOR NINE DAYS
Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England in London on July 10th, 1553, but occupied the throne for only nine days.



LADY JANE GREY BEING OFFERED THE CROWN OF ENGLAND

At the death of Edward VI., Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, and other nobles approached her with the offer of the crown. In this picture the artist, Mr. C. R. Leslie, R.A., represents that eventful moment in her life. Her husband is seen standing by her side; her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, is seated at the table; while the Duke of Northumberland, with an unrolled document in his hand, is kneeling before her.



THE EXECUTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE LADY JANE GREY

Even while Lady Jane Grey was being hailed as Queen of England, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII., was on her way to London to lay claim to the throne, and she was proclaimed queen in London on July 10th, 1553. The fate of Lady Jane Grey was thus sealed, and six months later she was beheaded at the Tower, meeting death with calm fortitude. While on the scaffold she made an affecting speech, telling the bystanders that her offence was not in having laid her hand to the crown, but in not rejecting it with sufficient firmness. Her husband also died at the scaffold.

From the painting by Paul Delaroche

Those whose opposition Northumberland had reason to fear stood in the greatest peril. Somerset was brought to the block on unsubstantiated charges in 1552; the Princess Mary, who obstinately refused to abjure her mother's faith, would have shared the same fate if the Council had not feared the effect of such a crime on public feeling. It was plain that her brother, a sickly and precocious youth, would not live to attain his majority; and Northumberland trembled for his head if Mary should succeed in accordance with the will of Henry VIII.

To avert the danger the duke pressed his ward to make a will altering the succession. This was done; and Edward designated as heiress of the crown the Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of Mary of Suffolk, the second sister of his father. Jane Grey had been already married to the son of Northumberland, who hoped in

this way to secure the crown for his posterity. Immediately afterwards the king's death left it to be decided whether the new settlement was to prevail against the old; whether Protestantism was to hold the field over the Erastian Catholicism which the legislation of 1530-1540 had set up and that of 1547-1553 had overthrown.

The issue of the struggle was not long in doubt. Northumberland was detested; time had cast a halo over the memory of Henry VIII., whose opinions it was understood that his elder daughter represented. While Jane Grey was solemnly proclaimed in London, the Princess Mary fled to the eastern counties and appealed to her father's friends. They responded with enthusiasm; the supporters of Northumberland melted away; and before many days had passed, he, his son, and the Lady Jane were prisoners in the Tower. The Duke's

execution followed as a matter of course, and excited no sympathy. But the other members of the dynastic conspiracy escaped lightly; public apprehensions as to a violent reaction were calmed by the Queen's assurance that she intended to put no force upon men's consciences. The promise was ill kept.

The leading reformers—Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Cranmer—were soon committed to prison, though not till they had been allowed the opportunity of seeking exile; and although the foreign Protestants were allowed to depart unscathed, the queen's coronation was followed by a step which boded ill for the future of the new faith. She determined to marry Philip, the son and heir of Charles V., the greatest of Catholic sovereigns. This could only mean the restoration of the unreformed religion, which again could lead only to persecution. A Protestant conspiracy was accordingly framed with the object of setting up Elizabeth as queen.

miniously routed; and Mary could afford to treat all but the ringleaders with contemptuous lenity, though Lady Jane and her husband were now sent to the block.



POLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
This English cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church distinguished himself in its service, and came to his native land while Mary occupied the throne with the object of winning it back to the old faith. In this mission, however, he failed.

Parliament, meeting a few weeks later—in April, 1554—was asked to sanction the Spanish marriage. It did so upon condition that England should not be expected to assist the Hapsburgs in their unceasing struggle with the house of Valois. Shortly afterwards Philip went to England and the marriage was celebrated. The terms of the marriage settlement had been so framed, by the wish of Parliament rather than of Mary, as to leave him no influence in the government, and he soon withdrew in disgust from a country in which he found himself both unpopular and insignificant. But

the marriage had disastrous consequences. Disappointed in her hope of children, Mary sought consolation in a devoted support of the true faith. It was against the wishes of her husband that



Hooper



Ridley



Latimer

THE MEN WHO LIGHTED A CANDLE THAT HAS NEVER GONE OUT

Hooper was a Cistercian monk at Gloucester, but was won over to Protestantism by a study of the writings of Zwingli, and was eventually burned at the stake. Nicholas Ridley was arrested, and, along with Cranmer and Latimer, was, in 1554, tried and condemned for heresy, being burned at Oxford in 1555. As the lighted faggot was laid at Ridley's feet, the aged Latimer cheered him with the prophetic words that will never die: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out."

The leader was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who led an army of Kentish Protestants to London in the hope of seizing the queen and capital. But the rebels were igno-

she became a persecutor; so far as he was concerned the fears of the Protestants were unfounded. The advice of his father and his own common-sense showed him the



HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARY

The daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Aragon, Mary came to the throne of England in 1553, and once more re-established the Roman Catholic religion. Part of her reign was taken up with stern prosecution of the reformers, many of whom perished at the stake. Her marriage to Philip II. of Spain had disastrous consequences. Calais, the last of England's Continental possessions, was lost in 1558, and the queen, grieved at this humiliation declared that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart. Her death occurred in the same year, 1558.

undesirability of persecuting a sect from the good will of which he might derive the most substantial aid. But Mary would not be restrained; the warnings of her husband were outweighed by the encouragement which she received from her cousin, Cardinal Pole. The cardinal was sent to England as a papal legate in 1554

to receive from Parliament the tokens of national repentance. He remained to direct the queen's policy, with the narrow zeal and the blind hopefulness of a repatriated exile. Parliament insisted that there should be no interference with the impropiators of ecclesiastical endowments. But for heretics the two houses

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD VI. AND MARY

showed less sympathy, and the persecuting statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. were re-enacted.

Early in 1555 the legate began to use against the reformed preachers the powers which had been thus conferred. Some of his victims recanted, but more were burned. The government struck at the leaders as a matter of course. Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer were all brought to the stake as quickly as the formalities of legal procedure would allow; but the inquisitors were soon busy with obscurer victims. The number of those who suffered has been much exaggerated. There were rather less than three hundred in four

before her end, and the knowledge added bitterness to the disappointments of her private life. These were sufficiently grievous in themselves. To childlessness was added the early loss of any affection which her husband had ever felt for her. The Spanish connection brought upon herself and Pole the displeasure of the fiery Paul IV., who was at feud with Charles and Philip; and a French war, into which she allowed England to be drawn at the instance of her husband, led to the loss of Calais in 1558, the last of the Continental possessions. Of this humiliation she said that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart.



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER ENTERING THE TOWER OF LONDON AS A PRISONER

Archbishop Cranmer was another of the Protestant leaders who suffered death for his convictions, and in this picture he is seen entering the Tower through the Traitors' Gate. He was induced by his judges to recant some of the doctrines he had espoused, but as this did not save him he revoked his recantation. When he came to the stake, on March 21st, 1558, he thrust his hand into the flames, saying, "That unworthy right hand!" thus carrying out the resolution he had made that the hand which, contrary to the heart, had penned the recantation should be first punished.

years, and these were drawn from a comparatively narrow area, from London and the eastern counties. The sixteenth century witnessed many epochs of more destructive persecution. But the reaction which the burnings excited was all the greater because they left the great majority of Protestants untouched. The queen's severity was sufficient to exasperate, not enough to produce the apathy of despair.

To all but the queen and Pole and a few kindred spirits it was soon evident that England could not be reclaimed for the old faith. Mary herself recognised this fact

For a month or two more she threw herself with increased zeal into the work of persecution; but at the end of 1558, prematurely aged by disease and grief, she died. A large minority of her subjects received the news with joy. It was the general hope and expectation that her successor, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, would sweep away the agents and the apparatus of Mary's propaganda. England was not yet Protestant; but four years of Pole and Mary had discredited the militant and ultramontane Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation.

H. W. C. DAVIS

THE PLACE OF HENRY VIII IN HISTORY

BY MARTIN HUME MA

UNDER Henry VII. England had been slowly and unconsciously ripening for the vast social upheaval that was to transform it into a modern state. Feudalism was still the framework of English institutions, but its power was spent and its disappearance before the changing conditions of life was inevitable. The powerful ancient nobles had to a great extent perished in the long civil wars, and the towns had increased enormously in wealth and population. With the growth of commerce coin was becoming everywhere the principal standard of value, and the old form of tenantry by service was already nearly obsolete. Most of the land of England was held on copyhold tenures, giving to the tenants fixity of possession for long periods, usually on light rents and with various fines and forfeits on demise, and nearly a third of the soil of the country was owned by the ecclesiastical foundations.

Such a state of things was an ideal one for the tillers of the soil and for those who worked for wages. The frequent plagues had cleared off surplus labour, the statutes of labourers had all been inoperative, and the growth of town industry, especially cloth manufacture, rendered competition for workmen keen, while the commutation of feudal service for a small payment in money or kind as manorial rent, made the husbandmen prosperous and free as they had never been before.

THE KING'S HEAVY YOKE ON LABOUR

It is calculated that at this period ten or twelve weeks of labour in a year would enable a workman to provide for himself and family, for while the ordinary labourer's wage was 8 cents per day, or that of an urban artisan 12 cents or 14 cents, wheat fluctuated in price between one dollar and \$1.25 per quarter.

This happy state of things could of necessity be only transitory. The servile yoke of villeinage had been shaken from the neck of labour; but a still heavier one was being forged to replace it. Henry VII. depended for the support of his usurped throne upon

Parliament and the commercial and industrial classes, for whom peace and stability were vitally necessary; he repaid their attachment by levying much of his heavy exactions upon the landowners and gentry. His foreign policy, moreover, tended greatly to benefit the mercantile classes. For the purpose of gaining the support of his upstart dynasty by the powerful combination on the Continent, headed by Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, he entered into a series of foreign alliances which greatly extended the facilities and security for English oversea trade. By his prompt recognition of the new fact that thenceforward the possession of coin would mean wealth and power, and by his crafty diplomacy, he prepared England also to play a prominent part in the world drama that was to occupy the succeeding century. This was the condition of affairs in England when Henry VII. died, in April, 1509. Change was imminent, for the world was throbbing with new thoughts, and the old gods were dying.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HENRY VIII

The man who in England was to personify the national revolution was fair of seeming, debonnaire, and bright of wit. But Harry Tudor's prime belied his gallant youth; for his was a nature that craves persuasion that all its deeds are good, whatever they may be. Concupiscent, passionate, and supremely vain, he was made to be a self-deceiving tool of greater men than himself. The vast changes he effected in social and religious life, and in the position of England politically, were not the result of far-seeing calculation on his part, but of circumstances over and beyond him, of which the effects were precipitated by Henry's opportunist action, at the bidding of his passions or at the instance of stronger minds.

His marriage with Anne Boleyn was the result of clever intrigues of the French party and the reformers; his repudiation of the papal supremacy was an ebullience of offended pride, urged by Cromwell for selfish political ends; his suppression of the monasteries

and the confiscation of ecclesiastical wealth were the outcome of his lavish prodigality; and, perhaps, the most disastrous of all his acts, the successive debasements of the coinage, were an attempt to disguise the effects of the waste incurred by a vain, showy, but ineffective foreign policy. That the final result attained was in some cases good for England is incontestable. The atrophy of feudalism would have passed away in any case; but Henry's patronage of shipping, and his care for foreign commerce, hastened its disappearance, while his breaking up and distribution of the vast monastic estates, though entailing terrible hardship, enormously stimulated the production and circulation of wealth in the form of wool and cloth.

The new class of landowners created by Henry speedily ousted copyhold tenants where they could, and turned arable lands into sheep runs. The enclosures of commons and limitation of manorial rights by the same class of owners increased the dependence of the rural populations, and sent husbandmen flocking into the towns to become weavers and to fight, as they had never fought before, for a living wage. Deprived of the aid and succour in distress previously extended by the monasteries to their class, their wages paid in coin so base that at last the silver shilling contained 75 per cent. of copper, the labourers, when the change was complete, found that it was necessary for them to work the whole fifty-two weeks in the year for an amount insufficient for their maintenance.

CHANGING THE FACE OF ENGLAND

While wages had increased but 30 per cent., the price of wheat had been almost quadrupled, varying, as it did, from \$3.50 to \$5 per quarter; and meat in twenty years had become three times its former price. Then it became possible, as it had never been before, to enforce by law a maximum wage. The Quarter Sessions, consisting entirely of employers and landlords, fixed the rate of wages to be paid in each district, and the tradition was thus established that the standard of wage was the lowest cost of subsistence. The workers of England in the reign of Henry were freed from villeinage by the march of

commerce, but their freedom only meant enslavement to their need to live.

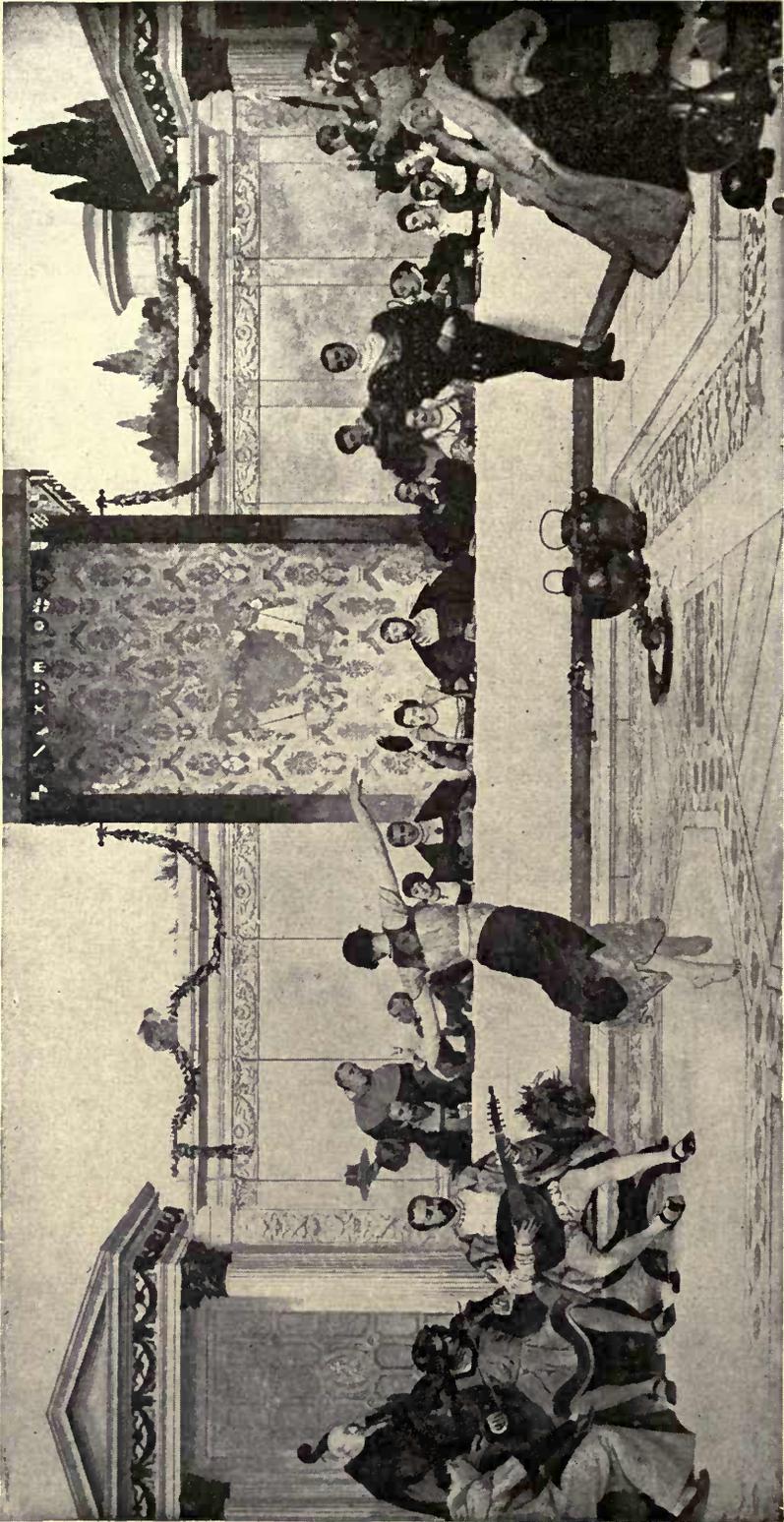
In less than thirty years the face of England changed. Wool and cloth were England's staples, and the wealth made by traders established a new standard of living for the middle class. Henry's ostentatious extravagance had been copied by the court, and this had to be paid for by increase in land rents or the sale of estates. Now an enormously enriched middle class imitated their betters, and became luxurious and extravagant. This had to be paid for by keeping wages down and raising the prices of commodities.

WHAT HENRY DID FOR HIS COUNTRY

To say that Henry changed the religion of England would be untrue. He himself professed to be a Catholic in all but his political submission to the Pope.

But he did, consciously or unconsciously, unlock the gates that had imprisoned English commerce for centuries. For the gross injustice and cruelty that accompanied the suppression of the conventual houses, and the plunder of the Church by Henry and Somerset, nothing but condemnation is possible now that we see the full iniquity of it; but to Henry, who needed for his extravagance the booty to be gained, the measure was excused as one demanded by the public morality and welfare.

The weak braggart who seemed so strong found England poor and backward, but ready for advance, and he laid the foundations of her future greatness; but in doing so he was prompted by no prophetic visions of national splendour, but by a vain despot's desire to have his own way, and by the passions that made him an easy tool without his suspecting it. His costly and unstable foreign policy was mainly the outcome of his imperious vanity, and brought him permanently neither honour, nor profit; but in this respect, too, he bided better than he knew, for the tradition which grew up in his time that the balance of the great continental rivals depended upon one or the other of them gaining the support of England enabled Henry to appear as playing a great patriotic national part, and in the days of Henry's forceful daughter became the main factor of England's supremacy.



A SPANISH BANQUET IN THE DAYS OF THE NATION'S GRANDEUR

From the painting by Sir James Linton

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
IX

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS THE BLIGHTING RULE OF PHILIP II.

THE rule of Charles V. had manifested the practical impossibility of combining under one sceptre elements so incongruous as the Burgundian dominion, or Netherlands, Spain with her fervid Romanism, and her transatlantic settlements, the Austrian inheritance, and the empire with its semi-independent principalities and its southern leanings. The Germans entirely declined to elect Philip, the future monarch of Spain, as his father's successor to the imperial crown. Before Charles died, the division of the Hapsburg power into Austrian and Spanish was formally carried out. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, "King of the Romans," and already for thirty years ruler of the Austrian territories, retained that portion, and succeeded Charles as emperor; the Netherlands, Spain, and the Italian dominion passed to Philip II. For the time being, the Spanish colonies overshadowed

The Vain Hope of Philip II.

Europe, while Germany fell into a secondary place. The prospect of the acquisition of England through Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor was indeed remote; but it was only by degrees that Philip was forced to relinquish the idea that England might be converted into a virtual Spanish province, either by his own marriage, or by that of a kinsman, with Mary's heir, Elizabeth.

The character of Charles V. was a compound of German and Romance-Iberian traits. In Philip II. the Spaniard was predominant. In Spain the Castilians of the highlands had already asserted their pre-eminence over all other branches of the Iberian stock. The peculiarities of the Castilian character, influenced partly by a harsh and unfavourable climate and partly by constant warfare against enemies at home and abroad, appear in Philip II. in their most emphatic form. His obstinacy, his unbounded pride, his cold reserve, and, above all, his religious fanaticism, were a legacy from his Castilian ancestors.

In Philip II., Spain's evil genius ascended the throne. His stubborn pride was deaf to the demands of the age. The adversaries of Charles V. had been, at any rate, tangible; but Philip entered upon a Titanic struggle, with no chance

Spain's Complete Overthrow

of successful issue, against the intellectual and religious movements of his century, which were as resistless as they were invisible. The stubborn resistance of the small offshoot of the Germanic race living under Philip's rule in the Netherlands broke the power of him who seemed the greatest monarch in the world. His irresistible fleet was shattered upon the chalk cliffs of England. The only victim of this gigantic struggle was Spain, which poured forth its blood and treasure in the war against spiritual freedom until it was utterly exhausted.

The complete overthrow of Spain was the special and particular work of Philip II. Charles V. carried on a foreign policy of immense scope; but, at the same time, he recognised the real foundations of his power, and when he increased the burdens which the people had to bear, he also did his best to increase their productive powers. But Philip's system of taxation was merely a wide system of extortion, which necessarily resulted in eating up both capital and interest.

The treasures of the New World could not satisfy his ever-increasing needs. The worst of all feudal institutions, immunity from taxation, was enjoyed by the nobility of Spain till a late period.

Spanish Craze for Emigration

Consequently, the enormous burden of taxation fell in all its weight upon the productive classes, the peasants and the artisans of the town. If we recollect that these classes had been already demoralised by the craze for emigration to America, that, as a result of the spirit of feudalism prevalent in the country, honest toil was despised and industry correspondingly

hampered, we can understand the disastrous results of Philip's financial policy. Manufactures, trade and agriculture swept downhill with appalling rapidity.

At first, Philip certainly wielded a power which was at that time unequalled. Besides Spain itself, he held the Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and, in

a certain sense, England also, as he had married Mary, the English queen. Besides his American possessions, he had also gained a part of the East Indies. The first undertakings of the young prince were crowned with success. As the irony of fate would have it, the most bigoted of all the monarchs of that age came into collision with the Pope, and sent his armies against Rome, to cure Paul IV. of his fondness for France and to bring him to reason. The French interfered, and war broke out. The Flemings and Spaniards, under Egmont, won a victory at Gravelines on July 13th, 1558, and the war was ended in 1559 by the Peace of Câteau Cambresis, which was equally welcome to both sides.

There were more urgent reasons for Philip's readiness to make peace than the lack of money, which he never allowed to mar his plans. He entered into a mutual alliance with the French monarch for the purpose of stamping out heresy, and attempted to strengthen the union by establishing ties of relationship. These facts show that he had at last perfected the idea which was to guide his future policy. War against Protestantism was henceforward the one thought of his cold and narrow mind, a thought which utterly blinded him to the evils which he was bringing upon himself and his people. Hereafter we see Philip feverishly active wherever there were heretics to be crushed.

He lost his influence in England after the death of his wife, Queen Mary; but he supported the claims of the orthodox Mary Stuart against the Protestant

Elizabeth after French interest in Mary's cause had become identified with the

Guise faction alone. In France he stirred Catholic hatred against the Huguenots. Everywhere Philip's agents and spies were actively doing their master's service, watching and checking the growth of Protestantism. But it was in his own dominions that Philip carried on the most cruel warfare against the heretics, and,

above all, in Spain, where Protestantism was just beginning to take root among the most independent minds. The king's chief weapon was the Inquisition, which had been originally instituted to deal with backsliding Moors and Jews, but now found a prey more worthy of persecution.

A large number of the noblest men of Spain, among them high religious and civil dignitaries, who had been in favour with Charles V., met death at the stake or in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Such unnatural selection necessarily degraded the spiritual and intellectual character of the Spanish people. At the moment when all over Europe there began the pursuit of knowledge and the unchecked striving after truth, the intellectual movement in Spain was choked up and poisoned at its source.

Philip's success in Spain could not be repeated in the Netherlands. The irony of fate had united this province to Spain, with which it was in the strongest imaginable contrast. The courtly and feudal character of the Spaniard could never harmonise with the blunt, democratic

character of the Flemish and Dutch traders. They had lived in amity with the cheerful

Charles V., but they deeply distrusted and disliked the cold and gloomy Philip. Perhaps the worst might have been avoided if Protestantism had not rapidly passed over the German frontier into the Netherlands, and stirred up Philip to most vigorous opposition. Upon the despatch of that inflexible fanatic, the Duke of Alva, to the Netherlands, in the year 1567, began that revolt which ended only in 1648, decades after Philip's death, in the complete loss of the northern provinces, and irretrievably weakened the body politic of Spain, like an incurable wound. In vain did the king recall the hated Alva after seven years of bloodshed; in vain did he endeavour to adopt a new policy; the evil system of repression bore its bitter fruit.

While Philip II. thus weakened the Spanish power abroad, he brought ruin on the internal prosperity of the country by his persecution of the Moriscos of Granada. It seemed as if the Spanish people could never rest until they had driven out the last remnants of the foreign race. That the Moors had so long maintained their position in the different provinces, and in some places even survived

**The Vast
Realms of
Philip II.**

**The Revolt
of the
Netherlands**

**Philip's
Hatred of
Protestantism**

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

Philip's reign, was not due to the goodwill of princes, clergy, or people, but chiefly to the circumstance that the great nobles drew a large portion of their income from the lands cultivated by the Moors. Even in Granada the nobles did their best to prevent extreme measures. But the royal edicts ruthlessly broke all compacts made with the Moors, and the grinding conditions which these imposed concerning both their social and their economic life drove the wretched people to despair, and finally brought on the outbreak of that revolt which, in spite of all their bravery, could result only in the destruction of the Moors. The war which began in the year 1568 did not end until 1570, after Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V., had assumed the supreme command. The Inquisition completed the task with its usual zeal and thoroughness.

Don John of Austria is the most brilliant and heroic figure of the reign of Philip II.; he is the incarnation of those bold and warlike traits of the Spanish character which Philip totally lacked. But the emptiness and indecision of Spanish policy appear perhaps nowhere so terribly clear as in the career of this prince, who was so highly endowed by nature. The mournful laurels he gained in the Moorish War were no real distinction. The greatest achievement of his life, the glorious victory he gained over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 7th, 1571,

remained without decisive result. At length, in the year 1576, he was appointed governor of the Netherlands, and wasted his best powers in a useless struggle against the Protestants of the northern provinces. The collapse of Philip II.'s policy is



PHILIP II., "SPAIN'S EVIL GENIUS"

The influence of this monarch, who married Mary Tudor in 1554, was wholly bad. He stamped out Protestantism in Spain, but failed to carry out the same policy in the Netherlands. The overthrow of the Spanish Armada by England marked the beginning of Spain's decline.

marked by the destruction of the Armada. The fanatic on the Spanish throne proposed to make a final and mighty attempt to overthrow Protestant England, to deprive the Netherlands of their best ally, and thus to put an end to Protestantism, at any rate in Western Europe. The execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 declared that England had definitely broken with the Catholic Church, and was a bold challenge to the power of Spain. Philip's reply to this act of defiance was what seemed an irresistible attack on the English kingdom. He claimed the crown as a descendant of John of Gaunt, on the pretext that, after Mary's death, all claimants with an otherwise superior title were barred as heretics. Actually the attempt resulted in the destruction of the Spanish sea power in 1588. The Armada, that giant navy, was shattered by the English fleet, and ultimately destroyed by tempests. With it sank the numberless millions which had been extorted from miserable Spain. Philip's resources were exhausted, and for the last ten years of his life he was reduced to the condition of acting only on the defensive. Spain was not the only country that had to bear the consequences of

Philip's political failures: fate had also brought Portugal, the last independent state in the peninsula, in an evil hour, under the sceptre of the ruler who had shattered the prosperity of Spain. It would indeed be false and unjust to make Philip alone responsible for the ruin of Portuguese prosperity, since that had been determined long before his interference by Portugal's erroneous colonial policy. Neither in Spain nor in Portugal had the great truth been realised that colonies can prove a benefit to the mother country only when they give a stimulus to home industry, and when colonial commodities can be exchanged for the produce of home manufactures; and that there could be no benefit when mountains of gold, extorted by the ruthless oppression of the new possessions, were recklessly squandered at home.

Unfortunately for Portugal, circumstances had become so unfavourable that even a far-sighted government could hardly have checked the internal corruption of a state which seemed so prosperous on the surface. If the boundless colonies were to be retained, it was

necessary to send out unstinted reinforcements of troops and sailors from the little kingdom until the centres of manufacture and agriculture were made desolate, and prosperity declined on every hand. The luxuries demanded by the increasing wealth of the great towns had to be imported from the other industrial countries of the time. The prudent merchants and manufacturers of the Netherlands were able to divert to the enrichment of their own industries the stream of gold which Spain and Portugal poured forth like a devastating torrent.

The ancient hatred for the Moors, which had led Spain into various undertakings on the north coast of Africa, also roused the Portuguese to action. Petty wars were continually raging on the coast of Mauretania, where several fortresses were

conquered and held by the Portuguese until their great successes in India withdrew their attention from Africa. Under King John III. (1521-1557), and during the regency of Queen Catharine, who ruled in behalf of her young grandson, Sebastian, affairs in North Africa fell into the background. Meanwhile, that spirit of fanatical intolerance which had risen to such portentous power in Spain had also become manifest in Portugal. The Inquisition and the Jesuits had made good their entrance. As fate would have it, side by side with Philip, the gloomy and fanatical king of Spain, ruled Sebastian of Portugal, a fiery, romantic, and visionary devotee, who was even more successful than Philip in destroying the political existence of his country. Sebastian's views became utterly

changed under the influence of his Jesuit advisers. In the year 1577 the king, who, in a spirit of asceticism, declined to marry, began a crusade against Morocco. The deficiency in men and money became painfully apparent in the course of his preparations. The adventure was made without foresight, and

came to a miserable end. At Alcazar, not far from Tangier, the army of Sebastian was overthrown by the onset of the Moors on August 4th, 1578. The king himself disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again.

The last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, the old Cardinal-Infant, Henry, now took the reins of government. When Henry died, in the year 1580, Philip asserted a questionable claim to the crown by inheritance through his mother; a Spanish army crossed the frontier, succeeded in establishing itself by treachery, bribery, and force of arms, and compelled Portugal to bow to the yoke of Spain whether it would or not. Portugal's immense colonial empire also fell into the hands of the Spanish king, whose power then reached its zenith, but



KINGS OF PORTUGAL: JOHN III. AND SEBASTIAN
 Portugal was at the zenith of its fame and prosperity when John III. ascended the throne in 1521, but the influence of the Jesuits and the Inquisition controlled the country's development. Sebastian, a grandson of John III., was killed while fighting against the Moors in 1578.

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from that great height it was soon to fall in utter ruin and to drag down the Portuguese nation into the abyss with itself.

During the religious dissensions in Germany the Emperor Charles had always been desirous that another council should be held. The session at Trent had at last begun on December 13th, 1545, but was interrupted several times by the changes in politics (1547-1551; 1552-1562), and was reopened for the last time on January 18th, 1562, and definitely concluded on December 4th, 1563. The course of the assembly had not been altogether a brilliant success. The object in view had been several times changed. Efforts indeed had first been made to win back the heretics, and for this reason, at the beginning of 1552, Protestants also had been from time to time admitted to the conferences.

But the effect of the Council of Trent, taken all in all, was nevertheless much more permanent than that of any earlier council, because the organisation of the Church was firmly established, the ecclesiastical constitution reformed and the contents of the articles of faith authoritatively fixed, so that the form assumed by the Catholic Church in the succeeding period was only the practical result of the resolutions taken at Trent. It had already been recognised that the unclerical life of so many professed servants of God did not harmonise with the requirements of the Church; but the revival of Catholicism—provoked by the activities of Protestants—made educational and moral reform essential throughout Christendom, and made some energetic steps seem doubly urgent. Resolutions in this direction were adopted at Trent, which were intended to solve this problem. The scientific and religious education of the clergy was specially organised, and at the same time the plurality of benefices prohibited, so that a less expensive and luxurious mode of living should for this reason be adopted.

The solution of the first-mentioned problem would have been the most difficult task for the Church twenty years previously; but now it was comparatively easy, for in quite a different quarter the Church had



KING HENRY OF PORTUGAL
He was the last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, succeeding Sebastian, and when he died, in 1580, Philip of Spain laid claim to the crown, and seized the country.

found a new ally in the order of Jesuits, which, on a basis similar to that of Protestantism, used the teaching of the Humanists in order to train the intellects of the future clergy. The founder of the order was Inigo Lopez de Recalde de Loyola, better known as Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), a Spaniard by birth, who at first had followed the profession of arms. Having been severely wounded in 1521 he tried to satisfy his religious cravings by asceticism, wandered over the world, diligently studied the theologians, and finally formed the resolve to become the protector and champion of the Catholic Church against the new doctrines. As early as 1528 he found in Paris a circle of enthusiastic followers—Layneze, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, Lefevre, and Xavier—who were ready to join him in work and in asceticism, and to throw themselves body and soul, in a way hitherto unknown, into the service of the mediæval Church.



WILLIAM THE SILENT
It was to William, Prince of Orange, that the Dutch republic owed its independence. He headed the Netherlands' opposition to Philip II., and was assassinated in 1584.

An organisation was necessary in order to carry out these purposes. This was created by the papal Bull, which, on September 27th, 1540, instituted "the Company of Jesus," that is to say, a community of at most sixty members who promised to devote themselves to the dissemination of the true faith, under the strictest obedience to their superior and the Pope. Their chief duty was missionary work, and this they carried out by indefatigable wanderings through every land. But it was only after 1543, when the number of members had begun to grow, that the organisation and its efficiency expanded beyond the original sphere. Loyola himself became, in 1541, the first general, whose will was necessarily obeyed by every

member of the order by virtue of the implicit yielding up of all individual will or opinion. The hierarchic system was here developed in the strictest conceivable manner, and the fruits corresponded thoroughly with the exertions of the members of the order. Their numbers and their influence increased with astonishing

Activity of the Jesuits rapidity in every country; settlements were formed everywhere, which were geographically grouped into provinces, while many individual brothers were busily employed as teachers in grammar schools and universities. This task was doubly important in Germany, since the advanced teaching of the Protestants threatened to gain a complete victory; Jesuits appeared as teachers in the Bavarian university of Ingolstadt as early as 1549, and gradually made this academy entirely subservient to them; a Jesuit college was started at Munich in 1559.

But even before this Loyola had induced the Pope to take a most important step for the counter-reformation in Germany, by founding the German College at Rome in 1552, an institution at which successive groups of German theologians were to be educated in the Jesuitic spirit. The students of this college were to form the flower of the troops in the war against Protestantism, to hold the foremost positions in the German Church, and gradually to lead back the lost Germany to the bosom of the Church.

While the Protestant theologians, after the Peace of Augsburg, began a violent dogmatic struggle with the Swiss Reformed Church, and while there was furious opposition in electoral Saxony to Crypto-Calvinism, German Catholicism gained in spiritual strength, and was able to aim a blow at Protestantism from Bavaria and Austria. It is remarkable that the papal policy met with approval from these two temporal princes almost alone, while of the numerous spiritual princes

German Catholicism's New Life some were openly inclined to Protestantism, and some were regarded in Rome at least as untrustworthy and could only gradually be induced to acknowledge the Tridentine confession of faith. Now for the first time a closer and more regular bond was drawn between Germany and the Curia, in which a more earnest spiritual life began to be the rule, by the founding of so-called Nunciatures, beginning with

Vienna and Cologne; a much stronger influence from Rome could thus be exercised on the Cathedral Chapters, especially at the election of bishops, than by the individual legates of the earlier system.

Those who occupied the episcopal sees in Germany after the eighth decade of the sixteenth century were in fact far more zealous Catholics than their predecessors; being partly younger princes of the families of the Hapsburgs and Catholic Wittelsbachs, they were also politically connected with princely houses and prepared to carry out the decrees of Trent within their jurisdictions. In this way a uniformity was again brought into the policy of the many Catholic princes, while on the Protestant side the continual struggle between electoral Saxony and the Palatinate prevented any uniform action. The Catholics had always the majority in the diet both in the college of the electors and in that of the princes.

In one place only Protestantism gained temporarily a fresh success—on the Lower Rhine, where numerous Protestants, banished from the Netherlands, sought refuge. Protestants appeared in the town council of the imperial city of Aix la Chapelle in 1574, and a few years later they were in the majority. In the archbishopric of Cologne, the archbishop, who wanted to marry Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, tried to carry his province into the reform; but at the same time, while violating the conditions of the clerical state, he wished to rule as a temporal prince. He publicly adopted Calvinism in 1582, and married on February 2nd, 1583. But the states did not follow him, and since the Lutheran princes took little or no care for the Calvinist, the newly chosen Archbishop Ernest of Bavaria won a victory with Spanish help and was recognised as elector, in 1584, by the empire and even by the Protestant princes.

This was a great success for Catholicism, and all the more so because now for the first time the attempt at establishing Protestantism had failed, and the feeble efforts of the Protestant princes had shown that the days of the Schmalcaldic League were past. On the north-west frontier of Germany a great change had been produced in the Netherlands, where the fanatics had already found a home,

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and Calvinism began to spread widely. Charles V. had taken vigorous measures against the heretics, but without distinct success, more especially since the local ruler was unpopular on political as well as religious grounds.

Philip, the son of Charles, had taken over the government in 1556 from his father; but it was inevitable that he should be personally hateful to the Netherlands, as being a thorough Spaniard, which could not be said of Charles. The presence of Spanish troops during the period after 1550 created intense ill-feeling among the people, while increasing financial difficulties, coupled with dwindling returns from trade, of which England now began to take a share, made themselves felt. All this fostered the thought of revolution among the people, and matured the plan of finally shaking off the Spanish yoke.

When Philip left the Netherlands in 1559 in order to visit Spain, he appointed his stepsister, Margaret of Parma, to the regency, a post she was well qualified to fill, especially since she was supported by a central government which Charles had splendidly organised. But the Council of State contained, besides the Spaniards and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a most loyal servant of his king, a large number of the nobility of the Netherlands who were not disposed to submit without demur to Spanish ideas, and adhered to the Protestant doctrines. Foremost among them was to be Prince William I., the Silent, of Orange-Nassau. In order to support the Catholic religion Philip formed new dioceses, and intended to interfere in the French religious struggles in the interests of the Catholic party, but he met with the keenest opposition from the leaders of the nobility.

William of Orange, in the struggle with Philip, sought an alliance with the German Protestants—he was the son-in-law of Augustus, Elector of Saxony—and with the Huguenots of France. The crisis became more and more acute after 1563. The nobility demanded that the States-General should be summoned, but Granvelle would not entertain the idea. The destruction of the political and ecclesiastical supremacy of Spain would have been sealed by this step. Philip gave way once more to the urgency of the nobility, and recalled Granvelle in the spring of 1564. Nevertheless, the old spirit still prevailed

both in the government and among the people; indeed, the Protestant movement became more and more violent, since the stadtholders in the provinces allowed themselves to be taken unprepared to carry out the strict orders of the government against the heretics. The Inquisition had begun its work, but the people and the nobles revolted against it, and Margaret was obliged to consent, in 1565, to the sending of an embassy to the king in order to lay before him the demands of the Netherlands. Count Egmont was chosen for this mission to the royal court; but he achieved no results.

The Inquisition was sustained, and the States-General were strictly forbidden to assemble until complete religious—that is to say, Catholic—order had been restored. This was more than the people could tolerate. The command of the king was ridiculed; the populace rose in Antwerp, and the provincial stadtholders refused to comply with the orders of the government. In November, 1565, by the so-called compromise of Breda, a secret league of the nobility was effected, which meant the paving of the way toward the revolution against Spain and the Inquisition.

The first act of the members of the league was to send a petition, on April 5th, 1566, to Margaret, the regent, with the old demands. To this she returned an evasive answer, and the petition resulted in nothing. In the summer, therefore, a new petition was presented, in which the "Beggars" (the "Gueux")—the petitioners had thus styled themselves at the suggestion of Count Henry of Brederode—demanded the abdication of the regent and the appointment of a national government. Philip of Montmorency-Nivelle, Count of Horn, was for the future to guide the fortunes of the country in conjunction with Egmont and William of Orange, and to protect the country by levying troops. But in August,

1566, before Margaret had returned an answer, the Calvinists, who were now becoming very powerful, began their career of image-breaking, and then enlisted troops for the defence of the reformed faith. This riotous expression of religious life appealed but little to the nobility and the great merchants. The regency made some concessions to them, being alarmed at the rising of the masses, and thus the interests

**The Brave
William
of Orange**

**Protestant
Stand against
the Inquisition**

**Vandals
Among the
Calvinists**

of the nobles and the people were divorced. Margaret was able, in 1566 and 1567, to repress the rebellion in the most important places, and, contrary to her former promises, to restore the Inquisition to full activity.

She had won a complete victory, but she did not reap the fruits of her work, since King Philip, in August, 1567, sent the Duke of Alva, equally renowned as general and statesman, into the Netherlands in order once more to enforce the recognition of the absolute government. Such full powers were given to Alva that Margaret abdicated in December, and resigned her post to the duke. The complete restoration of the old faith was the chief aim of the king and of his stadtholder. A specially commissioned board of inquisitors began their bloody work that same winter. Counts Egmont and Horn were arrested on September 9th, 1567, and executed on June 5th, 1568, while William of Orange escaped to Germany. His attempts there to win help for the liberation of his country were unsuccessful. Alva not only executed with extreme severity all the king's measures, and insisted on the Catholic Church organisation, but also burdened the country with taxes, especially the "tenth penny," for the support of the army, while he gradually disregarded the States-General as a body on whose vote national taxation depended. He seemed to have brought the whole of the Netherlands under his heel.

A considerable number of Lutherans and Calvinists had escaped execution by flight. They had gone to the coasts and the sea in order to find in a wild, piratical life as "sea-beggars" some compensation for the loss of their former prosperity. These freebooters had already recorded a success on April 1st, 1572. They captured and held the town of Brielle, and took possession of other places while Alva was busy on the French frontier. William of Orange had always exercised a cheering influence on the rebels from a distance, and had found means to levy troops in Germany. On July 18th, 1572, he was nominated by the Dutch provincial states, assembled at Dordrecht, as stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht—that is to say, as constitutional representative of the King of Spain. This action meant rebellion in Alva's eyes; but it was only

**Protestants
Become
Freebooters**

after he had captured the town of Mons, in Hainault, that it was possible for him to advance towards the north. Haarlem held out for seven months, and was taken only on July 12th, 1573. Other places, especially Alkmaar, showed defiance. Alva, however, before the end of the year, left his post, being thoroughly convinced of the fruitlessness of his exertions.

His successor was the former governor of Milan, Luis de Requesens y Zuniga. The conduct of the Spaniards was changed on his appearance. Requesens would have willingly negotiated for peace; but it was now too late. The "beggars" were ready for all emergencies. The war continued, and not to the disadvantage of the Spaniards; they were victorious under d'Avila on April 14th, 1574, at Mooker Heath, and held the town of Leyden closely invested from May 25th to October 3rd.

But before his death, on March 4th, 1576, Requesens was fated to see that the rebels had accomplished a union of Holland and Zeeland, and had named William of Orange commander of the forces on sea and land. This was an important advance on the road towards national independence, for the idea of a French or English protectorate to take the place of Spain had already been mooted. There was now a long interval before a new stadtholder appeared. Even the partially victorious troops mutinied when their pay was not forthcoming. They began to roam through the land, plundering on their own account, and so roused the personal resistance of the population, which, organised into a national guard, took up arms against them at many points.

One thing more was required for the expulsion of the foreigners—the union of the northern and southern provinces. This was accomplished in the "Pacification of Ghent," on November 4th, 1576, by which thirteen provinces united for the common peace of the country, to be crowned by an equal toleration of the Reformed and the Catholic religions. The new stadtholder, Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, half-brother to the king, was obliged to recognise the agreement on February 12th, 1577, and did not enter Brussels until May 1. William of Orange had been unwilling to negotiate with the governor, and soon noticed that John was not sincere in his professions. Indeed, Don John had in July occupied Namur in order

**Rebel
Troops in
Mutiny**

once more to show the power of Spain. But his attempt was useless; all the provinces except Luxemburg rose again, William entered Brussels, and was nominated as Ruwaard, or Regent, of Brabant before Archduke Matthias of Austria—afterwards emperor—who had been summoned to the country from the southern provinces, could gain a footing. The States-General were now bold enough to depose Don John, and on December 10th, 1577, to form a new league of the seventeen provinces in the union of Brussels, in which the reformed religion was declared on a complete footing of equality with the Catholic.

King Philip had sent Prince Alexander Farnese of Parma with ample forces to the support of Don John, and a victory was won over the army of the federation at the beginning of the year 1578. But the reinforcements grew less, and Don John died on October 1st, 1578. Religious dissensions in the States-General between Calvinists and Catholics arose, and became more and more acute, so as to threaten the recently-acquired unity, especially since Alexander of Parma, with wise moderation, conceded to the Catholic southern provinces practically all their claims, which were political, not religious, and so drew them over to the Spanish side; the Spanish regent once more ruled over a people.

The great Pacification of Ghent was dissolved by the founding of the Walloon Union of Utrecht, on January 6th, 1579. Orange, however, contrived to oppose a northern Protestant district to the southern Catholic district. In the union of Utrecht on January 23rd, 1579, the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Friesland, formed a combination which, supported by the patriotic citizens of the progressive northern towns, laid the foundation for the later "United Netherlands."

The steady progress of Parma, on the one hand, and, on the other, the diplomatic dissociation of the southern Catholic provinces from the northern Protestants, with whose demands for religious liberty the south did not sympathise, isolated the union of Hollanders. Without external support, it seemed impossible for Orange to maintain his resistance. Help might be looked for from two quarters: England, where the popular sympathy was strong;

and the Huguenot section in France, who regarded Francis of Anjou, better known by his earlier title of Alençon, as their figurehead. Elizabeth, however, was resolute in rejecting the Dutch offer of an English protectorate. She was ready enough to permit such underhand help to be given as might keep the revolt from entire collapse; but she was not yet prepared for an open rupture with Spain. Orange, therefore, turned to Alençon, the more willingly because the Queen of England was doing her best to make him and everyone else believe that she was going to surrender her hand at last to that grotesque suitor.

At the beginning of the year 1582, Francis, Duke of Anjou, was acknowledged as the future ruler of the Netherlands, except Holland and Zeeland, and allegiance to the Spanish king was renounced, while Archduke Matthias withdrew from the scene of his unsuccessful efforts. The French prince, however, did not enjoy his new position, for, contrary to the compact which he had formed, he attempted to undermine the freedom of the Union, and was therefore driven out with his French followers in June, 1583.

Even yet the country did not become tranquil, quite apart from the continuously threatening attitude of Parma, for on July 17th, 1584, Prince William of Orange fell by the bullet of an assassin, after the southern Walloon Catholic provinces had completely attached themselves to Spain. In the course of the year 1585 Brussels on March 10th and Antwerp on August 17th fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Thus only the provinces which were united in the Union of Utrecht remained to be conquered.

In the south, under Parma's rule Catholicism once more reigned supreme, and although in Antwerp there was no bloody persecution of the Protestants, still many wealthy families were forced to leave the city for ever. At this moment, however, Elizabeth found herself compelled to yield to the pressure of the anti-Spanish feeling, and at last to enter into open alliance with the United Provinces. Drake sailed on a destructive marauding expedition, and an English force was despatched to the Low Countries under Leicester. The earl found himself obliged to accept the

Elizabeth and her Schemes

Foundation of the "United Netherlands"

Drake on a Marauding Expedition

Protectorate on behalf of his mistress, who promptly repudiated his action, with obloquy. The English army effected nothing practical, and Leicester was soon recalled. But the situation was changed. The beheading of Mary Stuart determined

Spain's Shattered Armada

Philip to devote his energies primarily to the destruction of England. Parma was kept short of supplies while an armada was being prepared, and postponed, owing to Drake's raid on Cadiz. Maurice of Nassau utilised the breathing space to reorganise resistance; when the Armada came, Dutch ships were able to prevent any attempt on Parma's part to put to sea.

On May 20th, 1588, the Armada, a mighty Spanish fleet of 160 ships, with 32,000 men and 2,600 guns, sailed from Lisbon, and left Corunna on July 22nd, in order to conquer England, only to be hopelessly shattered by the English fleet and finally annihilated by tempests. The power of Spain was hopelessly crippled by the disaster; nor did she improve her prospects by deliberately entangling herself in the French war of the succession.

After the death of the English queen, Elizabeth, in 1603, a truce was inevitable, since for Spain as for the Republic the cost of the war was almost crushing, and the trade of Spain was continually diminishing, while the improvement in the Dutch trading enterprises suggested the thought to the merchants who shared the government that it would be more

advantageous for the country to follow these profitable occupations. After many negotiations, a peace was settled on April 9th, 1609, in the form of a twelve years' truce, in which Spain waived her sovereign rights, and acknowledged the Protestant republic as an independent state. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed this treaty with the republic from the German Empire, and at the same time recognised the severance which had come about in 1609.

After the Armada, the Anglo-Spanish naval war continued through the remaining decade of Philip's life. English ships waged unceasing war on Spanish commerce, a popular course encouraged by the queen, who had no desire to see the total destruction of Spain accomplished. Thrice the indomitable Philip attempted to despatch new armadas, but each one was dispersed and shattered by adverse winds. Spanish intervention in France enabled the astute Henry IV. to pose as the patriotic champion, while placing

The Lost Grandeur of Spain

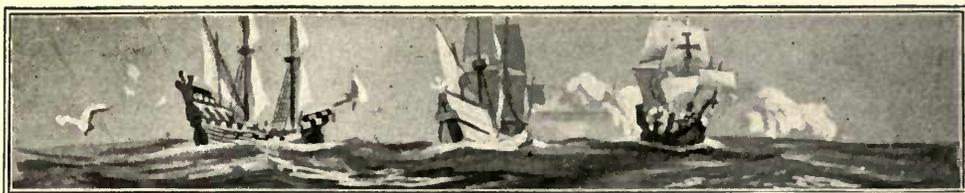
his opponents in the invidious attitude of servants of a foreign and hostile master. When Philip died, in 1598, the husk of Spain's grandeur still remained; its reality had gone for ever, though still for half a century the world hesitated to appreciate that the championship of militant reaction had passed from the Spanish to the German Hapsburgs.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE



IN THE DAYS OF THE INQUISITION: THE MEN OF JUSTICE

From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens in the Luxembourg



THE PLACE OF PHILIP II. OF SPAIN IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A Note by Martin Hume, M.A.

PHILIP II. inherited an impossible task, which he was too conscientious to shirk. He was reared in a rigid system, which, in his lack of originality, he thought it impious to change, and he was faced at a critical period of the world's history by nimble adversaries and shifting conditions, with which he was the last man

to cope successfully. He was dull, laborious and patient, profoundly impressed with the magnitude of his sacred mission, confident of ultimate victory, and ready to sacrifice himself and others without mercy to the cause for which alone he lived, the unity of Christendom under the hegemony of Spain. In this life-object he failed utterly, as was inevitable, for at the time that the world was passing through many changes which he was powerless to prevent, and the only partial success that crowned the end of a long reign of constant carnage was that France was prevented from becoming a Protestant power.

From the unhappy day when, in 1516, the sovereign of Flanders and heir of the empire became king of Castile and Aragon, Spain was cursed with responsibilities in Central Europe that brought her into inimical contact with France at every point, and in 1521, at the period when all her resources were needed for her interior consolidation, and the development of the New World, the young emperor threw back the challenge of Luther and assumed in addition the championship of orthodoxy. Thus began the mighty contest between traditional authority, on the one hand, and freedom of judgment on the other, of which over-burdened Spain had to bear the cost on the losing side, and the tired emperor cast his load upon his son, Philip, in 1555; nothing but the sublimest faith could have inspired belief in the final victory of his cause. And yet Philip never wavered in his firm conviction. His

treasury was empty; his Flemish subjects were full of distrust, Protestantism was daily growing stronger; but there was no thought of temporising or avoiding the issue, and the slow, wise, unwarlike man, Philip, gravely, prayerfully, and conscientiously took up the task where his father left it, ignoring difficulties, changed conditions, and the forces arranged against him. He was freed from the burden of the empire, but he still considered it his duty to defend it, and to combat Lutheranism in Germany. A slight concession to local prejudices and religious freedom in Holland and Flanders would have saved him the life-long struggle which ruined Spain; but for Philip surrender of principle, however small, was impossible. His cause was necessarily the cause of the Almighty, and might not be bought and sold.

Philip's methods were those of his father's old age, though he lacked his father's celerity of thought and action. It was the diplomatist-emperor and not the soldier-emperor of whom Philip was the heir, and from the first Philip hoped to win by cunning what his father had failed to win by arms. The religious schism was dividing Europe by new lines of cleavage, and fresh national affinities were forming new groups of powers. It had always been the centre of Spanish-Flemish policy to maintain friendship with England at any cost in order to divert France on the north when necessary; but when Philip found that Elizabeth of England rejected his offers of marriage and the tutelage of Spain, he imagined a new combination, by which he could secure France to his side by an alliance and his marriage with a French princess, and become head of a league of Catholic nations to oppose advancing Protestantism. The plan promptly failed, because Catharine de Medici, the Queen-Regent of France, would not dance to

**Elizabeth
Refuses to
Wed Philip**

Philip's piping. She cared nothing for niceties of creed, and could change her tone at will. It did not suit her to have France pledged firmly to a Spanish Catholic policy, which would have given the Guises all the power, and she at once began smiling upon Elizabeth of England and the Huguenots to checkmate her son-in-law. The trio, France, England, and Spain, soon fell back into their old position of competing with each other to avoid isolation, and in the constant shuffling to this end Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, with their rapid gyrations and absence of scruple, could, and nearly always did beat Philip, whose slow deliberation, immobile conscience, and invariable routine, rendered him easy to circumvent in spite of all his cunning.

For many years Philip suffered with unexampled patience the plunder of his ships at sea, the support given to his rebellious subjects, the violation of his territory, and the scornful defiance of his remonstrances, because he hoped against hope to win the friendly neutrality of England, without which he could not dominate Holland or dictate a Catholic policy to France. He spared no effort to control England. Threats, cajolery, bribery, subornation of murder and rebellion, were tried in turn. Elizabeth met them all with deft evasion, sure that, when she pleased, a smile or a hint of marriage would bring France to

her side, or that a note to the Huguenots, or a little more help given to the Prince of Orange, would redouble Philip's cares and make him harmless. Orange was as opportunist as the rest of the enemies of Philip.

When at last in desperation Philip decided to conquer England, an invasion which might have been easy thirty years before, his leaden routine and centralised administration paralysed his executive, and the great Armada of 1588 was a beaten fleet before it sailed to inevitable disaster. In his sad old age, bereaved, overworked, and ill, deep in debt he could never pay, and overwhelmed with personal grief and national failure, he never despaired, firmly convinced that the cause of God was linked with his own, and that final victory would repay the suffering and sacrifice of himself and Spain. He failed to dominate or win the friendship of England, he failed to impose Catholicism upon the Germans, or even upon his own rebellious Flemings, he failed to make his beloved daughter queen of England, or queen of France; but at least, as a result of his life, he forced Henry of Navarre to "go to Mass," thus keeping France Catholic, and by his firmness cleansed his country of all taint of heresy. It transpired, however, that Spain, whose glory was his aim, was doomed to a long future of impotence and ignominy.



A DELEGATION FROM HOLLAND TO PHILIP II.

From the painting by Arcos



THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH AND ENGLAND'S RISE AS A WORLD-POWER

ELIZABETH began her reign with a declaration of Anglican sympathies and an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Parliament by ordering that the English Liturgy should be used as the sole form of public service until Parliament should otherwise provide. This proclamation sounded the keynote of the reign, although it must be owned that, while her devotion to the religion of her father was sincere, her respect for Parliament was based upon a grudging perception of the fact that autocracy was a thing of the past.

There were many occasions on which she would have quarrelled with the Commons had she dared; her views and theirs were rarely in complete accord. But in her most self-willed moments she remembered that her throne was supported solely by the goodwill of the nation, and in the last resort she invariably passed from threats and remonstrances to the language of conciliation. In this wise

The Devoted Ministers of Elizabeth

she was confirmed by her Ministers. Seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), at first her Secretary of State (1558-1572), afterwards Lord Treasurer (1572-1598), Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper (1558-1579), Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (1573-1590), are the most famous of her advisers, and the flower of that official aristocracy which her father and grandfather had called into existence.

None of these men ever acquired a complete control of the queen's policy. She listened attentively to their views, selected, or refused to select, a plan according as the humour seized her, and not infrequently reduced them to despair through her own wilfulness or through attention to the instances of the favourites—Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Hatton, Essex, and others—who played upon her inordinate vanity to their own advantage.

Yet she was less capricious than she seemed; the suspense in which she kept the nation, Parliament, ambassadors, and her own council was often due to the profound caution with which she walked in the midst of complex and conflicting forces. She had her

Elizabeth's Strength and Weakness

father's instinctive power of gauging popular feeling, her grandfather's art of analysing the international situation. Often she was wiser than her Ministers, and, although she seldom ventured on a decisive step, her inaction may be described as masterly. The desire of her friends and enemies alike was that she should commit herself to a settled course by marriage, by alliances, by statements of intentions. Her fixed resolve was to remain uncommitted as long as it was possible to do so; and for this end she was prepared to sacrifice veracity, consistency, and honour.

It was often a sordid policy, and she was sometimes reproached as timorous. In reality she was capable of the most reckless daring. If she balanced, it was in the manner of a rope-walker, for whom a false step means destruction. She showed a supreme faith in the security which an insular position and the conflicting ambitions of the continental powers conferred upon her kingdom; there were times when she staked her own head and the prosperity of England upon her confidence in this security.

Never was this dexterity more needed than at the beginning of her reign. She had to effect a religious settlement

The Queen's Tact amid Difficulties

which would appease the Protestants without irritating the Marian reactionaries into rebellion; to hold fast by the friendship of Spain without committing herself to another war with France; to resist the rival pretensions of Mary Stuart, yet to leave it uncertain whether Mary might not ultimately inherit the English throne; to encourage foreign Protestants, yet to

escape the stigma attaching to the heresiarch. Her religious settlement was adapted to these complex requirements. She settled the constitution and doctrine of the Church by parliamentary legislation, because the convocation of the clergy was imbued with the Marian system and hostile to all change.

But Elizabeth used her utmost efforts to prevent Parliament from heedless tampering with doctrine, and modified her claims of supremacy to avoid the reproach of despotism. The Supremacy Act of 1559 dropped the offensive title "Supreme Head of the Church," and declared the queen merely supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual things or causes as in temporal; the oath of supremacy was to be demanded only from ecclesiastical persons, from laymen holding office, and from tenants in chief. All she required of private individuals was that they should not publicly dispute against the supremacy.

By a special proclamation the queen disclaimed any intention of interfering with the Church's doctrine or forms of worship. The Act of Uniformity was passed at the same time to settle the forms of public worship. It prescribed the use of Edward's second Prayer Book, with some alterations intended to gratify the moderates, who would have preferred that of 1549, and to avoid offending the extreme party, who desired a Prayer Book more Protestant in tone than any which had yet appeared. It was made a criminal offence to use any other form of public worship, or to speak against the prescribed

form; and non-attendance at church was to be punished by a fine of 24 cents for each Sunday.

The first of these Acts also settled the question of royal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. The Crown received the rights of hearing all appeals, of visiting and correcting all heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and enormities. These powers were to be exercised by royal delegates, who might be laymen. The odious heresy laws were repealed; heresy still remained a capital offence, but it was made more difficult to secure the conviction of any save the most flagrant heretics.

In the later years of the reign many legislative and administrative measures were framed to define points which had been left vague in the settlement, to provide more effectual machinery for enforcing it, and to sharpen the penalties against those who refused conformity. The spirit of the settlement, which in government followed the example of Henry VIII., in doctrine and ritual that of Cranmer, remained unaltered; we may

therefore anticipate the course of political developments to sketch the outlines of the queen's ecclesiastical policy.

All the bishops, a large number of the cathedral clergy, and about two hundred parish priests, abandoned their preferences rather than accept the oath of supremacy. Their places, however, were soon filled, and in Archbishop Parker the queen found a capable and moderate primate to direct her future measures. Under his advice the Thirty-nine Articles—an amended version of the Forty-two



ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

It was during the reign of "Good Queen Bess" that England rose to the position of a world-power. The daughter of Henry VIII. by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth ascended the throne on the death of Mary in 1558, and reigned till her death at Richmond in 1603. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots is the greatest blot on her name.

THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

Articles of the last reign—were published in 1563. Studiously moderate in language, on disputed questions cautious to the point of ambiguity, the new confession was accepted by every section of the clergy, and it was made binding on the clergy alone. In 1563, and for some time to come, the ceremonies and vestments of the Prayer Book formed the only subject of serious dispute. Elizabeth stood firm against the cry of the growing party of Puritans for more simplicity in public worship.

Parker's Advertisements in 1566 fixed a standard of outward forms, which gave much offence and led to many suspensions among the clergy. The minority fell back upon the plea that nothing should be made obligatory which was not demonstrably enjoined by Scripture; and, on the basis of the appeal to Scripture, Puritanism now began to assume a doctrinal form. Conventicles multiplied in London and some other places; and although the queen publicly announced that she desired to tamper with no man's conscience, but merely to enforce outward

conformity, this principle did not mollify the "conventicle men," or prevent the government from imprisoning them.

The malcontents soon found a leader in Cartwright, a Cambridge professor of divinity, who began by denying that Scripture authorised the episcopate to exercise authority over their fellow clergy, and by pleading for a revival of diocesan synods. After his expulsion from Cambridge, Cartwright went further, and in his Admonition to Parliament in 1572 claimed autonomy for the Church and maintained

that the ecclesiastical supremacy should be vested in general councils of the clergy. Princes, said Cartwright, are bound by the decrees of the Church; they ought, in the prophet's words, "to lick the dust off the feet of the Church."

There were many to whom this language was repugnant, and who yet were Puritans in the matter of ceremonies and doctrine. The spirit of these moderate Puritans was represented in Parliament, in which the Book of Common Prayer was challenged and the Articles were criticised from time

to time. Elizabeth took her stand on the principle that the affairs of the Church were the exclusive concern of the Crown, not to be discussed without her licence; and in spite of angry protests she was able to prevent Puritanism from leaving its mark upon the statute book. In the country at large Puritanism presented a more difficult problem; "prophesyings," or unlicensed preachings, were frequent and popular; the printing press was called to the aid of the Puritans, and scattered broadcast libellous attacks upon



QUEEN ELIZABETH IN A COSTUME OF THE PERIOD

episcopacy. In 1590 an attempt on the part of Cartwright and his friends to set up a system of unofficial diocesan synods was detected and caused considerable alarm; but in 1583 Whitgift had succeeded to the primacy, and with his aid Elizabeth entered on a campaign of vigorous repression.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown was now committed to a Court of High Commission, which assumed the right of interrogating all the clergy upon oath as to their beliefs and practices. An



Bacon



Cecil



Walsingham

THREE OF ELIZABETH'S FAITHFUL MINISTERS

The queen was fortunate in her Ministers, and seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. The above three were the most famous of her advisers—Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper; Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, first her Secretary of State and later Lord Treasurer; and Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State.

Act was passed in 1593 which threatened with severe penalties all who neglected to attend at church or persisted in attending conventicles. The Star Chamber, which as early as 1566 had assumed a censorship of the Press, now became the coadjutor of the High Commission in repressing Nonconformists and their literature, with the result that severer penalties were made possible, while on the other hand the Tudor despotism in secular affairs, of which the Star Chamber was the symbol and expression, became hateful to every sectary.

It would be a mistake to regard Elizabeth and her Ministers as fanatical in their adhesion to episcopacy, or to a particular set of forms and ceremonies. Hooker, who may be regarded as the classical apologist for the Elizabethan

settlement, maintained that in these matters each Church has a discretion. But he also regarded uniformity within each Church as essential; he thought that the lay power should both prescribe uniformity and enforce it by all the penalties that might be needful.

It is needless to say that real uniformity was not secured. Hundreds of the clergy, thousands of the laity, though restrained from opposition by patriotism and respect for the queen's person, waited with impatience for the advent of a new sovereign who should introduce a more liberal system.

Elizabeth opposed Puritanism, at first as something new-fangled and likely to offend the majority of her subjects; latterly because the victorious career of Calvinism gave her reasons for suspecting



Leicester



Hatton



Essex

FAMOUS FAVOURITES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Although Elizabeth's Ministers were men of outstanding ability, there was none of them who ever acquired a complete control over her policy, and when the mood seized her she even neglected their counsels in order to devote herself to favourites, such as Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and the Earl of Essex, whose portraits are here reproduced, who were always willing to pander to her vanity and to turn it to their own advantage.

THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

that Puritanism spelled democracy in Church and State. Stronger, however, than either of these motives for persecution was the hope of keeping in touch with the moderate wing of the Catholic party. For a year or two she was so far successful that even Rome hoped for the speedy reunion of the Anglicans with the Mother Church. The Bull of 1562, which forbade the English Catholics to attend the Anglican service, made a breach with the devoted adherents of the papacy inevitable and destroyed the middle party.

Hence the oath of supremacy was more stringently applied by an act of 1562. The rising of the Catholic earls in 1569, and the ill-judged pronouncement by which, in 1570, Pius V. absolved the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance, led to more drastic legislation against Catholics; and penal laws in their turn produced more conspiracies in favour of the imprisoned Mary Stuart. Even after Mary's execution and the repulse of the Armada had dissipated the fear of a rebellion assisted by the Catholic powers there was much persecution of the English Catholics. In this respect Elizabeth bequeathed to posterity an evil example. Her penal and disabling laws were not entirely swept away until the nineteenth century. Yet the Catholics as a body remained loyal throughout the great crises of her reign. None of the plots against her spread far or deep into the nation. The utmost efforts of the Jesuits whom Allen sent over from his seminary at Douay produced little result. Elizabeth's schemes of comprehension were therefore unsuccessful in so far that they

left outside the pale of the state Church an increasing body of Protestants and a body of Catholics which, although diminishing, remained, and was to remain, considerable. None the less she succeeded in making Anglicanism the creed of the

majority. The enormous influence which the Anglican clergy exercised in the politics of the seventeenth century is a sufficient proof of the thoroughness with which the work of Elizabeth had been done. It was the Church of her creation which undid the work of Cromwell in 1660 and expelled the Stuarts in 1688.

The queen's religious policy had, moreover, been adapted with great skill to the needs of the international situation. It remained ambiguous just as long as ambiguity was needed to prevent attacks from abroad; it became defiant when England could afford to despise the threats of the Catholic powers.

At the death of Mary Tudor the country was still engaged in war with France. Calais had been lost, and France was prepared to follow up the advantage thus obtained; Mary Stuart and her husband the dauphin had assumed the royal arms of England. The Guises, Mary's uncles, looked for the day when England would be a French dependency, and English resources would be brought into the field against Philip of Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger; she also saw the value of her friendship with Philip. With his aid she was able to secure favourable terms at Câteau-Cambrésis. She surrendered Calais, but the honour of England was saved by the empty promise that Calais should be restored in eight years' time.



ARCHBISHOPS PARKER AND WHITGIFT

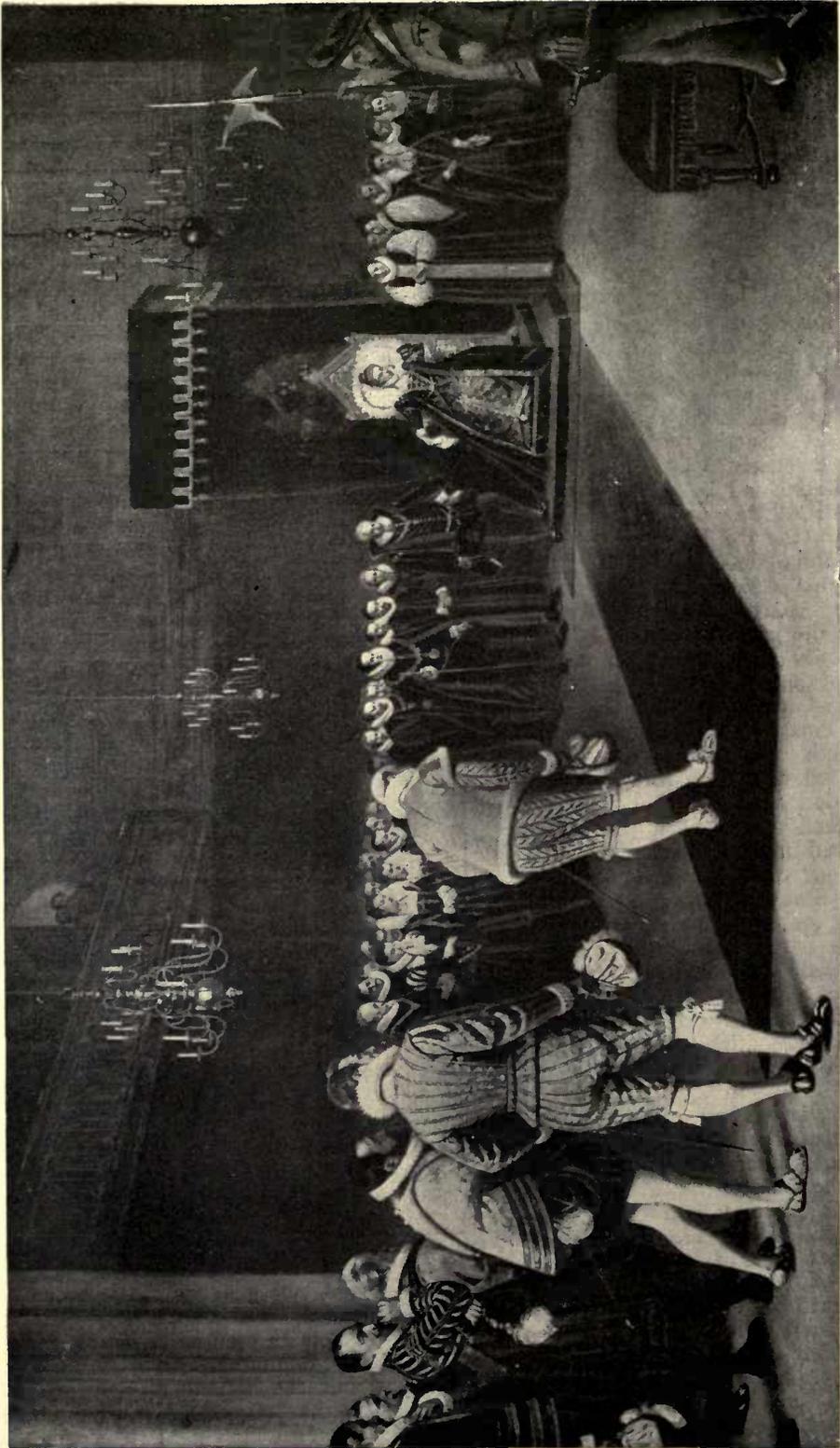
The second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was appointed to that high office by Elizabeth in 1559, and he proved himself a capable and moderate primate. He died in 1575. John Whitgift, whose portrait is also given, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. He ministered to the queen in her last moments, and died in 1604.



A GREAT THEOLOGIAN

Richard Hooker was a brilliant theologian in the time of Elizabeth, and his "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" made his name famous. From the marble statue by Alfred Drury, A.R.A., in the Cathedral Yard, Exeter.

her friendship with Philip. With his aid she was able to secure favourable terms at Câteau-Cambrésis. She surrendered Calais, but the honour of England was saved by the empty promise that Calais should be restored in eight years' time.



AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW: QUEEN ELIZABETH RECEIVING THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT THE ENGLISH COURT

This picture, from the brush of Mr. W. F. Yeames, R.A., represents the English court in mourning after the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when 30,000 Huguenots, including women and children, are believed to have been sacrificed. Elizabeth is seen receiving the French ambassador in a formal and unfriendly manner.

THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

The unpopularity of the peace in France brought the Guises, who had opposed it, once more into power; immediately afterwards the accession of their nephew the dauphin, as Francis II., made them doubly dangerous. The obvious means of checking the Guises was to form an alliance with the Protestants of Scotland; the great obstacle to this course was the necessity of preserving Philip's friendship. To form the Scottish alliance without breaking the Spanish alliance was the first of Elizabeth's great exploits in diplomacy; and it was the more remarkable because she contrived to forward the political designs of the Scottish Protestants without in any way committing herself to the support of their religious tenets. With Philip's secret consent an army was sent to assist the party of Knox in expelling the French troops of Mary of Guise. This was effected; the Scottish Reformation was saved; and it became certain that Scotland would not supply the Guises with a base from which to menace England.



TWO BRAVE SEAMEN: HAWKINS AND FROBISHER
A native of Plymouth, Sir John Hawkins took a prominent part in the repulse of the Spanish Armada; he set the example of American voyages, and, with Drake, commanded expeditions to the Spanish Main. Sir Martin Frobisher, another of the hardy type of seamen of Elizabeth's time, led Polar expeditions, and fought against the Armada.

In 1561 Mary Stuart, left a widow by the early death of Francis II., returned to Scotland to turn the tide of Protestantism and to watch for an opportunity of making good her English claims, either as the opponent or as the heiress-designate of Elizabeth. Mary would not cease to quarter the English royal arms; Elizabeth would not recognise her as successor to the throne. Hence their relations were strained, and it became Elizabeth's supreme object to prevent her rival from forming a close union with the English Catholics or with a foreign Catholic power. Philip's jealousy of France was still the chief safeguard for England. But the marriage of Mary with her cousin Darnley in 1565 seemed for a time as though it would make the Scottish queen independent of external help. The marriage united the

Scottish Catholics around the throne; the Protestant Ministers, whom Mary had hitherto been obliged to accept, were dismissed from power and chased out of Scotland. Then, however, the murder of Rizzio in 1566, contrived by the Protestant

The Woes of the Queen of Scots

lords, but assisted by the conjugal jealousy of Darnley, produced a schism in the ranks of Mary's following. The queen sacrificed the Catholic cause and her English hopes to the desire of vengeance. She sought allies among the Protestants, even among the assassins of Rizzio; and Darnley's murder in 1567 atoned for that of Rizzio. The queen's part in the crime was suspected from the first; her marriage with Bothwell, the chief agent in the murder, turned suspicion to certainty,

alienated from her the hearts of all respectable Catholics, and gave the Protestant leaders the opportunity of returning and recovering power. The queen was imprisoned at Lochleven Castle; her half-brother, Murray, became regent for the infant James VI.; and the only result of a last effort on

the part of Mary and her few remaining supporters was a defeat at Langside in 1568, which necessitated her flight to England.

She threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth; it was a desperate step, but it caused untold embarrassment to the English government. Elizabeth could not afford, even if she had been willing, to restore her cousin and destroy the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland. She had not the right to try Mary for the murder of Darnley; nor was she anxious to deprive the English Catholics of the hopes which they based upon Mary's claim to the succession. She therefore resolved to discredit without formally condemning Mary, and to keep her as a prisoner without treating her as a criminal. Mary's request that the complaints against Murray and

Mary Stuart a Rival to Elizabeth

the Scottish Protestants might have a hearing was made the excuse for appointing a committee to sift the charges against Mary herself; the Scots were persuaded to produce the Casket Letters purporting to be written by Mary to Bothwell, and

Queen Mary a Prisoner in England when Mary's fame had been irreparably blasted by this evidence, the proceedings of the committee were suspended without hearing the defence. Mary was kept a prisoner; but Elizabeth would gladly have restored her as the nominal queen of Scotland if Mary would have abandoned her claim to the English throne, and if Murray would have consented to give his sister the shadow without the substance of power. Since both remained obdurate there were two alternatives for Elizabeth.

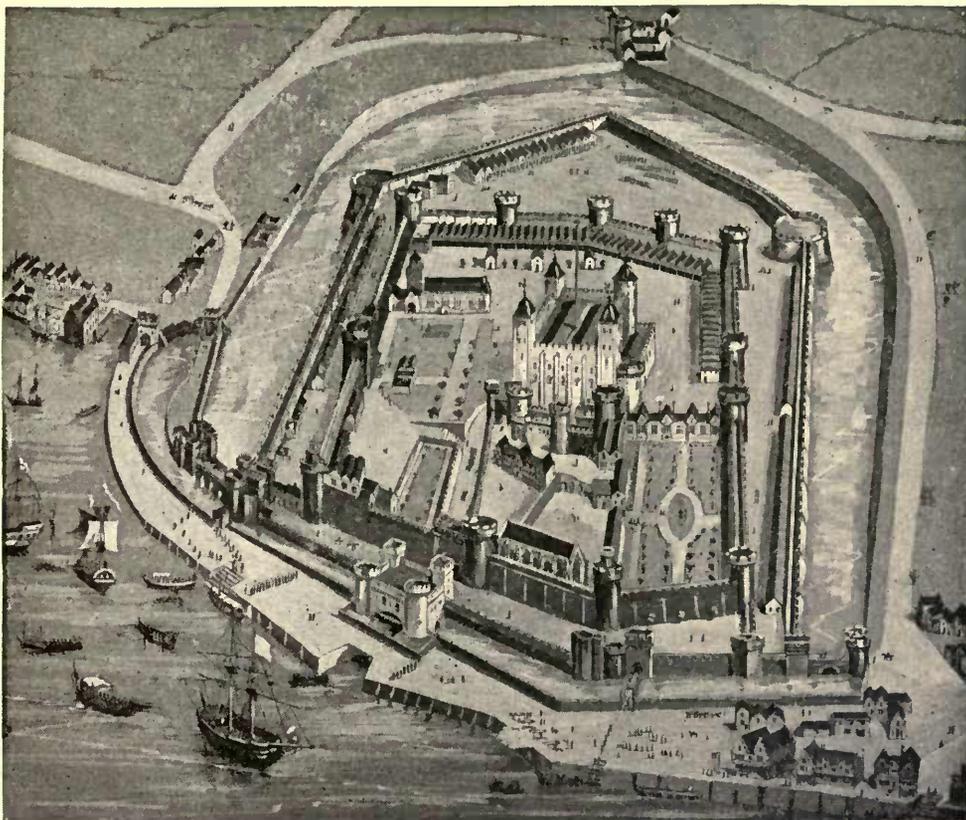
She might execute Mary as a murderess; this was the course which the English Ministers desired, but Elizabeth shrank from the danger of foreign intervention and Catholic rebellion. The other possible course was to detain Mary,

keeping a strict watch against the intrigues with foreign enemies and English malcontents; this Elizabeth took. She had in consequence to face a number of conspiracies: that of the northern earls in 1569, that of Ridolfi in 1571-1572, the intrigues initiated by the Jesuits Campion and Parsons in 1580-1581, the Throgmorton Plot in 1583, and the Babington Plot in 1586. But the queen had counted the cost of her forbearance, and relied with justice upon the ability of Burleigh and Walsingham to frustrate all conspirators. In the meantime she asserted herself in the field of international diplomacy; she revived the policy which Henry VII. and Wolsey had so successfully pursued of acting as a make-weight between the evenly balanced factions of the Continent. But she effected her object by new methods skilfully adapted to her own situation and the circumstances of the Counter-Reformation. It is doubtful whether she ever had the intention of taking a husband; but her hand was offered as a bait at one time or another to nearly all the eligible



SIR WALTER RALEIGH AS A BOY LISTENING TO A SAILOR'S STORIES

This suggestive picture by Sir J. E. Millais depicts the youthful Raleigh, who subsequently became a great explorer, sitting with a companion listening to the stories of a sailor as he describes the wonderful lands across the seas.



THE TOWER OF LONDON AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

princes of the Catholic party. It is true that she declined, without much hesitation, an offer from Philip of Spain, who was inseparably, though unjustly, associated in the minds of her people with the religious persecutions of her sister's reign. But the idea of an Austrian or French marriage was continually mooted; and the courtship of Francis, Duke of Anjou, more familiarly known under his earlier title of Alençon, went far enough to form the basis of important changes in the foreign relations of the two countries most concerned.

Such projects were allowed to remain open so long as they proved useful; but Elizabeth had no intention of tying herself to the Valois and so offending Spain irrevocably, or of provoking Mary's adherents to desperation by a Hapsburg marriage. She was often pressed by her Ministers and Parliament to solve the problem of the succession by marrying some one, no matter whom. But she read the needs of her situation more accurately than her advisers. The

uncertainty of the succession was a source of strength as well as of danger. After marriage projects her main weapons were found in intrigues with the Protestants of the Netherlands and France. The Bull of Pius V. in 1570 caused her to be regarded as the natural head of the Protestant interest; and she used this position to inspire her co-religionists with courage for the struggle against her actual and potential enemies. She gave but small assistance, and she drove hard bargains with her allies. The Huguenots were compelled to bribe her with the town of Havre in 1563, but received in return no substantial help, and the Massacre of St.

The Age of English Privateering Bartholomew in 1572 provoked from Elizabeth the mildest of remonstrances. Until 1585 she allowed the heroic Netherlands to conduct their resistance against Philip single-handed, except for the support which her diplomacy occasionally afforded, and the diversions effected by the spontaneous depredations of English privateers upon Spanish colonies and shipping,

and by English volunteers in the Dutch armies. Leicester's expedition of 1585-1586 was a mere source of expense and embarrassment to the Seven Provinces, and a bitter mortification to English Protestants jealous for the honour of their country.

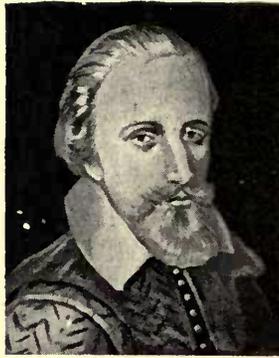
It was the force of circumstances which lay beyond her control that made Elizabeth at length the armed defender of Protestantism and the mistress of the seas. As the true drift of her home policy became apparent, as English buccaneering and trade rivalry became more formidable, Philip of Spain drifted from friendship to a cold neutrality, and thence to active enmity. His agents fomented the plots of English Catholics and encouraged the growth of a Catholic reaction in Scotland; at length, in 1580, a small body of Spanish troops went to the aid of the Irish Catholics and Nationalists in Munster. It became clear that the reduction of the Netherlands would be followed by an invasion of England. By 1585 Elizabeth found herself committed to war with Spain, and the formation of the Catholic League in France in 1584 made it probable that the two great powers of the Counter-Reformation would unite against her. Reluctantly she threw down the gage by the execution of Mary Stuart, who was condemned, nominally for her share in the Babington plot, but in fact to ensure that the imminent foreign peril should not be complicated by dynastic conspiracies at home. Immediately afterwards Philip set up a claim to the throne of England and began to prepare the mighty Armada.

On more than one critical occasion England had learned the importance of maritime supremacy. One naval victory

had saved the crown to the infant Henry III.; another had enabled Edward III. to use the Channel without fear or hindrance as a highway for the invasion of France; a third, fought with disastrous issue in 1372, had left Aquitaine at the mercy of Charles V. and Du Guesclin. In the reign of Henry V. the "dominion of the narrow seas" had been asserted, and the value of naval power both for military and for commercial purposes had been fully recognised. Yet the Tudors, in other respects so quick to feel and to promote the tendencies of their age, had been remiss in building up a navy and a mercantile marine. Henry VII. is recorded to have built a royal ship of war, larger than any which the Crown had hitherto

possessed. Henry VIII. founded the Woolwich and Deptford dockyards, and collected a fleet which at his death numbered seventy sail; if his policy had been continued, England would have been well prepared for defence. But in the reign of Edward VI. the old ships decayed without being replaced; at the death of Mary Tudor the royal ships were but forty-six in number.

The naval expenditure of Elizabeth was, before 1588, surprisingly small; her captains and seamen, though unrivalled for skill and daring, were wretchedly paid, and her effective navy included only some thirty vessels, of which less than half were of the first rank for fighting purposes. But the defects of the navy were made good by the spontaneous growth of the merchant marine. The largest private ships were built to carry guns, since piracy and smuggling at the expense of the Spanish and other hostile governments had long been recognised as legitimate and lucrative



SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE
A great commander, Grenville distinguished himself on land and sea; off the Azores, in 1591, he made a heroic but unsuccessful defence against the whole fleet of Spain.



THE GREATEST ELIZABETHAN SEAMAN
The life and exploits of Sir Francis Drake read like a romance. Taking to the sea early in life, he was soon fighting against the Spaniards. He won fresh glory in the great struggle with the Spanish Armada, and died, off Porto Bello, in 1596.

THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

forms of enterprise. The Levant and Guinea trades, the voyages of exploration which began with the expedition of Chancellor and Willoughby to the White Sea in 1553, the opening of the Newfoundland fisheries about 1548, the American voyages of which Hawkins set the example from 1562 to 1567, the Polar voyages of Fro-bisher and Davis, all contributed to form a hardy race of navigators. A census of seamen, taken shortly before the coming of the Armada in 1583, enumerates over 1,400 master mariners and 11,500 common sailors in the ports of England and Wales. England was still far from being a maritime nation, but no other European power could show so large a proportion of seamen to population.

Religion and commercial interest had combined to make the English seaman the enemy of Spain. The Spaniard claimed a monopoly of trade with his colonies in the New World, and treated as pirates the English adventurers who persisted in providing the West Indies and the Main with negro slaves and other necessaries. The captives of the Spaniard were perhaps no worse treated than the recognised usages of warfare permitted; but every adventurer hanged or detained for illicit trading beyond the line was represented in England as a victim of the Inquisition. The sailors of the two nations had been long at open feud before their governments decided on a formal rupture. The war virtually began in 1568, when Hawkins was attacked by the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Vera Cruz, and Elizabeth had done more than lend a passive countenance to the reprisals of her subjects. To avenge Hawkins she seized, in 1569, certain Spanish treasure-ships which had

imprudently ventured into the ports of the south coast of England. Drake, who in 1572 captured the Panama treasure-train, and in 1578 began his circumnavigation of the globe by a bold raid upon the west coast of Spanish America, was knighted by the queen, and she became a partner in his spoils of plunder.

When, in consequence of the Spanish ambassador's complicity in the Throgmorton Plot in 1584, diplomatic relations were suspended, it was only necessary for Elizabeth to give the signal and Drake with his fellow adventurers were in a moment converted from buccaneers to champions of Protestantism and national independence. A joint-stock expedition (1585-1586) carried fire and sword through the Spanish Main; in 1587 Drake entered Cadiz harbour and "sing'd the beard" of Philip

by destroying the better part of the vessels which had been collected for the purpose of invading England.

English superiority at sea was even more strikingly demonstrated in 1588. A

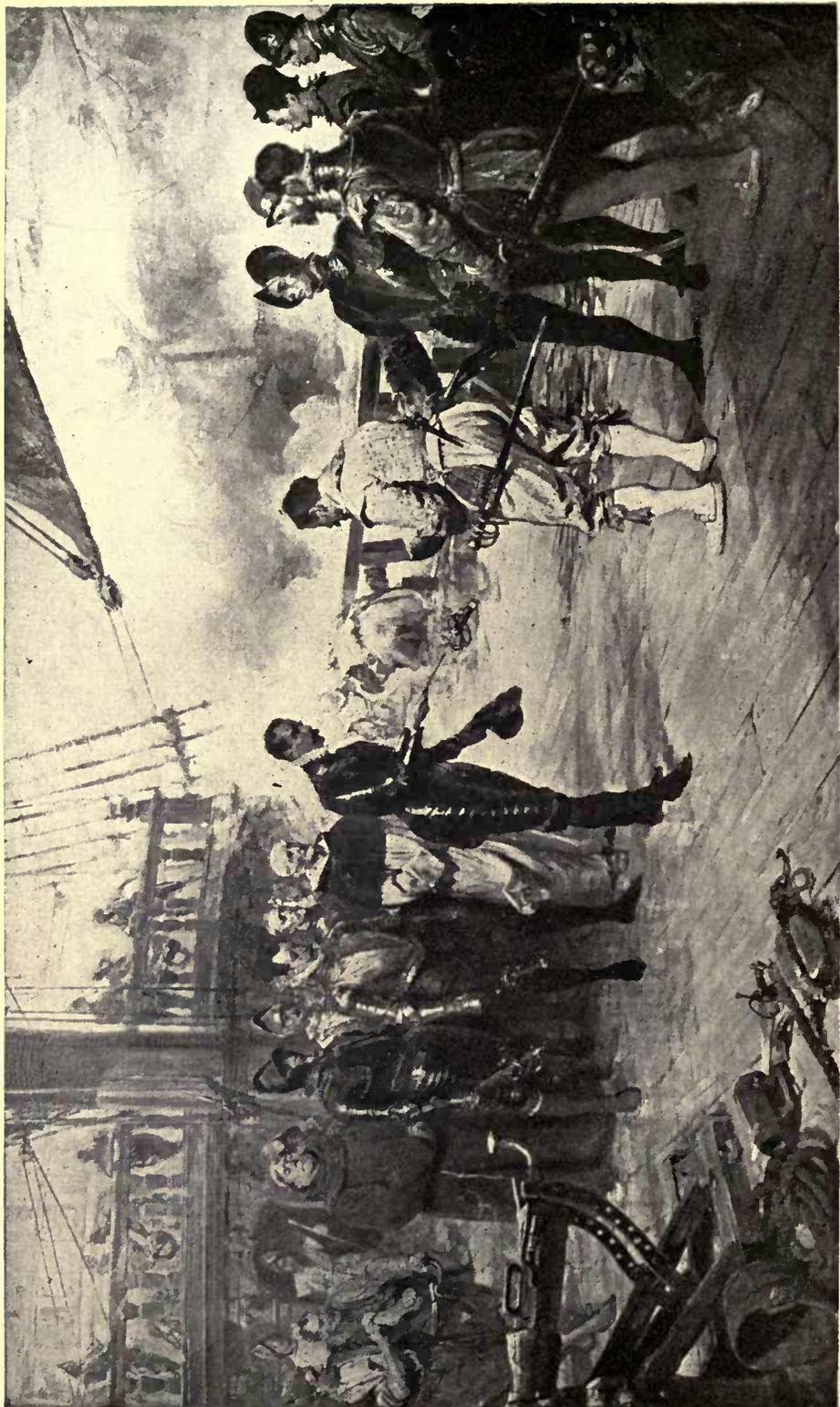
fleet of seventy vessels, collected chiefly from the seaport towns, and directed by Drake under the nominal command of Lord Howard of Effingham, chased the Armada through the narrow seas from Plymouth to Gravelines. Medina Sidonia, the Spanish admiral, commanded 130 ships, of which the largest were superior in size and complement to any which Drake could produce. But a large number of these were mere transports; and ship for ship the Spaniard was inferior both in guns and in seamanship. The greatest naval victories of Spain had been won in the Mediterranean; neither the ships nor the men of Medina Sidonia were fitted for oceanic warfare. Their one



THE GREAT SIR WALTER RALEIGH
Sir Walter Raleigh was another of the distinguished figures of the Elizabethan period, and won fame by his expeditions. He introduced potatoes and tobacco into England. His later years were clouded with trouble, and he was beheaded at Whitehall in 1618.



HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM
He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and three years later was given the command against the Spanish Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ON BOARD THE "REVENGE"; AN INCIDENT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA
Sir Francis Drake was an intrepid voyager and made the name of England famous over-seas. The Spaniards had good cause to fear him, for no man had done more to break their naval power. An incident of the Spanish Armada is represented in this picture, which shows Pedro de Valdez yielding up his sword in token of submission to the English naval leader. From the painting by J. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A.

THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

hope lay in grappling; but the English, getting the weather gauge from the first and holding it throughout, fought at long range, and the issue was decided before the storms by which the ruin of the Spanish fleet was completed had begun.

The last hope of Medina Sidonia failed when he found, upon anchoring at Calais, that the land army which Parma had been instructed to collect in the Netherlands was not yet collected and that the commander was unwilling to risk a descent on England. About one half of the Spanish fleet never returned

the Revenge offered, off the Azores, to a whole Spanish fleet; the death of Drake, in the course of a raid upon the Main in 1596, left England without an admiral of genius. But to such a point had the Spanish power sunk that Howard of Effingham, Raleigh, and the incompetent Essex, were able to enter the harbour and sack the town of Cadiz without encountering serious resistance. Though England lived under continual apprehension of attack, there was not in fact the slightest danger from Spain after 1588.

The last years of Elizabeth are



QUEEN ELIZABETH ENCOURAGING HER ARMY TO FIGHT THE SPANIARDS

News reached England in 1588 of the vast preparations being made in Spain for the invasion and conquest of the country, and preparations for resistance were speedily made. A considerable portion of England's land forces was stationed at Tilbury, under the command of Leicester, and there Queen Elizabeth appeared in person, by her presence and words reminding the soldiers of their duty to their country and religion, and exhorting them to fight well. She would lead them against the enemy herself, she said, rather than survive the ruin and slavery of her people.

From the picture by Huck

to Spain. The prestige of Philip II. had sustained a fatal blow, his resources were inadequate to the preparation of a new force, and for the remainder of her reign, Elizabeth, though haunted by the nightmare of a Spanish invasion, had no real cause for fear. Her attempts to continue the naval war were less successful than might have been expected from this brilliant opening. A disastrous attack on Lisbon in 1591 was hardly balanced by the heroic but unsuccessful defence which Sir Richard Grenville of

disappointing enough if we regard simply their political events. The queen persisted blindly in the persecution of Catholics and Puritans, although in the year of the Armada both had given signal proofs of loyalty. The death of Walsingham, in 1590, and the old age of Lord Burleigh left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of the latter's son, Sir Robert Cecil, an astute and active politician, but ill-fitted to fill the place which the older counsellors had vacated. Old age did not make the queen less indifferent to the flatteries of personal



THE MEN WHO ROUTED THE SPANIARDS AND SAVED ENGLAND

It is said that when Spain's great fleet, whose aim was to conquer England, was sighted off the English shores, Sir Francis Drake and his officers, as represented in this picture, were playing bowls on the Hoe at Plymouth. Drake received the news quietly, remarking that there was plenty of time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too.

From the painting by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.



THE INGLORIOUS FATE OF SPAIN'S "INVINCIBLE ARMADA"

Extending over a length of seven miles, the "Invincible Armada," as it was proudly termed, advanced up the Channel on its ambitious mission. But with all their commanding appearance, the ships were ill-built and unmanageable, and were quite unable to stand up against the vigorous assault of the English fleet. Finally shattered off Gravelines, the Armada endeavoured to return to Spain, but this purpose was frustrated by the furious storms which arose. The elements completed the destruction of the mighty Armada, and in this picture the broken hulks and wreckage of some of the Spanish ships are seen lying on the rocky coast of Scotland.

From the painting by Albert Goodwin, R.W.S., in the Manchester Art Gallery

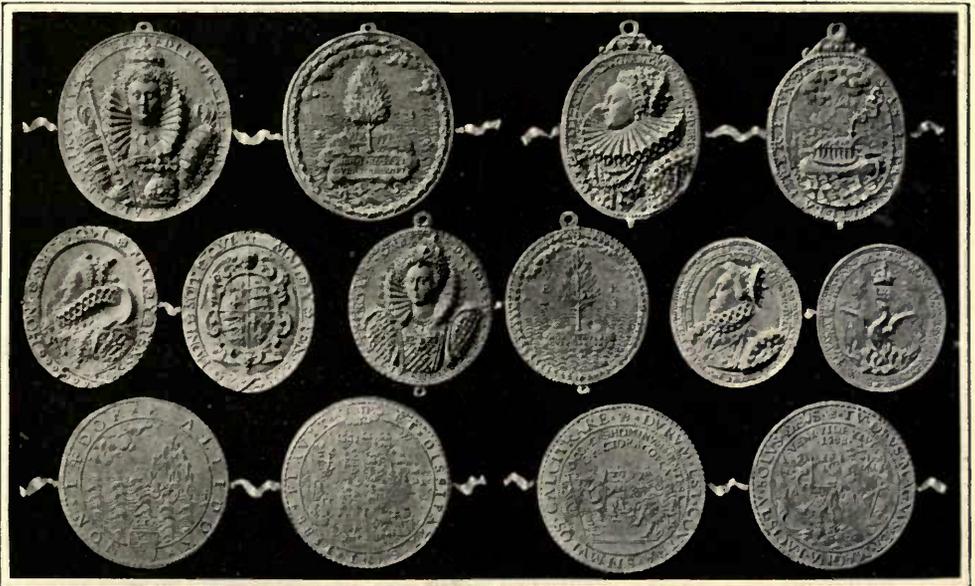
THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH

favourites; and although among these the brilliant Raleigh found a place, he was eclipsed by Essex, who aspired to the chief share both in the direction of the Spanish war and in the home administration, but proved himself as incompetent in Ireland as at the sack of Cadiz.

From Essex the queen at length freed herself when the proofs of a treasonable correspondence with the court of Scotland were laid before her. Smarting under a well-merited recall from Ireland, the earl had proposed that James VI. should enter England at the head of an army, and insist upon being recognised as Elizabeth's successor; on the detection of the plot he strove to raise London in

mental persecution, was scotched rather than suppressed by the execution of Penry the arch-pamphleteer.

The economic situation of England also left much to be desired. Some flagrant evils had been diminished by the measures of the queen's early years. With the help of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, she effected the reformation of the coinage, which had been debased in an ever-increasing degree to relieve the financial exigencies of her three immediate predecessors. The Statute of Apprentices in 1563, though continuing the policy of regulating wages which the Parliament of the fourteenth century had inaugurated by the Statute



Mansell

EXAMPLES OF MEDALS STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE ARMADA

rebellion. For these offences Essex paid with his head in 1601; but other flatterers, not less unworthy, remained about the queen, and national aspirations for civil and religious liberty found advocates who could not be despised. The House of Commons showed themselves, in the year of Essex's death, outspoken and insistent critics of one flagrant abuse, that of monopolies; the queen was compelled to satisfy them by the withdrawal of the obnoxious patents. The Martin Mar-Prelate controversy proved that the censorship was only half capable of dealing with the critics of ecclesiastical institutions; and the agitation against episcopacy, after seven years of govern-

ment of Labourers, vested the power of fixing the local standard in the justices of the peace for each county, and thus substituted a more elastic rule for the cast-iron maximum of former legislators.

The clauses relating to apprentices, from which the statute took its name, were an attempt to exercise through the central government those duties of supervision and regulation, as regarded technical education and admission to practise the several industries, which the mediæval trade guilds had performed for their own localities.

Foreign trade was promoted by the grant of privileges to merchant companies, each of which received the monopoly of a



THE LAST HOURS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AT RICHMOND

From the picture by Delaroche in the Louvre

particular foreign market. The Russian, Eastland or Baltic, and Levant companies rose into importance through the queen's protection; and the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600 at the close of the reign was a step of momentous importance for England's future in the East. But of India, as of the New World, we may say that the Elizabethans indicated to posterity the possibilities of commercial greatness without using them for the advantage of their own generation. Raleigh, who grasped the fundamental principles of

colonisation and expounded them in masterly fashion, failed to make his colony of Virginia a success.

In commerce the developments of the Elizabethan period were more significant than profitable. The question of pauperism was a pressing one until the end of the queen's reign. The prosperity of the middle classes were outbalanced by the hardships of the labourers, whose wages, though increasing in their nominal amount, by no means kept pace with the general rise of prices. The great Poor Law of Elizabeth (1598)

is a monument of sound statesmanship, but illustrates the magnitude of the social evil against which it was directed. The wise principles which it embodied were the fruit of long and bitter experience.

When we turn to literature, there is a brighter story to be told. Three countries of Europe were, in the sixteenth century, inspired by the models of the Italian Renaissance to the production of new masterpieces. In France the poets of the *Pléiade*, with Ronsard and Du Bellay at their head, proved that classical elegance of style could be attained in the vernacular languages of Europe; while Brantôme and Montaigne continued in prose the work

of Rabelais, and demonstrated that as a vehicle for wit, fancy, and philosophic reflection French could hold its own with Latin. In Spain, Calderon, with his high seriousness of purpose, and Cervantes, with his humorous melancholy, illuminated the decaying ideals of the Middle Ages. In England, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare gave expression to the spirit of the new era through a poetry coloured with the imagery and the sentiments of the past, but at the same time instinct with the speculative audacity, the profound confidence in the possibilities of human nature, the love

of country, and the joy of living which the great discoveries of the fifteenth, the great conflicts and the great victories of the sixteenth, centuries had inspired in the free Protestant peoples of Northern Europe.

No careers could well be more different than those of the three Elizabethan poets; but the three types of life which they represent are alike characteristic of the age. Spenser was an ardent Protestant, with an intellectual leaning towards Puritan doctrine; he linked his fortunes with those of the Elizabethan conquerors of Ireland, and made his great epic, the "*Faërie Queene*," a manifesto against the unreformed religion. Marlowe

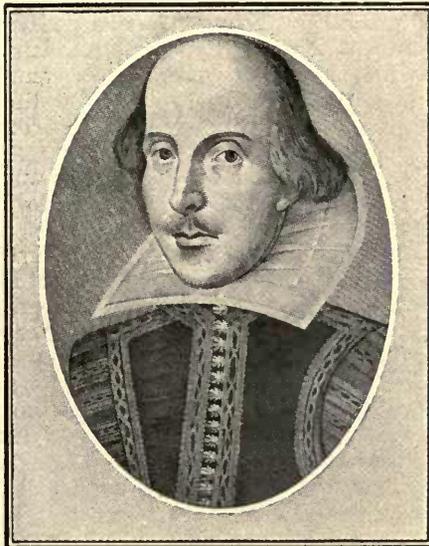
embodied in his life as in his plays the revolt of the age against measure and convention. He lived at the centre of a knot of eager, wrangling wits; he died the victim of a tavern brawl. Shakespeare, whose genius, equally great in tragedy and comedy, rises above the conditions of his age, was in active life a prosperous man of business, anxious to found a position and a family, using his highest ideals and profound meditations for the accumulation of a competence; truly typical in the versatility of his intellect and in the utilitarianism of his temperament.

All three reached the climax of their poetic development about the same time.

The first instalment of Spenser's "*Faërie Queene*" was published in 1589, the last in 1596. The great tragedies of Marlowe, *Faustus*, the *Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II.*, appeared in the years 1588-1593. Shakespeare's dramatic career began shortly before 1592 and was finished in 1611. Their common theme is human nature. With Spenser, spiritual aspirations, the significance of human affections, and the relation of man to the unseen powers are the leading themes; faith in the moral potentialities of man is the keynote of his verse. To Marlowe the study of passion and ambition had an

irresistible attraction. Shakespeare, while he inherits Marlowe's interest in the heights and depths of passions, is more impressed by the rich and complex variety of every individual nature, by the subtle action and reaction of will on will and mind on mind, by the irony of fate and the paradoxical union of opposing traits in the same character. There have been literatures more fertile in abstract ideas, of a more chastened fancy, of greater precision and clarity in expression, than the Elizabethan; there is none which deals in a spirit so penetrating and imaginative with the mysteries of individual passion.

H. W. C. DAVIS



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

First among the writers who added lustre to the reign of Elizabeth, William Shakespeare remains not only the greatest English poet, but the supreme poet of the modern world. He was born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, and died at his native place in 1616.

WHAT ENGLAND OWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH



BY MARTIN HUME MA



THE period covered by the reign of Elizabeth coincides with the development of a new spirit in the English people. Sturdy and independent they had always been, esteeming themselves personally above the Scots and the French, with whom alone they had been brought into inimical contact. But the sentiment which began to manifest itself under Henry VIII., and grew to maturity under his younger daughter, did not consist so much of a conviction of superior individual prowess as of the certainty that England, as a nation, was destined to attain for herself a proud and powerful position, free from the aid or patronage of other countries. The birth of this feeling was probably owing to the clever diplomacy of Henry VII., who, mainly in order to strengthen his own dynasty, made the most of the ability of England to turn the balance in favour of one or the other of the rival Continental powers, and greatly magnified the international importance of his country, especially after his masterpiece of policy in marrying his elder daughter to the King of Scots.

The aggressive personality of Henry VIII. and his active patronage of English shipping, giving rise, as it did, to privateering and piracy on a large scale on French and Spanish vessels, also fostered the growing sentiment of national potency against foreigners. But it was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that this new sense of imperial dignity and future world-power became an article of faith with all Englishmen.

THE STATECRAFT OF ELIZABETH

The peculiar position of the queen, her personal character, and the march of events on the Continent all contributed to this result. If Elizabeth had succumbed to the flattering advances of the King of Spain to take her and her country under his protection in the early days of her reign, her position would have been rendered precarious, if not impossible. The recognition by her of the papal power would have invalidated her own right to the throne, by destroying the legitimacy of her birth, and, though she managed for years to avert danger from a Catholic league against her by frequent profes-

sions of her sympathy for the old religion, she never dared openly to embrace it. The blustering assertion of her independence and power, with which she met anything in the nature of a threat from abroad, her constant appeals in extremity to the chivalry of her opponents, and her dexterous use of her charms to influence men towards her ends, her ostentatious regard for the loyalty of her people, and the readiness with which she condoned acts of aggression by her subjects, apparently against her wish, if large profits came from them, all inflamed the sentiment of national power and solidarity of Englishmen while at the same time testifying to Elizabeth's consummate statecraft.

SECRET OF THE QUEEN'S SUCCESS

Her success was as much owing to her weakness as to her strength. In the long marriage juggle, her supreme vanity, her imperiousness, and her insatiable thirst for admiration, always stepped in to prevent her from finally surrendering her liberty to any man. If she had allowed herself to be captured in marriage, as she seemed perilously near doing more than once, the great instrument of her policy would have disappeared, and she could no longer have whistled France to her side as she did whenever the Catholic powers were getting too intimate. She was fortunate, too, in having for a contemporary sovereign a woman of conscience so elastic as Catharine de Medici, whose position between the rival factions of Huguenots and Catholics in France also rendered necessary a policy of constantly playing one against the other if she was to retain her ruling influence.

Catharine, for her own ends, was ever ready at a critical point to support Elizabeth in embarrassing King Philip II., because when he was free from trouble there was always the danger of his so aiding the Catholic Guisan party in France as to give them the preponderance of power in the state, to Catharine's detriment. Philip, on the other hand, dared not go to war openly with England while his own Netherlands were blazing in revolt, though they were undisguisedly helped by English money and men. Any attack upon England

by Spain in such circumstances would have brought the strong Huguenot party in France into the field against him, both in Flanders and on the Channel.

Elizabeth knew exactly how far she could go with safety, though her nice calculations were constantly being hampered by the Puritan party in her court, whose religious and political principles were stronger than their diplomacy. Burleigh, her wisest Minister, headed a moderate conservative party, desirous of avoiding war and holding through thick and thin to the traditional policy of a good understanding with Spain; while Leicester in his later years, Walsingham, and afterwards Essex, and their friends, were ever clamouring for open hostilities with Spain and a close community with the Huguenots and Protestants on the Continent. Her anger when this party forced her into a dangerous position passed all bounds, and wise Burleigh and her own clever sophistry often with difficulty conjured away the peril.

So long as Elizabeth had the means to win the friendship of France at will, she was fairly safe. She could keep prisoner Mary Stuart against all international usage, she could support the Dutch Protestants against Philip, and she could smile at the violation of his territory and the profitable plunder of his shipping by her subjects. Her immunity depended mainly upon the French religious divisions. She ostentatiously respected the legitimate government of France, but she never lost her hold upon the Huguenot party, which kept the Catholic majority powerless against her.

ELIZABETH IN A GREAT CRISIS

But events at length upset this delicate equilibrium of forces. The house of Valois was expiring with childless Henry III., and the king, who hated the Guises, recognised Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, as his heir. This made a great civil war inevitable in France, and paralysed the Huguenots as possible factors in favour of Elizabeth, while the Catholic majority in the country would prevent Henry III. from shielding her from the vengeance of Philip. Thus, in 1585, Elizabeth stood alone and met the crisis bravely. The plots engineered from Spain in favour of Mary Queen of Scots were answered by the execution of Mary and by a more hostile attitude in Holland, where Orange was openly aided by a strong English

army. Elizabeth herself refused the sovereignty of the states offered to her by the Dutch; but, to her fury, again her hand was forced by Leicester, her commander in Holland, who accepted the sovereignty, by implication, in her name.

ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH OVER SPAIN

Nothing could now prevent the long-delayed attack upon England by Spain, for France was impotent to interfere, and it was at this crisis that the new national feeling in England rose to its full height of heroism and valour. The queen, hoping against hope, almost to the last, stinted the arming and victualing of the defensive forces that her country raised so bounteously until its efficiency was gravely impaired. But a new school of seamanship had been evolved by the ocean rovers. For the first time sailors controlled ships as fighting entities. The Spaniards were outsailed and outmanœuvred by this new plan of pitting sailors against soldiers at sea, and disaster, utter and complete, to the Armada secured England's safety from Spanish attack in future. Elizabeth's diplomacy and Philip's difficulties had avoided war for thirty years; but when it came, Elizabeth's patriotic appeals to her people, and the new spirit of confidence in the nation, justified her long cultivation of popularity and her ceaseless assertion of England's ability to hold her own.

Elizabeth's methods in home politics displayed the same qualities as her foreign diplomacy. She would hector and bluster to those of her subjects who crossed her; but she always had recourse to blandishments to win to her side those who were strong enough really to injure her. She pretended to sympathise with Catholics and Protestants in turn, and persecuted both as political need dictated. While pretending to disapprove of a policy of expansion of England across the sea at the expense of Spain, she was always ready to acknowledge accomplished facts, however outrageous, if success and profit justified them. Success, indeed, must be the sole justification of her own wonderful career. She was vain, boastful, coarse, insincere, and immodest; but she found England poor, weak and divided, and she left it gloriously strong and conscious of illimitable possibilities. No merely good woman could have attained that result.



PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS IN CONFERENCE: A FAMOUS GATHERING IN THE ABBEY AT POISSY IN 1561

With the view of adjusting their religious differences, a conference of Protestants and Roman Catholics was held in the Abbey at Poissy in 1561, but it had no decisive result. The picture shows the youthful Charles IX, seated upon the throne, his mother, Catherine de Médici, sitting on his left, while behind and around them are the Catholic nobles and prelates. Theodore Beza the leader of the Protestant pastors, is seen addressing the conference, and his words are drawing forth a clamour of protest from his opponents.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XI

FRANCE UNDER CATHARINE DE MEDICI

AND THE DAYS OF THE HUGUENOT WARS

FRANCIS II. was only fifteen years old on the death of his father on July 10th, 1559, and had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., in 1558. The reins of government were not held by him, but by his mother, the intriguing Catharine de Medici, who associated herself with the two most powerful men in the kingdom, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, by giving the first the control of the army, and promoting the latter to be chief Minister. These two were the leaders of the Catholic party, while the Calvinists, henceforth known as "Huguenots," found a head in Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, a relation of the royal house. Political scheming, among the foremost men at least, was, however, so engrossing that opposition in matters of religion was only outwardly combined with it, in order to have a wider foundation

for powerful enterprises. The followers of Condé, and of the Bourbons generally, had agreed that the Guises must be dislodged from their foremost positions. Opinions were divided only as to the best way of doing this. The attempt to win over the queen-mother to the plan failed.

The idea now suggested itself of forming, in accordance with the advice of Gaspard de Châtillon, lord of Coligny, an alliance with the reformed party, which, notwithstanding all persecutions, comprised more than two thousand congregations. This political side of the religious movement was bound to rouse the ruling party to more cruel persecutions. An edict was issued in autumn, 1559, which prohibited the Huguenots from holding public worship under pain of death. This edict cost the lives of many honourable men. A conspiracy, with which the Bourbons were indirectly connected, tried to deprive the Guises and the queen mother of the govern-

ment by force; but the enterprise was a failure, and the leaders of the plot paid the penalty with their lives. It was only too well known at court in what connection the action of the Huguenots stood with the policy of Condé; but the Guises did not immediately contemplate his punishment, especially as he had retired to his estates.

The Sudden Death of Francis II. But the prince feared the vengeance of those in power, and preferred, therefore, not to appear at a meeting of the notables

which was summoned to Fontainebleau, and may in this way have disconcerted the ruling party at first. A petition for toleration, addressed by the Huguenots to the king, met with no favourable response; indeed, at a meeting of the States-General at Orleans, Condé was arrested on October 30th, 1560, and was condemned to death for high treason by a specially appointed commission, of which he emphatically challenged the competence. However, before the sentence could be carried out King Francis II. died suddenly, on December 5th, 1560, and the two persons who would have gladly overthrown the Guises—namely, King Anthony of Navarre and Admiral Coligny—escaped without trial.

As Francis left no children, his brother, Charles IX., a boy aged ten years, succeeded to the throne. Under him, Queen Catharine held the reins of government more firmly than ever, and now sought to overthrow the inconvenient supremacy of the Guises. To attain this ob-

Catharine with the Reins of Government ject it was necessary for her to secure the support of the Bourbons, and after some vain attempts she won their confidence. The prince was acquitted of his crime, and King Anthony nominated governor-general for the king, while Catharine claimed for herself the title of regent, and also assigned to the cardinal the administration of the finances. But this was contrary to the promises which the queen-regent had given to King

Anthony, for they had stipulated the complete retirement of the Guises and claimed full religious liberty for the Huguenots.

Catharine had in all probability never contemplated fulfilling her promise, since by so doing she would have put herself too completely in the power of the Bourbons. All that King Anthony obtained was an edict which substituted exile for death as the punishment for holding heretical public worship, and forbade searches in the interiors of the houses. A religious conference, which was held at Catharine's proposal naturally did nothing to clear up the situation, especially since the Catholics now noticed with alarm an inclination of the queen toward the Protestant side, and the chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, zealously advocated toleration. The result was a decree promulgated in January, 1562, which allowed the Huguenots to hold public worship outside the towns, while it also excused them from the restitution of churches and church property to the Catholics. This was distinctly a victory for the cause of the "Reformed" party which was unprecedented, and justified the most sanguine expectations.

King Anthony, then, trusting to the easily won favour of King Philip of Spain, went over to the side of the Catholics, who were now engaged in civil war, and so forced the queen into the closest alliance with Condé and Coligny. A few weeks after the issue of the Edict, the interruption of a Huguenot service by Duke Francis of Guise, terminating in what is known as the Massacre of Amboise, gave the signal for a sanguinary riot, in the course of which the king and his mother fell into the power of the Catholic party, which held Paris. Condé and

Coligny, encouraged by the queen, made preparations at Orleans to liberate the king, while throughout the country the same feud put weapons into the hands of

the peasants. A great part of the nobility and the towns stood by the Huguenots, while almost the whole peasantry, excepting that of Normandy, espoused the Catholic cause. Both parties committed equal excesses, ravaging the country with fire and sword; both courted and obtained help from foreign powers, the Catholics from Spain and Italy, the Huguenots from Germany and England. Francis of Guise was shot by a fanatical Calvinist during the siege of Orleans, in February, 1563, and the Catholic party, much shaken by the loss of its leader, consented to a peace at Amboise on March 15th, 1563. By this all feudal tenants of the crown acquired for themselves and their subjects

the right to exercise their religion without hindrance; the other members of the nobility might do so in their houses, while a similar privilege was conceded to the towns. The English were now driven from the land, and Prince Condé was promised influence in the government; but, owing to Catharine's faithlessness, there could be no confidence that the arrangement would be kept.

After this first religious civil war the feeling of the two parties among themselves was unfortunately the same as ever; even the terrible sight of a ravaged country did not deter them from new outrages. The young king, who showed no pleasing traits of age

at fourteen, but in reality his mother still ruled; she travelled through the country with him, and took this oppor-



FRANCIS II. OF FRANCE
Married to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, in 1558, when he was only fourteen years of age, Francis came to the throne of France in 1559, but his mother was the real ruler.



THE PATRIOT COLIGNY.
Gaspard de Coligny has been described as the "noblest Frenchman of his time." Fired with religious zeal, he aimed at making the Huguenots a national party, and was one of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

tunity of sounding the feeling of the people. Insurrection could only with difficulty be repressed during the four years subsequent to the unsatisfactory conclusion of peace. Even if Coligny appeared outwardly reconciled with the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, both parties had made up their minds that hostilities would be renewed. On September 27th, 1567, the Huguenots rose under Condé and Coligny in great force; Condé besieged the king and the queen-mother in Paris, which was feebly defended. The Huguenots were obliged, indeed, to withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, and suffered a defeat in November, notwithstanding their gallant resistance. In Lorraine they received support from the Palatinate, but the royalists were reinforced on their side by papal troops. Condé had won a distinct advantage when the queen reopened negotiations, and the treaty of 1563 was confirmed on March 23rd, 1568, by the Treaty of Longjumeau.

But this time also the mistrust continued. After the chancellor, L'Hôpital, had been deprived of his office, the edict of peace was revoked by the court, and all non-Catholic divine worship was forbidden on pain of death. This order was to be carried out by force, and the Huguenots were prepared to resist. But they were completely defeated on March 13th, 1569, at Jarnac, and Condé fell. Coligny now rallied all the followers of the reformed teaching, although he had lost almost all his comrades in arms, and was condemned to death by the Parlement of Paris as guilty of high treason. Once more the Huguenots conquered in the field, but they were again totally beaten at Moncontour on October 3rd, and Coligny was forced to retreat. The resources of the court were

again exhausted, and the king wished for peace, because dissensions had long prevailed in the Catholic party. The treaty of 1563 was therefore confirmed for the second time on August 8th, 1570, at St. Germain-en-Laye, and the validity of all other decrees was annulled; the Huguenots were, in addition, allowed this time to occupy four fortresses as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the agreement.

It can hardly be assumed that there was any wish at court to make permanent concessions to the Huguenots, but at any rate this was done. The most important event in this connection was brought about by the marriage, on the 18th of August, 1572, of Margaret, the king's sister, with Henry of Navarre, son of Queen Jeanne and King Anthony, who had just fought on the side of the Huguenots. Coligny was also cordially received by King Charles and appointed to the council of state; but his advice that the king was now old enough to rule alone proved his ruin. A certain excitement was caused among the Huguenots by the death of Queen Jeanne of Navarre, since there were rumours of poisoning. The queen-mother, in fear lest Coligny might drive the king to independent action, which might lead to her own expulsion, desired nothing more fervently than the death of the admiral. She hired an assassin, but his shot only slightly wounded his victim; and the excuse of the king that he knew nothing about it lulled the suspicions of the Huguenot chiefs so that they remained—to their destruction—in the city.

Catharine was so infuriated at the failure of her plan that she devised a new scheme; not Coligny alone but all the leaders of the Huguenots and as many as possible of their followers were to be



CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE

Charles was only ten years of age when the death of his brother, Francis II., left him the throne of France. He was king in name only. He authorised the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August, 1572, and died in 1574.

The Varying Fortunes of the Huguenots

Paris as guilty of high treason. Once more the Huguenots conquered in the field, but they were again totally beaten at Moncontour on October 3rd, and Coligny was forced to retreat. The resources of the court were



AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW : CATHARINE DE MEDICI VIEWING THE VICTIMS OF THE MASSACRE

From a photograph by Braun, Clement & Cie. of the painting by E. Debat-Ponsan, by the artist's permission

sacrificed to her revenge. Attended by a small body of loyal Guises, she argued with the king on the evening of the 23rd of August, 1572, until he at last assented to the wholesale slaughter of the Huguenots—for which the preparations had already been completely organised—on that night. In the morning the streets were running with the blood of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Coligny with all the other leaders and thousands of citizens fell victims to the murderers. But not merely Huguenots were slain; many other motives besides religious zeal, such as revenge, greed, personal hatred, and mere lust of slaughter, caused the death of numerous good Catholics on that night. The massacre can only be set down in the long list of crimes perpetrated under the cloak of religious zeal.

The king was uncertain whether he had commanded this hideous crime or whether

it had been perpetrated without or even against his will. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, who were spared on this wicked occasion, submitted themselves to the king and renounced their opinions.



THE LAST OF THE VALOIS

Cruel and tyrannical by nature, Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles, was entirely influenced by his mother, Catharine. Civil war darkened his reign.

The greater part of the Huguenots fled the country after the terrible catastrophe and sought shelter abroad, since the four places which had been given them as pledges no longer afforded any security; royal troops now began to besiege La Rochelle, the strongest of the places of refuge. But since they failed to take it, the Edict of Boulogne, of June 30th, 1573, secured liberty of conscience and the right of public worship to the Huguenots in three of the already privileged towns. The royal court was exposed to further disturbances even before the death of Charles IX. on May 30th, 1574. The ambitious Queen Catharine had succeeded in

FRANCE UNDER CATHARINE DE MEDICI

placing her favourite son Henry on the throne of Poland, and he had gone to his new kingdom in 1573. Now, however, the question of the succession was being discussed at home, since Charles's death seemed rapidly approaching. A distinct party, which sympathised with the Huguenots, hoped to be able to raise Catharine's fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, to the throne.

A rising was already planned, which was to put the government into the hands of the conspirators; but the attempt failed. The queen, who had noticed the threatening danger, recalled Henry from Poland immediately after Charles's death. He delayed on the way, but owing to his mother's solicitude, the throne was secure for him upon his arrival in the country.

The character of Henry III. (1574-1589) had been moulded by his mother; he was cruel and tyrannical, and indulged in extravagances and pleasures so long as his excesses did not sap his strength. The king's brother, as well as Prince Condé and Henry of Navarre, very soon left the court, and the three placed themselves at the head of the Huguenots. When Condé, in the spring of 1576, supported by the Palsgrave John Casimir, advanced with an army, the Huguenots brought forward all their grievances and demanded their right. The court had certainly not the strength to venture on a war, and in the Treaty of Beaulieu on May 8th, 1576, not only conceded the free exercise of religion everywhere, with the



KING HENRY III. PLACING HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF THE "HOLY LEAGUE"

Led by Henry of Guise, the "Holy League," which aimed at the destruction of the Huguenots, spread rapidly throughout France. Becoming bolder with its increasing strength, the league secretly planned the overthrow of the royal house and the elevation of Henry of Guise to the throne. Fearing the power of this combination, Henry III., who at first had doubted its strength, placed himself at its head, thus obviating the possibility of dethronement.

single exception of the town of Paris, but also admission to the offices and judicial posts. The Duke of Alençon, by the bestowal of a governorship, was removed to a district which sided with him, and was therefore withdrawn from the reformed party. The Catholic court had, however, made these concessions reluctantly. The Catholics found a leader in Henry of Guise, the youthful son of Duke Francis, who became the head of the "Holy League." This confederation spread throughout France, and aimed at the annihilation of the Huguenots. Its secret plans extended still farther, to the overthrow of the royal family, and the elevation of the young Henry of Guise to the throne.

The king at first attached no credit to this secret league, but when he saw that it was useless to oppose it, he joined it and proclaimed himself its head. The danger of being dethroned was thus obviated. The oppression of the Huguenots was renewed and led to the sixth war, which ended with a treaty at Bergerac in October, 1577. It was due more to the laxity of the government than to any submission to the prevailing conditions that tranquillity reigned for some years after the Peace of Fleix, negotiated in November, 1580. The League, meanwhile, was on permanently good terms with Philip of Spain and watched for a favourable opportunity.

This came when, on June 10th, 1584, the youngest brother of the king, the Duke of Alençon, and now also of Anjou, died. And thus, after the death of Henry, who was childless, the house of Valois threatened to become extinct and to give way to that of the protestant Bourbon, for Henry of Navarre, after he had quitted the court, had once more entirely identified himself with the Huguenots and their creed. In order to avoid this possibility, the League, in combination with King Philip, took the opportunity to designate as successor to the crown another member of the Bourbon family, the old cardinal Charles of Bourbon, who at once issued a proclamation against the king.

Swords were already drawn, and serious results threatened to ensue; the king then betook himself to negotiations, and was obliged, at Nemours on July 7th, 1585, to promise the powerful League that he would consent to the withdrawal of all decrees friendly to the Huguenots. This roused the Huguenots to action. The eighth war produced, however, no decisive results; the king continued to allow the reins of government to slip from his grasp while the reputation of Guise increased. The victory of the Huguenots at Coutras, on October 20th, 1587, was without further consequences; the defeat of Auneau soon followed, and in the spring of 1588, young Condé died. The strained relations between the king and Guise, whom the Parisians chiefly favoured, became more and more marked; the king was worsted in a fight between the royal Swiss guard and Guise's followers in the streets of the city on May 12th, 1588—the first street warfare in Paris. As a plot was being hatched against his life, he escaped just in time from the capital. Guise acted as ruler there until, in the Treaty of Rouen on July 15th, 1588, he exacted from the humiliated king the remaining rights as ruler of the realm under the name of governor-general. But he did not long enjoy his power; the daggers of the assassins whom the king himself had hired struck him on December 23rd, 1588.



THE DUKE OF SULLY Finance Minister under Henry IV., the Duke of Sully displayed great ability; he reorganised the finances of the country and greatly reduced its national debt.

The old queen, Catharine, soon followed. She died at the beginning of 1589. Her weak son now stood quite alone, and had not the power to avail himself fully of the favourable position which the murder of his rival had produced. He avoided appearing at once in Paris, where meanwhile the League roused the wildest excitement against the king, and openly called for his assassination. But before the Dominican, Jacques Clement, treacherously stabbed the king while handing him petitions at Saint Cloud on August 1st, 1589, the dethroned monarch had come to terms with the Huguenots, had become reconciled with Henry of Navarre, and in conjunction

France's Dethroned King



THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV., KING OF FRANCE, INTO PARIS IN THE YEAR 1594

From the painting by Baron Gerard

with him had begun war on the League. Now, on his death-bed, the last of the Valois called the Bourbon to him, declaring him his successor. Henry of Navarre had to fight for the crown which lawfully came to him, especially since the League was in possession of Paris and shunned the Calvinistic Bourbon as a heretic.

After the death of Henry of Guise, his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, had assumed the leadership of the League and had made himself governor-general. Henry IV. (1589-1610), promised that he would for the future support the Catholic confession, and would submit himself to a national council. A part of the Catholics, on the strength of these promises, actually stood by him; but the Huguenots naturally feared his defection. The war between the League and the king remained undecided, until the latter gained a brilliant victory on March 14th, 1590, at Ivry. But the League still held Paris. Henry began the siege, but was forced to relinquish it after some time, since Spain supported the League. Philip did not recognise the Bourbon Henry as king, but the old cardinal who was called Charles X. After the latter's death he counted on the throne of France as the portion of his daughter, who might be considered a scion of the Valois on the female side.

The war continued. England and Germany sent reinforcements for the king; the members of the League were divided into two camps, since Duke Charles of Guise appeared by the side of Mayenne, and the confusion in the country increased. At the beginning of the year 1593 the League wished to choose a new orthodox king, but no conclusion was reached. But Henry soon saw that without a change of faith he could not look for a quiet reign, and he therefore abjured his religion on July 25th at Saint Denis. A considerable

part of the Catholics now went over to the side of the king, while another part declared the conversion to be hypocrisy, and with that notion continued to instigate the people against the monarch. The murderous attempt of a fanatic fortunately failed. The League, to which Philip now lent only slight aid, offered trifling opposition, and Henry's coronation took place in January, 1594. In March the surrender of the capital was arranged by an agree-

ment with the military commander. Henry made his entry as king, while he cherished nothing but vengeance in his heart against the hostile behaviour of the mob. The war had still to be prosecuted against Mayenne. A second attempt on the life of the king failed. Finally, Mayenne recognised the Bourbon as king, after the Pope had received him into the bosom of the Church. The war with Spain lasted a considerable time longer. Henry then began his work of reform, and issued, on April 25th, 1598, the Edict of Nantes, which secured, however, a certain degree of religious peace. This first gave France a legal basis for the organisation of religious matters, just as the Religious Peace of Augsburg had granted it to the German Empire.

The country had suffered much under the continuous civil wars. Henry's second task was to promote material welfare. He solved the

problem admirably with the help of Maximilian de Bethune, created in 1606 Duke of Sully, a most able financier. The budget, which had been neglected for years, was once more settled in 1597; and notwithstanding enormous debts, which still had to be liquidated, the exchequer gradually grew fuller. The king fell by the dagger of the fanatic, François Ravallac, just as he was proposing to interfere in the German dispute about Cleves, on May 14th, 1610.



HENRY IV. OF FRANCE

France was involved during his reign, from 1589 till 1610, in the religious wars between Protestants and Catholics, to both of which the king in turn professed allegiance.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XII

THE EMPIRE AFTER CHARLES V. THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS OF THE STATES

WHEN the Emperor Charles abdicated the sovereignty of Germany in 1554, his brother, Ferdinand I., assumed the government, which he conducted with moderation until 1564. The policy of the empire at this period was influenced by the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants. In the ranks of the Protestants, who indeed had never been really united, a new dispute arose, since Electoral Saxony represented quite different views, both in religious polity and in dogma, from those of the Palatinate, and both had supporters among the princes. A conservative spirit prevailed on the whole in the native country of Lutheranism, which was eager to identify itself closely with the emperor in politics, and in dogma held firmly to Luther.

The Electors Palatine, however, were not only zealous advocates of war against Catholicism, whereby they offended the emperor, the guardian of the religious peace, but also in dogma leaned towards the more radical Calvinism, and in 1563 actually went over to that doctrine. The Elector Palatine, Frederic III., was the first imperial prince who introduced Calvinism into his territory; until then it had found adherents only on the borders and at isolated points inside the empire. After that the empire had to face the new sect, which was equally opposed to the Catholic and the Lutheran confessions, and besides that had not been recognised in the Religious Peace as possessing equal privileges.

The Emperor Ferdinand had been forced into a peaceful policy by the necessity of claiming the support of the princes against the Turks in almost every diet. A proof of his clemency was his demand that the Pope should allow communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy—a request which naturally was not granted. In every possible way he wished to main-

tain peace. He had secured the crown of Bohemia for his son Maximilian in 1562, had obtained his election in 1563 as king of the Romans, and bequeathed to him the empire at his death on July 25th, 1564. Out of the crown lands Maximilian II. (1564-1576)

Maximilian's Support of Protestantism governed only Austria proper, while his brothers, Ferdinand and Charles, ruled in the other dominions of the Austrian house. The new emperor was unusually broad-minded in religious matters. Before his accession to power he had inclined towards the reformed doctrines, and would perhaps have adopted them entirely had not the petty squabbles among the Protestants disgusted him. As sovereign he showed toleration towards the nobles, who were mostly Protestants. In spite of papal opposition, he gave a special constitutional representation and power known as "religious deputation" to the Protestant states. In Bohemia, finally, the Compacts of Prague were set aside in 1567, and a great part of the people professed the "Confession of Augsburg."

External relations under Ferdinand and Maximilian were, on the whole, peaceful. The Turkish-Hungarian frontier war still continued, but without any considerable successes on either side. Suleiman died on September 5th, 1566, and two days afterwards his army captured the fortress of Szigetvar, when Nicholas, Count of Zrinyi, met a hero's death. But in 1568 an eight years' truce was concluded between Maximilian and the Sultan, Selim

Eight Years' Truce With the Sultan II., in return, however, for a large yearly tribute. In the diets the interpretation of the Religious Peace formed the constantly recurring subject of debate, especially with reference to the "ecclesiastical reservation," which was intended to secure the spiritual principalities permanently to the Catholic faith. The Elector Palatine was always the first to provoke a conflict.

The Elector of Saxony usually opposed him, and strongly advocated the peace ; but, finally, in 1557, all the Protestant princes declared that they could no longer regard the reservation as legally existing. This point seemed to be absolutely the most important for the further dissemination of Protestantism. With the exception

Split in the Ranks of the Protestants

of Austria, Bavaria, and Juliers, all the secular territories were Protestant, so that the Protestant district could be increased and rounded off only by the acquisition of spiritual territories. Besides this, many members of the cathedral chapters were friendly to the Protestants, and not a few Lutheran bishops were elected.

The princes took further steps at the diet of Regensburg in 1575 with reference to Ecclesiastical Reservation, since they wished to see established as a law of the empire the promise which Ferdinand had given in 1558, to the effect that in the spiritual principalities the Protestants should enjoy toleration as subjects. The emperor did not comply with the request ; and in the diet of the next year, with the approval of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, rejected the demand which was put forward by the Elector Palatine. This attitude adopted by the two electors led to a division among the Protestants which lasted for decades, and distinctly favoured the progress of the Counter-Reformation.

In addition to this, Rudolph II. (1576-1612), the son and successor of Maximilian, held loyally to the Catholic faith, and the papal policy of proselytising found a warm supporter in him, for he had been educated in Spain at the court of Philip II. Under him the exercise of the reformed worship was strictly forbidden in Vienna ; some of the preachers were forced to leave the country, and the citizens of the towns were in many cases compulsorily brought back to the Catholic faith, while the

Rudolph's Support of Catholicism

Protestant nobles had to live far from the court and its offices. Rudolph exercised the same policy in the empire at large as in his hereditary dominions. The archbishopric of Cologne was secured for the Catholic faith, and Strassburg was brought back to it. Rudolph, by suspending the ban of the empire over the Protestants rendered decisive assistance in the restoration of the Catholic council in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1598, which was connected with

the expulsion of the Evangelical council and preachers. The Protestant princes allowed all this to be done without interference. The Electors Palatine alone troubled themselves on behalf of their brethren in the faith both within and without the empire. Electoral Saxony now, as previously, made no use of its political influence, but persecuted the Cryptocalvinists—that is, the Lutherans who inclined to Calvinistic doctrine. The last Lutheran confession of faith, the "Formula Concordiæ," which was formally published in Electoral Saxony in 1580, owed its origin to the effort to obtain clear points of differentiation from Calvinism.

The last twenty years of the sixteenth century saw a great advance in Catholicism. It was soon clear that a political union of all Protestants was becoming necessary if a general concession to their opponents was not to be made. England had espoused the cause of the French Huguenots, while Philip of Spain had been equally energetic for the Catholic League. Religion became the leading feature of the politics of Western Europe. If the German princes wished to

Religion in European Politics

have a voice in these international questions, they must take one side or the other. When, therefore, Henry IV. of France went to the German Protestants for help, they did not refuse to give it ; but in order to be able to take a vigorous part, the old feud between the Palatinate and Saxony had to be laid aside. This was done in the course of the year 1590, and at the beginning of the following year a union of the foremost Protestant princes among themselves and with France was agreed upon. But this time the consummation of a real alliance was prevented by the deaths within a short period of the chief contracting parties.

A Protestant Union at this particular time seemed of the highest value. The question of the succession or the regency in Juliers with Cleves and Berg compendiously included matters vital to the future of the contending parties. The old Duke William had, besides his imbecile and childless son, John William, daughters only, and they were married to Protestant princes. Whoever obtained the regency for John William would naturally have the best prospect of some day becoming his successor. In order to postpone a decision, the emperor entrusted the government to the states ; by this the Protestants

were temporarily excluded. The hope of eventual success was not indeed yet abandoned, but it could be accomplished only on the basis of a Protestant league.

Other events rendered this course urgent. The Palatinate party in the diets had repeatedly coupled the grant of "Turk-taxes" with the condition that religious grievances should be remedied, but they had never carried their point, since the party of Electoral Saxony regularly held to the emperor. The situation was changed when the energetic measures taken by the Hapsburgs against the Lutherans in their hereditary dominions embittered the Saxon elector. Christian II., in 1604, had achieved no success in Vienna with his earnest representations, and, indignant at this, had threatened to withhold the taxes. When the diet met in Regensburg at the beginning of 1608, the Protestants combined, and finally, since the emperor would not consent to any concessions, left the diet in a body, thus sapping its further efficiency.

The Protestants were now united for the first time in many years. The hopes which they rested on this union were the greater since a Protestant movement against the emperor had just been formed in the Hapsburg dominions, which found a leader in his brother Matthias. At the very beginning of 1608 the latter had advanced with hostile intent towards the imperial capital of Prague, and on June 25th, 1608, had received the crown of Hungary, as well as the hereditary dominions in Austria and Moravia, as compensation from the emperor. It was natural that the Protestant princes should seek for an alliance with Matthias and with those states in the Hapsburg dominions which held to the Protestant faith.

Matthias, notwithstanding his opposition to the catholicising policy of his brother Rudolph, and notwithstanding his support of the Protestant nobility, was no sincere adherent of the Evangelical doctrine. He was little pleased when the Austrian states, before doing homage, demanded binding promises as to the practice of religion, and he only reluctantly gave them assurances in an ambiguous "Resolution" on March 10th, 1609. A political union of the Protestant princes with Matthias seemed under such circumstances very hopeless,

especially since the Calvinists, under the leadership of the Palatinate, now had the upper hand, and on May 14th, 1608, formed a union at Anhausen. This included all Protestant territories, with the exception of Electoral Saxony, represented a defensive alliance, and maintained a separate military organisation. The Catholic counter-alliance of the League was formed on July 10th, 1609, under the leadership of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, then thirty-six years old; for the moment it reckoned, with the exception of Bavaria, only petty spiritual princes among its members, and created for itself a military system modelled after that of their opponents. The Hapsburgs, for the time being, kept aloof from this alliance.

The Union had the earliest opportunity of political action. Duke John William of Juliers died on March 25th, 1609. The princes, John Sigismund of Brandenburg—as husband of Anne, a niece of the deceased John William—and Philip Louis of Neuburg in the Palatinate—as husband of Anne, John William's sister—both members of the Union, were immediately on the spot as candidates for the succession to the duchy, while the emperor regarded the land as an escheated imperial fief, and intended to have it administered by the Archduke Leopold. The latter took the fortress of Juliers in May, 1609, while Brandenburg and Neuburg, in virtue of a special treaty of June 10th, took joint possession of the district and capital, Düsseldorf, and governed jointly with the declared consent of the Protestants united in the Union.

This would have been in itself quite sufficient to drive the League to the side of the emperor; but no other choice was left them by consideration for one of their own members, the Archbishop of Cologne, to whom the proximity of the Protestant princes could not be a matter of indifference. The States-General had shortly before made a treaty with France and England for protection against Spain; this was again reason enough to draw the former to the side of the Union, and Spain to that of the League. There was thus plenty of material for a war involving the whole of Western Europe, and only the murder of the French king, Henry IV., on May 14th, 1610, prevented it from breaking out. With him

disappeared the moving spirit for political actions on a large scale. Instead of the great war, a mere feud developed between Brandenburg and Neuburg, whose mutual relations became more and more unsatisfactory. The new quarrel was confirmed in 1613 by the conversion of Wolfgang William of Neuburg—son of Philip Louis

Brandenburg's Adoption of Calvin's Creed

—to the Catholic religion; his marriage with the Bavarian princess, Magdalene, followed at the end of 1615. By this, Neuburg had won the support of the League, while Brandenburg adopted the Calvinistic creed on December 25th, 1613, and might now look for a still more powerful furtherance of his interests by the Union.

Dutch troops came to the help of Brandenburg, and Spanish troops under Ambrosio Spinola occupied Wesel. But before the close of the year 1614 the two parties formed a truce on November 12th at Xanten, on the terms that Neuburg should have the territories of Juliers and Berg, and Brandenburg should take Cleves, Mark, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein. The Dutch, indeed, as well as the Spaniards occupied some places in the country—partly up to 1672—and at the same time the alliances which the Union had made with England and Sweden, and the League with Lorraine, Savoy, and the Pope, gave cause to fear a new outbreak of hostilities.

The Emperor Rudolph had found no time in his latter years to trouble himself about the affairs on the Lower Rhine; his hereditary dominions demanded his attention, and he had to provide for the future. He could not repose any sincere confidence in his brother Matthias, who had opposed him at the head of the states, and he wished, therefore, to help Archduke Leopold to the succession in Bohemia, although Matthias had already, with Rudolph's consent, been accepted by the states as king designate. An attempt

Another Crown For Matthias

by force of arms, in February, 1611, to bring Prague into the power of Rudolph, and to make the states dependent on him, was unsuccessful; the emperor was compelled, in the assembly of the states, to make over the crown of Bohemia to Matthias, who was crowned on May 23rd, 1611, and granted a mere annual payment to his imperial brother in return for his resignation of all claim on Bohemia, Silesia, and

Lusatia. Rudolph in his straits turned to the electors and asked their financial aid; but they held the view that such questions could be discussed only in an imperial diet. Rudolph felt no disposition to call one, and yet, considering the age of the emperor, it seemed time to settle the succession. The electors, therefore, on their own motion, called an electoral meeting at Frankfort for April. But Rudolph II. died on January 20th.

Matthias was now chosen as his brother's successor in the empire (1612—1619), as he already was in Bohemia and Austria. On all sides, even among the Protestants, great hopes had been formed of the new monarch, but it was soon seen, on the occasion of the first diet, in August, 1613, at Regensburg, how little foundation there was for these expectations. The states were again called upon to grant a high "Turks-tax"; the Protestants again demanded in the first place the redress of their grievances, but the emperor, who showed not the slightest trace of his earlier Protestant proclivities, finally, under the pressure of a Turkish attack, merely

The Protestants Disappointed in the New Emperor

gave permission for the discussion of the grievances outside the diet. The deliberations had, as might be expected, no results. The Protestants, dissatisfied, left the assembly, and the Catholics alone granted the Turks-tax, although they professed to act in the name of the whole assembly, naturally under protest from the Unionists.

All the other hopes which the chancellor, Melchior Khlesl (1552—1630), had placed on this session—in particular a reform of the imperial judicial system was to have been discussed—were thus destroyed; and the position was worse than in 1608, since the Turks had actually attacked Hungary, and had made Gabriel Bethlen, of Iktar, lord of Transylvania in 1613. A reconciliation between the two religious parties, such as Khlesl wished, had been made infinitely more difficult by the entry of the emperor into the League, for Matthias now no longer stood above the parties. The chancellor, it is true, busied himself even yet with the meeting of a "diet" for composition and settlement, which the Union again demanded in their meeting at Nüremberg in 1615, and all the more so as the Union increased its power by closer alliance with the States-General and Denmark, as well as

by the formation of a league of the towns. These efforts led to no result, for a quite different question now occupied the imperial policy—the succession in the empire and in the hereditary dominions. Matthias, and with him the chancellor, preferred to leave the matter unsettled, since the emperor-elect would have acquired influence on the government. Archduke Maximilian, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to have the strict Catholic, Ferdinand of Styria, elected emperor.

By his efforts, which at the same time were aimed at the overthrow of Khlesl, Ferdinand succeeded in concluding a treaty with Spain in June, 1617, in which he secretly promised concessions of territory in the event of his becoming emperor, and was also accepted, although not formally elected, as king by the Catholic states of Bohemia. The Catholic and Protestant states stood confronting each other in this constitutional struggle; the Catholics were decided in regarding Bohemia as the hereditary right of the Hapsburgs, while the Protestants equally distinctly declared the crown to be elective. The claim of

**Struggle
For Religious
Liberty**

the elector was the better founded, as Matthias in 1608 and 1611 had distinctly acknowledged that he had been elected King of Bohemia by free choice, while the Catholic states could adduce in support of their view only the fact that for nearly a century a Hapsburg had always worn the crown.

The nomination of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia was certain to lead to war, since the rights of the Protestant states were far from being firmly established. The greatest difficulties had arisen under Rudolph, who had conceded the demands of the Protestants by a "Letter of Majesty" in 1609, and promised religious liberty only under coercion. Matthias had confirmed the Letter of Majesty among the Bohemian privileges, but with regard to other demands of the states he only held out hopes for the future, especially in reference to a union of the states of all the imperial dominions, and the creation of a common military system.

In Bohemia ideas of a subordinate government were openly entertained by the Protestant states. The emperor, however, tried to use this idea for his war with the Turks when he summoned, in August, 1614, a committee from his dominions to Linz. But the session had no results.

The representatives had not received full authorisation from their districts, and had, besides, no inclination for the Turkish war; there could therefore be no idea of that for the present, and in the summer of 1615 a comparatively favourable treaty was arranged with Gabriel Bethlen as well as with the Sultan, Achmed I. The

**Emperor's
Unfulfilled
Promises**

questions of internal policy were to be discussed afresh at a general assembly of the states in June, 1615. But besides Upper and Lower Austria, only Bohemia was represented, while Hungary sent no representative; once more the debates were fruitless.

Constant friction between the Catholic and Protestant states, and disputes with the imperial government, were, under these circumstances, inevitable in Austria and Bohemia, and led to lasting disturbances. The promises made by the emperor in 1609 were still unfulfilled in Austria. In particular the towns were constrained, by the influence brought to bear on the election of counsellors, in favour of the Catholics, while the Protestant nobles were almost excluded from office.

In Bohemia, it is true, there were some Protestants in the higher posts, but the Catholics were in the majority, and used their position to crush Protestantism in the crown lands and in the ecclesiastical fiefs, although the Letter of Majesty gave permission for the building of churches there.

Matthias in 1612 entrusted the exercise of his rights of patronage to the Archbishop of Prague; the result naturally was that the benefices were once more filled by Catholics. Since the ecclesiastical domains were considered as royal fiefs, the Protestants, in virtue of the Letter of Majesty, had begun to build churches as well, although in 1611 Matthias had rejected, in the case of Braunau, this interpretation of the Letter of Majesty; the building of churches was undauntedly continued. The archbishop

**Protestant
Churches
Suppressed**

ordered the church of Klostergrab to be closed, and the emperor approved of the decree. The Protestant states raised vigorous remonstrances against such a conception of religious liberty. Being met in no friendly spirit, they openly talked of the election of another king, who should be a German; in 1614 some party leaders had already treated with the Elector of Saxony as a candidate. After the populace at

Braunau had prevented the closing of their church by force, and the archbishop had ordered the church of Klostergrab to be pulled down at the end of 1617, an insurrection finally broke out. The Protestant nobles united under the leadership of Henry Matthias, Count of Thurn, and went with a renewed petition first to the stadtholders,

and then to the emperor; being everywhere repulsed, they proceeded to assert their rights by force. The emperor, besides his uncompromisingly unfavourable decree in reference to Braunau and Klostergrab, had, above all, strictly forbidden the assembly of the Protestants arranged for May 21st, 1618. But the states, confident in their privileges, did not allow themselves to be intimidated, and assembled on the appointed day.

An imperial decree which repealed the prohibition was read to the assembled body; and when the states communicated their answer to the stadtholders, such excited altercations followed that finally two of the stadtholders, William Slavata—subsequently Count of Chlum and Koschumberg—and Jaroslav Borita of Martinitz, who were universally held to be the guilty parties, and the unoffending secretary were thrown by the leaders from the window into the castle moat. This gross insult to the foremost imperial officials meant a complete breach with the emperor.

In the western part of the empire, meanwhile, the crisis had become still more acute. Apart from the fact that the Treaty of Xanten, which had divided the territories of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg between Neuburg and Brandenburg, offered sufficient incentive to further disputes, the electoral house of Saxony had since the summer of 1610 been invested with these very territories, in conformity with an earlier promise of the emperor, which rejected the succession of the female line. The States-General were also anxious

War on the Lower Rhine

to maintain the position which they had once won, and Archduke Albert, as the Hapsburg representative, made the same effort. The petty war on the Lower Rhine therefore continued. The States-General, in order to execute further plans, formed an alliance with the Hanse towns.

And thus, before the end of the year 1615, it was clear that the controversies which were pending in the north would have an influence on German politics. In Sweden

the confession of Augsburg had been taken in 1593 as the basis of the national Church in opposition to the Catholic Sigismund (1592-1599). The assumption of the title of king by the Protestant Charles IX. in 1604 signified also a serious war against Poland, with which the struggle for the Baltic provinces still continued.

Since Sigismund, a son of King John III. of Sweden, who had been deposed from the throne of Sweden in 1599, but had been King of Poland also since 1587, entered into closer relations with Austria, Sweden was forced to seek support from the Protestant princes of Germany, for Denmark, which was equally Protestant, and, under the energetic Christian IV. (1588-1648), the most important power of the North, was excluded as being a dangerous rival in the Baltic. A war accordingly broke out between the two countries in 1611, on the question of the tolls in the Sound. The States-General and the Hanse towns, which had both suffered grievously under the Danish tolls, took the side of Sweden. However, nothing came of it but a treaty in 1613 between the

The Siege of Brunswick

States-General and Lübeck, while the alliance of December, 1615, already mentioned, was brought about only by the desperate position of the Hanse town, Brunswick, which the Duke of Brunswick was besieging with the help of Denmark.

The common feature of all political operations in the decade preceding the outbreak of the great war is the tendency towards alliances, which, increasingly closer and on a wider scale as regards members, objects, and duration, at last divided all Europe into the two hostile camps of the Union and the League.

The Union had received considerable additions since the imperial diet of 1613. The military system and its foundation stone, the finances of the allies, had been organised to some extent. In the year 1614 the league with the States-General, such as had been contemplated by the agreement with England as early as 1612, was really arranged for twelve years. Negotiations were opened with the Protestants of Lower Saxony, especially Lüneburg and Pomerania, as well as with the administrators of the dioceses, who foresaw an uncertain future. Attempts were, indeed, made to win the important Electoral Saxony, which still kept aloof. In 1615 the important alliance of the Union

with the province of Lower Saxony was brought about. In the next year a renewal of the confederation, which would expire in 1618, was discussed. The necessity of the continuance of the Union was universally acknowledged, but Electoral Brandenburg withdrew, since the Unionists, and especially the towns, were not disposed to regard the claims on Juliers as their own. Besides nine princes, the Union now included seventeen towns, which would hear nothing of a warlike policy, and bound themselves to the alliance only up to the year 1621.

The League meanwhile had been considerably strengthened by the admission of the emperor and of Wolfgang William of Neuburg in the Palatinate. But the participation of Austria had at the same time destroyed the hitherto uncontested position of Maximilian of Bavaria, for the emperor must now have a voice in the management. The Archbishop of Mainz was able to overcome the difficulties and to effect a reorganisation in 1613, according to which the Hapsburg Maximilian received, in addition to Mainz and Bavaria, a third federal district of Tyrol, and since the Catholic interests were slightly less emphasised, the

**Candidates
For the
Empire's Crown**

Protestant princes had the option of joining. This outcome was by no means satisfactory to the Bavarian. After various attempts to find a solution he left the League in January, 1616, and the rest could do nothing without him. In May, 1617, however, he entered into a new alliance with four spiritual princes for four years.

Meantime, the negotiations as to the succession in the empire had been carried on unceasingly. It was universally admitted that the future emperor must also be ruler of Austria, and Ferdinand of Styria seemed, as the youngest Hapsburg, to be the most suitable. But since 1613 the King of Spain also had raised claims, although at once with the suggestion that he would be satisfied with a concession of territory. Since, however, there could be no thought of winning over the electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg after the course of the imperial diet of 1613, the spiritual electors and the Elector of Saxony had proposed the summoning of an electoral diet by the

emperor, without any statement of the particular object. Khlesl did not wish for that, since his heart was set on an agreement between the religious parties, and he hoped to bring about their reconciliation by the very necessity of some understanding as to the succession. Both parties, indeed, made in 1615 a statement

**The Claims
of Duke
Maximilian**

as to the points on which they must insist, but no meeting for reconciliation was held. Archduke Maximilian attempted to force the emperor to action, and advised, at any rate according to the ideas of the Protestant side, that an election should be held, and, if necessary, enforced by arms. On the other hand, the electors of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony deliberated over a choice in the summer of 1616, and came to the decision that they would defer the business of election until after the death of the emperor, and would then perhaps elect Duke Maximilian of Bavaria.

By this, it is true, the succession of Ferdinand in the Austrian dominions seemed secured at the beginning of the year 1617; but his prospects in the empire were all the more unfavourable, and "recognition" in Bohemia as well as his "election" in Hungary, finally arrived at by the states, offered only poor encouragement. Now at least the Saxon elector had been induced to consent to a personal electoral diet for February, 1618, in order to discuss the election, in which Ferdinand's reversion was regarded as obvious.

The Elector Palatine, on the other hand, was in treaty at the same time with the Protestant states of Bohemia, which, priding themselves on their right of election, did not acknowledge Ferdinand as lawful king; but there had been no talk of his acquiring the crown of Bohemia before the autumn of 1618. During the whole of this year the most various plans for the election of an emperor were devised.

**Death of
the Emperor
Matthias**

The candidature of Maximilian of Bavaria again came up. There was also talk of parcelling out the Hapsburg territories under an agreement with Savoy. But no results had been arrived at when the Emperor Matthias died, on March 20th, 1619. It rested now with Ferdinand to prove whether his statesmanship could secure him the crown.



THE LAST FIGHT OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: SWEDEN'S KING ASKING GOD'S BLESSING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN IN 1632



THE THIRTY YEARS WAR AND SWEDEN'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

EVEN in Austria, immediately after the death of Matthias, Ferdinand had difficulties in obtaining possession of the sovereignty; the states considered his brother Albert their lawful sovereign, and the Protestants among them formed an alliance with the Bohemian insurgents. Ferdinand well understood that the possession of the imperial title would greatly strengthen his position in his hereditary dominions, and went in July to the electoral diet at Frankfort in order to represent the Bohemian vote.

But the Elector Palatine and Brandenburg had already agreed not to choose him. Saxony finally joined the spiritual electors; even Brandenburg changed round, so that the Palatinate at last stood quite alone. Ferdinand's election was now secured, especially since he consented that conciliatory measures should be discussed among the electors in November. The election was duly held on August 21st.

Protestant Insurrection in Bohemia

The empire now once more had an emperor. As Ferdinand II. (1619-1637) he brought great disasters upon Germany and Europe, since he transferred into the empire the struggle with the states in his hereditary dominions, and laid the ban of the empire on the Elector Palatine, Frederic V., after his expulsion from Bohemia.

The insurrection had begun in Bohemia after the window episode. The Protestant nobles had become masters of the government and appointed thirty directors. An army under Count Thurn had defeated the Imperialists at Budweis, and the mercenary leader, Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, had taken Pilsen. While Thurn was trying to advance into Austria through Moravia, Matthias died; and a little later the prospects of King Ferdinand seemed somewhat more favourable. Nevertheless, about the same time that he was elected emperor at Frankfort, Frederic V. of the Palatinate, leader of the Union, was

chosen king at Prague, in virtue of the elective rights of the states, on August 27th, 1619. At the instance of Christian of Anhalt, and in spite of the dissuasion of his father-in-law, King James I. of England, he accepted the election, which was destined to bring on him the loss of his territory, and especially of his splendid castle, and received the crown on November 3rd.

Gabriel Bethlen had hitherto, in combination with the Bohemians, attacked the emperor from the side of Transylvania, and had stirred up the Protestant Hungarians to revolt, while the Imperialists were withdrawing to Vienna. Thurn also appeared there, but had not sufficient force to begin a siege. Bethlen, too, retreated, and an opposing Catholic party arose in Hungary. The Bohemians maintained their position in the winter of 1619-1620, and even received support from Lower Austria. But the emperor induced Spain to invade the Palatinate from the side of the Netherlands, revived the League once more, and concluded a treaty with its head, his friend, Maximilian of Bavaria, in which he promised him the electoral dignity in the event of a successful war.

Maximilian, on his side, obtained the support of the Saxon elector, while the Union did not support their head, but also negotiated with the Bavarian. The latter marched into Austria in August, 1620, and into Bohemia in September, found the greatest confusion at Prague,

The Lost Cause of Protestantism

and, thanks to Tilly, in combination with the Imperialists under Buquoy, won a decisive victory over Christian of Anhalt at the "White Mountain" near Prague, on November 8th.

Frederic's "winter kingdom" was now at an end; he fled to Silesia, and the cause of Protestantism was lost. A strict counter-reformation began at once in Bohemia

and Austria. Ferdinand with his own hands tore up the Letter of Majesty, the chief nobles were executed, and many thousands who remained loyal to their faith were driven from the land. Frederic did not realise his position. He wished at first only to concede Bohemia to the conqueror in return for compensation; he perceived too late that the emperor believed that he would have to fight him in any case in the Palatinate and as elector. The Spaniards under Spinola had been in

Tilly had taken the capital of the Palatinate, the beautiful town of Heidelberg, and had won a decisive battle at Stadtlohn on August 5th and 6th, 1623, the electoral dignity, together with the Upper Palatinate was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants indeed, and Saxony also this time, vigorously protested at the diet of deputies at Regensburg, but could not alter the fact. Henceforth the Protestants under all circumstances formed the minority in the electoral college.



THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II. REFUSING HIS SIGNATURE TO PROTESTANT LIBERTIES

Born in 1578, and trained in the school of the Jesuits, Ferdinand II. became Emperor of Germany in 1619, and played a leading part in the terrible Thirty Years War. Bitterly opposed to the German Protestants, to whose plea for toleration he turned a deaf ear, he issued an edict, taking from them the rights and liberties won after long struggles.

From the painting by Karl Wurzingger

the Palatinate since the summer of 1620; in 1621 the Union withdrew, and soon, being leaderless and powerless, broke up completely. Nevertheless, Frederic did not follow the advice of his father-in-law, who was busily negotiating with Ferdinand, but offered further resistance. Mansfeld and the Margrave George Frederic of Baden-Durlach won a victory, it is true, over Tilly at Wiesloch, on April 27th, 1622, but that was neutralised by defeats of the electoral armies at Wimpfen on May 6th and at Höchst on June 20th, 1622. And when

The measure which was intended to strengthen the Catholic party in the empire aroused, on the contrary, new opposition, and that among the Protestant princes of Lower Germany, who, until now, had kept in the background. George William of Brandenburg (1620-1640) earnestly strove to rouse the Saxon elector against the emperor, but as the latter refused, the circle of Lower Saxony could not take the side of the Elector Palatine, otherwise known as the Pfalzgrave. On the other hand, the prospect, not at all attractive

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

to Germany, of the revival of the power of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, brought the King of England to the side of his son-in-law, and the latter found support from the States-General and King Christian of Denmark. The King of Sweden was also ready to take part in a war against the Hapsburgs. Towards the close of 1625 a league was formed between England—where Charles I. now was king—Holland, and Denmark for the restoration of the Pfalzgrave to his hereditary dominions. France supported the undertaking with money; the states of Lower Saxony prepared on their side to expel the army of the League under Tilly, and placed Christian of Denmark at their head. The Danish king, supported by Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, advanced into Lower Saxony without waiting for the conclusion of the negotiations, and succeeded even in strategy in being a match for his opponent.

The emperor had no means of meeting this unexpected danger. Since, on the other hand, he did not dare to allow the League and the Bavarian elector to become too powerful, he was glad when the Bohemian nobleman, Waldstein, commonly called Wallenstein, forced Mansfeld to disband his mercenaries. He started out to reach Venice, but died in Rakowitz in Bosnia on the 29th of November, 1626.

Tilly meanwhile—on August 27th, 1626—had won a victory over Christian at Lutter on the Barenberg, and thereby gained control of all Lower Germany. Now Wallenstein also advanced and compelled the Danes to retreat to the islands. He drove the Dukes of Mecklenburg from their territory, and his plan firmly to

establish the power of the emperor on the Baltic failed only through the resistance of Stralsund from May 23rd to August 4th, 1628. Since Sweden also was threatening war, a peace with Denmark seemed necessary to the imperial commander; he therefore concluded a treaty at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629, by which the king received back all his possessions in exchange for a promise to observe neutrality for the future.

The great commander was now at the zenith of his fortunes. But the princes of the League and the imperial court had long been dissatisfied with him; his mysterious power seemed dangerous to them. After the Minister, Hans Ulrich, Prince of Eggenberg, had himself entered into communications with the general, in November, 1626, the complaints were quieted for some time. But they broke out again the more loudly among the members of the League, since it was seen that Wallenstein's conduct of the war was guided more by political than by

military considerations, and that his army formed a support for the empire against the princes. A statement of grievances was drawn up at the meeting of the League at Würzburg in 1627, and presented to the emperor, but he could not concede the wishes of the princes. A meeting of the electors towards the end

of the same year aimed at the same object; a new and exhaustive bill of complaint as to the oppression of various districts by the army of Wallenstein was forwarded to the emperor, and once more no result followed. Wallenstein's pride increased with his military successes. After the proscription of the Dukes of



FREDERIC V. OF BOHEMIA
Succeeding his father as Elector Palatine in 1610, he married Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. He received the crown of Bohemia in 1619, and died in 1632.



LEADERS IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Count Ernest von Mansfeld was a soldier of fortune in the Thirty Years War; he defeated Tilly in 1622, and afterwards served with the United Netherlands. Count Tilly commanded the Catholic army when the war began, and rose to be commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He was routed by Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld in 1631.

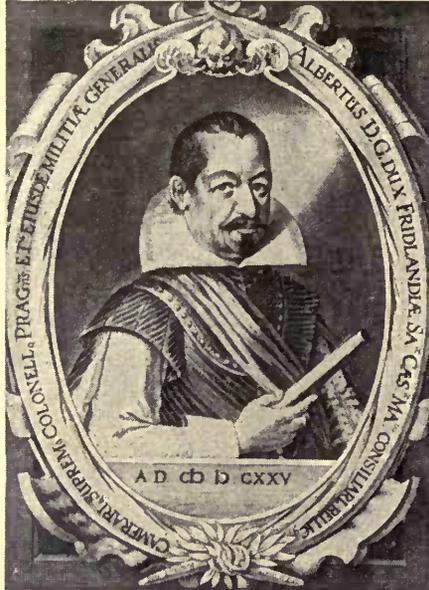
Mecklenburg, he with some difficulty obtained from the emperor the investiture of their territory in January, 1628, and became hereditary sovereign there in 1629. In other respects, also, his already ample powers were still further enlarged. The "generalissimo field-marshal"—this was now his title—was a loyal servant of his emperor, and had no end in view but to further his imperialistic plans. The question, however, arose whether he might not become dangerous to Ferdinand should a difference of opinion occur. Maximilian of Bavaria, as well as the Spanish Hapsburg Philip IV., worked on the emperor from this point of view, while the most varied rumours were current as to Wallenstein's intentions and schemes. The electors, even before the siege of Stralsund, repeatedly demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein, saying that, should occasion arise, they were ready also to use their arms against him.

After the treaty with Denmark, the first difference of opinion between Ferdinand and Wallenstein at last showed itself. The emperor, conformably to an agreement with the princes of the League, issued in the spring of 1629 the so-called Edict of Restitution, which deprived the princes of all ecclesiastical property acquired since the Treaty of Passau in 1552, and thus at one stroke took large districts away from the Protestants. A new arrangement on this basis would have given back to the Catholic Church the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen and twelve bishoprics, to say nothing of the extensive property of the religious houses. But the edict was a flagrant breach of the Religious Peace, since the "ecclesiastical reservation," it is true, was to be carried out, but always subject to the condition that there should be absolute religious freedom for all the inhabitants or subjects of the ecclesiastical foundations. Now, however, all the

Calvinists and Zwinglians were expressly to be excluded, and none but the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg recognised.

The whole existing organisation of the empire would have been upset. It was also clear that this attack would call the whole Protestant world to arms. It was Wallenstein's object to prevent this; he therefore was, and continued to be, an opponent of the Edict of Restitution, and did not use his power to carry it out. The emperor, once more urged by the League, would now gladly have dismissed Wallenstein; but that would have been to leave himself once more without an army. An attack by the Swedish king was threatening, since the war between Sweden and Poland had been ended for the time being by a truce concluded at Altmark, near Stuhm, on September 26th, 1629. Moreover, the war with France for the possession of Mantua had already broken out, and part of Wallenstein's army was engaged in it. Nevertheless, the complaints against him were repeated in the electoral diet of Regensburg in July, 1630. The emperor at last, chiefly through the advice of the Pope, resolved to deprive his generalissimo of his command, and Wallenstein voluntarily withdrew to Gitschin.

When Wallenstein's dismissal was decided upon at Regensburg, the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, had already landed in the north. On July 6th, 1630, he had disembarked at the mouth of the Peene, with 13,000 men, not mercenaries, but Swedish levies, had occupied Stettin, and forced the Duke of Pomerania to conclude an alliance. Although his army was strengthened to 40,000 men by reinforcements from home, grave mistrust prevailed among the Protestant princes, with the exception of those of Hesse-Cassel and Saxe-Weimar. They united in an armed neutrality. On the other hand, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the cousins of the Swedish



THE FAMOUS GENERAL WALLENSTEIN
Like Ferdinand II., the Bohemian nobleman Wallenstein was brought up under the Jesuits. His military successes on behalf of the empire raised up enemies who plotted for his downfall. He was deposed from his command, branded as a traitor, and murdered.



THE LAST BANQUET OF WALLENSTEIN'S GENERALS AT EGER IN 1634

Proclaimed a traitor by the Emperor Ferdinand, Wallenstein fled to Eger, where he took up his quarters in the house of the burgo-master. In the market place, several of the officers who accompanied him in his flight proceeded to the citadel to sup with the commandant, and while the banquet was in progress a body of dragoons, at the instigation of Wallenstein's enemies, burst into the hall and fell upon their victims. The murderers afterwards proceeded to the house where Wallenstein was passing the night, and, slaying him, completed the sanguinary plot.

king, returned to their country, and France promised her aid in a treaty with Sweden in January, 1631. While Gustavus Adolphus in the north took place after place and secured a strong position for himself, Tilly marched with the army of the League to Magdeburg in order to force the town to accept the Edict of Restitution. The Swedes, through the attitude of Brandenburg and the Saxon elector, could neither hasten to its assistance nor effect any change in Tilly's plan of campaign by the capture of Frankfort-on-Oder. The town thus fell into the hands of the besiegers on May 20th, 1631. A terrible sack began, during which fire broke out and reduced almost all the houses to ashes. The Catholics were triumphant at Tilly's success. The Protestants, however, saw too late that the Swedish king alone could stem the flood of disaster. The fate of Magdeburg might soon befall the other episcopal cities.

The Terrible Sack of Magdeburg

Hesse and Weimar on their part now made overtures to Sweden. But Gustavus Adolphus, since the Saxon elector and Brandenburg held back, was at first compelled to decline an alliance. An agreement, however, was eventually concluded with Brandenburg on June 21st, by which Gustavus Adolphus was allowed to occupy Spandau and Küstrin, in order always to have a secured retreat to the coast. Success attended his cause, for, on July 18th, Tilly was defeated for the first time at Burgstall, in the vicinity of Wolmirstedt. Fresh reinforcements from Sweden and England placed the king in a still more favourable position.

This induced Saxony also, on September 15th, to join his cause, for Tilly was already invading the elector's territories, with the object of depriving him of the secularised bishoprics by virtue of the Edict of Restitution. A decisive blow was soon struck, since the elector wished above all to see the enemy driven far from his territory. The armies met at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, which Tilly had just occupied. The forces of the League were completely routed, and their leader himself was wounded. The emperor was left without an army, and feared for his hereditary dominions, while Protestant Germany began to hail Gustavus Adolphus as a saviour. While, then, the Saxons, under John George of Arnim, marched into Bohemia and

Sweden's King Joyfully Hailed in Germany

seized Prague, Gustavus, passing through Thuringia, reached the Main. On October 18th he captured Würzburg, whither the bishop, a member of the League, had fled, and took Mainz in December.

Here he spent the winter, received the unfortunate Pfalsgrave Frederic, and, with Richelieu as mediator, began negotiations for peace with the League, from which he demanded neutrality during the continuance of the war against the emperor. These transactions led to no results. Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, in March, while securing the Rhine, advanced against Bavaria; on April 15th, 1632, at Rain on the Lech, he once more defeated Tilly, who was mortally wounded, and made his entry into Munich in the middle of May. The League was shattered, and the emperor would have been lost if Wallenstein had not for the second time freed him from his difficulties.

The emperor had offered him a new command soon after the battle of Breitenfeld, and again since Arnim's advance into Bohemia; but it was only in December, 1631, that Count Eggenberg had persuaded him, and received the assurance that within three months 40,000 men would be in the field. Wallenstein actually took over the chief command in April, 1632, after the right to conclude treaties had been granted him at Znaim. The first thing to be aimed at was the separation of Saxony from the Swedish cause. The powers of the general were now so wide that he had the command of the army and the control of politics entirely in his own hands.

The Saxon elector, John George, had at the beginning of the year entertained the thought of concluding peace with the emperor independently of Sweden, but Brandenburg's attitude prevented him, and Wallenstein's appearance in Bohemia completely prevented the conclusion of a peace which might have secured to Saxony the possession of the ecclesiastical property. The negotiations were, however, continued. When Wallenstein had cleared Bohemia of the Saxons, he sought to unite himself with Maximilian of Bavaria, while Gustavus marched northward in order to hasten to the help of the Saxon elector. The Swedes collected in Nuremberg; but Wallenstein appeared before the town and entrenched himself in a camp near Fürth without engaging in a

Wallenstein Stands by the Emperor

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battle. At last, on September 3rd, Gustavus attacked the enemy's camp unsuccessfully, and after vain attempts to bring about a peace he retreated on September 18th.

The Swedes next turned southward in order to attack Austria; but when they heard that Wallenstein was pressing Saxony still harder and massing his army at Leipzig, they advanced thither rapidly, joined the Landgrave William of Hesse in Erfurt, and by the middle of November were facing the hostile army. Wallenstein even now wished to avoid a battle. But on November 16th, 1632, Gustavus Adolphus attacked the enemy

at Lützen in order to facilitate a junction with the Saxons. He himself fell in the stubborn fight, while the Imperialists lost the brave cavalry general, Gottfried Henry, Count of Pappenheim. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command after the death of the king and occupied the battlefield while Wallenstein withdrew. The joy of the Catholics over this battle sprang less from the supposed "victory" than from the feeling of emancipation which they experienced at the death of the great leader of the Protestants.

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar retained the military command of the orphaned army. The Swedish Council of State entrusted the political representation of Sweden in Germany to the chancellor Oxenstierna, for whom a hard task was in store. The army especially was no longer the old force of true-born Swedes which had

The Outrages of the Swedish Army

landed; the greater part of it had been levied in Germany, and even the king had been able to maintain discipline only with difficulty. Henceforth the Swedish army did not differ in the least from the Imperialists in the robberies and murders it committed: it became, like them, the terrible scourge and dread of every district through which it passed. Politically the prosecution of the war was still influenced

by France, which contributed subsidies. Richelieu's aims were especially directed towards the acquisition of German soil. But the most important point still was to secure the adhesion of the German confederates to the Swedes. John George

Conflicting Elements in the Great War

of Saxony, in the negotiations conducted with him before the close of the year 1632, had demanded first of all a greater influence in the management of affairs. It was first resolved to raise two armies, a Swedish under Oxenstierna and a Saxon under John George, only it was doubtful to which of these two



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS OF SWEDEN
This Protestant King of Sweden heroically sided with his fellow-religionists in Germany in their struggle against the Catholic League and the Empire. At the head of 16,000 men, in 1630, he crossed to Pomerania, and for two years, till he fell at Lutzen in 1632, fought for Protestant liberties.

the remaining German Protestants would attach themselves. The Upper German and Rhenish princes held to the Swedes, but under French influence an advisory council was set up by the side of the Swedish chancellor. This was done in March, 1633, in the Treaty of Heilbronn. At the same time the emperor resumed negotiations with Saxony. Wallenstein entered into relations with Arnim, the general of the Saxon army, and was prepared for further concessions in religious matters, contrary to the will of his emperor; but Saxony and Brandenburg did not entertain his proposals. On the

other side, Oxenstierna was treating with the commander-in-chief, and asked him, in accordance with the wishes of the Bohemian emigrants, to let himself be elected king; but again there were no results. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar had driven the Imperialists completely out of Saxony after the day of Lützen, and then, on July 10th, 1633, by the favour of Oxenstierna, had become Duke of Franconia, the new duchy formed out of the bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg.

Wallenstein had defeated Arnim at Steinau on October 23rd, 1633, and freed Silesia from the enemy. Since, however, he did not relieve Regensburg, which Bernard of Weimar had taken on November

4th, 1633, by a brilliant feat of arms, but withdrew to Bohemia, the emperor conceived great mistrust of his general, who renewed his overtures to Saxony, France, and Sweden, and made a secret agreement with Sweden, which was to effect a union of the armies at Eger. Wallenstein was not unaware of this distrust of him in

**Wallenstein
Deposed and
Murdered**

Vienna. He sent in his resignation on January 12th, 1634. It was not accepted, although his dismissal had already been pronounced in a secret document, and was made public on January 24th. Wallenstein was publicly declared guilty of treason by the emperor, on February 18th, and was murdered on February 25th, 1634, at Eger, while even his army was deserting him.

The son of the emperor, afterwards Ferdinand III., and Count Matthias of Gallas were now placed at the head of the army. With Wallenstein there went to the grave not merely the man of most marked intellectual ability, the splendid general and diplomatist, but also the only one of all the leaders who stood superior to the religious controversy.

His death placed the emperor, and consequently Catholicism, in a more favourable position than had ever been reached before. Now for the first time Ferdinand had an army of his own at his disposal, and he immediately ordered it to advance to Regensburg. The town fell into the hands of what had been Wallenstein's army in July, and on September 6th, Gallas won at Nördlingen a complete victory over Bernard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn. Now that the Swedes were defeated, it was an easy task for the emperor to conduct to a successful close the negotiations with Saxony, for which Wallenstein had already paved the way.

The preliminary conditions were settled by November, 1634, and were confirmed in the Treaty of Prague on May 30th, 1635.

**Pledges of
the Treaty
of Prague**

By this convention Saxony obtained as hereditary dominions the two provinces of Lusatia which had been pledged to John George I. after the dissolution of the "winter kingdom," and was exempted for the future from enforcing the Edict of Restitution; in return, all claims for the further representation of Protestant interests were to be renounced, and a promise given of help in case of need against the Swedes and French. The majority

of the states of North Germany soon gave their adhesion to this treaty, which at once deposed the Swedes from their commanding position and threatened to cut off their connection with their home.

Since the dispute as to religious politics between the Catholic and Protestant princes had been accommodated by the most important representatives, henceforth secular interests determined the conduct of the war more distinctly than before. From this time it signified essentially a struggle between Austria and Spain on the one side, and France and Sweden on the other; for Ferdinand III., who had followed his father upon the throne in 1637 as emperor and heir to Austria, always maintained the most intimate relations with the Hapsburg dynasty of Spain.

The only course left open to those Protestants who had not acceded to the Treaty of Prague, after the overthrow of the Swedish power, was to form closer relations with France, which, under Richelieu's brilliant statesmanship, aimed at depriving both lines of the Hapsburgs of their supremacy in Western Europe. The French

**Richelieu
Doubly
Protected**

had fought against Spain in Italy and, since the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, had operated against the emperor with his support, had made conquests in Lorraine, and had established themselves firmly in the electorate of Trèves. In the spring of 1635 an imperial army had fought with success on the right bank of the Rhine, and thereby forced France to an open declaration of war. Richelieu protected himself on two sides, since he bound over the States-General to a common attack on Spain, and the Swedes to a conflict with the emperor which should be terminated only by a joint peace. The emperor thus had henceforth to reckon with a double opposition, both in the battlefield and in any negotiations for peace.

The military events of 1635 were unimportant on the French side; the troops, being inexperienced in warfare, did not wish to enter Central Germany, and were with difficulty brought as far as the Rhine, while the Imperialists were masters of the situation there in the autumn. In the north, it is true, the Swedes, John Banér and Lennart Torstenson, had won repeated successes and drove out the imperial army, united with the Saxons, from Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Richelieu

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

in this emergency, on October 27th, at St. Germain-en-Laye, concluded a special treaty with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the most competent Protestant commander; by its terms an army of 12,000 foot soldiers and 6,000 horsemen was to be raised in Germany with French money—four million livres yearly—and opposed to the emperor in the war for the liberation of Germany. A rich reward was held out to the victor in the possession of Alsace, which still belonged to the Hapsburgs.

and acquired a commanding position in the north. Saxony and Brandenburg in particular had now to pay dearly for their defection from the Protestant cause, by the devastation of their country.

One party in the councils of Brandenburg already inclined to the side of the Swedes, and tried to induce the elector once more to change his party, especially with a view to Pomerania, where the Duke Bogislaus XIV. was likely to die childless, and give Brandenburg a claim to



END OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR: THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

In the town hall of the Prussian town of Münster, on October 24th, 1648, was signed the Peace of Westphalia, which brought to an end the long and bitter war which for thirty years had waged between Protestants and Catholics.

From the painting by Terbourg in the National Gallery, London

The year 1636 was, however, disastrous for the French. The Imperialists advanced into the heart of the country, menaced Franche-Comté, and, led by the cavalry general, John von Werth, threatened even Paris itself, while Bernard merely held his own in Alsace. It was only when the French people, recognising the national danger, took up arms that Gallas was forced to retire in November. Shortly before—on October 4th, 1636—Banér had again gained a victory at Wittstock over Saxony and the Imperialists,

the succession. The elector, however, continued loyal to the emperor; imperial subsidies appeared finally in December. The claims to Pomerania, it is true, when the duke died, on March 20th, 1637, had first to be contested by arms, and so brought distress into the Mark. Banér in the north had a difficult task in facing the army of Brandenburg and the emperor; he was for a long time separated from Hermann Wrangel, and was forced at length to withdraw to Stettin. The French, it is true, had won advantages

over the Spaniards at widely separated points, but in Germany the Imperialists during the year 1637 had again been victorious in every respect.

On March 6th, 1638, France and Sweden considered it necessary to renew their treaty and to promise that neither party should open negotiations for peace without the consent of the other.

**Victory Cheers
the German
Protestants**

Bernard's campaign was this year attended with success. He surprised the imperial general Frederic, Duke of Savello, and John von Werth, before Rheinfelden, took both prisoners, together with other generals, on March 3rd, 1638, captured Rheinfelden on March 23rd, and began the investment of the fortress of Breisach. The siege lasted six months. At last, on December 17th, he entered as conqueror, after the check of the imperial armies had opened the road for Banér in the north to advance into Bohemia and Austria. The success of Bernard filled Protestant Germany with fresh spirit. Banér now wished to join forces with the victor in Alsace and attacked the hereditary dominions of the emperor. On the other hand, the emperor tried to enlist the services of the famous Bernard; ungrateful France alone was endeavouring to deprive the victor of his promised reward. But Bernard died on July 18th, 1639, before, as a second Gustavus Adolphus, he could achieve further successes, and thus the emperor was freed from his most dangerous enemy.

Richelieu, without a moment's delay, availed himself of the favourable opportunity to take over the well-disciplined troops of Bernard, and to form his plans, in concert with Banér, for continuing the war against the emperor, especially since, by skilful use of internal dissensions in Spain, he might count on favourable results there without any great expenditure of force. Although the French henceforth remained in the closest sympathy with the

**The Military
Supremacy
of the Swedes**

Swedes, and produced the brilliant commanders Turenne and the "Great Condé," yet the military supremacy rested with the Swedes. After the death of Banér, on May 10th, 1641, Torstenson obtained decisive successes in Silesia in 1642, and in combination with two other Swedish armies, won a complete victory at the second battle of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, on November 2nd, over the Imperialists under Archduke Leopold William and

Octavio Piccolomini. But the emperor's prospects were again improved by the death in France, first of Richelieu, on December 4th, 1642, and soon afterwards—May 14th, 1643—of King Louis XIII., who left his son Louis XIV., not yet five years old; and, moreover, Denmark was once more involved in a war with the Swedes.

Cardinal Mazarin now managed the state affairs of France and followed out the policy of his predecessor with skill and success. In the war against the Danes, Torstenson was completely victorious in 1643 and 1644. In October, 1644, he annihilated the imperial army under Gallas in two battles at Jüterbogk and Magdeburg, attacked Austria, supported by the Prince of Transylvania, George I. Rakoczy (1630-1648), and advanced almost to the walls of Vienna. The French, however, had fought with much less success. Just at the time Vienna was being threatened, Turenne was defeated on May 5th, 1645, at Mergentheim, by the Imperialists under Baron Francis of Mercy. The victorious army could now advance to the relief of

**Denmark's
Truce with
Sweden**

the hereditary domains. Torstenson, therefore, in spite of a splendid victory, won on March 6th, at Jankau, over Melchior of Hatzfeldt, abandoned the siege of Brünn and withdrew to Bohemia. But Condé and Turenne advanced in conjunction into Bavaria, and on August 3rd won a victory at Allersheim over Mercy, who was slain. At the same time—on August 25th—Denmark made a truce with Sweden at Brömsebro, and Saxony, completely in the possession of the Swedes under Hans Christopher of Königsmark, accepted an armistice for six months, in which Brandenburg was included. The Swedes now had a free hand in North Germany.

Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who, since Torstenson's retirement, on December 25th, 1645, had the supreme command, joined forces with Turenne in order to make a combined advance on South Germany; the whole of Bavaria soon fell into their hands, and the road to the hereditary domains of the emperor lay open to the allied army in September, 1646. Maximilian of Bavaria now found himself in a critical position, which determined him, in March, 1647, to form a treaty of neutrality with Sweden; Cologne, Mainz, and Hesse joined in it. Wrangel marched

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

into Bohemia, but he found opposition from the Imperialists, who had once more been joined by Maximilian of Bavaria at Pilsen, in September. The Swedes were forced to withdraw to the north, especially since Turenne was recalled to France.

Fortune, however, only momentarily smiled on the emperor. Turenne recrossed the Rhine in the spring of 1648, advanced with Wrangel into Bavaria, and gained a victory on May 7th at Zusmarshausen over the imperial and Bavarian army under Peter Melander, Count of Holzappel. The elector fled, and the country was devastated. The Swedes under Königsmark went to Bohemia and captured, on July 26th, the lower town of Prague. The French and Swedish arms met with good fortune in other places also; the position of the emperor was hopeless. The bombardment of the Old Town at Prague was about to begin, when the news spread through the country that peace had been signed at Münster on October 24th.

The vicissitudes of the great war, for the theatre of which Germany had been marked out by the law of geographical position as being the heart of Europe, present a dismal picture. It was a perpetual ebb and flow, not a consistent struggle undertaken with great objects in view. The great personalities, the generals and statesmen, are thus the more conspicuous. However different they may have been, one from the other, one feature is common to almost all of them, and especially to the four chief heroes—Tilly, Wallenstein, Gustávus Adolphus, and Bernard of Weimar; they were masters of the art of war, men of the modern world, too, and in spite of repulsive acts, not devoid of high ideals.

The arrangement between France and Sweden, which forbade either to enter alone into negotiations for peace with the emperor, had been the outcome of the fine diplomacy of a Richelieu. All attempts of the emperor to obtain a separate peace had failed. He was therefore compelled to consent that an imperial diet should assemble in 1640 at Ratisbon in order to discuss the steps which might lead to peace. The negotiations of the imperial diet were fruitless. But the fervent desire for peace which found expression in them was such that the path once trodden could not again be abandoned. In the year 1641 it was resolved at Hamburg that the imperial envoys should negotiate with the French

at Münster, and with the Swedes and German Protestants at Osnabrück; the congresses were to begin in the summer of 1643, and both towns were from that date to be regarded as neutral. The negotiations really began in April, 1644, but only on August 8th, 1648, were the terms of peace drawn up at Osnabrück; those at

War Ended by the Peace of Westphalia

Münster followed on September 17th. Both documents were jointly ratified at Münster on October 24th, 1648. The Peace of Westphalia was of the highest importance in a twofold sense. It not only concluded the era of war and finally settled the ecclesiastical and political disputes which had arisen since 1555, but it also created a basis for further political development, since it confirmed by constitutional law the actual disintegration of the German Empire and recognised the territory as the modern and normal structure of the states which were joined in a federation called the "Roman empire of the German nation."

The peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück first of all laid down provisions with respect to the religious question which went considerably further than earlier agreements. The Treaty of Passau and the religious Peace of Augsburg were not only completely confirmed, but extended to the Reformed party. The relations between State and Church were considerably modified in the direction of denominational equality. The Christian Church was actually conceived by its followers as not only the "universal," but the only religious community which could lay claim to this name. No less splendid ideal hovered before the reformers, and especially before the mighty Luther, than a complete transformation of Christianity according to his view; his doctrine was indeed, in his own conception of it, as he declared, nothing more than the reversion to Augustine. The instruments of the peace itself

What the Peace Provided

did not indeed proclaim absolute toleration, but limited the power of the territorial lord to determine the community to which his subjects should belong, in so far that the year 1624 was selected as the "Normal Year," and anyone who, in that year, had actually exercised one or the other religion was to be permitted to exercise it on all future occasions. And creed was not to be prejudicial to anyone in his "occupation as a citizen."

The co-existence side by side of several confessions in the same territory was thus rendered possible. On the other hand, the incidental change of faith by a prince was no longer to force the whole people to take the same step. It is obvious that this new regulation must have introduced a practical toleration, and have finally led to its

**Difficulties
in the
Way of Peace**

constitutional and universal acceptance in the popular consciousness. This happened in the eighteenth century, and no less a man than Lessing tried to find the philosophical basis for toleration.

Nothing final and conclusive was arranged by the peace instruments. Innumerable disputes arose, both as to the actual conditions in the Normal Year, and as to the interpretation of all other points, and many of them were ended only by the complete destruction of the old empire. But it is clearly recognisable, from the very fact that the interpretation is disputed, that the peace-document really became a "Fundamental Law of the Holy Roman Empire," such as was demanded by the so-called "Last Imperial Recess" of 1654, which embodied the full text of the two instruments.

More important than those provisions, which only legally confirmed existing conditions, were the answers to the international questions. France obtained considerable portions of the Hapsburg possessions in Alsace—with the express reservation of Strassburg—and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been occupied since 1552. Sweden established a firm footing on the mainland, and became a state of the German Empire, for, together with a war indemnity of five million thalers (\$3,750,000), it received Upper Pomerania and Rügen, the smaller portion of Lower Pomerania, with Stettin and the mouth

**The Compensations
of Electoral
Brandenburg**

of the Oder, the town of Wismar, and the bishopric of Bremen, excluding the town, as

well as the bishopric of Verdun. Electoral Brandenburg, which had claims on the whole of Pomerania in virtue of hereditary rights, had to be content with the larger portion of Lower Pomerania, but was compensated by the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and the reversion to Magdeburg. On the borders of the empire two indepen-

dent republics, which had previously been part of the empire, were separated from it.

For Switzerland this merely implied the recognition of the conditions prevailing since 1499. The States-General, which now were entering on great economic prosperity—the East India Company had been founded in 1602—had acquired the right to political independence in a still higher degree. Their favourable position on the coast urged the towns to rule the seas by means of a trading fleet, and the fall of Spain offered at the same time the opportunity of entering on the inheritance of their former persecutors.

The peace ended the most gloomy section of German history. The mere attempt to picture the sufferings which the German country endured must be abandoned. It must suffice to compare the condition of the districts before the beginning of the struggle with that at the close of the war if a credible picture of the effect of the fury of the combatants is to be drawn. The price of food-stuffs was often ten times the ordinary price.

**Germany's
Stern Path to
Development**

The number of the inhabitants was terribly diminished; in the case of Bohemia calculations

have led to the result, which may be considered as correct, that instead of four millions in 1618, only 800,000 inhabitants were still living at the end of the war. In this connection we must reflect that all districts were equally ravaged and equally exhausted by friend and foe. The conclusion of peace did not immediately end all scenes of violence; armies were still stationed everywhere, and individual claims had to be proved and sustained by the interested parties. The task was, on the whole, discharged at Nüremberg, in the course of the year 1649; "the Principal Recess for the execution of the Peace" was finally issued in June, 1650. Even if all the hopes were not at once fulfilled which inspired German hearts on the news of the conclusion of peace, even if Germany still suffered from its wounds for centuries, yet, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that only through such hard trials has it been possible for the empire to shatter the old forms of the constitution, and thus to open the road for the modern development of the state which finally in the nineteenth century led to the new German Empire.

ARMIN TILLE

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XIV

THE FRANCE OF RICHELIEU AND THE GREAT DAYS OF MAZARIN

THE Peace of Westphalia marked the victory of the policy which the great French statesmen had been pursuing for half a century. Louis XIII. (1610—1643), eldest son of Henry IV., was only nine years old when his father was murdered. His mother, Marie de Medici, therefore became regent for him, and took the opportunity to introduce a system of government widely divergent from the existing one. Sully, who had been reluctantly tolerated as one of the Reformed, was dismissed, and Jesuitical influences began to rule the queen. Universal discontent at this filled not only the land but also the magnates of the realm and the members of the royal family, who were excluded from any share in the government.

The "declaration of the king's majority," pronounced by Parliament in October, 1614, conformably to a family law, made no alteration in this, for the king begged his mother to continue to direct the government. In accordance with the general wish, the queen summoned the States-General, but their deliberations had not the least result, so that the last general diet of the French "Estates" before the revolution of 1789 was dismissed without any results having been accomplished. After that time it was reserved for the regular courts of justice—Parlements, of which there were twelve, one for each district—to safeguard the rights of the people against the absolute monarchy, but seldom indeed with success.

Owing to the suppression of the Huguenots planned by Marie, it was not long before new hostilities broke out between the religious parties. Prince Henry of Condé allied himself, in July, 1615, with the Protestants, who took up arms, but a peace—in May, 1616—temporarily quieted men's minds, after the prince had been drawn over to the royalist party. The trusted agent of Marie in all her action was the Italian Concino Concini, Maréchal

d'Ancre. The fury of the people was especially directed against him; voices were raised loudly against the all-powerful Minister, so that the king ordered his arrest and murder, on April 24th, 1617, and immediately himself took over the government. The queen was forced to retire. Louis, under the advice of incompetent Ministers—the Duke Charles of Luynes, Brullart de Sillery and La Vieuville—sought to mitigate the distress.

But Louis also aroused the discontent of the nobles, who were excluded from the government, and in this way fostered the ambitious schemes of his mother, who allied herself with the nobility and threatened a civil war. Before the actual outbreak of the war an arrangement was effected on August 10th, 1620, at Pont-de-Cé, through the efforts of a man who was destined later to lead the fortunes of France—namely, Jean Armand du Plessis de Richelieu; the queen-mother was permitted to return to court.

New complications arose owing to the Church question. The Catholic Church had made considerable conquests and began once more the campaign against the heretics, since it endeavoured to recover secularised ecclesiastical property and in part carried out its purpose by force. In the year 1621 it came to an open war against the Huguenots: in the north they were soon subdued, but in the south the struggle lasted until October, 1622, when the Edict of Nantes was once more ratified in essential points. The queen-mother, however, used her newly-acquired influence less in her own private interests than in support of Cardinal Richelieu, whose admission into the Council of State was due to her. After 1624 Richelieu alone guided the affairs of the state.

With this began the prosperity of the French policy, which henceforth influenced and finally governed European

**The King's
Mother, Ruler
of France**

**Louis in the
Hands of
His Ministers**

**Richelieu
at the Helm
of State**

diplomacy. Richelieu's goal was that of Henry IV., the weakening of the power of the Hapsburgs in Austria and Spain. The Dutch Republic, the German Protestants and the Swedes were supported by France; the War of Succession in Mantua ended on April 6th, 1631, to the advantage of France, and Spain thus lost a

**Richelieu
at the Siege of
La Rochelle**

strong support to her influence in Italy. The government at home was, under Richelieu, inspired wholly by state considerations; the representation of private interests ceased, and therefore the cardinal found intense opposition at court. In order to prevent further disturbances, which for the last century had always been caused with the help of the Huguenots, the cardinal, in 1626, resolved on their subjection and conquest. Even the aid of Spain was welcomed for this end, while England supported the Reformed party. The strongest place of the Huguenots, La Rochelle, was besieged in 1627 under Richelieu's personal command. It was not until October 28th, 1628, when the expected English relief did not appear, that the town surrendered. Famine had made terrible ravages among the inhabitants. Richelieu promised the survivors security of life and property as well as free exercise of their religion; the fortifications were, however, dismantled, and the privileges of the town declared void. By the treaty of the summer of 1629 the fortifications of all the Huguenot places of refuge were destroyed; but religious liberty was retained, although the political representation of the Huguenots was abolished.

The respect formerly entertained by the queen-mother for Richelieu was meantime changed into dislike. She had long intrigued against the Minister, but in vain; she had herself been forced to leave the court. The king's brother, Duke Gaston of Orleans, began in her stead to agitate against the Minister, and in 1632 ventured with the support of Henry de Montmorency to risk a war, but was compelled to surrender after the defeat of Castelnaudary, on September 1st, which brought Montmorency to prison and

finally to the scaffold. The attack of the Duke of Orleans was connected with that of Duke Charles of Lorraine, his father-in-law, who supported the emperor and was therefore forced to open Nancy to the French until the conclusion of peace; in fact, the whole country remained occupied by them for almost three decades—until 1659—while Duke Charles vainly fought on the side of the emperor for the recovery of his country.

The Duke of Orleans, taken into favour again in 1634, attempted nevertheless a new plot against Richelieu. This time also the plan failed. His hope of succession to the throne was shortly afterwards—in 1638—destroyed by the birth of an heir to the crown, the subsequent Louis XIV. He attempted, however, once more to overthrow Richelieu in conjunction with Cinq-Mars, whom Louis XIII. had made Grand Master of the Horse, and in concert with Spain. Once more all was useless. But Richelieu's end was near; he died on December 4th, 1642, and on May 14th, 1643, the king followed him. Although the cardinal had not been fated to co-operate in the conclusion of peace at Münster, still the weight which France was able there to put into the balance was incontestably the result of his unresting activity.



LOUIS XIII. OF FRANCE
The son of Henry IV., Louis was only nine years old when, in 1610, he succeeded to the throne on the assassination of his father. He was a weak ruler, and died in 1643.

undertaken by the queen, Anne of Austria, with whom Louis had spent an unhappy married life. The supporters of Richelieu feared an immediate reversal in the system of government. The queen then chose for her trusted servant the Italian Giulio Mazarini, who had been in the French service as Jules Mazarin since 1639—a man who, lacking Richelieu's spirit and energy, was yet, like him, anxious to work for the greatness of France. At home the discontent at the burden of taxation, which was always increasing through the continuous war, led to the serious riots of the Fronde at Paris in the summer of 1648; and they ended with a victory of the Parlement, since it compelled the queen to acknowledge its influence on the most important business of government.

**Mazarin
in a Position
of Power**



THE CORONATION OF MARIE DE MEDICI IN THE YEAR 1610
The widow of Henry IV., King of France, who was assassinated in 1610, Marie de Medici became regent on behalf of her son, who was only nine years old when he succeeded to the throne.
From the painting by Rubens

Any attempts of the queen to annul her concessions were frustrated. She had to give way in the Peace of Rueil, on April 1st, 1649; but Mazarin retained provisionally his commanding position. But when, in concert with the queen, he arrested,

Louis XIV.
on
the Throne

on January 18th, 1650, Prince Louis of Condé, the leader of the opposition, and his kinsmen, Armand of Condé and Henry of Longueville, he brought down on his head a storm which banished him for a time from France, although he supported his queen with counsel from Liège and Brühl. When he wished to return, Condé rose again; and it was only when the latter had been defeated by Turenne in 1652 that Mazarin was able to come home as victor on February 3rd, 1653. Two years before, Louis XIV. had technically come of age, and had formally entered on the government; in reality his mother still remained the sovereign.

The picture of the home affairs in France during the great war could not be called attractive. Yet French policy had turned the scale in the Peace of Westphalia. It is due to this alone that the emperor consented to allow princes to attend the negotiations as representatives of the empire. It must be said, no doubt, that the efforts of France were directed not so much towards the advantage of the Protestants as towards her own aggrandisement, and that her only concern was that an uncompromising opponent to the Hapsburg emperor might be permanently established in the German prince system, irrespective of all question of creed. This object was attained.

"The dreams and longings of Philip Augustus, the aims and intentions of Philip the Fair, the traditions of Henry IV.," were almost, though not entirely, realised by the Peace of Westphalia. That peace merely gave France and the French their due, and made valid their natural right of inheritance to the Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne. Much was still wanting to complete the "revindications," of which

the French nation had apparently never lost sight. The programme of Guilbert of Metz, of 1434, had not yet been completed. He had laid upon the French king the duty of acquiring Liège, Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, Guelders, Juliers, Upper and Lower Burgundy, Provence, Savoy, Lorraine, Luxembourg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Trèves, Cologne, Mainz, and Strassburg; but some part of this project had been realised. The districts included in the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been French possessions for all practical purposes for the last hundred years—from 1552—were now formally separated from the German confederacy, and the old Hapsburg possessions and rights in Alsace and Sundgau,



CARDINAL RICHELIEU
Becoming cardinal in 1622 and Minister of State to Louis XIII. two years later, Richelieu did much to build up the power of the French crown, while he lessened the political power of the nobility. He died in the year 1642.

the town of Breisach, and the jurisdiction over the Alsatian imperial towns, now devolved upon the crown of France. The boundary of the Rhine was attained. The disputed boundaries upon the north, the Pyrenees, and the Western Alps still prolonged the struggle with Spain, and war went on for years on these great issues. The great cardinal, who had clung with wonderful tenacity to the acquisitions which Henry IV. had handed down, had not been so fortunate as to live to see the recognition of the "national rights" for which he had spent the

resources of his country; but at the time when he laid down his life's work the victory of France had been certainly assured. Mazarin never wavered in this policy, a policy which was eminently national. It was the natural outcome of the just claims of the French, the successors and heirs of the Gauls, who created the old Austrasia. It is, however, not so easy to retrace the conditions which made the "revindications" possible to an origin in the force of public opinion in France.

It is difficult to see the connection between the people's desires and the circumstances which led to the imperial concentration of the original dukedoms

THE FRANCE OF RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN

and counties composing the whole of France. The extinction of the house of Burgundy in the fourth generation, the acquisition of Brittany and Berry, Anjou and Provence, by the French kings through marriage and inheritance, the death, without heirs, of the three royal brothers—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—were the reasons which made it possible for Henry of Navarre to accept the call to the empty throne, the splendour of which had begun to wane appreciably during the Huguenot wars.

If the religious wars of the powerful princely families had been carried on, whose temporal interests would have been largely furthered by a territorial separation of creeds, how could the "Gallic idea" have become a political force, how could antiquarian discussion upon the boundaries of Austrasia have checked the inordinate ambition of the princely houses? The Germans must be recognised as co-heirs with the French to the empire of Charlemagne; that the French could lay claim to inherent rights arose from the fact that German political development took a course exactly opposite from theirs. Would the theory of the natural boundaries of the Gallic nation have entered the sphere of practical politics if the transition from feudalism to absolute monarchy had been carried out in Germany under the favourable circumstances which attended its progress in France?

How weak are the foundations which support the so-called logical and inevitable character of national development, France had to learn from her own experience at the very moment when she took that first step towards the acquisition of the European supremacy for which she was striving, a step most important and most pregnant of results. The couriers saddled their horses in Münster on October 24th, 1648, to carry to the world the news that Germany had at last complied with all the demands of the foreign mediators, and had saved, at any rate, the sovereignty of her princes from general ruin and misery. None the less,

it was by no means certain that the young king, in whose name the cardinal Jules Mazarin tried to save France from her fate, would enjoy all those advantages which had been won for him by German regiments in French pay during the war now ended. The state power, the centralisation of which Richelieu had successfully initiated, now found obstacles before it which had been entirely under-estimated. The feudal lords and the bureaucracy, which had an independence of its own, saw that the moment had arrived for the assertion of their rights and privileges as against the power of the crown, and that now was their opportunity to lay such restrictions upon the regency of the queen as the crown had not brooked for the last half-century. The four courts of judicial and administrative officials, united in the chamber of Saint-Louis, demanded a law for the protection of the freedom of the individual; government prisoners, as in England, were to be brought before the court concerned with the case within twenty-four hours after their arrest. Moreover, demands for taxation were not to be valid until authorised by the Parlement, the judicial body which guarded justice and the execution of law. The government found that its financial resources, and therefore its military powers, were considerably restricted. It imprisoned two members of the Grand Conseil, hoping thereby to put a stop to the movement of reform; but it was speedily convinced that the result of this action was merely to provoke a vigorous resistance, and to excite the population of Paris in favour of the demands of the official spokesmen. The government gave in, and on that same October 24th made concessions which contributed chiefly to the advantage of the manufacturing classes.

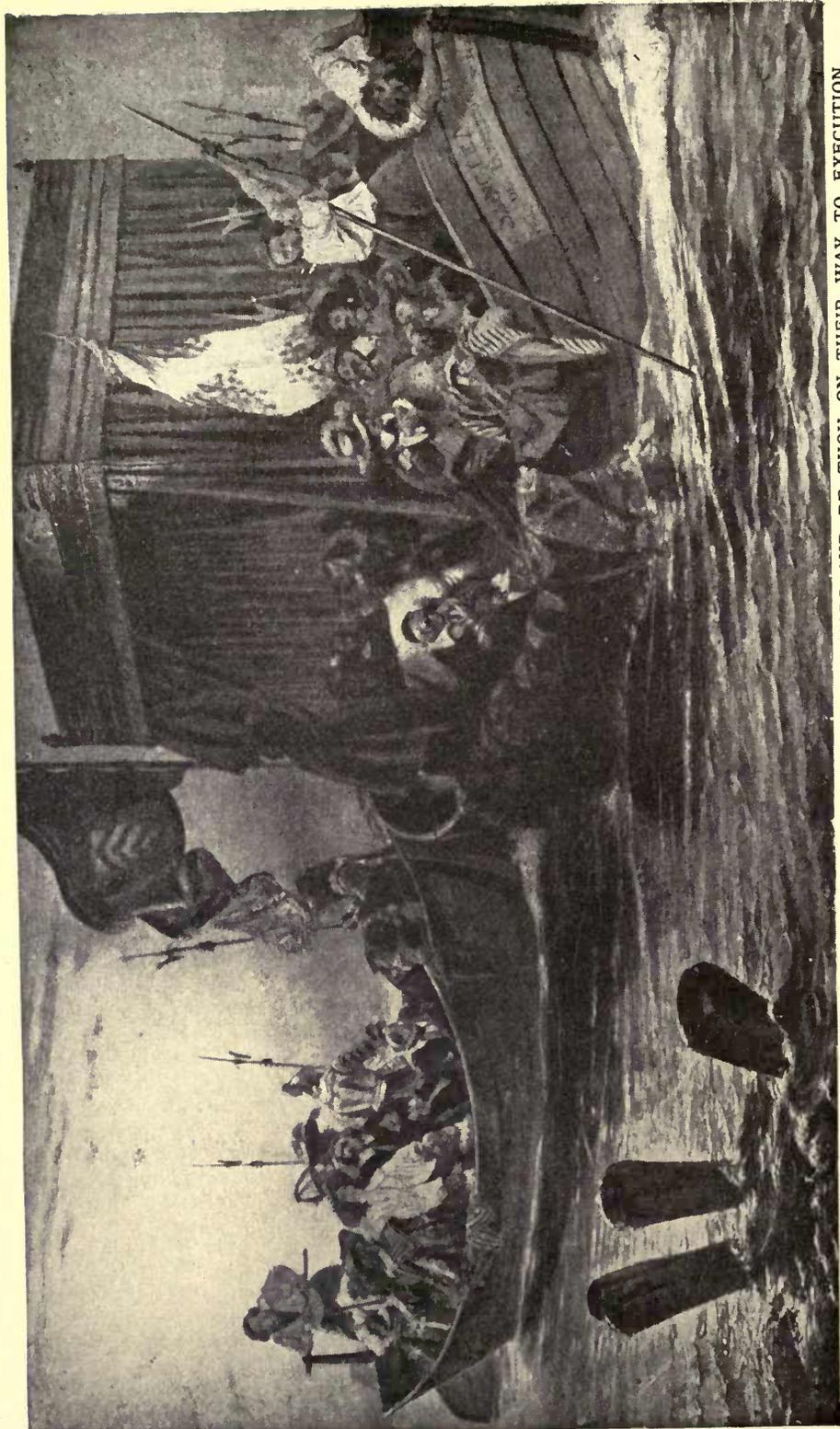
However, the government did not attain its object. The landed nobility, whom Richelieu had stripped of almost all its privileges, was excited with the hope of regaining the old dominant position in the state, and this through an alliance with the "Noblesse des robes," which had gained possession of the highest official

Feudal Lords Assert Their Rights



CARDINAL MAZARIN
Wielding almost as much power as Richelieu, whom he succeeded as Minister of State, Cardinal Mazarin secured the triumph of France over Austria and Spain.

The Great Ambition of France



CARDINAL RICHELIEU IN HIS STATE BARGE ACCOMPANYING CINQUANS AND DE THOU ON THEIR WAY TO EXECUTION
From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Wallace Gallery, London

THE FRANCE OF RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN

positions by purchase and inheritance. Jean François Paul de Gondi, best known as the Cardinal de Retz, and coadjutor to his uncle Henry, the Archbishop of Paris, gathered round himself some of the most distinguished peers, who demanded the dismissal of Mazarin and the creation of a council of regency, in which they were themselves to have place and voice. The royal family and the cardinal had to leave the citadel, where the Fronde, as the opposition called itself, seized the power.

However, the Duke of Orleans remained on the side of the government, as also did the Duke Louis of Condé, who had already won a great military reputation as Prince d'Enghien, and had beaten the Spaniards at Lens a short time before—on August 20th, 1648. But Condé's younger brother, Armand Conti, his sister Anne Geneviève, Duchess of Longueville, Vendôme, Beaufort, Bouillon, had become allies of Gondi. The brother of Bouillon, Henri de Latour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, placed his sword at their service, and would have marched on Paris with an army from the Rhine; but, being no diplomatist, he had allowed Mazarin to deceive him, and had not observed that the cardinal had secretly secured the services of his subordinate, the Swiss, John Louis of Erlach, who won over the troops to the government side by a timely cash payment. Turenne, however, was thought to be the greatest French general next to Condé, and his name alone was a power, which was to increase considerably when the already

How Mazarin Dealt with His Enemies

proposed alliance of the Fronde with Spain should be completed and the idea of raising an army in common could be realised. Mazarin was unable to overthrow these enemies to his policy with one blow, as his predecessors had so often done; he required time to separate them and to conquer them in detail. He reconciled himself to the Parlement, which withdrew the proscription issued against him, and brought the court back to Paris. But the

spirit of opposition to an absolute monarchy was not immediately broken. It manifested itself among the manufacturing citizens of the capital, in the provincial Parlements, and in the great families which considered that the foundation of a political power lay in the government of the old duchies entrusted to their own chiefs. The great Condé himself, who did not succeed in pushing Mazarin aside and ruling his royal cousin alone, placed himself at the head of the relatives of the royal house, who were not inclined to see themselves reduced to the position of mere officials. The preponderance of the princes of royal blood threatened danger to the opposing alliance, inasmuch as it

implied a loss of prestige to the other great feudal lords. Mazarin recognised this fact, and made overtures to the party of the coadjutor Retz, with the view of dividing them from the Fronde. As he had succeeded with the leaders of the Parisian Parlement, so here he brought their old allies to obedience; and when he had come to an understanding with both parties, he proceeded to take in hand the task of arresting Condé, Conti and Longueville.

By these acts Mazarin himself gave the impulse to the formation of the new Fronde. Women

were the soul of this movement, for they then played a brilliant part in the social life of the period in France, and were centres of far greater force than their less intellectual husbands. The Duchesses of Condé and Longueville gathered together in the south the defendants of the imprisoned princes, secured the town of Bordeaux and the fortresses on the Spanish and Netherland frontiers, and again entered into serious negotiations with Spain. There the opinion was strongly held that individual advantages could be furthered by nothing so much as by the permanent debilitation of the French royal power, which was to be brought about by factions and divisions within France itself. In spite of that close connection with the



MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE
Turenne fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War during the alliance of France with the Protestants. He was created Marshal-General of France in 1660, and in 1668 changed his faith by becoming a Roman Catholic.



THE INFANTA MARIA THERESA OF SPAIN

Maria Theresa was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and was married to Louis XIV. of France.

priesthood which had always been a cardinal point in the foreign policy of Spain, the party speculated upon the revival of Huguenot traditions, and looked for a military organisation of the Protestant nobility by Turenne. Even after his defeat at Compy, on December 15th, 1650, the greatest danger to France consisted in the union of the two most capable and popular generals, and in their co-operation with the foreign enemy. Mazarin lost control of the forces which he had hoped to guide. The Duke of Orleans declared him to be the one great enemy of France, and declined to attend a sitting

of the Regency Council if he were present. The members of the old Fronde deserted him almost as soon as he had won them over, and the Parlement of Paris demanded that the princes should be set free and the cardinal dismissed. He thought it advisable to bow before the rising storm, left Paris in February, 1651, and took refuge with the Elector of Cologne.

The retrogression of the French kingdom to the pattern of the mediæval feudal system, the restriction of the royal power by the separation of large districts into principalities, might now have taken place if Condé had been capable of conceiving

and executing a political programme. He was, however, nothing more than an ambitious plotting prince, and had not the powers or experience of a ruler accustomed to take upon himself the manifold responsibilities of administration in his own territory. The relations of the high nobles about his person to the country and its people had as little closeness or reality as his own. To the nobles the people were the means to the maintenance of their own splendid establishments. These nobles possessed villages and towns, fortresses and harbours. They could call out a levy of their vassals, and gather them for an armed expedition; but the feeling that they were all people of a common country, which bound lord and vassal together in the German states, was here wholly wanting.

At that time there were in France too many official bodies whose sphere of action was not coincident with the territorial departments, too many forces subserving the central power, too many interests which could be forwarded by bureaucratic government, and very few which rested on the foundation of territorial rule. Consequently, the state of parties during the military period was continually changing; every week new groups were formed, fresh conditions were arranged for convenience of participation in this or the other undertaking. Condé nearly succeeded in coming to an arrangement with the queen and uniting the position of Prime Minister to that of first prince of the blood royal; but Mazarin threw his influence into the opposite scale, and warned the queen from Bonn that a compact with Condé would imperil the future of her son, who had just attained his majority. The negotiations then came to a point at which open war against Condé was the only remaining alternative. The members of the old Fronde left him, and agreed to the recall of Mazarin, and to the removal of the court from Paris, where it could have been best watched and influenced.

Condé's greatest loss, which perhaps decided the result of the now unavoidable civil war, was the desertion of Turenne, whose action was determined by personal desires and hopes rather than by political considerations. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville might have succeeded in keeping him under her brother's standard; but she rejected the advances of the only

dependent who was capable of successfully upholding her own and her brother's cause. Turenne's talents decided the appeal to arms in favour of the king. Neither by the mercenaries of Lorraine nor by the boldness of the Grande Mademoiselle of Orleans could the defeat of the great Condé be averted. When Paris opened her gates to him after his defeat at Saint Antoine and saved him from annihilation, his fate was sealed, for the citizens of the capital were tired of the war and showed no hesitation in concluding peace with the king, who had approached the town, accompanied by Turenne.

Once again—on August, 1652—Mazarin retired from the court in order not to stand in the way of a pacification; a few months later Louis XIV., who had marched into Paris at the head of his guards, brought him back with the greatest splendour, and received him on February 3rd, 1653, into the town by which he had been so passionately hated and persecuted.

The unity of the kingdom was saved. The royal government could not look forward without anxiety to the future as long as the war with Spain continued and Condé was fighting on the enemy's side. They were obliged to keep a careful eye on the individualist movements in Normandy, Guienne, and Burgundy, and upon the fresh intrigues of Retz, who was laying claims to the archbishopric of Paris after his uncle's death. But there was no longer any necessity to fear that the unity of the provinces composing the kingdom was liable to dissolution. Condé had gone over to the side of Spain; but his defection did not imply that of some province of the kingdom bound to himself, as was the case when Bavaria or Brandenburg allied themselves with France against the Holy Roman emperor. Foreign powers had received the most striking proofs that the royal government was again in full consciousness of its strength. Upon the death of Ferdinand III., Mazarin was able to propose the candidature of Louis XIV. to the German electors, and to reply to their preference for the Hapsburg by the foundation of the first Rhine confederacy under a French protectorate. Moreover, the English Commonwealth, in accordance with Elizabethan tradition, took the side of France in the quarrel of the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and

The Court Removes from Paris

Fresh Honours for Mazarin

England on the Side of France

helped the impoverished resources of the court with the offer of some brigades of English infantry at its own cost. The price paid for this assistance—Dunkirk—was certainly very high; but after this undertaking the military resistance of the Spanish monarchy might be considered as entirely crushed, and recompense could then be taken. The Peace of the Pyrenees, which was brought about after long negotiations on November 7th, 1659, was the outcome of the defenceless position into which the monarchy of Philip II. had fallen in the course of two generations. France gained a number of fortresses and districts, which materially improved her strategical position, and gave increased importance to the places acquired under the Peace of Westphalia. In particular, a beginning was made of the strengthening of the northern boundary of the kingdom by the incorporation of Artois with Arras; for, in the event of a defensive war, France's chief danger lay in the fact that the Belgian frontier was but a short distance from the capital. Stenay and Thionville were important outposts of the dioceses of Metz and Verdun, as was Avesnes of Champagne.

The possession of Roussillon made it difficult for Spain to take the offensive against the Lower Aude, and Pignerol secured at the same time the approaches to Piedmont. The young king overcame his preference for Maria Mancini, Mazarin's niece, and consented to marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV., the payment of whose dowry of 500,000 golden guldens was conditional upon her

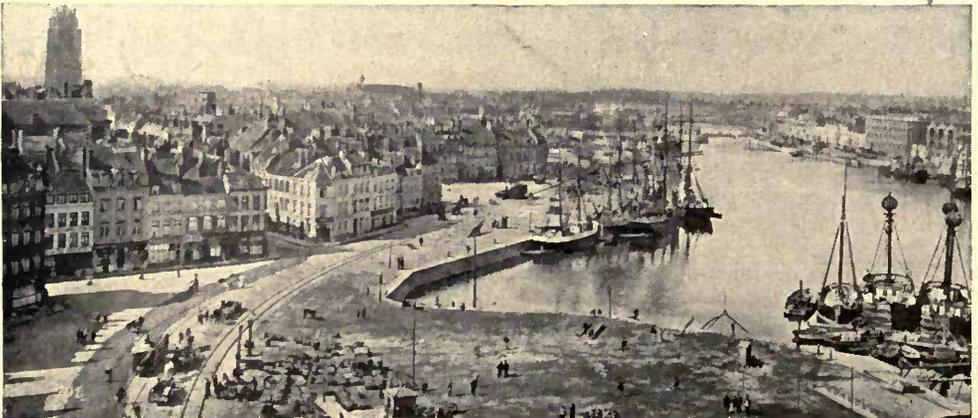
renunciation of her rights of succession to the Spanish-Hapsburg territories.

To Mazarin the Florentine France is no less indebted than to the national leader, who had taken up the inheritance of Henry IV.; he had left the affairs of the state which he served in an admirable position before his death, on March 9th, 1661. His family possessions had increased considerably during his term of office, and the state benefited by the care he expended in this department, as Mazarin brought over great families to the court interests through the marriages which he arranged for his nieces. Such families were the Conti (by marriage with Anna Maria Martinozzi), the Mercœur of the house of Vendôme (by marriage with Laura Mancini), the De la Porte-Meilleraye of the house of Richelieu (with Hortensia Mancini), and the Savoyard-Carignan (with Olympia Mancini). The greatest proof that the royal family could have had of the subordination of his personal ambition to the welfare of the state is the fact that he opposed the marriage of the king with Maria Mancini, who afterwards became Princess of Castiglione-Colonna. The moral

France's Debt to Mazarin victory which Louis won over his passion under Mazarin's guidance is of no slight importance in the development of the king's character. And now this true servant voluntarily retired, and left the young king alone in his place, so soon as it became apparent that his presence might have interfered with the king's progress to the position of independent ruler.

ARMIN TILLE

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



DUNKIRK: THE LAST ENGLISH POSSESSION IN FRANCE

The important seaport town of Dunkirk was ceded by France to England in 1658, for the latter's assistance in the quarrel between the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and was sold back to France by Charles II. in 1662.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
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TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XV

DECLINE OF THE SPANISH POWER AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE

SPAIN became transiently great through the accidents of inheritance that made her for forty years the financial centre of Charles V.'s vast empire, by the equally fortuitous possession of the New World and its treasures, and, above all, by the exalted conviction of Spaniards that to them and their king was confided the sacred task of extirpating the foes of the faith throughout the world—a mission which conferred upon them national superiority, individual distinction, and the certainty of ultimate victory. Even in the time of the Great Emperor his forces were defeated again and again by Lutheran, French and Turk; but they were never beaten, for were they not fighting God's battles, and could He be vanquished in the end? Through many years of fruitless struggle in Flanders, through endless insults and depredations by English sailors and Turkish corsairs, through discouragement, failure and

The Disaster that Destroyed Spain's Faith

ever-growing poverty, this assurance of divine protection kept Spaniards in proud confidence that defied disillusion. The first dread whisper that their faith was groundless ran through the fleet on the night of August 7th, 1588, when the great Armada, upon which the prayers and benisons of all Catholic Christendom had been poured, was hustled up the Channel, a helpless mob of ships, flying in panic from Drake's fire-ships.

"God has forsaken us!" cried the sailors with pallid lips as they realised their impotence, and though the cry was promptly hushed, for the Inquisition had ears on sea as well as land, the thought to which it gave utterance grew irresistibly until the scales fell from the nation's eyes, and in the bitter knowledge forced upon them by misery, defeat and impotence, the Spaniards turned in mocking scorn and spurned the chivalrous ideal of exaltation by sacrifice that had been the secret of their potency as a people.

Castile, with its weakened parliament, bore most of the cost of Philip II.'s wars, and when he died, in 1598, his unwise taxation had strangled industry, depopulated the land, and reduced his people to despair. If impossible dreams of imposing orthodoxy upon the world had been abandoned frankly even now, Spain

Spain's Era of Defeat and Penury

might have become prosperous and happy again, though she had lost her proud supremacy abroad. But the vain illusion still prevailed, and the fable of Spain's boundless wealth persisted. In the face of crushing debt and penury, Philip III. and his Minister, Lerma, maintained the old claims. The hopeless war in Flanders was continued, Spanish men and money were still lavished to support the Austrian emperor in his wars against Lutheranism and the Turk, and the pretence that Spain might yet by force change the religion of England was still kept up. Religion became for most Spaniards a slavish ritual unconnected with the conduct of life, its every form tremblingly followed under the eyes of friars and familiars, however much the heart might rebel in secret.

On the accession of Philip IV., in 1621, another chance came, the last one, for Spain to recognise patent facts and abandon an untenable position. Again national pride prevailed, and the chance was neglected. The jealousies of other powers and the clash of rival interests conspired

The Pauper King Philip IV.

with Spain's assumption to maintain the fable of the overwhelming power and wealth of the Catholic king, while the very table of Philip IV. lacked necessary food, his armies starved, in rags, and his fleet was rotting and useless. Pauper though he was, it was incumbent upon Philip still to interfere in the religious concerns of Central Europe, and to continue to squander all he could squeeze from Castile or borrow from the Genoese in the

hopeless task of subduing the Dutch Protestants. The persistence in the fatal tradition inherited from Charles V. of the hegemony in Christendom of the house of Austria under the aegis of Spain precipitated the final catastrophe. Francis I. had fought against such a consummation in the days when Spain and the empire were strongest, and now with powerful Richelieu controlling a homogeneous France, the opportunity of crushing a weak and disillusioned, corrupt and disunited Spain was too good to be lost. Philip IV. and his advisers would still not learn wisdom and abandon their dreams. The struggle with France, which humility might have



KING PHILIP IV.

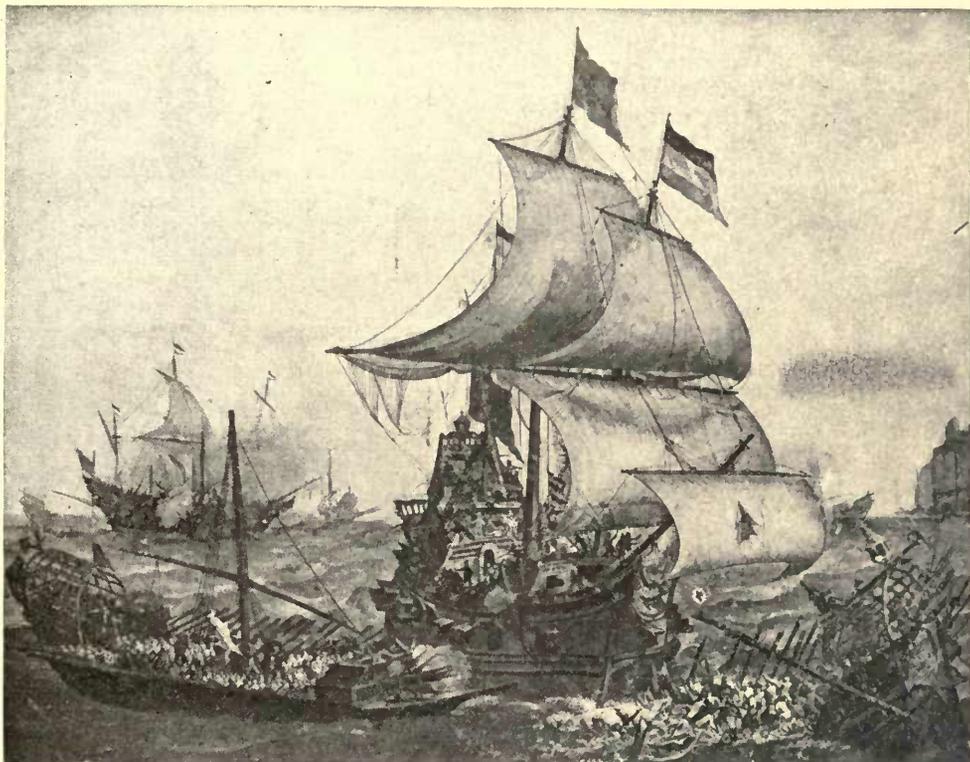
A royal pauper, lacking necessary food, "his armies starved and in rags," while his "fleet was rotting and useless"—such is the picture given to us of Philip IV. and his once powerful kingdom of Spain. The king died broken-hearted in 1665.

avoided, was accepted by Spain with haughty alacrity, and the nation, at the bidding of its king and his favourite Olivares, took the last fatal step upon the slope of ruin.

For years the wars went on in Flanders, in Germany, in Italy, France always leading the foes of Spain. The attempt to levy unconstitutional taxation in Aragon and Portugal gave Richelieu the opportunity of promoting revolt in Spain itself. Portugal threw off the yoke in 1640, Catalonia transferred its allegiance to France, and the overburdened king, who claimed the control of Christendom, was now unable to hold even his own soil. From mere exhaustion the inevitable



PHILIP IV. VISITING THE STUDIO OF THE FAMOUS PAINTER VELASQUEZ



THE DUTCH VICTORY OVER THE SPANISH FLEET IN 1607

In 1607 Heemskerck, the admiral of the Dutch fleet, sailed from Holland, determined to distinguish himself in some great exploit. Learning that the Spanish fleet lay at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, he boldly attacked it, and gained a notable victory, four of the Spanish galleons being sunk or burned. The brave Dutch admiral was killed in the fight.

independence of the Dutch was recognised by Spain in 1648, and Catalonia sulkily returned to its allegiance by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, except Roussillon, which remained French; and Philip IV. died broken-hearted in 1665, knowing that, deny it as he might, Portugal was lost to Spain for ever.

Fallen indeed was the power that had bulked so big for a century; but the cup of humiliation was even yet not full. Under the rule of Charles II., an infant when his father died, and almost an idiot and a monstrosity in his degeneracy, blow after blow fell upon Spain. More of her Flemish provinces and the Franche Comté were lost, and the national exhaustion was complete. Law and order in Spain were at an end. Greedy factions divided the court and raged around the cretin king. The laboriously constructed system of personal power established by Charles V. and Philip II. had now no

centre, for "Charles the Bewitched" was too weak and silly even to be ruled by a favourite, and responsibility rested nowhere. Utterly corrupt and hopeless, the nation awaited tremblingly what should happen when the childless king should die. Around his bed the powers of Europe intrigued for his inheritance, and when he died of senile decay at thirty-nine in 1700, the tempest of civil war swept over the land and purged it of its baser dregs. From the purifying fires of loyal suffering Spain emerged, stripped of her pompous claims, but sane and clear of vision, to begin national life anew under a Bourbon French king, Philip V., the descendant both of the house of Spain and of its enemy, Louis XIV.



THE FEEBLE CHARLES II. As an infant, he succeeded his father, Philip IV., on the throne of Spain. He was weak in intellect, and at the early age of thirty-nine died of senile decay in 1700.

The decline of old Austrian-Spain had been consummated, and the nation had regained its youth, weaker, but full of hope and free from illusions.

MARTIN HUME



BAITING A ROUNDHEAD: THE TOAST OF KING CHARLES AT THE POINT OF THE SWORD

“And he that will this health deny, down among the dead men let him lie.” So run the words of the old English song, here illustrated. An unfortunate Roundhead has fallen into the hands of the king's friends, and at the point of the sword is being compelled to drink the health of King Charles I., whose portrait is shown directly above his head.

From the painting by Daniel A. Wehrschmidt, A.R.A., by permission of the Trustees of the late H. H. North, U.S.A.

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
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THE
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XVI

ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I. THE STRUGGLE OF CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

THE accession of James I. naturally leads to a close connection between the histories of England and Scotland. In both countries his policy sowed the seed for a future reaction. But whereas in England the opposition to the Stuarts was political no less than religious, in Scotland all other questions were subordinated to those of ecclesiastical government; and the influence of Scotland is largely responsible both for the peculiar lines on which English Nonconformity developed and for the programme which the Presbyterian section of the Nonconformists adopted, Scottish Protestantism having developed on Calvinistic and Presbyterian lines.

But from 1575 the General Assembly, the representative body of Scottish Presbyterianism, began to assume an importance in the state which far exceeded that of the corrupt and servile Parliament. Fear of a religious reaction compelled the regent Morton, and, after Morton, King James himself, to treat with some respect the theocratic claims of the ministers. James fought hard for the maintenance of episcopacy, and by degrees formulated a policy of absolutism which had the support of moderate men and of many who sighed for a return to the old religion. But his only prospect of success lay in dividing the Protestants among themselves; in 1587 he renounced all hope of establishing a strong episcopate in order that he might obtain a parliamentary grant of the Church's lands, and in 1592 he was compelled to sanction an act which formally recognised Presbytery.

The Genevan system had triumphed; but the ministers abused their opportunity and the weakness of the Crown. Their insolence fostered in the mind of James a belief that Puritanism was necessarily connected with democratic and theocratic principles which could not fail to subvert all government

if they were permanently accepted. In the years immediately preceding the death of Elizabeth the king was working by circuitous means to revive a real episcopal system in subordination to the Crown.

He went to England with a determination that he would never allow the Presbyterian spirit to gain a footing in the Anglican communion, and that his English resources should be used to remodel the Scottish Kirk upon Elizabethan lines. The second half of the plan was accomplished when, in 1606, a Parliament, assembled at Perth, accepted an act for the restitution of bishops; the measure was followed by the expulsion of the most prominent among the Presbyterian leaders.

In England James' policy was emphatically proclaimed at the Hampton Court Conference, in which he and the bishops met those of the clergy who pressed for a simplification of the established ritual. The king came to the conclusion that the advocates of simplicity were Presbyterians in disguise, and dismissed their petition with an absolute refusal. Thus in both countries an impetus was given to religious disputes; the king had identified himself with practices and forms of government which a large proportion of his subjects condemned on conscientious grounds. The Catholics, at the beginning of the reign, had hopes that the new ruler would feel it politic to make large concessions to them; but finding that hope

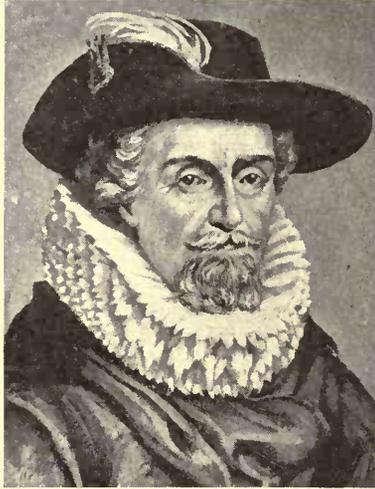
vain, a few of them embarked on the desperate Gunpowder Plot for blowing up the Houses of Parliament. The work was to be done by Guy Fawkes; the plot was betrayed; several of the conspirators suffered the extreme penalty, and the popular prejudice against Romanism was intensified a hundredfold. The lines of the coming struggle between Crown and Parliament in England were largely determined by the fact that James had been actually

**Expulsion of
Presbyterian
Leaders**

**The King's
Fight for
Episcopacy**

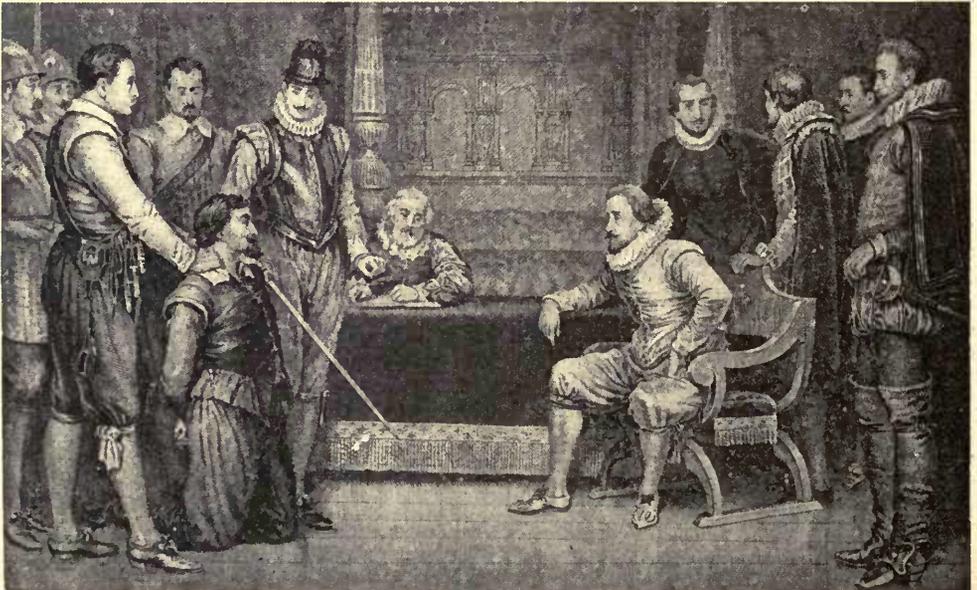
**King and
Parliament
at Variance**

King of Scotland five and twenty years before he ascended the English throne. In England other causes of friction soon arose. James was at variance with his parliaments from first to last. Sometimes the quarrel was due to his superior enlightenment, as when he concluded peace with Spain, when he projected a legislative union between England and Scotland, when, being balked in the plan, he procured a judicial decision that Scots living in England were entitled to all the private rights of native Englishmen, when, finally, he framed plans for an increased measure of toleration to the Catholics. But even when his views were sound he showed no tact in his manner of unfolding them; and there were cases in which his projects involved a serious menace to constitutional liberty. He inherited Elizabeth's conception of the prerogative without being able to plead, like Elizabeth, the dangers of foreign intervention as an excuse for absolutism.



JAMES I., KING OF ENGLAND
The only son of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, he was proclaimed King of Scotland, as James VI., in 1567, being then only one year old; in 1603, he ascended the English throne, thus uniting the crowns of the two countries.

The Commons, on the other hand, were not disposed to treat him with the forbearance which had always characterised their attitude towards his predecessor. He won a remarkable triumph over them in 1606 when the judges ruled that he could impose new customs duties without the consent of Parliament; and he used this permission to make good the deficit in his budget which resulted from the reluctance of the Commons to vote him adequate supplies. But they took their revenge by refusing his request for a fixed income in lieu of his feudal dues and privileges. They opposed his scheme for marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, and made a hero of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he caused to be executed in 1618 for a descent upon a Spanish settlement in the valley of the Orinoco. In 1621 they impeached various persons to whom the king had sold monopolies, and compelled him to punish the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most able



GUY FAWKES, THE CONSPIRATOR, BEFORE JAMES I. AND HIS COUNCIL
Hoping to regain power and position in England, and inspired with zeal for their religion, a company of Roman Catholics plotted to overthrow King and Parliament in 1605. Barrels of gunpowder were secretly conveyed to the cellars underneath the Houses of Parliament, the intention being to explode these when King and Parliament were assembled. But the plot was discovered, and Guy Fawkes, the leader, with other conspirators, was put to death.

exponent of autocratic principles, with a heavy fine and dismissal from all offices. The ostensible charge against Bacon was one of bribery and corruption; the real offence was his criticism of parliamentary government and his hostility to Coke, the greatest of living lawyers and a staunch defender of constitutional principles.

James abandoned the monopolists and Bacon to their fate; he was always on the verge of a serious breach with Parliament, but always retracted in time to avoid the final rupture; it would have been well for his dynasty if he had yielded sooner and with better grace.

Obsequious judges and his native pertinacity preserved for him a larger share of power than the Commons desired. But the consequence was to leave his successor in a position from which even a king more tactful and far-sighted than Charles I. would scarcely have emerged with credit.

In several respects this reign was an age of new developments. It saw the growth of a new and more political form of Puritanism. It also saw the first appearance, under the guidance of Laud, of the High Church party. James completed the conquest of Ireland and crowned the policy of colonisation, which under Mary and Elizabeth had already been pursued on an extensive scale, by settling six counties in Ulster with Scots and Englishmen. Of better omen was the settlement established in New England by English Puritans, who, in 1620, had expatriated themselves to avoid the persecutions of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. These religious exiles succeeded where Raleigh and the gold-seekers had failed, and the first half of the seventeenth century saw the foundations of an English North America securely

laid. On the other hand, the glories of the Elizabethan epoch, the great explorers, the great dramatists and men of letters, the seamen who had made our naval supremacy, passed from the stage without leaving successors to fill their places.

Most of the new developments which marked the age foreboded strife and unrest and civil war.

Peace was the object which James most cherished after that of his own aggrandisement. But peace was not to be secured. In spite of himself, he was dragged, at the end of his reign, into the first operations of the Thirty Years War as the ally

of his son-in-law, Frederic the Elector Palatine. The strain and stress of a foreign war gave the first shock to the unstable equilibrium of English society. The follies of Charles I. soon made it impossible for that equilibrium to be restored.

Charles and his favourite Buckingham had given proofs of their incapacity before the death of the old king. But their mismanagement of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, which James had earnestly desired, in 1623, invested them with a halo of popularity. The nation detested the Spanish connection as un-English and un-Protestant. The popularity was soon forfeited. Buckingham mismanaged England's share in the Thirty Years War. Charles found in Henrietta Maria of France a wife whose nationality and religion were

alike detested by his subjects. From the beginning of the reign Parliament showed a reluctance to grant even the customary supplies, and the dismissal of Buckingham soon became the indispensable condition of further subsidies. It was in vain that the favourite courted national prejudice by entering on a war with France and leading



SIR EDWARD COKE AND SIR FRANCIS BACON
Sir Edward Coke, the greatest lawyer of his time, took a leading part in the prosecution of the Gunpowder conspirators. Sir Francis Bacon became Lord Chancellor in 1618 and in 1621 was created Viscount St. Albans. Charged with bribery and corruption, he was heavily fined and dismissed from all the offices which he held.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD
The leader of the High Church party, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted in vain to root out Calvinism in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland.

of an English North America securely



THE HAPPIER DAYS OF CHARLES I.: THE KING AND HIS FAMILY ENJOYING THEMSELVES ON THE RIVER
From the picture by F. Goodall, R.A.

an expedition to the relief of the Huguenots in La Rochelle in 1627. The government was obliged to meet the expenses of the campaign by a forced loan, and to provide for the new levies of soldiers by means of billeting. Buckingham at first bore the blame for these arbitrary measures. But the assassination of Buckingham in 1628 produced no improvement in the policy of Charles; and the Commons were reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the king, rather than his Ministers, should be held responsible for all the shortcomings and excesses of the administration.

Even before the death of Buckingham the opposition secured a signal triumph, and gave the country a foretaste of their programme by extorting the king's assent to the Petition of Right in 1628. This celebrated statute forbade the billeting of soldiers on private householders, made it illegal to enforce martial law in time of peace, condemned the practice of arbitrary imprisonment by which the royal demands for forced loans had been made effectual, and reasserted the ancient principle that no tax or impost could be raised without the assent of Parliament. To these terms Charles assented with a tacit and disingenuous reservation of the rights inherent in his royal prerogative, and he continued to levy customs duties without statutory sanction.

This evasion of his promise, and the encouragement which he and Laud gave to the clergy of the High Church school, provoked from the Commons a storm of angry protests. Charles retaliated by

imprisoning the leaders of the opposition, and for the next eleven years—1629-40—did his best to govern without Parliament.

In this policy he had able supporters. Strafford (Lord Wentworth), originally a member of the opposition, but converted to the side of prerogative by his indignation at the impracticable and obstructive tactics of the Commons, proved himself a vigorous and resourceful administrator. He was first appointed President of the Council of the North, a local Star Chamber, which Henry VIII. had created

after the Pilgrimage of Grace; subsequently he went to Ireland with a commission to continue the work of colonisation, to manage the Irish Parliament, and to make the island a profitable possession for the Crown. In all these objects he was signally successful, the more so because he paid no attention to laws which would have imposed inconvenient checks upon his action; and the fear gained ground in England that Ireland would be made the training-ground of armies for the coercion of England.

Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, devoted himself to English finance; to the reform of the Church in a High Church sense, and to the maintenance of a severe censorship of the Press. Under his direction the Star Chamber and the High Commission became a terror to Puritans and constitutional pamphleteers. Through Laud's influence, Charles had in 1629 forbidden all religious controversy. The archbishop trusted that the majority of the nation would in course of time become habituated to the elaborate forms and



KING CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND

The reign of this king, which began on March 27th, 1625, on the death of his father, James I., and ended with his execution at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649, was crowded with troubles both at home and abroad. He quarrelled with his Parliaments, three of which were summoned and dissolved within four years, and for eleven years ruled without one.

From the painting by Vandyke in the Dresden Gallery

ceremonies which he admired, provided that the voices of hostile critics were rigorously silenced. But his utmost efforts failed to check unlicensed writing and preaching. He succeeded only in cementing more firmly the alliance between the political and religious opposition.

The king was strong in the support of the judges, the recognised interpreters of the common law. They sanctioned the imprisonment of the parliamentary leaders; and the high-minded Eliot, who had been the moving spirit of the Commons, died in prison in 1632. So, again, they allowed the statute of 1624 against monopolies to be evaded, and ruled in 1637 that the king could levy ship-money for the defence of the realm without consulting Parliament. John Hampden refused to pay his quota of the new tax; but when he appealed to the courts in 1638, a majority of the judges confirmed the

previous ruling. But monopolies and ship-money were insufficient to meet the king's expenses, even though his relations with the Continental powers were pacific. He was obliged to press his feudal rights to the utmost, to revive obsolete claims of forest-right over lands which had been in private hands for generations, and to use the Star Chamber as an instrument for levying enormous fines at the slightest provocation. It was certain that he would be unable to avoid meeting Parliament if any necessity for exceptional expenditure should arise.



HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES I. Five weeks after his accession to the throne of England, in 1625, Charles married Henrietta Maria, daughter of King Henry IV. of France, and in spite of the troubles which clouded the king's reign, their domestic life was peaceful and happy. The Queen died in 1669.

Yet his own zeal and that of Laud impelled him to choose this opportunity for provoking a struggle with the Scottish Presbyterians. In 1637 Charles prepared to consummate the triumph which James had won by the introduction of episcopacy. A new Prayer Book for use in Scottish churches was prepared by Laud and sent



Buckingham



Strafford



Hampden

THREE HISTORIC FIGURES IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a court favourite of James I. and also of Charles I., negotiating the marriage of the latter to Henrietta Maria of France. He was assassinated in 1628. After the death of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, became the adviser of the king, but fell from power and ended his life on the scaffold. A patriot of high character, John Hampden opposed the king's policy, and was one of the members of Parliament whom Charles attempted to arrest in 1642. He died from a wound received while opposing Prince Rupert.



CHARLES I., KING OF ENGLAND
From the painting by Anthony Vandyke in the Louvre

down to Scotland. A riot began in the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh on the first Sunday morning when the new liturgy was used. Then followed the subscription of the National Covenant by all classes of the Scottish nation; and a General Assembly of the Church, which was so largely reinforced by laymen as to resemble a national parliament, declared in favour of a return to the strict Presbyterian system.

The king ordered the assembly to dissolve. But it defied him, as its predecessors had so often defied his father; and when Charles, in 1639, advanced to the border with a hastily raised and ill-provided army, he found himself confronted by a force stronger than his own, under the command of David Leslie. The only possible course was to grant the Scots for

the moment all that they asked. Charles could not acquiesce in this humiliation. He called a Parliament in 1640, expecting that national pride would induce the

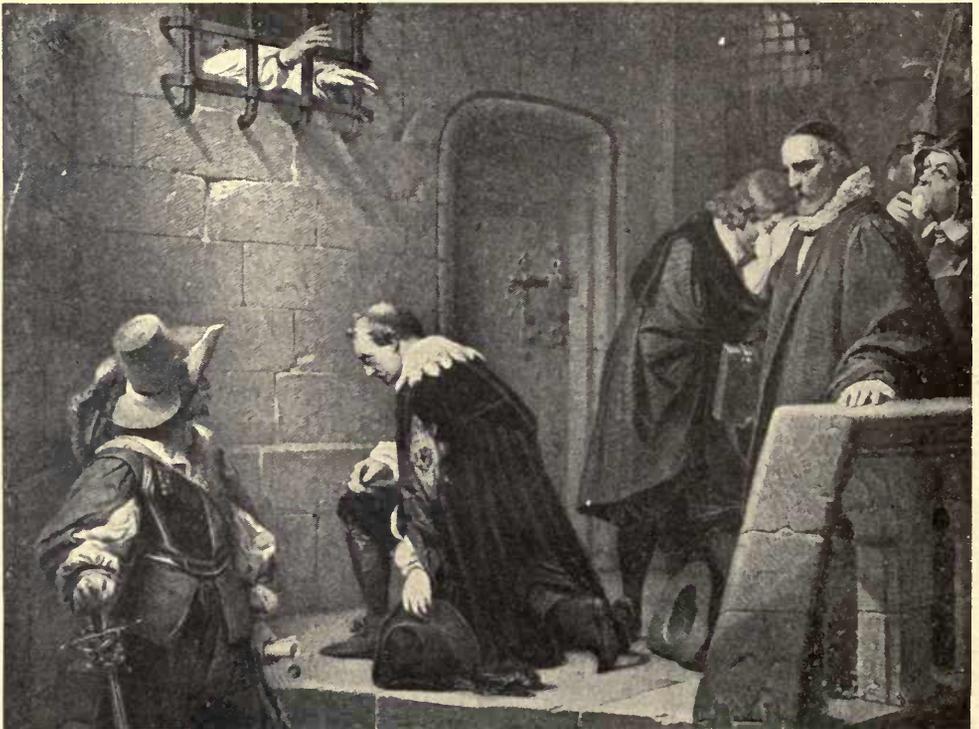
Commons to postpone domestic difficulties until the Scots had been chastised. But the Commons were obdurate. They informed the king that redress must precede supply, and were dismissed within three weeks of their first meeting. A second attempt to raise an army without taxation failed. The Scots entered England and forced Charles to make terms. Pending a definite settlement, he was obliged to make himself liable for the pay of the Scottish army. The peers, whom he asked to help him in

his financial straits, insisted that he should have recourse to Parliament. Accordingly the Long Parliament was convened at the



JOHN PYM

He was another of the five members of Parliament whom Charles I. attempted to arrest, and was also conspicuous in the proceedings against both Strafford and Laud.



THE EARL OF STRAFFORD ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION

After enjoying twelve years of power under Charles I., the Earl of Strafford was impeached for high treason on the charge of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom by making the monarchy absolute. He defended himself with conspicuous ability at his trial in Westminster Hall in 1641, but he was condemned and afterwards beheaded on Tower Hill. The above picture shows Strafford kneeling, as he passes on his way to execution, under the window of his fellow-prisoner, Archbishop Laud that he may receive his blessing and have his prayers in his last moments.

From the painting by Paul Delaroché



CHARLES I. DEMANDING THE ARREST OF FIVE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Unsuccessful in his attempt to arrest at Westminster the five members of Parliament who were accused of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots, Charles I., learning that they had taken refuge in the City, proceeded to the Guildhall and demanded their surrender from the aldermen. The sheriffs paid no heed to the writs issued for the arrest of the five members, while a proclamation declaring them traitors was also allowed to pass unnoticed.

From the painting by Solomon J. Solomon in the Royal Exchange

close of 1640, and the new members began the work of criticising the executive, with the knowledge that the king could not afford to dismiss them as he had dismissed their predecessors. Under the leadership of Pym, the greatest orator and party manager of

their body, the Commons at once took vigorous measures against the Ministers of Charles. They impeached Strafford and Laud; and upon discovering that it was impossible to convict the former of positive illegality, condemned him to death by an act of attainder. It was a

harsh measure, but Strafford was the one man whose genius might have secured success for the autocratic designs of Charles; and the Commons, rightly or wrongly, were convinced of Strafford's intention to govern England with an Irish army. Charles might have saved his Minister by refusing to sign the attainder, but yielded to the pressure of the opposition; it is some excuse for this violation of the express promises which he had given to Strafford that the London mob was clamouring for the head of the queen, on whom, as a Catholic, the blame for Laud's ecclesiastical policy was thrown.

Meanwhile Parliament proceeded, by legislation of less disputable character, to make the restoration of absolutism impossible. A Triennial Act provided that the Houses should meet every three years, and that a royal summons to the members should not be indispensable. Another measure enacted that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. The prerogative courts and councils, of which the Star Chamber, High Commission, and Council of the North were the

most important, were all swept away. Ship-money was declared illegal; the king's forest rights were restricted; and



OLIVER CROMWELL

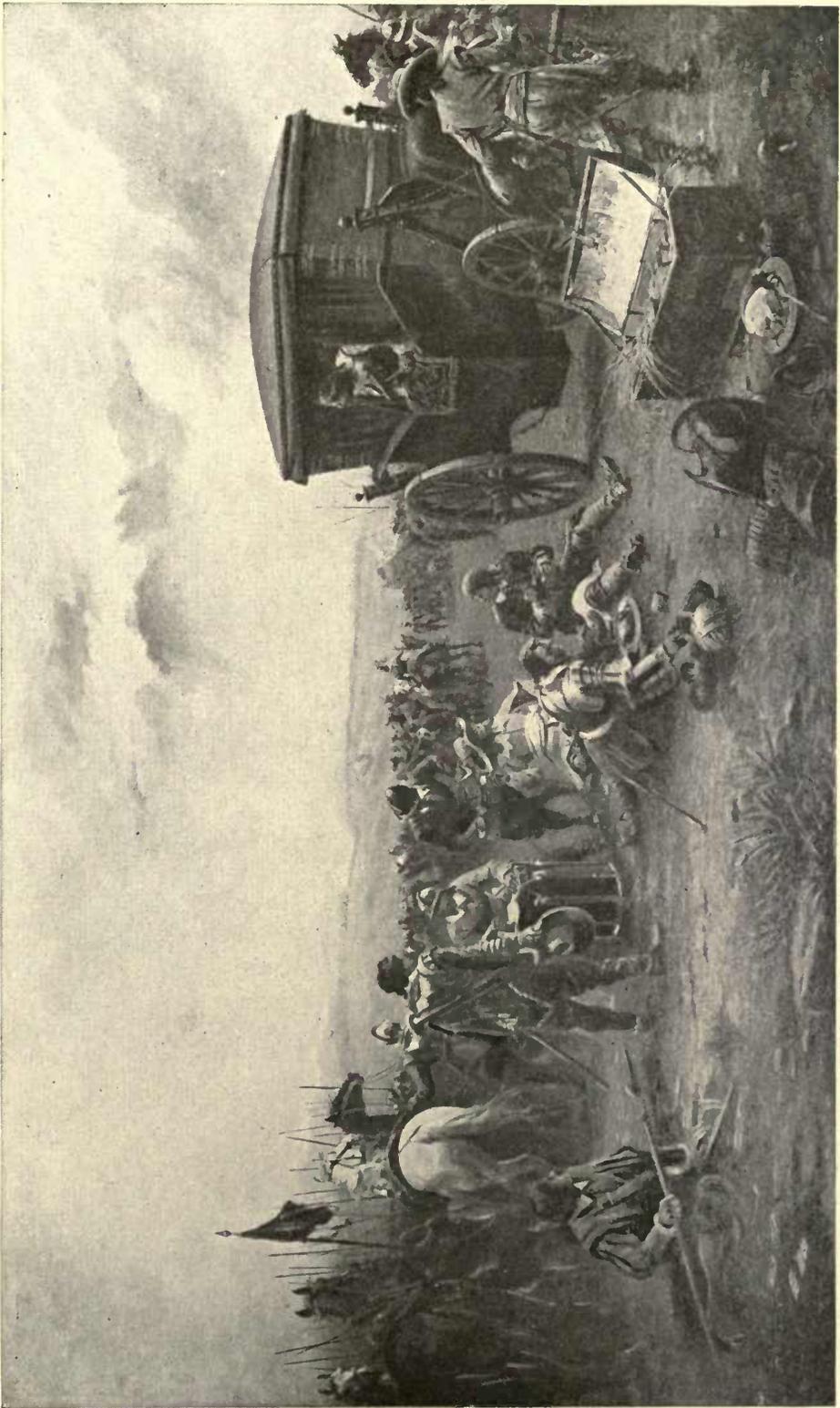
Cromwell came to his country's rescue at a time when the rights of the people and their Parliament were finding a bitter and resolute enemy in the king. He built up a strong fabric of government, which, however, did not endure after the death of its founder.

Parliament reasserted its exclusive right of controlling all customs duties, thus setting aside the judgment in virtue of which James had settled these imposts at his pleasure. The general result of these sweeping measures was a return from the Tudor to the Lancastrian conception of the prerogative. Of this fact the Commons showed full consciousness. Their debates abounded in appeals to the parliamentary precedents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were deliberately reviving a polity which had been discarded after the Wars of the Roses.

It remained to be seen whether the Commons had made a sufficient advance in practical statesmanship to avoid the error by which the Lancastrian Parliament had been irretrievably discredited. Charles could not refuse to sign these acts which undermined his laboriously constructed absolutism; nor could he prevent the Commons from paying off the army which he had raised against the Scots. But he had not lost all hope of a



CROMWELL ON HIS FARM AT ST. IVES, HUNTINGDON
From the picture by Ford Madox Brown, by permission of Mr. Frederick Hollyer



KING AND PARLIAMENT AT WAR: THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

In the great encounter fought at Marston Moor, about nine miles from York, on July 2nd, 1644, the forces of the king, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Newcastle, were defeated by the Parliamentary troops. Fifty thousand men, it is said, were engaged in the struggle, and the result was a sad blow to Prince Rupert, who had hitherto been invincible.

From the painting by Ernest Crofts

SCENES FROM THE TROUBLED LIFE OF CHARLES I.



Riding roughshod over all the rights and liberties of the nation, Charles I. aroused the indignation and the opposition of his people, and they rose up in revolt. In this picture we see the king raising his standard at Nottingham, where the Civil War had its beginning. This ceremony had not taken place in England since the battle of Bosworth Field.



The artist depicts in this picture the scene at Westminster when Charles I. attempted to arrest the five members of Parliament, and shows Speaker Lenthall, on his knees, asserting the privileges of the Commons against the king.
From the frescoes in the House of Lords by C. W. Cope, R.A.

THE KING WHO DEFIED HIS PARLIAMENT AND HIS PEOPLE

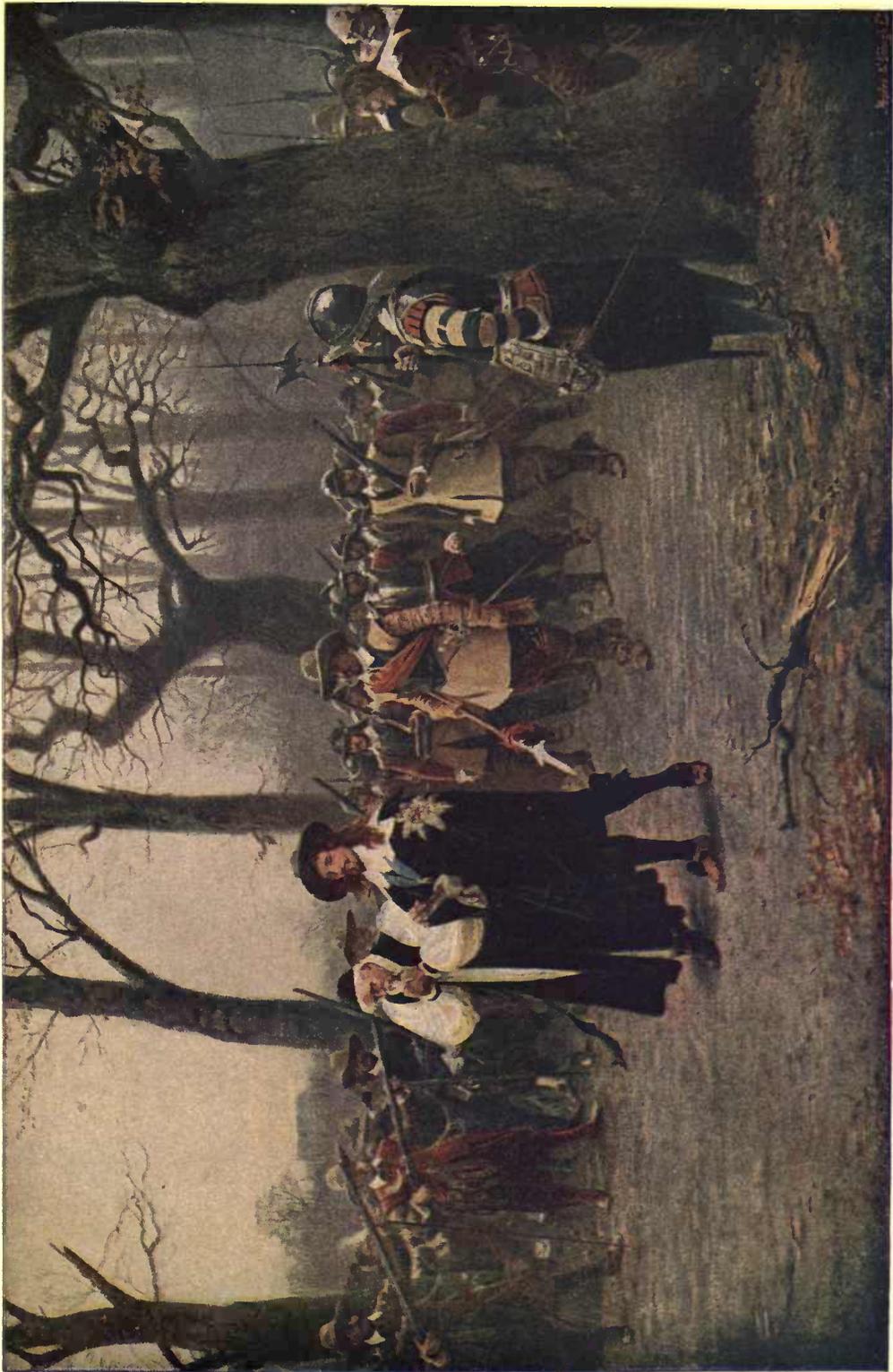


Brought to trial in Westminster Hall on January 20th, 1649, Charles was accused of high treason, and sentence of death was pronounced against him. Throughout the proceedings the king bore himself with great dignity, and refused to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court, but many witnesses were examined, and he was condemned.



The king is here seen passing from the hall after his trial. The Commons who have tried him are shown in the background, and while some of the soldiers insulted Charles as he passed, people offered up prayers for his safety.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield



CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION, 1649

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, R. A., by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co., Ltd.

reaction. He resolved to sacrifice his most cherished convictions in order to regain the support of the friends of the Covenant; for he believed, with some justice, that these, if satisfied on the religious issue, were unlikely to sympathise with the political aspirations of the English opposition.

He travelled northward to confirm the Presbyterian settlement in a Parliament at Edinburgh, and used the

with a fanatical hatred of the English Protestants, who lorded it in the most flourishing districts of the island. Charles was prepared, in the last resort, to leave Ireland at the mercy of the rebels. He knew that he could count on their undying hatred of a Puritan and English Parliament; he shut his eyes to the probable fate of the English colonists. In 1641 a terrible massacre more than decimated the



THE CONDEMNED KING AND HIS SPIRITUAL COMFORTER

After sentence of death had been passed upon him, Charles returned to St. James's Palace, where he spent the brief interval between his trial and execution. There he bade farewell to his only two remaining children in England, the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth; and there, too, he was attended by, Juxon, the late Bishop of London, who, on the fatal day, walked on the king's right in the procession to the scaffold administering spiritual solace.

opportunity to sow the seeds of dissension among the adherents of the Covenant.

On Ireland he built still greater hopes. There the materials of a formidable rebellion were fast gathering to a head. The terrible wrongs committed by the Tudors, by James I., and by Strafford, in connection with the policy of plantation, were responsible for much of the Irish discontent; but national and religious feelings came into play as well, and filled the conspirators

Ulster Protestants and produced in England the suspicion that Charles was already in active alliance with the Irish. Without entirely adopting this view, Parliament resolved that the king could not safely be entrusted with an army for the suppression of the rebels unless he would put himself in the hands of Ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. So far all were unanimous. But the majority in the Commons desired



THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. AT WHITEHALL

Only three days elapsed between the king's condemnation and execution. On January 30th, 1649, the life of the unhappy Charles ended at Whitehall, one blow of the executioner's axe severing the royal head from the body.

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, by the artist's permission

ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

to go further, and to take upon themselves the reformation of the English Church. There was little doubt that parliamentary control of the Church would end in the substitution of Presbyteries for the Episcopate. Rather than submit to this innovation, the best members of the Church rallied to the king's cause. The introduction of the religious issue gave him a body of English support which seemed to make his Irish and Scottish intrigues no longer necessary. He returned from Scotland and at once put himself forward as the representative of

orthodoxy against reckless innovation. From this point events moved rapidly towards an irreparable breach. On hearing a rumour that the queen was threatened with an impeachment, Charles, in 1642, made an ineffectual attempt to seize the five members who had been pointed out to him as her chief enemies. Immediately afterwards he definitely announced that he would never consent to surrender the control of the militia, the only armed force which England could under ordinary circumstances bring into the field. On this issue war was declared.



GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Sir Thomas Fairfax was commander-in-chief in the decisive campaign, and succeeded his father as Lord Fairfax. General Ireton, whose portrait is also given, fought on the side of Parliament; he was a stout opponent of the king and signed the warrant for his execution.



AFTER THE EXECUTION: CROMWELL AND THE DEAD KING
From the painting by Paul Delaroche



THE BURIAL OF KING CHARLES I. IN WINDSOR CASTLE

For seven days after the execution of Charles, the coffin remained at Whitehall exposed to public view. On February 8th, the remains of the ill-fated king were laid to rest in St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. Snow fell heavily as the body was being removed from the interior of the castle to the chapel, "and the servants of the king were pleased to see, in the sudden whiteness that covered their unfortunate master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence." From the painting by C. W. Cope, R.A.

But the real question lay between Puritanism and the Elizabethan Church.

The first Civil War lasted from 1642 till 1646. It divided every social class and many households, but there were certain districts in which one or the other of the contending parties enjoyed a lasting predominance. East of a line from Hull to Arundel lay the headquarters of Parliamentary influence, the wealthiest and most progressive part of the country. Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and North Wales were consistently Royalist. The Midlands continually changed hands; the country between Cornwall and Sussex was first Parliamentary, then Royalist, then reconquered by Parliament. The north was at first held for the king, but was lost to his cause in 1644. The theatres of military



CAREY AND RUPERT: FRIENDS OF THE KING

Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, was an eloquent advocate of constitutional liberty; he stood by the king when the Civil War broke out, and was killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643. Known as the "Mad Cavalier," Prince Rupert was a leading spirit in the Royalist cause, and fought with great courage in its battles. He died in 1682.

operations were various and widely scattered despite the fact that the headquarters of the king were fixed at Oxford, at no great distance from London, where the Parliament was sitting. Besides maintaining several armies simultaneously in different parts of England, the king relied upon the diversions effected by his supporters in Ireland and Scotland. The campaigns of Montrose in Scotland (1644-1645) were, from a military point of view, one of the most striking features in the war. The Parliament acted more wisely when it resolved to concentrate the bulk of its available forces on the conquest of England. In 1643 it purchased Scottish aid by accepting Presbyterianism, though with reservation, under the Solemn League and Covenant; a Scottish army thereupon



CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

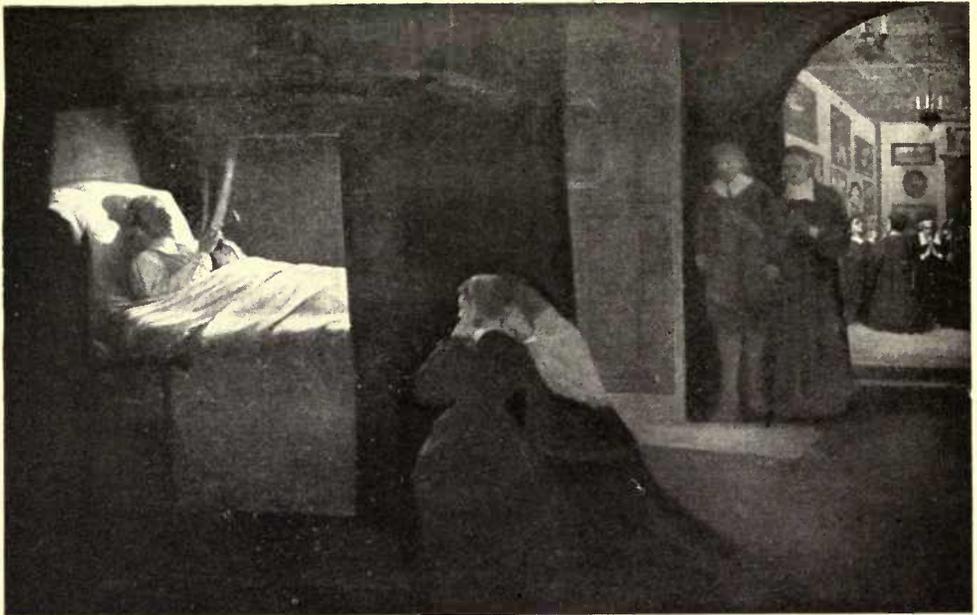
Cromwell dismissed the Long Parliament, which had sat for twelve years and had supported the nation's rights against the king. The members of the Council were also dispersed. The historic scene when Cromwell, pointing to the mace, exclaimed, "Take away that bauble!" is shown in this picture from the painting by Benjamin West.



CROMWELL REFUSING TO BECOME KING

The greatest man in the nation and the one who controlled its destinies, it was felt that he should possess the title as well as the power, and a committee of Parliament in 1657 asked him to accept the crown and become king. It was a tempting invitation, but Cromwell put it from him, fearing, it is said, the disapproval of the army.

From the painting by J. Schex in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool



THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL ON SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658

From the painting by D. W. Wynfield in South Kensington Museum

marched across the border and proved invaluable in the northern operations.

The military movements in England may be briefly summarised. In 1642 the king made Oxford his headquarters and attempted a direct attack upon London, from which, however, he was deterred when he found a Parliamentary force drawn up at Brentford to oppose his advance. In 1643, Charles again made London his objective, but resolved to make the attack with three converging armies, of which one, under Newcastle, was to advance from the north; a second, under Hopton, from the south-west; a third, under his own leadership, from Oxford. But the armies of Hopton and Newcastle, though successful in their own districts, showed a tendency to melt as they advanced. The garrisons of Hull and Plymouth did good service to the Parlia-

ment in giving occupation to their Royalist neighbours. Another useful outpost was acquired in Gloucester; in the eastern counties a local association organised and put under the command of Oliver Cromwell—a Huntingdonshire squire, hitherto known only as a member of the Parliamentary

opposition—the famous force of the “Iron-sides,” who soon became the terror of Royalist commanders.

In 1644 York was besieged by the combined forces of Parliament and the Scots; and the king’s nephew, Rupert of the Palatinate, in attempting to raise the siege, experienced a crushing defeat at Marston Moor. To some extent this battle was counterbalanced by the success of Hopton, who forced a Parliamentary army to capitulate at Lostwithiel. But in the following year, 1645, the scale turned against the king. The Commons, grown wiser by bitter



THE GREAT ADMIRAL BLAKE

This great admiral, Robert Blake, did much to establish the sea power of England, and won many victories for the flag of his country. He died on August 7th, 1657, just as his ship entered Plymouth Harbour, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

experience, abandoned the custom of entrusting their armies to incompetent peers. The supreme command was given to Fairfax, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general; and the two received full powers to reorganise. The "New Model" soon justified the expectations of its makers. In marching northward to effect a junction with the victorious Montrose the king was defeated at Naseby, and again at Rowton Heath in 1645. About the same time the hopes which he rested on Montrose were shattered by the rout of that general's



THE DUTCH ADMIRAL TROMP

Martin Harpertzoon Tromp, the victor of no fewer than thirty-three sea fights, took part in many naval battles against England, and lost his life in a fight against Monk off the coast of Holland in the year 1653, when the Dutch lost no fewer than thirty men-of-war.

Highland army at the battle of Philiphaugh.

These disasters, accompanied by minor reverses in the west and south-west, made it impossible to continue the war. In 1646 Charles threw himself upon the mercy of the Scots, from whom he looked to obtain better terms than Parliament would offer. But the Scottish proposals were harsh—that Parliament should have the control of the armed forces for the next twenty years, and that episcopacy should be abolished in England. Charles hoped to temporise, but the Scots impatient of



ASSERTION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE BY THE INDEPENDENTS IN 1647

The Presbyterians, with the support of the Scots, were bent on establishing a religious despotism in England, but the Independents, who had grown into a body of considerable influence, claimed liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

From the painting by J. Herbert, R.A.

his delays and tempted by an offer of compensation for their expenses in the war, surrendered him to Parliament.

There was still the hope that Parliament and the army might be set at variance by Royalist intrigue, for the Parliament was pledged to the enforcement of Presbyterianism, while the army was composed of many sects; and Cromwell, now the acknowledged leader of the soldiers, showed his loyalty to the Independent creed by demanding liberty of belief and worship for all honest men. The king might still win over the army by promises of toleration, or the Parliament by accepting Presbyterianism. In 1647 the feud of Presbyterian and Independent ran high, and Parliament proposed to disband the army. The soldiers thereupon took the law into their own hands. They seized the king's person, to prevent him from coming to terms with their opponents, and offered to restore him on condition of toleration and a remodelling of Parliament on a more democratic basis.

But the flight of the king to Carisbrooke came as a proof that he intended to play off one party against the other. He was in communication with the Scots, who had offered, if he would grant their terms, to invade England. The bargain was struck, and the Scots fulfilled their part of the bargain, thus opening the second Civil War in 1648. But it was an affair of a few months only. Under Cromwell's influence the soldiers postponed their claims until "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," should have been brought to justice.

The "Man of Blood" Brought to Justice

The Scots were defeated at Preston; the king was recaptured; the army could now afford to settle accounts with him and with Parliament. By the incident known as Pride's Purge, when Colonel Pride and his troop admitted to the House only the pliant members, the Commons was cleared of those who refused toleration; the remaining members, under the influence of the army, appointed an extraordinary court of justice,

by which the king was tried and sentenced to death. He was beheaded at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649. In the following May the expurgated Parliament known as the "Rump" resolved to establish a republic, in which there should be neither king nor House of Lords. Thus was inaugurated the Commonwealth, which lasted until 1660. Time had effaced

Inauguration of the Commonwealth

from the memories of men most of the objects with which Parliament had embarked upon the great rebellion. Moreover, the victory had been already gained, so far as constitutional principles were concerned, before the war began. The feud with Charles had been in part religious, and still more of a personal character. He

had been attacked as the champion of Anglicanism, and because he would not submit to the extraordinary restraints which the shiftiness of his character seemed to make imperative. Anglicanism was now a beaten cause. A new religious question had arisen—whether there should or should not be a State Church and enforced uniformity. In politics, too, there was a new issue—whether the relations of legislature and executive should remain as settled in 1642, or whether the executive, resting on the support of the army and Independents, should be strengthened at the expense of a Parliament which was elated by success and likely to tyrannise.



JOHN MILTON

The greatest English poet after Shakespeare, John Milton was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, London, on December 9th, 1608. His sight failed him in 1652, but this calamity did not stem the flow of his immortal verse, as the picture on page 4350 shows. He died in 1674.

The army was master of the situation; but Cromwell was master of the army, and Cromwell's wish was to secure the toleration and practical reforms which the army desired with the least possible violence to the old system of government. He hoped that the Rump would satisfy the soldiers by providing for a new and truly representative Parliament; from this body he expected to obtain a satisfactory settlement. The reluctance of the Rump to abdicate was, however, invincible. Cromwell therefore expelled it by armed force in 1653, and, with the help of his officers, framed a list of members for a



ENGLAND PREPARING "A WHIP FOR VAN TROMP"

The struggle for the supremacy of the seas waged between the English and the Dutch was attended by many encounters between the fleets of the two nations. Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, is said to have hoisted a broom at the masthead of his ship to suggest that he would sweep the English from the seas, to which the English admiral replied by hoisting a whip at his masthead. In this picture a naval architect is seen exhibiting to the assembled lords and gentlemen the model of a new warship, which was meant to be "a whip for Van Tromp."

From the picture by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of the Leicester Art Gallery.

nominated Parliament. This assembly, proving both unpopular and incapable of a constructive policy, was soon dismissed; and at the end of 1653 Cromwell, at the wish of the army, assumed the title of Protector. A new constitution, the Instrument of Government, was published, defining his position and the unalterable principles which were to be respected by all future legislation. He was to be assisted in executive duties by a council of state. The chief part in legislation and taxation was assigned to a Parliament, in which representatives of Scotland and Ireland were to take their places by the side of the English and Welsh members. Parliament was to meet every three

years, elected under the influence of major-generals whom the Protector had appointed as local viceroys, proved equally unaccommodating (1656-1658). England for the whole period of the Protectorate remained under arbitrary rule. It is for this reason that the brilliant success of Cromwell in foreign policy, the restoration of internal order, and the toleration which he established could not make himself popular or his system permanent. He averted a Presbyterian tyranny, but he was endured as the less of two evils. With his home government posterity can sympathise to some extent, and he may fairly be praised as the first ruler who effectually united all the British Isles



THE BLIND MILTON DICTATING "PARADISE LOST" TO HIS DAUGHTER
From the painting by Munkacsy

years; but, in the interval between one Parliament and another the Protector was allowed powers considerably greater than those of a Tudor or Stuart king. Such was the unexpected result of a twelve years' battle for liberty.

The first Parliament of the Protectorate, in 1654, felt the irony of the situation, and proposed to reconsider the whole constitution. This Cromwell would not allow. If fundamentals came under consideration, he feared that toleration would be lost, and the executive reduced to an impotent shadow. Hence a deadlock, terminated only by the dismissal of Parliament. A second assembly, though

beneath one central authority. But his warmest admirers must admit that in Ireland his rule was fundamentally unjust. Here, as in so many other directions, he continued the Tudor tradition; but here his model led him astray in a more than usual degree. He found Ireland involved in the throes of civil war. It was imperative that he should deal sternly with the forces of agrarian and religious discontent which the Royalist leader Ormonde had enlisted in his master's service.

The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford in 1649 were terrible but necessary examples. But when the last embers of the Royalist party were extinguished in 1652,

it would have been generous to forget the massacres and act of treachery with which the Irish rising had begun, and to consider the best means of remedying the grievances to which it had been due. Cromwell, however, could not, where Ireland was concerned, rise above the prejudices of the ordinary Englishman.

Instead of mitigating the unjust system of plantations, he extended it. His Act of Settlement in 1652 proscribed one-half of the Irish nation, and left the majority of Irish landowners liable to eviction at a moment's notice. His plan was to resettle the whole of the Keltic population in the remote west of the island, and although the literal execution of the plan was abandoned as impossible, a large proportion of the soldiers of the New Model army received their arrears of pay in the form of Irish land. In practice tolerant of Catholics, Cromwell refused to give them legal toleration. He perpetuated the divisions which he found existing in Ireland, and his name is to this day a byword with the Irish people. The provocation which he received from Scotland

Cromwell's War in Ireland

was almost as great, though different in kind. In 1650 the Scots recalled Charles II. and prepared for the invasion of England, proposing to re-establish monarchy and Presbyterianism at one and the same time. Their hopes were crushed by the victories which Cromwell won over David Leslie's army at Dunbar in 1650 and over Charles at Worcester in 1651. Scotland lay at England's mercy and was placed under a military government. Monk, the commander of the English garrison, proved a stern and resolute enemy of law-breakers and conspirators, but he gave the country peace and a measure of prosperity.

His foreign policy was spirited, though wanting in far-sighted sagacity. With Blake for a subordinate, he was not likely to forget the ambitions of the Elizabethan seamen. The Navigation Act (1651), confining English trade to English vessels, struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of Holland, the chief of England's maritime rivals; it led to a war in which Blake met Tromp, and the honours remained with the Englishman. Such a conflict between the two greatest of Protestant powers was a proof that a new era had dawned, in which religious sympathies counted for less than commercial rivalries.

Yet in other respects the foreign policy of Cromwell was governed by Protestant feeling; he had not learned the lesson conveyed in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. He regarded Spain as the arch-enemy, and attacked her colonies in the New World with the same mixture of crusading and mercantile enthusiasm which

The Foreign Policy of Cromwell

had animated Drake and Hawkins. To France, as the natural enemy of Spain, he attached himself by a treaty with Mazarin in 1655, through which England acquired Dunkirk. From this base the Protector hoped to use the New Model for the succour of oppressed Protestants.

The Puritan was no mean man of business. But the growth of commerce was only one of the many causes which combined under the Protectorate to exhaust the Puritan spirit. In Cromwell's later years all England, with the exception of a few idealists, was preparing to resume and carry further the course of thought and action which the great rebellion had cut short.

Bacon, whose scientific prophecies had been, thirty years before, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, was now to enjoy a posthumous triumph. The spirit of the "Novum Organum" and "New Atlantis" dominates the best thought of Restoration England. Bacon had little in common with the Puritan except the love of intellectual liberty; and to this only the best of Puritans were faithful. The strength of the Puritans lay in destruction and in protest; victory corrupted them, and they tended to become tyrants in their turn. Yet no temper less robust than that of Puritanism would have sufficed to break the chains of obsolete tradition and authority, to free England for the process of intellectual development which Bacon had imagined. And in Milton the religious movement made a contribution of the highest worth to England's spiritual heritage. The "Areopagitica" is the final plea for liberty of conscience and discussion; "Samson Agonistes," the most splendid expression in modern literature, of the truth that strength is purified through suffering; while "Paradise Lost" expressed with extreme force the conception of a world in which God and the individual are the sole realities, and the divine service, the sole liberty and the highest good of all created beings.

The Age of Puritanism

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H. W. C. DAVIS



THE FIRST MEETING OF QUEEN MARY AND RIZZIO, THE ITALIAN MUSICIAN

An Italian musician of many accomplishments, David Rizzio ingratiated himself into the good graces of Queen Mary, occupying a position of honour at her court and becoming her chief Minister after Moray's rebellion. His great influence with the young queen excited the jealousy of the nobles, who at last murdered him, almost before Mary's eyes.

From the painting by David Neal by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



SCOTLAND FROM FLODDEN TO THE RESTORATION

NINETY years after James IV. fell on Flodden Field his great-grandson was king both of England and Scotland; the matrimonial diplomacy of Henry VII. had borne its fruit in the union of the crowns. The interval had passed stormily enough with the northern nation.

No attempt was made to follow up the victory of Flodden. The King of Scots was a babe; his mother, Margaret, was the sister of the English king, whom she anticipated in her passion for matrimonial experiments, but otherwise did not greatly resemble. Scotland became a battleground for the frays and the intrigues of rival nobles, a state of affairs carefully encouraged by Henry and Wolsey. In spite of Margaret, who, however, was not consistently favourable to her brother's views, the partisans of the French alliance kept, on the whole, the upper hand. As had always been the case, the clergy were especially antagonistic to English interests; and James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, can claim more credit for consistency and statesmanship than any of the lay nobility.

The young James V. was still a boy when he assumed the reins of government in 1528. Henry was now on the verge of his ecclesiastical reconstruction. For some years he periodically suggested conferences, to be held in England, for the settlement of disagreements, suggestions at which James looked very much askance, having shrewd suspicions that he or Beaton would find themselves caught in a trap. Distrust of his uncle strengthened his inclination to maintain his alliance with the Churchmen, while Henry would have persuaded him to follow the example of his own anti-

clerical policy. Lutheranism was finding its way into Scotland, and the burning of Patrick Hamilton by the archbishop had already had an effect precisely the opposite of what was intended.

Thus the whole trend of events was towards attracting advocates of the Reformation into an Anglicising party, and associating clericalism with patriotism—so far, at least, as patriotism meant a desire to resist English domination. Again, this position of affairs tended also to set the nobility on the side of the Reformation, the alliance of the Crown with the Church being opposed to their interests; for, on the one hand, they were eager to profit by a spoliation of the Church like that which was going on in England, and, on the other, the king, like many of his forebears, was bent on strengthening the central government by breaking the power of his great semi-independent feudatories.

The marriage of James to Mary of Guise, or Lorraine, a member of the most powerful family in France and the most hostile to England, virtually ensured that the old policy of the French alliance would be adhered to, and the relations between the Scots king and his uncle became more strained than ever. Finally, a raid into Scotland was followed by preparations for a counter-invasion of England; but the Scottish force was utterly routed at Solway Moss. The blow killed James, who died a few weeks later, leaving as his heir the infant daughter who was to become famous as Mary, Queen of Scots.

Once more, and not even now for the last time, Scotland was to suffer the distractions of a regency. Both in character and ability, the queen-mother, Mary of



CARDINAL BEATON
Ambitious and unscrupulous, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, struggled hard to overthrow the reformed faith in Scotland. He was assassinated in 1546.

Guise, stands high among the many able women rulers of the sixteenth century. It was her misfortune that she stood for the side which was doomed to fail in the long run—Catholicism and the French alliance. The future of Scotland was bound up with Protestantism and union with England. But, for the moment, the vital necessity was independence from England. A union which meant subjection would not have served the purpose; and subjection was what Henry aimed at. Cardinal David Beaton, the nephew of Archbishop James, and the heir of his policy, was a very unlovely character; yet it is not impossible that but for him and Mary of Guise, Henry would have achieved his aim.

In fact, Solway Moss made the French the title assumed by the Protestant leaders. The daughter of James V. of Scotland by his second wife, Mary of Guise, Mary was born at Linlithgow in 1542. Her early years were spent in France, where she married the Dauphin who succeeded to the throne as Francis II, in 1559. In 1587 she was executed.

Before twenty years were over the country had found both intolerable, and had got rid of them for good and all. But by that time the crisis was past, and independence was no longer in danger. The cardinal was murdered just before Henry's death. The Protector Somerset, whose aims were usually as enlightened as his methods were blundering, wanted to bring about a free and harmonious union, and tried to effect it by fire and sword.

The Scots at Pinkie Cleugh met with disaster hardly less crushing than Flodden or Solway Moss; but they shipped little Queen Mary off to France, where she was betrothed and afterwards married to the Dauphin. Somerset had too many irons in the fire to interfere further directly in Scotland, which for similar reasons was left severely alone by Northumberland and by Mary Tudor. Mary of Guise, as regent, and the Catholic party had to maintain their position during the fifties mainly by French troops, while Calvinism rooted itself more and more firmly among the populace. The shrewd Cecil persuaded Elizabeth to give material aid to the "Lords of the Congregation" —

The result was that Mary and the French were forced to accept terms which permanently expelled the French garrison and secured the domination of Protestantism. The death of the regent immediately preceded the Treaty of Leith in the year 1560.

In December, Queen Mary, whose husband had succeeded to the French throne in the previous year, became a widow, and the prospect of the French and Scottish crowns being united disappeared. She was half French by birth, wholly French by training,



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

The daughter of James V. of Scotland by his second wife, Mary of Guise, Mary was born at Linlithgow in 1542. Her early years were spent in France, where she married the Dauphin who succeeded to the throne as Francis II, in 1559. In 1587 she was executed.



ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF SCOTLAND'S UNHAPPY QUEEN

From the painting by Oudry in the National Portrait Gallery, London



QUEEN MARY'S FAREWELL TO FRANCE

No longer Queen of France after the death of her husband in 1680, Mary's thoughts turned to her native land, where she was urgently required, her mother's death having left the country without a government. She sailed from Calais on August 14th, 1681, arriving at Leith five days later. At night Mary had her couch spread in the open air that she might have a parting view of the shores of the country which she loved so well, on awaking in the morning.

From the picture by Robert Herdman, R.S.A.

and an orthodox Catholic by religion. Also, on the theory that Elizabeth was illegitimate, she was incontestably the legitimate claimant to the English throne. These conditions made her relations with England sufficiently complicated; while in Scotland she had to deal with a people among whom the rigid John Knox was already regarded almost as an inspired prophet, and with a nobility as turbulent as any to be found in Europe. Nevertheless, being just eighteen, she determined to embark on these stormy waters, and returned to Scotland in 1561.

Sympathy between Queen Mary and Knox was out of the question. Neither of them ever had the faintest chance of understanding the other's point of view. The Queen's illegitimate half-brother, Lord James Stuart, better known as the Earl of Moray, tried to carry out a policy by which concession should not be all on one side; but the Reformation party were as intolerant in their power as the Catholic prelates had been. Mary was eternally suspected of aiming at the overthrow of Protestantism. Her cousin on the English throne professed the utmost friendliness but invariably urged the young queen to follow a course which would have made her thoroughly dependent on her loving sister's goodwill. Above all, she must not marry anyone who would strengthen her position.

Mary ignored Elizabeth's advice and married her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, a grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage, who stood near the English succession through his mother, and near the Scottish through his father. He was a Catholic, and had he been a man of tolerable intelligence or character, the marriage might have proved a brilliant stroke of policy. As he proved to be both fool and knave, its result was disastrous, while its immediate effect was to drive Moray into unsuccessful rebellion.

Mary, left practically friendless, felt confidence in no one but her Italian secretary, Rizzio, who was consequently assassinated almost before her eyes, Darnley participating in the murder. Before a twelvemonth had passed, Darnley himself perished, the victim of another plot, in 1567. When Mary, almost immediately afterwards, allowed herself to be abducted and married by James Hepburn of Bothwell, whom everyone knew to have taken the leading part in Darnley's murder, the world believed that she had been steeped in the guilt of the crime from its beginning. A rebellion followed; Bothwell was put to flight at Carberry Hill, and the queen was compelled to surrender. She was imprisoned at Loch Leven, and forced to sign an act of abdication in favour of her infant son James VI.,



JOHN KNOX AND LORD DARNLEY

The leader of the reform party in Scotland, John Knox, who was born about 1505, did more for Protestantism and education in his native land than any other man before or since. His life came to an end in 1572. Lord Darnley married Queen Mary, who conferred on him the title of King of Scotland. He lost his life in 1567 as the result of a plot.

the government of the country passing in effect into the hands of Moray—who had been in France when Darnley was murdered—with other lords, some of whom had certainly been implicated in the murder. In the following year Mary effected an escape from Loch Leven, but

the forces which gathered to her standard were routed at Langside; she herself fled south, crossed the Solway, and threw herself on the hospitality of the Queen of England. Elizabeth made characteristic use of the situation. To hand Mary back to the subjects who had driven her from the throne would be a dangerous admission of the right of subjects to rebel. To restore her to her throne by force of arms would upset the loyalty of English Protestants.

To give her passage to France and permit her restoration by French assistance would revive the French ascendancy in Scotland. To put her to death on her own responsibility would at the best give a very dangerous handle to her own enemies. So Elizabeth contented herself with holding a commission of inquiry, which received and published the evidence



THE STATE ENTRY OF QUEEN MARY INTO EDINBURGH IN THE YEAR 1561

From the painting by Wm. Hole, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission

against Mary in the Darnley affair, and then stopped its proceedings. But she kept Mary a prisoner in her own hands, for eighteen years threatening now to release her, now to replace her on the throne, now to hand her over to the Lords of the Congregation, and now to bring her to trial—and execution—for complicity in one or another of the various Catholic conspiracies

which aimed at placing her on the throne of England. Only when Elizabeth had at last made up her mind no longer to evade the life-and-death struggle with Spain did she give Walsingham the chance of carrying the last alternative into execution. Mary was found guilty of complicity in Anthony Babington's conspiracy, and was beheaded. Both now and in the previous inquiry of

1568 the damning evidence lay in letters whose complete authenticity has never been conclusively either proved or disproved. The dramatic and psychological interest of the tragedy of Mary Stuart has impressed the world so deeply that it cannot be passed over; but it is entirely out of proportion to her political importance. She had a losing battle to fight from the beginning. She neither hastened nor retarded the union of the English and Scottish crowns, or the development of the peculiarly Scottish type of Protestantism. The former followed naturally and inevitably on the death of Elizabeth, seeing that there was then no other candidate for the English throne to whose support any party in the nation could rally solidly. The latter was the work primarily of John Knox and his successor, Andrew Melville. From 1559 to 1572, Knox was the acknowledged religious leader of the "reformed" party in Scotland, as distinct from the lay nobles whose zeal for religion grew from a political root, and did not in most cases temper their morals, which were latitudinarian.

The essentially theocratic conceptions of Knox gripped the Scottish people, by whom the "ministry" was looked upon as discharging the functions not so much of a priesthood as of the prophets of Israel, the channel, not of Divine grace, but of Divine instruction. The governing classes, on the other hand, tended to take the extreme Erastian view that the clerical organisation should be an instrument in the hands of the temporal rulers. But the temporal rulers were far too much at variance among themselves to let continuous power remain for any long time in any one set of hands. Moray was assassinated in 1570. Two more regents arose and disappeared before Knox died, in 1572; the vigorous Morton, who held the reins from 1527 to 1578, ended his life on the block in 1580. The boy king, tossed from pillar to post, very early acquired the conviction that statesmanship consists in cunning. The years did not diminish the intensity of his hate for the clerical domination, which did not hesitate to impress upon him that he was but



AN HISTORIC SERMON: JOHN KNOX PREACHING AT ST. ANDREWS

It was truly said of John Knox that he never feared the face of man, and here we have a striking illustration of the Reformer's courage. The incident depicted occurred in the parish church of St. Andrews, in June, 1559, when Knox, who had just returned to Scotland after an exile of thirteen years, appeared in the pulpit in defiance of a threat of assassination, and preached to the assembled congregation with such effect that the people of the town decided to adopt the reformed worship. Acts of vandalism followed, churches being stripped of all images and the monasteries pulled down.

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery



JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

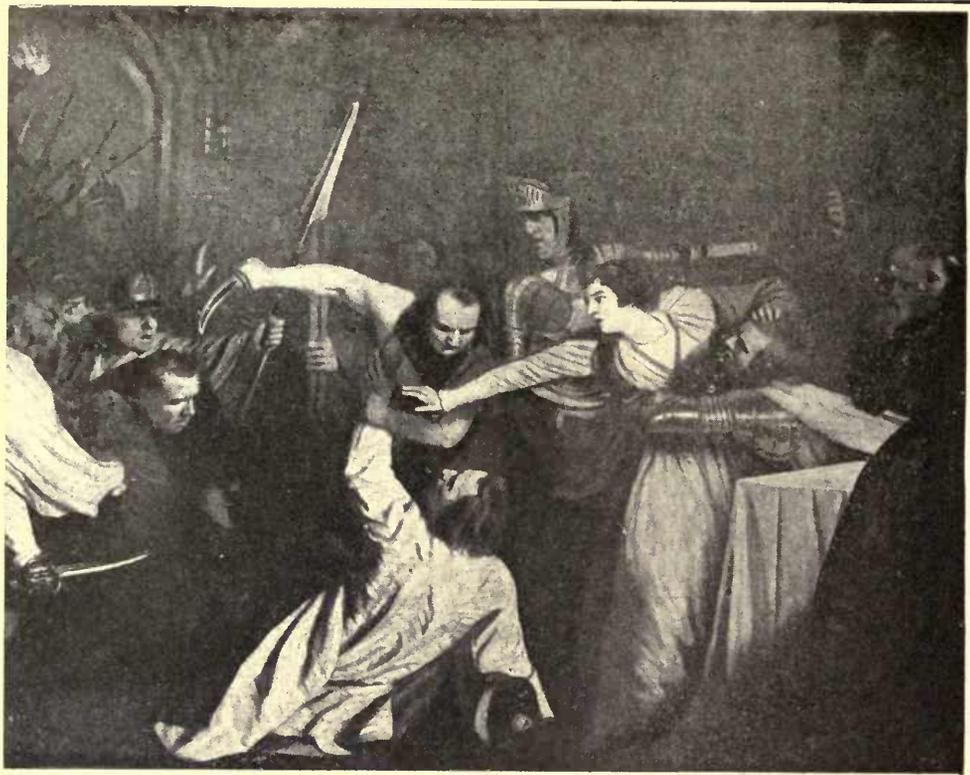
Carlyle has said that John Knox could not have been true to his country and tender with his queen. The fact that Mary was a Roman Catholic led to prayers being offered up in the churches that God would turn her heart, and the Reformer made public references to the queen's religious beliefs, which stirred her indignation and led her to summon him to her presence. The interview was stormy, as Knox's outspoken words brought tears to the eyes of the queen.

From the picture by J. Burnet

“God’s silly vassal.” A turn of the wheel made it possible in 1584 to establish the episcopal system; but in 1592 the positions were reversed, and the Presbyterian Church polity—essentially democratic—was formally instituted, with powers of enforcing “discipline,” which made the Church of the future a decisive force in moulding the character of the Scottish people. The energy which Knox had at an earlier stage devoted to laying the foundations of educational organisation provided the machinery for

developing the popular intelligence under a powerful theological influence. The ecclesiastical constitution was, however, again modified in 1600 by the appointment of a few bishops. James intended to turn the hybrid thus created into a revived episcopal system.

On the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland ascended the throne of England as the heir of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York through their eldest daughter Margaret, their son’s issue being now exhausted.



THE MURDER OF RIZZIO, THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE

The favours showered upon the Italian musician by the queen roused the envy and the jealousy of Darnley and the nobles, and they concerted a plot for the murder of Rizzio. On the night of March 9th, 1566, utterly ignorant of the fate awaiting him, he was sitting at supper with the queen and the Countess of Argyle in a room at Holyrood Palace when the assassins rushed in, and in spite of Mary's efforts to save him, dragged the unhappy Rizzio off to his death.



THE COVENANTERS' COMMUNION: AN EPISODE IN THE FIGHT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In this picture, from the painting by Sir J. Harvey, P.R.S.A., we have depicted a scene that was common in the days when the people of Scotland made their brave stand for religious liberty. Denied the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, men and women sought out the secluded corners of the mountains, and there engaged in the holy acts of praise and prayer, their religious fervour only heightened by the hardships endured.



THE IMPRISONED QUEEN ABDICATING THE THRONE

The popular suspicion that the queen had been privy to the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, seemed justified when, after the acquittal of the Earl of Bothwell on a charge of complicity in Darnley's murder, Mary married that profligate nobleman. The nobles rose against her, and she was imprisoned in the castle of Loch Leven, where, on July 24th, 1567, she was compelled to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, then scarcely twelve months old.



THE ESCAPE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM LOCH LEVEN CASTLE

During her imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle, the queen's active brain was busy at work devising methods of escape. At last by the exercise of wiles and charms she succeeded in inducing the young Laird of Loch Leven, George Douglas, to assist her, and in this picture we see how the escape was effected. When it was known that the queen was at liberty, many of the nobles hastened to her standard, and within a few days she had an army of 6,000 men.

From the painting by Thomas Danby, R.A.



SCOTLANDS TROUBLED DAYS: THE ASSASSINATION OF THE GOOD REGENT MORAY

About a fortnight after her escape from Loch Leven Castle, a battle was fought in 1568, at Langside, near Glasgow, between the forces of Mary and the army of the Regent Moray. The queen was utterly defeated and sought shelter in England. During her detention there by Elizabeth, the Regent Moray was assassinated in the streets of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who was instigated by Mary's adherents, and by this dastardly act Scotland lost an able and patriotic leader.

SCOTLAND FROM FLODDEN TO THE RESTORATION

There was no serious opposition, and thus the crowns, but not the governments, of the two countries were united. The way was paved for a closer union in the future; the perpetual menace of actual hostilities was ended, and it was rendered impossible for the two nations to follow antagonistic foreign policies. But in domestic affairs they remained separate, though the king's accession to the English throne greatly strengthened his hands in his dealings with his northern kingdom. Within a decade he had re-established an episcopal system, which, without destroying the Presbyterian organisation, transferred the controlling power to the Crown.

This success on the part of the king was largely due to the fact that the lay magnates supported him in the desire to check the domination of the Presbyterian ministers. His son, however, succeeded in alienating the magnates, and when he attempted to impose high Anglican forms on the composite Scottish Church, opposition assumed the proportions of rebellion. The great mass of Scots made haste enthusiastically

to sign the National League and Covenant. In the "Bishops' War," in 1639, Charles found himself faced by a united nation, which he had no chance of coercing except by the aid of the English Parliament. Thus the attitude of Scotland forced him to bring to an end the period of absolute rule in England; and when the English Parliament met, it at once attacked the king and his Minister, Strafford, and manifested complete sympathy with the Scots. Charles found himself involved in a quarrel

simultaneously with the people of each of his kingdoms.

In both, the extreme attitude of the opposition tended to detach and drive over to the king's party men who had at first figured as leaders in the resistance to his arbitrary proceedings. Of these the most prominent in Scotland was James Graham, Marquess of Montrose. The outbreak of the civil war brought about an alliance between the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliament, ratified in the Solemn League and Covenant at the close of 1643; the invasion of the North of

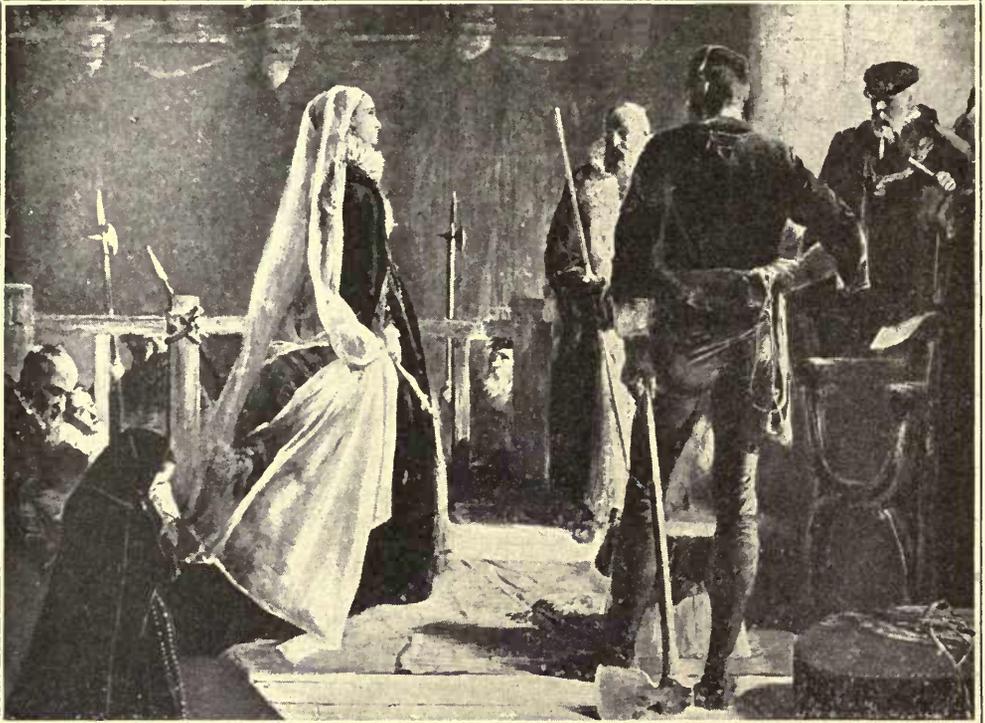
England by the Scots next year paralysed the Royalist plan of campaign, and their junction with the Parliamentary troops gave decisive effect to the battle of Marston Moor. Meanwhile, however, Montrose had risen on the king's behalf against the Government; but his brilliant series of victories was closed by his defeat at Philiphaugh, three months after the battle of Naseby.

The Scots, however, dissatisfied with the ascendancy of Independency in the army of

Cromwell, became lukewarm. The king elected to surrender himself to them; but when they found that there was no prospect of binding him securely by the Covenant, they handed him over to the Parliament and retired from England on receipt of the pay promised. In the subsequent fate of the king—a distinct violation of the Solemn League and Covenant—the Scots had no part or lot. In a last attempt to rally Royalism to a restoration independent of the Covenant, Montrose was captured and hanged. The



THE LAST MOMENTS OF QUEEN MARY
From the painting by H. Barraud



THE EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT FOTHERINGAY

After suffering imprisonment for eighteen years, Mary Queen of Scots was executed at Fotheringay, on February 8th, 1587, her fate being sealed in consequence of her alleged endeavour to bring about her own freedom by the assassination of Elizabeth. Dressed as for a festival, Mary walked to the scaffold with a firm step and bravely met her fate.

From the painting by Robert Herdman, R.S.A.



AFTER THE EXECUTION: THE LAST OF THE UNHAPPY QUEEN

The indignation of the Scottish nation was aroused by the execution of Mary, and when Elizabeth sent an envoy to express her sorrow for the "miserable accident" King James refused to receive it. After the execution, the queen's body was covered with an old cloth, as shown in the picture, and carried to an upper chamber to await the process of embalming. Six months later, the remains were interred in Peterborough Cathedral, and a quarter of a century afterwards, by order of James I. of England, were exhumed, taken to Westminster, and deposited in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

From the painting by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.

SCOTLAND FROM FLODDEN TO THE RESTORATION

young Charles thereupon accepted the Covenant, and was recalled to the throne of Scotland. Such a situation could not be accepted by the English Commonwealth, though there was no technical standpoint for its intervention. Cromwell marched into Scotland; the ignorant zealotry of the Scottish preachers delivered David Leslie into his hands at Dunbar on September 3rd, 1650, but did not overthrow the Royalist cause. In the next year, Cromwell captured Perth, but left the route open to England. The Scots marched south with Cromwell in pursuit, and were crushed

at Worcester on September 3rd, 1651. In Scotland itself parties had so broken up that Cromwell had no difficulty in imposing



MARQUESS OF MONTROSE
A leader in the Civil War, he fought against the Covenanters, gaining brilliant victories, but was defeated at Philiphaugh. He was hanged at Edinburgh, on May 21st, 1650.

his own system on the country. In effect a military government was established under Monk; under the Instrument of Government, Scotland was formally incorporated with England, sent her representatives to Westminster, and received equality of trading rights. This first brief incorporating union was terminated by the Restoration. But from this time it becomes unnecessary to devote separate treatment to the affairs of the northern kingdom.



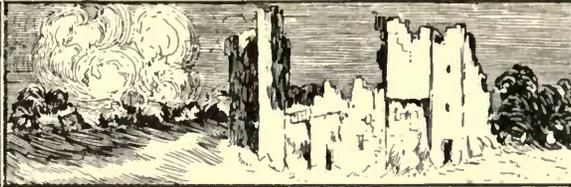
THE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL COVENANT AT GREYFRIARS, EDINBURGH, IN 1638
From the painting by William Hole, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission



FAMILY FEUDS IN IRELAND: AN INCIDENT IN THE BATTLES BETWEEN THE FITZGERALDS AND THE BUTLERS

Adjoining each other in Ireland were the estates of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, the heads of the Fitzgeralds and Butlers respectively, and when disputes arose between the families they were settled at the point of the sword. An incident in one of these encounters is here represented. Wounded and taken prisoner, the Earl of Desmond was being borne from the field by a body of Ormond's men when someone cried, "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond?" "In his rightful place," he fiercely replied—"on the necks of the Butlers."

From the picture by Daniel Maclise, R. A.



IRELAND BEFORE THE RESTORATION STRUGGLES AGAINST ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

ALTHOUGH Ireland formed a part of the dominions of the King of England, her history is to a considerable extent separate, only at intervals breaking in on the main current of the politics of her more powerful neighbour, which made intermittent efforts to bring her under subjection, but practically none to establish orderly rule. To Henry VII. is due the credit for attempting to improve upon the past record, by regulating the system of English control under Poyning's Law, and trying, by conciliatory methods, to enlist the great chiefs on the side of the government.

At the close of Henry's reign, the great Earl of Kildare was virtually the ruler of Ireland. But on his death, his son, who succeeded him in the office of deputy, lacked the capacity his father had shown, and disorder soon broke out again. The theory that every chief might do what was right in his own eyes was too deeply ingrained to be held in check except by a very vigorous personality. The Earl of Surrey, heir and successor to the title of Norfolk, was sent over by Henry VIII.

Rebellion of "Silken Thomas"

and Wolsey to report, and pronounced that the only way to establish order was to provide a competent force of not less than 6,000 men, and enforce English law. The king and his Minister were disinclined to this course, while a continued policy of conciliation appeared only to convince the chiefs that they could go their own way.

However, when Kildare was summoned to England and sent to the Tower, his son, known as Silken Thomas, raised a rebellion. Henry was occupied with his ecclesiastical reconstruction. The revolt was dealt with at first feebly, but was finally suppressed by Lord Leonard Grey. He, however, being appointed deputy, returned to the policy of governing through the Irish chiefs; but in doing so, he displayed a partisanship for particular families which made the effect the reverse of conciliatory. He was recalled and, incidentally, executed. His successor,

Anthony St. Leger, was more successful, because more tactful. But since, after some years of comparative tranquillity, the chiefs showed signs of being tired of good behaviour, he was recalled by Protector Somerset, and Sir Edward Bellingham tried resolute government again. His

The Severe Measures of Bellingham

severities restored order, but intensified the native aversion to English rule, which was never continuously effective outside the English Pale. Yet, although after Bellingham, the distracted state of England would have made organised defiance of her rule comparatively easy, the capacity for organised co-operation was what the Irish chiefs lacked.

The reign of Elizabeth twice saw the English domination seriously threatened as it never had been in the past, each time by the head of the O'Neills of Ulster. During Elizabeth's early years, Shan O'Neill was recognised by the Irish as "The O'Neill," the head of the clan, though another scion of the family was recognised by the government as Earl of Tyrone. Shan made himself practically master of Ulster; the efforts of the deputy, Sussex, to coerce him were entirely unsuccessful. Shan ruled with an unscrupulous rigour which crushed rivalry, but with an administrative capacity which gave the farming population a greater sense of security than they enjoyed within the Pale itself. He even began intrigues which point to a serious design of challenging the English dominion and posing as a Catholic champion;

The National Champion Dies in a Brawl

but his career was cut short in a brawl. There was no one to take his place, no one capable of making himself the recognised chief of the Irish people, though he had brought the idea of throwin off the English yoke altogether into the range of national ambitions. And soon both Philip of Spain and the Pope began to awaken to the idea that Ireland might be

worked as a basis for operations against the heretic Queen of England, while native hostility to the English was greatly increased by experiments in planting English settlers both in the south and in the north on lands whose native owners held them by titles in which English lawyers found a flaw. The gentlemen of

The Irish Treated as Savages

Devon were about as little disposed to recognise the Irish as men and brothers as were the Spaniards to view the "Indians" in that light. Treated as savages, the Irish, not unnaturally, accepted the rôle, and in 1580 the ugly rebellion known as Desmond's broke out in the south, in which English and Irish vied with each other in what the English themselves would have accounted atrocities anywhere else. The rebellion was finally stamped out with merciless severity, and "order reigned in Warsaw."

By this time, English dominion and English garrisons had extended into every quarter of Ireland; but Elizabeth's policy of parsimony was nowhere so disastrous, because it kept the troops insufficient in quantity and vile in quality. Still, even the coming of the Armada found Ireland incapable of creating a diversion. It remained for Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in the last years of Elizabeth, to organise rebellion with a skill exceeding that of Shan. Ireland was thoroughly establishing itself as the grave of English reputations. Tyrone drew rivals to his side, and was consistently able to justify his own proceedings, and to prove breaches of faith on the part of the English authorities until the time came for open rebellion. Success attended his arms; Essex, sent to suppress him with a force enormously superior to any which had been previously

Submission to the English Rule

employed, fared no better than his predecessors. But no efficient foreign aid was forthcoming; even Tyrone had failed to accomplish a real union of the Irish chiefs, and the rebellion was at last broken by Mountjoy. Tyrone was admitted to the Queen's grace, but early in the next reign he withdrew from Ireland, and active resistance to the English rule was terminated for a long period. It fell to King James I. to complete the

Elizabethan process of extending the direct control of England and the English system throughout the country, still largely by the same method of planting colonists. To this period belongs the introduction of the strong Scottish element in Ulster.

When Wentworth appeared in Ireland in the next reign, it was his primary aim to establish the royal power there in a form which would be a menace to any popular opposition to arbitrary government in England. Wentworth made his Irish parliaments as subservient as those of Thomas Cromwell had been in England a hundred years before. But he also enforced his law with a complete disregard for personal interests; and his justice, however arbitrary in method, was even-handed. Also he was vigorous in his encouragement of native industries, and material prosperity made manifest progress under his rule.

But Wentworth was summoned to try and save his master in England, and to meet his own doom. When the iron hand was withdrawn, there was first a sudden

Cromwell's Iron Hand in Ireland

and appalling uprising of the dispossessed Irish against the English settlers in the north, then a rising of the Englishry in the Pale, who were for the most part Catholics—explained by the attitude of the Puritan parliament at Westminster. Civil war broke out in England, and the combinations of parties in Ireland became chaotic, with the insurgent groups claiming to be Royalist, and the Puritan element finding itself friendless. Hence the first measure of the Commonwealth, when the King's head had been cut off, was to despatch Cromwell to subjugate Ireland. The work was accomplished with swift and ruthless severity. Ireton was left to give the finishing touches, and a fresh plantation of Puritan soldiery intensified the Puritan characteristics of the northern province.

As with Scotland, so with Ireland, Cromwell established a temporary legislative union, though the Irish "representatives" represented only the fraction of the population which the Cromwellian conquest recognised as loyal. And as with Scotland so again with Ireland, the Restoration brought a return to the old order.



THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK AND NORWAY

THE temporary union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one crown was brought to an end, as we have seen, by the Swedish revolt which followed the Stockholm massacre of 1520, perpetrated by Christian II. of the Oldenburg house. Sweden broke away from the union to follow its own course. Norway remained under the Danish monarchy, and claims no separate treatment before the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, for the present, we have to trace Scandinavian history while it flows in two channels—those of the Danish and Swedish kingdoms. In the present chapter we shall follow the fortunes, first of Denmark, and then of Sweden, down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

During the rule of the three first Oldenburg kings the power of the Danish crown, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, was growing weaker, though its dominion had been extended by the attachment to it of the duchy of Schleswig and the county of Holstein, which had fallen to Christian I. by election.

The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later the Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs, or the administrative districts, the revenues of which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They

were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time, the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The

The Naval Ambitions of the Kings

majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts, such as Zealand, Lolland, and Falster, tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues—fines on succession and land tax—and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supremacy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

The last Union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish.

Christian II. Aims at Absolute Power

To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was



Christian II., 1513-23



Frederic I., 1523-33



Christian III., 1533-59



Frederic II., 1559-88



Christian IV., 1588-1648



Frederic III., 1648-70

SIX KINGS OF DENMARK AND NORWAY

loved by them, while the nobles, on the contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. Losing heart, Christian took ship to the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.

On Christian's deposition his laws were repealed; the nobility regained their ancient rights, and the new king was forced to give his promise to the clergy to protect the Church from heresy, for even in Christian's reign the Reformation had penetrated into Denmark, and he himself, whose mother was the sister of Frederic the Wise of Saxony, had for a time been favourably disposed towards the new doctrine. It continually gained new adherents, especially in the towns, for in Denmark, as elsewhere, the papal authority was on the wane, and the clergy

were unpopular because of their arbitrary methods. Frederic I. did not fail to perceive the progress made by the new teaching; but, contrary to his promises, he did nothing to arrest it, while many of the nobility regarded it with favour, in the hope of enriching themselves at the expense of the clergy. Thus, as the Catholic Church was at that time almost without capable defenders, the resistance attempted by the prelates was in vain.

Such was the condition of affairs when Frederic I. died, in 1533. When the magnates met together to elect the new king, a unanimous choice proved to be impossible. The nobility were in favour of Frederic's eldest son Christian, but as he was known to be a zealous Lutheran the bishops opposed his election. In the meantime the burgesses and peasantry had taken up arms for the purpose of restoring their old king, Christian II., and they were supported by the city of Lübeck, whose burgomaster, Jürgen Wullenweber, hoped to re-establish his city's former power. In the struggle that ensued victory was at first inclined to the side of Christian's supporters and their allies

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES: DENMARK AND NORWAY

from Lübeck, after whose general, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, this war has been named the "Count's War." Almost the whole of Denmark submitted to Count Christopher, who accepted homage in all directions in the name of Christian II. In this extremity the bishops were forced to give way, and Christian III. was chosen as king. Soon after the fortune of war turned; the forces of Lübeck were defeated both on land and on sea, and within a short time Christian III. was master of all Denmark in 1536. Norway, too, which had supported the party of Christian II., was compelled to submit, and remained

united to Denmark from that time till 1814. In this war the burgesses and the peasantry suffered a defeat from which the latter especially took long to recover. It ended Lübeck's rôle as the chief power in the north; and another result of it was that the Reformation won the day in Denmark and Norway. At a meeting of the Rigsraad, or parliament, to which representatives of the nobles, the burgesses, and the peasantry were summoned, the Catholic Church was abolished in 1536, Lutheranism and the Protestant form of Church government were introduced, the king was made supreme head of the Church,



KING CHRISTIAN II. A PRISONER IN THE CASTLE OF KOLLUNDBORG

Christian II., the last Union king, was a gifted and enlightened ruler, and showed much solicitude for the townsfolk and the peasantry. Hating the nobles and the higher clergy, he was in constant conflict with them, and at last they renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to the king's uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. In 1531, Christian attempted to recover his throne, but was unsuccessful, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg in 1551.

From the painting by Carl Bloch

and the possessions of the bishops and monasteries were confiscated, thus enormously increasing the crown revenues. The position of the Church and the clergy thus underwent a complete change. The bishops lost their seats in the Rigsraad, and, as a consequence, their political influence, besides being deprived of their estates. The episcopal office, having lost many of its previous attractions, was no longer an object of desire to the nobility, and came to be filled by men of lower birth. The bishops were chosen by the priests, and the priests by their parishioners, though some livings remained in the gift of the crown or of the nobles, to whom the churches belonged. The nobles, like

handed down by means of oral tradition, and a vigorous popular poetry grew up; but it, too, lived only orally among the common people. There was, in fact, no national literature until the foundations for one had been laid during the Reformation period.

The father of Danish literature was Christian Pedersen, who raised his mother tongue to the level of a literary language by his translation of the Bible and other works. He died in 1554. The literature of this period is, in the main, of a religious character; the poems are hymns, for the most part translated from German or Latin originals. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which Christian III. had inherited from



THE CASTLE OF KRONBERG AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1659

Built between 1574 and 1585 by the Danish King Frederic II., the castle of Kronberg in Seeland was besieged in 1658 by the Swedes under Karl Gustav Wrangel, and conquered after an attack lasting for two weeks. The above illustration shows the castle with its fortifications, after its restoration, in 1659, by the Swede, Erich Dahlberg.

the king, though to a less degree, profited by the confiscation of the monastic estates. They now strove to consolidate their scattered possessions, and, their importance as a military class having ended with the introduction of the new methods of warfare, settled on their estates as landed proprietors. Many of them entered the service of the state, and some engaged, not without success, in the pursuit of science.

In Denmark, as elsewhere, the Reformation supplied the first impulse to the rapid growth of a vernacular literature. Except during the reigns of the Waldemars, there had been but little literary activity throughout the Middle Ages, and the majority of the works produced were written in Latin. Old legends and poems, it is true, were

his father, he shared with his brothers, one of whom, Adolphus, was the founder of the Gottorp line of dukes, who later endeavoured to make themselves independent sovereigns, and frequently allied themselves to that end with Denmark's enemies, more especially with Sweden. Frederic I. and Christian III. had peaceful relations with the Swedes; but after the latter's death, in 1559, disputes soon arose, and resulted in the Scandinavian Seven Years War (1563-1570). Christian's son, Frederic II., wished to renew the Union of Kalmar, and had, moreover, come into conflict with the Swedish king, Eric XIV., over the Baltic provinces; for the Order of the Sword was in process of dissolution—a fact of which Sweden, Russia, Poland,



DENMARK'S HEROIC KING, CHRISTIAN IV., FIGHTING AGAINST THE SWEDES ON HIS SHIP, "THE TRINITY"

Against the Swedish attacks upon Denmark, the Danish King Christian IV. fought with wonderful courage, and though sixty-seven years of age at the time when the incident pictured above took place, he was ceaseless in his efforts against the foe. On July 1st, 1644, Christian with thirty ships was opposed by the Swedish fleet consisting of forty-six vessels. In the course of the fight the king, already wounded, was struck by flying splinters, losing his right eye and several teeth. He fell unconscious to the deck of his ship, "The Trinity," and the crew, thinking him to be dead, uttered lamentable cries, but the brave old king, with the blood flowing from his wounds, suddenly raised himself and cried: "No! God has still spared me life and strength to fight for my country, while each of you does his duty." Then, with bandaged head, he resumed the fight till the enemy retired at nightfall.

From the painting by W. Marstrand

and Denmark wished to avail themselves in order to seize the possessions of the order for themselves. But Frederic failed to achieve his purpose, and at the Peace of Stettin had to be content with a money indemnity. This war, carried on with great inhumanity by both sides, had, however, a lasting and unfortunate result; it

Denmark Respected by all Europe

aroused once more among the Scandinavian peoples a mutual hatred that was constantly kept alive by new feuds.

After the war Frederic gave up his schemes of conquest and devoted himself to works of peace. In these he was successful, and during the later years of his reign Denmark enjoyed the respect of all Europe. The fortress of Kronberg was built during the years 1574 to 1585, to command the entrance to the Sound, and the Danish king was looked on as the ruler of the northern seas. But Denmark was not able to maintain this supremacy for long, since even under Frederic's son, Christian IV. (1588-1648), it began to decline.

Christian had the advantage of a careful education, and was especially well versed in mathematics and technical sciences; he was, moreover, intelligent and an untiring worker, taking a personal interest in affairs of all kinds, and incessantly striving to promote the weal and increase the power of his two kingdoms. He improved the administration of justice, assisted the schools, kept the fleet in a thoroughly effective condition, raised, in addition, a standing army, and in various ways fostered commerce and shipping, manufacture and mining. He founded towns in both Denmark and Norway, and improved Copenhagen by the erection of a number of public buildings in the style of the Dutch renaissance. He built factories, founded trade societies, acquired colonies, patronised voyages of discovery, and interested himself in Norway to a greater extent than any other sovereign of the Oldenburg line. Thus

An Era of National Prosperity

the first half of his reign was a time of prosperity for both Denmark and Norway.

But Christian IV. endeavoured also to increase his own and Denmark's power by interfering in the politics of Central Europe, and in this domain he was unsuccessful. He was not himself a brilliant statesman, nor was he surrounded by capable advisers. Moreover, Denmark lacked the necessary strength to play a leading part, with the

result that the wars in which he became involved, with the exception of the first, ended in disaster, in spite of his personal bravery and courage. At his death he left his kingdoms reduced in extent and devastated.

Christian's first struggle was with Sweden in 1611. Like his father, he intended to unite the three kingdoms, but though he did, indeed, succeed in occupying some portions of Sweden, he was unable to carry out his plans, and was forced to give back his conquests in return for a money indemnity in 1613. Then followed several years of peace, but in the meanwhile the Thirty Years War had broken out in Germany. When it spread to North Germany the North German Protestants sought Christian's help, and he was elected chief of the circle of Lower Saxony. He had been waiting for an opportunity to make his influence felt in Germany and took the field in 1625; but being completely defeated by Tilly at Lutter, near the Barenberg, on August 27th, 1626, he was forced to withdraw into Denmark. The imperial troops followed in pursuit and overran the peninsula of Jütland, which

The Swedes as Defenders of Protestantism

they laid waste without mercy, but were prevented by the Danish fleet from gaining a footing on the islands. Disappointed in his expectations of help from England and the Netherlands, Christian decided to make peace with the invaders, the more readily as the emperor, being anxious to keep him from an alliance with Sweden, offered favourable terms. The conquered provinces were restored to him at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629; but he was forced to promise that he would not further interfere.

When, later on, the Swedes gained their brilliant successes as defenders of German Protestantism, Christian was roused by jealousy to hamper them by every means in his power. The Swedish government determined to retaliate by attacking Denmark, and in 1643 one Swedish army entered Holstein, though war had not been declared, while another invaded Scania. At the same time the Netherlands, exasperated by the raising of the tolls levied in the Sound and by Christian's claim to supremacy in the North Atlantic, despatched a fleet to the help of the Swedes. Christian's courage and resolution did, indeed, save Denmark from complete humiliation, but

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES: DENMARK AND NORWAY

at the Peace of Brömsebro on August 23rd, 1645, he had to surrender Halland, Oesel, Gothland, Herjedalen, and Jemtland to Sweden. In addition tolls were no longer to be levied on Swedish vessels passing through the Sound, and the toll to be paid by Dutch vessels was reduced—a serious loss of revenue. Three years later, on February 28th, 1648, Christian died. His want of success was no doubt chiefly due to himself; but much of the blame must be laid upon the nobles. Their selfish conduct embittered the other classes of the population and was destined before long to bring about their fall. During the later years of Christian IV.'s reign his sons-in-law, especially the Lord High Steward, Korsitz Ulfeldt, exercised the greatest influence on the government.

On the death of the good king he aimed at securing the chief power for himself and the Rigsgaad, and Christian's son, Frederic III. (1648-1670), was compelled, before being elected, to accept conditions which deprived him of all power. He was determined, however, to break the bonds that held him, and, first of all, to rid himself of Ulfeldt. By his arrogant behaviour the latter had aroused the enmity of the nobles; complaints were brought against him, and inquiries into his administration were instituted.

Deeply offended, he did not await the result, but left Denmark in 1651 and betook himself first to Holland and then to Sweden, whose government he attempted to incite against Denmark. In this he was not successful; but he had not long to wait for a rupture between the two states, and with it his opportunity to revenge himself on his country and Frederic.

Denmark's Challenge to Sweden Charles X. Gustavus of Sweden was at this time campaigning in Poland, where his position was critical. Frederic thought that he could take advantage of these circumstances to regain the lost provinces, and was foolish enough to fling down the gauntlet to Sweden. On receiving the declaration of war Charles immediately left Poland, in the summer of 1657, hastened

by forced marches to Denmark, and occupied, almost unopposed, the whole peninsula, where he was joined by his father-in-law, the Duke of Gottorp. Then followed a severe winter. The Great and Little Belts froze, and in February, 1658, he was able to march across the ice with his troops into Zealand. No provision had been made for the defence of the island, and the Swedes advanced on Copenhagen. Frederic had thus no alternative but to sue for peace, which was concluded at Roskilde on March 8th, 1658. Denmark lost all her possessions east of the Sound—Scania, Halland, Blekinge—as well as the island of Bornholm. Norway had to give up Trondhjems Len district and Bohuslen, and the Duke of Gottorp was released from vassalage to the Danish crown.

The Lost Possessions of Denmark Before long Charles regretted that he had not acquired the whole of Denmark. He soon found a pretext for renewing the war, and again advanced on Copenhagen in the summer of the same year. But meanwhile the citizens had made use of the time to place the capital in a state of defence. Encouraged by the example of the king and the queen, the high-spirited Sophia Amalia of Brunswick, they defended themselves heroically against the Swedish attacks. After an ineffectual attempt to storm the city



QUEEN SOPHIA AMALIA. She was the queen of King Frederic, who reigned from 1648 till 1670, and set a splendid example during the Swedish attacks, encouraging the people to a successful defence.

Charles was obliged to raise the siege in 1659. He was also unfortunate in other directions; the people of Trondhjem and Bornholm drove out the Swedes, while they were expelled from Jütland by an army sent to the help of the Danes by Poland and Brandenburg. Charles proposed to recompense himself for his losses by the conquest of Norway, but died suddenly on February 23rd, 1660.

Peace was then concluded at Copenhagen on May 27th through the good offices of England and Holland, Trondhjems Len and Bornholm being restored to Denmark. In all other essential respects the terms of the Peace of Roskilde were retained, the two maritime powers being unwilling that both sides of the Sound should be in the possession of one and the same state.



THE SWEDISH KING GUSTAVUS ERIKSSON REBUKING HIS PEOPLE FOR THEIR DRUNKENNESS

Gustavus Eriksson, the deliverer of the Swedes, was crowned king in 1523, and immediately began to elevate his country. Displeased at the intemperate habits of the people, he made a bold stand for better living the above picture illustrating an incident in this crusade, when the king with his sword burst a barrel of liquor and allowed its contents to be destroyed.

From the painting by Geskel Saloman

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XX

SWEDEN UNDER THE VASAS THE GREAT REIGN OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

IN Sweden, the Stockholm massacre of 1520 had produced a result precisely the opposite to that at which King Christian II. had aimed, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar—the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna—revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out and the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king, on June 6th, 1523. In this way Sweden was freed from Danish domination.

From without there was no immediate cause for fear, a fact which emphasises the painful contrast afforded by the internal condition of the country. Continuous warfare and strife had put an end to order and undermined all respect for the laws, so that every man did as he pleased. The administration was in confusion, the Church in a state of decay, and the country impoverished;

**Sweden
in a State
of Decay**

commerce and manufactures languished. Since the demesnes of the crown had been given away as fiefs, there was hardly any revenue, and at the same time the crown was heavily in debt to the Hanseatic towns, to which it accordingly was obliged to grant important commercial privileges. Strength and ability were necessary to restore the country to its former position.

Gustavus' first and most important task was the adjustment of finance. In order to increase both the public revenue and his own power he attached himself to the Lutheran Reformation; the new doctrine was introduced at two successive Reichstags at Westeras, in 1527 and 1544. The king was made supreme head of the Church, and had the disposal of the confiscated revenues of the bishops, the churches, and the monasteries. The bishops were compelled to deliver up their castles to him, and were excluded from the Council of State; the clergy were no longer equal in rank to the nobility, but were

placed on a level with the burghers and peasants. Gustavus was enabled by the large funds which were at his disposal through the confiscation of Church lands to maintain a standing army and to build a strong fleet with which the Swedes were

**The Swedes
Masters of
the Baltic**

able not only to defend their coasts, but also to become masters of the Baltic. The king worked indefatigably for the welfare of the lower classes, so that old branches of industry were revived. In this, as in everything else, the king took the lead, and thus set the people a good example. He busied himself with agriculture, mining and commerce, and in order to promote industrial pursuits, invited mechanics and artisans of other nationalities into the country. The first thing necessary for the furtherance of trade was the overthrow of the power of Lübeck. The commercial privileges of this city had been greatly restricted by the "War of the Counts," in which Gustavus allied himself with the party of Christian III.

The Swedes began to transact business with other countries, including England, France, Spain, and the trade with Lübeck gradually ceased. Thus, on every side Sweden was regaining her former prosperity. Although Gustavus often acted with severity and arbitrariness, and the people were burdened with heavy taxes, his work was still appreciated. In the imperial diet of 1544 it was decided by the Estates that the crown should descend to his male heirs according to the law of primogeniture, while the younger sons should receive appanages. Gus-

**Erik XIV.
Succeeds
Gustavus**

tavus was very cautious in his foreign policy; he took little part in the complications in which Central Europe was then involved, and his constant aim was to preserve peace in the north. This cautious policy was not followed by his son Erik XIV., who succeeded him in 1560; he wished to make conquests.

When the Order of the Knights of the Sword was abolished, Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark contended for the land of the order—Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. In consequence of this there was war for almost a hundred years; by this war Sweden gained the supremacy of the Baltic provinces with the exception of

**The King
Deposed by
his Brothers**

Courland. War broke out in the year 1561, when Reval, together with the knights of North Esthonia submitted to King Erik; Swedish troops took possession of the castle of Reval, and the Poles, who wished to strengthen their power in the Baltic provinces, attempted in vain to drive out the Swedes. At the same time war broke out with Denmark. This war lasted from 1563 to 1570, and is called "The Northern Seven Years War."

While this war was raging Erik was deposed by his brothers John and Charles, who both hated and feared him, and John III. ascended the throne (1568-1592). John, who was weak and irresolute, but at the same time violent and despotic, married the Catholic princess Katharina Jagellon of Poland. By her influence he became favourably disposed to Catholicism. He completed a new liturgy, "The Red Book," in 1576, in which several Catholic ecclesiastical rites and a portion of the Latin Mass were introduced. In 1578 he seriously considered the question of embracing the Roman Catholic religion.

However, as his wife died in 1583, and he could not agree with the Curia about the church service, his zeal for Catholicism abated, although during his lifetime he adhered to his liturgy. His son Sigismund, who was educated as a Catholic, became king of Poland in 1587 as Sigismund III., and he was in Poland when his father died in 1592. During his absence the country was governed by his father's brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland, and the royal council. Charles was a zealous Protestant, and had opposed the introduction of the liturgy into his duchy. An assembly of the Estates was summoned to

**Sigismund
Breaks
His Oath**

Upsala, where the Protestant confession of faith was adopted and the liturgy abolished in 1593. At the end of this year Sigismund came to Stockholm. Before being crowned he was compelled to confirm the decree of Upsala with an oath, on February 19th, 1594, which, however, he did not keep. He appointed Catholic priests and officials,

and then returned to Poland. The people refused to obey those who had been set in authority by Sigismund, and elected Duke Charles as vice-regent in 1595.

Sigismund landed with a Polish army in Sweden, and several councillors and other nobles attached themselves to him; he was, however, defeated by Charles at Stangebro, September 25th, and left the country, which he was destined never to see again. The National Assembly pronounced his deposition, in 1599, and appointed Charles as ruling hereditary prince. Some years later Charles was made king, and the right of succession was agreed to.

Charles IX. (1604-1611) took strong measures against Sigismund's friends, many of whom were beheaded and still more outlawed. Through this severity, however, he secured peace in the kingdom, and was thus enabled to devote himself to the improvement of the state of the nation, which had been becoming worse and worse under the bad government of his brothers and his nephew. Charles followed in the footsteps of his father. His brothers had

**Charles
"the Peasants'
King"**

shown marked favour to the nobles; Erik had laid the foundation of a superior nobility by creating the titles of count and baron, while John had presented the counts and barons with large, heritable fiefs, and had favoured the rest of the nobles by granting them various privileges. Charles, on the contrary, was not so favourably disposed to the nobility, but relied more on the lower classes. On this account he was nicknamed "the peasants' king" by the nobles.

The Estates were summoned for the first time by Engelbrekt Engelbretsson, and obtained greater influence in the administration, which was better regulated than previously, while the power of the council decreased. Reforms were instituted in the law-courts and in the army, finance was regulated, education was improved, and the University of Upsala, which had been founded by Sten Sture the Elder, and which, up till then, had dragged on a miserable existence, was restored. Trade revived and new towns, among them Gödeborg, were founded. During the whole of his reign Charles was at war with his neighbours. The dethronement of Sigismund occasioned war with Poland in 1600, which was carried

SWEDEN UNDER THE VASAS

on with varying fortune in Esthonia and Livonia. At the same time Charles was implicated in the civil war in Russia in 1609 with tolerable success. Finally, war broke out also with Denmark in 1611—the Kalmar war. Charles died on November 9th.

Gustavus II. Adolphus (1611-1632), who was born on December 19th, 1594, was richly endowed both bodily and mentally. He was by nature noble and upright, and possessed the power of self-control and of leading others; he had a keen intellect, and could express himself briefly and

greatest sovereigns of Europe. He exercised clemency towards his father's enemies—by this, and by the favour which he showed to the nobles, he won their respect. He was also honoured by the rest of the people. Although he was restricted in the exercise of his power by the council and the Estates, his wishes were unanimously followed. Perfect harmony existed between king and people, and it was this harmony in the nation which enabled Gustavus to accomplish his great undertakings. Still, he would hardly have been able to achieve so much if he had not been



THE KINGS OF SWEDEN FROM THE YEAR 1523 TILL 1660

forcibly both in speech and writing. He had received a thorough education in ancient and modern languages, in history, military science, and in all knightly accomplishments. At an early age his father confided state affairs to him. Whenever Charles could not complete an undertaking and had to rest satisfied with the preparations, he was accustomed to say: "Ille faciet" (He will do it). Gustavus did not disappoint his father's confidence, but became equally great as a man, a statesman, and a general. The Swedes are fully justified in ranking him among the

surrounded by distinguished men whose merit he thoroughly appreciated. Chief among these was his chancellor and friend, the prudent, clever, and loyal Axel Oxenstierna, who helped him in all his enterprises with faithful and unwearied zeal. Next to him should be mentioned Gustavus' teacher, John Skytte, his brother-in-law, the Count Palatine John Casimir, the generals Jacob de la Gardie, Gustavus Horn, Wrangel, Banér, Torstenson, and many others. Gustavus had inherited three wars—namely, those with Poland, Russia, and

Denmark. As early as January 28th, 1613, he put an end to the war with Denmark. Peace was also soon concluded with Russia on March 9th, 1617. Sweden retained East Carelia, with Kexholm, and Ingermanland, and thus secured a safe boundary against Russia, which was cut off from the Baltic. Thus the only country

Beginning of the Thirty Years War

with which he was still unreconciled was Poland. Since King Sigismund would not listen to overtures of peace, the war was continued till 1626, and the Swedes showed their superiority over the Poles by conquering Riga and Livonia and establishing themselves in West Prussia.

In the meantime the Thirty Years War had broken out. Gustavus, who had entered into friendly relations with England, Holland, and the Protestant states of Germany, conceived the plan of uniting all the Protestant powers of Europe in a great alliance against the emperor and Spain, as a means of protecting the oppressed German Protestants. He was forestalled by Christian IV., who placed himself at the head of the Protestant party and declared war against the emperor and the League. Christian's enterprises, however, were not favoured by fortune.

Gustavus, who recognised the danger which threatened not only Protestants but also Sweden if the emperor acquired the supremacy on the Baltic, offered his alliance to the Danish king, and declared that he was prepared to advance from Poland into Germany. The emperor, however, who wished to prevent such an alliance at all costs, promised favourable conditions to Denmark, and persuaded Christian to conclude peace in 1629. Gustavus then decided to declare war against the emperor, although he was entirely dependent on his own resources. It was first of all necessary to make terms with Poland. By the mediation of Richelieu a truce for six years was arranged on

Sweden's Peace with Poland

September 26th, 1629, by which Sweden retained Livonia, together with Riga and several Prussian towns. When his preparations were completed he bade a touching farewell to the Estates, to whose care he commended his daughter and heiress, as if he felt a foreboding of his death. He took ship in June, 1630, for Pomerania, where he published a manifesto in justification of his proceedings and invited the co-operation of the North German

princes. He was, however, received with suspicion by them, and was compelled to force his way through the country, and therefore arrived too late to save Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly. in May, 1631. A few months later he gained a victory over Tilly at Breitenfeld, by which the cause of the Reformation was saved and Sweden became one of the great powers of Europe. After this battle Gustavus marched towards the Rhineland, where he allowed his army to rest for a few weeks.

In the spring of 1632 he pressed forward to Bavaria and marched to the Lech, behind which Tilly had taken up a strong position. Gustavus forced a crossing, Tilly was mortally wounded, and the Swedish king entered Munich as a conqueror. In the meantime the emperor had appointed Wallenstein his commander-in-chief. Wallenstein collected a large army in a short space of time, and pitched his camp not far from Nuremberg, where Gustavus had taken up his position. Gustavus, who wished to free the country from the burden of war, attempted in vain to force a battle; equally fruitless were his

Catholic Joy at the Death of Gustavus

attempts to take Wallenstein's camp by storm. At last hunger and sickness compelled both generals to break up their camps. Wallenstein went to Saxony; Gustavus, who had first advanced towards Bavaria, altered his plan and proceeded northwards by forced marches. The two armies met at Lützen on November 16th, 1632. The Swedes were victorious, but their king fell in the battle. The death of Gustavus threw the whole of Protestant Germany into deep mourning. The Emperor Ferdinand II., however, ordered a Te Deum to be sung, since with Gustavus' death the greatest danger for the Catholics had disappeared.

Since the accession of Gustavus, Sweden had enjoyed hardly a single year of peace, and the king himself had spent most of his time on the battlefield. He still found time, however, to continue his father's work in improving the internal condition of his country. He showed himself just as capable in this as on the battlefield, and neglected nothing which affected either the state or the people. The powers and the privileges of the National Assembly and of the council were more definitely determined, and the National Assembly, which had hitherto possessed no settled constitution, was regulated so that in



TRAITOR BISHOPS: THE IGNOMINIOUS ENTRY OF PETER SUNNANVADER AND MASTER KNUD INTO STOCKHOLM IN 1526

These two Swedish bishops, unsuccessful in their rebellion against Gustavus I., sought refuge at Trondheim. There they were betrayed to the king's servants, who, dressing them in rags and putting a crown of straw on Sunnadvader's head and a mitre of birch-bark on Knud's, mounted them on straggling horses and brought them to Stockholm in a Show-tide procession amid jeers and insults. At the market-place the unhappy bishops were compelled to drink the executioner's health and were then put to death on the wheel.

From the painting by C. G. Holquist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

future each of the four Estates of the realm should transact its own affairs. The most important class was the nobility, which also received a fixed constitution. The army, with which Gustavus, the creator of the new science of warfare, had occupied himself so

The Swedish Soldiers the Best in Europe

much, was brought into such a state of proficiency that for a long time the Swedes enjoyed the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe.

Gustavus busied himself also with the intellectual development and material welfare of his people. Schools were reformed and the University of Upsala was richly endowed. Commerce and industry were promoted, mining was improved and extended, joint-stock companies were formed, and merchants and labourers were attracted from Germany and Holland.

The reign of Gustavus, however, was not entirely free from trouble, occasioned by the predominance of the nobles and the steadily increasing burden of taxation. Gustavus had always shown a marked partiality for the nobility. It is true he demanded a great deal from them, but at the same time he gave them many privileges. The highest offices in the state were reserved for nobles; they alone enjoyed patronage and exemption from tolls and customs. This favouritism shown to the nobles was disadvantageous to the other classes, particularly to the peasants, who groaned under an oppressive conscription and the many new taxes which the war had made necessary.

Gustavus bequeathed the crown to his daughter Christina (1632—1654), but as she was only six years old, a regency was appointed, at the head of which stood Axel Oxenstierna. Oxenstierna continued the work of Gustavus with vigour and sagacity, and completed the organisation of the government which had been begun by Charles IX. and Gustavus. The council, as the central point of the administration, was settled permanently at Stockholm. Executive functions were divided between five ministerial committees, over which presided the five highest officers of the empire—Chancellor, "Drost" (High Steward), Treasurer, "Marsk" (Marshal),

and Admiral. The country was divided up into districts, Län, as at present, at the head of which were the "landshöfdingar"; the frontier provinces were ruled by governors-general and Stockholm by a lord-lieutenant. Every branch of industry was flourishing. Means of communication were improved and a postal service was introduced. Imports and exports increased considerably.

In order to extend facilities for international commerce the North American colony of "New Sweden"—the present state of Delaware—was founded on Delaware Bay, which was lost to the Dutch as early as 1655. The government was confronted by great difficulties on account of the scarcity of money. The public revenue was insufficient to cover the expenses, and in order to procure



QUEEN CHRISTINA

A daughter of Gustavus Adolphus II., she ruled Sweden, at first under a regency, from 1632 until 1654, when she abdicated and went to Rome, where she died in 1689.

money various expedients, not always of a fortunate kind, were adopted; crown demesnes and crown dues were sold to the nobility, or subsidies were taken from foreign powers. A large sum of money became necessary when the regency decided on continuing the German war. An alliance was made with the Protestants in the south-west of Germany. The capable generals who had been trained by Gustavus Adolphus were able to uphold the reputation of the Swedish army. It is true they suffered a heavy defeat at Nördlingen on September 6th, 1634, and

were deserted by their German allies, who concluded a separate peace with the emperor. From the critical situation in which they now found themselves they were rescued by the French, who offered their valuable assistance to the Swedes.

The Swedes now won several victories over the imperial troops, and carried on at the same time a successful war against

The Great War at an End Christian IV. of Denmark, who attempted to prevent them from advancing further into

Germany, but was obliged by the Peace of Brömsebro in 1645 to cede Oesel, Gotland, Halland, and the Norwegian provinces of Herjedalen and Jemtland. The war was finally concluded by the Peace of Westphalia, under the terms of which Sweden retained the whole



THE BATTLE OF NORDLINGEN IN 1634, IN WHICH THE SWEDES WERE DEFEATED

of Nearer Pomerania, with the island of Rügen, part of Further Pomerania, Wismar, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, as temporal duchies under the suzerainty of the empire, and received a large sum of money.

Sweden had risen to the rank of a great power and had acquired considerable possessions on the Baltic. Her army had gained the reputation of being invincible; the dauntlessness and courage of the people were strengthened. At the same time, however, their morals and habits were becoming corrupt, inasmuch as peaceful occupations were despised and luxury and extravagance were increasing. The power and wealth of the upper nobility had become so great that the nobles became despotic and treated the

people with arrogance and superciliousness.

During the war Christina had assumed personal control of the government in 1644. She possessed rare talents, was vivacious and witty, and her attainments, especially in history and in ancient and modern languages, were of a striking order. She had been trained in politics by Oxenstierna. She was a generous patron of literature and art; savants of other nationalities, such as Hugo Grotius and René Descartes, were always welcome at her court. On the other hand, she was capricious, vain, and fond of pleasure. She was extravagant in her use of public money, and bestowed landed property, patents of nobility, and other favours with a lavish hand on men who were not worthy of such honour. The lower classes, who were groaning under



WRANGEL SURPRISED WHILE HUNTING: AN INCIDENT IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
When General Lennart Torstenson relinquished his place at the head of the Swedish army, the command was given to the brave Karl Wrangel, who, in 1646, joined forces with the French General Turenne. Both armies then occupied Bavaria. While out hunting one day, as shown in the above picture, the Swedish general was surprised by Bavarian troops.

heavy taxation, complained in vain ; they demanded the restitution of part of the crown lands in order to restrict the threatening power of the nobility. Extravagance increased rather than diminished ; dissatisfaction spread, and a revolution was actually feared. Christina, who in the meantime had grown tired of governing, decided on June 16th, 1654, to resign the crown in favour of a distant relative, Charles Gustavus. She left her country, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and went to live at Rome ; here she died in 1689.

Charles X. Gustavus, the son of the Count Palatine John Casimir and of Katharine, a half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was educated in Sweden, and was in language, ideas, and manners a Swede ; he had a keen intellect and a powerful will, and was quick in decision and in action. In addition he possessed that higher education and culture which result from study and travel. He was specially distinguished as a general, for he had studied military tactics under Torstenson and had fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War. When he ascended the throne in 1654 he found the country in a most unsettled and deplorable condition. The finances were in confusion owing to Christina's extravagance, and the resources of the people had been drained by taxation. In order to increase the revenue, the Riksdag, or National Assembly, decided to confiscate the crown lands which had been given away by Christina, and in fact almost three thousand estates were seized.

These measures were, however, shortly discontinued, as the attention of the king was directed to foreign politics. His relations with Poland and Denmark were not of the most friendly kind. Since John II. Casimir of Poland, the son of Sigismund, refused to acknowledge Charles

Gustavus as king of Sweden, the latter decided to declare war. He attacked Poland from Pomerania, conquered Warsaw and Cracow, received the homage of the Polish nobles, and compelled the Great Elector of Brandenburg to place the duchy of Prussia under the feudal supremacy of Sweden and to promise to furnish auxiliary troops. The idea of Charles was to divide Poland, to retain the coast provinces for himself, and thus to make the Baltic a

Swedish lake. His great success had, however, raised up for him many enemies ; Holland and Austria were inciting Denmark and Russia to war. The Poles rebelled ; their king returned from exile, and although Charles Gustavus obtained a brilliant victory at Warsaw on July 28th-30th, 1656, he found himself in a critical position, and in order to ensure the fidelity of Brandenburg was obliged, on November 25th, at Labian, to acknowledge the independence of Prussia.

At the same time a commercial treaty was concluded with Holland. Then Denmark declared war against him, and the Austrians advanced into Poland. Upon this Charles Gustavus relinquished Poland, proceeded by forced marches through North Germany, and within a short time conquered the peninsula of Jutland. At the beginning of 1658 he crossed over the ice of the Belts to Zealand and compelled the king, Frederic III., by the Peace of Roskilde, to cede the Scanian provinces, together with the island of Bornholm, and from Norway Trondhjems Len and Bohuslen. This makes the

zenith of Sweden's international power. At that time she had control over almost the whole coast line of the Baltic.

But Charles Gustavus was not satisfied ; he wished to destroy Denmark's independence. He therefore violated the peace, and in 1658 landed again in Zealand ; but this time he did not meet with the same success. Copenhagen withstood his attacks, and was succoured by the Dutch, who, since they did not approve of his plans, had attached themselves to his other enemies, among whom was Brandenburg. An army of Brandenburgers, Poles, and Austrians under the Great Elector drove the Swedes out of Jutland ; the inhabitants of the provinces which had been ceded rose in revolt.

After an unsuccessful attack on Copenhagen, Charles Gustavus abandoned the siege of the capital in 1659, and returned to Sweden. He still hoped for assistance from England, but the English, in alliance with France and Holland, remained faithful to the Peace of Roskilde. Charles, however, intended to carry on the war, and aimed at the conquest of Norway. He accordingly marched with his army into Southern Norway, but died suddenly at Göteborg on February 23rd, 1660.

HANS SCHJÖTH

WESTERN EUROPE
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
REVOLUTION



THE
REFORMATION
AND AFTER
XXI

THE FOUNDING OF PRUSSIA

FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

AFTER the flaccid constitution of the Holy Roman Empire had destroyed all prospect of a great German state, the principalities inevitably became the centres of political development, for the reform of the empire, though constantly demanded and several times attempted, had been proved impossible owing to internal causes. Upon the course of that development depended the political fate of the German nation; and it could take a favourable turn only upon the condition that a body politic should arise in Germany comprising a considerable portion of the nation and capable of rousing the forces slumbering within them to independent energy. The idea of a vigorous living confederacy was in direct opposition to the dynastic interests, which were supported in many ways by religious differences, and coincided with the separatist tendencies of the population. A voluntary renunciation of individual rights in favour of the central power was not to be expected of the several states, whose existence was even yet extremely doubtful and insecure.

Austria's Need of German Aid

To bring about a concentration of the national strength a great German power was needed capable of brushing away the influences which worked in opposition to every movement towards unity.

The interests of the House of Austria did not coincide with those of the German nation, and its possessions lay for the most part beyond the boundaries of the German nationality. Austria desired the imperial crown as a means of increasing her own dignity, and was obliged to rely upon German troops to secure her territories and to enable her to take advantage of such opportunities as came in her way. She had neither inclination nor capacity to found a German state.

The rise of a German great power was, however, not one of the pressing problems of the seventeenth century; that from one of those imperial provinces which were struggling for a share in the privilege

of the electorate a state should arise which should one day vie with the great monarchies of the world was an idea which had never yet presented itself to the imagination of the boldest of political speculators. Yet in the course of that century the foundation of this state had been completed, though the contemporary world was very far from appreciating the truth. From the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia to the outbreak of the French Revolution, Europe had seen no event of greater importance than the growth of that Prussian monarchy which was called to take over the inheritance of the German monarchy when it had been freed from the burden of international family interests, and was destined to apply its youthful strength to the task of restoring German influence to its high place in the councils of European states and peoples.

The foundation of this Prussian monarchy is the work of Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg (1640-1688), who entered upon the government of the marches upon the Elbe, Havel, and Spree at a time when the economic value and the political importance of the whole territory had sunk to a lower depth than it had reached even upon its acquisition by the Zollerns. During the latter stages of the war the land had been cruelly devastated. Swedish and imperial governors had assumed the position of masters of the land, while the Elector George William had resided without the limits of the kingdom, in his duchy of Prussia, that he might be left free to pursue his own pleasure in his own way

Sweden's Hold on Pomerania

at Königsberg. Upon the death of the last Duke of Pomerania, George William had been called to succeed him by inheritance. He had thrown himself wholly into the emperor's arms in the hope of getting his rights, while Sweden had remained for a long period in possession

of Pomerania, and had laughed the claims of the House of Brandenburg to scorn. The Catholic count, John of Schwarzenberg, governed the electoral district, and the garrisons sent out by the emperor robbed the barns and stables of the inhabitants of such poor property as yet remained to them. Frederic William's

The Firm Hand of Frederic William

special talents had been highly developed by a stay of four years in Holland, and by intercourse with his relations of the House of Orange. He immediately perceived the dangers involved in a connection resting upon so inadequate a basis, and he attempted to take up a neutral position, which allowed him to fulfil the duties of a territorial prince without pledging himself to the fulfilment of earlier duties.

The very first steps of his varied career as a ruler show the clearness of his political insight and the strength of his will. The several orders of the duchy of Prussia, like all other feudal lords, found it expedient to limit the powers of their overlord as far as possible. They acted with the Polish malcontents, who wished for a republic with the intention of making the position of the Hohenzollern, who as Duke of Prussia was vassal of the King of Poland, one of entire dependency, and wholly powerless against themselves. Frederic William dealt vigorously with this confederation, which was united by a common spirit of hostility to orderly administration. In 1641 he held the enfeoffment in Warsaw, prescribing tolerably mild conditions, and met the nobility of his duchy in the character of a prince who was anxious for their welfare but was convinced of his own rights and determined to exercise them.

After the affairs of Prussia had been reduced to order and his position at home had been secured, he devoted himself to the care of the marches and to his possessions on the Rhine, which had come down to him from the Dukes of Juliers and

The Elector's Political Compacts

Cleves. The conclusion of an armistice with Sweden brought nearly all the Brandenburg towns and fortresses into his power. By a compact with the States of Holland he was enabled to make a temporary arrangement of the financial relations of the House of Brandenburg with them, a measure rendered necessary by the involved state of those finances. So badly had they been managed by his predecessors that the accumulations of

simple and compound interest upon a debt of 100,000 thalers incurred in 1614 had already led to the mortgage of all the Cleves district and to distraint upon the ducal chest.

At the peace negotiations in Osnabrück the ambassadors of Brandenburg laid claim to every right which could be deduced from the elector's privileged position. They offered a most vigorous opposition to the Swedes and the imperial party, who considered that the Swedish claims should be compensated with Pomerania. The young elector was a zealous adherent of the reformed faith, and he could not reconcile his conscience to becoming the cat's-paw of the Catholic princes, who, as their enemies said, did not consider themselves bound "to keep faith with a heretic."

Thus he could find no place in the Swedish, imperial, or French parties, and therefore turned for support to the States-General, where the House of Orange was still at the head of the government. European diplomats were long busied with the project of his marriage with Christina, the heiress to Sweden, but on December 7th, 1646, he married Louise Henrietta, the daughter of Prince Frederic Henry, and gained security for a part of Pomerania and for Juliers and Cleves.

After the death of the hereditary stadtholder on March 14th, 1647, and the rapidly following decease of his son William II. on November 6th, 1650, the government of Holland by the plutocracy began, and France then sought alliance with Brandenburg; but the elector declined any union with a foreign power, and worked zealously to bring about an understanding between the reformed states of the empire and to unite them into a "third" party. Of this policy a partisan was found in the patriotic Elector of Mainz, John Philip of Schönborn. The self-seeking attitude adopted by Saxony, which had so often hindered the solution of religious differences in Germany, proved an obstacle to this undertaking. By the terms of peace Sweden gained all Further Pomerania, including Stettin, and after weary negotiations a strip of coast line was cut off for her from Higher Pomerania, so that Kolberg was the only available harbour remaining to the Brandenburg territory. The compensation for Further Pomerania was the dioceses of Halberstadt, Minden,



FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

Known as the "Great Elector," Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, succeeded his father in 1640. He was a capable administrator, and introduced many reforms that contributed to the well-being of his people. By the Treaties of Wehlau, in 1657, and Oliva, in 1660, he secured the independence of Prussia from Poland, and though he cleared Western Pomerania of the Swedes he was compelled to reinstate them by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1679. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, over 20,000 Huguenots settled in Brandenburg.

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

and Kammin, and the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg upon the death of its administrator, Duke Augustus of Saxony, on June 4th, 1680. It became necessary to wage war with the Palatinate of Neuburg for the possession of Cleves in 1651. The several orders of that district desired to escape the electoral government, and threatened to become Dutch in preference to belonging to Brandenburg. They were deterred from open revolt only by the timely arrest of their spokesman, Herr Wylich of Winnenthal.

Between the Memel and the Rhine there was a number of splendid districts, destined to form the basis of the elector's political power. But there was no interdependence among them, and an entire lack of the sense of political unity. There was not even the personal dependence of the self-seeking nobility upon their feudal overlord. To the Prussians imperial affairs were a matter of indifference. They were anxious to obtain the freedom and the privileges of the Polish magnates.

The margraves demanded additional rights over their vassals and serfs in return for the smallest additional impost. In Cleves the people insisted upon the terms of their contract with the late ruling house, and looked upon the Brandenburger as a usurper, of whom they would gladly be rid at the earliest possible opportunity. Never for a moment was the thought entertained that the union of the Hohenzollern possessions under an energetic prince was an event of importance to any nation of evangelical faith.

Frederic William created the bureaucracy, which for a long period was the only visible sign of the political unity of his dominions. He brought into order the financial chaos then prevailing, relieved the demesnes of their oppressive burdens, and stopped the squandering of their produce, while facilitating the lease of them.

The Reforms of Frederic William

Wherever he could, he introduced monetary exchange in place of barter, and assured a revenue to himself with which he could free his household from the disgrace of debt and pay for some military force which might at any rate be able to repel a sudden attack on the part of one of his envious neighbours. The direction of the Brandenburg military powers was handed over to Count George Frederic of Waldeck, who was the elector's faithful

and sagacious adviser in all diplomatic controversies and also throughout the Augean task which was the necessary prelude to any internal reform. He was, perhaps, the first man in Germany who had any suspicion that the Hohenzollern kingdom was capable of becoming a great power in Germany and in Europe.

At an early period Sweden had obtained a position upon the North Sea and the Baltic. It was eminently fitted for the foundation of a dominant power which would entirely overshadow the efforts of the neighbouring Germans. Sweden possessed the duchies of Bremen and Verden at the mouth of the Weser, and the coasts of Pomerania and Rügen with their admirable harbours; and thus this maritime and commercial nation had found means and opportunity to monopolise the entire carrying trade of the Baltic Sea, and the commerce with England and Holland on the one hand and North Germany on the other. It is only from this point of view that the acquisitions of Sweden under the Peace of Westphalia can be considered as important gains and a veritable extension of power. However, the

Swedish nationality was not capable of carrying on trade or maritime pursuits upon any large scale; the Swedes are a peasant people, clinging closely to that soil which Nature has adorned and richly endowed, and desiring nothing more than to be left in possession of it in freedom and in moderate prosperity. There was no superfluity of national strength forcing them voluntarily or involuntarily to emigrate and throw out branches; nor is there now.

The long war had shaken the social system of Sweden to its very foundations; but social status remained unchanged. No attempts at industrial enterprise upon a large scale were evoked; there was no formation of trade guilds; the sole results were increased friction between great and small landowners, a deterioration of morality, and a decrease in the power of the crown. The nobility had enriched themselves in the course of the war, for those of them who commanded regiments and fortresses had found occasion to enter into business relations with friend and foe alike; they had also gained possession of many of the crown lands which were given to them instead of pay when they presented their endless accounts of arrears, in the composition of which the regimental

Sweden's Social System Shaken

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THE FOUNDING OF PRUSSIA

clerks and quartermasters of the seventeenth century were extraordinarily clever. The retired infantry and cavalry leaders and officials wasted their Pomeranian estates in riotous living, or squandered such treasure as they had brought home in extravagant feasts and drinking bouts with their friends, while they regarded with coarse scorn the piety and self-restraint which King Gustavus Adolphus had successfully maintained among his warriors.

All that Sweden had taken from Germany disappeared in gluttony and drunkenness. As regards the increase of prosperity and national wealth, it was of no service to the northern kingdom. The ability and the experience of Sweden's diplomatists, the bravery of her officers and admirable soldiers were unable to spur the nation to reach a higher state of economic development, or to suggest new objects for the efforts of far-sighted individuals. Queen Christina (1632-1654), who died in 1689, was totally unfitted to exercise a beneficent influence in this direction. Government, in her opinion, was a crushing burden, and practical views of life had no attraction for her. The generosity

of her caprices proved a serious detriment to the state exchequer, which was constantly in low water, and as constantly replenished by additional sacrifices of state property. This treatment of the state lands dealt a heavy blow to the freedom of the peasants, for they passed, with the lands which they had cultivated, into the possession of the noble families whose money had been poured into the royal exchequer.

The whole population of the country was thoroughly aroused. The small landed nobility, the free peasantry and the clergy made common cause against the great families and the bishops, who had got possession of all the lands and were forcing the serfs to till them for their benefit. A manifesto to the people of Central Sweden of the year 1649 complains that the queen's mildness was abused, and that the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus would soon have nothing but the title to the crown and the kingdom to call her own.

"The grants of land upon feudal tenure were often fraudulently obtained, the recipients being undeserving of any such reward; subordinate officials distributed such grants in return for pecuniary considerations, and in the exercise of their rights would rob the poor widow of her

calves and butter." In the Rigsdag of 1650 it was stated that the territories which the people had made the greatest sacrifices to acquire benefited a few individuals, and were of no advantage to the state; that, on the contrary, the crown and the kingdom had been weakened and diminished by these illegal grants.

The Queen's Weak Character The queen had every sympathy with the oppressed who had lost their rights; she recognised that the state was in its decline; but she was of too weak a character to make a stand against the nobles, whom she herself had permitted to grow too powerful. However, her resolution to abdicate and to hand over the kingdom to her cousin, Charles Gustavus of the Palatinate Zweibrücken, who had in vain solicited her hand in marriage, brought no decisive change in the circumstances of the country.

Charles Gustavus X. (1654-1660) was a capable soldier. He was well aware of the forces which were at work among the European powers, and he was prepared to devote his entire knowledge and power to the welfare of the state. But the qualities of which Sweden stood in need were exactly those which the king did not possess. She yearned for peace and healing statesmanship—not for conquests and glory. But Charles Gustavus thought he could restore the power of the crown by fresh acquisitions of power and wealth. He turned his attention to that portion of the Baltic coast which was under Polish rule, seeing that its highly developed commerce afforded an opportunity for the imposition of those "licences," or harbour duties and import customs, which had already proved so productive in Pomerania.

The warlike intentions of Charles Gustavus X. placed the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia in the position of politically holding the casting vote, and no one knew better than he how

Sweden's Relations with the Elector to turn that advantage to account. A campaign against Poland was a practical impossibility for Sweden, if her troops were to be continually outflanked and her lines of communication broken from the marches or from the principality. If she could not ensure the co-operation of the elector, she must at least ensure his neutrality, and for this she had to offer him certain advantages in return. On the other hand, it was to be expected that when

Poland found herself hard pressed, she would attempt to bring over her neighbour to her side, and offer political concessions by way of remuneration. Therefore, the characteristic course of policy was for Prussia to join Sweden at the outset of the struggle, to inspire her Polish overlord with the fear of her power, and then to

War Between Sweden and Poland

give him the opportunity of a reconciliation, in return for certain corresponding advantages. Frederic William now

had the opportunity of showing his appreciation of these circumstances, whether right or wrong. To a man of his clear insight into the state of affairs there could be no doubt as to the proper course to pursue; given his personality, and the result was a foregone conclusion.

There have been too many statesmen whose powers of reasoning failed before even the simplest of problems. Brandenburg-Prussia had also this further advantage, that she was not bound by alliance in any direction, and in particular that she was entirely independent of imperial policy. Had the fate of Prussia been in the hands of George William or of a Schwarzenburg, the war between Poland and Sweden would have caused only loss to the north of Germany, and certainly would not have brought liberation from a crushing and degrading subjection or aggrandisement to Brandenburg.

At the outset of the war between Sweden and Poland the elector's success was very unimportant, and hardly appreciable to contemporaries. In November, 1655, the Swedish troops occupied a large portion of the duchy of Prussia, meeting with little or no opposition from the elector. In the compact of Königsberg on January 17th, 1656, Charles Gustavus X. undertook to evacuate the duchy, which the Brandenburg now held as a fief from Sweden. Poland had surrendered her feudal territory and had consequently

Factors in the Struggle

given up her right to it; the victor seized the position of the conquered. However, the military position soon underwent a change. Charles Gustavus began to find that he could remain in the Polish lands which he had conquered only under very dangerous conditions. He was more than ever dependent upon the support of his new vassal, who was not bound to furnish more than 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to serve as auxiliary troops.

A compact was arranged at Marienburg on June 25th, wherein the objects desired by the two parties were more clearly and distinctly specified. The elector promised to help the king during this summer with the whole of his military power, in return for which the king promised him full sovereignty over the Palatinate, Posen, Kalisch, Sjeradz, and Lentshiza.

The Brandenburg forces had never yet been employed for any great undertaking, and their value was now to be proved. In the battle of Warsaw, which lasted for three days (July 28th-30th, 1656), 9,000 Brandenburg troops and 9,000 Swedes defeated 80,000 to 90,000 Poles, Lithuanians, and Tartars, drove them across the Vistula in terrible confusion, and became masters of the imperial capital. And Prussia rose on the ruins of Poland.

The battle of Warsaw had proved that the warlike prowess and the military leadership of Brandenburg were fully equal to those of Sweden. The two powers were of equal numerical strength, and had severally carried through a task of equal magnitude and difficulty; the advance of the Brandenburg infantry

The Great Battle of Warsaw

brigade under the brigadier Otto Christof of Sparr on the last day's fighting was so irresistible, the charge of the cavalry, led

by the elector in person, was so decisive, that Charles Gustavus stopped the pursuit out of Prussian astuteness, lest his allies should reap too rich a harvest of trophies. The compilers of the official Swedish reports have done their best to minimise Frederic William's services in gaining the victory, and the elector himself modestly refrained from proffering any correction of their misstatements, caring only for material gains. But, none the less, his allies could not shut their eyes to the facts, and the whole world was profoundly surprised to learn how quickly a German electorate of no previous reputation had acquired so admirable an army.

This army is indissolubly bound up with the foundation of the State of Prussia; being the special creation of its general, it has henceforward nothing in common with the composite forces of feudal and knightly times. On the contrary, it is a state army; not a militia, but none the less a national power, in which were fully displayed the admirable capabilities of the North German for warfare, when incorporated in well trained and disciplined troops.

THE FOUNDING OF PRUSSIA

Frederic William had shown what he could do when he put out his full strength, but he had no inclination to place that strength gratuitously at Sweden's disposal. He was obliged to retire to protect his duchy against a possible invasion by Russia, and to guard his own territory against the attack of a Lithuanian-Polish army.

In his absence the Swedes were defeated by the Poles, and on November 15th, 1656, King John Casimir marched into Dantzic with 12,000 men. The elector received proposals from both parties; he accepted that which promised him the freedom of Prussia from feudal subjection, a concession which brought with it no increase of territory, but was of importance for his position in the political world. In the convention of Labiau on November 20th, 1656, Charles Gustavus recognised his ally as sovereign Duke of Prussia, with the sole limitation that as such he was to keep no ships of war.

Shortly afterwards relations with Sweden were broken off, because Charles Gustavus X. was devoting his entire power to the war with Denmark and had temporarily given up his designs upon Poland;

Poland's Payment for Peace

a reconciliation with Poland was then brought about through the mediation of Holland. The price which Poland had to pay was the recognition of Prussian independence in the convention of Wehlau on September 29th, 1657, and the feudal relations which had subsisted between the countries since the unhappy day of Tannenberg were dissolved.

It now became necessary to break down the resistance of the Prussian orders and of the Königsberg patriciate, which exercised an almost unlimited domination over the town in the so-called "Kneiphof." The opposition, which had almost broken out into open revolt against the elector, lost power as soon as Frederic William arrived in person in the duchy in the autumn of 1662, with the object of restoring order. "The mildness and clemency which marked his arrival, as impressive as the appearance of his dragoons, calmed the heated spirits of the citizen heroes, who had been vainly expecting the invasion of Prussia by their Polish confederates." Poland had observed with great satisfaction the difficulties which the unruliness of the Prussians had placed in the way of the elector, had supported the Prussians in their attitude of hostility

to the electoral government, and had praised their fidelity to their old feudal lord. But neither the king nor the Reichstag had any thought of beginning war with Frederic William, who was more than their superior, even without the help of Sweden. In 1663 the dissolution of the Landtag was decided and the sovereignty of Prussia was recognised, the oath of allegiance being taken on October 18th, 1663; the Polish emissaries also took the oath, and contented themselves with the stipulation that the duchy should revert to the Polish crown in the event of the House of Hohenzollern becoming extinct.

After the elector had established his supremacy in the state, he was confronted with the more difficult task of reorganising the civil administration and the economic conditions of the duchy, and also of the electorate and of Cleves. He was obliged to make numerous concessions in the matter of taxation before he could obtain the rights of enlistment and free passage for his troops, which were points of supreme importance to him, as may easily be conceived. His timely realisation of the royal demesnes brought an increasing annual income to the electoral exchequer, and enabled Brandenburg-Prussia to keep an army which commanded the respect of the powers at every European crisis in constant readiness. France was speedily obliged to recognise the existence of this force; Sweden in particular felt that her sphere of operations was largely contracted by the military power of the energetic Brandenburger.

Not only had Frederic William made peace with Poland; at the imperial election he had espoused the cause of Austria, and had thus freed himself from the difficulties of his isolated position. Charles Gustavus X. had already humiliated Denmark on March 8th, 1658, and had reduced her almost to total impotency by the Peace of Roskilde. He

Denmark Reduced to Impotency

proposed to administer a second blow, with the intention of leaving her entirely defenceless and preventing any alliance between Brandenburg and Denmark, when the elector averted the blow by placing himself at the head of the "cavalcade to Holstein," for which undertaking he put into the field 16,000 men and forty-two guns, while Austria sent 10,000 to 12,000 men and twenty guns, and Poland 4,000 to 5,000

men. Frederic William penetrated as far as Alsen, and said he was ready to give battle to the Swedish troops blockading Copenhagen if the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, who was entrusted with the defence of the Danish capital on the sea, had been able to place at his disposal the ships requested for the transport of his

Sweden as the Bulwark of Protestantism

troops, which De Ruyter could not do. The connection of this entanglement upon the north with the struggle

between France and Hapsburg is seen in the share taken by Louis XIV. in the attempt to free Charles Gustavus from his encircling toils. Sweden was still considered as the great opponent of Catholic imperialism, and as the chief support of Protestantism against Catholicism. Frederic William declined to join the "Concert of the Hague," which was set on foot by Mazarin, unless a universal peace was thereby to be assured; for he would have to expect a further attack from Sweden as soon as the intervention of France and England had freed her from her desperate position on the Danish islands and the Jutland mainland.

This danger, which had become the more imminent owing to the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from the Baltic coast after the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1649, was lessened by the sudden and unexpected death of Charles Gustavus on February 23rd, 1660. A deadly struggle between Sweden and Brandenburg would have been no un-

Sweden's Unrealised Ambitions

pleasing prospect to Austria; she would have merely looked quietly on until the opportunity arrived for her to give the casting vote to her own advantage. The Peace of Oliva, on May 3rd, 1660, marks an important point in the history of the development of the maritime powers upon and within the Baltic. Sweden's power had risen and fallen, leaving no permanent results; she was obliged to relinquish her idea of founding a great power based upon

the possession of the most important of the Baltic coasts, and upon a naval force which should upon any occasion be more than the equal of all the other maritime states. In any appreciation of the value of a vigorous and ambitious prince to the development of the state, the fact that both Gustavus Adolphus II. and Charles Gustavus X. were carried off in the midst of important political undertakings must not be considered as matters of importance in the struggle for Baltic supremacy.

In the nature of things there was no sufficient reason for a Swedish hegemony in North Germany, which would not in any case have lasted beyond the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. Equally impossible was it, even by the strongest efforts of a dominating personality, to make Sweden a maritime power, because the Swedes have no inclination for maritime pursuits, and are never likely to be driven by lack

Death of Charles Gustavus

of suitable land to get a living from the sea. Nor can it be affirmed with any certainty that

German supremacy on the Baltic would have been established, or the rise of Brandenburg power have been accelerated, by the marriage of Frederic William with Christina, and the long-discussed, desired, and dreaded union of Brandenburg and Sweden. Certainly the Poles would have been driven from the coast forthwith, and Dantzic would have been made a Brandenburg-Prussian harbour town in the seventeenth century; but we have no certain grounds upon which to base an answer to the question whether any constitutional form could have been devised for the equalisation of Swedish and North German interests, and the unification of the sources of strength possessed by the two parties.

The advance of Sweden under Charles Gustavus was a serious matter for Brandenburg, and the death of Charles can therefore be considered only as a fortunate occurrence in view of the task which lay before the Great Elector.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



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